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41

BRITISH COLONIZATION

AND

COLOURED TRIBES.

BY S. BANNISTER,

LATE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF NEW SOUTH WALES;

*Author of Defence of the Indians, 1822; of Humane Policy to
Aborigines, 1830; &c.*

"But yet not long ago some men of this country went
"By the King's noble consent, that new land for to search.
"O! what a great meritorious deed it were to have its people there,
"Instructed to live more virtuously, and know of men the manners,
"And also to know God their maker, which as yet live all beastly."
The Four Elements, (A. D. 1617,) by SERJEANT BASTEL, or SIR THOMAS MORE.

LONDON:—WILLIAM BALL,

ALDINE CHAMBERS,

PATERNOSTER ROW.

1838.

INTRODUCTION.

TO

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, ESQ.,
LATE MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
FOR WEYMOUTH.

THIS volume contains an attempt to shew that an object which you, along with many thousands of zealous and enlightened individuals, have in view, may be exceedingly promoted by the prudent administration of wise laws, not yet sufficiently discussed, and the vigorous execution of other good measures, ensured through the opinion of a well-informed, intelligent public. That object is the steady improvement of the coloured tribes all over the world.

My views are addressed to you, in the persuasion that they may afford you some new lights; and

because, of all the friends of this great cause, no man is so capable as you are to preserve it from the perils with which it is threatened by erring friends, almost as much as by its perversest enemies.

From time to time, there seem to arise conjunctures most favorable to the advancement of this cause. The elements of great good seem, upon particular occasions, to be happily disposed, and to await only the master's hand to gather them together firmly, and to guide them well. Such an occasion dawned, so far as individual opinion in favour of uncivilized people went, at the very earliest period of our colonial history, even so soon as in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Edward the Sixth's reign gave clear signs of a similar occasion being about to offer itself; but his premature death frustrated the promise. Men of a right stamp were wanting to take due advantage of many favouring circumstances in the three successive reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles

the First,—reigns of great colonial enterprise, enormous colonial losses, and frightful aboriginal suffering. The times of the Parliament and Commonwealth gave favorable promises too; but the master-minds were then also wanting to bring them to the right issue. Subsequently, during the gloom of 150 years,—with negro slavery added to the other calamities of the coloured tribes,—when William Penn is the most remarkable of our comparatively few cheering lights,—the absence of eminent statesmen friendly to this cause is still more remarkable. The gold of negro slavery had bribed them all.

At length, in our day, a change is come. Negro slavery is beginning to disappear, and a fresh impulse is given in many forms to all parts of the Aboriginal Subject. Accordingly, many elements of good present themselves all around us. But the master-hand is not yet put forth to marshal them in a manner worthy of the occasion, and you in particular seem to be unaware that under suit-

able guidance, these elements would work harmoniously together; although you are the very individual best able to undertake this guidance. William Penn, whom in many points you remarkably and worthily resemble, failed in accomplishing what he aimed at, because he not only lived in evil days, but also his position as the *Proprietor* of an Indian Country was a false one. If he was wise in rejecting the Earldom of Weymouth, he unwisely accepted the Principality of Pennsylvania without guarantees for securing common justice to the natives, and for paying them the only compensation possible for their land—civilization. These were great errors; but you, better timed and better placed, may profit by experience denied to him; and although mine and others' warnings in former volumes were little regarded, and the neglect let torrents of blood flow, these pages, written after diligent enquiry into times past, are thus pointedly brought under your notice, in the trust that experience will not always be had in vain.

If you will put yourself, as you may do, not as a partisan, but as an assisting guide, at the head of the *Great Colonial and Aboriginal Movement* now making, you may prevent boundless evil, and promote boundless good to the objects of your solicitude and kindness. It would be mistaking its character to consider this movement, which may do us so much honour, as limited to the *various* plans under discussion for colonizing New Zealand, which is really only an example put forward by the influence of right feelings in favour of the coloured races. Those feelings begin to pervade *all* colonial enterprises. Under their influence the South Australia of 1836 differs essentially from the South Australia of 1833.

This movement, in our own time, resembles, in one respect, many former colonizing schemes. Personal profit is a distinct object with many concerned in it; and you have not to learn that such an object is legitimate. But the *degree* in which the rights of the aborigines are now sought to be

guaranteed is new; and this is a fruit of labours in which you have taken a large part.

Two parties, however, are in conflict on this question, counting among their numbers, on both sides, some of the very best men of the land. Eminent statesmen,—irreproachable friends to missions,—and energetic, right-minded *adventurers*, (in the old sense of the word, and therefore with the old dangers,) are on the one side, desiring to reform our colonial practice, and offering guarantees—serious guarantees, for the protection and improvement of the aborigines; and on the other side, stands a *portion* of the missionary body, whose good works have secured all our respect.

Both parties admit the prevalence of enormous evils under the existing system. Both offer remedies for those evils. Both are sincere. And they will be most powerful in their means of useful action if they can but be combined. Their conflict is not upon essentials, and it is worth an effort to avert its continuance. At the hazard, then, of

being thought an intruder, I venture to offer reasons collected from our colonial history, and not founded on theories, for my persuasion that the intervention which I now suggest on your part, may be made with true honour to yourself, and with great public advantage.

The whole aborigines subject must soon be taken up by the best statesmen in this country. National efforts alone will turn mischievous *squatters* into useful settlers, and *lead aright* the tens of thousands at this moment bursting through every frontier we occupy in Canada, in South Africa, and in all the Australias. Without national efforts to correct present oppression, buccaneering in every remote sea must spring out of the indulgence now permitted with impunity to the violent passions of uncontrolled men; and without national efforts now put forth, to follow up and crown those of the admirable missionaries, the possession of unwatched power will corrupt even *them*; and the whole work, now calling for your aid,

must be done hereafter with lessened means of success, and infinitely increased obstacles. By not joining your strength with the well disposed, but less informed, you leave them to struggle on in the midst of a thousand difficulties, which a prudent concurrence might remove. By concurring with good men in *studying* this vast subject, you will improve them. And if it be not studied with such help as yours, more patiently and deeply than men of action, left to themselves, can study anything, we shall be exposed, at no distant day, to see the active men, the ill-informed government and all, hurry into the most important colonial enterprises without proper preparation, and with no sufficient guarantees for carrying out with effect the best schemes of aboriginal improvement ever proposed.

CONTENTS.

- I.—Extermination of the Coloured Races in British Colonies threatened.
- II.—Character of the Coloured Races.
- III.—Dawning of Public Opinion. Principles of Universal Peace, proposed by Edward the Sixth. 1490 to 1553.
- IV.—Humane views of Edward the Sixth not followed up. 1553 to 1584.
- V.—Mixture of good and bad Principles. Fatal Results. 1584 to 1620.
- VI.—Public Opinion. Lord Bacon and Sir William Monson. 1560 to 1620.
- VII.—Origin of Protestant Missionary Efforts, and their Effects. 1620 to 1690.
- VIII.—Plans of William Penn, and Results of the Friends' Labours. 1671 to 1837. Slavery.
- IX.—Progress of Protestant Missions. 1690 to 1794.
- X.—Conduct and Effects of Maritime Discovery. 1560 to 1837.

- XI.—Conduct of the Government. Privy Council. Board of Trade. Colonial Office. Official Despotism, or Bureaucracy. Convict Colonies. Conquests. 1670 to 1837.
- XII.—The modern Extension of Protestant Missions. 1794 to 1837.
- XIII.—New Colonial Era. 1815 to 1837.
- XIV.—Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons of 1835 and 1836. Condemnation of the Old System of government.
- XV.—Ditto of 1837. Revival of Old System. Transportation Committee.
- XVI.—New System of Colonial Government still wanted. Suggestions for one. Administration. International Law. Religion. Justice. Education. Commerce. The Arts. Land. Agency. Publicity. Conferences. Protectors. Commissioners of Inquiry.

BRITISH COLONIZATION

AND

COLOURED TRIBES.

CHAPTER I.

SUFFERINGS—DANGERS—AND IMPROVING PROSPECTS OF THE COLOURED TRIBES.

THE sanguinary struggles between the white and coloured races,—between Christians and Pagans, in colonies and in countries discovered by Europeans, during the last three centuries and a half,—struggles ending as disgracefully to us, the enlightened and powerful, as fatally to our weak and ignorant victims,—offer one of the most interesting, but, at the same time, one of the most melancholy subjects of reflection. Much as the ablest men have written and done upon this subject, new views still remain to be taken of old facts; for, at different periods of time, the same things are seen in different lights, and under the influence of different feelings. Possibly, by looking now impartially at events which are of a character deeply to be lamented by rightly thinking

men, better systems of policy than those which permitted those events may be devised, to the satisfaction of all. It will, therefore, be an useful task to collect such details of the past as will display, fairly and fully, the character of our fathers' actions in this whole matter, and lead to a wiser and more prosperous career in the remote regions at this moment opening before ourselves.

It is a fatal error to consider the history of the Cabots, and the Raleighs, and the Cooks, as useful only to amuse the young; and those of Eliot, the missionary, and of William Penn, as useless to statesmen. Discoveries of unknown tribes are making every day; mercantile navigation among barbarous people was never more extensive; and far greater plans of colonization are preparing than ever. Nevertheless, in our expeditions for discovery, not a single improvement is yet made on the old system; on the contrary, on some points in them, we are behind our forefathers. Trading systems are what they used to be; and as to colonization, if, as is unquestionable, a decisively favorable change is taking place in our plans, so far as concerns the aborigines, the change is partial; and it requires to be matured and strengthened by more knowledge, and the more extensive adoption of sound principles. Without this, extermination must go on.

The present state of the uncivilized and defenceless tribes of coloured men in the British colonies is full of hope, and full of fear;—hope, from the good already effected for them—fear, from the errors into which their best friends often fall. A spirit is now abroad, and stirring, which has, upon vital points, produced great and beneficial changes in the condition of those tribes. With this degree of success established, and well calculated to stimulate the zealous and the wise to further efforts, it would be an inexcusable want of confidence not to anticipate still greater victories over the erroneous views of some, and the base cupidity of others, which, hitherto, have led powerful men to do such enormous wrong throughout the world to their fellow-creatures. But, if on this general ground there is reasonable hope of a complete triumph of the cause of universal freedom and justice, it cannot be denied that weighty circumstances exist of a nature to check that confidence; and to suggest even fears that the struggle may yet be attended by many painful and even temporarily disastrous circumstances. This gloomy side of the picture ought to be ever before the friends of the coloured races, to guard them against false confidence. These friends too often relax in their efforts when most skilfully arranged; and some, who have good intentions, so utterly mistake the

character of the cause they rashly take in hand, that they mar it more fatally by their errors than its bitterest enemies could do by their crimes. Its declared enemies, too, are very far from being either silenced through conviction, or shamed by the exposure of their prejudices, or weakened by sufficient defeat. Slavery has still strongholds in the greatest part of the world. Oppressions, new in kind, and of rank growth where not new, still bend the best energies of the free coloured man down to the earth, and paralyze his most earnest desire of a superior social state. All governments are behind the age in regard to the development of the great political problem arising from the intercourse of civilized with uncivilized men; whilst the age itself is only beginning to be alive to important truths on the subject, and to comprehend the best means of solving its difficulties. Public opinion, which, after all, must decide this great question between the different races, has grown up, through a succession of strange fluctuations respecting the rights and capacities of the several parties; and many further discussions will be needed before men think so correctly on the whole subject as to be able to act rightly in regard to it.

The numbers of the uncivilized and defenceless tribes, connected, more or less, intimately with

this country, in times past, and now, can be known approximatively, and by conjecture only. The practice has been to let them perish, generation after generation, almost unheeded; and even to hasten their decay without taking note of their frequently multitudinous populations. That they were once, more or less, numerous, and that they have become few since they knew the Christians is undenied. In some colonies they are quite extinct, as in Newfoundland, after three hundred years' possession of ours; and in Van Diemen's Land, by the quicker process of convict settlement, and *removal*, in about thirty years. In some of the old colonies, not unsuccessful attempts have been made to set the amount of destruction in a clear light. In Virginia, for example, the first colony we settled, the tribes were originally strong enough to destroy three separate and powerful bodies of colonists, who acted like brutal invaders, after being originally received with friendly welcome. But their thousands of warriors of 1607 were reduced two-thirds in sixty-two years "by our spirituous liquors, by our diseases, by our wars, and by an abridgment of territory, fatal to a people who lived much on the spontaneous productions of nature." In twenty years more, they were so weakened as that three of their principal tribes sent to a great Indian congress only four representatives,

including attendants. And at the end of the next century all had perished, except three or four of one tribe, possessing fifty acres of land; ten or twelve of another, possessing 300 acres; and a few women only of a third. This has been the fate of a people whose country was purchased, in "unexceptionable form," by the English; whose *reserved* districts were "kept from encroachment by the authority of the laws, and who usually had white protectors to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury," says their historian,* rashly enough.

All the causes of their decay in numbers, and of their debased condition, are less susceptible of a simple solution. To comprehend those causes thoroughly, and by their means to devise correctives of the system which has done such enormous evil, it will be indispensable to trace the long and melancholy story of Christian domination over the coloured races, through its sanguinary course of three centuries, and in its many varied shapes. But gloomy as this retrospect will be, bright spots are not wanting to cheer the enquirer. In the excellent conduct of many individuals of all periods of time, he will find abundant reason to be convinced, that the past, with its horrors, is far from being the model on which the future is necessarily

* Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 171.

to be framed. It is the abuse of our relations with the uncivilized man, not the essential character of those relations themselves, to which his misery is attributable. The corruptions of *some* Christians, not the true doctrines of their pure religion, have made him a victim. The short-sighted cupidity of *some* traders, not the real character of enlightened commerce, has stripped him of his national resources, by unfair dealing, even when gross frauds have not outraged him. The selfishness of *some* settlers, not the unavoidable tendency of Christian colonization, has exposed him hitherto, with comparatively rare exceptions, to the most unsparring oppression; whilst a conspiracy of falsely called statesmen has set up the snares of our unchristian and mischievous maxims to entrap the ignorant savage, in defiance of the genuine law of England, which may be moulded to every emergency, for the protection of the weak, and the elevation of the lowly.

But the triumph of the men who have done all this evil is fast passing away. The exposure of great errors must lead to great reforms. Among the colonists there have always been many worthy men who have grieved at the existence of a system which encourages only the worst passions, and scatters dissensions over all our frontiers. The mass of these will soon look forward to securing

competence for their families without wronging their neighbour. The merchant of the better class—a class not to be measured by wealth alone—scorns the proceedings, reprobated by us all, in the fraudulent traders; and he will cheerfully receive into his ranks the coloured competitor, whose industry will be awakened under the fostering influence of justice. The sincere Christian mourns over acts which degrade his name, and which, instead of promoting good will among men, and so uniting all by a common bond of charity, make that name hateful. These better times are mainly due to a large body of men, who, in their relation with coloured people, have extensively vindicated the true spirit of Christianity, and our character as a people. The missionaries at large have well deserved the honour in which they are generally held; whilst their particular merit is, the having enabled the Hottentot, the Greenlander, the Esquimaux, and many a swarthy son of the wilderness besides, to give irresistible evidence of sharing our faculties, and of duly appreciating the material and moral blessings, which the due exercise of those faculties secures.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTER OF THE COLOURED TRIBES.—NEW SYSTEM NEEDED TO PROTECT AND IMPROVE THEM.

THE character of uncivilized races has often been mistaken; and the only true estimate of it is, that these people are subject to the common infirmities of human nature, and gifted with our common faculties—varying in regard both to faculties and to infirmities, according to the thousand circumstances they are placed in.

Although a serious difference of opinion still exists respecting the policy proper to be pursued towards barbarous people by civilized states, and also respecting the manner in which they ought to be treated by individuals, it is, on the other hand, generally agreed that all barbarous people so far resemble us as neither to merit the designation of the most guileless beings on earth, which Columbus and some of his followers first gave to the Americans; nor to deserve that of “devils incarnate,” terms scandalously used towards these

poor people, by men who really treated them as if they had themselves been fiends. It cannot be denied that dissensions and wars, more or less rancorous and sanguinary, have uniformly been found to prevail between tribe and tribe. Cruel punishments have been common among barbarians; and they are inflicted for slight offences. Slavery has existed among them in various shapes. The weak, and especially women, have generally been tyrannized over. And the readiness with which their traitors have ever become our instruments in oppressing neighbours and countrymen, with the sure retribution of being crushed in their turn, sufficiently proves that it is not in dignity of character that a topic is to be sought for their vindication. Good qualities, nevertheless, are not wanting in the most uncultivated denizens of the forest. They have never failed to be forward in making corresponding returns for all the kindness we have bestowed. In proportion, too, to their general ignorance, they evince a disposition to conform to our usages when made known to them. They even estimate our possessions at too high a rate; and the difficulty of bringing the two races into lasting peaceful relations has ever arisen from our indisposition duly to respect their rights, rather than from any hesitation on their part to make the *necessary* concessions. This seems to be a

far more favorable position of things, than if they were proved to be generally insensible to the advantages of civilized life, and we disposed to concede everything to conciliate them, inasmuch as a very moderate subjection on our parts to the claims of justice must ensure a steady change in their habits, and a peaceful assimilation of them to ours. They improve steadily when protected.

But it must be admitted that there are great difficulties in bringing about a satisfactory union of two bodies of men, whose circumstances so much differ, as theirs and ours commonly do; although it rather shows a defect in the character of the more civilized race, that due attempts have never yet been made to overcome those difficulties, than an aggravated inferiority in the barbarian, that he should not have been successful in the rude struggle of strength, heretofore the main result of their meeting.

The savage, finding himself deprived of many of his accustomed enjoyments through the fraud or the violence of unprincipled white settlers or traders, and pressed by unsatisfied new wants, naturally rejects the lessons of civilization which he would otherwise listen to with profit, as well as with pleasure, and takes refuge in violence and revengeful resistance. Even in the less common case, where, without imputing acts of gross oppression

to the colonists, the collision of the ignorant with the knowing ends in the latter enjoying advantages which the former seeks in vain to share; the sufferer would be more than human not to look upon all the strangers indiscriminately as his enemies. The lands possessed by the savages, and his many raw possessions, might, however, be made a fund ample enough, as will be shewn hereafter, to meet all the cost of correcting the evils arising from this state of things. But, instead of attempting to attain so desirable an object, statesmen have either looked on listlessly at the miseries caused by a scramble for these lands and possessions; or they have satisfied themselves with the expression of barren regret that the progress of civilized society should seem *ordained* to be the inevitable destruction of the savage.* This view of the case betrays a profound ignorance of its history.

The peculiar circumstances of savages as compared with us are, their ignorance, their poverty, and their contentment; but experience shews, that if we will but give them breathing time after becoming acquainted with our superior intelligence, our greater wealth, and our better tastes; if we will abstain a short time from abusing our power;

* Speech of Mr. Spring Rice, Secretary of State for the Colonies.—*Mirror of Parliament*, 1st July, 1834.

and not strip them of the little they now have,—their common nature will soon give a due direction to their faculties. New desires come upon them safely, as well as rapidly, if we teach them to guide those desires, and assist them prudently to procure wealth, in order to enable them to enjoy the new world that may be safely opened to them. It is not probable that they will adopt our usages with breathless speed; nor is that necessary to their well-being nor to ours. But, with prudence on our part, they will make steady progress on theirs, in all the essential circumstances which give to civilized life the tranquillity generally unknown to the savage. It is often urged that a single genius would prove the capacity of the coloured race. In our day the challenge is met. The Hottentot—Andries Stoffels, an orator, a soldier, a statesman, a patriot, a Christian, has, in England, replied to the taunt; and when his biography shall be written in the way becoming his worth, this friend of Vander Kemp and Read will convince the most doubting, that wisdom is not denied to the woolly head, nor the noblest qualities of the heart to the swarthy skin.

They who agree with Mr. Spring Rice, in the opinion just quoted, take a circumscribed view of the case, as exhibited in the extensive experience of all Christian nations during the last four cen-

turies. Assuming that experience for a guide, and considering well the working of all prominent events, which, from time to time, have borne upon the question, there seems reason to believe, that this inference is hasty; and that by the character of aborigines being properly studied and respected;—by good measures of government;—by the sufficient efforts of religious teachers;—by fair commercial dealings;—by the vigorous and just administration of law;—and by society at home judging well of the principal occurrences in distant settlements, and to that end being duly informed of the course of those occurrences,—by all this being considerately and perseveringly sought to be accomplished, so as to increase the good which a civilized community can do to barbarians, and check the evil it is so prone to inflict, a better result will follow than that which at present is so fatal to our poor neighbours, and so greatly to our dishonour.

By examining what, in times past, governments, and the teachers of religion, and the courts of law have done; by studying what able writers have thought; by scrutinizing the conduct of traders, of maritime adventurers, explorers, and colonists, —honouring those among them who deserve honour, and disgracing the undeserving; and by ascertaining the state of public opinion on the

whole subject, a way will be opened to a future policy for the most part unexceptionable. The due exposure of false measures of government, of the insufficiency of the means of instruction of all kinds, of absurd and unjust laws, of fraudulent trading, of buccaneering sea voyages, of greedy and unprincipled colonizations, and of errors in public opinion arising mainly from want of knowledge of the truth—all this will probably lead directly to such better course of policy, and suggest the system capable of enforcing it.

That system will be the fruit, in fact, of a new science, deserving all our pains and labour to ensure its perfection. It is the science that shall teach how to conciliate the rights of the weak, poor, and ignorant coloured tribes with the interests,—and how to shelter them from the passions—of men greatly their superiors. And a short experience will perhaps shew by the working of such a system that it tends to our own advantage as steadily as to the benefit of the millions it more particularly is meant to protect.

An inquiry into the probable effect of a new system, which shall keep all the foregoing points steadily in view, will fail less for want of materials from which it may be framed, than for defect of skill. But, if these propositions be open to some exceptions, they are so extensively correct,—so

sure of general approval when understood, that among the various means of safety, and of steady advancement for the coloured races, none perhaps will be more effectual than to bring the light of **PUBLICITY** upon all that concerns them, come from what quarter it may.

Whilst selecting the proper points for enquiry, and deducing sound conclusions from the abundant stores thus accumulated, it will be difficult to abstain from drawing largely upon the rich illustrations which they present. But the most important matters of this eventful history can now be only as it were glanced at, without such an examination of details as, on a more lengthened enquiry, would bring out the truth, both as to facts and principles, into the fullest view.

Nevertheless, it may be possible to describe satisfactorily, without many details, what the real spirit of the British public has been at different periods in reference to protecting—civilizing—evangelizing the coloured races with whom we have communicated during the last four centuries. That spirit, good or bad, is the key to all public measures; and according as it is correctly conceived, the character of particular epochs will also be more or less correctly estimated; and according to its lasting purity and energy in future, will be the hope of success with future practical measures.

From time to time, there have been fluctuations as to the right course of proceeding. Wrong principles have sometimes exercised a fatal influence against excellent designs. The better principles have long been defeated by bad measures. Nevertheless, the purer views have prevailed at last; and, although great errors remain to be abandoned, still, what is accomplished is a reasonable earnest of further successes. A survey of this progress, step by step, will prepare the way suitably for the consideration of a system that shall satisfy the claims of justice, and be in harmony with the happily advanced state of popular feeling in behalf of the millions among whom our countrymen are now daily spreading more and more extensively, without any sufficient guarantees against a recurrence of many of the atrocities of past times.

In tracing this history, and in framing the system which it seems imperiously to call for, care has been taken not to vouch a single fact or opinion without good authorities.

This course of reflection, it will be perceived, leads to the examination of colonial annals in new lights; which will shew if the strong disposition of savage people to partake of our civilization has been met by corresponding means to impart it to them.

CHAPTER III.

TITLE TO NEW LANDS BY DISCOVERY.—AVARICE.—FIRST VISIT OF COLOURED PEOPLE TO ENGLAND.—DAWNING OF SOUND VIEWS IN THE REIGNS OF HENRY VII. AND HENRY VIII.—ELEVATED VIEWS OF EDWARD VI. IN FAVOUR OF PEACEFUL INTERCOURSE WITH NEW COUNTRIES; AND SEBASTIAN CABOT'S INSTRUCTIONS.—RESULT OF THEIR PROMULGATION.

It will be convenient to begin the examination of this point only from the discovery of America. Much interesting matter bearing on it may be found in the history of all the world in earlier ages, and especially in that of the Portuguese discoveries along the coast of Africa, in the fifteenth century; but later times open so large and so complete a chapter on the subject, that their history, even briefly examined, will serve as a sufficient introduction to our relations with all the tribes of men still uncivilized.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the mere act of discovering a country in which *heathens* lived, was strangely held to give the disco-

verers a lawful title to the soil, and dominion over all its inhabitants. The duty of converting the native people to Christianity was, however, the condition annexed to this power of acquiring new territories at will. Contemporary documents, royal commissions and grants, papal bulls, and the reports of the commanders of all the expeditions, furnish ample proofs that this assumption of a right (directly opposed to the true Christian spirit,) was acted upon unscrupulously on an enormous scale. The rapid destruction of uncounted millions of human beings, whose submission or whose resistance was alike vain, and some of whom were far advanced in many branches of civilization, proved that the ruling passion of the age was to get gold at any price.

But, at the earliest period, as ever since, some individuals were found indignantly to denounce these frightful acts, and to deny the soundness of the principles generally received to justify them. Such a man was Las Casas, who maintains that the independence of the Indians is an inviolable principle in the law of nations; thus denying peremptorily the right claimed from discovery. This position is to be found formally stated for public disputation; and he declares it to be an universal maxim, that natural law and the law of nations were binding, as much in the case of the Indians as in the case of Christian

nations; and he inferred from this maxim that, to interfere in any manner with the authority of their chiefs and government was unjust. He was not able to introduce his principles into the international codes of Europe; but his exposure of Spanish atrocities was not without effect.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, John Cabot, with his son, the famous Sebastian, discovered the continent of America, and brought home some Indians, whose demeanour excited a lively interest, and whose improvement during their stay shewed both a capacity and a taste for civilization. When found, they were clothed in the skins of beasts; but, after two years' residence here, they were seen in the king's court, dressed like Englishmen, from whom they could not be distinguished. These people were the first of a long list of visitors to England, whose fate deserves a particular history. Whilst the practice of kidnapping natives, upon pretence of learning their language, or on any other ground whatever, cannot be too severely condemned, the prudent encouragement of voluntary visits to this country is a matter of great importance. The desire to see Europe has, in the case of the savage, justly been held to be a sure sign of capacity for civilization; and it once was thought to be wanting in some tribes, such as the Patagonians and New Zealanders. More experience has proved this supposed excep-

tion not to exist; and, as we trace the history of Europeans with the least elevated people, it will be seen that all have strongly exhibited this curiosity.

The conversion of the natives, and their protection, formed part of Henry the Seventh's plan of territorial acquisition; as he sent at least one priest to Newfoundland; and his instructions required the most absolute respect to be paid to the native women.

In that day, also, there were private men among us who earnestly contemplated the improvement of such barbarous people; as may be seen in the following remarkable passage, taken from a play written about the year 1517, perhaps by Serjeant Rastel, and inspired by Sir Thomas More, his relative. The subject of the play is the knowledge of the true figure of the earth, its nature, and inhabitants. After tracing other regions upon the map, *Experience* proceeds in her exposition to *Studious Desire*, in these terms: "This sea is called the Great Ocean. So great it is, that never man could tell it since the world began, till near within these twenty years. Westward we found new lands, that we never heard tell of before this, by writing nor other means. Yet many now have been there. And that country is so large of room, much larger than all Christendom, without fable

or guile; for divers mariners have it tried, and sailed straight by the coast side, above five thousand miles. But what commodities be within no man can tell, nor well imagine. And yet, not long ago, some men of this country went, by the king's noble consent, it for to search, and could not be brought thereto. O! what a great meritorious deed it were, to have the people there instructed to live more virtuously, and to know of men the manner, and also to know God their Maker, which as yet live all beastly.”*

Whether Sir T. More had any part in this appeal to our better principles of conduct or not, certainly the sentiments contained in it were no less in advance of the age than many of the chancellor's opinions in the Utopia, which inspired some men with the desire to go thither to increase religion; and Sir T. More's mind was full of the wonders of the new maritime discoveries. The story of the Utopia is, indeed, framed upon them; and he says, in his letter to Peter Giles, with the manuscript of that work, that certain men, especially “one virtuous and godly professor of divinity,” had been exceedingly desirous to go to Utopia, thinking the place a genuine discovery, to the intent to increase religion already begun there.

* Garrick's Plays, 1-3.—British Museum.

Probably, part of the original plan of the expedition under the Cabots was to found a colony in America; and Thorne, son of one of the merchants who provided funds for the execution of that plan, afterwards earnestly appealed to Henry the Eighth, upon the old principles, to undertake a similar enterprise. He argued that, as all princes *naturally desire* to enlarge their dominions, it would be *right* that the king should extend discovery in America, in order to gratify that desire. He insisted upon the priority of title which the English had acquired in the time of Henry the Seventh; but, whilst he rejects with indignation the claim of the pope to dispose of the New World, his views are confined to the aggrandizement of the English, without adverting to the interests or the rights of the native possessors of the soil.

Ships were accordingly sent in this reign to plant colonies in America, upon the foundation of the right of discovery, and to exercise dominion so gained over the Indians. These expeditions were signal failures, although distant commercial voyages were then made with great success; and in one of which, to Brazil, Captain William Hawkins "behaved himself so wisely with the savages, that he grew into great friendship with them. Insomuch that one of the chiefs was con-

tent to accompany him to England, a seaman being left behind as surety. He was presented to Henry the Eighth; and died at sea, on his return homeward. It was feared this would lose the life of the seaman; but the savages, being fully persuaded of the honest dealing of our men with their chief, gave him up."

Far different views prevailed in the next reign, in which arose the dawn of a better day, too soon overcast by the death of Edward the Sixth, who appears to have had a strong taste for maritime affairs. His young mind may naturally be supposed to have been impressed, in a most lively manner, with the wonders reported home by the daring adventurers of his time. The feelings which, in our early years, we take from *Robinson Crusoe* and *Prince Lee Boo*, he derived from narratives more attractive and more marvellous. His education, too, seems to have disposed him towards a refined and humane view of the relations which were opening with new countries. One of his schoolboy themes is preserved, in which the horrors of war and ambition are nobly contrasted with the benefits and real glories of peace.

"*O' alma pax,*" says the schoolboy king; "*O pulchra concordia, quam decora sunt tua munera, tui conatus, tuique honores. Te homines colore, te venerare, teque diligere debent. Tua illa facies*

omnes pios, omnes honestos, omnesque bonos exhibere videt.”*

Great men were not wanting to foster these ideas, and act on Edward's wishes. Of those great men, Sebastian Cabot was the greatest in the field of maritime adventure. After the expedition of 1497, in which he had accompanied his father, in the discovery of the continent of the New World, he had been engaged in other English voyages, of which the memorials are indistinct. But he had subsequently gained a brilliant reputation in the maritime service of the kings of Spain; and he bore throughout Europe a renown as a navigator and discoverer, second only to that of Columbus. During this period he had much intercourse with Indians, as a discoverer, and as governor of the provinces of Rio de la Plata. He is admitted to have ruled them justly, but contradictory stories are current as to his severity. He must have been familiar with the humane sentiments of Las Casas, although no proof exists to what extent he either shared in or supported them.

In the decline of life, Sebastian Cabot returned to England, where he was born; and he was there destined to act a distinguished part in

* British Museum.—Harleian MSS. 5067, p. 89.

the earliest of our great English commercial undertakings, that of the merchants and noblemen who, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, originated an expedition which led to the foundation of the old Russia Company. And this was at a time when maritime discovery, commerce, and colonization were far from being distinct.

The entire records of history do not contain a nobler document than the letter-missive sent by the king to unknown foreign rulers, by the hands of the commanders in the Company's first discovery-fleet; and written (a few months before his death,) in many languages. The object of the voyage was the same with that of Columbus,—the discovery of a near route to Cathay and India. The course taken was to the north-east, at that time shut in, on the maps, by the junction of Greenland with Norway; but Cabot held, rightly, that a passage would be found along the coasts of Norway.

The letters-missive of the king are set forth as follows:

“Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, to all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges, and Governors of the Earth, and all other having any excellent dignity on the same, in all places under the universal heaven; peace, tranquillity, and honour, be unto

you, and your land and regions, which are under your dominions, and to every of you as is convenient.

“Forasmuch as the Great and Almighty God hath given unto mankind, above all other living creatures, such a heart and desire, that every man desireth to join friendship with other; to love and be loved; also to give and receive mutual benefits; it is therefore the duty of all men, according to their power, to maintain and increase this desire in every man, with well deserving to all men; and especially to shew this good affection to such as, being moved with this desire, come unto them from far countries. For how much the longer voyage they have attempted for this intent, so much the more do they thereby declare that this desire hath been ardent in them.

“Furthermore, also, the examples of our fathers and predecessors do incite us hereunto; forasmuch as they have ever gently and lovingly entreated such as of friendly mind came to them, as well from countries near at hand, as far remote, commending themselves to their protection.

“And if it be right and equity to shew such humanity towards all men, doubtless the same ought chiefly to be shewed to merchants, who, wandering about the world, search both the land and the sea, to carry such good and profitable

things as are found in their countries, to remote regions and kingdoms, and again to bring from the same such things as they find there commodious for their own countries, both as well that the people, to whom they go, may not be destitute of such commodities as their countries bring not forth to them, as that also they may be partakers of such things, whereof they abound. For the God of Heaven and Earth, greatly providing for mankind, would not that all things should be found in one region, to the end that one should have need of another, that by this means friendship might be established among all men, and every one seek to gratify all.

“For the establishing and furthering of which universal amity, certain men of our realm, moved hereunto by the said desire, have instituted and taken upon them a voyage by sea into far countries, to the intent that between our people and them a way may be opened to bring in and carry out merchandize, desiring us to further this enterprize. Who, assenting to this petition, have licensed the right valiant, worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, Knight, and other our truly and faithful servants, which are with him, according to their desire, to go to countries to them heretofore unknown, as well to seek such things as we lack, as also to carry unto them, from our regions, such things as they

lack. So that hereby not only commodity may ensue both to them or us, but also an indissoluble and perpetual league of friendship be established between us both, which they permit us to take of their things, such whereof they have abundance in their regions, and we again grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute.

“We therefore desire you, Kings and Princes, and all other, to whom there is any power on the earth, to permit unto these our servants, free passage by your dominions; for they shall not touch any thing of yours unwilling unto you. Consider you that they also are men. If, therefore, they shall stand in need of any thing, we desire you of all humanity, and for the nobility which is in you, to aid and help them with such things as they lack, receiving again of them such things as they shall be able to give you in recompense. Shew yourselves so towards them, as you would that we and our subjects should shew ourselves towards your servants, if at any time they shall pass by our regions; thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in Heaven, Earth, and the Sea, and by the life and welfare of our kingdom, that they shall as friendly and gently be entertained, as if they were born in our dominions, that we may thereby recompense the favour and benignity which you have shewn to our men.

“Thus after we have desired you, Kings and Princes and all other, with all humanity and favour, to entertain our well beloved servants, we will pray our Almighty God, to grant you long life and peace, which never shall have end.

“Written in London, which is the chief city of our kingdom, in the year from the creation of the world 5515, in the month of January, 14th day, and seventh year of our reign.”*

The instructions signed by Cabot on this occasion are remarkable, in many respects, as a Sea Code. In regard to the inhabitants of the new countries expected to be discovered, they direct that,

“Forasmuch as our people and ships may appear strange and wondrous to the people when you arrive, and theirs also to ours, it is to be considered how they may be used, learning much of their nature and dispositions, by some one such person as you may first either allure or take, to be brought on board your ships, and there to leave as you may, without violence or force; and no woman to be tempted or entreated to incontinency or dishonesty.

“Item, the person so taken to be well entertained, used, and apparelled, to be sent on land to

* Lediard's Naval History, i. p. 117, from Hakluyt.

the intent that he or she may allure others to draw nigh to shew the commodities; and if the person taken may be made drunk with your beer or wine, you shall know the secrets of his heart.

“Every nation is to be considered advisedly; and not to provoke them by any disdain, laughing, contempt, or the like, but to use them with prudent circumspection.”

To complete the picture, it is necessary to produce contemporary testimony of the manner in which the public was interested on this occasion.

“Moscovy,” says Eden, in mentioning this expedition, “was discovered in our time by Richard Chancellor in his voyage towards Cathay, by the direction and information of Master Sebastian Cabot, who long before had this secret in his mind. Which voyage is faithfully written by Clement Adams, schoolmaster to the Queen’s Henshmen. It is there narrated from the mouth of Chancellor himself, that Sir Henry Sidney ‘a noble young gentleman and very much beloved by King Edward,’ introduced Chancellor, as 2d in the command, to the merchants in an earnest and eloquent speech (set forth in Hakluyt,)* in which he greatly ‘commended their godly and virtuous intention and serious enterprise, which the nobi-

* Hakluyt’s Voyages. Ed. 1589, p. 281.

lity were ready to help and further. . . . After all this, the company growing to some silence, it seemed good to them that were of greatest gravity to enquire what might be learned concerning the east. For which two Tartarians, then of the King's stable, were sent for, and an interpreter was gotten to be present, by whom they were demanded touching their country, and the manners of their nation. But they were able to answer nothing to the purpose, being indeed more acquainted, as one merrily said, to toss pots than to learn the states and dispositions of people. But after much adoe, they grew at last to this issue, to appoint a time for the departure of the ships. . . . By the 20th of May, the captains and mariners took shipping and departed from Ratcliffe. And being come near to Greenwich, where the Court then lay, presently, on the view thereof, the courtiers came running out, and the common people flocked together, standing very thick upon the shore. The Privy Council, they looked out at the windows of the court, and the rest ran up to the tops of the towers. The ships hereupon discharge their ordnance, after the manner of war and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hills sounded therewith, and the valleys and the waters gave an echo, and the mariners shouted in such sort, that the sky rang again with

the noise. To be short, it was a very triumph in all respects to the beholder. But alas, the good King Edward, in respect of whom principally all this was prepared, he only, by reason of his sickness, was absent from this shew; and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorrowful accident of his death followed."

The narrative of the first meeting of the expedition with the barbarous inhabitants of the new lands discovered, illustrates the happy effect of the humane spirit of its originators. "It happened," says the old chronicler, "that they espied afar off a certain fishe boat, which Master Chancellor, accompanied with a few of his men, went towards, to commune with the fishermen that were in it. But they, amazed with the strange greatness of his ship, began presently to avoid and flee. He still following them, and being come near, they, in great fear as men half dead, prostrated themselves before him, offering to kiss his feet; but he looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signs and gestures, refusing those duties and reverence of theirs, and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground.

"And it is strange to consider how much favour afterwards in that place this humanity of his did purchase to himself. For they, being dismissed, spread by and by a report abroad of the arrival of

a strange nation, of a singular gentleness and courtesy; whereupon the common people came together, offering to these new-come guests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffic with them. . . . By this time our men had learned that this country was called Russia. And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they came, and what for. Whereunto was answered, that they were Englishmen, seeking nothing else but their friendship and traffic. The barbarians heard this gladly, and promised them furthermore to acquaint their king out of hand with so honest and reasonable a request."

CHAPTER IV.

PHILIP AND MARY, AND THE BEGINNING OF ELIZABETH.—THE HUMANE VIEWS OF THE LAST REIGN NOT FOLLOWED UP.—1553 TO 1584.

WHATEVER might have been the effects of Edward's high principles in maturer years, had his life been prolonged, they little influenced the public policy of the country, or the views of English navigators generally at this period. Although some traces of them are to be met with afterwards, from time to time, in the proposals of individuals, and in some state acts, the passage, in Cabot's instructions, recommending the diplomacy of strong drink, which proves him not to have been quite purified from all Machiavelism, was more followed. The charter, too, given by Philip and Mary to the Russia Company, resembled the document before issued by Henry the Seventh, in regard to unknown infidel lands. The discoverers were to be owners of the soil; and the aboriginal inhabitants were to be the uncompensated vassals of the English crown.

The public feeling on the subject may, perhaps, be inferred correctly from an unprincipled vindication, published in this reign, in defence of the conduct of the Spaniards in the West Indies, against "some" who did not hesitate to reprobate it.

"If any man should aske," says the writer, "what I think these things will grow to, I will answer, that when I consider how far our posterity shall see the Christian religion enlarged, I am not able to express what I conceive. Yet one thing I see which enforceth me to speak and lament, that the harvest is so great and the workmen so few. The Spaniards have showed a good example to all Christian nations to follow We think these men worthy just commendation; which, in their merciful wars against these naked people, have so used themselves towards them, in exchanging of benefits for victory, that greater commodity hath thereof ensued to the vanquished than to the victors. But some will say, they possess and inhabit their regions, and use them as bondmen, where before they were free. They inhabit these regions, indeed; yet so that, by their diligence and better manuring the same, they may now better sustain *both* than one before." And the extermination of the miserable people whom these improved lands might thus have sustained, along

with their conquerors, the writer considers to be compensated by their being "delivered from the bondage of Satan's tyranny."*

The proceedings of Elizabeth's government were of the same character: the letters patent to various adventurers were,—to seize upon the discovered lands,—and set forth ostentatiously enough the design of making the coloured people Christians; but few means were devised for effecting it, and only feeble guarantees existed for their protection. Nor was public opinion more advanced. It was early in her reign that Sir John Hawkins *easily formed the first Company in London*, to begin the slave trade. The humane conduct of Chancellor towards the savages was not pursued by his successors. On the contrary, so soon afterwards as in 1567, Martin Frobisher perpetrated the most atrocious acts in the same part of the world, and which do not appear to have been punished by the government; but which have called forth, in later times, the following justly severe observations from Dr. Reinhold Forster, the companion of Captain Cook, upon the cruelty

* Preface to an edition of Eden's History of Travel. But this passage in the text seems to be surreptitiously introduced into Eden's text.

CHAPTER V.

ELIZABETH CONTINUED. — JAMES THE 1ST. —
RALEIGH.—1584 TO 1622.—GOOD AND BAD
PRINCIPLES MIXED.—EFFORTS TO PROTECT
AND IMPROVE THE NATIVES DISPROPOR-
TIONED TO THE NECESSITIES OF THE CASE.—
FATAL RESULTS. — OUTRAGES UPON THE
NATIVES.—THEIR WILD JUSTICE OF REVENGE.
—THEIR CONSEQUENT EXTERMINATION.

SEBASTIAN CABOT was the great man among the English maritime adventurers of the first sixty years of the sixteenth century; but a crowd of illustrious discoverers of new countries succeeded him. Of them the best type of the times, in regard to the coloured races, was Sir Walter Raleigh, who lived through almost an equal period, but with a harder fortune in his last years than Cabot, many of whose designs he adopted. The unequal views of this eminent person upon the aborigines of new countries merit, therefore, a special examination. Contemporary documents, as to those views and his own writings, are of a mixed character; sometimes worthy of all honour,

often mean and cruel. In a contrast between the enormities committed by Spaniards in America and Sir Walter's probable conduct, a writer of the day says, "The Spaniards,—because with all cruel immanity they subdued a naked and yielding people, whom they sought for gain, and not for religion, or for the plantation of a commonwealth, over whom they did most cruelly tyrannize,—these do vaunt, that they only have drawn strange nations and unknown people to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge of Christianity, and to the enriching of their country; and thereby claim the honour to themselves alone. But if your actions were well looked into, it shall be found more honorable in sundry respects. For what can be more pleasant to God than to gain and redeem, in all Christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the Gospel? And what can be more honorable to princes than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdom, without injury, wrong, or bloodshed, and to frame them from a savage life to a civil government, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests have performed? And what can be more beneficial for a commonwealth than to have a nation and a kingdom to transfer unto the superfluous multitude of fruitless and idle people, here at home daily increasing, to travail, conquer, and manure another land, which,

by the due intercourse to be devised, may and will yield infinite commodities."*

The language of Hakluyt in 1599, in regard to the same topic, is not very different. He admits that these ultramarine adventurers had various objects, "some seeking authority and places of command, others experience, by seeing the world; the most part worldly gain, and that oftentimes by dishonest and unlawful means; the fewest number, the glory of God, and the saving of the souls of the poor and blinded infidels." "Yet," he continues, addressing Sir Walter Raleigh, "because divers honest and well-disposed persons are entered already into this your business, and that I know you mean *hereafter* to send some such good churchmen thither, so as we may truly say, with the Apostle, to the savages, *We seek not yours, but you*, I conceive great comfort of the success of these your actions; hoping that the Lord will bless the feeble foundations of your building, and only be you of valiant courage, and remember that private men have happily wielded, and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser means than those which God in his mercy has bountifully bestowed upon you."

* Quoted by Oldys, in the *Life of Raleigh*, from Holinshed, i. p. 79.

But these pious aspirations did not prevent the zealous prebendary looking to other than gentle means, and beyond the aid of churchmen to be sent "*thereafter,*" to reclaim the Indians. He adds, "These two last years' experience hath plainly shewn, that we may spare 10,000 able men without any miss. Seeing, therefore, we are so far from want of people that, retiring daily home out of the Low Countries, they go idle up and down in swarms for lack of honest entertainment; I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort, than in the inward parts of Virginia, *against such stubborn savages as shall refuse obedience to her Majesty.*" (Hakluyt, iii., 208.)

The same eminent collector, Hakluyt, also was the first to recommend sending the convicts to found colonies, instead of hanging them "by twenties at a time from one jayle."

Sir Walter Raleigh was far from being altogether wanting in the best of these principles. His papers on the subject seem to be imperfectly preserved, but enough remain to give a clear view of his conduct and principles. He sought the wealth of America; but it was for his country, and that the King of Spain might be successfully withstood. "It is Indian gold (said he,) that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe; it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into councils, and setteth

bound loyalty at liberty in the greatest monarchies of Europe.”* Some of his maxims were as upright as his political object was noble. His instructions to the seamen were framed upon Sebastian Cabot’s,† as to respecting the female Indians; and he protested solemnly that, in his expedition to Guiana, those instructions had been sacredly kept. He paid also scrupulously for his provisions, “even to a potatoe root;” and nothing, says he, got more love among them than this usage. “Which course, so contrary to the Spaniards, who tyrannize over them in all things, drew them to admire Her Majesty, whose commandment it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.”‡ And, as he could not always keep “the meaner sort from stealing, he caused the Indian interpreter to know of the loss, or wrong done; and if aught were stolen, or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in sight of the Indians, or else it was paid to their uttermost demand.”§ The natives’ adoption of the Queen’s authority was secured by the protection Sir Walter Raleigh afforded them against the

* Raleigh’s works, viii. 388.

† Ibid., 687.

‡ The discovery of Guiana, ib. 430.

§ Ibid., 431.

Spaniards; and he had their confidence so far that not only did a chief intrust his son to him, on a visit to England, where he was treated with distinction by Elizabeth, but he kept up a communication with them during his long imprisonment in the Tower; and, at his last voyage to Guiana, they offered to make him their king.

At the same time, Raleigh was disposed to be only so far tender of the rights of the natives of new countries, as should promote attaining his object of getting wealth. He took particular care to conceal from them his desire of gold, and the purpose of "*invasion*."* And although he hoped to establish a profitable trade by peaceful means, yet, he concludes, "the chief hath neither shot nor iron weapon in all his empire; and, therefore, may easily be conquered."† Here is a sad falling off from the sublime plan of peaceful intercourse laid down in the letter of Edward the Sixth, in 1553.

Nor had Raleigh an insuperable objection to drive a hard bargain in his trade with the ignorant natives. *Delegates*, on the part of the English, were to manage the bargains; "for otherwise," says he, "all our commodities will be of small

* Raleigh's works: The Discovery of Guiana, p. 451.

† Ibid., 467.

of ordinary classes, and some of ruined character and ill conduct. Laws and establishments for the due protection of the Indians, there were none; and although collegiate endowments were provided for some of them, no attempt was thought of to render civilizing efforts proportionate to the necessities of the case, even when the highest of the nobility and clergy, and great numbers of the people entered warmly into the successive enterprises, which, for nearly half a century, were attended by little but suffering on both sides. A chief source of these misfortunes clearly was not establishing municipal measures, that would ensure justice to the Indians, in cases between man and man. This neglect arose in part from an erroneous notion that the natives had no law,* and therefore could not appreciate any endeavours to *accommodate* ours, by proper changes, to them. The first reports from Virginia, like those of Columbus, raised an imaginary "golden age," needing no police. The absence of special provisions, however, for the ordinary administration of justice† in

* *Nulla jura, nullumque judicium habet.*—*Report of Americus Vespacius*,—*Novus Orbis*, p. 158, Ed. 1532.

† One case of this kind is too striking to be omitted.—After some of those Indians, however, who were brought to England, had become reconciled, through kind treatment, and had done the colonists most essential service, no measures

the new community formed by our union with them, led rapidly to oppressive treatment of the Indians by the colonists, and to plots on the part of the Indians. The indiscriminate slaughter of friends and foes by them, then gave a fearful ascendancy to the party, always disposed to advance colonial interests at any sacrifice of those of the natives; and brought out all the bad passions, so fearfully recorded in the following official report, published in England on this occasion; and which would be weakened by one word of abridgment.

“The relation of the barbarous massacre in time of peace and league, treacherously executed by the native infidels upon the English, the 22d of March, 1622, published by authority,”* is concluded in the following terms:

“Thus have you seen the particulars of this massacre, wherein treachery and cruelty have done

were taken either for the due protection or improvement of the Indians in general, or for bestowing fair rewards on these individuals. On the contrary, they were grossly outraged; and many of their countrymen being inveigled on board ship to be carried off for slaves, the only punishment inflicted on the delinquent captain was, that “the vile act kept him, ever after, from any more employment in those parts.”

* London: 4to. 1622.—British Museum. Tracts relating to Virginia, No. 5.

their worst to us, or rather to themselves; for whose understanding is so shallow as not to perceive that this must needs be for the good of the plantations after, and the loss of this blood to make the body more healthful, as by these reasons may be manifest.

“ 1st. Because betraying of innocency never rests unpunished.

“ 2dly. Because our hands, which before were tied with gentleness and fair usage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the savages, not untying the knot, but cutting it. So that we who hitherto have had possession of no more ground than their waste, and our purchase at a valuable consideration to their own contentment gained, may now, by right of war and law of nations, invade the country and destroy them who sought to destroy us; whereby we shall enjoy their cultivated places, turning the laborious mattock into the viperous sword (wherein there is more ease, benefit, and glory), and possessing the fruits of others' labours. Now their cleared grounds in all their villages, which are situate in the fruitfulest places of the land, shall be inhabited by us; whereas heretofore the grubbing of woods was the greatest labour.

“ 3dly. Because those commodities which the Indians enjoyed as much or rather more than we,

shall now also be entirely possessed by us. The deer and other beasts will be in safety. The like may be said of our own swine and goats, whereof the Indians used to kill eight in ten more than the English have done.

“4thly. Because the way of conquering them is much more easy than of civilizing them by fair means; for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to victory, but hinderances to civility. Besides that, a conquest may be of many and at once; but civility is in particular and slow, the effect of long time and great industry. Moreover, victory may be gained by many ways: by force, by surprise, by famine, in burning their corn, by destroying and burning their boats, canoes, and houses; by breaking their fishing wears, by assailing them in their huntings, whereby they get the greatest part of their sustenance in winter; by pursuing and chasing them with our horses, and bloodhounds to draw after them and mastiffs to tear them, which take these naked, tanned, deformed savages for no other than wild beasts, and are so fierce and fell upon them, that they fear them worse than their old devil which they worship. By these and sundry other ways, as by driving them, when they flee, upon their enemies, and by animating and abetting their enemies against them, may their

ruin or subjection be soon effected. So the Spaniard made great use for his own turn of the quarrels and enmities that were amongst the Indians, as thoroughly understanding that maxim of the politician, '*Divide et impera.*' In Virginia the many divers princes and people are at this day opposite, in different factions, one to another: so as the quarrels and causes of them being well understood, it will be an easy matter to overthrow our enemies, by setting on their enemies against them. By these factions, the Romans overcame Great Britain; of which Tacitus says, '*Ita, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.*' And Justin hath the like saying of the cause of vanquishing the Grecian cities.

"5thly. Because the Indians, who before were used as friends, may now most justly be compelled to servitude in mines and the like, of whom some may be sent for the use of the Summer Islands.

"6thly. This will for ever hereafter make us more circumspect, as never to be deceived by any other treacheries; and make us know that kindnesses are misspent upon rude natures, so long as they continue rude; as also that savages and pagans are above all others, for matters of justice, ever to be suspected.

"Lastly. We have this benefit more, that all good men do now take more care of us than before,

since the fault is on their side. Especially, His Majesty hath continued his many favours with a new and large supply of munition and arms, with men, and other necessaries. Neither must we omit the honourable City of London, who, to shew their zeal at this time, are sending 100 men for the advancement of the plantation. Neither is any man to be dejected. What growing state was ever that had not the like disasters? Mark but the Spaniard, who hath now perfected his work in the same continent. Columbus left his people with the Indians in peace, and promise of fair usage toward them; yet found all, by the natives, treacherously slain.....The Spaniards have in time, by industry, patience, and constancy, effected their great work, notwithstanding they had to deal with a most populous nation, which they overcame at last. So as Oviedo, in the 3d book of the 1st part of his history, saith, that of a million of Indians in Hispaniola, not 500 of them and their children were living in forty years. On the other side, the natives in Virginia are nothing populous. Of those in Hispaniola, Oviedo saith they are idle, vicious, melancholy, slovenly, of bad conditions, lying, of small memory, of no constancy or trust, sottish, sudden; never looking what dangers may happen, less capable than children of six years old, and less apt and ingenious;—but

there be some wise and subtle. They may be compared with the dispositions of the Virginian natives.

“It is to be wished that every good patriot will take these things seriously into his thought, and consider how deeply the prosecution of this noble enterprise concerneth the honour of His Majesty and the nation, the propagation of the Christian religion, the rich augmenting of the King’s revenues, the employment and increase of his subjects, mariners, and shipping. Some may help with their purses; some with their persons; some with their favour; some with their counsel; especially, amongst others, let ministers, in their public and private prayers, commend these plantations to the blessing of Almighty God.”

The extreme perversion of mind that dictated this official paper need not be insisted upon; but one point is very striking. Before this time, it has been seen, that the example of Spain in the West Indies was held forth most justly as a warning to the English, and a contrast to a better policy; here it is displayed as an example to be followed.

The result of the fatal measures to be now taken in Virginia may be readily anticipated. The whole story is told with melancholy truth in Wynne’s History, and in a temper sufficiently imbued with the bad spirit of the 18th century, not

to render the narrative suspected of undue warmth in favour of the Indians.

“In 1621,” says Mr. Wynne, “the assembly appointed inferior courts for small causes; but no proper police subsisted for regulating matters between the planters and Indians, who appeared so tractable that the English admitted them into their houses, and they thus became masters of the mystery of fire-arms, the *knowledge of which ought to have been carefully concealed from them.* One of the favourites of their chief had been executed by the English, for murdering a colonist; and his death hastened the execution of the scheme for massacring the English. The planters having recovered from that massacre, destroyed all the natives who fell into their hands, and drove the rest into the woods. Even the authority of the government could not stop their revenge; so that, after the governor, by promising the Indians peace and pardon, had prevailed upon them to return to the cultivation of their lands, the English massacred them, and drove the poor natives from all the cultivated parts of Virginia. New measures were then pursued for the benefit of the colony, and the natives were reinstated in their possessions. But the tyrannical disposition of the English settlers still continuing, the Indians formed another conspiracy, and massacred all they could meet with. Charles the First dissolved the old company, and

remodelled the constitution of the colony; when disputes between the governor and the colonists encouraged Opecana, a man of uncommon abilities, to meditate a fresh war. Having complained of many encroachments upon his lands, contrary to public faith, without the least regard being paid to his remonstrances he ordered his subjects to attack the out-settlements, where they killed near 500 English, while he himself cut off those settled near his capital. The governor surprised him, and proposed to send him to England; but a brutal Englishman wounded him mortally in the back. Though at that time so far advanced in years that he was unable to move without difficulty, yet he behaved with a magnanimity worthy of the greatest heroes of antiquity. Understanding, by means of a servant, that he was exposed to the diversion of the populace, he said to the governor, 'Had it been my fortune to have taken thee prisoner, I would not have exposed thee to the insults of the rabble.'

"The governor improved this incident by making a peace with the Indians, who could find none to supply the place of their deceased chief; but there is reason to believe that the colonists did not make a very warrantable use of their advantages."*

* Wynne's British Empire in America, ii. p. 215. Ed. 1770.

CHAPTER VI.

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH,
JAMES, AND CHARLES THE FIRST ON CIVIL-
IZING THE NATIVES OF NEW FOUND COUN-
TRIES.

UNTIL a much later period than this, the public at large paid little attention to this branch of the subject of colonization, although new countries had attractions enough in other respects. But it is clear that men's minds were divided upon it; and the cruelties exercised upon the natives were far from being universally acceptable, even although the result would be the acquisition of their lands by us. Two individuals, of great but unequal eminence, Lord Bacon, and Sir William Monson, author of the *Naval Tracts*, written in these reigns, exhibit examples of those who held better opinions on the subject than the perpetrators of the atrocities noticed. Lord Bacon's well-known essay may be said to be in effect a satire upon the wretched schemes of colonization, tried by the ornament and victim of the two former of these reigns, Sir Walter Raleigh:—

“I like,” says he, “a plantation in a pure soil,

part in quarrels that in no way concerned them. Two hundred years ago, Sir William Monson, the distinguished sea commander alluded to, proposed that in all such parts, the colonies should be declared neutral, and he founded his proposition on the interests of the natives. "Now let me speak as a Christian," says he, "and with a heart of pity, to see so great and so good a work, as the conversion of souls from infidelity and paganism, should be diverted and destroyed by a vain word of ambition. For hitherto the country is not brought to that perfection, as to produce anything that may make it worthy of fame, or a ground for an ambitious man to work upon. It is a wide, vast, and desolate country, that can afford land sufficient to both the nations, English and French, if content would please them. I would therefore wish and pray with all my heart, that all princes would lend their helping hands in the planting and establishing the Christian religion in all remote and barbarous countries, and with one consent settle a national law within themselves, and have it generally received by agreement, to prohibit violence to any plantation where colonies are seated for the propagation of the Christian faith."*

* Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, iii.—Churchill's Voyages, p. 413.

Sir William Monson planned expeditions to Timbuctoo; proposing for that object to bring a considerable number of negroes to be educated in England, and then to send them into the interior of Africa. The English parties that should accompany these men on their return were to "win the people by civility, and by consent obtain places to inhabit and fortify." But these were the theories of a good man, who produced no more effect in the public policy by them, than he did in his equally admirable claims of *justice* for the persecuted Irish "savages" of his day. The settlements then actually formed in America were exceedingly little influenced by such good views. They were consequently exposed to great misfortunes, as distinctly traceable to the injustice with which the natives were treated, as that injustice may again be traced to the unequal sentiments as to their rights, which even such a man as Raleigh, bred up in the bad school of Irish conquests, could entertain. And whilst Sir Thomas More's Utopia, Lord Bacon's New Atlantis, and other works of imagination, turned the recently found countries to a purpose more brilliant than immediately useful, the public probably sided with Shakspeare, who borrowed fables from the voyages of the circumnavigators of his time, and peopled the lands they had discovered with Calibans and Sycoraxes, destined to be our slaves.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW ENGLAND.—PROFESSIONS.—INADEQUATE EFFECTS, AND LAWS FOR THE PROTECTION AND IMPROVEMENT OF INDIANS.—RESULTS.—APPEAL OF 1644 TO THE PARLIAMENT.—JOHN ELIOT.—1620 TO 1690.

THE settlement of North America was soon revived after these disasters; but still under many disadvantages, in consequence of the same neglect as before of proper means to protect and improve the natives. The New England case will be enough to illustrate this position. A document, preserved in Thurloe's papers, states the pecuniary cost to us of all the plantations formed at one million sterling. To this must be added the loss of at least 6000 English lives, with many more of the Indians, and all their poor possessions and land.

In the "brief relation of the discovery and plantation of New England," by the President and Council of the undertaking of 1620, an appeal to "the pious, the ambitious, and the industrious," to aid them in their work, is founded on the belief

that "the honour of God, the king, and the nation would be advanced without effusion of Christian blood, or question of wrong to the present inhabitants." Those inhabitants, it is affirmed, desired the settlement to be made, and the projectors intended not to take aught but what those inhabitants wished, both for defence of them against their enemies, their preservation in peace among themselves, and propagation of the Christian faith, which, with wonderful alacrity, many of them seemed to give ear unto. And it was *intended* to be as careful "for their conversion as for the happiness of the settlement; and as diligent to build them houses, and provide them tutors for the bringing up of their children, of both sexes, as to advance its business."

None yet professed the opinion,—rightly called at a later period by an able American statesman, General Knox, *more convenient than just*,—that the Aborigines were incapable of becoming civilized; and predestined to give place to Christians. On the contrary, a powerful party now even maintained that Christians were not justified in taking possession of their country. In reply to this party, it was pleaded on behalf of the colonists, that the discovery of America was a miracle by which God, —after punishing the Atheism and Idolatry of the heathen and brutish nations, by the conquerors'

cruelty, and after acquainting them with civility, by mixture of some other people,—meant to cause the Gospel to shine unto them.”* The founders of colonies at this period, insisted that the natives were “tractable if not abused,” and anticipated confidently their conversion; those founders said triumphantly that they would “bless the time” when the Christians came among them. The device on the seal of the Massachusetts colony was an Indian with a label in his mouth, containing the words “*Come over and help us.*” (Life of John Eliot, by Jared Sparks, p. 37.)

In fact, the intercourse generally began satisfactorily; and at first the English were content to bear “the *intrusions* of the Indians, that they might see and take knowledge of their labouring orders, and diligence both for this life and a better.” Equality of rights was advocated, however feeble the means to guarantee it. Even social equality had been admitted by marriage with Indian women; and the Colonial Governments made some good laws† for securing justice to the Indians,—nor were a few able ministers of religion wanting to aid the realization of what this setting out promised.

* The Planter's Plea. London, 1630, p. 15.

† Holmes, Annals, i. p. 236.

The trade with the natives was thus kept exclusively for the Company's benefit.* But care was to be taken to permit no injury "in the least kind" to be done to them; and they were to be allowed to come to the settlement only at fixed times and places. If any of the savages pretended right to any of the lands, they were to be paid *to avoid the least scruple of intrusion!*"† The public surgeon also was to attend sick Indians.‡ A grant of land, by Indians to colonists, at this time seems always to have contained extensive reservations for hunting, and other purposes, for themselves.§ A prohibition was issued by the king at this period against supplying the Indians with arms."¶

In 1633, Charles the First gave a commission to discover unknown lands in North America, and to take possession thereof for the Crown,—to enter alliance with the inhabitants, and to receive them into the king's allegiance, *if willing to submit*. If the natives resisted by force, authority was given to take them, and use them as enemies; and, *necessity requiring*, to kill them, or save them, at the pleasure of the discoverers.¶ In the commis-

* Hazard's State Papers, 259.

† Ibid., 263.

‡ Ibid., 266.

§ Ibid., 271.

¶ Ibid., 311.

¶ Ibid., 340.

sion of 1634 to Archbishop Laud and others, to form a colonial office, the propagation of the Gospel, in vacant or heathen lands, is distinctly averred to be one of the main motives for founding colonies.*

The delicate question of receiving tribes into confederacy and allegiance to England was considered practically. Upon a case of this kind arising, the New England government remarks, "when we received two nations into our jurisdiction, the court considered how offensive it would be to the management, and likely to engage us in a war with them; yet the thing being lawful and expedient, and giving hope of converting some, the court would not let slip such advantages for fear of doubtful dangers.† But, it is added, in reference to taking one side *against* another in a parallel case, that the beaten rule of equity is, *qui aliquid statuit parte inauditâ alterâ*, &c.; and a warm remonstrance was issued against condemning a party, without asking why the thing charged as a fault was done.

The real character of the local governments of America at this period in regard to the Indians may be collected from the same document. Any

* Hazard's State Papers, p. 344; and Pownall on Colonies, Appendix.

† Ibid., p. 514.

three magistrates were authorized to commission a master to right himself upon the Indians for his fugitive servant, and, by a like authority, the Indians were disarmed and imprisoned upon suspicion of an insurrection; laws conceived, it is said, to be full of danger, and tending to excite an Indian war, and proved by experience to be troublesome and expensive; yet these local laws were not disallowed by the higher authorities.*

Other local laws were made prohibiting slavery, but with the startling exception of "lawful captives, taken in just wars;" an exception that would furnish a singular motive to any war on the Indians. In fact, it is a popular error to suppose the Indians were not made slaves of. It was common to a late period.

The general law was not, however, a dead letter; for, in 1645, a negro "fraudulently brought from Guinea," was claimed under it by the government, to be sent home.‡

A law was made in 1633, prohibiting the purchase of lands from the Indians without licence from the government.§

* Hazard's State Papers, p. 509.

† Holmes' Annals, i. p. 262.

‡ Ibid., p. 277,

§ Ibid., p. 222.

But the insufficiency of the means adopted for effecting the professions in favour of the Indians was soon apparent in numerous disorders of the gravest character; and the impression of their insufficiency led to a remarkable effort in England to correct the errors causing so much evil. In 1644, a private clergyman of Northamptonshire, Mr. Castell, supported by the signatures of more than ninety Puritan ministers, accordingly presented to the Parliament the following comprehensive petition, which laid the foundation of ALL the *Protestant* missions since established.

The petitioner insisted on the great neglect of this kingdom in not propagating "the glorious gospel in America." "The undertaking," said he, "is in general acknowledged pious, but the small prosecution of it having never yet been undertaken in pity to men's souls, but in hopes to possess the land of the infidels, or of gain by commerce, may well make this and all other Christian kingdoms confess they have been exceeding remiss.

"May it, therefore, please your wisdom to give your petitioners leave to propose briefly the necessity and benefit of the work, together with the ease of effecting it.

"What those blind and spiritual-distressed Americans are, we were, and so had continued,

had not apostolical men afforded greater charity to us, *Divisis orbe Britannis*, than as yet hath been shewed by us unto them.

“The Spaniard boasteth much of what he hath done in this kind, but then our authors report their monstrous cruelties to be such, as they caused the infidels to detest the name of Christian.

“And, although some of the reformed religions have already taken up their habitations in those parts, yet hath their going thither as yet been to small purposes, either for that there are but few natives, as in New England, or else for want of able ministers as in Virginia: the planters are more likely to turn heathens, than to turn others to the Christian faith. Besides, for some years past, they have been hindered in England.

“But this is evident, the proud Spaniard will spare them no longer; and they may, if they will, easily enough destroy all our other plantations, as they did of late those of St. Christopher’s. And there is no way more likely to secure England than to have a strong navy there. Hereby we may come to share, if we utterly defeat him of that vast Indian treasure, whereunto he setteth so great a part of the Christian world on fire.

“As for money, it is in the power of this honorable house to give sufficient, without any grievance

of the commonwealth, who in general will think nothing grievous which shall be expedient to such a pious and charitable work.”*

The impulse given by this petition led to the mission of the Rev. John Eliot, of Cambridge, commonly called “the Apostle of the Indians.” His career and character may be taken for types of the best views held as to the treatment of the natives of new countries, between the death of Raleigh and the year 1690, when he himself died, aged 86. From his arrival in America, in 1631, to his first Indian mission in 1646, he had frequent intercourse with the natives, who were desirous, as he declares, of adopting English customs. They expressed to him their belief that, in forty years, many of their people would be all one with the English; and that in a hundred years they would all be so. They hoped to coalesce with the white man, instead of vanishing before him. Eliot was much affected by this declaration. He endeavoured to make them understand that the causes of the superiority of the English were their possession of the knowledge of the true God, and their skilful industry in the mechanical arts, and in providing for themselves the comforts of life by regular labour. Finding their interest excited, he said he would instruct them, with their wives and

* Hazard's State Papers, i. 527.

children; a promise which they received with much joy.* This good man kept his word; and his great success proved the important point, that the Indians were capable of civilization.

A new class of events arose during this period. Colonization had completely taken the place of discovery, and great attempts were made by the government and by private individuals, to protect the aborigines, to civilize, and to convert them to Christianity. Some improvement was made in colonization plans. For example, the articles made in 1647, for the plantation of Eleutheria, formerly and since called Bahama, provided that no inhabitant of the plantations should, in their converse with any of the natives, offer them any wrong, violence, or incivility whatever: and the company, being informed that some Indians were sold at the Caribbee Islands, agreed to redeem, instruct, and return them to their homes.† But they still did not take sufficient means to meet the difficulties of the case, consisting in the difference of manners, in the prejudices of the times, and in the sure preferencè which the mass

* Life of John Eliot, vol. v. p. 9.—Sparke's American Biography, p. 47, citing Eliot's Clear Sunshine.

† Tracts relating to America, in the British Museum, No. 13.

of the colonists would soon give to their own immediate interests.

In 1649 an ordinance of parliament was passed, reciting that "many of the Indians, of barbarous, were become civil;" and establishing a corporation, empowered to encourage fit instruments for the missionary work, and provide schools for the children of the natives.* But the fundamental error in this scheme was, that funds were not provided by the government for the proposed operations, as Mr. Castell had suggested. Voluntary subscriptions were depended upon for raising them; and as great *opposition* was made to the whole plan, little money was subscribed.

Eliot, Mayhew, and their friends, however, persevered, and formed numerous well-ordered, civilized towns of Indians in New England; for it was a saying of Eliot, *the Indians must be civilized as well as, if not in order to, their being Christianized.*† But they committed a fundamental error, which went far to paralyze all their efforts; and, added to other causes, that error was sure to lead to failure, although their successes were great and unquestionable, to a certain point.

* Hazard's State Papers, p. 636.

† Drake's Book of the Indians. Boston, 7th Edit. 1837, p. 113.

It consisted in the whole plan of the Indian civilized communities being framed on the new principle of keeping them *separate* from the white people.— In addition to this, the English judges, appointed to determine appeals which the Indians readily brought from their own courts in difficult cases, never learned properly the Indian language. Again the religious prejudice of the time prompted the white members of the New England congregations virtually to refuse acknowledging the converted Indians as part of the Church. Again the Indians were much molested by the colonists, without the means of relief; and they suffered greatly from the encroachments of the English, and "*other painful circumstances;*" as contemporary accounts significantly express it.

Another great error was, that no proper means were taken to preserve to the chiefs and other men, such as the priests, not only their superiority over their people, but an elevated station in their communication with white men. This is difficult to arrange; but it might be effected by associating some of them in all the public business of the settlements.

Trade with the Indians was now carried on by licence, except when they brought beaver or deer to the plantations, when they might be bought freely. By a New England law of 1654, selling

spirits to an Indian was punishable, for the first offence, by forfeiture of double the value of the goods obtained; of fourfold the value for the second offence; and of the privilege of trading, for the third.* The licensed traders used, also, to settle among the Indians, at a distance from the town; and bought, privately, large tracts of land from the tribes.

It is plain that, under these circumstances, the efforts of the friends of the Indians in the middle of the seventeenth century must fail. The partial and temporary success of those efforts produced decidedly good effects; and the existence, to this day, of a considerable number of civilized Indians near Boston may be attributed to them. The Indian Corporation of 1649 led to the foundation of another in 1661, under the presidency of the Honorable Robert Boyle, who was the friend and correspondent of Eliot, from an early period till his death; and Lord Clarendon took an active interest in the prosperity of this society, which Charles the Second endowed with a fixed revenue.†

* Hazard's State Papers, i. 586.

† Life of John Eliot, in the 5th vol. of Sparke's American Biography, p. 136.

CHAPTER VIII.

LABOURS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, OR QUAKERS.—RESULTS.—ROBERT BARCLAY IN NEW JERSEY.—GEORGE FOX IN BARBADOES.—INDIANS' TITLE TO LAND.—PURCHASE OF LAND.—WILLIAM PENN'S PLANS.—DEFECTS.—EVIDENCE WITHOUT OATH.—ASSOCIATION TO ABOLISH SLAVERY.—ASSOCIATION TO KEEP PEACE WITH THE INDIANS.—ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE; AND EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.

THE Friends, or Quakers, have been completely successful in conciliating the wildest savages, but they have failed to civilize them. Pennsylvania was not the first scene of their just and considerate dealing with the Indians, nor Penn the first of the society to take a leading part in treating them well; Robert Barclay and others did so, in New Jersey; but Penn was among them, or he was a party to their counsels, which were remarkable in this matter; and after they had obtained much success in that colony, he carried them farther, although not far enough in his own colony of Pennsylvania.

Nor ought it ever to be forgotten that when George Fox was in Barbadoes, he advocated, warmly, the rights of the negroes.

The acts of the society of Friends in regard to the coloured tribes, are, indeed, generally appreciated correctly. But some important proceedings of that body are still indistinctly known. Penn's famous act of purchase of lands from the Indians, greatly praiseworthy as it was, was neither the first of the kind done by Europeans, nor in itself free from serious objections; and it will not lessen this eminent person's real worth to attribute to others a fair portion of the credit incorrectly given to him; whilst it is important to account for his failure in civilizing the Indians, by shewing, candidly, the defects of his plans.

In New Jersey, before the society of Friends settled there, and several years before Pennsylvania was founded, a title *by purchase from the Indians* had been set up formally against one by grant from home; and after some of the Quakers, then associated with Penn, bought land in that colony after they had raised against the claims of the Duke of York distinct questions upon the Indians' prior rights. "Under favour," said they, "we buy nothing of the Duke. The soil is none of his; 'tis the natives', by the law of nations, and it would be an ill argument to convert them to

Christianity, to expel, instead of purchasing, them out of those countries."*

During a considerable time, in spite of the absence of good laws and a good system, the general kindness of the people of New Jersey permitted many Indians to advance considerably in civilization. The example of the chief—Weegneelah, shews what might have been made of them. He lived with a taste much above the common rank, says the provincial historian, having an extensive farm, cattle, horses, and negroes, and raised large crops of wheat, and was so far English in his furniture, as to have a house well provided with feather beds, calico curtains, and the like. He frequently dined with the Governors, and behaved well. But his neighbour colonist having purchased land of other Indians, to which he laid claim, and the purchaser refusing to take his release, he threatened to shoot him, and did so.† For this murder he was executed. Now it is impossible not to perceive that this wild justice of revenge was sought solely because no way of ordinary justice was provided for the complainant. The case was long a grievance to the

* Graham's History of America, p. 285; citing S. Smith's History of New Jersey for the original documents.

† S. Smith's New Jersey, p. 441.

Indians, and it helped to bring on the troubles of 1756, which at the late date of 1757, or nearly one hundred years after the colony was founded, led to some laws for doing the poor people justice. The story of this tardy attempt, with its attendant laws and treaties and speeches, is told by the historians, which prove the utter absence of all real sympathy for their wrongs, although the writer was obviously an ordinarily humane man.* The society of Friends had so large a share in the settlement, the lands, and government of New Jersey, that it is impossible to acquit them of a dereliction of duty in not having made more opposition to the course which produced these results. In New Jersey, as well as in Pennsylvania, considerate personal treatment by the Friends greatly conciliated the Indians to a late period; but it is certain that neither Barclay nor Penn formed a due estimate of what was wanted to be done to protect and elevate that race;—and by their mode of settling the proprietorship of the country, an exclusive interest was soon raised in white people, quite inconsistent with the promised reserves for the Indians, and never balanced by any rights duly defined, nor well secured in their favour. What Penn stipulated in his treaty was, however, dis-

* S. Smith's New Jersey, p. 441 to 484.

tinently explained and openly recorded; and he soon learned the native language, himself, pursuing a very different course from a subsequent governor, who was unwilling to let the Indians even have a clerk to note a treaty. In these respects his example can never be too much studied; but he neglected the essential guarantees for ensuring them justice, so as completely frustrated his excellent intentions. In his statute there is no trace of a law dispensing with *oaths*, which no Indian, not converted, ever could take; and, without abolishing which, justice could not be done in Indians' cases. On this point it is remarkable that in 1710, it is an objection of the General Assembly of New Jersey, that the admission of the declarations of the Friends depended on the caprice of the judges. So that "it was in the power of ill men to come into their assemblies and murder as many as they pleased with impunity, though looked on by hundreds of Quakers; or break open their houses and rob with safety;" and it is alleged that "the encouragement the gentlemen of the councils had given the meanest of the people, to abuse them, confirmed the assembly in the opinion that there wanted not those who had will enough to perpetrate the greatest mischief on that people, when they would

escape the punishment due to their crimes.”* This reasoning applies, word for word, to the Indians. Yet it does not appear that any effort was made to change the law in their favour.

Indeed, it was not until more than thirty years after this colony was founded, the 11th of Anne, that an act was passed in Pennsylvania, relieving from the necessity of taking oaths “all who, for conscience’ sake,” could not take them—an act that, probably, did not apply to Indians; and we know that wherever English law prevails, people in their situation are generally shut out of courts of justice. How this rule affects the natives of North America to this very day, may be inferred from the base use lately made of it, when, to induce the Indians of Florida to *remove* to the country beyond the Mississippi, the *agent* of the United States “made them a long and eloquent harangue, setting forth the dangers that surrounded them if they were subjected to the laws of the *pale faces*, where a red man’s word would not be taken, and where the whites might make false charges against them, and deprive them of their negroes, horses, lands, &c.† by means of the law.”

* S. Smith’s *New Jersey*, p. 393.

† *Book of the Indians*, by Drake, an American writer. 7th Edit. Book iv. p. 72 Boston, 1837.

After the conquest of New York, by Charles the Second, in 1664, the Indians desired there should be an absolute prohibition of selling strong liquor to them, as it led to quarrels and murders; and measures were taken to adopt the suggestion.* Purchases of land from the Indians was now the regular practice;† but the price was almost nominal; and to the prohibition of the sale of strong liquor was added that of any “powder or shot.”‡ Neither on the foundation of this colony, nor down to the year 1703, at which time complete instructions were issued by Queen Anne, is there a trace of an improved system, or of any besides the acquisition of Indian lands, and the conduct of Indian wars,§ although the “people called Quakers, were in places of the most considerable trust in the province.”||

That a price was commonly given for Indian lands, long before William Penn’s time, is well established; and he states, in his letter of 1683, p. 6, that some of the chiefs gave him tracts without any payment. It has, however, been shown that he made his acquisition with unex-

* Smith’s New Jersey, p. 52.

† Ibid., p. 63. A. D. 1669 and 1677.

‡ Ibid., p. 71, 1671 et passim.

§ Ibid., p. 230.

|| Ibid., p. 392.

amplified liberality;* and there is no doubt of his having done much towards fulfilling the *condition* of the grant from the House to him, which was "to reduce the savage nations by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion." The Indians were at first content with what Penn did; but he should not himself have been content to stop there; and it is clear that the true price of the principality obtained from the Indians, namely, their civilization—could not be paid by the means he took. He secured peace by bountiful *present* liberality, and by considerate kindness and simplicity of personal treatment.—But his scheme halted there. It does not contain a trace of intention to make the chiefs capable of acting with the colonists in the government; and the well-meant plan of arbitrators of half whites and half Indians to settle disputes could only serve, as it soon turned out, where the parties were satisfied with an arbitration. To have been effectual, such a stipulation should have been confirmed by a law, which Penn seems to have endeavoured to obtain. In his own time, it was found that the ordinary classes of colonists disregarded his example and injunctions, and

* Statement of Dr. Hodgkin, to the Aborigines Committee of 1837, p. 113.

excited bitter discontent among the natives, by their unredressed frauds and oppressions; but when he failed in a wise attempt to pass a law in the province for the protection of the Indians, it does not appear to have occurred to him that the home government ought to have been appealed to for aid. Disposed himself to be their best protection, he did not think of the greater utility of an office of that character, into which his principles might have been perpetually instilled.

In his settlement of the lands purchased, and in which the Indians had various reserved rights, no provision was made for giving them a share of the increased value, as is now begun to be arranged.* This defect occurred when in Penn's own time the increase was often tenfold, even among the colonists; so that their motives for ousting the Indians increased every day; and money wanted for many objects indispensable to the latter, could only be got from the precarious source of liberality. At the same time, that it was an understanding that what the Indians might want on the soil would be at their service, both races being to dwell there in common, no system was planned, by which that desirable object could be brought about.

It was not until 1696, fifteen years after the colony was founded, that Penn proposed a Bill

* In the South Australian plan.

for regulating Negroes in their morals and marriages, and one for preventing abuses upon the Indians—a delay only not so unpardonable as the perverseness of the House of Assembly, which threw out both, passing only a third for punishing Negroes.* His excursions into the country, to hold frequent conferences with the Indians, and his hospitable reception of them at his own house, were more useful than his legislation.

Although, too, he provided for schools, and *schools of industry* also, for the colonists, no such provision appears to have been thought of for the young Indian; and certainly not on the scale indispensable to ensure the proper result.

Whilst, then, it is not surprising that the uniformly kind conduct of Penn, personally, to the Indians, should have gained for him imperishable fame, it would be a fatal error to be content with what he did, unless the whole world could be induced to adopt at once the principles of his society. Greatly to its honour, long after the death of Penn, his liberal and considerate views prevailed so extensively among the Friends, that in the dissensions and wars of the colonists with the tribes, they were separated by the Indians in a rare degree from other whites whom usually the

* Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, ii. p. 225.

savage is prone, in his moments of blind vengeance, to confound in one undistinguished body.

From the year 1671, when Fox, following up the principles of the Eleutheria constitution already cited, prevailed upon some planters in Barbadoes to liberate their slaves, and from the year 1684, when the first anti-slavery association* was formed in Philadelphia, the struggle of the Friends has been unceasing for the abolition of slavery, a mighty branch of the aborigines' question. That branch is now alluded to only, inasmuch as it needs little additional discussion in *comparison* with the generally neglected claims of the free coloured tribes. In regard to them, Pennsylvania passed a law in 1712, prohibiting their being introduced from the other colonies as slaves, the Pennsylvanian Indians *having expressed discontent at seeing their countrymen in bondage*. This is unquestionably a double proof of the moral superiority of Penn's colony in regard to the Indians.

It is established, that, notwithstanding all the defects in his scheme for their protection, enough

* This association is omitted in the valuable catalogue of "the Advocates of Slaves," in Esther Copley's late work, pp. 169-206; and in most of the books on the subject. It is mentioned in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Philadelphia, vol. ii. p. 365.

was accomplished in their favour by his good principles to preserve peace in Pennsylvania many years. At length, when Indian troubles threatened the colony, after the Friends formed a minority of the population, incidents took place on this subject, which have been less noticed than their importance deserves.

We have seen that, at an early period, a distinguished naval officer, Sir William Monson, proposed that the governments of Europe should declare neutrality for the Indians in their wars. So far from adopting that just principle, it would be difficult to find terms of reproach too strong to characterize the perseverance with which bad arts were long employed, on all sides, to excite them to take part in those wars. Towards the year 1755, this system had reached a dangerous perfection on both the French side and our own; and although elsewhere we were superior, in the west of Pennsylvania our enemies were likely, to have overpowered our influence with the tribes. The defects of public justice and unredressed private wrongs had alienated them; and in 1754, a war of revenge and extermination was on the eve of breaking out when the Friends interfered in a manner that requires special notice, as it has been passed by in total silence by the best historians.*

* For example, Grahame, and the Rev. Howard Hinton.

Wrongs had been inflicted on the Indians by the colonists in Penn's own time,* and he found it impossible with his scheme of government to prevent it. In 1707, he recalled one of his governors for misconduct towards them; the barbarous murder of an Indian, however, went unpunished some time afterwards.† Both natives and Quakers early called for the prohibition of spirituous liquors, although the sale was continued in spite of a law. For many years to 1754, encroachments were made on the natives' lands unceasingly in all forms from ungenerous persuasion for their sale, to the grossest frauds: and all this time the Friends made many efforts, but in vain, to protect them. In that year, the Indians were roused to vengeance; and the governor prepared to repel them without sufficient explanation. The Friends interfered, urging, "that before the resolution of declaring war should be carried into execution, some further attempts should be made by pacific measures to reduce the Indians to a sense of duty; and that such enquiry should be made whether some apprehensions these Indians had conceived of a deviation from the integrity so conspicuous in the first establishment of Pennsylvania, might not unhappily have contributed in

* Anniversary Discourse of Roberts Vaux. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1827, p. 16.

† Ibid., p. 24.

some degree to the alteration of their conduct." This address was accompanied by an offer of money to meet the expense of what was proposed. The step produced good effects, and it was followed up by the formation of "The friendly association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians, by peaceful measures;" a deputation of which attended at a meeting with the Indians, although this was displeasing to the governor. The result is too important to be abridged.

"Several days," says Mr. Vaux, "were spent in preliminary discussions, and at length, King Teedyuscung, in a speech of much energy, ability, and fearlessness, portrayed the history of their wrongs, and demanded retribution at the hands of the governor. This unlooked-for recital and requisition alarmed some of the proprietary agents, and an effort was made to prevent any further elucidation of the subject, which, however, the intrepid and indignant chief at first resisted. The introduction of ardent spirits—the voracious appetite for their hunting grounds—the evil conduct of the traders, and particularly the famous *walking purchase*, as it was called, were the prominent topics of the king's discourse; and these matters were brought home with such precision and effect, as to forbid denial or justification on the

part of those who were implicated. At a subsequent session of the council, the Indians were convinced that, for want of certain deeds and other writings, which were in Philadelphia, a full understanding could not be had of some of the points in question, and they consented to refer the subject to a future time, requesting their friends of the association to examine the public records on their behalf, to satisfy themselves of the truth of the assertions their chief had made. The treaty was closed after the customary presentation of gifts; and I quote from the manuscript notes of one of the most efficient individuals of the association, who was there, an interesting anecdote, which furnishes the strongest evidence of the nature of the relations which subsisted between the deputation and the natives. 'Teedyuscung and most of his people came to the ferry to take leave of us. The king remarked to two of our company,* that what had been said to him a few days before went to his heart, and brought tears into his eyes: that he now found his heart affected in the same manner, (his speaking was interrupted by much emotion,) when he added that, in the course of this business, he had endeavoured to look up to God for direction; that when he was alone in the woods and destitute of any other counsellor, he found, by

Israel Pemberton and Isaac Zane.

doing so, he had the best direction ; that he hoped God would bless our endeavours, and desired to be remembered by us when we were far from him. He followed us to the boat, and was so much affected, he could only by tears express his gratitude and respect, which, as it appeared to be the effect of a divine visitation to a savage barbarian, was a humbling scene, and excited reverent and thankful sentiments in the minds of those who observed it.'

“From the purest motives, the association continued devoted to the cause it had espoused; and on many subsequent occasions, by furnishing liberal funds, enabled the assembly to hold treaties and make presents to the Indians, which could not otherwise have been done, owing to the exhausted state of the provincial treasury. At every conference with the natives, some of its members were appointed to attend; and on many occasions, great fatigue, exposure, and privation were endured, by travelling to remote points in a desert country, to fulfil those arduous duties. The sole purpose of all these labours was the peace of the province, and the association knew that this great result could only be speedily and certainly attained, by satisfying the just demands of the Indians in paying them for their land. They well knew that this was the corner-stone upon which Penn and their

ancestors laid their claim to the regard of the natives. In a letter to Governor Denny in 1757, they emphatically say, 'This province was settled on terms very different from most of the other colonies: the first adventurers were men of substance and reputation, who purchased the land of the proprietary; and as he obliged himself and his heirs, by an express covenant contained in their original deeds, to clear the land from all titles, claims, and demands of the Indians, they agreed to pay an annual quit-rent, more than sufficient to enable him to satisfy the natives, and obtain a peaceable possession of the soil. During the lives of our first proprietary, and the first settlers, we believe this was faithfully performed; and so large a balance remained towards making further purchases as the settlement of the country increased, that any attempt to elude the original intention and agreement of fairly purchasing the land of the people who had a native right to it, will ever be condemned by all impartial and honest men.'

"Such were the wholesome truths which those honorable politicians marshalled before the highest authority of the province—they asked for no more than common justice for the poor Indians, and they had a right to see this measure of justice administered, for the reasons assigned in their address to the governor. But these were unpa-

latable doctrines for the proprietaries, who, through their agents here, were by this time made acquainted with the ground which was taken by the association to sustain the claims of the natives, regain their friendship, and vindicate themselves. The case here was too palpable to be denied, or availingly opposed. But the proprietaries who were in England managed to bring the authority of the British government to crush if possible these advocates of the just rights of the Indians, as we shall presently see. A treaty being about to be held, a committee of the association in its uniformly respectful manner waited upon the governor with an offer of its funds, and also to acquaint him that a deputation would attend as on previous occasions, if it met his approbation. To which Governor Denny replied, that expecting they would call, he had prepared a written communication, which he presented to them as follows:—

“GENTLEMEN,

“The proprietaries have acquainted me that the Earl of Halifax has communicated to them with very strong expressions of dissatisfaction, that a treaty was held with the Indians at Philadelphia and the people called Quakers, which his lordship was pleased to think was the most extraordinary procedure he had ever seen in persons who are on the same footing only with all others of the king's

private subjects, to presume to treat with foreign princes. And further, that as the suffering any one part of the king's subjects, whether of a different profession of religion, or however else distinguished, to treat or act as mediators between a province in which they live and any independent people, is the highest invasion of his majesty's prerogative royal, and of the worse consequence, as it must tend to divide the king's subjects into different parties and interests; and by how much more these, or any other body of people are suffered to attach the Indians to their own particular interest, by so much the less must their regard to people of other professions be. The proprietaries have therefore directed me not to suffer those people, or any other body or particular society in Pennsylvania, to concern themselves in any treaty with the Indians, or on any pretence to suffer presents from such persons to be given to the Indians, or to be joined with the public presents at any such treaty. These directions I shall conform to; and my regard to you, as well as the proprietaries' instructions, lead me to observe, it would be prudent in you to decline going in a body—your attendance at treaties, as a distinct society, having given great offence *to the ministry.*'

“If proof had before been wanting to convince any reasonable man of the ungenerous dispositions

of the proprietaries and their agents toward the Indians, or of their determination to prevent the dispensation of equity and justice, even at the risk of savage warfare and desolation, to the exposed inhabitants of the province, this extraordinary measure could not fail to put the matter at rest for ever!

“Can it be believed, that, without the direct interposition to which I have alluded, the British ministry could have been induced to make so formidable an attack upon a few ancient and pacific men, in a remote colony, whose only aims were the promotion of the welfare of its people? Certainly, if the proprietaries had not meddled in this affair, his majesty and his ministers never could have dreamed of an invasion of the royal prerogative, and all the other frightful evils complained of; and, however much the fact is to be regretted, I am satisfied that the position originally laid down, in regard to the proprietary feeling concerning the Indians, is fairly and fully established.

“Notwithstanding the manifesto of the Earl of Halifax, the association pursued the even tenor of its way, and continued to employ every effort to achieve its noble designs. The assembly were afterwards repeatedly supplied with money from its treasury, to prosecute negotiations with the Indians, its funds were also applied under its own

direction in furnishing the natives with subsistence and clothing, and some of their young people were instructed under its patronage in the arts of civilized life.

“The association existed for seven years, during which period almost twenty thousand dollars were voluntarily contributed by its members to defray the expenses incurred in the prosecution of its laudable views.”

Shortly before this war, a sect of fanatics in Pennsylvania demanded the extirpation of the Indians, as cursed by heaven; and horrid murders were perpetrated in furtherance of this design. The English soldiers yielded to the delusion; but many of the Quakers *even took arms* to resist these deluded wretches.

William Penn's error in becoming proprietor of this vast Indian country without guarantees for justice being done to the natives, was now glaring. His personal worth no longer ensured their *liberal* treatment. His descendants took his property without acknowledging either his principles or contracts. His peculiar people were powerless; and no courts of law existed in which a wronged Indian could get redress, nor any government which would protect the tribes.

The conduct of the Quakers throughout these affairs exceeded all praise; and the journals of

individuals among them, living at the time on the spot, are models of simple narratives.* Probably our success against Quebec is to be attributed in a great degree to this peace made with the western Indians, who might otherwise have given the French powerful aid by dividing our troops. Unhappily, the same good influence was not allowed to continue; and the most frightful Indian war waged in the old colonies is distinctly traceable to the opposition to the advice and principles of the Friends. This was the Indian war of 1762-3, relative to which also contemporary writers of that society may be consulted with advantage.† It does not appear clearly whether, at this period, the Friends in England supported their trans-Atlantic brethren properly in these struggles to benefit *the Indians*; and the first American war soon put an end to all peaceful communications on the subject. The question of negro-slavery afterwards obtained the fullest sympathy in the whole body, as it had done from the first in a large portion of the Quakers. Their meritorious efforts in this branch of the coloured-race struggle are too

* The Life and Travels of John Churchman. Philadelphia, 1818.

† The works of John Woolman, (the Friend of the Slave. London. 3d Edition. 1775.

well known to require details in this place; and this brief notice of their course may be closed by the expressions of a confident hope that the energy which has effected so much for the slave will now be directed with equal effect to the improvement of the coloured people, generally, connected with all our own colonies. Their brethren in the United States are to this day useful *negociators* with Indians; and the English Friends might exert themselves at this moment as effectually, with the Queen's government in the same cause, by urging the abolition of convict transportation, and by asking for the completion of other measures that affect them.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS FROM 1690 TO 1794.—BOYLE.—THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN NEW ENGLAND.—THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.—BRAINERD.—THE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.—THE MORAVIANS.—THE WESLEYANS AND WESLEY.—THE BAPTISTS.

BOYLE, who died in 1691, was one of the last links which connected the old Puritans and Nonconformists with the government and the Church of England, in good works towards people of colour. He had cooperated, under the Commonwealth, in the proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, founded in 1649; and continued the friend and correspondent of Eliot until his death. After the Restoration, in 1661, he was appointed president of the remodelled society incorporated under that title; and he contributed largely to its permanent income. Besides assisting with perseverance and much success to establish missions, he also spent con-

siderable sums of money in promoting the printing of religious books in eastern languages. The New England Society exists still; its funds having in a great measure been diverted, after the first American war, to the purpose of converting the negroes in the West Indies. This occurred in 1794, upon a plan originally suggested by Bishop Porteus.

In 1701 was formed a new "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which has been singularly unsuccessful in its efforts to civilize and convert the Indians. Its history is best collected from a series of anniversary sermons, preached by the ablest members of the Established Church; as will be admitted, when it is stated that among them have been Kennett, Berkeley, Warburton, Lowth, and Douglas.

This powerful society might have checked many evils; but, instead of pressing in a proper manner for the reform of abuses, in conjunction with other friends of the coloured people, it fostered, in a most unfortunate way, the adverse feelings entertained in the Church against all denominations of Dissenters, in whose ranks the successful missionaries were to be met with. Although it was founded through the good impulse of Eliot's marked *success* among the Indians in the middle of the seventeenth century, so that failure could not reasonably be attributed by it to Indian inca-

capacity, it gradually yielded to the obstacles thrown by colonial cupidity and by misgovernment in the way of the improvement of the coloured people; and, in excusing its own want of success, generally disregarded the real causes of failure.

Dean Kennett, in the Anniversary Sermon of 1712, summed up the "impediments" to their success among the Indians in a masterly manner, and traced them correctly, as Las Casas had done in a similar case, two hundred years before, "to the spirit of conquest,—to fraud, injustice, and oppression,—to force and cruelty, used for compelling them to be converts,—and, lastly, to example." Nevertheless, with this declaration on their records, and with the truth of it notorious, the society's apologist and historian, Dr. Humphrey, ventured to declare, in 1731, that it was not possible to teach the Indians the Christian religion before they were in some degree civilized; "and they found it impossible to civilize them: 1st, because by no means could they be made to lead a settled life; 2d, to be faithful to their wives; 3d, to have their children taught English; 4th, to abstain from strong spirits."*

If the failure of the illustrious Berkely in his

* History of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by Dr. Humphrey, p. 306, 310.

great plan for improving the coloured race, is rather to be laid to the charge of the ministers of the day than to that of this corporation, unquestionably it did not then support the bishop in a manner becoming the cause or its own peculiar duty. In 1753, Dr. Douglas published severe reproaches against its management; and, quoting an attack made by the Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1747, upon the Portuguese missionaries for abuse of their power and neglect of their duty, he applies it specifically to this society,* whose subsequent conduct as to the Indians amply justifies Dr. Douglas' proposed reforms.†

Where it took wise measures, too, the result was good. In Rhode Island, the Indians improved in civilization, and *increased in numbers*, when favoured by its support, whilst they were decreasing elsewhere;‡ and after they had promoted the foundation of an establishment for Indians in Connecticut, carried on with marked success under the Rev. Mr. Wheelock, their appeal to the public in 1766, on behalf of an Indian minister, Samson Occum, was well received.§ The sum

* Select Works of Bishop Douglas, p. 127.

† Ibid., p. 138.

‡ History of the British Dominions in North America. 4to. 1773. London, p. 257

§ Ibid., p. 244-6.

of 10,000*l.* was raised on this occasion from England for Indian missions; and 2500*l.* in Scotland.

It was in this year that Bishop Warburton declared, in the anniversary sermon, that the savages of "North America were driven from their kindred woods and marshes, because they differed from their invaders in the mode of cultivating their lands; and were deemed to have noright in anything because they are pagans and barbarians."* He adds what much accounts for the Society's errors being excused by so eminent a man; namely, that he *was but little acquainted with the history of Protestant missions in North America*. Unquestionably more exact knowledge of what had been long doing well on the spot would have tended to rouse influential men at home to have it followed.

"The constant ill success," says Bishop Warburton, "of the glorious undertaking of religious missions hath been long a matter of grief to all good men. Something, therefore, must needs be much amiss to defeat a purpose which grace and nature conspire to advance. If we enquire carefully into it, we shall find this to be, *preaching to savage and brutal men*. The Gospel

* Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. 1776. p. 6.

† Ibid., p. 8.

requires an intellect above that of a savage to apprehend. Nor is it the dishonour of our holy faith, that such men must be first instructed in the *emollient arts of life*. For want of this preparation it hath commonly happened that, when numbers of these savages have been baptized, such converts have never long preserved the Christianity they had been taught.* The bishop then enlarges on the skill of the Jesuits, who, he says, rescued the Indians from the diabolic treatment of the Spaniards and Portuguese,† to civilize them as a step *preparatory*‡ to converting them. This example he holds forth to England, when by the conquest of Canada “our entrance into the heart of the barbarous nations was no longer traversed by the frauds” of our European rivals. He insists that when the savages perceive we can redeem them from the miseries of a brutal life, they will listen to the sublime truths of religion, unless “*the false and inhuman policy of the colonists*” alienate them.§

In 1771, Lowth, bishop of Oxford, said on this subject, “If all attempts have in a great measure failed, it is chiefly to be ascribed to that detestable

* A Sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. 1766. p. 17.

† Ibid., p. 21. ‡ Ibid., p. 19. § Ibid., p. 25.

policy which considers the Gospel as a mere engine of state." He considers the conquest of Canada to have opened a new field; and the society was seeking to occupy it by teaching the *young* in all branches: in agriculture, order, and government; yet not to separate them from their families.* A plan, too, was forming for distant missions, and the Indian languages were to be learned; but the support of government and the public was looked to for the success of this plan. Bishop Lowth was not unaware of the difficulties arising from the resentments of the natives, and their passions aggravated by injuries and inflamed by imported vices;† and his sermon concludes with a general confidence in the progress of discoveries of various kinds, "indicating a general effort, under a superior direction, towards an union or comprehension of the affairs of mankind in one great system."‡

In 1772, the Bishop of St. David's insisted on the good disposition of the Indians, and remonstrated against our neglect of proper means to civilize them;§ holding the appointment of bishops to be indispensable.||

In 1773, Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph, declared

* Sermon, p. 23. † Ibid., p. 25. ‡ Ibid., p. 29.

§ Sermon, p. 23. || Ibid., p. 28.

that the Indians had refused to be instructed; and obstinately rejected the arts of the Europeans, having only adopted the "most beastly of our vices."* He would make civilization precede the Gospel, and does not say one word of the injuries inflicted on the Indians.

In 1783, Bishop Porteus takes notice of the protectors of the Indians in the Spanish colonies; but he chiefly enlarged on the cruelties of negro slavery, of which he was one of the most strenuous opponents; the Indians being then almost given up.

The faults of this society will appear the more striking, when it is considered that, during its long existence of 80 years, other missionaries of all denominations, and some of its own, had produced extensively good effects among the Indians. Nor is this success borne witness to by interested partisans of the missionary cause alone.

From a respectable female writer, remarkably free from enthusiastic views, and who enjoyed the best opportunities of knowing the whole truth, we possess not only a perfect picture of the unhappiness of the Indians during the process of their destruction at the beginning of the last century; but also proofs that they deserved a better fate; and only needed justice on our part to have become our equals, and fellow-citizens. Thirty years ago,

* *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, published the "American Lady," an admirable piece of colonial biography, extending into an historical memoir. Every line of her book relative to the Indians is impartial: but her testimony to the success of really good efforts to convert and civilize them, along with the declaration in regard to the sort of opposition made to their good progress, is a severe reproof to the government, that neglected its solemn duty, and took the side of the most selfish of the colonists. After tracing with great ability many causes of the ruin of the Indians, Mrs. Grant continues the subject in the following words:—"For all these growing evils," says she, "there was only one remedy, which the sagacity of my friend, and her other self* soon discovered; and their humanity as well as principle led them to try all possible means of administering. It was the pure light and genial influence of Christianity alone that could cheer and ameliorate the state of these people, now from a concurrence of circumstances scarcely to be avoided in the nature of things, deprived of the independence habitual to their own way of life, without acquiring in its room any of those comforts which sweeten ours. The narrow policy of many looked coldly on this project. Hunters supplied the means of commerce, and

* Mrs. Schuyler, and Mrs. Schuyler, *the American Lady*:

warriors those of defence; and it was questioned whether a Christian Indian would hunt or fight as well as formerly. This, however, had no power with those in whom Christianity was anything more than a name. There were already many Christian Indians; and not one had ever forsaken the strict profession of their religion, or in a single instance abandoned themselves to the excesses so pernicious to their unconverted brethren. They were at the beginning of the eighteenth century about 200, but the tender care and example of the Schuylers, cooperating with the incessant labours of a judicious and truly apostolic missionary, some years after greatly augmented their numbers in different parts of the continent; and to this day, the memory of David Brainerd, the faithful labourer alluded to, is held in veneration in those districts that were blessed with his ministry."*

Next to the admitted failure of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts in its own work, the most unfortunate circumstance in its history has been its perverse and persevering hostility to those Christian ministers of different denominations who have obtained considerable success when not thwarted by external obstacles. This hostility has been shewn in various ways positively; there is a negative proof of it that is

* *Memoirs of an American Lady.*

curious and complete. There is no fact better established than the precedence of the missionary efforts of the Puritans of 1644, and of John Eliot and his fellow-labourers, to all others; and not only did those efforts precede, but they *caused* the latter proceedings. Boyle, the friend of Eliot and Baxter, and other Puritans, in this particular matter, before the restoration, was president of the corporations formed by Charles the Second in 1661. Now the writer of the history of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, published in 1731, Dr. Humphrey, traces this society to that of the restoration in 1661, and there studiously stops; nor does he say one word of the remarkable success of Eliot, although the failure of his own society at that time is accounted for by assertions as to the character of the Indians which that success refuted.

An attempt will be made in a following chapter to explain how it has happened, that the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts has been destitute of many such men as Eliot and Brainerd. Candidates it has had equally eminent, like Berkeley and Edward Smith. But with the exception of the late Bishop of Quebec, Dr. Stuart, it seems in very few instances to have duly appreciated missionary labours.

Brainerd was supported by a society founded in Scotland in 1709, called the "Scottish Society

for Propagating Christian Knowledge," which has long continued its aid to missions.

The Moravians, or United Brethren, first established missions in North America, in 1732, and in the West Indies, in 1734. They have never relaxed in their efforts to protect the natives, and improve their religious, moral, and civil condition. It is an error to attribute to them a preference of instruction in the arts of civilized life, over religious services. They have been always remarkable, however, for the mildness with which they have defended their disciples against oppression, studiously avoiding collision with the political authorities. This has led various writers to make contrasts, to the disadvantage of more energetic missionaries, between them, as religious teachers, and the Moravians, who are often said to be *wisely* habituated to civilize their people, as a *preparatory* step to converting them. Not only, however, do the Moravians generally repudiate this, but there is a remarkable passage in Crantz's account of their progress in Greenland, which proves that they are as decidedly teachers of religion as other missionaries are, whom assailants allege to be visionary enthusiasts.

An oppressed people would readily appreciate the doctrine, as it is expressed in Crantz, of "a benign and compassionate Saviour freely offering

the unspeakable riches of his salvation to their distressed souls," which the Moravians preached *expressly*, and after Brainerd's example; and the only distinction they made was between speculative doctrines, puzzling to the understanding, which they avoid discussing, and those calculated to touch the heart, which they studiously lay before their native hearers;* so little do they profess what is often attributed to them.

In North America, the Moravians have had extensive success, in defiance of wars and obstacles of every kind; and to them may be attributed much of the extraordinary progress made by the Cherokees, and other tribes, in civilization. Had their appeals been listened to, as well as those of the society of Friends, mentioned in the last chapter, many evils would have been spared to ourselves, as well as to the Indians.

In 1762, a young man of fortune, the Rev. C. J. Smith, following the example of Bishop Berkeley, devoted himself to the Indians, as a missionary. He is so far remarkable in the history of that people, by having been the preceptor of the elder Brandt, celebrated in American annals, and more honorably known to all the world, by the feeling apology offered, by Mr. Campbell, to his son, for an unjust verse in the

* Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. ii. p. 216.

poem of "Gertrude of Wyoming." The example of the Brandts strongly illustrates the capacity of the Indians for civilization; and it proves that the labours of the missionary are well calculated to lay the foundation of an enlightened life in a fierce barbarian, whilst favorable circumstances have extended the improvement to his family.

Wesley entered earnestly upon the design of instructing the Indians in Georgia. But his efforts not being seconded by the founders of that colony, he effected no permanent mission there. In his Journal, during his stay in America, is an entry, which Indians might say was suggested by the treatment he saw them exposed to. "This day," says he, "I set myself to read the work of Machiavel, having been informed he was greatly misrepresented: but upon him my cool judgment is, that if all the other doctrines of devils, committed to writing since letters were in the world, were collected together in one volume, it would fall short of this; and should a prince form himself by this book, so calmly recommending hypocrisy, treachery, lying, robbery, and oppression of all kinds, Domitian or Nero would be an angel of light compared to him."*

The founders of the colony of Georgia had dealt

* Wesley's Journal, vol. i. p. 41.

with Mr. Wesley in somewhat a Machiavelian way. They had taken advantage of his zeal to send him to America, as if for the Indians; but when there it was attempted to keep him as an ordinary minister, for another purpose. He had little difficulty in summoning firmness to resist the imposition.*

It was so early as in 1785, that the Wesleyan body began their missionary efforts, which have since become so extensive. They then sent ministers to Antigua, where they soon had numerous negro converts;† and it is an instructive fact, that it is in this island that both the planters have been the most liberally disposed towards the slaves, and the slaves been made absolutely free sooner than in all other parts of our colonial western dominions.

The Baptists commenced their missionary exertions about the same time; but, at a later period, their labours took so much wider a range, especially in India, that it will be most convenient to reserve a notice of them for a future chapter.

* Wesley's Journal, vol. i. p. 37.

† The Minutes of the Methodist Conferences (vol. i. p. 178) state, that 1100 blacks were in their societies in 1785 in Antigua alone. In 1786 the number was 1559, (ib. p. 187;) from which time the increase has been steady throughout the West Indies.

During this century, as in the last, so much was done by missionaries, and their colonial friends, with success, to civilize the Indians of North America and the negroes, that no reasonable person could doubt of the capacity of the coloured people to adopt our usages, if direct oppression and adverse circumstances had not unceasingly counteracted their good progress.

The distinguished friends of the coloured races, who were the most active towards the close of the period under review, were Dr. Carey, the real founder of modern missions, Dr. Coke, Mr. Clarkson, Bishop Porteus, Mr. Roscoe of *Liverpool*, and, above all, Granville Sharpe. What individuals could effect to advance a cause, and to improve public opinions, they accomplished. The two great statesmen, too, of the times, Pitt and Fox, were with them; but the people were still to be roused: and it was a weary task to overcome the prejudices and interests which long impeded efforts, still short of *desired* success. The beginning, however, was good; and the discussion of great principles, which has never since quite ceased in Parliament, laid excellent foundations for the future work.

CHAPTER X.

CONDUCT AND EFFECTS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY.—SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.—SIR JOHN NARBOROUGH. — BYRON. — CARTERET. — WALLIS.—COOK.—BEECHEY.—MITCHELL.—1560 TO 1837.

It would be interesting to trace, in considerable detail, the course which our greatest navigators have pursued towards the natives in the numerous voyages of discovery and survey, in the three last centuries. Perhaps by only selecting the principal incidents in a few leading voyages, some general rules may be established for the conduct of future explorers; and they may be applied in principle to inland as much as to maritime discovery.

Sebastian Cabot's instructions, and their effects, have been mentioned. In the same century, Sir Francis Drake also made a famous voyage, which has gained for him a high reputation for prudence and humanity on this head. The unknown land which he discovered, New Albion, is described in Hakluyt,* as surrendered by the natives willingly

* Edition of 1811, vol. iv. pp. 240-2.

to the sovereign of the strangers, whom they took to belong to a superior race of beings. In another place, the natives were found to be "much given to mirth and jollity, but very sly, and ready to steal anything that comes within their reach; for one of them snatched the General's (Drake's) cap from his head, as he stooped, being of scarlet with a golden band, yet he would suffer no man to hurt any of them."* This voyage was in 1577; and the instructions to Drake do not appear to be published; but those of the "Lords of the Council," of 1582, to "Edward Fenton, Esq." are printed in Hakluyt† as follows: "We do enjoin you, *as you shall answer the contrary at your coming home by the laws of the realm*, you do not use any violence against any Christians, except in your own defence.

"Item, we wish that you deal like good and honest merchants, with all courtesy to the nations you shall deal with, as Ethniks and others; and behave so as to procure their friendship, than to move them to offence; and especially have great care to perform your word and promise to them.

"Item, we will have you settle a further trade with them, and from such places do bring over with you some few men and women if you may,

* Hakluyt, edition of 1811, vol. iv. p. 256.

† Ibid., 261.

and do also leave there one, two, or more of our nation as pledges, and to learn the tongue, and secrets of the country; having diligent care you deliver not persons of more value than you receive, but rather deliver mean persons under colour of men of value, as the infidels do for the most part use.”*

The instructions to Sir Francis Drake were probably like these; and all his biographers, including Dr. Johnson and Mr. Southey, have testified how well he followed them. A century later, the commander of a small vessel of a discovery-squadron received equally good instructions from Sir John Narborough, which doubtless were copied from such as he himself received. “The design of this voyage,” says he, “being to make a discovery, both of the seas and coasts, in the South Sea, and, if possible, to lay the foundation of a trade there, you are to mark the temper and inclinations of the Indians; and when you can gain any correspondence with them, you are to make them sensible of the great power and wealth of the prince and nation to whom you belong, and that you are sent to set on foot a trade, and to make friendship with them; but above all, for the honour of our prince and nation, you are to take care that your men do not by any rude

* Hakluyt, edition of 1811, vol. iv. p. 262.

behaviour, or injuries to them, create an aversion in them to the English nation; but that, on the other side, they endeavour to gain their love by kind and civil usage toward them; and whosoever shall act otherwise, you are to correct him or them for so doing, which you are to acquaint your men with, that they be not ignorant.”*

The conduct of the expedition in which these instructions were delivered entirely corresponded with them. It being found that the Indians on the Patagonian Coasts were unwilling to hold communication with the boats, attempts to have intercourse with the natives were deferred until a more favorable opportunity, rather than hazard bloodshed by disregarding their apprehensions.

The light in which the pirates and buccaneers, and marauding adventurers of the 17th century, would look upon the natives of America, and other new countries, is not difficult to be conjectured. It was the discreditable policy of our government to sanction many of their voyages, in order to harass the Spaniards; and in the narrative of one, in which the famous Dampier was the chief navigator, we find the conduct of the Spaniards themselves towards the Indians justified on the ground that although some of them, for example the Mexicans, lived under a government which

* An account of several late Voyages and Discoveries, by Sir John Narborough, p. 10.

seemed to be civilized, yet that their crimes of cruel idolatry drew down divine justice in order to introduce the light of the Gospel. This book is dedicated to the prime minister. It contains the story, told with perfect coolness, of an unhappy Indian put ashore on Juan Fernandes by a buccaneer, and not taken away for three years.*

The character of Dampier has been ably given of late, and the instructions to him on one voyage, printed in the Journals of the House of Commons, are humane.

In the discovery-expeditions of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, undertaken immediately before Captain Cook's, the rights of the natives were quite overlooked. The humane conduct of Sir John Narborough was not followed by these commanders;† and probably their instructions were not guarded in the old terms; or if they were, the bad spirit engendered by the spread of negro slavery, and other circumstances, caused these instructions to be little respected; and it does not appear that punishing the commanders for what they did was ever thought of, on the part of the government. Public opinion, however, operated strongly against them. Dr. Johnson denounced the prac-

* A Voyage to the South Sea, in 1708-11, by Captain Edward Cooke, i., p. 414, iii.

† Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. i. p. 99.—Capt. Byron's Voyage.

tice of killing in such a case, in severe terms; and although Adam Smith, about the same time, considered the subject in a more indulgent light, he anticipated the day when equality of strength in the uncivilized tribes might, perhaps, "overawe injustice."

The eccentric and able Dalrymple, hydrographer of the navy, who was likely to have been Captain Cook's commander on the South Sea expeditions, urged the great importance, in such enterprises, of "a freedom from prejudice; attention to the temper and disposition of men in their uncultivated state; and, perhaps not less than all, a consideration of the rights and value of man's life, to secure a patient abstinence from the use of fire-arms against the native Indians, who must be ignorant of the intentions and language of the discoverer."* He adds, that "he shall think his pains amply rewarded, if they are instrumental in saving the life of one Indian from the destruction occasioned by impatience."†

It appears, too, that Dr. Hawkesworth gave so much dissatisfaction by his compilation of the voyages, in which he, as editor, defended the killing of natives by discoverers of new countries,

* An account of the Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean before 1164.—Preface, p. xi.

† Ibid., p. 13.

that the future publication was intrusted to Dr. Douglas. Dr. Hawkesworth assumed the position, that such violences "*cannot be avoided if discoveries are attempted.*"* He overlooked the fact, that misunderstandings, in which these unhappy occurrences generally arise, might be prevented if proper pains were taken to acquire a knowledge of the native language; as he also forgot that gross misconduct, † a great inconsiderateness ‡ on our part, often takes place on these expeditions. Dr. Hawkesworth says further, that "*resistance will always be made;*" an assertion utterly unfounded in experience. Of Captain Cook's good intentions it is impossible to doubt; and it will be readily believed that he sincerely declared himself "*conscious that the feeling of every humane reader would censure him for firing upon the unhappy New Zealanders,*" and which he felt it "*impossible, on a calm review, to approve of.*"§ But how deplorable is the *system*, in operation to this day, that permits such acts.

The instructions given to Captain Cook, on the third voyage, seem to have improved upon those immediately preceding. "You are to observe," it

* Hawkesworth's *Voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook*, 4to. 1773, vol. i., p. 17.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 573—575. — Vol. ii., p. 91.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 285—289. § *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 290.

is there said, "the genius, temper, disposition, and number of the natives and inhabitants, where you find any; and to endeavour, by all proper means, to cultivate a friendship with them: making them presents of such trinkets as you may have on board, and they may like best; inviting them to traffic, and showing them every kind of civility and regard; but taking care, nevertheless, not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them, but to be always on your guard against accidents. You are also, *with the consent of the natives*, to take possession, in the name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such countries as you shall discover, that have not already been discovered or visited by any other European power; and to distribute among the inhabitants such things as will remain as traces and testimonies of your having been there; but, if you find the countries so discovered are uninhabited, you are to take possession of them for His Majesty, by setting up proper marks and inscriptions, as first discoverers and possessors.*—6th July, 1776.

The clause, which makes taking possession *conditional upon the consent of the natives*, was calculated to introduce a revolution into our relations with them, if respected. Captain Wallis had

* Admiralty instructions to Captain Cook. Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. 4to. 1784, vol. i. p. 34, Introduction.

not only failed to seek such consent,* but he had raised the royal symbols of possession, taken after a sanguinary conflict with the *resisting*† preoccupants. If the clause is to be found in his instructions, it was gross neglect not to punish him for breach of them. If this clause was new in Captain Cook's third voyage,‡ the neglect of it then, and *ever since*, is a still greater dereliction of public duty. In a very recent voyage to the South Seas, Captain Beechey says, after he had an open rupture, extending to bloodshed, with the natives of an island in Gambier's group, he "observed the old *custom* of taking possession, by hoisting the English ensign and turning a turf."§

The results of Captain Cook's discoveries have been variously estimated. It is not true that the objects of his expeditions were purely scientific, as an able French navigator supposes,|| and as

* Dr. Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, i. p. 426.

† *Ibid.*, iv. p. 446.

‡ The possession taken of New Zealand, in Captain Cook's first voyage, (Dr. Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, iv. p. 400,) had the sanction of a very faint consent on the part of the natives; and in many parts they were furiously hostile to us. So, as to New South Wales, it was discovery, not the consent of the natives, that gave Capt. Cook a title. (Dr. Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, iii. pp. 506 and 616.)

§ Captain Beechey's *Voyage*, i. p. 117.

|| M. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de l'Astrolabe*, p. 10.

English writers have asserted; nor is it correct to say, that such principles prevailed at the time, either in England or in the conduct of the voyages, as to satisfy reasonable and humane men.

In regard to the objects of these voyages, it is to be observed, that an opinion was then common, that *rich* countries might be discovered in the South Seas, opposite Peru, and sharing its productions; and Bishop Douglas, who became historian of the expedition in the place of Dr. Hawkesworth, specifically classes commercial advantages amongst those to be gained.*

One of Captain Cook's companions, Mr. King, implies the truth when he states, that when these islands were found to produce little which would excite the cupidity of ambition, or answer the speculations of the interested, they were ready to be abandoned to their primitive oblivion. And the unhappy state of the discovered people, when so abandoned, was long ago the occasion of the warmest sympathy in England. "Reflections on their unhappy situation had dropped from the pen of the humane; and pity had often swelled the bosom of the compassionate," say the founders of the London Missionary Society, "in the last century; and a few felt for them, not only as men, but as Christians."†

* Bishop Douglas's Select Works, p. 323.

† First Missionary Voyage, 1799. 4to. p. 2.

In regard to the principles upon which intercourse was maintained with the natives, the too frequent and fatal collisions that occurred, seem to throw strong suspicion on the wisdom of those principles. Captain Cook was remarkable, unquestionably, for his desire to do right on this head; and he was admirably seconded by Captain Clerke, and by other officers. But the melancholy case of his death took place under circumstances which clearly prove that he did not entertain that high sense of the rights of the natives which is indispensable, if our intercourse with them is to have a happy issue. The candour of the original narrative removes all doubt upon the subject of the natives not having been in fault; and the great humanity which influenced the successor of Captain Cook in the command, not hastily to revenge his death, proves how much progress was making towards just views. The general conclusion drawn in the narrative, in reference to this event, as to the character of the people, is a remarkable instance of fairness, under circumstances naturally calculated to excite feelings of exasperation.

“The restitution of the boat and the recovery of the body of Captain Cook,” says the narrator, Lieut. King, “were the objects which, on all hands, we agreed to insist on; and it was my

opinion that some vigorous steps should be taken, in case the demand was not immediately complied with.

“Though my feelings, on the death of a beloved and honoured friend, may be suspected to have had some share in this opinion, yet there were certainly other reasons, and those of a serious kind, that had considerable weight with me. The confidence which their success in killing our chief, and for cingus to quit the shore, must naturally have inspired, would, I had no doubt, encourage them to make some further dangerous attempts; and nothing seemed more likely to encourage them than the appearance of our being inclined to an accommodation, which they could only attribute to weakness or fear.

“In favour of more conciliatory measures, it was justly urged that the mischief was done, and irreparable; that the natives had a strong claim to our regard, on account of their former friendship and kindness; and the more especially as the late melancholy accident did not appear to have arisen from any premeditated design.

“In this latter opinion Captain Clarke concurred; and though I was convinced, that an early display of vigorous resentment would more effectually have answered every object both of prudence

and humanity, I was not sorry that the measures I had recommended were rejected.”*

In giving a general character of this people in a subsequent page, Captain King says,

“Notwithstanding the irreparable loss we suffered from the sudden resentment and violence of these people, yet, in justice to their general conduct, it must be acknowledged that they are of the most mild and affectionate disposition; they appear to live in the utmost harmony and friendship with one another. The great hospitality and kindness with which we were received by them have been already frequently remarked; and, indeed, they make the principal part of our transactions with them. Whenever we came on shore, there was a constant struggle who should be most forward to make us little presents, bringing refreshments, or shewing some other mark of their respect.”†

These considerate terms, which are amply justified by the subsequent history of this people, stand in singular contrast with the language used by high authority at home upon this occasion, when

* Captain King's Journal in Cook's Third Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. iii., p. 59-61.

† Ibid., p. 129.

a well-deserved eulogy of Captain Cook, published by the authority of the Admiralty, contained the following incorrect version of his death.

“Our sorrow is aggravated by the reflection, that his country was deprived of this ornament by the enmity of a people from whom it might have been dreaded, but was not deserved. For, actuated always by the most attentive care and tender compassion for the savages in general, this excellent man was ever assiduously endeavouring, by kind treatment, to dissipate their fears, and court their friendship; overlooking their theft and treacheries, and frequently interposing, at the hazard of his life, to protect them from the sudden resentment of his own injured people.”*

It is not necessary to enter into a refutation of the errors involved in this passage, which is completely at variance with the testimony above quoted from Captain King. Unfortunately, similar errors have long influenced the home administration on the same topic, in relation to other barbarous countries. But the best tribute in favour of the course pursued by Captain Cook's companions, on the melancholy subject, is to be found in his own views on a similar occasion in New Zealand. Arriving there soon after a boat's crew had been

* Select Works of Bishop Douglas, p. 348.

put to death, he refused to revenge their death, on the grounds of prudence, and the impossibility of ascertaining the circumstances attending the case.*

Bishop Douglas closes his able recapitulation of the benefits to accrue to us from the successful voyages of Captain Cook, by making a reply to the question, how the people we discovered are to be benefited by them? That reply is not such a one as a bishop would perhaps now offer to a similar question. It turns exclusively on some rays of knowledge having been conveyed to the natives, and some comforts afforded them, with a hope that "some feasible attempt" may be one day made "to rescue millions of our fellow-creatures from their present state of humiliation."†

One valuable result of Captain Cook's voyages was to settle the doubts raised by Rousseau, whether savage life is not the only happy life, and as to the true destination of man. After the appearance of Dr. Forster's remarks on the Human Species,‡ a work translated into many languages, those doubts were probably set at rest for ever.

* Cook's Third Voyage, i. p. 135.

† Ibid., p. 339.

‡ Observations made during a Voyage round the World: by John Reinhold Forster, LL.D. London, 1778, p. 302.

Another equally useful result was to bring the subject of civilizing barbarous people under public enquiry; many valuable works were accordingly written at the time on that subject, of which two, of great merit, may be selected, shewing the new spirit with which the enquiry was conducted: the one is the "Remarks on the Human Species," of Dr. Reinhold Forster, just referred to; the other, Dr. Adam Ferguson's "View of Society." Both insist with great force upon the capacity of all men for improvement; and both contain useful cautions against a too sanguine expectation of the sudden advances of barbarous people in civilization. Both shew, as the whole course of Cook's, and of so many other voyages, proves, that the wildest savages have some signs and shadow of law and polity, which should guide their instructors to measures calculated to change and elevate them.

Occasional passages in the writings of both the Forsters, two men of science, who accompanied Captain Cook, shew that they were not unaware of the influence of true Christian principles upon the minds of savages.* Before going on this

* The severity with which the younger Forster reproaches those who undertook the care of Omai, brought by Captain Cook to England, is striking. "Upon his arrival in England," says he, "he was led to the most splendid

expedition, the elder of these individuals had, in a translation of the Swedish naturalist, "Kalm's Travels in North America," vindicated the English missionaries and the Moravians from his errors,* and proved himself to be aware of the value of missionary efforts.

After a considerable interruption, occasioned by the war with France, to our discovery and occupation of new countries, we have lately resumed the practice; and we appear to have utterly forgotten almost all that is good of the old usages, whilst we have recklessly revived the worst of

entertainments, and presented at court. The continued round of enjoyment left him no time to think of his future life. It can hardly be supposed that he never formed a wish to obtain some knowledge of our agriculture, arts, and manufactures; but no friendly master ever attempted to cherish and gratify this wish, much less to improve his moral character, to teach him our exalted ideas of virtue, and the sublime principles of revealed religion. To gratify his childish inclinations, as it should seem, rather than from any other motive, he was indulged with a portable organ, an electrical machine, a coat of mail, and a suit of armour. Perhaps my readers expect to be told of his taking on board some articles of real use to his country: I expected it likewise, but was disappointed."—*Preface to a Voyage round the World*, by George Forster, F.R.S. 4to. 1777. Vol. i., p. 16.

* Kalm's Travels, 2d Edition, vol. ii., p. 106.

them. Treaties, or the consent of the natives, seem not to be thought of now, before taking possession of their lands; and expedition after expedition leaves our ports without the slightest provision for interpreters, or other guarantees in favour of the natives, to prevent misunderstandings. The following brief extract from Captain Beechey's late voyage describes a state of things that requires no comment; and the unhappy conflicts at the Swan River, in the settlements in the north of Australia, and in a late expedition in the interior of New South Wales, are of a character to call forth deep indignation at our wanton abuse of power.

After narrating the theft of a musket by one of the natives of a newly discovered island, Captain Beechey continues: "We followed the natives along the beech, to offer terms of reconciliation; but our overtures were answered only by showers of stones. This conduct, which we now began to think was only a part of their general character, rendered it extremely difficult, nay almost impossible, to have any dealings with them, without getting into disputes. No time, place, or example made any difference in the indulgence of their insatiable propensity to theft. Explanations and threats, which, in some instances, will prevent the necessity of *acting*, were unfortunately not at our

command, in consequence of our ignorance of their language; and the only option left us was, to yield up our goods unresistingly, or to inflict a more severe chastisement than the case might deserve. Captain Cook, who managed the natives of these seas better than any other navigator, pursued a system which generally succeeded, though in the end it cost him his life. It was rigid; but, I am certain, it was better adapted to preserve peace than the opposite plan adopted by Peyrouse at Easter Island.

“To seize one of the natives, or upon something that was of more value to them than the goods stolen, was the most effectual way of recovering what was lost.” This was accordingly effected by dispersing the natives by a cannon shot; and next day, after again firing at them, Captain Beechey says he took possession, as already described.*

It appears no other harm was done, except “when a marine inconsiderately fired at a party who were lurking in a wood, and wounded one in the foot.”† The imprudence of an officer of the party, who separated himself carelessly from the party, afterwards brought on a skirmish, in which Captain Beechey was under the necessity of “acting” again; and, after firing with some effect, he

* Vol. i., p. 117.

† Ibid., p. 118.

concludes, that the *natural disposition* of the people of an island in Gambier's Group, called Peard Island, is highly unfavorable to intercourse.*

And, after such things, if a prosecution were talked of, to make these *thoughtless* men answer for their conduct "to the laws of the realm," as was notified in Elizabeth's instructions,† the suggestion would be laughed at, if no worse came of it to the proposer.

The absence of an *interpreter*, in such an expedition as Captain Beechey's, is too common; and it is matter of great reproach to our administration. Columbus went to the *Indies* provided with persons, who, as he thought, could speak the language of Cathay; the object of the old instructions about allowing natives of new countries on board our ships was, in a great degree, to get interpreters; and it has, from time to time, in various countries, been thought of importance to have foreign tongues acquired at the public cost. In our times this is peculiarly easy to be effected; and, with ordinary pains, not a ship of war, not even a South-Sea trader, is under the necessity of sailing without the means of communicating correctly with the

* Beechey's Voyages, vol. i., p. 131. † See p. 115.

natives of the new countries they may have to visit. The last exploring expedition, of which an account is published, is the unfortunate one, already alluded to, under Major Mitchell, surveyor-general, during ten years, in New South Wales. It seems to have been conducted, from first to last, with an extraordinary loss of life on both sides. The leader appears to be ignorant of the language of the natives, although so many years a resident in the country for the express purpose of meeting out their lands. He considers that "a lurking desire to take the lives of intruders, and by the most treacherous means, seems to be but too generally characteristic of these aborigines, *especially when they have never before seen white men.*" How he knew that the tribes he was in conflict with had never seen or heard of us does not appear; and, from one of his authorities, the case of Mrs. Frazer and the crew of the Stirling Castle, he might have learned that their knowledge of the whites had extended at least to an unfortunate familiarity with our soldiers' fire-arms. An honest sailor in that case, Darg, stated to the lord-mayor, that the black man most enraged against him had lost a leg from a musket-shot near Moreton Bay, a *convict* settlement of ours; and, even under such provocation, the others saved Darg's life. Almost all experience is against

the opinion that barbarous people, seeing us for the first time, are generally disposed to be hostile. Le Vaillant, an incomparable traveller, knew better. "When I was north of the Cape," says he, "it was not unusual for whole hordes to surround me, with signs of surprise; and, with the most childish curiosity, approach me with confidence. *I have nothing to fear, thought I; this is the first time they have seen a white.*"

Major Mitchell says, with truth, "that too much pains cannot be taken to protect these children of the soil from the acts of violence and injustice to which they may be exposed in the midst of a *convict* population." But, by his own account, these acts of violence and injustice are not confined to convicts; and it will be but a poor indication of improved civilization in our day, if, with this new disclosure of the principles on which exploring expeditions are carried on, our men of science be not taught that "*geographical information may be considered too dear at the price*" of lives needlessly sacrificed.*

The apology of Major Mitchell for the act of his party is an extraordinary one: "The singular conduct and character," says he, "of the aboriginal

* Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. vii., pp. 271-285.

inhabitants, (whose hostility had compelled the party, in my absence, to fire upon them, in their own defence,) exhibit human nature in some new and striking points of view, as will appear in the *graphic* illustrations which I am preparing for publication."* It is to be feared that this expedition had too many marks of old times to have any *satisfactory* novelty to offer regarding the natives.

Some modern writers have strongly vindicated the rights of humanity against the absurd doctrine of the assumed law of nations, as to discovery of new lands; and others, since Las Casas, have denied it to be law. It remains, however, still sanctioned by our practice; and that practice is daily followed up by the most atrocious acts. Those acts cannot be prevented, if we do not solemnly revise our system. The instructions given to our voyagers and travellers, in the last fifteen years, ought to be laid before Parliament; and the individuals who act ill abroad in this matter should be punished.

* Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. vii., p. 274.

CHAPTER XI.

CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT.—RIGHT OF VISITING OR COLONIZING NEW COUNTRIES.—NON-INTERCOURSE LAWS.—PRIVY COUNCIL.—INSTRUCTIONS OF 1670.—TRANSPORTATION OF CONVICTS BEFORE, AND UNDER, THE ACT OF 4 GEO. I. C. II.—BOARD OF TRADE.—OFFICIAL DESPOTISM, OR BUREAUCRACY.—PUBLIC OPINION.—CONVICT COLONY IN AUSTRALIA.—CONQUESTS.—1670 TO 1837.

IN the preceding chapters, the subject of this brief essay has been examined in reference to the *actions* of white people towards the coloured races, and to the effects of certain *opinions*, more than to the abstract justice of such acts and opinions. The conduct of the government, however, in its various branches, which is to be treated of in this chapter, must be determined to be moral or immoral in its relations with those races, according to the soundness of our decision upon the abstract question that arises, before we are entitled to establish any relations at all with them. That question is, whether a more civilized people, dis-

posed to visit another people less civilized, for the purpose of trade, curiosity, or colonization, has a right to do so?

The reply to this question involves the whole object of this volume.

It will not be disputed at this day, that no advantage whatever, to be derived by the *visiting* people, will justify their voyages or migrations, if the *visited* are to be injured by either; and the only tenable position in the case is, that it is possible, with ordinarily reasonable pains, to render such voyages and migrations advantageous as well as acceptable to both parties.

The application of this must be investigated in its bearing upon two classes of uncivilized people; namely, *those who are in our neighbourhood*, and who therefore can voluntarily signify their disposition or indisposition as to holding any communication with us; and *those who are remote*, being first sought by us. In regard to both classes, long experience has placed beyond dispute certain facts which, it is apprehended, will safely regulate the relations of a civilized people with them, and set in the clearest possible light the inclinations we are bound to respect.

One example out of many of the first class of cases will serve as a proof that an uncivilized people may desire to communicate freely and fairly

with its civilized *neighbour*. And, if that single example, arising, as it does, in a country where the mischievous powers of civilized men have been long presented to the savage in the most odious forms, completely establish the fact that civilization itself is, nevertheless, in a high degree attractive to him, the inference is safe, that, properly guarded, the attractions may be greatly and usefully increased. Now, in South Africa, for nearly a hundred years, the Dutch and English colonists have carried on a succession of violent aggressions on the Caffre people or Amakossæ; and, during all that time, the government has attempted to set up, by law, a principle of non-intercourse, under the severest penalties. Caffres and colonists equally remonstrated against this law; and, on one occasion, half a century ago, after a fearful collision, ended by a treaty, a native chief urged warmly, but in vain, that *there could be no true peace, if people might not have intercourse with each other*.* That he expressed the feelings of his whole people was made abundantly clear by all classes of them being anxious to come amongst us, to earn the wages of honest labour, to trade, and

* Humane Policy, p. 149; and see Puffendorf's Law of Nature, translated by Dr. Kennett, 1729. B. iii., ch. 3, s. 2.

to be instructed by our missionaries.* The government, however, resisted many such appeals, down to a late period; and to this day† adheres to the principle that has caused mischief and losses of an incalculable amount, although a recent change in South Africa has produced the most beneficial results, and demonstrated the expediency of extending them wherever we have power.

In regard to such people as can be communicated with only by our first going to them, the evidence of numerous voyagers is strong of their general appreciation of the superior value of our possessions, and of *their respect for us when we treat them justly*. Scandalous as the conduct of some of our voyagers has often been, many have acted well and wisely towards the natives of newly discovered lands; and it is out of those good examples, established by *special laws*, that means must be sought for avoiding in future what has sometimes made past voyages and distant settlements mischievous and hateful, instead of useful and acceptable to the natives. That is to say, we must legislate in this matter, as in so many others, from experience. The frequent case of hostility shewn on our first arrival in a new colony may be

* *Humane Policy*, passim.

† Report of the Aborigines' Committee. House of Commons' Papers, 1837. No. 425, p. 80.

explained, and guarded against. It may be assumed as a general fact, that a tribe, hostile to us, is already at enmity with some other tribe; and we, *strangers*, appear to be enemies too. The first natural feeling, therefore, in the occupant of the soil approached is, in that case, to keep us off; and our duty is, *to retire until explanations can be given*. Hence the importance of the government providing interpreters for their expeditions. Captain Wallis's unhappy conflict at Tahiti, followed up by friendship, is an example which shews that hostility may be offered at an early time of our intercourse with a newly discovered people, without necessarily implying lasting opposition to intercourse with us; and, as civilized nations have abandoned various evil modes of warfare, such as poisoning water, and putting prisoners to death or making slaves of them, so is there no reason, in the nature of things, why we should not give a better direction to our principles of intercourse with the numerous tribes still strangers to us. In this great matter it is especially incumbent on the crown to take a decisive lead in various ways.

It is said that Cromwell planned a great establishment, to be under the control of the government, upon the principle of the congregation *de propagandâ fide* at Rome. This establishment

was to have been fixed at Chelsea College, with a revenue of 10,000*l.* a year, with such *increase of income as circumstances might require*; and one-fourth of its funds and care was to have been directed to our colonial settlements.* Since that time very little has been done by government for the instruction of coloured tribes, and perhaps less for their protection than was contemplated by some individuals at that day, when the opinion of Las Casas in favour of the independence of all tribes, and against the doctrine of acquiring a *right by discovery* alone, was revived.†

The new spirit of the times of the Parliament produced, however, some effect in words, of which a memorial had been lately met with in the British Museum, in the following instructions of Charles the Second, addressed, in 1670, to the Council of Foreign Plantations, the precursor of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i., p. 109, B. i. 1753. 12mo.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v., p. 81.

to any of the said Indians that are at peace with us," &c.

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

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

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

"And that they do not only carefully protect and defend them from adversaries, but that they more especially take care that none of our own subjects, nor any of their servants, do any way harm them.

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

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

* Harleian MSS. No. 6394. Humane Policy, p. 23. Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines, 1837, p. 4.

The document from which this extract is taken formed a new system of control over colonial authorities; but, at the revolution of 1688, that control was found to be insufficient, and, as far as the natives were concerned, the efforts of the Board were almost null. The colony of Carolina had been formed under it; and, with the exception of the ordinary general words of kindness in the constitution, said to be drawn by Locke, that constitution offered nothing to prevent the oppressions and wars that commonly followed our settlements in America.

In 1695,* an attempt was made to remedy all the evils of colonial misrule, by an Act of Parliament. The jealousy of the prerogative defeated this attempt;† but next year a new commission was given to a Board of Trade and Plantations, which was to make reports to the House of Commons. The commission,‡ and several reports,§ are entered in the Journals. The interests of the coloured people, however, do not appear to have engaged much attention, although they must have derived considerable advantages from this system of organized publicity, had it been persevered in. This Board of Plantations (now merged, impro-

* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xi. p. 423.

† Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 977.

‡ Ibid., vol. xii. p. 70.

§ Ibid., p. 465—503.

perly, in the Secretary of State for the Colonies,) was ordered "to examine the usual instructions given to governors of the plantations, and to see if anything might be changed to advantage; to take account yearly, by way of journal, of the administration of the governors; to consider of proper persons to be governors, counsel at law, or secretaries; to examine the acts of assemblies; and to hear complaints of oppressions and mal-administration in the plantations."

The value of this system is well illustrated in the example cited of the reports called for by the House of Commons under this commission. It is there ordered, that "the commissioners should lay before the House an account of complaints from the colonies, and state *what was done* thereupon."

After a few years, the strength of official abuses got the better of the spirit of justice in which this system was begun; and the discontinuance of the periodical reports destroyed much of what was good in this institution. In some respects, however, it was long useful; although its very first report, to which Mr. Locke, a member of the Board, must have been a party, recommended the "plentiful supply of negro slaves to the colonies at the cheapest rates."*

* Journals, vol. xii. p. 433. A. D. 1698.

The tone of public opinion at the beginning of the eighteenth century may be inferred from its being considered as a great diplomatic victory, to obtain the monopoly of the supply of slaves to the Spanish West Indies. The South-Sea Company got the benefit of this monopoly; and one of their officers, John Weller, in 1713, in proposing a voyage of discovery, made it a distinct point that some of the inhabitants found should be trepanned and brought to England, to become interpreters; but the *commission* to Dampier, in 1699, permitted him to bring home natives of new countries only on condition of their *consenting* to accompany him.*

The truth is, that a long period of gloom for the coloured races was now in progress.

The extension of the slave-trade is proof enough of the little sympathy generally felt for them, notwithstanding that many colonists opposed it; such as the Quakers and the Scotch settlers in Georgia, for example; and the rejection by the government of a Bill entertained by the House of Commons, for instructing the negroes in the colonies, shews where the fault chiefly lay.† The same inference against the right moral feeling of the government

* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xii. p. 119.

† Boyer's Reign of Queen Anne, p. 447.

on this subject is shewn by the result of Bishop Berkeley's plans for elevating the Indian, through a superior system of education. That eminent individual, combining the science of Boyle with the zeal of Eliot, and the enthusiastic spirit of enterprise of Raleigh, executed, as far as lay in the power of an individual, one of the noblest projects ever conceived for the *instruction* of a barbarous people. It was, in fact, carrying out Cromwell's great design in an improved way. The conception gained for him the *support* and wondering applause of Swift, himself no visionary. Pope declared him *gifted with every virtue*. Parliament entirely sanctioned his views, although Sir Robert Walpole excused his own incautious neutrality by alleging his confidence that the House of Commons would never regard such dreams with patience. With a government morally capable of doing its duty on this vast question of the elevation of the coloured people, whom we were recklessly crushing and dispossessing, the zeal and knowledge of Berkeley would have been instruments of great good. The failure of his strenuous endeavours, after a residence of seven years in America, is entirely attributable to the false principles which actuated the administration in the time of George the Second on the whole subject, when the attorney-general of the day said, the

colonists should attend to growing tobacco, and not be distracted with unprofitable objects of philanthropy; and when a secretary of state maintained that, to civilize the Indians, would endanger the safety of the planters.

It was during this period that a wretched family of the Mohecan Indians was tortured by an appeal, of seventy years' duration, to the Privy Council, concerning a claim of land.* That tribunal, which ought to be the sacred court of refuge to the oppressed aborigines of the colonies, is really, *by its practice*, worse than useless to them; for it is a cloak to the colonial administrations abroad and at home. One principle alone in its usurped constitution would destroy its usefulness, even if, as Sir Launcelot Shadwell said of the Court of Chancery, *angels sat in judgment there. The right to be HEARD in this Court depends upon the will of the minister appealed against.*

It was in this period, too, that the transportation of felons to the colonies took its real rise, founded upon the statute of 4 George the First, c. 11. Previously, as already shewn, convict

* The printed papers in this appeal were recently in the author's hands. They are now deposited in the Historical Society of Massachusetts. The register of the Privy Council will verify the text.

transportation was recommended, and a little practised; but it was always opposed by the colonists; and, in the seventeenth century, political opponents* *chiefly* were sent by the prevailing powers to America. For example, the early Quakers used to be so transported by hundreds; and it is obvious that they were not a class likely to do injury to the natives. In the beginning of the last century, a strong call was inconsiderately made to transport common felons, instead of executing and imprisoning them. Accordingly, the system was regularly introduced by the law just cited.

Although, however, this system had an exceedingly bad influence in the old colonies, it is a popular error to suppose it ever attained the height to which it has fatally been carried in New South Wales, in our times. One instance will shew the truth: in 1775, out of a total population of 107,208 souls, in Maryland, 1981 only were convicts; and of this entire population, being in the proportion of more than 50 to 1 against the convicts, the sexes and ages were as follows: men 29,141, the men convicts being 1507;—women

* Mr. Hallam mentions the case of 855 people, after the rebellion of Monmouth, being sold as slaves to the colonies. Const. Hist. vol. ii. p. 412.

25,731, the women convicts being 386;—boys 27,752, the boy convicts being 67; and the girls 24,684, the girl convicts being 21 only.* They who have attended to the evidence, lately laid before the transportation committee, will appreciate the difference, which interested witnesses wish to lessen.

The peculiarly bad effects of convict transportation upon the *Indians* has been noticed by travellers.† And it is a remarkable fact, that where the exertions of missionaries were the most successful in elevating that people, in the case of the Cherokees, the results of the convict system seem to have been the most fatal, in spite of this advantage, as in the case of Georgia.§

The foundation of Georgia, too, which took place in the period under consideration, proves how little progress was yet made in regard to humane policy towards the native population. The funds which parliament voted, in support of the noble plans of Berkeley, were obtained, by superior *management*, by the founders, to the great injury of the bishop, and the ruin of his

* Holme's Annals, vol. ii. p. 184. 1st Edition.

† Lang's Transportation and Colonization, passim.

‡ Kalm's Travels, translated by Dr. Reinhold Foster, vol. ii. p. 102.

§ Grahame, vol. iii. p. 228.

design, although that design was really in *operation* in favour of the native people, whom those founders professed a wish to serve. Their charter, too, which declared that wish, contained no guarantees for its fulfilment. Although General Ogtelhorpe resembled Penn in his gracious personal demeanour to the Indians, and in his liberality, he was equally negligent in regard to framing measures that should ensure them justice. He promised to punish *intruders* on their lands;* but still their lands were, year after year, intruded upon with impunity.† His neglect of their religious instruction has been shewn already in the case of Wealey; and it is further proved, by the fact that the mission established in the colony, in 1736, at the expense of the Scottish society of 1709, was abandoned in 1740, for want of proper support by the colonists. In 1749, the law officers of the crown, opposed a plan for civilizing the Indians, on the ground of its infringing the Hudson's Bay Company's charter;‡ and the House of Commons received strong evidence against the efficiency of that company, but without following up the enquiry.§

* Holme's Annals, pp. 2-13, A.D. 1739.

† Univ. History, vol. xl. p. 462.

‡ Reports of the House of Commons, ii. p. 286.

§ *Ib.* 216-225.

The employment of Indians, in fighting our battles, was carried to its greatest excess during four wars, two with the French before 1760; and those with the Americans in 1776, and in 1812. The consequences to the Indians were, in all respects, the most deplorable, and the most adverse to their steady civilization. Their violent passions have been excited in a cause in no respect their own; their vagrant habits have been encouraged; and their dispositions gradually to form cultivated settlements, and adopt civilized usages, have been discouraged in an equal degree. They have more than once asked, in these quarrels, to be allowed the neutrality, which it would have become us to propose. But so late as the year 1830, a secretary of state for the colonies, confessed that "the course, hitherto taken in dealing with them, had referred to the advantages to be derived from their friendship in war, rather than to any settled purpose of gradually introducing among them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life.*"

Although in the House of Lords, Lord Chatham made the employment of a barbarous people, in our conflict with the Americans, a noble topic of eloquence, he, of all ministers, had done the most to enlist them in a similar cause. Sir William

* House of Commons paper, 1834. No. 617, p. 88.

Johnson was the great agent under Lord Chatham; and he succeeded in obtaining a powerful ascendant over the minds of the Indians. Unbounded liberality and affability, with the extensive encouragement of marriages between whites and Indians, seem to have been his principal means of influence. He got vast tracts of land from them without scruple, and without the equivalent of any large system of justice or civilization. He opposed also the missionaries, who, in the person of Brainerd, immediately before him, and in those of the ablest of metaphysicians, Edwards and Wheelock, in his time, did wonders. Sir William Johnson unfortunately confounded them with those ministers of religion, who had always done almost as much mischief by their intolerance, as the better part of their profession was calculated to do good.

Governor Pownall strongly supported Sir William Johnson, and probably originated much of his system. He, however, insisted on the necessity of being just to the Indians, although he proposed few guarantees in detail to that end. One important exception ought to be noticed. He would have formed "*a federate connexion with the Indians,*"* a proposal which, well ex-

* MS. published in Sparke's Writings of Washington, v. ii. Appendix.

cuted, would remove one of the greatest difficulties in this whole question, namely, how to conciliate barbarous chiefs, by preserving their relative respectability in connection with us.

During this time, the colonists had established a system of agency in England, most advantageous to their interests, a proof of which is, that among their agents were such men as Dr. John Campbell, Mr. G. Chalmers, Franklin,* and Burke. But the coloured people connected with our colonies, deeply affected as they were by the acts of the home government, never had the benefit of such an institution; and the missionary bodies, who filled in some measure the office for them, were gradually becoming more and more inefficient. At length, the most important class, the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, sunk into a mere *official* corps. One of its own episcopal preachers perceived that vice in its character, and honestly proclaimed it from the pulpit; a striking illustration of this was, that it did not encourage, as it ought to have done, the proposals recorded in its proceedings, of letting the Indians be neutral in our wars with the French. Like all official corps unchecked by publicity, and by other

* Dr. Franklin was a firm friend to the Indians. He wrote appeals for them in the English Magazines.

guarantees, this society became incapable of attaining the end of its creation; and, in one remarkable instance, it sacrificed that end to the false objects to which it had become an instrument.

No one ever disputed that the conversion of the Indians, and their civilization, were among its main purposes; and it had long been held that these purposes would be promoted by the moral improvement of the colonists. Accordingly this society ought to have rejoiced to see kindred societies grow up in the colonies. On the contrary, however, when Massachusetts, in 1762 founded one expressly for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, the Archbishop of Canterbury, then a leading member of the Home Society, obtained its disallowance by the King in Council, on the ground that it would be prejudicial to the *Church of England*.* On the same principle, when the colonial missionaries, Brainerd, Dr. Edwards, and others, were eminently successful, Sir William Johnson opposed them, because their success would strengthen the attachment of the *Christianized* Indians to the colonial administrations, which he, as a partisan of the ministers, wished to direct exclusively towards the home government. That is to say, what Sir William Johnson was by position, the society became,

* Grahame's History of the United States, vol. iv. p. 139.

chiefly through its clerical prejudices, and in position too, namely, hostile to what *dissenters* did well; and what, under other circumstances, the missionaries of the society would have done equally well.

During this period, again, the legislation of the colonies was subject to the revision of the home government: and at no period in our history can more deliberate instances be produced of colonial laws being sanctioned by the crown, although directly subversive of every attempt made by the industrious coloured population to increase their resources, and advance their intelligence. In 1740, for example, the slaves of Carolina were forbidden to learn to write;* and a volume of Jamaica and other statutes might be produced, by which even free negroes were prevented following occupations that were seen, by experience, calculated to give them a respectable standing in white society.*

The books of *the board of trade*, where these laws, and the opinions of our law officers approving them, are recorded, bear fatal testimony to our active *complicity* in the oppression suffered by the coloured races in the last century. That board, by the cessation of the practice introduced at its formation in 1697, of ensuring something like an *organized publicity* in its proceedings, became at

* Holmes's Annals, p. 27.

length a mere registry of the acts of the ministry of the day. Instead, therefore, of fostering the growing ideas of the age in favour of better treatment of the coloured people connected with the colonies, it gradually fell into contempt; and at last gave way without a struggle before Mr. Burke's ridicule.* It had, however, so far an element of good in its composition, that it was a *separate* power from that of the secretary of state; and it might easily have been turned into an excellent check upon that functionary. No substitute was found for this after 1782, when the first great change in our *home* colonial administration took place, by giving power over the colonies, almost without any check except by impeachment, to a secretary of state; and especially in 1794, when the present office of the secretary of state was organized. Consequently, the most complete official despotism ever thought of in England was completely settled.

This bore peculiarly hard upon the coloured races, inasmuch as they were the most incapable of gaining the redress of their personal or general wrongs, by an appeal to parliament by petition, and to the public by printing.

Previously to 1782, a case of threatened oppression, that of the Caribbs in St. Vincent, had given way before the appeal of a great and venerable

* Speech on Economical Reform.

man, Granville Sharpe, who, in 1773, stopped, by his single endeavours, a military expedition intended to be sent to the West Indies to destroy them. A second case occurred in 1780, when the African merchants succeeded in getting an enquiry, which stopped a frightful project for sending convicts to Western Africa.

Equally strong appeals, made afterwards by Bentham, against the convict schemes of the colonial administration, now become all powerful under the secretary of state, were made in vain, in behalf of the poor natives of New South Wales. Before 1794, when that administration had not attained the *irresponsible* vigour it soon acquired, the plan of New South Wales was that of a colony of an ordinary constitutional character, with an ordinarily good population, upon which the convicts were to be superadded. After 1794 that plan rapidly assumed the character of a hopeless convict settlement, such as the British world never saw before, and which was marked by every constitutional and social vice. Since that date, the secretary of state for the colonies has usurped the position, described by one of his clerks, in a passage, the truth of which, as to white men, is aggravated in regard to the coloured people in exact proportion to their greater want of instruction, and of money, and of friends.

“The far greater proportion of the duties which

are performed in the office of a minister," says this writer, "are, and must be, performed under no effective responsibility. Where politics and parties are not affected by the matter in question, and so long as there is no flagrant neglect or glaring injustice to individuals which a *party* can take hold of, the responsibility to parliament is merely nominal, or falls otherwise only through casualty, caprice, and a misemployment of the time due from parliament to legislative affairs. Thus, the business of the office may be reduced within a very manageable compass, without creating public scandal. By evading decisions, whenever they can be evaded; by shifting them on other departments or authorities, when by any possibility they can be shifted; by giving decisions upon superficial examinations; by conciliating loud and energetic individuals at the expense of such public interests as are dumb, or do not attract attention; *by sacrificing everywhere what is feeble and obscure to what is influential and cognizable*: by such means and shifts as these, the single functionary granted by the theory may reduce his business within his power, and perhaps obtain for himself the most valuable of all reputations in this line of life,—that of a safe man; and if his business, even thus reduced, strains his power to the utmost, then, whatever may be said

of the *theory*, the man may be without reproach—without other reproach, at least, than that which belongs to men placing themselves in a way to have their understandings abused and debased, their sense of justice corrupted, their public spirit and appreciation of public objects undermined.”*

This *theory*, as the official author coolly calls what he well knows to be the daily practice of the secretary of state for the colonies, has been especially their practice since 1794. It has been the parent of convict transportation, such as it has been lately laid bare before the world; and such as the public was warned, in vain, it would be. Helped by the acquisition of the conquered colonies during the long war, it has succeeded in establishing a system of white colonial slavery unknown to England before; and it has sealed the destruction of vast numbers of coloured people in a manner that, under other circumstances, the *increased intelligence of the times could not have permitted.*

The power that has worked such evil, and which is described in the words quoted from the colonial-office writer, is new and illegal in England, and the language has no term for it. Upon the continent the thing itself is unhappily familiar enough,

* The Statesman, by Henry Taylor, esq. 1836, p. 151.

and especially in France, where it has existed time immemorially, to the utter destruction of French colonies; and there it is called *Bureaucracy*, a term recently borrowed by English writers. The translation, *official despotism*, faintly expresses its full meaning; and this is not a fit occasion for enlarging on it.

An extensive improvement in our colonial relations with coloured tribes, would probably have taken place early in this century, if the triumph of bureaucracy had not prevented the natural effects of public opinion upon public measures. Just and philanthropic views were becoming general. Those of Dr. Johnson have been alluded to: they are very decided and benevolent; but the passages, referring to the particular subject under consideration, are too long to be quoted.* His admirable views upon the duty of civilized towards uncivilized people were becoming general. The old doctrine as to the right of *sovereignty*, arising from discovery of new countries, had been in a great degree given up; and so early as in 1765, it was modified into an agreement, discoverers acquired only a right to *preemption*† from the barbarous occupants; which was followed up later

* Johnson's Works, vol. xiv.; especially the Preface to *The World Displayed*.

† *The History of New Jersey*, by S. Smith.

by a similar renunciation being avowed in the works of respectable writers connected with the navy. The two Forsters, who accompanied Captain Cook, published largely with the same tendency, as already intimated. Sparrman, the Swedish professor, also a companion of Cook, subsequently published a work on South Africa, full of equally benevolent testimonies in favour of coloured people. Ferguson, as shewn above, had written his fine essay on the History of Civil Society, in which the errors of Rousseau, as to the perfections of the savage man, were corrected; and where the prospect of his steady, although slow, progress towards civilization is displayed, perhaps, in the most attractive manner ever penned.* Poetry had made this theme peculiarly her own; and Cowper and Campbell† had almost hallowed the claims of the

* A sixth edition of this book was published in 1793.

† Long after Mr. Campbell wrote the Pleasures of Hope, and Gertrude of Wyoming, he did justice to the appeal of a young Indian, in a manner few but the writer of those poems could have done. The *savage* wished to repair his father's reputation, which had been damaged by a verse from Mr. Campbell's pen. The subject has since been discussed in America; and the following anecdote, told in a volume printed at Boston, is a satisfactory confirmation of the propriety of the appeal. The English commander of a military party, under which the chief Brant, the young Indian's father, was fighting, entering a house, ordered a

negro and the Indian to our kindly sympathies by the devotions of genius.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in his lectures, delivered at about this period, Mackintosh, furnished with all the learning of his time, and, if infirm of purpose, still eminently enlightened upon questions concerning the progress of the human race, should have brought within the range of his splendid scheme of natural and international law, some consideration of the rights of the rudest as well as a searching scrutiny of the duties of the most civilized of the species. After shewing, with great force, that its *popular* character is one of the modern improvements in the study of this law, he unfolds that wide view of it in the following noble passage:

“Nor is this the only advantage which a writer of the present age would possess over the celebrated jurists of the last century. Since that time vast additions have been made to the stock of our knowledge of human nature. Many dark periods

woman and a child to be killed; but Brant said, “*What! kill a woman and a child!* No! that child is not an enemy to the king, nor a friend to the congress. Long before he will be big enough to do any mischief, the dispute will be settled.” *Drake's Book of the Indians*, 1837, b. v., p. 90. See *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. iv., No. xiv. for 1822, p. 97.

of history have since been explored. Many hitherto unknown regions of the globe have been visited and described by travellers and navigators, not less intelligent than intrepid. We may be said to stand at the confluence of the greatest number of streams of knowledge flowing from the most distant sources that ever met at one point. We are not confined, as the learned of the last age generally were, to the history of those renowned nations who are our masters in literature. We can bring before us man in a lower and more abject condition than any in which he was ever before seen. The records have been partly opened to us of those mighty empires of Asia, where the beginnings of civilization are lost in the darkness of an unfathomable antiquity. We can make human society pass in review before our mind, from the brutal and helpless barbarism of *Terra del Fuego*, and the mild and voluptuous savages of *Otaheite*, to the tame, but ancient and immovable civilization of China, which bestows its own arts on every successive race of conquerors; to the meek and servile natives of Hindostan, who preserve their ingenuity, their skill, and their science, through a long series of ages, under the yoke of foreign tyrants; to the gross and incorrigible rudeness of the Ottomans, incapable of improvement, and extinguishing the remains of civilization among their

unhappy subjects, once the most ingenious nations of the earth. We can examine almost every imaginable variety in the character, manners, opinions, feelings, prejudices, and institutions of mankind, into which they can be thrown, either by the rudeness of barbarism, or by the capricious corruptions of refinement, or by those innumerable combinations of circumstances, which, both in these opposite conditions and in all the intermediate stages between them, influence or direct the course of human affairs. History, if I may be allowed the expression, is now a vast museum, in which specimens of every variety of human nature may be studied. From these great accessions to knowledge, lawgivers and statesmen, but, above all, moralists and political philosophers, may reap the most important instruction. They may plainly discover in all the useful and beautiful variety of governments and institutions, and under all the fantastic multitude of usages and rites which have prevailed among men, the same fundamental, comprehensive truths, the sacred master-principles which are the guardians of human society, recognized and revered (with few and slight exceptions) by every nation upon earth, and uniformly taught (with still fewer exceptions) by a succession of wise men from the first dawn of speculation to the present moment. The exceptions, few as they

are, will, on more reflection, be found rather apparent than real. If we could raise ourselves to that height from which we ought to survey so vast a subject, these exceptions would altogether vanish; the brutality of a handful of savages would disappear in the immense prospect of human nature, and the murmurs of a few licentious sophists would not ascend to break the general harmony. This consent of mankind in first principles, and this endless variety in their application, which is one among many valuable truths which we may collect from our present extensive acquaintance with the history of man, is itself of vast importance. Much of the majesty and authority of virtue is derived from their consent, and almost the whole of practical wisdom is founded on their variety."

In the close he opens his proposed details, so as to make it deeply to be lamented that this discourse should be but a fragment:

"The next great division of the subject," says Sir James Mackintosh, "is the law of nations, strictly and properly so called. I have already hinted at the general principles on which this law is founded. They, like all the principles of natural jurisprudence, have been more happily cultivated, and more generally obeyed, in some ages and countries than in others; and, like them, are sus-

ceptible of great variety in their application, from the character and usages of nations. I shall consider these principles in the gradation of those which are necessary to any tolerable intercourse between nations; those which are essential to all well-regulated and mutually advantageous intercourse; and those which are highly conducive to the preservation of a mild and friendly intercourse between civilized states. Of the first class, every understanding acknowledges the necessity, and some traces of a faint reverence for them are discovered even among the most barbarous tribes; of the second, every well-informed man perceives the important use, and they have generally been respected by all polished nations: of the third, the great benefit may be read in the history of modern Europe, where alone they have been carried to their full perfection. In unfolding the first and second class of principles, I shall naturally be led to give an account of that law of nations, which, in greater or less perfection, has *regulated the intercourse of savages*, of the Asiatic empires, and of the ancient republics. The third brings me to the consideration of the law of nations, as it is now acknowledged in Christendom."

This was bringing questions, arising upon the hitherto unhappy collision of the different races of men, within the statesman's theoretical enquiries. It was peculiarly the duty of the colonial-office to

apply such enquiries wisely and humanely to our practice. A new colonial world had grown up under our influence whilst the public mind was thus improving: but it will be seen, by a review of facts, that the errors of administration which had made the condition of the aborigines in our old colonial world a frightful ruin, and had lost us half our old colonial dominions, became more inveterate and more fatal by more and more unobstructed exercise. The expense of Two Hundred Millions had not yet taught the people of England that it would be wise to reform that administration.

The peculiar working of the system, as to the coloured races, will be considered in the chapter upon the new colonial era which opened after the general peace in 1815, when the bureaucratic spirit came into collision with the national energies, then taking a new direction, with all the vigour that has ever characterized the people of our race.

It has been seen,* that Wesley's honest sagacity enabled him to detect the foulness of the principles advocated in the "Prince" of Machiavel. The "Statesman," just cited, is professed to be written in the spirit of that volume, and to be the result of the author's experience in the colonial office; the example, therefore, of Wesley ought not to be lost to his followers, and the numerous body unconnected with them, who have transactions there.

* Page 111.

CHAPTER XII.

EXTENSION OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS, AND OF OTHER MEANS OF INSTRUCTING AND ELEVATING COLOURED TRIBES AFTER 1794.—OLD AND NEW SOCIETIES.—POLITICAL CHARACTER OF RELIGIOUS MISSIONS.

THE amount of missionary and other efforts, now made for the instruction of coloured tribes, may be computed at £500,000 per annum in money, principally distributed by some of the following societies, the money being voted by parliament, or raised by voluntary subscriptions; the table including the older societies, so as to shew, in one view, the progress of the spirit that directs these efforts.

SOCIETIES DEVOTED, IN A GREATER OR LESS DEGREE, TO THE COLOURED TRIBES.

<i>Date of Foundations.</i>		<i>Present Income.</i>
1649.	The Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England. 70, Fenchurch Street.	
1684.	The First Anti-Slavery Association. Pennsylvania	

170 BRITISH COLONIZATION		
Date of Foundations.		Present Income.
1696.	The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 67, Lincoln's Inn Fields	118,500
1701.	The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts	106,149
1709.	The Scottish Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Edinburgh	
1732.	The Missions of the Church of the United Brethren. 97, Hatton Garden	12,545
1750.	Book Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor. 19, Paternoster Row	731
1756.	The Association to Promote Peace with the Indians. Philadelphia. £5000 a year for 7 years	
1762.	The Corporations for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians. Boston, New England	
1783.	The Anti-Slavery Society of the Friends in London	
1785.	The Wesleyan Methodist Missions	
1787.	The Slavery Abolition Committee	
1788.	The African Association	
1792.	The Baptists' Missionary Society. Fen Court, Fenchurch Street	15,709
	The Sierra Leone Company	
1794.	The Society for Converting the Negroes in the West Indies	
1795.	The London Missionary Society. Bloomfield Street	71,335
1796.	The Scottish Missionary Society	3,175
—	The General Assembly's Foreign Missions	4,312

AND COLOURED TRIBES.

171

Date of Foundations.		Present Income.
1797.	The Glasgow Missionary Society	
1799.	The Tract Society. Paternoster Row .	67,775
1800.	The Church Missionary Society. Sailsbury Square	84,000
1802.	Cape of Good Hope Missionary Society	
1805.	The British and Foreign Bible Society	129,000
1812.	The African Institution	
1815.	The Wesleyan Missionary Society. 77, Hatton Garden	81,735
1816.	The General Baptist Society. Derby	
1823.	The Anti-Slavery Society. 18, Aldermanbury	
1831.	The Asiatic Translation Society	
1835.	The Bengal Establishment for Instructing the Natives in English	25,000
1835.	The Branches of the South Australian Colony, for the Instruction of the Natives. Adelphi Terrace	
1836.	The Aborigines Protection Society. 4, Bloomfield Street	
1837.	The Central Negro Emancipation Society	
1837.	The New Zealand Association, 20, Adam Street, Adelphi	
1838.	The Society for Securing Redress of Colonial Grievances in Individual Cases. 21, Lincoln's Inn Fields	

Several societies are managed by females for the improvement of various classes of people of colour, such as the Society for Promoting Female Education

in the East. Numerous small societies are formed in the colonies, such as the Scottish society in Bombay, supported by subscriptions, amounting to £1300 a year; and, in estimating the character of colonists in regard to coloured people, it should not be forgotten that a considerable proportion of all the missionary funds arises from them.

A complete estimate of the good effects of missions upon the population of the colonies, white as well as coloured, and upon the government, as well as upon the people at large, will not be attempted; and the errors of missionaries will only be noticed in reference to events at this moment calling loudly for public attention. A full historical view of those good effects on the one side, and of those errors on the other, would require too extensive an examination of details for this small volume.

Different societies in modern times, as well as in the seventeenth century, were singularly fortunate in their beginning of their labours, in the character of their leading missionaries. The Moravians had Heckewelder; the Baptists had Dr. Carey; the Wesleyans, Dr. Coke; the London Society, Dr. Vanderkemp; at a later date, the Church Missionary Society had Henry Martin: they have now respectable individuals among their numerous missionaries; but those above named

have gone to their reward. They were preeminently qualified to open the way in a new career, not so much demanding the zeal of the polemical martyr, although having its peculiar dangers, as the more rare qualities of an elevated understanding, and a pure disinterestedness of heart.

All the societies have made great progress, considering the circumstances in which they are placed. But none have surpassed what Eliot and the Puritans of New England effected in the seventeenth century. The success of Dr. Vanderkemp, his colleagues and followers, among the Hottentots, within and without the colony of the Cape, is, perhaps, the most complete; or that of the same society in some of the South Sea Islands. But it is plain, that more efforts are needed, in order to bring to a better issue exertions which have proved the capacity of coloured men to become civilized. Dr. Pearson has lately declared candidly that, "after all that has been attempted, the labourers in this vast harvest are but few;"* and the Honorable and Reverend Baptist Noel has calculated the amount of pecuniary resources now indispensable for the employment of a sufficient number of them, for which the actual funds are far short.†

* Sermon before the Church Missionary Society, 1829-30, p. 13.

† Ibid., 1833-4, p. 23.

None of the societies trust to religion alone. Even Vanderkemp, to whom the contrary practice is strongly imputed, learned the art of making bricks himself in London, in order that he might be able to teach Africans how to build good houses,—that great step in all civilization; and he may be said to have shortened his days, by his ceaseless struggles to get them justice. There is, indeed, a remarkable concurrence of opinion on this point among the most eminent friends of this cause. The missions of every denomination of Protestants,—those of the Church of England, the Moravians, the Independents, the Baptists, the Wesleyans, the Scottish,—all present animated spectacles of workshops, farms, and school-houses, thickening round their churches and chapels; and the occupations of merely civilized men carried on with vigour and success, hand in hand with Christian duties, by tens of thousands, whose fathers, and often themselves, were lately naked, and houseless, and possessionless barbarians. In Caffreland, at this moment, under the able direction of the Rev. William Shaw, of the Wesleyan Society, a clever monthly magazine, in the Caffre and English languages, is diffusing *miscellaneous* knowledge among an intelligent people, remarkable for their wish for improvement.*

* Graham's Town Journal, 13 July, 1837.

A missionary station is indeed a school and example of civilization to the barbarian and savage. In a recent case, the Church Missionary Society has even begun to send out a medical practitioner, who is not an ordained minister, but merely a man of science.* Others have sent out mere artisans along with missionary ministers; and most of them are aware of the importance of *orderly* colonial establishments to their own success.

Of late years, an improved spirit has influenced the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Its failure in the case of the Indians of North America, where Moravians Baptists, and lately the Wesleyans, have had marked success, seems to have stimulated its efforts elsewhere; and recently it has warmly seconded one of the most important missionary undertakings ever proposed. The following correspondence deserves to be recorded in proof of this statement:

“Provision for Religious Instruction in the Colony of New Zealand.

“Copy of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. HINDS to the Rev. A. M. CAMPBELL, Secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

“Oct. 28, 1837.

“This accompanies a small volume on the Colo-

* Report for 1836-7.

nization of New Zealand, which I will beg the favour of you to lay before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, requesting their attention to that portion of the book which relates to the propagating of the Gospel among the natives. I cannot doubt that it will be a subject of interest to the Society, and it may perhaps be in their power to afford some aid towards a work so much in accordance with their own views and objects. The proposal of applying to Government for the erection of a new Bishopric is the most important feature in the plan; and its importance must, of course, be most sensibly felt by the members of our own Church; but it will be gratifying to the Society to know, that its general importance to all the best interests of the Colony is so fully appreciated by the New Zealand Association, *that a cordial assent has been given to it, even by those who are not members of our Church.*"

"Copy of the Reply.

"Trafalgar-square; Nov. 27, 1837.

"I am directed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, together with that of a volume on the Colonization of New Zealand; and I am to assure you that the Society is sensible of the great importance of the proposed Settlement, and that, as soon as

the sanction of Parliament has been obtained, it will be ready to consider what assistance it can give towards providing for the religious instruction of the Colonists."

British India and the East, first opened to missionary instruction by Dr. Carey and the Baptists, have offered an extensive field to the more recent efforts of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and to the other Church of England Missionary Society, that for promoting Christian Knowledge. An able Scottish minister, the present Dr. John Mitchell, of Glasgow, threw great light over the whole subject in his Essay, published thirty-three years ago, in Edinburgh. It is entitled "An Essay on the best Means of Civilizing the Subjects of the British Empire in India, and of Diffusing the Light of the Christian Religion throughout the Eastern World; to which the University of Glasgow adjudged Dr. Buchanan's Prize."*

The failure of several attempts, made by missionary bodies within fifty years, to *begin* the task of improving barbarians *by civil means indepen-*

* Blackwood, Edinburgh; and Cadell and Davies, London, 1805. 4to. This essay ranks with that of Mr. Clarkson's on the Slave-Trade; Dr. Carey's on Missions; and the Rev. H. Raikes's on the Connection of Commerce with Civilization; and it is more scarce than either of them.

dently of religious instructions, has still more strongly convinced reflecting men that the old method is the right one in kind; and that it ought to be put in operation on an adequate scale. The unsuccessful attempts alluded to may be explained by two examples; namely, that of the laymen sent out, in the early days of the South Sea Mission, by the London Society; and that of Western Africa, tried by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. They were experiments, hazarded in compliance with *civilizing* views, perseveringly urged in the last century, when our experience, although considerable, was not equal to what we possess at present.

In addition to this fatal proof of the evil of trusting to civil efforts *alone* for the improvement of the native people, it has also been found hitherto, that government is rarely their friend, and too often their adversary; whilst, upon all the systems of colonization *heretofore* in force, the interests of the natives have been sacrificed to those of the settlers.

Hence has sprung an error which is the more dangerous, inasmuch as it rests on specious grounds; and inasmuch as it goes directly to corrupt the missionary bodies themselves which entertain it, and so to weaken their good influence, when the most wanted. That error is as follows: some of the missionaries main-

tain, that *none but themselves* are capable of struggling with the difficulties which all agree impede the progress and improvement of the barbarian, when in conflict with the white adventurers now scattered over every sea, and crowding into the remotest lands.

This opinion of the influence of missionary operations seems to be open to most material objections. In the first place, if the missionaries establish themselves firmly and exclusively in the countries which they have selected, the possession of such power will corrupt them. At present, as they are cautiously acting in arduous posts, and in a precarious position, they may have resisted its seductions; but they are men; and the very endeavour to entrench themselves in those posts suggests a hint of their sharing in the weakness of our common nature. In the second place, it is physically and morally impossible that their religious duties should be duly performed, if shared along with the management of great civil and perhaps military affairs. Again, if a large body of missionaries be not sent out, the whole work must languish for want of labourers; and if missionary labourers enough go abroad, it will demand all the prudence of statesmen, not ecclesiastics, to protect and govern them, and watch over the great political and social changes that must result from their success.

The conclusion is, that the government must act in this important matter. Society must cure the evils which its vices have caused; and there are symptoms enough that public opinion is becoming sound in regard to what is wanted on this head. Missionary success has paved the way for great reforms in the colonizing operations of this country; and the missionaries must not mar their good wish by unwise pretensions or groundless fears; but lend a willing hand to remove the many difficulties still to be overcome: and, instead of grasping at more than the government ought ever to have forced upon them by its neglects, rejoice that the time is hastening, when their labours may be more and more efficient, by being diverted into more and more restricted channels. The missionaries have done wonders in the period of their minority; and their good career may be only beginning: but if, in the place of producing great results, indirectly, by improving society at home as well as abroad, they attempt to govern, they will ruin all. Their best friends are the last, however, to claim for them any fancied exemptions from the imperfections of our nature; and look forward anxiously, although in strong confidence, that their new trials in *prosperity* will furnish future annals with an equally good report. But recent occurrences

prove the danger of leaving missionaries unchecked by good government. In New Zealand, large tracts of land, viz. from 5000 acres to thirty miles of coast, have been bought by them for their families by some of the Church Missionary Society, a fact treated as a calumny when asserted by a French voyager.* A member of the Wesleyan Society, too, in the same country, apparently unconscious of his equivocal position, has just announced that *he* has "at this moment contracts of the sale of about fourteen extensive and valuable estates in New Zealand, as well as others over which *he* may, at choice, exercise a similar power."† The warmth of controversy, respecting the colonization of New Zealand, has brought forward these revelations which support the testimony of Captain Laplace to our discredit, and give a degree of force to another of his accusations, which ought to be scrupulously sifted, as it is made formally in a volume published by the French government, and impeaches our national character.

* "Je le demande, quelle vénération peuvent inspirer aux naturels des gens presque tous spéculateurs, dont le premier soin est d'acheter les plus belles terres au meilleur marché possible."—Voyage de la Favorite, par M. La Place; Paris, 1835. Vol. iv. p. 31.

† Letter from the Rev. W. White to E. G. Wakefield, esq. p. 2.

“The missionaries of the Bay of Islands, says Captain La Place, exhibit neither the charity which all the ministers of religion profess, nor the generosity for which their countrymen are remarkable towards strangers. My offers, and my solicitations to obtain from them some refreshments for our sick, were alike vain; and I soon convinced myself that these preachers of the gospel, suspecting me of political purposes, endeavoured to disturb the harmony that existed between me and the natives, by insinuating to them that I meant to take possession of the bay, and revenge the massacre of Marion.”*

These allegations are sufficiently grave to demand refutation if incorrect; and if true, they ought to lead to the correction of the misconduct complained of. The good feeling which the visits of foreign ships of war to our colonial ports usually call forth on all sides ought not to be lightly dissipated.

* Voyage de la Favorite, vol. iv. p. 35.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW COLONIAL ERA, 1815-1837.—ITS CHARACTERISTICS. — COMMERCE. — ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—EXPOSURE OF ABUSES IN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD.— COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY.—EMFRANCHISEMENT OF THE HOTTENTOTS. — RESULT. — FOUNDATION OF NEW COLONIES.—MR. GOURLAY. — MR. WAKEFIELD. — COMPANIES. — TREATIES WITH NATIVES.—PURCHASE OF LANDS FROM NATIVES BY PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS.—PUBLIC OPINION.—INFLUENCE OF LITERATURE.—MR. PRINGLE.

AFTER the general peace, the enterprising spirit of the people necessarily took a new direction. Contracts and campaigning gave way to whaling voyages in the South Seas and wool-growing in Australia. Drawing for the militia, and volunteering to our two hundred battalions of the line, have been succeeded by the emigration of the same classes of individuals, rich and poor, that swelled the ranks of the army, and crowded our ships of war, to the old and to new colonies. This state of things has had various effects upon coloured tribes. It has unquestionably tended to the in-

crease of missionary efforts in their favour; and has brought their whole case more speedily under public notice than could otherwise have happened. It has also contributed greatly to prepare the way for a general colonial reform, which, wisely directed, may become exceedingly beneficial to them. But it is, perhaps, of still more immediate importance, that the peaceful commercial character of this era has a direct influence upon the interests of coloured people, and that such influence is more capable of useful extension than almost any other. The founder of Sunday Schools, the Rev. R. Raikes, wrote an able essay to prove the advantages which might be derived from commerce; and great will be the reproach if we do not realize such anticipations. Trading with the less civilized tribes takes every day a wider range; and its natural influence being still greatly perverted by many errors, it will be an useful task to show what improvements can be made in all the different kinds of trading carried on with these tribes, so as to correct these errors.

Before, however, attempting to explain how those improvements may be made, one example, found in the midst of millions of barbarians, and that certainly not a solitary one, deserves to be detailed as a perfect demonstration both of their capacity to share all the benefits of commerce, and

of its usefulness in promoting their civilization. This interesting case is given from a paper, read before the Geographical Society, by Mr. G. W. Earl, the author of an excellent volume upon the Eastern Archipelago. It is that of the inhabitants of the Arrú Islands, a small group situated forty miles south-west of New Guinea, and at a short distance from the track of ships passing from New South Wales and the South Seas, beyond Torres' Straits, into the Indian Ocean.

“As the Arrú islands,” says Mr. Earl, “are supposed to contain no spice trees, the Dutch have not formed any establishment* in them; and they are consequently thickly inhabited by an industrious population, chiefly agricultural—a mixture of the New Guinea negro and the Arafura, or brown-complexioned, straight-haired race. They are larger and more powerful than the Malays and Javanese. They are noted for their honesty, and are not easily offended. The women† are well treated by their husbands. The majority are Pagans; but there are many Christians and Mohammedans among them: the former probably

* The Arrú Islands seem also to be beyond the limits of the Dutch possessions in India.

† The most commercial people of the Archipelago, the inhabitants of Celebes, are remarkable for the elevated station held among them by women.

emigrants from some of the islands near Timor and the Moluccas, the people of which have been converted to Christianity, and partly civilized, by the persevering Dutch missionaries. The Arrús are the *entrepôt* of the products of the neighbouring coasts and islands; and much commercial intercourse prevails with them, chiefly confined to the Chinese and native traders. Tortoise-shell, bees-wax, ambergris, Missory bark (an aromatic resembling cinnamon, much used in the East, but never imported into Europe*), birds of Paradise, trepang, and birds' nests, are the chief exports. Fresh provisions and supplies for shipping may here be procured in abundance. British manufactures are introduced among the Arrús and adjacent islands by the Bughis, through the medium of Macassar, and at a profit not uncommonly of eight hundred per cent. Had the British settlement on the northern coast of Australia, at Port Essington or Raffles' Bay, for instance, only distant 250 miles from the Arrú Islands, not been abandoned, it would, with proper arrangements, have shortly become (concludes Mr. Earl) the emporium of this part of the Archipelago."†

* Missory bark has been brought to England, but it was disregarded.

† Paper read by Mr. Earl, at the Geographical Society, 13th March 1837.—*Athenæum*, 18th March.

This example of the civilizing effects of free and peaceful commerce will be best appreciated by reflecting upon the component parts of the population of the Arrú Islands, and upon the circumstances in which that population is placed. Here the natives of New Guinea, commonly classed as an inferior race of irreclaimable savages, quit their wild habits; and associating in friendly equality with the itinerant traders from the more northerly islands, and from China, who bring our manufactures thither, constitute a link between us and the millions of their race in New Holland, New Guinea, and the adjacent islands, whose inhabitants wait only for equally favorable circumstances to follow their example. To this end much would be gained, if the security given to the Arrú islanders from natural position were afforded to their neighbours by wise policy on the part of the English, the Americans, the Dutch, and the other civilized people who have maritime influence. At least the independence of such places as the Arrús ought to be guaranteed by all possible means, as affording the surest encouragement to millions of barbarians, and as calculated to render civilization as accessible as it clearly is acceptable to them. These islands now offer a safe resort to the strangers who seek many valuable articles to be collected in a natural state among the more barbarous tribes near them. The

periodical winds and tranquil seas, in those latitudes, favour the navigators of even the rudest canoes. Some of the wilder men meet these strangers in this common asylum; and gradually, in spite of the frightful impediments of the slave-trade and piracies, a civilizing commerce creeps from point to point; and its course may be clearly traced along a series of most interesting settlements,* where a white man's name has scarcely ever been heard!

But if white governments would, as with ease they might, foster these good tendencies of even the most uncultivated tribes, all parts of the world would rapidly feel the effects of the change, by commercial relations becoming extended not more profitably to the natives than to ourselves.

Mr. Earl's testimony, on this occasion, to the fact of the Eastern negro race indicating a desire for improvement, in their eagerness to trade with strangers, is supported by other voyagers, early and recent. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several distinguished navigators returned from this part of the Eastern Archipelago, strongly impressed with the good capacity and hospitable demeanour of the natives, when brought under favorable circumstances. This experience led to

* See the example of Pulo Nias, recorded by Sir Stamford Raffles, *Memoirs*, ii. 277

proposals being made for colonizing New Britain, discovered by Dampier on the opposite side of New Guinea, from the Arrú Islands: "a country," said the projector, truly, "of fruitful vallies and well wooded hills; with robust inhabitants of the negro race, easily brought into communication, and even perfect submission, with gentle and good usage."*

An expedition sent by the Dutch to the west coast of New Guinea, in 1828, completely verified these statements. Tribes were found in various degrees of barbarism, the most remote and the least known being the most barbarous: but all were eager to traffic with the Dutch for bark or otherwise; and the least remote, to whom Mussulman traders came periodically, gave the white people so friendly a reception, as to induce them, after staying two months, to found a new settlement on this part of the New Guinea coast, in lat. 3° 33' south.

The example of Singapore, also noticed by Mr. Earl, with a just tribute to the memory of its illustrious founder, Sir Stamford Raffles, proves what may be done in these seas, by "the union of native industry and British enterprise."† The success of Singapore was complete in the short

* Mod. Univ. History, 1759, xi. 363.

† Mr. Earl's paper, *ante*.

space of seven years, so long as the sound principles of Sir Stamford prevailed. His means were, protection to the people, free trade, economical government, absence of taxes, checks on the government by sharing it with the native and white merchants, encouragement to moral and intellectual improvement, and consequent public confidence.* These principles have, from time to time, been infringed by the successors of Sir Stamford Raffles, and the result has uniformly shown the impolicy of the change. At this moment, not only is protection ill afforded to the commerce of Singapore, but the measure was contemplated of raising a duty on its exports and imports. The fatal tendency of such a measure is clearly and strongly demonstrated by Mr. Earl, who declares that it will drive the trade of the Archipelago from that settlement into its old channels, and perhaps to the neighbouring Dutch free port of Rhio.†

The trade of Singapore, which, in 1819, was an insignificant fishing village,‡ and a haunt of pirates,§ in spite of recent errors in policy, is an eloquent eulogy of Sir Stamford Raffles' views,

* Memoirs of Sir Stamford Raffles, vol. ii. pp. 10, 74, 264, 267, 271, 273, and 280.

† Earl's Eastern Seas, p. 408.

‡ Mem. of Sir S. Raffles, vol. ii. p. 12.

§ Ib. vol. ii. p. 268.

both for the civilization of the Eastern Archipelago, and for our own profit.

In two years and a half from its foundation as a British settlement in 1819, the imports and exports were £1,600,000; and after some fluctuations it rose steadily, in 1836, to £2,888,000.

The same creation and increase of trade have occurred in New Zealand. In 1794, Governor King kidnapped two chiefs, to teach us how to work the flax; in 1814, the first missionary efforts were made in the Bay of Islands; and now business is done yearly, in the whole country, to the amount of £1,500,000.

To what extent, against all expectations, trade may be carried on in barbarous countries has been proved in South Africa, in regard to ivory. Thirty years ago, Barrow asserted that it could not be reckoned among the valuable exports from the Cape, and he sets the average amount of it at about twelve hundred weight. During twenty years, the government verified his observation, not by trying the trade, but by prohibiting it. At length, the Africans were allowed to bring elephants' teeth to our frontiers; and ever since this change of system, the amount exported has increased twenty, thirty, and forty-fold, with only such fluctuations as impolicy in other respects occasionally exposes the interior trade to.

I proceed to show the unsatisfactory way in

which commerce has long been carried on by us in 'barbarous countries, ever since we ourselves could be called barbarians. Its various modes may be ranged under the following heads :

1. The expeditions of the early discoverers of new countries and their predecessors of the middle ages, which were often mere marauding parties.

2. The system of conquest, which for the most part must be little better than marauding on a large scale.

3. With a privileged company, as that which has possessed the exclusive trading to Hudson's Bay for 167 years.

4. With companies without exclusive privileges, such as those of Denmark, Sweden, and Ostend, to India, in the last century.

5. With government establishments, and some licensed private traders, as was tried in the United States of North America during many years.

6. With licensed private traders without government commercial establishments, as is now practised in North America and in South Africa on an extensive scale.

7. By free traders unlicensed, as is now practised by us and by the Americans on an extensive scale in the South and Eastern seas, and in West Africa.

8. By aid of missionaries, as in some islands of the South Seas, in Labrador, and elsewhere.

Although some of these modes of trading have conferred extensive benefits upon barbarous tribes, others have greatly injured them; and none provide sufficiently for their wants when opening new communications with civilized people. The worst are some of the privileged companies, which, not content with themselves neglecting the improvement of the natives, have often opposed their being instructed by others; and generally oppress them in dealing. Privileged companies have commonly adopted the system of conquest, as a means of extending their operations; and their violent proceedings, in order to crush resistance, may be said to bear the character of the old marauding expeditions, with the aggravation of being permanent, whilst those expeditions were occasional only.

It has been usual to cite the Dutch as the great examples under this head; and if the reproach be directed against their India Company, not against the nation, it is unquestionably deserved. But the admirable conduct of missionaries* from Holland proves that there is nothing in the character of the Dutch people to incapacitate them from a very different career.

But the example of the Dutch in India is very

* Van der Kemp was a Hollander.

far indeed from being solitary. Our own Hudson's Bay Company equals them in all points. Its gains have been enormously disproportioned to the price paid to the Indians for the articles exported. If it has never destroyed valuable native productions in order to secure monopoly prices, as was done in the Spice Islands, it has prevented the natives becoming prosperous cultivators of the soil, in order that they might remain more useful to itself as hunters. It has been lately declared to the House of Commons, not only that the Company has no establishment for educating or civilizing the Indians, but that its servants have inflicted fatal diseases on them, and that it carries on a system of trading which reduces the people to the condition of indebted slaves.* This Company, too, instead of importing provisions for their servants, as they ought to do, tempts the Indians by spirits to sell their own scanty supplies of food; the consequence of which is, that great numbers of them die of famine.† So long ago as in 1752, the Moravian brethren applied in vain to the Hudson's Bay Company for leave to preach the Gospel to the Indians belonging to their factories; and to improve their con-

* Evidence before the Aborigines' Committee, 1836, p. 642; and see *Modern Universal History*, xli., p. 128.

† *Ibid.* p. 640.

dition in other respects.* Yet experience proved, in the analogous example of Greenland, that after the Moravians had settled there, the merchant got as large a quantity of produce from the people, at the missionary establishments alone, as before from the whole district.† So long ago as the year 1741, vehement complaints were made in Parliament against this Company, on the ground of its disregard of the claims of the Indians; and in the course of its dissensions with the North-west Company, a few years ago, it was confessed, that those claims had never been respected on its part.‡ The Church Missionary Society now has stations in this part of America; but in no part of the world is reform more needed.

These facts show, that the proposal§ of Mr. Burchell, the traveller, to invest a joint-stock company *with exclusive rights*, in the hope that its respectability will insure justice to the natives, is little recommended by experience.

No privileges, however, belonging to private companies have ever produced so much evil to barbarous tribes as the monopolies exercised by

* Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. ii., p. 125.

† Ibid., pp. 182, 208.

‡ See pamphlets of 1819; in their controversy.

§ Travels in South Africa.

governments. These state monopolies are not only equivalent to private privileges, but they are infinitely less controlled by any superior power. Such, for instance, was the monopoly of the Greenland trade, secured by a law to the Danish crown. It completely crushed the old colonies, which had successfully resisted the severest inclemency of climate, and the extreme violences of the middle ages. After ruining the foreign commerce, it compelled the Christian colonists to quit a country to which no merchant could come to trade with them. The fatal law being repealed, profitable intercourse with Greenland has revived.*

* Crantz's *Greenland*, 1820; and Graah's *Narrative of a Voyage to discover the lost Colonies in Greenland*. The accounts of these two writers are confirmed by Professor Magnussen, who, however, is too indulgent to the English traders: "The English trade," says he, "would, no doubt, have been conducted peacefully, and advantageously for the country, if Erik and the other monopolists of Bergen had not strove to impede it, and prohibited others from carrying on a trade which they could not carry on themselves. It was owing to such impolitic and arbitrary proceedings that the European colony in Greenland was lost: and Iceland would probably have shared the same fate, had not British merchants, in spite of prohibition, supplied it with articles absolutely necessary for the existence of its inhabitants."—*The Northern Antiquarian Miscellany*, quoted in the *Athenæum*, 19th August, 1836, p. 597.

The experience of the United States of North America, during many years, proves that *government trading posts*, although established especially for the benefit of the natives, are liable to abuses, perhaps impossible to be corrected.* Long ago, the Caffres pointed out to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope (without, however, producing conviction), that to expect goods at *very moderate prices* from the government, as promised, would be a vain reliance. "They preferred trading with the colonists, although it was proved, and is easily to be conceived, that they were almost always overreached by them."†

Daily occurrences, where the *licensing* system prevails, prove too, that something more than the check of licenses is indispensable for the protection of the natives; whilst to let *free trade* go on without attempting, along with it, to guarantee justice being done between the various parties now in active commercial communication on the free-trading plan, would also be betraying an utter disregard to the dictates of daily experience.

How perseveringly the civilized trader, of every denomination, abuses his superior knowledge and strength when dealing with uncivilized people, is

* State Papers (Indians). Folio. Washington, 1832.

† Lichtenstein, i. 315.

not a matter of doubtful or vague speculation. It was but the other day, that the captain of an East India ship received a Malay merchant on board, with native produce for sale; and, in order to get it at a low price, actually kept the merchant prisoner till he took the Englishman's offer. Again, in another part of the world, New Zealand, in 1830, the captain of a British vessel obtained a cargo of flax by assisting in the massacre of a party of the natives, under circumstances of extreme atrocity.* Again, in the South Sea Islands, acts of oppression in dealing, on the part of the Europeans, has been a frequent source of mischief, says the Secretary of the London Missionary Society; and he supports the assertion by citing cases.† Again, at Natal, in South Africa, traders have been known to go, in the name of the king of the country, to a chief of a town, and get cattle from him, on pretence that the king had ordered the sale, although it was not the case;‡ and although the act must expose other parties to the greatest danger.

This point may be summed up correctly in the language of Sir Stamford Raffles, in regard to

* Evidence before the Aborigines' Committee of the House of Commons, 1836.

† *Ibid.* p. 501.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 463.

trade in the Eastern Seas: "Our intercourse with the Malays," says he, "has been carried on almost exclusively by adventurers little acquainted with either the country or people, and who have frequently been more remarkable for boldness than principle. The want of any settled basis of traffic, and the long indifference of the British government to the complaints of either party, had produced so many impositions, reprisals, piracies, and murders, that it has fairly been observed, that every eastern trader must have been himself very much in the situation of a trader in spirits, tobacco, and blankets, among the Indians of North America."*

Such is the abominable character of the ordinary systems of commercial intercourse between us and various uncivilized tribes. But even in the most successful cases, after great progress is made by the missionary to elevate, and something is conceded by the government towards protecting, barbarous people, a new and difficult period follows. The half-civilized natives, in their transition, acquire many wants, with diminishing means of gratifying them; and they find themselves in collision with new neighbours, their superiors in intelligence, and habitual calculators how to turn

* *Memoirs of Sir Stamford Raffles*, i. 90.

that superiority to account at their expense. In this state of things, it is of great importance to help the weaker parties *through the period of change* in their condition, if we would not see them perish during the hard struggle: and miserable indeed is the philosophy that declares destruction inevitable in such a case, when reasonable efforts might avert it! The most experienced friends of the natives have perceived the danger of such a crisis; and they have sought to meet it in various ways. The Jesuits in Paraguay took the unfortunate course of attempting to stop communication altogether between their people and all the whites but themselves. The Moravian Brethren have always been remarkable for their views on this head, with extensively beneficial results. The Wesleyans in Caffreland succeeded, in spite of great opposition, in doing something that was excellent, as far as it went, in the same way;* as Dr. Philip, of the London Missionary Society, had done before: and the Rev. John Williams, of the same society, has laid before Parliament a clear view of the difficulty of the case in the South Seas, where, says he, "a new system is wanted; for unless the resources of the natives are enlarged, of course their civilization must stop

* Evidence before the Aborigines' Committee, 1836, p. 93.

at a particular period. It will not do to Christianize the people, and to leave them in a state of barbarism."* In the same spirit, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society stated to Parliament, that he thought the government was bound "to care for finding the liberated Africans employment—in a certain sense capital, though that term is used in a very low signification indeed—and a *market*."†

Commerce, indeed, offers one of the best means of preserving uncivilized men from a lingering but certain decay. Especially is it by studiously aiming at equalizing profits, an object difficult to be attained, that commerce may become a better instrument for improving barbarous people than it is at present, even where carried on in the least objectionable way. Attempts have been made to secure this object, by setting good prices on their produce at the places of export.‡ Such regulations, however, even if prudently made, cannot be fully executed; and although they relieve some

* Evidence before the Aborigines' Committee, 1836, p. 674.

† Ibid., p. 514.

‡ In 1776, the Danish Commercial Company raised the tariff of prices given to the Greenlanders for seal skins and other commodities, in order to protect them from frauds. Crantz, ii. 240.

distress, they do not, at the best, sufficiently tend to make the natives independent or enlightened, so as to be able to protect themselves: but the time is arrived, when trading more and more *with their own agency* may be projected, without incurring the imputation of Utopianism.

It was a great step to this when trading in the bodies of coloured people as slaves was partially abolished, and emancipation of English slaves was a further step in the same direction; and it is extremely probable, that good colonial government being ensured by the regular exposure of colonial abuses, the native energies of the coloured people will enable them to acquire and maintain the respectable station indispensable to their safety.

Next to equal laws, a regular system of commissions of enquiry will be found to be of the highest utility; but they are comparatively useless, unless their reports be judiciously followed. At the Cape of Good Hope, in 1823-7, for example, most able and impartial commissioners took an admirable view of our interior policy regarding the coloured races. Their reports, however, were disregarded. At length, after wasting nearly one million sterling in resisting the new system they proposed, we have begun to reform the old policy under circumstances which raise extensive difficulties during the change. The commissioners

even in that case produced much immediate good. The missionaries had prepared the Hottentots for a new condition; and the commissioners went further, recommending their unconditional emancipation. They are now free, and therefore get fair wages; they can also hold land, and sometimes obtain grants; and, at this moment, the result as to this particular people is, that they not only produce such individuals as Andriez Stoffels, already mentioned, but they are admitted by the most sceptical opponents of the capacity of coloured tribes to be a civilized community.

Some of the settlements formed by the government since the general peace, were those in Upper Canada in 1819; at the Cape of Good Hope in 1820; at Melville Island, in the north of Australia, in 1825; at Swan River in 1829; and in South Australia in 1836. Except in the last case, not a single guarantee was devised for doing justice to the natives. In most of the expeditions, so far from making fair treaties with them, we did not even take means to understand their language. The consequences were frequent and sanguinary conflicts. In the last case, provision was made for obtaining land from the natives by treaty; for reserving one-fifth for their use; for protecting them by a special agent; for making their subsistence a charge on the new colony; for instructing them;

for building asylums for them; and for taking means to teach them habits of industry.* The opening of the court of justice, too, was marked by an energetic declaration in behalf of the natives;† but it remains to be seen how these important steps are to be followed up, and the judge's promises realized. A new colonization principle, lately proposed, will completely meet the great difficulty as to funds, if experience shall justify the hopes entertained of the good working of that principle. For several years slow steps have been making towards its development, although its propounder deserves all the honour of being the original thinker, by whom it has been laid before the public. Mr. Gourlay, whose name cannot be mentioned without feelings of deep indignation at all who caused and permitted his ruin,—the excellent and able Mr. Gourlay, did much towards the exposure of the old system, the demolition of which will be one great benefit to spring from the new views; and others had studied the whole subject with advantage. Lord Selkirk had already done much upon it; and a brother of the author, who died in 1829, Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, in 1821, wrote a pamphlet on emigration, in which were some

* House of Commons Papers, 1836. No. 491, 8.

† The South Australian Record, Nos. 1-4.

views not very dissimilar to Mr. Gourlay's; and it contained excellent provisions in favour of the Indians. But all these beginnings, by bestowing public money on the settlers, differed essentially from the principle which Mr. Wakefield has proposed, requiring money from the settlers, on the condition of their obtaining the soil; and so ensuring such a distribution of it as will be reasonably advantageous to proprietors, whilst it gives to labourers a prospect of sharing it in their turn; and it has been observed lately that this principle has also the peculiar advantage of providing an inexhaustible fund for all the establishments needed for improving the natives of any barbarous country to which it shall be supplied. Mr. H. G. Ward, of the House of Commons, has stated this principle, in the following terms. After expatiating on its value, in reference to the emigration of people from Ireland, Mr. Ward continues: "I shall be told, perhaps, that this is the dream of an enthusiast. I am no enthusiast. Besides, I have neither the merit, nor the pleasure, of invention in the present instance. I have no theory of my own to advocate, my opinions being derived from a work called 'England and America,' in which a new principle of Colonization was developed with a force of reasoning, based upon an accumulation of facts, which has always to me appeared irresistible.

From the moment that it was originally propounded by Mr. Wakefield, this principle has made converts with a rapidity, which nothing but the force of truth can account for. I never knew a man of ability yet, whatever his prepossessions might be, who did not end by adopting it, if sufficient time for reflection were allowed to him. The principle is this:—that in all countries, where land is in superabundance as compared with the population, a *sufficient* price must be affixed to the land, to secure to society the advantages of combined labour. The poorer emigrant must not be enabled, without capital or preparation of any kind, to become, *at once*, a land-owner; nor must the capitalist be tempted, by affixing too low a price to the land, to surround himself by a desert which he has not the means of cultivating. For the sake of both parties, a certain degree of external pressure must be kept up, in order to hold society together, and to preserve those relations between man and man, upon which the subsequent prosperity of all depends; while, at the same time, the pressure must not be such as to prevent any desirable degree of expansion in the field of employment for labour, in proportion as wealth and population increase. The misfortune of an old country is, that the field of employment for labour being once filled, no expansion is possible, and every addition to the population diminishes the

comforts of those already employed upon it, by bringing in new competitors to share with them in a quantity of employment, which continues stationary, or which may even be reduced by a daily improving system of combined exertion. The misfortune of a new country is just the reverse. The field of employment for labour is so vast, that it is impossible to fill it; and, unless the population be kept together by some well balanced system of artificial restraints, there is no hired or combinable labour to be procured at any price. Labour is divided into the smallest fractional parts,—the single pair of hands of the single individual: there is no cooperation; no division of employments; and, as a necessary consequence, no improvement. Such a colony may linger on for a while, but it can make no progress. The colonists may exist, they may possess an adequate supply of the necessaries of life; but they will lose, gradually, all the characteristics of civilization. However genial the climate, or fertile the soil, they can raise no exchangeable produce; and they must either vegetate, in a state of almost primitive barbarism, like the Gauchos of the Pampas, or they must seek in slave-labour, of some kind, a substitute for that free hired labour, of which their position deprives them. If we look to the history of all European colonies, we shall find that it is from this epoch that their prosperity commences. Slave-

labour, in some shape, has been universally resorted to, because, without it, cooperation was impossible. The English, the Dutch, the Spaniards, and the French, have all been slave-holders in their respective colonies. Why? The labour of the slave (to say nothing of the other evils which this system brings in its train) is admitted to be less productive than that of a freeman: it is more costly; it requires a much larger capital to commence with. Yet, in spite of all these disadvantages, slavery has existed, and exists at the present hour, in many countries where the climate presents no obstacle to free white labour, but is, on the contrary, most favorable to the health and longevity of Europeans, when transplanted there. What are we to infer from this, except that, in a certain state of society, slavery is inevitable? That it steps in to supply the want of that hired labour, which the capitalist can always command in an old country, where land is scarce and people plentiful, but which no capital can command in a new country, where there is a great abundance of unappropriated land, and a great facility in acquiring it, because every colonist becomes a landowner, and every landowner, working for himself, refuses to work for another, so that no combinable labour can be brought to bear at one time, upon one point, and all industry upon a large scale becomes impossible.

“ For the sake of the colony, then,—*without the slightest reference to the interests of the mother country, or to emigration, or to any of those reciprocal advantages, to which the system leads eventually, it becomes necessary that the power of acquiring land should be subjected to such restraints, as will secure to the colonists the advantages of combinable labour.* There must be a power to give land, and a power to withhold, vested somewhere; but as this power would be a very dangerous power if vested in an individual, and as no man would be inclined to risk his prospects upon its capricious exercise, the power itself must be subjected to certain fixed rules, in order to render its abuse impossible. Now, there is no fixed rule that can be applied to the disposal of waste land so effectual as *price*. You cannot leave the government to decide for the individual, as this would open the door to every species of favoritism, and corruption, nor can you allow the individual to decide for himself, as, wherever this has been done, the first comers have monopolized the whole waste land of the territory, and, upon the true dog-in-the-manger principle, if they could not do anything with it for their own benefit, have prevented others from doing anything with it at all. As to allowing possession to be taken of the land, upon the faith of certain conditions, to be fulfilled *subsequently*, such as

quit rents, money payments, or cultivation of the soil, experience has proved the impossibility of enforcing them. *Price*, therefore, becomes the only basis upon which a good system can be founded for the disposal of waste lands; and upon this, if the arguments used here are worth any thing, the whole fabric of colonial prosperity depends. What this price should be per acre, it is unnecessary for me to enquire. It must be a *sufficient* price, that is to say, such a price as will present, both to the capitalist and to the labourer, the greatest possible attractions,—securing to the capitalist a command of hired labour adequate to his wants, yet offering to the labourer the certainty, that, with prudence and industry, he may himself, before long, become a small capitalist, a proprietor of the soil, and a *master in his turn*, instead of being consigned, as here, to hopeless drudgery during the whole term of his natural life, or, in the colony, to a not much better existence, as an isolated cultivator. Such a state of things as this would give the fullest scope to industry, and the greatest encouragement to exertion. It would enable emigrants to combine the advantages of an old and highly civilized country with those of a field of employment for labour ready to expand, at all times, with the pressure of the population. It is impossible to conceive a progress more rapid than might be made by a

community thus situated; and this without slavery, without convict labour, without kidnapping, or bondage, or redemptioners, or any one of the various devices, that necessity has suggested for supplying the place of that free, hired labour, which a bad disposal of waste lands in an infant settlement renders unattainable.*

Usually the price, thus indispensable to be set, higher or lower according to circumstances, is considered as a fund for emigration of poorer labourers. It is not, however, held to be essential to the well working out of the principle that the money should be so spent. For sound reasons that money must, in all cases, be so disposed of to a certain amount; but it is quite consistent with the whole plan to *appropriate a sufficient portion of it to the improvement* of the natives. This state of the case, it will be perceived at once, opens most important consequences; and Mr. Wakefield will have earned a high reputation if his ingenious proposal stand the test of experience.

The settlement of private individuals upon lands, *bought by themselves* from uncivilized people, has often embarrassed the government; and it has been a subject of consideration, whether such a mode of colonization ought not to be prohibited:

* The First Step to a Poor Law for Ireland. By H. G. Ward, Esq. M.P., 1837, p. 8.

but it is at present clear that these purchases are lawful; and if they alienate the sovereignty in the soil, it vests forthwith in the crown of England. The law is the same in regard to uninhabited lands discovered by an Englishman. If it be thought fit to *adopt* acquisitions made in this way, it is in the discretion of the crown to grant to the purchaser, or discoverer, so much of the soil as is not *wanted* for public purposes, such as harbours, rivers, and the like. The enterprise of private individuals has hitherto been considered as proper to be encouraged with these limitations only; and the new prohibition, which is unquestionably called for in some respects, will, in others, probably be found to require some exceptions. Three strong cases shew how unskilfully the colonial office has dealt with the peculiar difficulties, and how little it has enabled the country to profit by the peculiar advantages of individual enterprise in this matter.

The case of Honduras would be worth minute examination, if, by the cruel neglect of it, the interests of the native coloured people had not almost disappeared there. The many evils, long caused at Honduras by the lawless character of its constitution, in spite of the appeals of the settlers for a regular government, have been enormous. An unwillingness on the one hand to make the constitution of the settlement free, and, on the other, the impossibility of getting the formal

consent of parliament to a declared despotism, seem to be the only motives for neglect which has led to these evils.

The case of Port Natal, on the south-eastern coast of Africa, which is rigorously a case of absolute purchase, is more important, in consequence of its influence upon the questions of negro slavery, and the civilization of many African tribes. In 1824, a naval officer, Mr. Farewell, and others, founded a trading establishment at the place, which the Cape government sanctioned as far as it was competent to do so; and a purchase was made of thirty-five miles of coast with 100 miles into the interior. The right of the parties is clear in this case, both by the law of nations and by the law of England. The Portuguese, who originally claimed Natal with all Africa by discovery, *abandoned* the port. The Dutch, long after occupying the Cape, settled it; and in about 1732, they also abandoned it, never afterwards claiming at the Cape beyond the Fish River. In the same way they settled and *abandoned* Delagoa Bay, which place the Portuguese afterwards occupied, without extending themselves to Natal. The latter place was, therefore, open to any European, when Mr. Farewell purchased it from Chaca, brother of the present sovereign Dingaan. It is said that a chief conquered by Chaca is still living near Port Natal, and unquestionably considerations of humanity

give him an undeniable claim to our liberality and protection: but it would be a strange perversion of all law to suffer any new comers to obtain a title from him in order to oust the fair representatives of Mr. Farewell, and the English settlers of 1824. In 1829, proposals for forming a regular government in this settlement, were laid before the secretary of state for the colonies, in which were contained the following details:

“ Advantages to be gained to Great Britain by establishing civil government at Natal:—

“(a) A gradual increase of trade.

“(b) Protection for the interior traders, now proceeding from Graham’s Town and other eastern places of the Cape of Good Hope.

“(c) Furnishing some means of checking the occasional misconduct of these traders.

“(d) A better way to the interior than any now known.

“(e) A means of civilizing the natives near the Cape of Good Hope and in the interior.

“(f) Support to missions at Lattakoo, on the Vaal River, in Depa’s country, and at the back of Caffreland.

“(g) Lessening the expense of defending the frontiers of the Cape of Good Hope.

“(h) Cheap additional security to British interests in South Africa.

“(i) Securing aid to distressed ships.

“ To which is to be added, that without such government the parties hereto may be compelled to abandon their enterprise, and so it will be difficult to prevent the occupation of Natal by foreigners; and the then inevitable consequence of increased feuds with the Cape Caffres.

“ Application shall be made to the members of the African

Institution, and to all similar bodies, civil and religious, as well as to divers other persons at home, to aid in forming an association to promote civilization at Natal.

“The parties considering the civilization of the tribes as deeply connected with their own private interests, anticipate prosperity to the settlement, if the following principles be acted upon:

“ ‘The Aborigines shall be undisturbed in their liberties: they shall be governed politically and civilly as ourselves, and enjoy the same measure of justice. Good rules shall be made for teaching them, and especially their children, the truths of religion, and the usages of civilized life. Care shall be taken to withdraw them from heathenish customs; and from indolence, the mother of want, to the cultivation of the soil, and to such social habits as their condition and capacity may bear.’—See Dutch Placaat referred to by Voet, lib. I, tit. v. de Statu Hominum 3.

“The association is proposed, in order to promote these principles, and thus to increase the value of Natal, by spreading civilization and trade towards the interior.

“So much of the land as the association consider expedient to be vested in the various missionary societies; and in rewarding industrious native families, is to be first selected from the half million of acres; the residue is to be disposed of in such methods for the advancement of native Africans as the association shall consider good.”*

The secretary of state did not approve of these proposals; but this neglect has not hindered the extension of the settlement, where there are 3000 people, white and black. About three years ago another application was made to the government

* Human Policy, p. 94.

for a regular sanction to the endeavours the people were making to stop the disorders caused by the existence of a community without law. That appeal has been met by a singular measure.

Another naval officer, Captain Gardiner, whose personal respectability will not be thought to be attacked by its being remarked that he seems to be exceedingly ill qualified to act as a statesman, was the bearer of the appeal from the Natal settlers to England. About the time of his return, an Act of Parliament was passed, giving jurisdiction to the tribunals of the Cape of Good Hope, over offences committed by British subjects, beyond the frontiers to latitude 25 south, but expressly repudiating all claim of dominion over the interior. Under this act, Captain Gardiner has received a commission of committing magistrate, with which he went to Port Natal, the place appointed for his exercising his new authority. Arriving there in June last, he announced himself, it is stated in the *Graham's Town Journal*, "to a meeting of 500 to 600 inhabitants of Port Natal, black and white. He read his commission as magistrate, under the new Act of Parliament; but which he explained as only referring to offences committed by British subjects, and not to those committed by the natives. He then read a notice, appointing Mr. Rickman clerk of the peace, which was followed by several proclamations—the principal points

being prohibitions against the sale of fire-arms to the Zoola chief, or assisting him in his wars upon the neighbouring chiefs.

“ On the several points referred to, Captain Gardiner was closely questioned by some of the leading persons at the meeting; and the result was an expression of the utmost dissatisfaction at his proceedings, and a determination not to submit to his assumption of authority. He accordingly went away thirty miles to the eastward.

“ The following points are stated to be in the protest which the residents drew up in order that their sentiments might not be misunderstood :

“ 1. The country of Natal has never been acknowledged as a part of the British empire.

“ 2. It was granted to the present inhabitants by Chaka, king of the Zoolas, and has been confirmed by the present king Dingaan, under the title of ‘ *the white men’s country*.’

“ 3. The power assumed by Captain Gardiner is contrary to equity, inasmuch as it only extends to the punishment of British subjects, for offences committed *by* them, while it offers them no redress for crimes committed *against* them by the natives.

“ 4. The power of Captain Gardiner is inefficient, inasmuch as it does not give him any jurisdiction in civil matters.

“ 5. Such an appointment is calculated to lead

to acts of tyranny and oppression, inasmuch as examinations are required to be sent to the colony, and returned to Natal, during all which time the party accused, though innocent, may be in gaol.

“6. They object to this power being vested in Captain Gardiner, inasmuch as that officer, before quitting Natal for England, with the avowed object of soliciting the British government to recognize Port Natal, materially injured the inhabitants by advising Dingaan to stop their trade.”

“THE PROTEST EXPRESSES A MOST ARDENT WISH THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD ADOPT MEASURES TO PLACE THEM UNDER AN AUTHORITY, ARMED WITH POWER, TO EXECUTE LAW AND AFFORD THEM PROTECTION.”

Thus, many energetic British subjects are strenuously endeavouring to establish themselves peaceably in a barbarous country; and during thirteen years, chieftain after chieftain of the barbarians has clearly signified his desire to have civilized neighbours. But our government long absolutely refuses to adopt the most reasonable system to protect the one and improve the other; and when it does consent to do something, it falls upon a method so feeble and unjust, that the English settlers reject its agent with impunity, and publish to the world *unanswerable* reasons in support of their resistance to this exercise of autho-

city. At the same time, a formidable body of Cape boors wander into the same country, and fight battles with the black tribes, our neighbours, without any restraint. The following extract from their manifesto, just published, conveys a lively picture of the way in which the affairs of the Cape of Good Hope are managed :

“ *Caledon, 14th August, 1837.*

“ Resolutions adopted by us, the undermentioned travellers and exiles from the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, now on our journey between the Orange and Vet Rivers. We make known to our countrymen, with what objects and intentions we have undertaken our journey, and that our unanimous wish is,

“ 1. To select the country called the Bay of *Port Natal* as our sea-port.

“ 10th. We purpose to establish our settlement on the same principles of liberty as those adopted by the United States of America, carrying into effect, as far as practicable, our burgher laws. Every person agreeing herewith will, therefore, attach hereunto his signature, for the information of those who are still in doubt upon the subject.”*

The sanguinary battles, fought within a few weeks by these boors, are obviously but the precursors of further conflicts; and with two powerful

* *Graham's Town Journal, Oct. 12, 1837.*

and rival black chiefs, with numerous other independent tribes in the neighbourhood, it will be an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, indeed, that shall prevent most frightful explosions in this part of Africa, where, with vigour and wisdom, our influence might produce the happiest effects. Strange to say, the government seems to trust to missionary efforts alone for the spread of peace and good order in this part of the world, after having for years prohibited missionaries going thither; as if the great indiscretion of past times, in this respect, could be compensated by a present even greater folly. The prohibition only stopped the missionary, this perversion of his office must expose him to insuperable difficulties.

In New Zealand, a third case of voluntary settlement by private individuals is now, too, the subject of anxious discussion. During several years, hundreds of such colonists have been fixing themselves in these islands; and numerous ships of great value frequent them; but no legal establishment exists to prevent disorders quite inevitable under neglect of this kind. Here too the government has placed an agent without competent powers; and if on some occasions his presence has been useful, that only renders more discreditable the absence of proper means to give the country the benefit of a better organized civil establishment.

At present he is so inefficient, not as an individual, but in his influence, even over our own colonial authorities in New South Wales, that when an expedition was planned there against some New Zealand Chiefs, he was utterly passed by, and a succession of massacres was accordingly perpetrated by us, not exceeded in cruelty by any of former days. This expedition of the Alligator* frigate, took place in 1834; and if experience be a sure guide to our expectations, news of similar atrocities may safely be looked for by every ship that arrives from the South Seas. Yet, with facts like this of recent occurrence, and with every kind of enormity, affording daily proof how unequal the missionaries are to struggle alone with the difficulties of their position, and how little the colonial-office aids their cause, a party among them has the indiscretion of bringing imputation on that cause by opposing an Association which promises immeasurably to promote it. In New Zealand, lands have been bought by private adventurers, of all fortunes, from the company of 1826 with a million of acres; down to the runaway sailor, the holder of a potato garden;

* A Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand, by W. B. Marshall, 1836, pp. 235.—Evidence before the Aborigines' Committee.

and the natives so studiously respect the contract once made, that in the former case they have recently sent word, that they shall not consider it to be *abandoned*, even after ten years' absence of all signs of possession, provided steps be now taken to act on the purchase. The price heretofore given to barbarous people for their lands seems to have been, for the most part, nominal, although, in some cases, probably the sacrifices, made by the buyers, greatly exceeded the original *marketable* value of the acquisition. The lately formed Association has proposed to place this important matter on an improved basis; and the price to be offered to the New Zealander for his country, is not only a certain immediate benefit, but the means of civilization and equality with us.* If this be realized, (and it will be the fault of the colonial office if the proper guarantees be not settled for so rare an object,) colonization will indeed assume a new character. To attain this object, society at large must become interested in discussing it—a point which many things have concurred to promote.

It is an interesting fact, in the advancement of opinion in favour of coloured people, that the new

* Plan for Colonizing New Zealand, 12mo, 1837. Parker, London.

colonial principle originated at a time (1829) when their rights formed no part of the basis of such speculations, any more than they did of the protective policy of the government. But so rapid a progress has been since made, that this noblest plan ever conceived for white colonization, this particular New Zealand plan boldly meets the whole coloured question; and, for the first time in our colonial history, gives a promise that the whole of its difficulty may be solved. Much discussion alone, be it repeated, will give the subject the slightest chance of a satisfactory examination; and if all other merit be denied to Mr. Wakefield, to him it is due to say, that he has thus brought the rights and prospects of the free coloured races before statesmen in a way altogether unprecedented.

Such discussion will be greatly promoted by one consequence of Mr. Wakefield's principle, that has already produced good. It has created a new sort of absenteeism, which, so far from being mischievous as that of former days was, promises to become, in a high degree, beneficial to the actual colonists. For example, the parties *living in London*, the price of whose lands in South Australia is available for the general advantage of that colony, have a direct interest in its prudent government, strong enough to induce them to stop

abuses by representation of the truth in proper quarters at home. They constitute a public disposed to attend to those remote affairs.

Besides the foregoing voluntary settlements, and besides the thousands of squatters now spreading over Australia, North America, and perhaps South Africa, almost totally unrestrained by law, a peculiar body of sailors, intermixed with some convicts, has of late years enormously increased in the southern and eastern seas. From Terra del Fuego to Japan, they may be traced in an unchecked career of pillage, and in the diseases they impart to the natives. From one port alone, Sydney, in New South Wales, forty whalers are fitted out, with at least 1400 men on board, of this description. No mode exists for remedying the evil, but by establishing marine courts of justice on ship-board in those seas. Such courts should be formed as in the old times, before the royal navy and merchant service was so distinct as it is now; and that old union will wisely be revived, in order to secure impartiality in the judgments of tribunals composed of experienced men of both services. The topic was raised by two witnesses before the Aborigines' Committee; and, more than any other, it requires, from its difficulty, at the remote position of the parties concerned, still further enquiry.

Public opinion, which, after all, must settle this complicated question, has for a considerable time been deeply, but too exclusively, occupied with one branch of the subject of the coloured races, negro slavery; and the peculiar difficulties of that branch being at length in a great measure overcome, whatever embarrassments still attend the satisfactory settlement of the apprenticeship question, it may be expected that the undivided force of public sympathy will henceforth be diverted towards the suffering free coloured tribes. Without this general sympathy, the efforts in their favour must fall short of the occasion; and it can only be excited by men of letters. How society may be roused on this subject, even by the pen of one individual, has been proved, in a remarkable manner, in the example of the late Mr. Pringle, the able Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society. With no other influence than that of talents, and an earnest zeal for the cause he espoused, he may be said, without exaggeration, to have given a steady impulse in favour of that cause to the better feelings of a large body of writers. Nineteen years ago he went to the Cape of Good Hope, after having acquired the friendly respect of many considerable persons as an author. Sir Walter Scott had, at that time, said of one of his early verses, written in imitation of his own poems,

“That he wished the original notes had always been as pure as their echo;”* and Sir Walter long took a warm interest in his welfare. So early as in 1818, too, when he was editor of a magazine, Mr. Campbell addressed to him the following letter, which sufficiently indicates his literary position :

“August, 1818.

“I thank you, most cordially and gratefully, for your letter. Of Hazlitt I will not pretend to be an utterly impartial judge; but neither will I submit to say but that I think his bold style a torrent which will possibly brawl itself away a little sooner than you imagine. My insensibility to his attack may arise from self-respect or from self-conceit, just as charity or severity may choose to explain it; but so feeling which I have had upon the subject, will interfere with the *gratitude* which I owe to you and to your friend. It is a kind, friendly, timely act of goodness. The spirit of your interference is generous. I will let any man read the paper and say, impartially, if it be not ably and eloquently written. I feel myself honoured by your friend's vindication, both by the matter and the manner of it. As to the spirit which pervades it, I am absolutely unable to thank you competently. No man could ask his dearest friend to write such an article: it comes spontaneously from a stranger. It is pure, gratuitous, unprompted zeal. Kingdoms could not *purchase* such a favorable *spirit* in the breast of one man for the fair fame of another. Kings and autocrats have no friends who cannot be suspected; but here is a poor poet, who has a man of zeal and abilities to be a champion in the cause of his repu-

* *Memoirs of Thomas Pringle*. By Leitch Ritchie, 1838, p. 31.

tation. It matters not *what I am*, or with what egotism I may feel the obligation; but if I were not sensible to it, I should be a miserable icicle of insensibility. Lastly, it comes from my native country, and the writer is my countryman. If he should be partial to me, this partiality is the more touching from the ties of native attachment with which it binds me to the name of Scotland. Accept, with your friend, of my best acknowledgments, thus hastily, but warmly, expressed; and believe me, with sincere obligation, your faithful servant,

“T. CAMPBELL.”

The writer, to whom such a letter could be addressed, was not likely to be an useless member of any community; and it is not surprising that Mr. Pringle, who soon afterwards emigrated to the Cape of Good Hope, should hold himself qualified to be the literary instructor of the more civilized colonists, as he ultimately became, in spite of the foulest oppression, the successful champion of their darker brethren. His productions were remarkable for their moderation in language and principle; but the governor of a slave colony, instinctively knowing that letters and misrule were irreconcilable, was not to be won by the extremest prudence; and, in order to save an infamous system, speedily ruined Mr. Pringle, who could never obtain redress. After returning home, he published a volume of poems on African subjects, and found the discerning public more just to his

genius than the government had been to his best actions. The following letters are a very small portion only of the flattering testimonies he received two years after returning from the Cape of Good Hope:

“11th March, 1828.

“I thank thee heartily for thy charming little volume. It gave me *unexpected* pleasure. I read and admired *much*; but when I came to the 57th page, I was delighted to recognize an old favorite, one of the most perfect little songs I ever read; but which, having ceased to sing, I had also ceased to see. I not only remembered the song, I also remembered that I said, on first reading it, *Who is Mr. Pringle? Why is it that he who wrote that does not write more, and is not known as a poet?*

“I said this at Edinburgh in 1816, when I first saw *Albyn's Anthology*. In the volume before me, however, thou hast amply redeemed the pledge given in years that are past.”

A.

“May, 1828.

“I thank you for the copy of your poems; the perusal of which has much gratified me, especially in those pieces which are purely South African in scenery and character. It is mere cant to identify poetry with fiction. Poetry is essentially truth; it uses fiction only to adorn itself withal, and make what is genuine more attractive and better remembered by beautiful and picturesque association. I was exceedingly shocked at the contents of the note referring to p. 144, and grieved especially to find a name (Col. C.'s), which I have long revered, implicated with transactions in which I hope he did not bear the part which you seem to believe he took.”

B.

“ 3d May, 1828.

“ I thank you for the volume of your poems, which I received a day or two ago, but would not acknowledge till I had read them; for, on opening the book, I saw there was a freshness of subject and a rectitude of feeling which promised much; and that promise has not been disappointed.

“ The former publications of the missionaries had not led me to suspect that the old system of oppression had continued toward the natives under the British government. You will have done much good in calling public attention to the subject. In your feelings on that point, and in the belief that the missionaries are rendering the greatest services that can be rendered to civilization and humanity, no one can agree with you more entirely than I do. The older I grow the more clearly I perceive, and the more forcibly feel, that in religion the foundation of society must be laid, and that no other basis can be secure.” C.

“ I beg a copy of one of thy excellent sonnets—‘The Bushman,’ ‘The Hottentot,’ ‘The Missionary.’ Any one of them which thou wilt, I hope, allow me to say are, in my opinion, incomparably good, both as sonnets and for their power of delineation.” D.

“ June, 1828.

“ I have read your volume with great admiration, and with a fresh feeling of pride in our country which sends forth such talent into every quarter of the globe; and of that talent which, even in those remotest quarters, finds so much with which to enrich our poetry and increase our knowledge.” E.

“ It is some four or five months ago since G. Thompson’s *Travels*, passing its book-club course through our house, my eye, by accident, lighting on some verses, I, much against my wont, was tempted to go on, and so I first became acquainted with your ‘ *Afar in the Desert*.’ Though at that time so busy, that I had not looked at any of the new books, I was taken so completely possession of, that for some days I did little else but read and recite your poem. now to this group and now to that; and since that time have either written, or caused to be written, at least half a dozen copies, and procured my friend, Mr. Gillman, who, and not I, is a member of the book-club, to purchase the two volumes for me. The day before yesterday I sent a copy, in my own hand, to my son, the Rev. D. Coleridge, or rather to his bride, at Helston, Cornwall, and then discovered that it had been reprinted in the ‘ *Athenæum*,’ with the omission of about four or, at the utmost, of six lines. I do not hesitate to declare it, among the two or three most perfect lyric poems in our language. ‘ *Præcipitandus est liber spiritus*,’ says Petronius; and you have thoroughly fulfilled the prescript.

“ S. T. COLERIDGE.”

An exposure of the state of slavery at the Cape by Mr. Pringle, published in the “ *New Monthly Magazine*,” led to his being appointed Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society; and thus carried the influence of a graceful pen into the counsels of the professed philanthropists. Soon afterwards, as editor of the *Annual*, “ *Friendship’s Offering*,”* he

* Mr. Pringle contributed extensively to periodical publications. His African poems were reprinted in the “ *Penny Magazine*,” and elsewhere.

was most successful in introducing philanthropic topics into our lighter literature. His warm-hearted and able friend, Mr. Leitch Ritchie, the writer of the recent memoirs of his life, says, on this occasion, "I recollect that, at his suggestion and request, I wrote an examination of the great question (the abolition of slavery) for one of the periodicals; and I recollect, too, that in writing other papers on quite a different subject, my pen frequently strayed, almost incautiously, into an expression of the sentiments I entertained regarding slavery. A similar effect, I know, was produced upon many of his other friends."*

After labouring for several years in the cause of the slave with peculiar efficiency, in consequence of his connexion with literary circles, Mr. Pringle published a volume in prose upon the subject of South Africa. This work was as successful as his poems, and called forth, amongst other favorable testimonies, the following, from individuals of equal eminence with any already named.

"May, 1834.

"*I must write to thank you; but to tell you what I think of the volume you have sent me, is, I am sure, unnecessary; for you know already what I must think of it. It is spoken of as it ought to be everywhere, and is, if I am right in my opinion, an invaluable addition to the literature of your country.*"

F.

* *Memoirs of Thomas Pringle, 1838, p. 92.*

“ July, 1834.

“ I thank you kindly for your book, which I have been reading with great interest. Some of it is very pleasing reading, and other parts very painful. I am very sorry and disappointed to find that the atrocious commando system is going on unchecked. It is inconceivable that our government can allow a plan of downright robbery and murder to proceed. Surely, as Mr. Spring Rice is a friend of Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Buxton, he will not become, or continue to be, an accomplice in such crimes.

“ I hope you will succeed in obtaining such an appointment as you wish for in South Africa; and I hope, too, that government will still make you some compensation for the losses brought on you by Lord C. Somerset's persecution. The present government seems to have so great an inclination to do what is right, that I think your prospect of redress must be better than in Lord Bathurst's time; but they need a good deal of reminding, which I hope you take care to give them.”

G.

“ Oct. 1834.

“ I am extremely sorry to read the contents of your letter. The news of your illness had not reached me. Most sincerely do I hope the removal to a more congenial climate may have the happiest effects on your health, and not on your health only, but on your worldly prospects. You surprise me by what you say on this subject too. You have deserved well of government, and we received the rumour of your promotion as true, because it seemed probable, and no more than common justice to you. To say that our good wishes go with you is saying little; and in this case, as in many others, I can only regret that we have no ability to do more than offer good wishes. Your parliamentary friends are sadly to blame if they do not secure your inter-

ests; you have deserved it from them by your unwearied labour in behalf of humanity; but I do not despair. I think good fortune will follow you if it do not go with you. A blessing must rest upon you for the work you have done."

H.

"Nov., 1834.

"It is long since I heard of you and your concerns; the last thing I was told of you was from Lord Jeffrey, when he passed on his way to Scotland. Mrs. Jeffrey shewed me your interesting volume of African Sketches, then just published. She afterwards sent a copy of it for a prize-book in a school which has been established here, and, I assure you, the little fellow who got it was very vain of so beautiful a possession. It is an excellent book, I think, for young people: your 'African Life' reads as agreeably as that of 'Robinson Crusoe,' and has much the same merit of simple narrative and awakening adventure; and the poetical part of the volume may awaken their taste and sensibility, if they have any.

"Your poetry is a great favorite with my family. The poem I am asked to read most frequently aloud among them is not anything from Byron, Scott, &c., but your 'Afar in the Desert.'

I.

"Nov., 1834.

"I shall be glad to see you and shake you by the hand and congratulate you, as I hope I may, on having abandoned all thoughts of returning to that abominable Caffreland.

"Your song (p. 211, 212,) which I have just glanced at, is excellent. Why dont you set to work, and write a dozen or two more?"

K.*

* A. to K., with Mr. Campbell's letter, are extracted from Mr. Pringle's MS. correspondence.

The last letter peculiarly illustrates the value of the impression made by Mr. Pringle. It came from one of a class possessing influence in literature and in society, but whose sympathies are narrowed to home associations. To such a class his good taste, not confined to any local topics, would introduce *foreign* subjects acceptably, and enlist their better feelings in favour of oppressed people, however remote, with success. An eminent member of this class was the late Charles Lamb, who did not express a mere literary feeling when he wrote to Mr. Southey: "Kehama is, doubtless, more powerful; but I don't feel that firm footing in it that I do in Roderick,...I am put out of the pale of my old sympathies.....I do not willingly admit of strange beliefs, or out of the way creeds, or places. I can just endure Moors, because of their connexion as foes with Christians; but Abyssinians, Ethiops, Esquimaux, Dervises, and all that tribe I hate... I am a Christian, Englishman, Londoner, Templar."* He was a correspondent of Mr. Pringle; and in the MSS. characteristic traces are to be met with of his confined views as to coloured tribes, and of the latter's better genius on this point.

If we but reflect how much conversation

* The Letters of Charles Lamb, 1837, vol. ii., p. 13.

and well-timed notices in newspapers, and other periodical publications, influence the proceedings of the legislature and the measures of government, the value of a man of Mr. Pringle's fair *literary* reputation to this cause will be readily estimated. Never absent from his post at the Anti-Slavery committee-room; a frequent and acceptable visitor at the offices of half a dozen editors; a welcome guest in as many literary circles; and, in his own house, the hospitable entertainer of a vast variety of people, from the sable objects of his bounty to those who sought him as a literary friend, and as a man of pure and critical taste, Mr. Pringle really advanced the interests of the coloured people by giving a tone to public opinion in their favour.

His only enemy, and that a political opponent, admits him to have been "a man of great worth, and very considerable literary talents; an honest, warm-hearted man; kind, generous, and high of spirit; an enthusiastic philanthropist; in the purest sense of the all-comprehensive word, a Christian."* And yet so base a thing is political hostility, that, with all this of good and true, there follows, from the same pen, so much utter and wilful misrepresentation of fact, in order to disparage this admirable man and *so run down his cause*, that "to damn with faint praise" would be highmindedness in

* Quarterly Review, No. cix., p. 74.

comparison with this more artful kind of assassination.

Mr. Pringle did not return to Caffreland; but, a few weeks after the date of these last letters, died in London, a martyr, if ever martyr there was, to the cause he had served so well. The success he helped to secure for the negro was denied to himself; and his recent biographer, in behalf of his widow, has made an appeal which ought to be loudly repeated until its prayer be granted; and I cannot think that it is misplaced in these pages.

“Pringle's claims,” says Mr. Ritchie, “were virtually allowed by Earl Bathurst; and they were distinctly admitted by Mr. Spring Rice. Pringle, however, is now no more; and, setting aside the whole question as it related to himself, can it be denied that the widow of such a man has still a claim upon the country? Would it not be an act worthy of our young and considerate sovereign—an act pleasing alike to God and to man—a noble, beautiful, and holy act, to bestow a small pension upon Mrs. Pringle, to secure the living representative of departed worth from those worldly deprivations and annoyances which, unalleviated, are calculated to add many bitters to the cup of her bereavement?”*

The importance of the good influence of litera-

* *Memoirs of Thomas Pringle*, 1838, p. 135.

ture on this question has been too little esteemed by the government, or it would not now remain to seek justice for a man like Mr. Pringle.

There are individuals, however, who know well how to use that influence for evil ends: for during many years the false policy of the colonial-office, in this very matter of the coloured people, and especially at the Cape of Good Hope, has been defended, by an almost official pen in the *Quarterly Review*. There has recently been a change in the spirit of that important publication on this subject; and it may be hoped that the improvement will be complete. Sir Walter Scott, one of its ornaments, has shewn, in a curious passage, that he knew how to connect the black with the white uncivilized world;* and in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* there have often appeared papers, from other pens, admirably calculated to

* Sir Walter Scott, in narrating the attempted colonization of the Western Isles in the reign of James the First, by some gentlemen of Fife, who proposed to expel and subdue the natives, and build towns, and do all they could to introduce civilization into these wild regions, says, "Amid all this, it was never asked who were the patriarchal chiefs to whom the country belonged, or by what authority the king gave away, or the Fife adventurers accepted, the Hebrides? The rights of the natives were as little thought of as if the settlement intended had been in India or America, and the persons to be dispossessed had been savage heathens."—*History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 399.

redeem those which are alluded to above, and so much needing counteracting efforts. It has been indispensable to make this allusion, as the misrepresentations of the story of Mr. Pringle, in the *Quarterly Review*, is a part of the Aborigines case. The origin of those misrepresentations may be briefly stated. Mr. Pringle's personal acquaintance with the colonial oppression of the coloured people arose in South Africa, where, in fact, this battle may be said to have been mainly fought; but it is well known to those who are a little in the secrets of reviewing, that particular departments fall into particular hands; and it is equally plain that the *Quarterly Reviewer* on African topics had, for many years, had unfortunate colonial and official prejudices. Accordingly a writer, who, like Mr. Pringle, spoke warmly in favour of a cause hated by the African critic, would not fail to excite his spleen. It was the contest begun by Lord Charles Somerset, transferred from Cape Town to Albemarle street—a course, in this instance, peculiarly unfeeling; inasmuch as, although both the principals in the quarrels were no longer living, the surviving representatives of both are still more unequally matched. The widow of the governor's victim was left destitute to contend with the colonial-office; and, in such a case, who can but look with indignation into pages, such as the *Quarterly Reviewer's* were, "in the greater part

grossly and cruelly incorrect?''* There is an honorable way open for repairing this wrong. Let the editor follow up the change of tone already remarked in regard to the general subject, by admitting frankly his error; and let him as frankly join the friends of this cause, in calling for the solid consolation of a pension for Mr. Pringle's widow; and the good work will be as much honoured as the past has been condemned.

The importance of *public opinion* being really interested in this general subject was never more strongly shewn than in the case of the commissions of enquiry sent out to the Cape of Good Hope in 1822. They originated in the call of a *portion* of the public, zealous to obtain justice for the coloured races. The commissioners, Mr. Bigge and others, did their duty admirably: but the old system of the colonial office, the bureaucratic system, was too strong for the comparatively few who carried on the struggle. The commissioners' report became a dead letter; and after some success was gained by the *publication* of Dr. Philip's researches, in which Mr. Pringle had a large share, the main work has still to be done, because, not even yet, is the subject sufficiently impressed on the public at large.

* *Memoirs of Thomas Pringle*, p. 70. in reference to the *Quarterly Review*, No. cix., pp. 74-96.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO ENQUIRE INTO THE CONDITION OF THE ABORIGINES OF BRITISH COLONIES. — CONDEMNATION OF THE OLD SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.—THE INDIANS OF CANADA STILL OPPRESSED.—OFFICIAL CONTRADICTIONS. — GOVERNMENT, NOT COLONISTS, IN FAULT.—NEW SOUTH WALES' MASSACRES.—UNJUST CONQUEST ABANDONED.—MISSIONARIES BAD POLITICIANS.

THE passing of the slave-emancipation act of 1834 was the first step to those enquiries which have opened better prospects to the coloured tribes, connected with the colonies, than they ever had before. Late in the session of that year, Mr. Buxton moved for various papers on the general subject, as long before he and Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Macaulay, and others, had always included the whole coloured race, free as well as the bond, within the range of their efforts; and as Granville Sharp had always united them in his earlier appeals. It was in fact a common cause aiming at universal elevation of the oppressed; so little ground was there for the pretence that when the British *slave-trade* was over, the struggle was to cease.

The colonial-office made a defective return to

Mr. Buxton's motion, omitting the instructions of 1670 to the privy council, which he had called for; but what was produced concerning many of the colonies, and what came out before the committee, appointed in 1835 and reappointed in 1836, amply justified the report of the latter year, that wretched indeed has that system been proved to be. In Canada, for example, its characteristics are an improvident expenditure of public money; a disregard of the rights of the Indians; and ignorance of their capacities and of what will develop those capacities. A critical survey of the *Indian department* of Canada would indeed produce one of the most curious exposures of inefficiency ever exhibited in public affairs. So long ago as in 1822, a reform was seen to be wanted in it; and in 1838, the reform is still wanted. The rights of the Indians as to *land* are those which have been the most grievously outraged. In 1822, also, special complaints were made by Indian delegates from Canada, sent with appeals to Downing Street on this head; and in 1837 and 1838 other delegates have again been sent hither with similar appeals. Means of improving these Indians are not so utterly wanting now as they were in 1822, because the Wesleyan and other missionaries have laboured with increased success; but the same legal and constitutional

obstacles to their improvement that were in the way of it then—the same unredressed wrongs, still exist; with the additional evil of a scheme for *removing* them being half executed, that equals the United States' scheme in atrocity, without sharing any one of its redeeming points. The treaties made by the governor of Upper Canada to carry his scheme into effect are rare examples of Machiavelism; and Sir F. Head actually went so far as to state to the Canadian House of Assembly, that the Indians had ceded their lands to the English from motives of benevolence, when it is well known that they have been harassed and deluded by designing people until even their lands are almost indifferent to many of them. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the latest intelligence from Canada concerning the Indians is that a large body is gone off to the new country beyond the Mississippi, set apart by the government of the United States for an Indian territory, where, what is thought to be a good system for the protection and improvement of the native tribes is in progress; and where, at least, it is little to our credit that British Indians should seek an asylum from our injustice.

The voluminous papers and evidence, as to South Africa, give occasion for an instructive observation; namely, that the most bitter enemies

of the natives, in a recent struggle which broke out pending the committee's enquiries, had given, under their own hands, directly contradictory testimony, before the heat of controversy and hopes of conquest had misled their judgment concerning those natives. Thus Governor D'Urban, in his invading despatches, denounces the Caffres as "irreclaimable savages,"* "in truth, very much resembling wolves."† Acting Governor Wade says, in 1835, the Caffres are "barbarians who love plunder, and whose favourite propensity, stealing," is only to be restrained by commandoes—of a new fashion.‡ And in the same year, Major Dundas, who has "studied" mankind from "China to Peru," insists that they are the most bloodthirsty people on earth, savage beyond measure, even worse than New Zealanders.§

Nevertheless, this identical Major once declared, "for the information of the council of the Cape of Good Hope, after *much and attentive* consideration of the important subject," that the very same Caffres "were good and useful servants; that as herds-

* Proclamation of May 10, 1835, appropriating Caffreland.—House of Commons Papers, 1836, No. 279, p. 41.

† *Ibid.*, p. 17.

‡ *Ib.* for 1836. No. 585, p. 281 and 394.

§ Evidence of Major Dundas, House of Commons Papers, 1836, No. 585, p. 136.

men, nothing could exceed their care; that when satisfied with their treatment, they were cheerful, obliging, and obedient; attached to their chiefs, and devoted to their homes."* Of the same Caffres, too, the same acting Governor Wade declared in 1834, that, although "as yet uncivilized, they could not with truth be called a nation of savages;" and he was then "convinced that very much might be effected with them by mildness and forbearance."† And Governor D'Urban had actually attributed the revenge of the Caffres to wrongs inflicted on them by his predecessors, boasting that his own conciliatory measures had ensured their good will; and he called warmly for a reform of the old "system, if that could be called a system which was guided by no fixed principles, and certainly no just one."‡

Such are the men, with memories as infirm as their judgments, to whom the colonial-office is in the habit of confiding the interests of our remote possessions, and the fate of the coloured people.

Acting Governor Wade, in his evidence, referring to a volume published in 1830, by the

* Evidence of Major Dundas, House of Commons Papers, 1835. No. 252, p. 14.

† House of Commons Papers, 1835. No. 252, p. 78.

‡ Ibid. p. 102.

author of this essay, asks him what means were in the power of the Cape authorities for promoting the civilization of the natives, or getting intelligence of their movements? The reply is obvious. Those authorities might, in the first place, lay before the home government and parliament consistent accounts of the character of the native people; and, in the second place, those authorities might spend, in obtaining knowledge concerning the natives, one-fiftieth part of the money that they throw away in foolish wars; and they would thus secure the applause of their country and mankind by laying sure foundations for the civilization of a race which it is now their disgrace to be actively destroying. Ignorance, that may be so easily avoided and which leads to such frightful consequences, is not the less a crime, because the home government is too much an accomplice—and parliament too much occupied by other things to punish it. This acting governor again asks if the Cape authorities had power to appoint "*one solitary agent*" to promote peace and civilization on the frontiers; (ib. p. 410), forgetting not only that they had such a power, but that *an agent*, who was actually appointed for those purposes many years ago, Mr. Melville, might have become most useful, if he had been duly supported at Cape Town, in a wild country,

in which at length the emigration of the boors in the present year has brought out the bad old system in its true colours, and which has been a constant scene of suffering and desolation, in consequence of the Cape authorities abusing their powers. It ought to be declared indeed, without reserve, that it is their incapacity, and more frequently their prejudices countenanced by their patrons, the home bureaucracy, by which incalculable evils have been caused in South Africa, not the want of funds at their disposal, nor the restraints imposed on their discretion.

These parliamentary enquiries have established, beyond all controversy, that the fault in the whole matter lies with the administration, not with the colonists—who are fearful sufferers by the vacillating erroneous system on which these affairs have been managed. On the Cape frontiers alone it is probable that individual settlers altogether lost £300,000 in the last war, whilst it cost £500,000 to the British treasury.

In regard to New South Wales, some disclosures were made by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Mr. Coates, and by others, that are likely to do good in the pending enquiries concerning transportation; and if that punishment is to be continued, it would be merciful to destroy all the natives by military

massacres, as a judge of the colony once coolly proposed for a particular district, rather than let them be exposed to the lingering death they now undergo. But half the truth was not told as to New South Wales. Military massacres have been probably more common there than elsewhere: in 1826 Governor Darling ordered such massacres—and in consequence one black native at least was shot at a stake in cold blood. The attorney-general* of the colony remonstrated against illegal orders of this kind, and was told that the secretary of state's instructions authorized them. Yet have the poor natives of New South Wales exhibited undeniable proof of capacity for civilization; and they want only breathing time to attain it. In Van Diemen's Land matters have been pushed to extremities with them. After being horribly persecuted by the convicts, soldiers, and settlers, they have been sacrificed to the *removal* theory, and stifled in an island unsuited to their habits. These documents refer to many other tribes, all of which present, in more or less gloomy colours, a melancholy picture of the sufferings which the strong inflict on the weak, amply justifying the committee's condemnation of the past system.

There is, however, one redeeming incident pro-

* The author.

duced in the case. The vigour with which the enquiry began influenced the colonial office; and Lord Glenelg advised the king to adopt the unprecedented measure of restoring an unjust conquest to the oppressed Caffres—a measure strongly approved by the most opposite, disinterested parties;* and, if wisely followed up, likely to produce the best effects.

The whole enquiries made since the date of Mr. Buxton's motion of 1834 have well established the merits of the missionaries in their proper field; and they have also given proof of the value of their exertions in the exceptional cases in which the misconduct of the government has compelled them as men to act the part of politicians: but the evidence before the committee affords a remarkable illustration of their inability to do so permanently.

This special illustration arises from the position of the Caffre frontiers of the Cape of Good Hope, from 1829 to 1836. It is there more than in any other part of the colonies, that ministers of religion have been successful in protecting and in elevating the natives; and, in very few other cases, have the leaders of missions evinced greater ability than they who have succeeded each other in directing

* London and Westminster Review, and Quarterly Review, in recent articles.

them in South Africa under the Moravian, the London, the Wesleyan, and the Scottish Societies. Nor at any former period have their boards at home commanded so much sympathy and so powerful an influence; whilst in the Cape colony itself they have long had the support of an enlightened press, and of an active and well-disposed party of colonists. The position of things, too, on the Caffre frontiers was notoriously critical, and calculated to put to the test, as it has done, the value of the policy acted upon, and that of various men's opinions and exertions to check or further that policy. So that, had the missionary bodies been capable of becoming good statesmen, the opportunity was one (forced, as they have been, we repeat, temporarily into political action) that must have brought out something favorable to their assuming formally that character. But so far from their standing forth efficiently in these unhappy affairs, either they did not form a correct estimate of the tendency of the mismanagement which has been so fatal since 1828, or, knowing its danger, they did not take a single effectual step, public or private, to prevent its natural consequence—the most alarming war that ever broke out between the colony and the natives. This war of 1834-5, however, was caused by violences and acts of injustice on our part as to the lands of the Caffres, and as to other circumstances which disinterested

witnesses had denounced for several years, and the most inexperienced observers might have foreseen the result which has occasioned moral and political mischief exceedingly difficult to be calculated. Whilst, one after another, those disinterested individuals who looked on, warned the government in vain against what must soon come, the inactivity of the colonial-office in Downing street, and the ill acts of the local authorities were unheeded by the missionary bodies; which now, as heretofore, scarcely permitted the suspicion of the disgraceful truth, "*that the old system of oppression had continued towards the natives under the British government.*" (*Supra* 229.) If their genuine and simply religious character is to be preserved, this undeniable fact cannot be urged against them as a reproach; but if they are to be invested formally with new political attributes, the measure must be justified in some other way, than by referring to this, the scene of their most successful colonial labours.

When it is considered that, in addition to this proved want of ability in missionaries to be statesmen, there would soon arise, after becoming recognized politicians, a great deterioration of their missionary character, a formal assumption of political functions by them will be deprecated by their wisest friends.

CHAPTER XV.

ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE OF 1837.—REVIVAL OF THE OLD SYSTEM.—TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE.—REPORT OF THE ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE.—GROSS OFFICIAL ERRORS OVERLOOKED.—MEDICAL AID TO DISEASED NATIVES OVERLOOKED.—APPROPRIATION OF THE NATIVES' LAND.—ERROR IN MAKING MISSIONARIES POLITICIANS.

BUT the old system was too strong to be destroyed by one attack. That system was a favorite child of *bureaucracy*, which perceived danger to itself in whatever should damage its offspring. Attempts were therefore made with success, throughout 1837 to hinder the condemnation pronounced, in 1836, upon the old system being well followed up. Another scheme in active progress to the end of the year 1836, namely, the *extension* of transportation, and which had almost succeeded, would have been fatal to the natives of all Australia and of the whole of the South Seas, and, perhaps, of the Eastern Archipelago. Sir William Molesworth's Transportation Committee sprung a mine

upon this scheme, of which the colonial office ought to have understood the iniquity, more especially in its bearing upon the coloured races. Bentham had denounced it from the beginning in that point of view, and other warnings had recently reached the secretary of state. If the report of the Aborigines' Committee of 1836 had been followed up with spirit, as the fresh matter before it in 1837 most pressingly required, nothing could have saved the colonial "Statesmen" of Downing street, from the thorough reform that ought to have followed these useful exposures. Circumstances, that are unexplained, deferred the thorough reform till perhaps a more fitting time; as the public must be more possessed of the subject of the aborigines in its various bearings, before a proper *bill* of colonial reform in their behalf will be judiciously framed or understood so as to be well executed, even if passed. Perhaps few things are likely to diffuse intelligence on the subject in this particular light, more than the proceedings connected with the proposed colonization of New Zealand. The report of the Aborigines' Committee wisely recommended that such colonization should not take place until an opportunity should have been offered to parliament of considering the whole subject.* The New Zealand Association proposed

* House of Commons Papers, 1837. No. 425, p. 86.

to proceed by bill, by which this opportunity would have been had; and it appears, by a statement lately made in the House of Lords, that the original course is to be persevered in. It will be a fault, therefore, of the friends of the natives if a proper plan to protect them be not obtained.

Whatever may be done, however, for New Zealand in particular, nothing will excuse the friends of the aborigines if they do not attempt to secure justice in all parts of the world where new settlements are now forming, by having a general law, the need of which is notorious, prepared in their behalf. Two ships are on the eve of sailing to form a station in North Australia, with little more than the shadow of guarantees for the natives prepared. The Port Natal settlement is founded; and a dozen such settlements, at least, are founded in New Zealand—but all are lawless; Hudson's Bay is in the same condition; and twenty other places might be specified where legal enactments for the defence of the dearest interests of the coloured people are more or less wanted; and the report of the Aborigines' Committee, when good, is almost a dead letter; and its bad passages, grossly inconsistent with its evidence, are of a most dangerous tendency. For instance, the report, inconsistently with itself too, urges that the intercourse of the colonists with their barbarous neighbours should not be

regulated by *treaties*; the consequence of which must be, that the white people of bad character, *who cannot be kept back*, will continue to do mischief beyond our frontiers, and the good influences of society will not be put forward to check them.

Again, the report recommends that the executive government shall have the management of our intercourse with coloured tribes, which, in one sense, is right: but it is implied that this will be a new plan; whereas that intercourse has hitherto been under the control of the executive,—the colonial-office; and things have been precisely the worst where that very office has been the most influential. There is, therefore, a dangerous fallacy in such recommendations; and parliament is bound to take the whole subject under its own control.

These parliamentary enquiries reveal another point of great importance; namely, the effect produced on the government by mere *writers*,—and the incident also exposes official inaccuracy in a way that deserves the strongest animadversion.

“An ordinance passed by you to amend the laws relative to commandos,” says Mr. Secretary Stanley, in 1833, to Sir Lowry Cole, late governor of the Cape of Good Hope, has engaged my particular attention, not only on account of some very strong representations which I have recently received of the cruelties of the commando system,

but also on account of the *statements advanced on this subject by several writers on South Africa?* and he proceeds to require "information upon the present condition of the frontier generally."*

Sir Lowry Cole in his reply, as was to be expected, vindicates the *modern* commando system; "whole families of colonists," says he, "*residing within the frontier line*, have been butchered by hordes composed of the outcasts and refuse of the colony and native tribes; their houses burnt down, and the whole of their live stock, and every article belonging to them, either carried off or destroyed. The approach of these barbarians can neither be foreseen nor provided against beforehand. They come suddenly and in great strength from the deserts, and are generally well advanced on their return thither before any sufficient force can be mustered, either to punish their crimes or to rescue the plunder from their grasp."

....."It may suit the views of some writers," continues Sir Lowry Cole, "to hold up the local government and the colonists to the detestation of mankind, as the authors and abettors of a system of the most diabolical atrocities; but those who have had the opportunity of taking a dispassionate view of the subject will judge differently."

* House of Commons Papers, 1835, No. 252, p. 62

He accordingly stoutly imputes to the natives all the fault, as if they were *not intruded upon by us*, in these days; and he introduces into his defence of the "*local government and colonists*," the following most astonishing perversion of the truth: "*The boundary line of the colony, except in front of Caffraria, has not been advanced for a number of years; that to the north and north-east was fixed full sixty years ago, and no colonist is allowed to occupy lands beyond that line. It is upon several points on this line that the colonists are most liable to the attacks of wandering tribes*"*

These assertions, printed in italics, constitute a tissue of misstatements, which fully account for the melancholy exhibition made by our colonial government at home and abroad. A governor of a colony makes these misstatements when the smallest conceivable attention to the history of the colony he governed, or to the occurrences of *his own administration*, would have suggested to him that, on the very frontier he specifies, intrusions of the colonists on the lands of the natives were frequent and fatal;† and that, instead of the

* Letter of Sir C. L. Cole to Secretary Stanley, 15th Nov. 1833. House of Commons Papers for 1835, No. 252, p. 63.

† See Sir Lowry Cole's own orders on the very subject in 1829, inserted in the book called "Humane Policy," p. 67-69.

boundary line being fixed full sixty years ago from 1833, it had been made within twelve years from that date, and added the incredible amount of FORTY-EIGHT THOUSAND SQUARE MILES to the preceding boundary of 1798. This was noticed by the commissioners of enquiry in 1826; and the Cape governor of that day, says to those gentlemen, in a letter printed in the parliamentary papers,* “ Upon the frontiers of Clan William and Graaff Reinet a considerable extension has taken place, and a much greater is desired, and probably contemplated. I shall endeavour, however, to prevent, by all possible means, any further *encroachments* in any direction.....The arrangements you propose for the Bushmen are at once just, humane, and politic, and will, I trust, be *authorized* and acted upon without delay.”

This case may be wound up by a statement made by one who is unfortunately too prone to justify Sir Lowry Cole's views, to be a suspected witness against him. Acting-governor Wade, in his dispatch written only two months after Sir Lowry's declaration that the colonists, who never, he says, crossed the frontier of sixty years since, were the injured parties;—the acting-governor says, “ farmers, in defiance of the law, and the severity of its

* House of Commons Papers, No. 50, p. 124.

born with complaints in them a few years ago unknown in the country;* another declares that European diseases have done more injury in certain places than anything else, except ardent spirits; and that remedies known to the natives, in native diseases, are unavailable in the new complaints.† Others strongly support the testimony as to the introduction of “new and dangerous diseases by us;”‡ and a fourth gives some very remarkable details respecting the deaths of considerable numbers of these unhappy natives, “by a kind of fever which seized their heads, and made them delirious, immediately upon their holding mere social and innocent intercourse with our ships, and without the commixture of European with native blood, under circumstances which ordinary precautions would have rendered favorable.”§

The disregard of these cases in the recommendations of the committee for a new system, is the more to be regretted, as it is quite clear that some

* House of Commons Papers, 1836, No. 022, p. 204.—Evidence of the Rev. W. Yate.

† *Ib.*, p. 640, vol. 1.—Evidence of Mr. King.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 503.—Evidence of three Secretaries of Missionary Societies; and *ibid.*, p. 638.—Evidence of Dr. Hodgkin.

§ *Ib.*, p. 667.—Evidence of the Rev. J. Williams.

steps might easily be taken to check these notorious evils. Materials must exist in the medical records of the navy and in other quarters to enable competent judges to suggest such steps. If ships are of course provided with surgeons at the public expense, or by law, for the white people, similar provision might be made in proportion to the need of the natives wherever any ships go. If none but compulsory medical establishments for the aborigines can be expected in colonial settlements, a primary charge should be laid upon the newly-acquired soil to form such establishments. The peculiar difficulties of the subject only constitute an argument for a more careful consideration of it; especially in a report that was expected, above all things, fairly and fully to meet those difficulties.

It is a curious fact that, in the original foundation for the negroes in Barbadoes, the Codrington College, the plan was that the religious teachers should be also medical professors.

Fortunately, the ablest men in the medical profession have taken the subject into their consideration. At the meeting of the College of Physicians, so late as the 5th of February, the President, Sir Henry Hallford, entered at much length into it in his public address. He spoke particularly of China as an advantageous field for medical

enterprise; and, in the "Lancet," there was lately an important paper on the same point. But the whole question, which is not so much new as neglected, requires further and careful examination.

The state of things at the *Missionary Institutions* in New Zealand, at this moment, gives a peculiar and painful interest to this topic. Depopulation from disease, physical or moral, is asserted by the government agent to be proceeding rapidly, even *there*, among the native families, whilst the families of the missionaries are numerous and healthy. Doubts have been thrown upon the accuracy of the agent's statement; but it cannot be utterly unfounded, and it leads to many painful reflections. Under these circumstances, it is our peremptory duty forthwith to take an enlightened and humane view of the physical and moral effects attendant on our settling among coloured people.

In reference to the land of the aborigines, the report is singularly barren, leaving the important recommendation *that the expense of establishments needed for them shall be a charge on colonies*, without a word of notice how this can be arranged, or even how individual natives shall obtain possession of spots of the soil with title deeds. There surely is too easy a way of supporting the general

recommendation with effect to justify this neglect of a vital topic; and the New Zealand case supplies an apt illustration of the whole matter.

By our law, as it at present stands, any private person may bargain with the native owners for the soil, as missionaries and hundreds of others have done in New Zealand. When, however, as is now taking place there, the sovereignty of the crown attaches to the soil, the purchaser cannot make a title to a single acre, nor even raise a single guinea on a safe mortgage, except *through the crown*. The crown, again, cannot *by law* give a title except by at once doing justice to all parties concerned; and such justice could not be done by granting *all* the soil to the purchaser. For example, harbours, rivers, and the like, *must* be reserved for the public use; and however long and greatly the colonial-office has neglected its duty, *the protection of the natives also falls on the crown*, which is bound to administer all the resources of the newly-acquired country, so as effectually to protect them. These principles let in the crown to deal with the purchased land, (to which the private parties have thus only an inchoate and imperfect title,) in a manner that will provide amply for all we are beginning to feel wanted. Materials exist even in England for calculating the resources thus at our command; and happily Mr. Wake-

field's principle has already acquired sufficient solidity to admit of raising *money* enough to carry a prudently arranged plan of improving the natives safely over the intrinsic difficulties of the case.

But the committee has failed to follow out these familiar constitutional points to their legitimate results.

It has done even worse than that. It has recommended that a perfectly incapable body should undertake the task thus abandoned by itself, and which body, (excellently adapted, as all agree, to discharge other duties,) would be utterly ruined by undertaking this *new* employment.

A volume of arguments would not produce conviction on this point, if the mere perusal of the recommendation itself be not enough. It is contained in the 9th suggestion of the Report, in the following words: "To protect, assist, and countenance these gratuitous and invaluable agents, the missionaries, is amongst the most urgent duties of the governors of our colonies. On the other hand, those by whom the missionaries are selected and employed cannot be too deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility under which that choice is made. Without deviating into discussions scarcely within the proper province of a parliamentary committee, it may be observed, that piety and zeal, though the most essential qualifications

of a missionary to the aborigines, are not the only endowments indispensable to the faithful discharge of his office: in such situations it is necessary that, with plans of moral and religious improvement, should be combined *well-matured schemes for advancing the social and political improvement of the tribes*, and for the prevention of any sudden changes which might be injurious to the health and physical constitution of the new converts."

The only comment I will annex to this unfortunate proposal, is taken from the Report of Mr. Latrobe on negro education, published by the House of Commons the 7th February, 1838. "The Church Missionary Society," says Mr. Latrobe, "possesses in Jamaica able and excellent missionaries, whose character and attainments guarantee the careful and conscientious discharge of the duty they undertake. The society has nevertheless had, from circumstances, peculiar difficulties to struggle with; and it is greatly to be regretted their executive in the island is not more efficient, and *that duties foreign to those of a missionary, properly speaking, and which none, however active and willing, can discharge competently in addition to clerical duty, are not vested by the directors of the society in England in distinct and fitting hands.* To this cause simply

much of the delay in the progress of their proposed buildings is to be attributed.”*

Before the missionary societies accept the *political* duties now, for the first time in their history, marked out for them in a formal document, it is to be expected that, among the rest, the United Brethren, to which Mr. Latrobe probably belongs, will weigh well how immeasurably the evils to arise from their increasing *difficulties* will exceed those he has thus prudently brought under the notice of the government.

The recommendation of the committee to give political powers to missionaries is connected in the report with another point well urged by the committee; namely, the destruction of the natives in consequence of colonization as heretofore conducted; but the committee has totally overlooked the fact, that *strong signs of amendment are abroad*. Its own condemnation of the old system in 1836; Lord Glenelg's advice to the late king to give up our unjust colonial conquest in South Africa in 1836; the adoption of *new* philanthropic views in the South Australian colony; the respect shewn to missionary efforts in the New Zealand Association plans, and the favour with which the abolition of transportation is received, are all proofs of the

* House of Commons Papers, 1838, No. 113, p. 7.

improvement of public opinion on the aborigines' question. The vigour with which the results of abolishing slavery are now followed up by the friends of the negroes is another good sign of the times. The situation, therefore, of things is far from being so desperate in regard to a probable reform of the administration of colonies, as far as concerns the coloured people, as to render the intervention of missionaries as *political projectors*, necessary; and their *political* conduct in the country, where it is wished to give them the most power, New Zealand, is that in which some of them have already the most abused it.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL RESULTS OF THE PAST.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONDEMNED SYSTEM OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT. — NEW SYSTEM STILL WANTED.—SUGGESTIONS FOR ONE.—PUBLICITY FIRST NECESSARY.—GENERAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE REFORM MUST BE FOUNDED. — FUNDS. — MISSIONS. — LAND. — TREATIES. — FEDERAL UNIONS. — ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—MODERATE PUNISHMENTS.—GOVERNOR IN THE SOUTH SEA.—PROTECTORS AND AGENTS. — ESTABLISHMENTS IN ENGLAND FOR COLOURED PEOPLE. — EDUCATION AND NATIVE LANGUAGES. — INSTRUCTIONS.—COURTESY TO THE CHIEFS. — TRADE. — OFFICERS. — ABOLITION OF TRANSPORTATION.

It is thus seen, that our intercourse with coloured tribes has, for the most part, injured them; but, at the same time, so far from those tribes being irreclaimably adverse to civilization, it is clear that where justice has been done, where protection has been granted, and instruction provided for, their improvement has ever been *proportionately* ex-

tensive. Numerous examples might be adduced both of their suffering from our injustice, and of their improvement when well treated, but a conclusive case is found in the Hottentots—a people not long ago in the lowest degree of misery and debasement, and now acquiring property and become civilized, in consequence of their enjoying a considerable amount of instruction, protection, and justice. In no other instance, in any colony, however, are means in progress on a scale large enough to promote effectually those great objects. Nor in any other instance, except that of the New Zealand *Association*, is a promise of such sufficient means held forth; and the old *system*, condemned by the House of Commons in 1836, is still fatally struggling for prolonged existence. The causes of both the long continuance of suffering, and of the slow progress of improvement among barbarous tribes when in communication with white people, depend, beyond all comparison, more upon that system than upon the intrinsic difficulties of their position or upon their natural character. Its principal features may be summarily described to be, a proud and ignorant disregard of the rights of the natives, and a mean desire to possess their lands and property, and to control their persons. Independently of these feelings towards them, the existing system is also adverse to good govern-

ment, which is the real means of ensuring their civilization; and the bureaucracy which has so long prevailed abhors the good government of the coloured people, chiefly because success in respect of them would render corrupt and despotic principles indefensible in regard to white colonists.

In order effectually to reform this condemned system, it would be enough to adopt in future a series of measures the very reverse of those hitherto generally supported. Publicity, instead of secrecy; the prudent encouragement, instead of the discouragement of missionaries; the independence of ecclesiastics, instead of their dependence on the state; friendly intercourse, instead of separation between us and the tribes; courtesy, instead of insolence towards them; knowledge, instead of ignorance of them; good faith, instead of fraud in our dealings; in one word, justice with its special guarantees, instead of injustice in its multitudinous forms and fatal effects. Above all, the British public must be made acquainted with a subject so intimately connected with its honour and interests.

In fact, in order to the establishment of a better system in favour of the coloured tribes generally, there is still wanting the scrutinizing concurrence of many acute and zealous men, such as they were who effected negro emancipation; although

greater numbers must combine in this case, inasmuch as it concerns far more extensive interests and greater difficulties than those involved in the anti-slavery question. And further, it is a point of leading importance to consider, that when the public shall seriously undertake to settle the analogous subject of the advancement of all the coloured tribes, discussion will be impeded at the outset by deficiencies in the evidence to facts, only to be supplied by increased knowledge. This sketch, therefore, of a new system of administration in regard to the uncivilized natives in and near the British colonies, is commenced by what is maintained to be an indispensable preliminary to all other steps, viz. *the publication of a weekly gazette in London*, from official reports of all public proceedings concerning the aborigines, whether contained in despatches to and from the colonies, or framed from other sources. Ignorance of facts, on the part of the public, is not only a fatal obstacle to the improvement of the aborigines, but also to their getting justice; for on the state of *public opinion* mainly depends the views of government, the character of parliamentary measures, and the conduct of public officers in affairs which concern the native tribes. But at present, as *full* information is commonly wanting on the whole subject, *public opinion* cannot possibly be more than vague conjecture, and,

except in extraordinary cases, it is not exerted at all. This may gradually be corrected by the public being regularly supplied with materials, such as reports of all transactions, legislative, executive, and judicial, on which opinions may be correctly formed. Among these materials, it is of great importance that statements proceeding from any of the aborigines should be made fully known. *Events of the greatest importance to the natives are, at this moment, passing in Canada, in South Africa, and in New Zealand, and parliament and the public know almost nothing of those events.*

Indirect advantages of no small value, to be expected from the publication of intelligence of this kind in a London colonial gazette, would be the restraint it would impose on ill conduct, and the encouragement it would afford to good conduct, where the natives were concerned, in every part of the colonial world. This alone, by preventing wars, will repay the cost of the gazette. Dispatches, too, read by the public, would be studied by the colonial-office.

Provision should also be made for the publication in each colony of the full reports on its own affairs, and of such matters concerning all the others as may be useful to each. By this means the gazette will be made to tell the truth; and the results of experience, good or bad, will be most

rapidly and effectually spread. The best way to do this, will be to pay for the insertion of the intelligence in all the colonial newspapers of all parties.

Extracts from the logs of ships, so far as concerns natives, should be inserted in this gazette; which should also contain abstracts of the population, medical and other registers and statistical tables of all kinds concerning the aborigines, and remarkable passages on them from colonial publications and newspapers; and, above all, notes upon the peculiar laws and usages of the aborigines, with notices of the appointments, removals, and retirements of all officers, the motives of these appointments and retirements, and the causes of the removals.

Had such a publication existed during the last ten years, the Caffre war could not have occurred. Without it another African war, or one in New Zealand, may befall us in every year that comes.

Certain general points must then be settled.

The first principle, as to any new system that can be shown to be capable of protecting and civilizing the aborigines in and near the colonies ought to be, that the amount of expense, in every well-regulated establishment required to execute it, be not a point of consideration; and this for three reasons:

(a.) The value of the lands acquired by us in treaties or otherwise from the aborigines, is far greater than what the most extravagantly arranged and the most carelessly administered establishment will demand.

(b.) The present system costs incomparably more money, not to mention loss of life and the sufferings it causes, than a better system will require.

(c.) The civilization of the tribes to be promoted by a wise system will repay its greatest probable cost, by diminished wars and by increased markets.

A second principle of great importance is, that the new system should reach all the points in which the native tribes or individuals among them are affected by intercourse of any kind with the white man, as it will increase the benefits of that intercourse where beneficial, and lessen its evils where it is evil.

A third principle is, that no change of our law, national or international, must be shrunk from, so far as it concerns the aborigines, if their safety and improvement require it.

Again, natives should be employed in all proper cases; their equality of rights should be admitted; and their ultimate *amalgamation* with us aimed at.

Again, no one thing in favour of the natives

should have the priority of the rest, but all should be set in motion simultaneously, and be kept in activity without relaxation, so far as is possible. In proportion to the rapid advances of the white settler upon the uncivilized man, the exertions which tend to equalize their conditions should be steady and extensive, and the power of law must be pushed ahead of the power of destruction. As at present great good is done in the cases of the aborigines, on the part of the government, only upon the explosion of some great evil, like the late Caffre war, the object to be aimed at is the establishment of a system which shall render such explosions in a high degree improbable, and tend to elevate the aborigines generally, as well as to protect them and the white people effectually.

These points admitted, the way is fairly open to the recommendation of many measures that will advance the native tribes the most effectually towards a state of self-dependence, encourage their natural faculties, and the most steadily restrain the individuals who would harm them.

The following seem to be such measures :

1st. *Funds*.—Make the expenses of converting, protecting, and civilizing the natives a primary charge upon the revenues of all colonies, whether arising from land or otherwise.

2. *Grants of money to missionary and other*

bodies, and for scientific objects to improve the natives :

Such grants have already been made usefully by government, and they should be gradually extended. The value of Protestant missions is a settled point; that of scientific bodies is still to be developed; and the great question of Roman Catholic missions must soon attract attention. It has been seen, that the first English missionary was a priest sent by Henry the Seventh to Newfoundland. The first great friend of this cause was a Roman Catholic, Sir Thomas More, *clarum et venerabile nomen*. In New South Wales one quarter at least of the people are of the same faith, and it is to be expected that the priesthood will not be lukewarm; but, at the same time, find in the common bond of charity a substitute for community of religious opinions. Whatever they may do, it is to be hoped they will avoid the great errors which ruined the efforts of the Jesuits in Paraguay, and which are impeding their exertions in California. The amount of the grants should be proportioned between the several bodies according to the proportion of their present expenditure to the wants of the aborigines, and to the fields not explored.

3. *Land:*

The right of the natives to their own land

should be protected by a vigorous pursuit of intruders and fraudulent purchasers, and the establishment of adequate means to civilize the aborigines, should be declared by law to be an indispensable condition of every purchase. The best lesson we can give them in the desirable knowledge of *property* is to respect theirs; and the safest fund for the expenses of missionaries, and other agents of improvement and protection, is clearly the soil. Titles should be given to individual natives, with conditions against alienation in *certain* cases. The constitutional principle as to lands acquired by private persons, as at Port Natal and in New Zealand, should be acted upon.

In all cases where the crown still possesses lands within the old boundaries of colonies, as, for example, at the Cape of Good Hope and in Jamaica, such lands should be reserved for coloured people, and be disposed of so as best to reward good conduct, and to promote the amalgamation of the races. It has been stated to a committee of the House of Commons recently, that no crown land remained at the Cape of Good Hope; the public papers, however, complain of large tracts being lately given away.

Agricultural schools should be established for the natives. Boundaries must be carefully run everywhere.

Under this head it is almost superfluous to add that the special rights in the lands acquired by individuals, whether white or coloured, must be respected, subject to proper charges.

4. *Let the principle of the condition inserted in Captain Cook's last instructions, viz., that lands should not be taken, either by the public or by private persons, except by consent of the natives, be acted upon universally.*

5. Treaties and transactions with the aborigines should always be reduced to writing, and, whenever possible, be printed in English and in the native languages, under the directions of the agents.

6. A system of *federal union* of the tribes with the respective colonies should be arranged. For example, in South Africa, the Griquas would, at this moment, be useful federal connexions of the Cape colony in all respects, and especially in repressing the violences of the emigrating boors. These Griquas, in particular, would form a most important link of civilization for the interior of South Africa. So, in New Zealand, the first step to amalgamation with many of the tribes will be *federal unions* with us. This will preserve the *personal respectability of the chiefs*, an indispensable point most difficult to be secured; and it will pave the way to amalgamation by preparing

the chiefs to become delegates to our councils and assemblies.

7. *Exciting one tribe against another, on any pretence whatever, must be prohibited.* This is one of the most indispensable improvements in the law of nations, to be established forthwith, that can be conceived.

8. *As to courts of justice; law of evidence; collections of native laws to be cited; circuits beyond the colonial frontiers; appeal to the privy council; equality of the natives:*

Independently of placing natives on the bench as judges, so soon as fit candidates appear, the chiefs should be invited to attend as assessors and visitors, and facilities should be given for the admission of all the native people, as spectators, into the courts.

Juries de medietate should be had when possible, and perfect equality of rights should be declared by law and enforced in the courts for the natives.

Interpreters should be provided for the courts of justice.

Evidence should be taken, without oath, in all cases in which the natives have not the use of oaths in their own courts. If we do not accommodate our laws to the natives, they must remain

averse to our whole system; and, without this change, it is impossible to do justice.

The laws and usages of the natives should be referred to in the colonial courts, either from the collections made by us or from the testimony of competent witnesses, native or white.

The crown officers should hold briefs *ex officio* from the protectors and political agents in the cases of natives, and in the criminal prosecutions of white people who have wronged them.

No judgment of death, of banishment, nor of any corporal punishment should be passed on the natives; but fines, and imprisonment, and often prohibition to come to the towns, should be substituted.

Circuits of judges to the political agencies should be arranged with the chiefs.

The appeal to the king in council under the last statute is insufficient for justice. In all cases concerning the conduct of public officers or public affairs, it depends on the will of the king whether the party complaining shall be heard or not. The appeal should be of right; and when the natives require it, the home agent, as well as political agents and colonial protectors, should manage the appeal.

9. *Fix the punishments that voyagers and*

others may inflict upon uncivilized people for thefts and other injuries they may do to us.

Nothing can be more arbitrary, nor more violent and mischievous, than the present practice often is. Dr. Wilson, an experienced and able naval officer, has set this subject in a striking point of view, by shewing that liberality in bestowing the old nails and other trifles, which are the chief attractions to savages, would remove the temptation which they now often find to be irresistible.* The disposition to plunder, not more common among barbarous people than among our own ancestors, may be checked more easily than is sometimes believed, and more frequently asserted without being believed.

10. *A naval governor to be stationed in the South Seas:*

In the South Seas, as formerly in Newfoundland during the fishing season, a naval captain should hold a governor's commission over the British people in New Zealand, in the South Sea Islands, and in all whalers and other ships. A judicial commission should be given to a portion of his officers;—and some of the resident and merchant officers, or his other officers, should be jurors or assessors in this court, along with natives, where suitable.

* *Voyage Round the World*, 8vo. 1835.

The officers of such a ship should be numerous; the men few and well selected: young natives, chiefs as well as others, should be invited to enter it as officers and sailors.

There should be attached a legal adviser to the ship.

Special visits should be made by this ship to all whalers and other ships, to inspect the logs, and to enquire into whatever circumstances concerning native people the inspection might suggest to be proper, and to hear all cases concerning such native people which might arise during the voyage.

This governor afloat should enter into treaties of amity and commerce with the native people and their chiefs, and form federal unions with England over the whole South Seas, if possible.

The political agents in the different ports should treat this governor with the same respect, and stand in the same relation to him, as takes place between other political agents among the tribes and their respective nearest governors.

Experience in the United States proves how much crime and disorder may be checked by periodical accounts being taken of roving people. In the American State Papers (Indians, vol. ii., p. 647), under the heading, "Precautions to prevent the Commission of Crimes," in aid of the exertions of the chiefs, it is stated as follows: "In the autumn, every hunting party in going out re-

port themselves to the head men of the town, and one of them is appointed the chief, to be answerable for the conduct of his companions. In all practicable cases, the chief applies to the agent, states the intention of the party, and receives a certificate of the fact, recommending him to the friendly attention of such white people as he may meet with; and on the return of the party in the spring, a report is made to the agent by all those chiefs in person, or by some of their companions, or by some of their townspeople, stating where they have been, what they have seen, and what they have done. This is a very important regulation: it gives a correct view of occurrences throughout the extended range of the hunters, and enables him, with inconceivable speed, to prevent or correct crimes and abuses."

The logs or journals of ships' captains afford a similar preventive police, and the system of both logs and examination might be introduced with great advantage among the interior traders of South Africa and elsewhere. Results, published in the Colonial Gazette and other papers, would increase the utility of the plan.

11. *Protectors.*—Appoint a new superintending body, composed of protectors of aborigines, in the colonies; political agents among the neighbouring tribes; of an agent in London for all

coloured people in and near the colonies; and of commissioners of enquiry:

This body of officers should form one great establishment for all the colonies and their vicinity, and be a branch of the foreign-office, although subject to make reports when called upon to the secretary of state for the colonies, and to be amenable to the colonial and home courts of law.

It should be a branch of the foreign-office, not of the colonial department, because it is in all respects a check upon the colonial department, and upon governors and other functionaries nominated by the advice of the secretary of state for the colonies.* The interests of the natives are totally distinct from the interests of the colonists and colonial officers; and to place the former under the colonial-office in Downing-street is, in principle, to sacrifice them to the latter, as has been done in practice. The common failure of the protectors of the emancipated negroes is attributable to this precaution not being taken. The expense of the colonial department should be reduced in proportion to the labour it is relieved from.

* In the new case of the New Zealand *Association*, the separation is complete. The founders appoint the officers of the colony, and the colonial-office appoints the protectors of the natives.

In all possible cases, coloured people should be appointed to this body; and promotion of the home agency should be held out as the reward of intelligence and ability in the discharge of the local protectorships and political agencies.

The protectors should be established on the principle of those appointed in the South Australian charter, and of the Cape protecting magistracy, the clerks of the peace, and of colonial crown officers: they should attend the schools, prisons and courts of justice, the markets, and instruct the natives in the usual price of all commodities: they should also keep registers of native contracts.

Political agencies for the interior, beyond colonial frontiers, are of the most urgent necessity; and no treaties or contracts should be made with the natives, unless they are assisted by protectors, or agents.

To these agencies should be attached a medical department, calculated to form a medical school for the natives, and a department for teaching the arts of life, with improvements in agriculture and gardening. Missionaries from the voluntary societies, properly augmented in resources, will not be wanting for religious duties. A consular jurisdiction, with a sufficient force to ensure respect, should be given to the agents on account of the traders and

other English, who will frequent the posts in increasing numbers. The houses of the agency should be of a simple kind, and not beyond the means of the natives to *imitate*. An agency in London for the affairs of all aborigines in and near the colonies is an essential part of this plan.* The colonists have always found agents in London for their own affairs indispensable: they sometimes have two; viz., one named by the king, although paid by themselves; the other named, as well as paid, by themselves. The experience of 140 years has proved the usefulness of the institution.

The aborigines of all the colonies have greater need of this than the colonists. One agent should therefore be appointed for the aborigines; and, as occasion may require it, either his assistants might be increased, or special agents might be named for various colonies. The duties of such agent would be as follows: 1. To superintend the execution of the law where the aborigines are concerned, and to watch the protectors and political agents. 2. To prepare new laws and regulations for the sanction of the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and to urge aboriginal claims. 3. To prepare a colonial gazette, published in London, as already suggested. 4. To make

* Dr. Hodgkin's Evidence before the Committee, No. 5352.

requisitions for new instructions to be addressed to colonial governors through the secretary of state for the colonies. 5. To propose and advance plans of civilization and friendly intercourse with the aborigines. 6. To watch the proceedings of great companies, such as the Hudson's Bay Company, the North-West Company, the Australian Company, and the Missionary Societies; to report their good and their bad acts to the secretary of state for foreign affairs. 7. To receive all aborigines who visit England, and to correspond with aborigines abroad. 8. To correspond with the colonial protectors and political agents, and to lay before the colonial office copies of all letters to them, and of all reports and letters from them when required. 9. To collect the laws of the aborigines. 10. To visit the college hereafter mentioned.

In case of war, the governors of colonies engaged should have direct control over all the members of this body connected with their respective governments. In peace, the control of the governors should be exercised only through the courts of law.

Commissioners should be sent periodically from England to all the colonies to make special enquiry into the conduct of the protectors and political agents, and into all matters concerning

the aborigines. The exact time of this circuit should be uncertain. The commission should proceed entirely from the secretary of state of the colonies.

The influence of this body would be felt by all the tribes and coloured people in and beyond colonies, not as hostile to colonial governors, but as disinterested arbitrators in all matters concerning both the colonists and the aborigines. To the home government and to parliament it would be a sure means of safe intelligence and good government.

12. Make provision for the study of the native languages; for interpreters; colonial native schools; and classes of aborigines in the common colonial schools; and for a college for aborigines at home:

Without in any manner promoting the separation of the coloured people in their early studies from the whites, either at home or in the colonies, extensive establishments for education must be founded for the aborigines, and classes for the native languages must be introduced into the colonial schools. It is in this way only that proper provision can be made for a complete amalgamation of the races in habits and feelings, and for both white and coloured interpreters, who are wanted in a degree that will be appreciated

when our extraordinary mistakes in peace and war are reflected on. In all parts of the colonial world friends have been often killed for enemies, and needless enmities have been excited, solely for want of good interpreters.

The first thing to be done in settling in a new country being to hold friendly communication with the inhabitants, it is quite incredible that the public administration in almost all colonies should be unprovided with means of ready and correct conversation with all its neighbours or native people. In 1824 not a white man was to be found who could speak the language of the New Hollander well; and at present there is probably but one such person. The faithlessness and ignorance of colonial interpreters have long been subjects of complaint.

To meet this evil and others connected with it, white and coloured children must be taught together, and good salaries must be paid to the white or coloured people who apply themselves the most successfully to the study of the native languages. Public documents should be printed in them. English will not be learned the less rapidly by the natives, by our using their language on fit occasions. Infant schools and all other places of education should be increased in and near the colonies, and natives should be brought for-

ward as much as possible as teachers. Lands should be given early to good teachers. Some of the more promising native boys* should be offered facilities for visiting England, to be placed both in a college to be appropriated to them, and in other colleges and schools, as their connexions may arrange or circumstances render convenient; some English boys also should be admitted into the aboriginal college. Medical instruction, and instruction in the practical arts and in the useful sciences, should be imparted to numerous native pupils as well in the several colonies as in England. All modern and the ancient languages should be taught there.

The natives of warm climates, who might suffer in health from an English winter, should have means of passing it in the south of Europe, where they would also learn the culture suited to their own countries.

If the college and other establishments where coloured students shall be placed be governed with ordinary care, and their English friends, with whose countenance they have come to England, as the missionary bodies for example, afford them proper protection, they will return home improved in intelligence and character; and from the colo-

* Evidence of Dr. Hodgkin before the committee, No. 5342-3.

nials and home schools would speedily come forth a body of native youth capable of any public offices, and able to fill respectably any private stations. Above all, the civil administration and the courts would not be left as they now are, to our discredit and injury, without suitable means of discovering truth in questions of justice, and without the possibility of distinguishing between what is hurtful and what is good in policy.

Especially would such an establishment *at home** elevate the character of the native and other colonial schools and institutions, by increasing useful communications with England, and it would stimulate the colonial schoolmasters to exertion, as well as check abuses. It would promote the great object of raising the natives to equality in feeling and in mental character with us; and science would be rapidly advanced by its affording enlightened native members for every expedition, now so often at a loss even for common interpreters, the want of whom has been the cause of great evils. The establishment would soon become a great school of all the modern languages, and men of all colours and religions would there learn to respect and be

* Mr. Baillie Frazer's "Narrative of the Residence of the Persian Princes in London in 1835-6," abounds in admirable lessons on this subject. 2 vols., 1838.

attached to each other; enterprising adults would often come with the youths as delegates or attendants, and should be received in the college; and there should be attached to it large unfurnished apartments, where, as in an eastern caravansera, sailors and other transient visitors of the poorer classes might be sheltered till their departure; a hospital should be annexed also for destitute natives in proper cases; and in others labour might often be required from the inmates; moderate payments being arranged for all who can pay.

13. Reforming the instructions to governors:

There should be a careful review made of the instructions to governors concerning the aborigines, now in force, which ought to be formed into a digest and be printed. Those which enjoin the killing of the natives without form of law, and all other illegal instructions, ought to be solemnly recalled. Express instructions also ought to be issued to prohibit wars being made without minute manifestoes of the cause.

The governors should also be enjoined to invite the neighbouring chieftains to visit them, and to hold personal conferences with the colonial councils on solemn occasions, and to let native soldiers serve indiscriminately with the white troops, and have equal promotion.

The governors should also cause collections of

the native laws to be made, in concert with the political agents; they should establish public markets, at all convenient spots, in concert with the tribes. When judgments cannot be executed against oppressors of the natives, the governors should indemnify the oppressed; and all judgments against white men, for injuring the natives, should be executed as those judgments are which condemn natives for injuring white people. The power of pardon given to governors has been greatly abused on this head.

14. *Provision must be made for the SOCIAL good treatment of the chiefs.*

At present this depends solely on the temper of the public authorities. A good natured man acts with considerable kindness. If to good nature be added high principle, as in the case of William Penn and the Quakers, personal kindness approaches to justice, and produces admirable effects. If ill tempered and unprincipled men have to act, the mischief they do is incalculable; nor are the prejudiced and injudicious less unfortunate, by alienating those whom we ought to *allure* to the adoption of civilized manners, as is shewn by the example of Sir Lowry Cole, a late governor of the Cape. In one of his conferences with the Caffre chiefs, men who command despotically more followers than he ever headed British sol-

diers, he exhibited more of the martinet, by his own account, than of the statesman; and so paved the way to the no distant and furious inroad of these very barbarians upon the defenceless colony. If an equally considerate deportment cannot be looked for in governors of various characters, an improvement may be secured in the worst by some rules of *etiquette* being laid down for all, and by specific sums being appropriated for hospitality being offered to our barbarous visitors.

15. *Trade*.—The licence-trading in the interior of South Africa and the North American fur-trading require careful revision, so as to prevent the oppressions now inflicted by some of the traders, and the frequent frauds which they commit on the aborigines.

In South Africa, the government should establish a steam navigation from the Cape of Good Hope to Natal and Madagascar. The necessity for frequent communication on the south-eastern coast is very great, and the trade will not yet support the expense of a steam vessel, although it would go far to defray it in the cargoes backward and forward. This would be a great benefit to the Cape traders, facilitate the change now in progress in opinion respecting the natives, and greatly promote the civilization of the south-eastern tribes, and their federal union with

England. The customs payable on the commodities of natives should be equalized with those payable by English importers. *Current coins* should be provided.

16. *Discountenancing and punishing inefficient and delinquent public officers, on the specific ground of negligent or oppressive conduct respecting the aborigines:*

At this very moment, although much is improved, frightful scenes are taking place in South Africa, which are but the continuation and complement of the crimes denounced to the Cape governor and to the secretary of state for the colonies for years past. The responsibility rests upon those who have long known the truth, and neglected the warning. The commissioners of enquiry recommended measures which would have checked these scenes, and the parties to the neglect ought not to go unpunished.

Blame has been cast on frontier inferior functionaries, and the governors have been excused.* The inferior functionaries often enough deserve blame, but the governors and the secretaries of state are incomparably more to be blamed; they have more power and more knowledge, or at least better means of obtaining advice. Upon them, therefore, as upon every party to the atrocities

* House of Commons Papers for 1836, No. 279, p. 117.

that have long been done, and are still doing, in obscure and remote parts of the empire, the reproach and just punishment ought to fall.

But the natives are peculiarly helpless when in conflict with powerful men, and ought to be protected most especially against the highest oppressors.

17. Encouraging and being just to efficient, discreet, and honest public officers, and especially rewarding them, on the particular ground of kindness to the aborigines.

If, among public officers, delinquents of every degree ought to be punished, so it is of the greatest importance, that those who are zealous friends to the natives, and, at the same time, efficient, discreet, and honest in their official duties, be supported.

The best way of ensuring justice to such men is to place the privy council on its proper footing, and let the complainants be heard of right.

18. Transportation of convicts to be stopped immediately, and the convict population of the penal colonies to be reformed by the immediate adoption of measures proper for that purpose:

All experience proves that the evils of convict transportation exceed the amount of its advantages to any class of people.

But the evils it inflicts upon the native families

and tribes are incomparably greater than any others, and utterly uncompensated by any advantages to such natives.

The evidence before the committee on this head is frightful, and yet it is short of the truth.

Further transportation should therefore be stopped; and the following measures may render the present white population of New South Wales less fatally dangerous to the aborigines than that of Van Diemen's Land has proved to be to those of that island:

(A.) Missionary establishments should be forthwith placed in the interior, at the extremity of every settlement, in all directions from Sydney.

(B.) The wives and families of all the political convicts should be immediately sent out to them at the public expense.

(C.) The wives and families of all other convicts should be sent to them according as their conduct is ordinarily good.

(D.) In cases of convicts without wives, the best means possible should be taken to encourage their marriage.

These three measures are indispensable, inasmuch as a great amount of the evil inflicted on the natives of New South Wales arises from the inequality of the sexes and the absence of domestic ties.

(E.) Capital and corporal punishments should be abolished, and be replaced by penitentiary discipline, and mild discipline should be enjoined in the place of severity.

(F.) Rewards in lands should be granted steadily for good conduct.

19. Encourage such enterprises as those undertaken for Port Natal in 1829, and for New Zealand at present.

20. Lastly, it may be asserted confidently that all this will fail unless the colonial-office and the privy council are reformed. In regard to the latter, it is conducted on worse principles now than in the last century; and then it permitted an appeal from coloured people to be pending before it seventy years. Where such a thing was possible, something must be radically wrong. As to the colonial-office, Mr. Henry Taylor, in the "Statesman," has told much of the truth; and every year produces fresh proof of the extent of ignorance, corruption, and oppression in colonial affairs, which cannot but flow from the Machiavelian principles disclosed in that book.

POSTSCRIPT.

It will be convenient to add here a few remarks upon the conduct of two missionary societies in New Zealand; and upon the controversy relative to the New Zealand Association.

We have not now to learn that there is a tendency of the best things to become corrupt; and how apt the zealous are to resort to improper means in order to attain good ends has lately been ably shewn by the Rev. Mr. Harris, in "Mamoon," in regard to the collection of money at home for the missionary cause. So missionaries abroad are liable to the frailties of our common nature. In New Zealand they have been invested with power in consequence of the neglect of the colonial-office; and much as they have done well, they have naturally abused it on several essential points. If, therefore, the new plan proposed by the Aborigines' Committee, for investing them formally with political power, be adopted, it is easy to conjecture the early result. The opposition of their friends to the New Zealand Association illustrates this. That opposition has gone too far beyond the line of caution which experience of colonies justified them in taking up. A jealous examination of any fresh scheme of colonisation, and a call for proofs to shew that it was better prepared, and would probably produce better effects, than former schemes, would have well become them. The production of specific guarantees for the natives of New Zealand was a part of the development of the general professions of the Association, which the missionaries and all other persons interested for the aborigines were, not only justified, but in duty bound to call for. It was not certainly enough that this scheme should be, as all impartial readers of the book will admit it to be, the best conceived scheme of colonisation ever formed,—the explanation of its indispensable details and the character of its officers were anxiously waited for. Without, however, waiting for either one or the other, two representatives of the missionary bodies, who have stations in New Zealand, Mr. Coates and the Rev. Mr. Beecham, have published attacks on the Association. The former as much calumniate it by asserting that "gain is the mainspring and ultimate end of the whole scheme" (p. 13), and that this is studiously concealed, as the Aborigines' Committee erred in stating in the passage cited above (p. 3), that missionaries are "gratuitous" agents. On the one hand, the labouring missionary is "worthy of his hire," when he acts correctly; and he receives it. On the other hand, gain is also a fair object of pursuit to secular men, and the New Zealand Association distinctly announces what portion of their body, the emigrants, look to gain, and what portion, the founders, disclaim it. To this calumny against the Association, Mr. Coates adds an unworthy concealment of matters relative to the acquisition of the New Zealanders' land by missionaries, which every friend to missions will learn with the deepest regret. Such are not the weapons wherewith to defend a good cause.

Mr. Beecham's pamphlet against the New Zealand Association much more deserves examination than that of Mr. Coates. His indignant denunciation of the maladministration of the affairs of the Indians in Canada, and of other wrongs done by this country to all the aborigines connected with us,

form an excellent set-off to the harsh view he has taken of the Association's plans. But two fatal omissions occur in Mr. Beecham's pamphlet. He says not one word upon the enormous tracts of land got by the missionaries from the natives; and he is silent upon the proposal of the Aborigines' Committee to invest missionaries with political functions. Both these topics are passed by, too, in Mr. Beecham's pamphlet, although he expressly discusses subjects intimately connected with both; whilst the topic of the land involves a most serious charge against missionaries; and the proposal as to political agency affects the very essence of the missionary character.

It is greatly to be feared that the Machiavellic vices so well exposed by John Wesley, in his *oriental* and missionary career, a century ago (*Supra*, p. 111,) have not been sufficiently guarded against by his worthy successors. Mr. Beecham is too honest a man to be willingly made a tool of by the occupants of our great seat of Machiavellicism, the colonial-office; and an opportunity is now at his command to set himself right in regard to several dependences of that office, which have flourished too long. For example, transportation, (which is the most unhappy scourge to the aborigines ever conceived,) is on its trial. The Wesleyan Missionary Society knows well *all* its evils; and that society will do the public, as well as the aborigines, an admirable service by addressing parliament for its abolition. It is understood to be among the many remarkably meritorious exertions of Mr. Wakefield, that he was one of the most zealous originators of the parliamentary enquiries now pending, which ought to produce such abolition. This, and his formation of the New Zealand Association, will one day probably be held to have been among the noblest actions of our time.

In preparing the foregoing pages, a variety of books were consulted, of which it was intended to add a list for the convenience of many who might be disposed to pursue this subject farther than the writer has done. Space not having been left for that purpose, it may be enough to say that the library of the British Museum is complete in all branches of the subject, except in regard to missionary records; and that few private collections are to be met with, in which so many valuable volumes are to be found on colonial topics and on early and recent voyages, as the collection of Mr. O. Rich, of Red Lion Square, to whose liberal communications the writer has been greatly indebted.

APPENDIX.

THE following documents, printed from the Graham's Town Journal of the 26th October, 1837, contain the most striking illustrations of the imprudent view taken by the Aborigines' Committee of our colonial policy. The Committee advises, in its 8th suggestion, that colonial enterprise shall be *repressed* rather than encouraged. Here are colonists struggling, erroneously enough in some respects, but with great spirit and great discrimination in other respects, to spread themselves over South Africa. The whole case is exceedingly complicated, and its difficulties great; but with good faith and energy at home, they may assuredly be overcome, without attempting to bring the emigrants back, which is the incredible proposal of one party at the Cape of Good Hope; or opposing *all* new colonization,—the still more extraordinary project of the Aborigines' Committee against the tenor of all its evidence.*

* Even the secretaries of the missionary societies do not justify this project. See House of Commons' Papers for 1836, No. 022, p. 490 and 512.

"THE EMIGRANT FARMERS.

“ Within the last few days some very interesting communications have been received in town from Mr. Pieter Retief, the head of the Emigrant Farmers. The point of great importance in these documents is the information that several perfectly good passes have been found across the mountain chain which separates the country where they now are from that of Natal. We are glad also to find from these communications that the best disposition is evinced to maintain a friendly intercourse with the colony; a disposition which we hope will be carefully encouraged by the colonial authorities, and by which an opportunity may probably be afforded of turning a misfortune into a great future advantage. For should the fine unoccupied country lying between the Umzimvooboo become firmly occupied by these hardy people, it would not only afford a fine field for commercial enterprise, but a most important political benefit would be gained also, in the salutary check which would be thereby given to any hostile movement on the part of the intermediate tribes. The Kafir nation, finding an European colony on both sides,

would never dare attempt a general inroad on either. Of course it will require much prudence and *forbearance* on the part of our government to realize this very desirable object. By mild and conciliatory measures it may be attained without the probability of failure, but by a harsh or precipitate course of procedure, the whole country would, as the almost certain result, be thrown into confusion, the evil consequence of which might be felt for many years to come.

“The following is a translation of extracts from a letter written by Mr Pieter Retief, dated

“Sand River, 9th Sept., 1837.

“I am much gratified to find that we are not forgotten by the friends we have left behind. * * I have had some little unpleasantness, originating in three or four individuals, but which had been overcome, and I was looking forward to the establishment of entire harmony; every thing was peaceful and quiet, and the several officers honoured and obeyed, when Mr. P. Uys,* then still at a considerable distance from us, drew up a factious document, which he sent into one of my encampments for signature. The purport of this paper was a recommendation that neither the officers who had been appointed nor the laws which had

* See above, p. 218.

been framed should be obeyed. One of my field commandants informed me of this proceeding, on which I immediately visited that encampment, but found that the people there had been wise enough not to sign this paper. * * * [Mr. R. here explains that Mr. Uys had at a conference shortly before this agreed to all his measures, and had solemnly pledged himself to support them.] But notwithstanding all this, you may make yourself perfectly easy with respect to me. The wicked may plan, but the Almighty above is the disposer of all. I rest satisfied in the conviction that I have been called to fill the important office I now sustain by him, and I know that his arm is sufficient for me. Were it to please the Almighty, my anxious wish is to be released from this burden, that I may spend the short period I have yet to live free from such important cares and responsibility. But I may not and will not murmur. Hundreds of times have I pondered upon the difficulties I should have to encounter, and though I cannot understand the mysterious ways of Providence, still I have been enabled to submit to his will, and I still leave these important matters to his further guidance, and I confidently hope that all will be overruled for the best.

“Our religious services are by no means neglected, but, on the contrary, earnestly and

constantly conducted according to the established forms and principles of the Dutch Reformed Church. We have, thank God, a truly good divine amongst us, whom we acknowledge as a faithful shepherd to his flock. To our great grief this worthy man lately lost his son by fever, in the 21st year of his age, which bereavement has been a sore trial to him and his wife. This malady has raged here a considerable time, but, up to this period, no more than five persons have died from its effects. We cannot be too grateful to Almighty God for our wonderful preservation and the many mercies bestowed upon us. Up to this moment we have not met with a difficult or dangerous road; not a waggon has been upset or broken; no want of grass or water has been felt; no scarcity of game, fish, or honey; no want of corn, mebes, (maize) beans, potatoes, or pumpkins. I have, indeed, often regretted that the natives, from so great a distance, bring us more than our necessities require, in exchange for sheep, goats, and skins.

“ ‘ We are thus going confidently forward, in the assurance that God, in His mercy, will lead us in safety, ere long, to the place of our destination. Had we known sooner that we should have found a passage over the ‘ Draakberg’ (Dragon Mountain) we should long ago have been at the end of our journey. From all accounts, we have been led to

believe that we should be compelled to travel round the point of that mountain, which would have led us considerably to the northward. Having, however, sent out a party to ascertain whether there was no probability of crossing it, they returned, after an absence of twenty-five days, with the glad tidings that, at five different points, the whole encampment might cross this formidable barrier without difficulty or danger. This route, therefore, compared to that we had intended to take, will shorten our journey to Natal by full two months. We shall now travel due east; but, as the pasturage between where we now are and the 'Draakberg' has been set on fire and burnt, and as our sheep are lambing fast, I have considered it advisable for the encampment to continue where it is, while I proceed in person with a party of fifty men to Port Natal, and to the residence of the Zoola King, Dingaan, having heard more from that quarter than I exactly like. I leave this on the 16th inst., and I go with confidence, knowing that my intentions are not evil but good. If it please God I shall be back at the encampment by the latter end of October.

“ ‘I have not as yet ascertained anything respecting Trechard. Reports have, however, reached me that Matzalikatse has completed preparations for another attack upon us, and it is said

He has issued a peremptory order to his men to conquer or die. Numbers of his people have in consequence deserted him. I have now given him abundance of time maturely to consider whether he will come to me and atone for his evil deeds, or whether I shall be compelled to go to him. I am continually receiving reports that I am surrounded by enemies; but I make myself perfectly easy, assured that the Almighty arm will support those who are in the right. I have been visited by a certain captain of the Bastards, and by several field-cornets, as well as by private persons amongst the Corannas, who all persist, without any variation, that Waterboer has been instigated to get up a combined attack upon my encampments; and that he had invited all the captains to a meeting to consult on the subject. Upon hearing this I sent letters to the several captains, of which I enclose a copy, (see document No. 1,) and which will put you in possession of all the particulars. In addition to these reports, I have also received several communications from the Hantam and Orange River, begging me to be on my guard, as there was mischief brewing against me. * *

* * * * *

I have heard that great apprehensions are entertained in the colony that we shall treat Matzali-katse too harshly, and which I also perceive are

your feelings, as expressed in one of your letters. Rest assured that I can thank God that I do not possess a thirst for blood, or an unfeeling heart; but, while I take care that I do not act with undue severity, I shall be equally guarded that I do not, by indecision, increase the evil. I have seen too much of the disasters which have befallen the colony from want of promptitude, not to be wary on that subject. It is enough that I have been taking lessons on your frontier for the last twenty-two years, and know what should be done or what should be left undone. The better to shew you my views respecting the coloured classes, I now enclose you the copy of a letter circulated by me, (document No. 2,) as also a communication addressed by me to the Governor at Cape Town (No. 3). I had considered that His Excellency and my countrymen would both be deceived by false reports, and I thought it better that they should learn my own sentiments from myself, than through the channel of public report. * * *

I have not left my native land to live in darkness with the British government, or my countrymen who are left behind, but my anxious desire is to have free intercourse with them. * * *

“ From the great quantity of cattle with us, we have been compelled to divide into several parties; but I am happy to say that we have not here the

plague of cattle-stealers. The cattle which sometimes stray are brought after us from six to seven days' journey, by the Morole's people, under the chief Morocke, and for which I remunerate them. Mr. Archbell (Wesleyan missionary) deserves the highest praise for the manner and character of the institution established by him amongst this people, and it is to be wished that all those who profess to teach and lead the uncivilized would take a lesson by him, and endeavour to conduct them in the same paths of religion, industry, and justice.

““ The lions, no less than Matzalikatse, have endeavoured to destroy us; but as we had declared that whoever should presume to molest us unlawfully must abide the consequences, so in respect to these animals we took care to keep our word. After they had killed a few of our horses, we formally declared war against them, and have been so successful since, as to destroy *two hundred and forty-nine* of these destructive animals, not including several which escaped after having been mortally wounded. In our various combats three persons got into their clutches, but we did not give them time to injure them seriously.

““ Yours, &c., P. RETIEF.””

“ No. 1.

“ Sand River, July 18, 1837.

“ Captains,—In consequence of several depositions made before me, by some of your captains, as well as by other individuals, there remains no doubt in my mind, that Waterboer has been incited and bribed to induce you all to combine with him in making a treacherous attack upon my several encampments. As a Christian, I advise you all first to wait and see the result of Matzalikatse, treachery against us. Rest assured that we shall not attack or interfere with any tribe or people: but, on the contrary, you may also rely upon it, that whoever interferes with us, will have to rue it for ever after. We have been induced to quit our native land, after sustaining enormous losses, and, depend upon it, that we have not taken this step to lead a worse, but a better life. On the other hand, I have also to inform you, that I have not been elected as the chief of this people by my own act, or even by the general voice of the people; but I have sufficient reasons to recognize the hand of God in placing me at the head of my countrymen. Let it, therefore, be sufficient for you all to know that I can fearlessly call upon God, and may safely depend upon His mighty arm. Be, therefore, again

assured, that as long as it may please Him to allow me to govern over this people, no nation or tribe, of whatever class or colour, will be molested by me or my dependents; and that all who suffer themselves to be misled by designing man, to set themselves against me and my possessions by murder or plunder, will assuredly see that I shall act with inflexibility, and that my coming will be sure, and their punishment certain.

“I must also call to your recollection the awful visitation of God upon you, after your unlawful, murderous, and plundering attack upon Matzalikatæ; when you were assembled in such great strength, and on your side alone so many hundred men, horses, weapons, &c., were lost. In this alone you may see the just reward of those who go out to strife without the aid of the Almighty. On the other hand, it will also be well for you, for us, and for the world, to remark how wonderfully God has enabled us, with so weak a force, to stand against the frightful and superior numbers of Matzalikatæ. Be, therefore, advised by me, as your sincere friend, to consider the subject well before you take the advice of bad men, that you may not plunge yourselves into acts which you may for ever repent. I may also tell you, that I have never wished unnecessarily to shed the blood of my fellow-creatures; and I, therefore, consider

it desirable for you all to know that I have already got six field commandants, with their field-cornets, and men in good order and discipline, and that these divisions consist of from 100 to 150 men each, and that, according to several letters just received by me, I shall have 250 men more by the latter of next month (August). My strength, therefore, increases every day, and I am continually moving further on; it will consequently be well for you to remark, and I mention it to shew how little I regard your hostility, that the longer you delay to attack me, the greater the difficulty and danger will become to you.

“What is more, I have been informed that waggons journeying to my encampments have been unlawfully attacked and plundered by Bastards or Corannas; let this, therefore, be a warning to you, that if I again hear of such acts, those implicated will have to abide the consequences.

“I have further been informed, that a combination exists among you to proceed to Matzalikatse, to make yourselves masters of our plundered waggons and other property, now in the possession of that chief; I, therefore, again most earnestly warn you that I will unceasingly pursue, and eventually punish as robbers, every person, without distinction, who may commit such an unjustifiable act. Matzalikatse has now alone to

do with me, and I will give him sufficient time to decide whether he shall come to me to atone for his atrocious conduct, or whether I am to go to him to punish him for his enormities.

“ ‘What is more, I have been repeatedly informed that Waterboer is busily engaged with some captains in getting up a commando to come to me, under the pretext of joining me against Matzalikatse, and thus getting an opportunity of attacking me; whereupon I have to inform you that I do not require Waterboer’s assistance; and if he thinks by his bosjesman or * * * sophistry to dig a pit for me, he may rest satisfied that he will find himself suddenly plunged into it. Waterboer may be certain that he is narrowly watched. All captains, field-cornets, or whoever it be among you that wish to see me, shall be most welcome. It is my particular desire, and I shall feel most happy, to have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with all your captains, the result of which will be more to your own happiness and advantage than to mine. I, however, find myself obliged to prohibit any who come to see me, from approaching my encampment with more than twelve followers, as larger parties will be looked upon at all my encampments as enemies, and be dealt with as such.

“ ‘I have further to inform you all, that on my

arrival at Blesberg, I concluded a treaty of peace and amity with Morocke and Towana, as chiefs of the Moroles tribe, and that they have, from the date thereof, not only convinced me that they and their people will strictly adhere thereto, but they are even now doing so by sending after me, at distances of five and six days' journey, all our strayed cattle. Morocke has acquainted me that certain Corannas had declared their intention of attacking him, robbing him of his cattle, and burning his village. My answer to him was as follows: Morocke, keep yourself innocent from crimes against all nations and tribes; you know that I have sworn fidelity to you, as you have also sworn to me; adhere to your engagements with me; and let it be sufficient for you that I again say, that whoever injures you injures me; and that whether I am near to, or far from you, send me word, and you will speedily have your friend to your assistance.

“ You will perceive from this, what advantages such treaties are calculated to confer upon a people; and may I not, therefore, ask you, why cannot we *all*, without distinction, unite ourselves in the same bonds of friendship? Again, may I ask you, why should this beautiful and fertile country, so bountifully blessed by Providence, and which can be so advantageously occupied, be any

longer looked upon as an insecure wilderness, abounding in deeds of murder and plunder? It will, therefore, now be your faults if we do not convert it into a peaceful and happy country.

“I now finally declare to you with a clear conscience, that it is not my wish to lead a single benighted and uncivilized being astray, much less do I desire to see their blood shed while in that state; my sincere wish, on the contrary, is to enlighten them, to lead them from their wicked ways, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith. I presume that you have ministers of the Gospel among you, who will assuredly explain to you the will of God respecting his creatures; and if you then, in opposition to your better judgment, as I have been informed, persevere in your wicked deeds, then I must tell you that the word of God teaches us plainly, that an awful day of retribution will await such offenders, in the presence of a living God! If, however, your instructors, as their duty compels them, have not endeavoured, or are not even now endeavouring, to reclaim you from the ways of sin, then, according to the word of God, a much more awful judgment will await them.

“Now, captains, let this be enough to induce you to consider what is best for you to do. I

will, in conclusion, in accordance with my duty as a Christian, again offer to you all, without distinction, my real and lasting friendship, the same as I have done to all tribes, and shall continue to do. I also conjure you to accept and preserve the same, and, with the blessing of God, I trust that it will be to our mutual benefit and happiness. If you determine on rejecting my overtures of peace, you may hereafter repent it. I now fully trust that, with the blessing of God, my sincere and earnest desires, as herein communicated, will be abundantly useful to you,—and that I may ere long see that the present race of benighted beings inhabiting this country, will be bound together in the bonds of peace and friendship. On the other hand, I am fully convinced that such who may stubbornly refuse to enter into these desirable relations, will soon see and feel that they are contending with a Mighty God! If there be any among you who imagine any difficulty in entering into these engagements, let them come to me, and I will endeavour to convince them to the utmost of my power. See and hear now, ye captains, field-cornets, and other rulers of your people, I have acquitted myself before God, of my duties to you, as a Christian; my last wish is, that the day may soon come

when I shall see you all united in truth and brotherly love!

“I remain, Captains, your real Friend,
“(Signed,) P. RETIEF,
“*Commander of the United Encampments.*”

“No. 2.

“INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMANDANTS.

“Art. 1. Every person shall be bound to obey the field-commandant in the execution of his office,—and in the event of disobedience the offender shall be liable to a penalty of five Rds. for the first offence, and of double for the second and third offence.

“2. The commandant must furnish himself with a list of his field-cornets, and the number of men attached to each, in order to take proper care that each man, without favour or distinction, perform his share of duty.

“3. The commandant is required to be diligent in sending out the necessary patrols; also to station and relieve the night guards in the several encampments, and which guards must be placed at nine o'clock in the evening, or earlier, as occasion may require.

“4. The commandant will, during the present insecurity, take care that at least a whole encamp-

ment, or more, moves forward at once, as occasion may require; in which case, to prevent confusion and accident, no person will be permitted, without first having obtained leave from the commandant, to move off to any place in front.

“5. The commandant will, on extraordinary occasions, apply to the commander of the encampment, or in his absence, to the president of the Court of Polity, (Raad van Politie) for the purposes of consultation and receiving instructions in what manner he is to act under the circumstances of the case; notwithstanding which the commandant is empowered to take any steps, where the emergency of the case may require it, without consulting the commander or president of the Court of Polity, with the understanding that he will at all times be held responsible for the steps so taken.

“6. The commandant will take especial care that no innocent blood be shed by the patroles, or, otherwise; but he is nevertheless empowered to use his fire-arms, should necessity require him so to do.

“7. The commandant will be diligent in preventing the pasturage from being unnecessarily burnt; and whenever this may happen during the journey, he is to endeavour to find out the guilty parties, that they may be immediately punished,

in conformity to the existing laws; and under such circumstances the commandant is empowered to direct his field-cornets, with their men, to put out such fire as quickly as possible.

“8. The commandant is also carefully to watch against the unnecessary killing of game, as he will be bound to report those committing such offence, without distinction of persons, and who will be fined in a penalty not exceeding one hundred rix dollars, and not less than ten rix dollars, to be decided by the judgment of the authorities, according to the circumstances of the case.

“9. The commandant and his field-cornets will take the utmost possible care that no servants, of whatever colour or class, are ill used; as he will be bound immediately to report the guilty parties, without any distinction, in order that they may be punished according to the laws provided under this head.

“10. The commandant will also take particular care that no person possesses himself by violence of the children of Bosjesman or other aboriginal tribes, that he does not entrap them in an unlawful manner, nor take them away from their parents or relatives, nor keep them in his possession. Any person offending, to pay a fine of not more than 100 rix dollars, and not less than

fifty six dollars; neither will it be permitted for any person unlawfully to molest any tribe or people that may be met with on the journey.

“11. The commandant will, for neglect of duty, be subject to a penalty not exceeding 150 six dollars, and not less than five six dollars; according to the judgment of the authorities, and the circumstances of the case.

“12. The commandant will, at the expiration of every month, duly report to the governor, and in his absence to the president of the Court of Polity, every circumstance that may have taken place in the execution of his duties.

“Thus done and statuted, on Friday, the 21st. June, 1837.

“By authority of the governor and council,

“(Signed,) P. RETIEF.”

“INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FIELD-CORNETS.

“Art. 1. Every person will be bound to obey the field-cornet in the execution of his duties; for contumacy, the offenders to be subject to a penalty of five six dollars for the first offence, and of double for the second and third.

“2. The field-cornet will provide himself with a proper list of his men, in order that every

person may perform the same share of duty, without favour or distinction.

“ 3. The field-cornet will be bound continually to receive his instructions from the commandant; but whenever necessity requires, he is also authorized to take such steps as he may think proper, with the understanding that he is at all times to be held responsible for the steps so taken.

“ 4. In case of disobedience or neglect of duty, the field-cornet will be subject to a fine not exceeding sixty rix dollars, and not less than five Rds., according to the judgment of the authorities, and the circumstances of the case.

“ Thus done and statuted, on Friday, the 21st of June, 1837.

“ By authority of the governor and council,
 “ (Signed) P. RETIEF.”

“ No. 3.

“ To his Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope.

“ The undersigned, Conductor and Chief of the United Encampments, hereby

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That as subjects of the British government, we, in our depressed circumstances, repeatedly represented our grievance to his majesty's government; but, in consequence of finding all our

efforts to obtain redress fruitless, we at length resolved to abandon the land of our birth, to avoid making ourselves guilty of any act which might be construed into strife against our own government.

“That this abandonment of our country has occasioned us incalculable losses; but that, notwithstanding all this, we cherish no animosity towards the English nation.

“That, in accordance with this feeling, commerce between us and the British merchants will, on our part, be freely entered into and encouraged; with the understanding, however, that we are acknowledged as a free and independent people.

“That we have understood with deep regret, that nearly all the aborigines and tribes by whom we are at present surrounded, have been *instigated* to attack us; but that, although we find ourselves in a position to confront and defy all our enemies, we nevertheless humbly request your Excellency, as far as it may be in your power, to use your authority and influence to repress such hostilities, in order that we may not be compelled to shed the blood of our fellow creatures, as has recently been the case in consequence of the attack of Matzalikatse upon us.*

* At the lowest computation 400 natives were killed in this battle.

“That we trust soon to convince the world, by our conduct and deeds, that it is not, and never was, our intention unlawfully to molest any of the native tribes; but that we, on the contrary, set the highest value on universal peace and goodwill among men.

“That, finally, we confidently hope that the British government will permit us to receive all such claims and demands as may be lawfully due to us in the colony.

“I have the honour to be,

“Your Excellency's obedient humble servant,

“(Signed) P. RETIEF.

“Sand River; July 21, 1837.”

The property belonging to these emigrants may be inferred from the fact, stated in the Graham's Town Journal of the 2d of November last, that a few of them took with them 91,000 sheep and 6,300 head of cattle, besides waggons, household stuff, and farming utensils.

BY THE AUTHOR,

DEFENCE OF THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA. London, 1822.

JUDGMENTS OF SIR ORLANDO BRIDGMAN.
8vo. London, 1823. £1 5s.

NEW SOUTH WALES in 1824, 1825, and 1826. 8vo.
Cape Town, 1827.

HUMANE POLICY TOWARDS THE ABORIGINES OF THE COLONIES. London, 1830. 7s.

APPEAL IN FAVOUR OF ALGIERS. Paris, 1833.

ON THE CIVILIZATION OF THE HOTTENTOTS.
Paris, 1834.

THE ABOLITION OF TRANSPORTATION, AND REFORM OF THE COLONIAL-OFFICE. London, 1837. 3s.

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