

THE ENGLISH PERIODICAL LITERATURE
OF THE CAPE COLONY
, FROM ITS BEGINNINGS (1824)
TO 1835

A Study of its Origin, Development
and Character, with special Refer-
ence to Editors, Publishers and
Contributors and its Reflection
of the life of the Times

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the University
of Cape Town

by

A. M. Lewin Robinson, B.A.(S.Afr.), F.L.A.

1961

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Dedicated

to

The South African Public Library

without which this study would

not have been possible

C O N T E N T S

	Page
Foreword	
Chapter I. The Cape in the 1820's.	1
II. Pringle, Fairbairn and the South African Journal.	11
Life in Scotland.	11
Emigration to the Cape.	15
The establishment of the South African Journal.	18
III. The Life and Death of the South African Journal.	29
An independent Cape Press.	29
The South African Journal launched.	30
Somerset v. George Greig.	35
Somerset v. Thomas Pringle.	38
Bibliographical Description.	45
IV. The Contents of the South African Journal and its Contributors.	49
Verse.	50
Pringle's Verse in Relation to that of his Contemporaries.	56
Other verse.	61
Prose.	64
Comparison with British Journals.	73
V. The Aftermath of the South African Journal, and the "New Organ".	78
The Appeal of the Journal.	78
The Immediate Aftermath.	83
The Commission of Inquiry and after.	87
The "New Organ".	90
The Later History of Fairbairn and Pringle.	94
The Contents of the "New Organ"	98
VI. Satirical Doggerel and a Journal of Science.	106
The Cape Press, 1824-28.	106
"South African Grins".	108
The South African Quarterly Journal.	112
Dr. James Adamson.	113
The Establishment of the Quarterly Journal.	117
Bibliographical Description of the "South African Quarterly Journal".	121
The Contents of the "Quarterly Journal" and its later History.	124

VII.	A. J. Jardine and the Cape Literary Gazette.	142
	Pt. I. Alexander Johnstone Jardine.	142
	Developments at the Cape, 1820-30.	155
	Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 1830-1835: Bibliographical Description.	156
	Pt. II. Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, vol. I.	163
	Literary Criticism.	165
	Verse.	172
	Current Affairs.	177
	Other Topics.	182
VIII.	The Cape Literary Gazette, vols. II and III.	191
	Pt. I. Vol. II, 1832.	191
	Literary Criticism and Extracts.	192
	Prose Contributions.	196
	Verse.	203
	Pt. II. Vol. III, 1833.	211
	Music Criticism.	212
	Prose Contributions.	214
	Pieter Gysbert Noodt.	215
	Other eventful Tales.	217
	Current Affairs.	220
	Verse.	224
IX.	The Cape Literary Gazette, vols. IV and V.	229
	Pt. I. Vol. IV, 1834.	229
	Literary Criticism.	229
	Prose Contributions.	234
	The Woodcut Illustrations.	239
	Topical Articles.	241
	Current Affairs.	243
	Verse.	247
	Pt. II. Vol. V and last, 1835.	253
	Literary Criticism.	254
	Current Affairs.	258
	Literary Topics.	260
	Politics.	262
	Verse.	263
	Conclusion.	264
	Bibliography.	268

I L L U S T R A T I O N S

<u>Plate</u>		<u>Facing page</u>
I.	<u>The South African Journal, no.I, Jan.-Feb. 1824. Title-page and list of contents.</u>	46
II.	<u>South African Grins, Vol.I, no.I, April 1825. Title-page.</u>	108
III.	<u>The South African Quarterly Journal, no.I, Oct. 1829 to Jan. 1830. Inner title-page.</u>	121
IV.	Alexander Johnstone Jardine (c.1790-1845), editor of the <u>Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette.</u>	142
V.	The first pages of contemporary issues of the <u>Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette</u> and its <u>British counterparts, the London Literary Gazette</u> and the <u>Edinburgh Literary Gazette.</u>	164
VI.	A page from the <u>Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, vol.IV, no.3, showing woodcuts 2,3 and 4 of the series described on p.238-40.</u>	238

FOREWORD

This study is intended as a contribution to the literary history of South Africa in the 1820's and 30's, a period which, so far as English literature is concerned, has received scant attention in the past. Pringle, Fairbairn and the fight for the freedom of the press are noticed in most South African history books - though not always with accuracy - and Thomas Pringle himself has received the due of a minor poet and philanthropist, but the pioneer South African Journal he conceived and launched remains unknown, except to a few.

As a practising librarian in South Africa, I have become aware of the need for a systematic survey of the local English periodical literature of the nineteenth century, when in daily touch with research workers for whom it is essential source material, not only in the literary field but also in that of social and political history. Furthermore, the works themselves are now extremely rare, and warrant detailed bibliographical examination and description.

I have therefore endeavoured to reveal one aspect of the literary development of the period by analysing the material contributed to these journals - both in verse and prose - and showing the type of people who edited and wrote for them. As in Europe, the cloak of anonymity - so popular in the literary world at this time - creates another problem, often difficult or impossible of solution, due to the scarcity of contemporary source material.

In pioneer works of this sort, great literature is not to be expected - the occasional flashes that lighten the scene are cheering but should not be allowed to eclipse the less spectacular efforts, the chief value of

which...

which lies in their function as mirrors of contemporary life, giving a more considered view than that expressed by the newspaper press, essential as that is for any detailed study of an era in which it exists.

The period covered by this study - in the main of three periodicals only - was a most important one for the Cape. It not only saw the fight for and the establishment of the freedom of the press, but also the consolidation of the position of the British settlers in the Eastern Province, the foundation of the South African College and of learned societies, resulting in systematic scientific investigation, and the culmination of the anti-slavery movement. At the same time the influence from Britain of the evangelical and utilitarian movements for the education of the masses was inevitably felt, particularly because the editors of our first periodicals and newspapers in the English language were men who had been educated in the literary world of London and Edinburgh.

That these journals should follow closely the pattern of those with which their editors were familiar in Great Britain is to be expected, but it should not be assumed for a moment that they depended on these British counterparts for their content. By far the most important contributions were of local origin - if not from residents, from visitors. The editors were from the beginning South Africans, writing for South Africans and identifying themselves with those who sought to solve their adopted country's problems, and this applies no less to Thomas Pringle, who spent only six years at the Cape, than to Alexander Johnstone Jardine, who died in Cape Town after twenty-two. They failed, it would seem - government opposition apart - in their assessment of what their limited number of potential readers were able or prepared to pay for, rather than of what they wanted. The scientific South African Quarterly Journal is of course...

course in a different category, since it expired through the impotence of its potential contributors.

I have also tried to indicate the type of reader for whom the editors did their best to cater, not forgetting the visitors from India - both civil and military - on furlough or sick-leave, who had a marked influence on Cape society and demanded the consideration of the magazine editor. It will be seen that in the 1830's these "Anglo-Indians" were not only written for but themselves contributed to Cape literature.

A conclusion inevitably reached after this study is that several of the burning questions of today in South Africa were present a hundred and thirty years ago. Racial discord and mutual distrust between the white races were regrettably only too apparent, as were also the differing attitudes to the coloured peoples. It is not surprising, moreover to find at this period that South Africans were regarded as exceptionally sensitive to criticism.

All too soon these journals were forgotten, and a later magazine editor in 1847 could write of them disparagingly and inaccurately. They were not deserving of oblivion, however, and undoubtedly hold their place in the cultural history of South Africa.

Abbreviations

A. l.	Autograph letter
C.H.E.L.	Cambridge History of English Literature
C.L.G.	Cape Literary Gazette
C.M.M.	Cape Monthly Magazine
C.O.	Colonial Office papers in Cape Archives
C.Q.Rev.	Cape Quarterly Review
C.T.	Cape Town
Edin.New Phil.J.	Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal
Lib. of Parl.	Library of Parliament, Cape Town
Nat.Lib.of Scotland	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
Ned.Z.Afr. Tijdschr.	Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift
Phil.Mag.	Philosophical Magazine
Q.Bull.S. Afr.Lib.	Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library
S.Afr.	South African
S.Afr.Comm. Advr.	South African Commercial Advertiser
S.Afr.J.	South African Journal
S.Afr.P.L.	South African Public Library, Cape Town
S.Afr.Q.J.	South African Quarterly Journal
Theal's <u>Records</u>	Theal (Geo.McCall) ed. Records of the Cape Colony
V.R.S.	Van Riebeeck Society

My thanks are due and cordially given to my supervisors - Professors R. G. Howarth and O. Doughty and Mr. R. F. Immelman - for their constant advice and assistance. I should also like to express my thanks to many other persons who have helped me, particularly Mr. Peter Crail, Professor P. R. Kirby, Professor A. F. Hattersley and not least my wife.

CHAPTER I

THE CAPE IN THE 1820s

On April 30th 1820 the emigrant ship Brilliant, having on board some one hundred and thirty Scottish settlers for the Eastern Districts of the Cape, dropped anchor in Simon's Bay after a four months voyage from the Downs.¹ While she was revictualling, the leader of one of the emigrant parties, thirty-one year old Thomas Pringle of Edinburgh, welcomed the opportunity to visit the capital of the Colony some three hours distant.

The barren hills surrounding False Bay had not held out much promise to the land-hungry voyagers, but the first sight of Cape Town, lying at the foot of the magnificent Table Mountain, was most heartening. The flat-roofed, whitewashed houses, for the most part double-storied, standing amid tree-lined streets, were - if unfamiliar - friendly.² Bent as he was on business with the Colonial Secretary regarding the disposition of his party, Mr. Pringle can have had slight opportunity to learn much of the drawbacks and problems of the city during the short ten days that the ship waited before bearing him on to Algoa Bay and the trials of an agricultural settler in a hostile countryside. An intelligent observer, however - and Pringle was certainly that - could not fail to be impressed by the multiplicity of races he saw thronging the streets - the placid and burly Dutchman, the brisker English civil servant and merchant, the unbeautiful Hottentot, the respectable Malay in his distinctive dress, and not least the ill-clad and sullen-faced slave of darker pigment.

On this occasion Thomas Pringle sailed on to the Albany district, but three years later he returned, and it is with him - man of letters, pioneer and philanthropist - that the story of the first English literary enterprise at the Cape is largely concerned. It would be difficult to appreciate the circumstances of this venture without some clear picture of

the Cape Town of those days.

It was - in 1823 - seventeen years since the Cape of Good Hope had for the second time come under British rule and nine since it had ceased to be merely an occupied territory and had become a colony. British settlers had been arriving in increasing numbers and the population of the Cape district in 1822 was over 26,000 of all races, slaves accounting for no fewer than 11,700 of this number. In Cape Town itself there were 8,000 whites and almost as many slaves to serve them.³ Rising merchants, such as John Bardwell Ebdon, Hamilton Ross and Charles Stuart Pillans, were well established, and the Commercial Exchange, opened in 1822, was one of the most important buildings in the town. The others, according to William Wilberforce Bird, a reliable eye-witness, were the great barracks, the granary, the custom house, the gaol, the Calvinist and Lutheran churches, the "colonial building" (i.e. government offices) and the town house.⁴ There was as yet no English or Scottish church and the Groote Kerk was kindly lent each Sunday for Anglican services.

Government was almost entirely in the hands of an autocratic Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, scion of the influential Tory house of Beaufort.^x Under him there were the Colonial Secretary and the Fiscal, principal law officer of the Crown. Pleas for representative government in even a minor degree were not to be heard with favour for many years to come and only in 1825 was such a natural institution as an advisory council of officials recognised.^{xx} One must remember that the Cape had not long ceased to be regarded as a conquered territory and that even now with its scattered population the home government could not conceive of there being enough good men in the Colony to form any sort of parliament. Moreover the word

x Charles Henry Somerset (1767-1831) was the second son of the 5th Duke of Beaufort and Elizabeth, daughter of Admiral the Hon. Ed. Boscawen. He was a general and Colonel of the 1st West India Regt. He became Governor in 1814. He was married twice - both times to daughters of peers. (See Burke's Peerage.)

xx A nominated executive council was introduced in 1834 by Sir Benjamin D'Urban and included well-known residents as well as senior officials.

"radicalism" was much heard and likely to cause serious concern to conservative legislators ten years before the Reform Bill was passed.⁵

The affairs of the town itself were taken care of by the Burgher Senate, a council set up under the first British occupation in 1796.

Culturally, the Cape was, if not a desert, far from being a flourishing garden. Moodie tells us that education was sorely neglected and that the moral laxity either permitted or forced upon the slave population was a serious source of demoralisation for the young who had such an example before them.⁶ Schools there were of course, but until very recently the principal government institution had been presided over by the Colonial Chaplain who could hardly be expected to devote the time to it that it demanded.⁷ Only in 1822 did the Governor establish his English free schools throughout the Colony, staffed with teachers imported from Scotland.⁸ While these may have failed as the principal anglicizing influence so appealing to the home government, they were undoubtedly better than any earlier schools except the private School Tot nut van 't Algemeen established in 1805 by the society of that name. Originally Dutch only, this place of learning later became completely bilingual and many eminent Capetonians passed through it.⁹ As regards the English schools, there are those who hold that some Dutch families readily welcomed them as an alternative to Netherlands medium instruction for their children on the grounds that Netherlands was by then no longer their home language which was becoming Afrikaans.¹⁰

Throughout the country districts the sway of the itinerant teacher or 'meester' still held. Sometimes a good man of intellectual ability, he was as often a deserter or fugitive from the law or his creditors, who stayed with a farmer to give his children the rudiments of learning and do odd jobs for as long as he was needed.¹¹

With regard to other cultural institutions, we find that Dr. Andrew Smith's South African Museum, forerunner of the

present museum, was not in existence until June 1825,¹² but that the South African Public Library had opened its doors to the public for the first time in January 1822, though it had been established by proclamation in 1818.¹³ As Bird cynically remarked, however, books might be supplied but readers could not!¹⁴ It is comforting to note nevertheless that the Library was already taking the Edinburgh Review, the Quarterly Review and the Transactions of the Royal Institution, as well as the Morning Chronicle and the Courier.¹⁵ The Library's quarters were then in the new government offices. Newspapers were also to be found at the Commercial Exchange, though by no means new and in Bird's view "meanly and shabbily supplied in the coffee rooms."¹⁶

Of local prints there was nothing save the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, the weekly government organ containing proclamations, notices, advertisements, shipping movements and perhaps a column or two of overseas news if to hand. Bird had this to say of the situation at ^{the/}government printing office:

"The liberty of the press is a feeling so congenial to the heart of a British subject, that it is mortifying to describe such a degraded establishment as the government printing-office at the Cape of Good Hope. The annual circle of its duties consists in printing the Cape Calendar and Almanack, and a weekly newspaper called the Cape Gazette, which is in fact a mere list of proclamations, of civil and military appointments and promotions, marriages, births, christenings, deaths, the price of articles of produce, and advertisements of sales, the notices of the sequestrator, of the orphan chamber, of the burgher senate, and other boards; all of which is extremely useful to buyers and sellers, but by no means amusing or instructive. The public is rarely indulged with a scrap of European intelligence; and when such a circumstance does take place, it consists of matter suited to the submissive state of a colony...

"Here are no extracts from parliamentary debates, nothing

breathing opposition or leading to discussion, for this might create a habit of thinking; nothing scientific, for that might enlighten; but the whole is a mass of uninteresting, tasteless stupidity.

"Another daily occupation of the press is printing handbills and notices;- and this is the whole range of the British press, in a colony distant by a three months' voyage from the mother-country, to the interests and politics of which, at this distressful period, the European inhabitants are tremblingly alive."¹⁷

It is no wonder then that the arrival of a mail was an event. Cowper Rose, a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, gives us a graphic description of the excitement in the town as soon as a sail was sighted from Signal Hill. The immediate query on all sides would be: "Has it a mail?", until the signal revealing this could be descried. The anxious faces thronging the post office and the eager hands seizing upon the three or four months' old letters and periodicals, can well be imagined, if indeed it is really possible for us today to appreciate the degree to which the colonist of a hundred and thirty years ago felt himself cut off from the civilized world. Rose indeed declared that the only diversions to break the tedium of existence were the races, the south-easter^x, the arrival of the mail and the annual masquerade ball.¹⁸ With no representative government and no independent press, politics did not even warrant mention although from Bird's remarks above they were obviously much in people's minds.

Lt. Rose did however overlook the theatre in his survey. The African Theatre in Hottentot Plein (now St. Stephen's Church in Riebeeck Square) presented some dramatic entertainment at least every month during the winter and spring. W.H.B. Webster warns us however that this, the only place of amusement in the town, should not be criticised too severely as its performances

x Sir Charles Bunbury in his Journal of a Residence at the Cape, 1848, (p.53) vividly describes the discomfort caused by the wind before the introduction of hardened roads. All greenery was covered with a layer of red dust.

depended mostly on the efforts of amateurs.¹⁹ In the years 1822 and 1823 a dozen plays were presented plus interludes and curtain-raisers. These included The Rivals and She Stoops to Conquer (both performed twice) and pieces by the popular playwrights of the day, George Colman, Jr., Thomas Morton, Andrew Cherry, Thomas Holcroft, John O'Keefe and others long forgotten.²⁰

Although Cape Town may have been lacking in so much that meant civilization to the European visitor or exile, it none the less possessed its share of memorable characters. In the Governor's own circle there was the enigmatic Dr. James Barry, inspector of army medical services who rose to be Inspector General of Army Hospitals and has now almost definitely been proved to have been a woman.²¹ Elsewhere there were stalwarts such as Dr. Samuel Bailey, founder of the Somerset Hospital; Charles Etienne Boniface, French director of a theatrical company who was later to lampoon all the eminent men of the Cape in his satirical plays such as De Nieuwe Ridderorder²²; Joseph Suasso de Lima, the little hunchbacked Portuguese Jew, master of a dozen languages, editor of the Cape's first Dutch newspaper, De Verzamelaar, and unofficial poet laureate. His was the first history of South Africa. Frequently bankrupt or arrested for libel, he knew the inside of the gaol well.²³ Of the more sober Dutch residents one should mention Sir John Truter, chief justice and the first South African to receive the honour of knighthood,²⁴ and Dr. Abraham Faure, for forty-five years predikant at the Groote Kerk. Of him more will be said in the next chapter.²⁵

Economically the Cape was not in a sound condition. The withdrawal after the death of Napoleon in 1821 of the naval and military forces guarding him at St. Helena meant a severe loss of trade to the Cape, and the reduction of the colonial garrison itself only aggravated the situation. Wine was now almost the only export and public expenditure, which included the upkeep of the Governor's several residences, exceeded revenue. The paper rixdollar, worth 4/- when the British took the Cape nearly thirty years before, was now a paltry 1/6.²⁶ Yet to the profiteering shopkeeper there still seemed to be an opportunity to make

a fortune in a few years, for there was nothing out of the ordinary in 100% profit and Cape Town had the reputation of being a very expensive place to live in.²⁷

Earlier it was remarked that the Cape district already had a respectable population of over 26,000. This was by no means all concentrated on the shores of Table Bay. The villages of Rondebosch, Wynberg and Constantia, round the other side of the Mountain, were already flourishing and regarded as the most beautiful part of the Peninsula. Further on Simon's Town existed of necessity for the benefit of the shipping obliged to put in to the Bay when the North-Wester was blowing during the winter months. Across the Cape Flats lay Stellenbosch and Hottentots Holland, later to take its name from the Governor and become Somerset West. Stellenbosch presented an appearance not greatly differing from the town of today with its tree-lined streets and open conduits. It was noted for its comfortable boarding houses. Beyond lay Paarl in its fruitful valley dotted with fine homesteads, and then Waggon-makers Valley - now Wellington. Up the west coast Saldanha Bay alone warrants mention. Important as a natural harbour, it held little attraction for farmers other than cattle breeders.²⁸

Apart from matters of mere day to day existence and diversion such as have been recorded above, there were inevitable questions which troubled the thinking man and would be the subject of argument in the Commercial Exchange and the coffee houses. These were: the Kaffirs on the eastern frontier, the settlers, slavery and the missionaries.

Ever since the white man in the person of the migrant trek boers met the Bantu in the neighbourhood of the Fish River in the 1770's, authority had been vainly endeavouring to draw a line between their respective spheres of influence and to prevent intercourse as the surest method of preserving peace.²⁹ With the pioneering spirit of the white man however and the absence of any common allegiance among the black, coupled with their cattle-raiding propensities, no such arrangement could be long effective. In 1812 Governor Cradock had cleared the Zuurveld

region of Xosas and reaffirmed the Fish River as the frontier of the Colony. Trouble had broken out again however and his successor Somerset had in 1819 decided to create a no-man's-land between the Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers, to be void of black and white with the exception of a fort and military patrols. It was to strengthen this precarious position that the home government voted £50,000 to assist emigration to the Cape with 100-acre grants of land, in the hope that a denser white population in the eastern districts would be the solution. In the absence of Somerset overseas on leave, the Lt.-Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, saw the settlers - nearly 5,000 English, Scottish and Irish - on to their allotted lands in the Albany district. It was not the fault of Sir Rufane that the first three years' crops failed through rust and that with serious floods and cattle raids by the Xosas, most of the settlers - without capital or experience - were by 1823 in sore distress. He nevertheless came in for much harsh criticism as also did Somerset in his endeavours to remedy the situation.³⁰ The settlers won through, though many abandoned their lands for other less uncertain pursuits in the towns.

The survival of slavery at the Cape excited the comment of all visitors during those years when Wilberforce and Fowell Buxton were fighting for total abolition.³¹ The Trade had been abolished throughout the British Empire as early as 1807 and since then the Royal Navy had been conducting a relentless campaign against slavers along the African coast, but no legislation to prohibit slavery as a system was to come into force until 1834. Almost without exception English writers on the Cape condemn slavery - even if held to be benevolent compared with other slave-owning countries such as the West Indies. Tales of brutality were not lacking, nor of barbarities by vengeful slaves against their masters. In Somerset's time ordinances regulating the treatment of slaves were introduced and punishment was supposed to be in the hands of the government only, but such control did not go far enough.³²

Against this evil, the exploitation of the Hottentots and

the frontier policy, stood the missionaries with the fearless Dr. John Philip at their head, unpopular as the harbourers on their stations of lazy potential labourers.

Such problems as these helped draw the attention of the British public and of the government to the Cape of Good Hope, to the consternation of its Tory Governor. The result was the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry whose members arrived in Cape Town in July 1823, a month before John Fairbairn, the most important figure in South African journalism for a generation to come, himself set foot in South Africa.³³

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Pringle's Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, Ch.I.
2. Torrance (H.) Cape Town in 1823, Glasgow, 1909, p.4-6. Moodie (J.W.D.) Ten years in South Africa, p.26.
3. Bird (W.W.) State of the Cape in 1822, London, 1823. p.338, 354, 358. S.Afr. Journal, p.84.
4. Bird, op. cit., p.149-53.
5. Walker (E.A.) History of South Africa, 3rd ed., p.165-66.
6. Moodie, op. cit., p.29.
7. Bird, op. cit., p.153-154. Walker, op. cit., p.143.
8. Malherbe (E.G.) Education in South Africa (1652-1922), p.58.
9. Ibid., p.53.
10. Pells (E.G.) 300 years of Education in South Africa, p.14.
11. Ibid., p.15-17.
12. South African Museum, Cape Town, 1855-1955, p.1.
13. Minutes S.Afr. Public Library Committee, 24/12/1821. Cape Town Gazette, 21/3/1818.
14. Bird, op. cit., p.152.
15. Minutes S.Afr. Public Library Committee, 18/9/1820.
16. Bird, op. cit., p.149.
17. Ibid., p.58-59.
18. Rose (C). Four years in South Africa, 1829, Letter I.
19. Webster (W.H.B.) Narrative of a Voyage to the Southern Atlantic Ocean, in the Years 1828, 29 and 30, London, 1834, 2v. v.1, p.242.
20. Bosman (F.C.L.) Drama en Toneel in Suid-Afrika, p.178 et seq.
21. Rae (Isobel) The Strange Story of Dr. James Barry. London, 1958. Ch.xi.
22. Nienaber (G.S.) Van Room tot Selfmoord. J'burg, 1939.
23. Meurant (L.H.) Sixty Years Ago, p.75n. Mandelbrote (J.C.) Joseph Suasso de Lima, a Bibliography (Q.Bull. S.Afr.Lib. 3(1):2-22, Sep. 1948).
24. S.Afr. Law J. 1918, p.135.
25. See Ch.II, p.18.
26. de Kock (M.H.) Economic History of South Africa, p.89-91.
27. Torrance, op. cit., p.14. Pringle to Sir W. Scott, 7/3/1821, A.l. in National Libr. of Scotland.
28. Bird, op. cit., p.
29. Walker, op. cit., p.97-98, 109 et seq.
30. Ibid., p.153-57.
31. Ibid., p.146.
32. Torrance, op. cit., p.8,10. Moodie, op. cit., p.30,32. Rose, op. cit., p.30-35.
33. Theal's Records, v.XVI, p.126-27. Cape Town Gazette, 18/10/1823.

CHAPTER II

PRINGLE, FAIRBAIRN AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL

LIFE IN SCOTLAND

Thomas Pringle was born on 5th January 1789 at Blaiklaw, a farm near Kelso in Roxburghshire,^x the third of the seven children of Robert Pringle, a respectable Border farmer, and his first wife Catherine Haitlie.¹ When but a few months old he suffered the accident which was to render him a cripple for life.² This was a dislocation of the right hip joint which being concealed by the nurse-maid whose carelessness was its cause, was diagnosed too late for correction. Whether Thomas Pringle's life would have been different had he possessed no physical disability we cannot say, for he soon became so adept with his crutches that there was little activity in which he could not join and travelling was certainly not barred to him.

His life has been so ably written by Leitch Ritchie, one-time editor of Chambers' Journal, whose Memoirs of Thomas Pringle preface the 1838 edition of the Poetical Works, and by Josiah Conder, editor of The Patriot, whose Biographical Sketch appears in several editions of Pringle's Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, that we need only recapitulate those features of his career which are of importance to us as preliminary to his activities at the Cape.

After schooling at Kelso he entered Edinburgh University in 1805,³ and while well satisfying his professors by his application to his studies, which comprised Latin and Greek, he devoted much time outside them to the study of English literature and criticism, at that time not included in a university course. His great friend the Rev. Robert Story,⁴ reminiscing in later life, regretted that Pringle would not decide on any profession other than the uncertain one of literature. He leaned towards both law and medicine at one time but left the University without a degree - few students took the trouble to graduate in those times - and was obliged to enter the General Register Office as a clerk whose chief duty was to copy old records. He looked to

x It is about 2 miles S.E. on the Yetholm road.

his pen in a more creative capacity to supplement an inadequate if regular salary. And there during the years 1808 to 1817 he laboured.

It was during this period that he established lifelong friendship with a young man some five years his junior named John Fairbairn from Berwickshire who was studying medicine at the University between the years 1812 and 1815.⁵

After desultory literary work which included contributions to various journals and anthologies (one poem - An Autumnal Excursion - gaining him recognition as a poet and the friendship of Sir Walter Scott) in April 1817 he assumed the joint editorship with James Cleghorn⁶ of a new periodical soon to become famous at Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

William Blackwood, one of the great figures of Edinburgh publishing and the first to transfer his premises boldly from the Old Town to the New, had recently been greatly disappointed in failing to secure the works of Sir Walter Scott for his house.⁷ This was probably a contributory inducement to him to launch out on some new venture, the most considerable cause being the lack of a vigorous Tory journal to oppose the all-powerful Edinburgh Review. True the Quarterly Review had been started with this very purpose, but it was generally regarded as too ponderous and dignified to be really effective. Blackwood wanted to present a more quick-witted and at the same time more familiar journal, appearing not quarterly but monthly. It is believed to have been James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, who introduced Pringle and Cleghorn to him. Hogg had a similar background to Pringle though lacking the latter's education. Cleghorn was the elder of the two editors and had had experience in editing a farmers' magazine, but Pringle alone possessed any pretensions to literary ability. This was an ill-assorted pair with whom to answer the Edinburgh Review, particularly as Blackwood cannot have enquired too deeply into their politics, as will appear presently. It is not surprising therefore that the first number of the Magazine was a serious disappointment to its proprietor, for not only was it

merely a pleasant and harmless miscellany but the editors even went so far as to praise the Review. In the second issue Blackwood tried to interfere and while the third was in the press he gave them three months' notice, though Pringle - still a friend - he would have liked to retain in some capacity as one whom he undoubtedly considered to have a promising future. He was hurt indeed when he discovered that the unsatisfactory editors had arranged to take over his rival Constable's inferior Scot's Magazine as soon as their contract with him terminated in October 1817. It was believed by some that they delayed the publication of this fourth issue to force Blackwood to comply with their demands for what they considered their due.

It was the advent upon the literary scene of two giants with whom such men as Pringle and Cleghorn could never hope to compete that really spelt their end as far as Blackwood was concerned. These were John Gibson Lockhart and John Wilson. Blackwood saw in them the editors he had been seeking and he considered that the Magazine really started with them. They were also responsible with Fogg for the production of a satire which set all Edinburgh laughing. This was described as a Translation from an Ancient Chaldee Manuscript and was written in a pretended biblical language. Most of the literary figures of Edinburgh had fun poked at them here and the passage describing the first arrival of Pringle and Cleghorn at Blackwood's office is worth quoting. By an odd coincidence they were both obliged to use crutches, a circumstance amusingly - though by no means callously - treated thus:

"And I turned my eyes, and behold two beasts came from the lands of the borders of the South; and when I saw them I wondered with great admiration.

The one beast was like a lamb, and the other like a bear; and they had wings on their heads; their faces also were like the faces of men, the joints of their legs like the polished cedars of Lebanon, and their feet like the feet of the horses preparing to go to battle; and they arose and they came onward over the face of the earth and they touched not the ground as they came."⁸

How long Thomas Pringle would continue to qualify for the designation of a "lamb" will appear hereafter. It was certainly small disgrace for him to be passed over in favour of "the Scorpion" Lockhart who was later to edit the Quarterly and write the life of his father-in-law, Sir Walter Scott. Pringle, while an able and interesting prose writer, never aspired to that type of biting criticism which had become popular in the Edinburgh of that day.^x It is pleasant to note that in after years he remained on good terms with Blackwood.

Concurrently with the events just described Pringle was editing the Edinburgh Star, described by Conder⁹ as "almost the only liberal paper in Scotland", a circumstance which was to have its sequel six years later at the Cape.

In July of the same year he married Margaret Brown, daughter of an East Lothian farmer.

Such literary commitments as the above did not in those days bring with them an adequate remuneration for a married man, and in a couple of years it was clear that some radical change in his affairs must be made. He had moreover been obliged to relinquish the newspaper and return to the Register Office and the fact that his father had lately suffered a severe financial loss added to his anxiety for betterment. It was not surprising therefore in this year of 1819, when the British Government was sending settlers to the Cape of Good Hope, that the thoughts of the Pringle family should turn in that direction and the resolve to emigrate be made.

With the timely influence of Sir Walter Scott through Lord Melville, a grant of land was secured at the Cape for his father and brother. Thomas himself, while the acknowledged leader of the party through his useful connections, had no intention of becoming a farmer permanently but hoped for occupation more in keeping with his qualifications, probably in the civil service. To this end he obtained letters of recommendation to the Governor of the Cape from such persons as Henry Goulburn, Under-Secretary cf. also William Gifford's harshness in the Quarterly Review.

for the Colonies, again through Scott's agency.

Writing to a friend in a letter quoted by Conder, he gives his reasons for emigration and remarks that "It affords me, moreover, the consolatory prospect of reuniting my father's family, which fortune has so widely dispersed, into one circle and society in my own immediate neighbourhood." Regarding himself, he went on to say ironically that the literary drudgery of the past few years "had been prejudicial rather than otherwise, to my views in life, and had given me moreover a decided aversion to literature, or, at least to periodical literature, as a profession." Fortunately this attitude did not last.

EMIGRATION TO THE CAPE

In due course the Pringle party of twenty-four assembled in London preparatory to embarkation.¹⁰ It was the practice for settlers to be grouped in parties under a leader by whose name they would be known and who was responsible for their conduct and arrangements and for their relationship with the authorities on arrival at their allotments. The party in question included Thomas, his father Robert, his stepmother, his brother John and his (Thomas's) wife with her sister Janet Brown. Another who might have joined them was John Fairbairn, now a schoolmaster in Newcastle, but it was for his medical rather than his educational qualifications that Thomas sought him. "You understand enough of medicine to be of infinite use to us," he wrote from London in December 1819,¹¹ pointing out that Fairbairn could save a little money at the Cape and then return to complete his studies in Edinburgh. Fairbairn, however, did not feel disposed to come.

The party sailed from Gravesend with a hundred and thirty other Scottish emigrants on 15th February 1820,¹² and as we have described earlier, reached the Cape on 30th April. There Thomas Pringle presented himself to the authorities with his letters of introduction. As it turned out the Governor had sailed for England on leave in mid-January and the letter addressed to him privately could not be opened and had to be sent after him. The

Colonial Secretary, Col. Christopher Bird,¹³ however, was available and satisfied Pringle regarding the prospects of his party and himself as far as he was able.

The story of the Pringles' settlement at Teviotdale - afterwards Glen Lynden, on the Baviaans River near Somerset East - is graphically told by Thomas himself in his Narrative and more recently by his brothers' descendants in Pringles of the Valleys. Let it suffice to say, here that they were one of the few parties, if not the only one, that prospered in those lean years which caused such distress throughout the Eastern Districts of the Cape.

Thomas himself had hope at first of a civil post in the Albany district,¹⁴ though the possibility of a library appointment at the Cape had been suggested to him by the Deputy Colonial Secretary, Henry Ellis, on arrival there.¹⁵ The latter employment, while more congenial to him, would, he realised, leave him worse off in an expensive town. Lord Charles Somerset, however, returned to his government on 30th November 1821, and as the result of the influence exerted on behalf of Pringle, offered him the post of sub-librarian at the newly established South African Public Library which was soon to open its doors to readers. Pringle, feeling he could safely now leave his relatives, departed from the Albany district on 17th August 1822 with his wife and sister-in-law, and after a fatiguing journey of over 500 miles by ox-waggon reached Cape Town on 25th September.¹⁶

Agreeable as the librarianship was to one of his tastes, the emolument of Rds.1,000 (£75) p.a. was not sufficient for a married man in Cape Town, and means of supplementing it were sought immediately. The most suitable post which he believed quite possible to combine with his existing one was that of Superintendent of the Government press which would yield another Rds.1300 (£100) p.a.¹⁷ He had long had an eye on this appointment and had been half promised it, when he learnt that Captain Fox, a son of the celebrated Lord Holland, had remarked to the Governor at dinner that he (Pringle) was "a good staunch Whig"!¹⁸ This and the intelligence that he had actually been editor of a

liberal paper in Edinburgh was enough to condemn him in the eyes of the Tory Governor. The job was given to Andreas Richert¹⁹ and Somerset's attitude towards Pringle became more suspicious.

This line having failed, the next most obvious one was the taking of pupils, there being a crying need in the town for such a service. He had sought the Colonial Secretary's permission to have a few private pupils as early as November 1822,²⁰ but realised that to run a school and attend to the Library from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. was impracticable without an assistant. There was no doubt in his mind that this assistant should be John Fairbairn, still at Newcastle. In November he wrote to him urging him again to come out, painting as rosy a picture as possible of the prospects and even offering to pay his passage for him.²¹ The most important paragraph of the letter from our point of view and what turned out to be most attractive to Fairbairn was the following:

"I have also another affair that requires your assistance here. I am projecting a Magazine to enlighten South Africa. There is nothing of the kind in the Colony, not even a decent newspaper and there is a great wish for it. The ablest of the Clergy will heartily assist in it - and as there are no booksellers we would have all the profits in our own hands. This government I believe will support and patronise it, at least I have the zealous support of my chief friend the Colonial Secretary... But this is only to amuse our leisure - it may pay well - but if not will place no stress upon it. Our Boarding school is the thing and the Library is a sure and certain help and may probably lead to something better."

This time John Fairbairn agreed to come and not long after receipt of this letter had made his arrangements to leave his homeland in the summer of 1823. He would not accept the offer of payment for his passage.²²

"Your hint about Magazines and Newspapers pleases me exceedingly," he wrote, "What should hinder us from becoming the Franklins of the Kaap...?"²³ The answer to this question lay in the hands of Lord Charles Somerset.

John Fairbairn was born at Carolside Mill in the parish of Legerwood, Berwickshire - but sixteen miles from the birth-place of Thomas Pringle - on April 9th 1794. He was the son of James Fairbairn, tenant of the Mill, but we know little of his early life.²⁴ After private schooling he entered the University of Edinburgh in

1812 as a medical student but did not graduate.²⁵ He continued his studies till 1815, however, and then turned to teaching, being still at Mr. Bruce's Academy in Newcastle-upon-Tyne when Pringle repeated the invitation to join him.²⁶ Fairbairn was of a literary turn of mind and during Pringle's editorial career in Edinburgh had been called upon by the latter for contributions.²⁷ Though he could turn his hand to verse on occasion, it did not flow freely from him as it did from his friend.^x It did not seem to him that he had the right to compete with the poetic giants of his day - Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Southey and the rest - who were treating of his motherland so much more competently than he could ever hope to do. His leanings were towards didactic and informative prose, and the Cape, as he wrote some time before embarking, presented so many "unknown kingdoms, or at least provinces... to explore" in the fields of history, botany, zoology and the like.²⁸

He sailed from Gravesend on 26th June 1823 in the brig Mary²⁹ and few among his fellow passengers could have guessed that they had with them the figure which was to dominate South African journalism for over thirty years.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL

Meanwhile Thomas Pringle was not letting matters slide. When he had written that the ablest of the Clergy would heartily assist a literary project, he had had in mind the Rev. Abraham Faure, the junior of the predikants attached to the Groote Kerk. Abraham Faure was born in Stellenbosch in August 1795 and studied for the ministry in England and Utrecht during the years 1814-1818, after which he returned to the Cape and accepted a call to Graaff-Reinet. He came to the Groote Kerk, Cape Town, in 1822 and remained there for forty-five years. He died in 1875.³⁰ As a South African born and bred, he must have been exceptionally helpful to Pringle in his knowledge of local conditions, and it may well have been his recommendation that a periodical intended for the enlightenment of a white population, the majority of whom

x It is possible that the several pieces of verse signed 'J.F.' in the first volume of Blackwood's Magazine are his.³¹

must still be Dutch-speaking, should appear in Dutch as well as English.

Early in 1823 they discussed their project and drew up a prospectus and a memorial to the Governor praying permission to establish a "South African Magazine" of which Pringle was to edit the English version and Faure the Dutch.³² Though Faure's signature is appended first to the memorial, the sentiments of the two documents are certainly Pringle's. In the memorial stress is laid on the general benefits resulting from periodical literature in enlightened countries in a manner to which no one coming from the literary world of Edinburgh could have conceived any possible exception could be taken. "... The numbers that constantly issue from the press in all parts of Great Britain and in Germany, Holland, France and Russia," wrote the memorialists, "with the express countenance and support of their various Governments, demonstrate that their Singular advantages are equally appreciated by the rulers as by the people. The most degraded and anarchical portions of Europe, Spain, Italy, Turkey, afford the only exceptions to this observation."

On the other hand it was admitted that "works of this sort are capable of being employed in injuring as well as in supporting the interests of morality and good government." Needless to say there would be no fear on that score in this instance as "the discussion of all controversial or agitating topics is expressly excluded from the plan of our projected Magazine."

The accompanying Prospectus³³ set out the subjects it was proposed to cover in providing "useful information and enlightened entertainment to [South Africa's] provincial inhabitants..." These included most particularly the progress of education and manners, agriculture and the arts in the Colony; while reviews of the publications of European travellers were not to be neglected. Finally the "regular circulation of information on useful and practical subjects, and ... interesting Summaries of Religious, Literary and Statistical Intelligence" were to be a feature, while all topics of political and personal controversy were to be excluded.

The two made no secret of their intentions - for what reason should they? - and in due course word of it reached His Excellency whose reaction resulted in an unofficial visit from a member of his circle who strongly advised them to give up all idea of a colonial magazine as the Governor was decidedly opposed to it and it could only be to the detriment of Pringle's future at the Cape. The latter, being the man he was, was not to be put off by such uncertain threats and on 3rd February he and Faure submitted their memorial in due form. Somerset was exceedingly worried by the whole affair and decided that the best way to treat the application for the time being was simply to make no reply, though his official decision to refuse permission was recorded only a week later (11th February).³⁴ After no less than five weeks the memorialists received a verbal intimation from the Colonial Secretary (Col. Bird) that the Governor had not seen the application in a favourable light. Bird himself, whom, as we have remarked, Pringle regarded as his friend, was not unsympathetic - he and Somerset were on far from good terms - but he begged Pringle not to press for a written reply or write again as the Governor was too determined in his attitude to be so influenced and it would do harm. The only prudent plan was to submit in silence and await better times. Bird must surely have known however that, not many days after receiving the memorial, the Governor had sent a worried letter to Robert Wilmot, Under-Secretary for the Colonies,³⁵ soliciting Lord Bathurst's views.

"I foresee so much evil from [the publishing] of an independent one [i.e. journal]" he wrote on the 14th February, "that I have shelved the matter so as to give time..." He was not anxious to bring the matter into official correspondence as "it is one of those Subjects which a person in Office finds it difficult to word a refusal to that can meet the public Eye." After this startling admission he went on to say that the reading public of the Cape was not large enough to support any periodical though there were some who would willingly lose money on such a venture for the sake of its influence. He then made an ob-

servation in which there was a good deal of truth, namely "In England the poison disseminated by one paper today meets its antidote in another to-morrow." In the Cape such a situation would not obtain. The characters of Faure and Pringle were then analysed and while he could find nothing derogatory to say against the former, the latter was described as "a person who I understand has hitherto been employed to scribble for a Magazine published at Edinbro' under the auspices of the Edinbro' Reviewers, whose political and religious opinions he of course adopts.^x He is an arrant Dissenter... I conceive if he could establish a press he would shortly make his bow to any Employment under the Colonial Government."³⁶ This last statement must be taken as derogatory and intended to reflect on the ingratitude of one who had merely made use of governmental patronage as a stepping stone.

Pringle and Faure wisely followed the Colonial Secretary's advice for a few months, but when H.M. Commissioners of Enquiry arrived in the Colony on the 12th July 1823, they felt that here was their chance to press further their claims for a sympathetic consideration. Mr. Bigge and Major Colebrooke received their memoranda courteously and attentively but regretted that their terms of reference did not permit them to take action on any matter in the Colony, they could only report to Whitehall, which they accordingly did.³⁷

It was during these months of uncertainty that Pringle was writing a pamphlet on the condition of the British settlers, to be published in London early the following year with the title: Some Account of the Present State of the English Settlers in Albany, South Africa. There were few writers better qualified to do this at that time.

After a passage of nearly four months John Fairbairn arrived at last on 10th October 1823³⁸ and Pringle was overjoyed at being at least able to embark on his other project - a school - without delay, though unfortunately his friend was in poor health on arri-

x This of course was not strictly true, as will be evident from his association with Blackwood. Admittedly the Edinburgh Review was published by Constable. (See Ch.II, p.12-13.)

val.³⁹ Large premises - Harington House, at the corner of what are now Harington and Darling Streets - were taken, and the Classical and Commercial Academy opened on December 1st with no official opposition and amid the general approbation of the gentry who had long felt the need of a good English school for their sons.⁴⁰ The burden of this work fell largely on Fairbairn, Pringle being in attendance at the Library from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.⁴¹ The former, maybe with the impetuosity of inexperience, was soon pressing his colleague to go ahead with the Journal, sanction or no sanction.⁴²

On December 2nd Pringle received an unexpected summons to appear before the Governor and in company with Fairbairn who was anxious to join in thanking His Excellency for being allowed to open the school, presented himself without delay. After formalities had been concluded the Governor intimated that he had something of importance to say to Pringle and, Fairbairn having withdrawn,⁴³ he gave him the welcome news - albeit ungraciously imparted - that Lord Bathurst, H.M. Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, was pleased to permit the publication of the proposed journal, provided that it contained nothing "detrimental to the peace and safety of the Colony."⁴⁴ Thus was the "professed sanction of the Government"⁴⁵ given to the venture.

Pringle, Fairbairn and Faure now lost no time in going ahead with the journal and a preliminary announcement dated 17th December 1823 was published in the Cape Town Gazette for 20th December. In this public attention was drawn to "a surprising improvement in the conversation, manners, and general aspect of society" at the Cape, which disposition in the public mind the South African Journal would foster and assist "to imitate what is excellent and to appropriate whatever is useful." Any comments or suggestions for the use of the Editors would be respectfully attended to.

A new, longer prospectus was published in the Gazette of 24th January 1824, wherein the editorial plan was made known. This was to be based on the magazines and reviews of Europe and would embrace the character and present condition of every

country, general history, the principles of the sciences, including new discoveries, and also literary and philosophical subjects. It was further announced that there would be separate English and Dutch editions, and that they would appear in alternate months, the Dutch edition (under the editorship of Mr. Faure) bearing the title of Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift. They would be largely composed of different material to suit peculiar wants but some articles would be translated. For this variation from the original plan of the February 1823 Prospectus which intended that the two versions should be the exact counterpart of each other, Fairbairn held himself largely responsible.⁴⁶ They would be similar in format (with four or five sheets of letterpress per issue) and in price which would be Rds.2½ (3s.9d.) per number, or Rds.15 (£1.2s.6d.) per annum. The first number of the English journal was announced for February 1824.

Pringle had no great opinion of the quality of the work of the Government press, now in the charge of Andreas Richert, Sr.,^{47x} and certainly the Gazette of the time was no high recommendation for it, but in view of the official attitude he thought it politic to place their business with it rather than patronise the recently arrived Mr. George Greig who had opened his office at No.1, Longmarket Street on the 8th September of the previous year.⁴⁸

Richert himself was not anxious to take on the work, claiming that government orders kept his office busy enough. It was Col. Bird, however - now desirous of helping the venture in any way he could - who persuaded him, intimating that if need be the work could be done in extra time for which the compositor could be remunerated accordingly. The charge which Pringle and Richert agreed upon was Rds.300 (£22.10s.) per issue, paper - a costly item - being supplied by the proprietors. This same arrangement, it may be noted, obtained with the Dutch edition.⁴⁹

Another factor which resulted in poor printing was the

x A Berliner by birth, he came to the Cape in 1803 and died 22 May 1830. (G.Gaz. 22/5/30)

unsatisfactory labour position. Early in January Richert had been obliged to dismiss his pressman, Jesse Marsh, for absenting himself without leave and being continually drunk.^x The post was not at all an easy one to fill and the superintendent was forced to depend on slave labour, which he was afraid might damage the presses, until August of the following year, 1825.⁵⁰ So, if the presswork of the Government Printing Office shows imperfections, it is scarcely surprising.

As publisher of the two journals they chose William Storey Bridekirk, junior, who had recently set up shop as stationer and bookbinder in the Heeregragt, adjoining the Vendue Office.⁵¹ Whether Bridekirk was the son or the nephew of William Bridekirk, sr. Deputy Port Captain of Table Bay, there appears to be some disagreement.⁵² He was however born at South Shields, Co. Durham, about the year 1796 and arrived at the Cape in 1817, soon becoming a compositor at the Government Press in Cape Town.⁵³ He rose to be Second Printer and Corrector of the English⁵⁴ and in October 1823 went into business on his own.

The forecast of February for publication proved to be only slightly over-optimistic and on 28th February the public was informed in the Gazette that "In a few days will be published the First Number of this Work." A list of contents then followed and also of the agents in the country districts through whom subscribers might obtain the Journal.

It was not until the 5th March that the Journal made its appearance. A notice dated "Harington House, March 5th 1824" in the Gazette of the 6th reads:

"This day is Published
The South African Journal
No. 1."

There followed a list of contents as given on the first page of the Journal itself (Plate I). Thos. Pringle also quotes the 5th in his Narrative,⁵⁵ so we may regard it with fair certainty as the date on which the Journal first came before the public eye. Of this first number 1,000 copies were printed,

x Marsh had also declared his intention of joining Greig's printing office. A year later he tried without success to get his job back.⁵⁰

but of these some were given away and three hundred sent to England for sale there.⁵⁶ x The firm of T. & G. Underwood, 32, Fleet Street, which had just published Pringle's pamphlet on the Albany settlers, was acting as agent and a considerable advertisement was appended to that work.⁵⁷ The London price of the Journal was 3s. per number or 18s. per annum. Thomas and George Underwood were to prove good friends to Pringle and the first named was a member of the Committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers at the Cape of Good Hope and agent in London for the Cape Town committee.⁵⁸

x The distribution of copies will be discussed more fully in the following chapters.

Notes to Chapter-II

1. DNB v.46, p.389. Pringle (Eric) and others. Pringles of the Valleys. Adelaide, C.P., 1957. Ch.2 & 3. A full genealogy of the Pringles is there given.
2. Ritchie (Leitch) Memoirs of Thomas Pringle (in Pringle's Poetical Works, 1838); and Conder (Josiah) Biographical Sketch (in Pringle's Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, new ed. 1835.) These authoritative accounts are major sources for biographical information in what here follows.
3. Edinburgh University records. Information kindly supplied by the University Library.
4. As quoted by Conder (new ed. 1835), p.xiii.
5. University records. See also note 24.
6. James Cleghorn, 1778-1836, an actuary by profession. DNB v.11, p.26.
7. The early history of Blackwood's Magazine is told by Mrs Margaret Oliphant in her William Blackwood and his Sons, Edinburgh, 1897-8, v.1, p.93-120, and also by Frank D. Tredrey in The House of Blackwood, 1804-1954. The "Chaldee Ms." is quoted in full on p.244-58.
8. Op. cit. p.xv.
10. Pringles of the Valleys, p.22.
11. T.P. to J.F. Soho, London, 12/12/1819. A.1. in Library of Parliament.
12. Pringle's Narrative, new ed. p.2.; from now on a major source.
13. For Bird see Hattersley (A.F.) Christopher Chapman Bird (in Q.Bull. S.Afr. Library, 10(4): 117-28, 1956.)
14. T.P. to Sir Walter Scott, 7/3/1821. A.1. in Nat. Lib. of Scotland.
15. Idem, 22/9/1820.
16. Narrative, p.170.
17. T.P. to Sir Walter Scott, 31/10/1822. A.1. in Nat. Lib. of Scotland.
18. T.P. to Sir Geo. Mackenzie, 25/6/1823, ibid.
19. African Court Calendar, 1823.
20. Cape Archives, CO 166/494, 26/11/1822.
21. T.P. to J.F., 24/11/1822. Lib. of Parliament.
22. J.F. to Commissioners of Enquiry, 11/9/1825. ibid.
23. J.F. to T.P. Quoted in J. Noble's article on J.F. in C.M.M. v.7:374, 1860.
24. Anonymous article on Pringle in Cape Q. Rev., 1:112. An entry in the Register of Births for the Parish of Legerwood confirms his birth and father's name.
25. Edinburgh University records. He was registered as a 2nd year medical student in 1812-13 and again in 1813-14. In 1814-15 he was a 4th year medical. In 1812 he gave his domicile as Edinburgh, in 1813 as Liberton, 3 miles south, and in 1814 as Lauder, Berwickshire, 5 miles from his birth-place. T.P.

tells us that when he first met F. the latter was living at Hyvot Mill, in the parish of Liberton, between Hawthorn-den and Edinburgh. (Note 67 to Emigrants Cabin in his Poetical Works, 1839.) The Mill still stands, according to the Edinburgh Public Library.

26. T.P. to J.F. 24/11/1822.
27. cf. T.P. to J.F. 20/6/1818.
28. See note 23.
29. Govt. Gazette 18/10/1823; also Commercial Exchange Arrivals & Departures 1823-27 (Cape Archives CC.44).
30. Gerdener (G.B.A.) Bouers van Weleer, Kpstd., 1951, p.38-46.
31. cf. T.P. to J.F. 20/6/1818, where T.P. asks J.F. for a contribution in prose or verse.
32. Cape Archives CO 3924.
33. CO 3924/2.
34. CO 4454/8.
35. Afterwards Sir Robert John Wilmot-Horton, bt. (DNB v.27,p.390).
36. Theal's Records of the Cape Colony, v.15, p.266.
37. Pringle's Narrative, p.192.
38. See note 29.
39. CO 4454, F.'s evidence before Commission of Enquiry, 4/8/1825.
40. Govt. Gazette 15/11/1823 and Narrative, p.192-3.
41. Narrative, p.194. "I had ample leisure in the government library for literary composition."
42. CO 4454, Fairbairn's evidence.
43. Ibid.
44. Narrative, p.193.
45. T.P. to J.F. Baviaans River, 14/10/1825. A.I. in Lib. of Parl.
46. CO. 4454, Fairbairn's evidence.
47. Narrative, p.195.
48. Govt. Gazette 6/9/1823.
49. CO 4454, Richert's and Bridekirk's evidence.
50. CO 207/4, permission requested to dismiss Marsh, 8/1/1824; CO 207/15, complaint unable to fill post, 19/3/24; CO 229/50-1 appointment of new pressman, Aug. and Sept. 1825.
51. Govt. Gazette, 4/10/23, African Court Calendar, 1824.
52. Meurant (L.H.) Sixty Years Ago, p.74. W.S.B. jr. is here stated to have been son of W.S.B. sr.
53. "Statement of Fact" S.Afr. Chronicle, 27/6/1826. He died 8/9/1843, aet.47. (Death notice)
54. African Court Calendar, 1818-23.

Notes to Ch.II (cont.)

55. Narrative, p.194.
56. T.P. to J.F. 13/9/1825. CO 4454/13 Memo: relating to "S.Afr. Journal" by Bridekirk.
57. Some Account of the Present State of the English Settlers in Albany; London, Underwood, 1824, p.117-125.
58. Idem, p.112.

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL

AN INDEPENDENT CAPE PRESS

It is not without importance that only two months before the appearance of the first South African literary periodical South Africa's first independent newspaper should have been established. This was George Greig's South African Commercial Advertiser. Greig, who claimed to have learnt his trade in His Majesty's Printing Office in London, had arrived in Cape Town in March 1823^x and after a short period as a general dealer, had set up business as a printer in the following September.¹ He had long been desirous of starting a journal or newspaper and in July 1823 had, like Pringle, received a rebuff when applying for official permission.² An investigation of the legal position, however, had convinced him that there was no actual law against the conducting of a newspaper in the Colony.³ The presence of H.M. Commissioners and the favourable reply at last received from London by Pringle and Faure had further encouraged him to take positive action.^{xx} The South African Commercial Advertiser was accordingly launched on January 7th 1824. It was a modest weekly publication of eight pages, 10½ x 8½ in., containing overseas news, a few slight verses and over four pages of advertisements. After only the second issue on January 14th, in which he recorded his venture's popularity as far beyond expectation, Greig came to realise that the editorial side should be in more expert hands than his and that there could be none more capable than those of Messrs. Pringle and Fairbairn.

Up to this time the latter had had no special interest in the paper - other than their natural appreciation of what they considered an essential institution in any civilised community, and had but slight acquaintance with Mr Greig. They had however no hesitation in accepting his invitation to assume the editorship, for, as Pringle remarked, "the control of an efficient

x He arrived in the brig Cornelius on 9/3/1823, having left Portsmouth on 10/12/1822.

xx He sent his Prospectus to the Governor on 20/12/1823, but more out of courtesy than for approval. (CO 187/96).

press, with a view to the diffusion of useful knowledge throughout the Colony, was the great object of our ambition..."⁴ Greig agreed to pay them Rds.1500 (£112.10s.) per annum.⁵

In spite of their regular employment in library and school, in professional style they took this extra work in their stride. "The editorship," said Pringle, "of a weekly paper and a two monthly magazine was rather a pastime than a task."

The third issue of the Advertiser did not show any marked change but from the fourth onwards, leading articles of greatly superior quality made their appearance and the paper went from strength to strength, so far escaping the censure of authority. Indeed on January 28th the Governor went so far as to agree to a reduced rate of postage, i.e. 1 skilling (2½d.) per issue, instead of the usual 4 skillings per ounce.⁶

The full story of the early Cape press does not come within the purview of this study but the fortunes and fate of the South African Journal and the South African Commercial Advertiser were inevitably linked during the brief period of their co-existence.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL LAUNCHED

Advantage was naturally taken of the Advertiser to draw attention to the forthcoming Journal and the "Conditions" of the latter were published on January 21st. Another advertisement appeared on February 25th and in the ninth issue of March 3rd the editors went a step further with the insertion of what is termed a "puff" in journalistic parlance. This read as follows:

"SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL

[The following interesting Extracts are taken from the first No. of the 'South African Journal' just about to issue from the Press. We have pleasure in inserting them, at once to enrich our own pages and to recommend to our readers a Work which we regard not with the paltry views of envious and interested rivalship, but as a liberal and able Coadjutor in the same great object with ourselves - the improvement of South Africa.]"

This introduction was followed by an extract from an article by Pringle On the Character and Habits of some of the Wild Animals of South Africa, No.1 The Lion, and then by an unpublished poem of Thomas Campbell's, To a Beautiful Jewish Girl, without acknowledgement. Three short extracts from "the Cape Chronicle" -

appendix to the Journal - conclude the excerpts.

The reader who is aware of the identity of the editors of the two periodicals must inevitably smile at "the obliging indulgence of the Editors" of the one in permitting the insertion of extracts from it to "enrich the pages" of the other, and surely in the small intellectual world of Cape Town there must have been few who did not know the circumstances.

Unfortunately we have no contemporary South African source to give us an unbiased and reliable opinion of the Journal and the impression it created on its appearance. We have only the word of the publisher Bridekirk that the Journal was not a popular publication,⁷ and that it should so impress a plain tradesman of his type is not surprising. The character of Bridekirk will be further revealed in a later chapter. Pringle however assures us that "it was warmly welcomed by a respectable body of subscribers",⁸ and considering the previous lack of serious reading matter for the better educated Capetonian, this is what one would expect to hear. L. H. Meurant, doyen of the Cape press in later years, echoes this statement in his Sixty Years Ago⁹ but gives the impression of repeating Pringle rather than of personal reminiscence.

Commendation from a distinguished source is, however, extant in a letter from the great statesman and lawyer Henry Brougham (later Lord Brougham) who wrote to Pringle on 20th November 1824: "I received a Pamphlet and a Magazine, the latter of which I have read; - and I return you many thanks for the pleasure and information which it has afforded me. A journal so ably conducted in the distant colony where you reside, is highly creditable to our country; and by diffusing useful information and sound and liberal opinions it cannot fail to produce the best effects..."¹⁰ Coming from one of the founders of the Edinburgh Review such praise would scarcely have enhanced the Journal in the eyes of the Governor, had he known of it, though in any case it arrived many months too late.

The actual figure which Pringle regarded as "respectable" can be determined from a memorandum furnished to the Commission

of Inquiry by the publisher, Bridekirk, some months later (November 1825), and which is given in full below. It should be remembered that the white population of the Colony was about 50,000 and of Cape Town about 8,000.¹¹

'Memo: relative to "S.A. Journal" ¹²

Subscribers in Town, about	130
Sent to Stellenbosch	12
" " Grahamstown	50
" " Graaff Reinet	25
" " Somerset Farm	15
" " Port Elizabeth	15
" " Theopolis ^x	15
" " Kowie	10
" " Paarl	2
	<u>274</u>
Sold for Cash No.1	56
	<u>330</u>
Sold for Cash No.2 -	32
Sent to England, No.1	<u>300</u>
Printed No.1 -	1000
" " 2 -	<u>750</u>

This return leaves 370 copies of no.1 unaccounted for and 444 of no.2, which could not on present day standards be regarded as a very satisfactory situation with such a small printing. It will be appreciated further that we have no assurance that all those sent into the country were definitely sold. The distribution is of some interest, particularly in the reflection upon the importance of Grahamstown as a centre and the slight expectation of Paarl, then almost entirely Dutch-speaking. The full list of agents in the various centres is given in the Journal and was likewise published in the press. It reads as follows: Mr. Marquard (Clan William), Mr. Evan Evans (Paarl), Mr. P. H. Faure (Stellenbosch), Mr. A. Nicol (Port Elizabeth), Mr. H. Hudson (Graaff-Reinet), Mr. J. Pringle (Somerset, in Albany),^x Mr. J. Maskell (Theopolis), Mr. Alex. M'Donald (Graham's Town).

Comparing this with Bridekirk's list, we must assume that no copies were sold at Clanwilliam.

The publisher had his difficulties beyond his control in the matter of transport. In the Gazette of 10th April he was obliged to insert the following notice:

x An L.M.S. station established near the mouth of the Kasouga, Albany. It was destroyed in the Kaffir War of 1851. (Pettman. S.Afr. Place Names.)
xx Thos. Pringle's brother in what is now the Somerset East district.

"The Publisher regrets to learn, that the Copies of this Work, which were shipped for subscribers in the Eastern Districts, have not yet reached their destination, owing to the Vessel being blown off the Kowie Mouth. Hereafter, to prevent disappointment, Copies will be forwarded both to the Kowie and Algoa-Bay by different Vessels..."

No official censure of the first number was proclaimed, though Pringle learnt privately that several articles had not pleased the Governor, notably Fairbairn's Introduction, a review of Commissioner Bigge's Report on New South Wales and Pringle's own verses on learning of the suppression of constitutional government in Spain and the proscription of a free press in Germany.¹³ Perhaps his Excellency saw an oblique reference to himself in Fairbairn's remark that, in view of our almost complete knowledge of the greater portion of the earth's surface, we could "scarcely be cheated into undue respect for the assumption of local arrogance, or misled into over-acquiescence in the dogmata even of superior intellect."¹⁴ Much ignominy is cast too on despotism and tyranny and its attempt to control thought and feeling, while praise is given to America where representative governments, free trade and a free press were arising. France, Britain, Germany, Holland and Denmark are also commended, while the article ends: "is it possible, think you, - is it fitting for any individual or set of individuals to attempt imposing on reasonable minds any species of mistification or humbug?"

Pringle's verses are likewise filled with grief at learning

"Of Kings and Emperors and Czars
Colleagued to hold Mankind enchained".^x

It is hard to see what exception could have been taken to the summary of Bigge's Report on New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, but that this was possible will appear later in this chapter. Another article which Somerset might well have disliked was Fairbairn's on Literary and Scientific Societies, institutions for which His Excellency held the strongest suspicion as breeding places of radicalism, to judge from his immediate action in sup-

x See Ch. IV for a more detailed examination.

pressing the first attempt to found one in Cape Town a few months later.

Of the twenty-seven items of prose and verse in No.1, no fewer than twenty can safely be identified as the work of the editors, Fairbairn being responsible for eleven and Pringle for nine. Other contributors there certainly were though the editors did not always accept their work. One of these was the outspoken author of The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, William Wilberforce Bird. What the subject of his contribution was we do not know, except that it referred to Canning, recently returned to power as Foreign Secretary. It may have concerned his shocking recognition of the Spanish American rebels who had just thrown off the colonial yoke. In any event the editors in a letter dated 24th February, described the topic as inflammatory, and "a very ticklish one at the moment." They would however not have hesitated to publish it if the Governor had been agreeable. Bird replied that his intention was purely admonitory and not controversial.¹⁵ The article however was not published.

A note "To Correspondents" on p.2 of the Journal gives us some idea of the determined view taken by Fairbairn and Pringle of their editorial powers:

"We return A.B.'s Paper..." they write, "Though ably written and on an interesting subject, it is impossible for us to accept it on the terms proposed. Unless on very particular occasions, we make it a rule never to submit a proof sheet to the correction or inspection of a Contributor, while his paper is passing through the press. Neither can we give up the dear-bought privilege of Journalists to curtail, alter, or add to the articles sent to us, as occasion or expediency may require."

Faure's Dutch edition of the Journal appeared on 3rd April, very similar in format but with grey-green wrappers instead of brown. In spite of the statement in the advertisements that there would be translations of 'several' of the articles in the English edition,¹⁶ there was in fact only one, that of The Description of the Zureveld (p.52-56). Since it was edited by a

clergyman there was a markedly religious bias to the journal.

The South African Journal no.II, dated March-April 1824, and exactly similar in format to No.I, was published on Thursday 6th May. 750 copies were printed, again on the Government Press.¹⁷ The number of subscribers did not increase, but on the other hand none withdrew - not even government servants. Naturally fewer copies were distributed free, which accounts for the smaller printing, and very few were sent to England. Fairbairn explained that this was on Underwood, the London agent's recommendation, the latter advising that it would be more economic to reprint it in London in view of the duty on imported books and the high cost of printing in the Colony. We have no evidence that this was ever done. Fairbairn also maintained before the Commission of Enquiry later that sales had gone up with No.II - a claim which the publisher would not confirm.¹⁸

SOMERSET versus GEORGE GREIG

Before describing the reaction to this publication, it is necessary to follow briefly the history of the South African Commercial Advertiser up to this time. The full story is given by Louis Henry Meurant who was an apprentice in Greig's office and whose Sixty Years Ago; or Reminiscences of the Struggle for the Freedom of the Press in South Africa appeared in 1885.

The newspaper was indeed an outstanding success, being published in both English and Dutch and receiving no interference from authority. In February 1824¹⁹ however it was decided to include law reports in the weekly issues in view of the considerable popular interest in the current trial of Launcelot Cooke, William Edwards and Jan Bernard Hoffman for libel.^x The libel in question was in the form of a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury accusing the Collector of Customs, Charles Blair, of various malpractices. Blair being a close friend of the Governor, the latter had not forwarded the memorial to the right quarter but had instructed the Fiscal^{xx} to institute proceedings against those respon-

x Cooke was a Cape Town merchant, Edwards a notary and Hoffman was described by Meurant (op.cit. p.32) as "a celebrated Dutch lawyer"
xx The office of Fiscal was comparable to that of Attorney-General and Chief of Police combined. Daniel Denyssen, who had been a high court judge under the Batavian Republic, held the post from Aug. 1812 until the reform of the Cape legal system in 1827.

sible.²⁰ The conduct of the case, which was reported without bias in the Advertiser, need not concern us. Let it suffice that judgment was finally given on 26th March in favour of the accused. This alone was a blow to the prestige of the Governor and the Fiscal. Soon afterwards Pringle wrote a vigorous and high-minded leader in which he attacked despotism in no uncertain terms, quoting Machiavelli and emphasizing the value of a Free Press.²¹ However commendable in liberal eyes and however general in terms, in contemporary circumstances it could easily be construed as directly referring to the Cape Government and contrary to the terms of Greig's original Prospectus. In this it had been stated that the South African Commercial Advertiser would "ever most rigidly exclude all personal controversy however disguised, or the remotest discussion of subjects relating to the policy or administration of the Colonial Government."²²

Soon after this the Fiscal brought a second charge for libel against Edwards alone and without the calling of a single witness he was sentenced to seven years transportation. Before the conclusion of this trial the Fiscal on instruction began to take steps toward the censorship of the press. Not only were the authorities growing displeased with the general conduct of the Advertiser, but they were extremely worried that the slanderous statements made against the Governor by Edwards at his trial would be reported. In fact they were not.^x On May 3rd however, Denysen sent for Greig and reprimanded him for not abiding by the terms of his own Prospectus, admonishing him to observe them in future.^{xx 23}

On the following evening while the 18th issue of the Commercial Advertiser was going to press, the Fiscal sent demanding to see the proof-sheets before the edition was struck off. After examining them he returned the permission to print while admitting that he did not approve of all the sentiments expressed.

x Thomas Philipps, Albany settler, wrote to his sister Catherine on 1/5/1824: "We have an independent Newspaper published at Cape Town, encouraged by the presence of the Comm^{rs}. The Editor gives some capital hits at the shocking Govern^t we are under, but what is of most benefit to us is that it gives the reports of the Trials, a proceeding which no one expected, or I believe leave would not have been given for its establishment." (Philipps, 1820 Settler; his Letters, ed. A. Keppel Jones, p.214.)

xx Greig afterwards declared the Fiscal demanded a surety of Rds. 10,000, which the latter denied (Meurant, p.58.) .

No. 18 was duly published on May 5th, but in addition to the material submitted to the Fiscal, there appeared a Postscript informing the public that as the Fiscal had assumed censorship, publication would be discontinued "for the present... until we have applied for redress and direction to H.E. the Governor and the British Government."

This decision and its declaration were the outcome of an agreement between Greig and the editors that they would never "compromise (their) birthright as British subjects by editing any publication under censorship".²⁴

It was into a Cape Town fraught with the tension resulting from this situation that, notwithstanding, Pringle and Fairbairn launched the second issue of their literary journal. The last issue of the Advertiser before suspension included an announcement of its appearance.

Greig for his part had not by any means given up the struggle, being determined that the public should know the truth about the suppression and about the second Edwards trial. Notices sent to the Government Gazette were refused publication but placards were posted at street corners announcing that on the morning of Monday 10th "Facts connected with the stopping of the Press, and the censorship of the Fiscal" would be published.

On the afternoon of Sunday May 9th, the Fiscal and his officers arrived at the Advertiser printing office and read a warrant empowering him to seal up the press and to give Greig one month's notice to quit the Colony, failing which he would be arrested and deported. The printing press was accordingly sealed but not the types which were not specifically mentioned in the warrant, and with the craftsman's resourcefulness the "Facts" were none the less printed from the standing type without the employment of a press and were distributed free of charge. Copies of this imperfect but historic document survive.

The same day that the "Facts" were published, Lord Charles Somerset wrote what, if our assessment of his attitude to the press is at all correct, must be regarded as a most hypocritical despatch:

"It is a matter of deep regret to me my Lord (he wrote to

Bathurst) that a measure which I had hoped and anticipated would have contributed to the Instruction and Improvement as well as to the amusement of the Community here, has been converted to factious and mischievous purposes by the artifices of a few restless and disloyal men who have no permanent Interest in the Colony. I trust however that persons of different views and character may be found who will be willing to revive an undertaking of this nature with no other views than to render it beneficial and instructive. Meanwhile the Community here is not deprived of the Convenience of a Public Press, as, exclusive of the Government Weekly Paper, the South African Journal under the direction of Messrs.

Pringle and Faure, continues to be published every two months.²⁵

We must remember that the Commissioners were still in the Colony and while they were there Lord Charles was most anxious to pose as an enlightened despot. Within the limits of Tory tradition and the policy of anglicisation for the Dutch population, Somerset was no doubt genuinely concerned for the educational and intellectual improvement of the Colony and, while his policy may not have been the right one, we have no grounds for assuming that his aims were solely either oppressive or hypocritical. Indeed we cannot believe that when he wrote the above on May 10th he had already seen the Journal and was planning the onslaught that he was to unleash on the second issue a few days later.

SOMERSET versus THOMAS PRINGLE

The Fiscal was the first to strike. At 11.30 on the morning of May 13th his messenger called upon Thomas Pringle in the Library and requested his immediate attendance at the Fiscal's office. Pringle complied without question and found that official seated with a copy of the Journal before him. Pringle made notes of this interview, so we may have some assurance of what took place.²⁶ The Fiscal moreover did not afterwards specifically deny any of the remarks attributed to him.²⁷ Denyssen opened the proceedings by stating that he was authorised to warn Pringle respecting various remarks relating to the administration and policy of the Colonial Government which appeared in the article entitled On the Present

State and Prospects of the English Emigrants. His Excellency was of the opinion that the editors had entirely departed from the terms of their Prospectus of December 20th 1823, in several instances. The Fiscal here allowed Pringle to see in a marked copy which passages were so obnoxious to the Government, and went on to say that unless a solemn pledge were given that nothing similar would occur again the publication would not be allowed to continue - in fact this issue would have been stopped if it had been noticed in the press. Other objectionable passages appeared in the review of The State of the Cape in 1822 - which review, needless to say, did not carry the author's name - W.W. Bird - the work being published anonymously, and in H.T. Colebrooke's Note on the Settlers, published as an annexure to Bird's book and reprinted. A phrase in the review of Commissioner Bigge's Report on New South Wales, reading "the weakness common to almost all men in power", though referring to Governor Macquarie and the temptation to impose taxes, was also displeasing to Somerset.

Pringle then made reply. The Prospectus acknowledged by the Editors, he said, was the one published on January 24th 1824 and annexed to No. 1 of the Journal, not the advertisement of December 20th 1823. He then asked by what authority the Fiscal acted in this matter and the latter replied that his warning could be regarded as the official communication of the Government. He declined to furnish a written document as this was "not the practice of his office". Pringle upon this asked if there were any more precise regulations by which editorial discretion was to be limited, to which the Fiscal answered that strict adherence to the terms of the original Prospectus was all that was required. Pringle suggested that this was a vague document by which to be tried and asked who in the event of prosecution would be the judge? - The Government of course. It would be quite impossible, said Pringle, for the Government and the Editors ever to agree on the interpretation of the Prospectus, much less could the latter countenance the right of constant control. Unless the Fiscal could state definitely the limitations that were imposed by the law of the Colony, if such existed, or unless they could obtain from His

Excellency a precise statement of the liberty allowed by the instruction of the Home Government, the Editors did not see how they could continue with safety. The Fiscal was quite blunt in his reply. The Cape, he said, had no Freedom of the Press - it was not yet ready for it. It should be remembered that Dutch, not English law obtained and the former did not allow an unrestricted press at all. Regarding the alternative demanded, he did not think that His Excellency would allow of any such statement of the Home Government's instructions.

The Fiscal clearly wished to bring the interview to a close and requested a decisive answer to his demand for a pledge to admit nothing into the pages of the Journal that was obnoxious to the Government. Pringle said he would make his reply in writing. The Fiscal then intimated that he would not enter into any written correspondence but was prepared to receive a written answer addressed to him officially, the terms of which he hoped would, after consultation with friends by the Editors, prove amicable and satisfactory. Pringle in his final remarks declared that if his writings were to be judged out of their context, and words and phrases misinterpreted, it was out of the question to continue the work. He would rather lay it aside until safer and more liberal times. It was highly dangerous, he said - as the case of the South African Commercial Advertiser had shown - for any man of principle to risk the publication of anything in South Africa

So ended an interview which while spirited was marked throughout by civility, the Fiscal regretting that it fell to his lot to act on the matter. When interviewed by the Commissioners of Enquiry the following year, he stressed that his remarks had been meant to be admonitory and with no intention to prosecute.²⁸

The following day the Editors sent this formal notice to him:
Sir,

In consequence of your official communication of yesterday respecting the South African Journal, we think it inconsistent with our personal safety to continue that publication.

We remain &c.
Thomas Pringle 29
John Fairbairn.

This letter was straightway communicated to the Governor.

While most of us may find it difficult, in an age in which greater freedom is allowed to the press, to approve of the government attitude in this matter and may admire the stand made by Pringle and Fairbairn, the fact should not be lost sight of that they had transgressed their self-imposed limits, firstly in the Prospectus attached to the Memorial to the Governor of February 1823, wherein the intention of "strictly excluding all topics of political or personal controversy" was declared, and the same sentiments reiterated in their later published statement of editorial policy in December 1823. When Fairbairn later told the Commission of Enquiry that he had never conceived that the introduction or discussion of political subjects was regulated by the conditions of any prospectus but only by the operation of existing laws, he was in no way strengthening his case.³⁰ The Prospectus of January 24th 1824, as attached to No.1 of the Journal, did certainly omit any mention of restriction of subject matter, but the Editors do state there that "their former Advertisement in the Cape Gazette of December 20th, 1823, renders it unnecessary for the Editors to go further into detail at present." It emerges then that while the fight for press freedom put up by Pringle, Fairbairn and Greig was both valiant and of great importance to South African history, they had little cause to be surprised at government censure, particularly in view of circumstances.

An announcement of the cessation appeared in the Gazette of the following Saturday, May 15th. This read:

THE
SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL
is DISCONTINUED

All subscriptions that have been PAID IN
ADVANCE for the Work beyond the SECOND NUMBER,
will be RETURNED.

Cape Town, May 13, 1824.

Thos. Pringle
J. Fairbairn

The combined effect of the stopping of the Journal and the Advertiser - it should be noted that at no time did Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift enter into the controversy or was even mentioned - had immediate influence on public opinion, and a petition to the King for a Free Press was quickly drawn up

and circulated for signature on the 15th May.³¹ Copies lay at the Commercial Rooms for a couple of days until Greig felt it would be politic to remove it from a public institution. Others were to be found at various retail establishments, however, and Samuel Eusebius Hudson signed one at Howell's bookshop on the 18th.³² Pringle had earlier written to Major Colebrooke (H.M. Commissioner) seeking his opinion on the correctness of such a step, since the Dutch citizens were reluctant to sign, believing that their future depended much more on the Governor's pleasure than did that of the colonists of British origin.³³ In all 209 persons attached their names, including all the British merchants of note, while forty names can definitely be regarded as Dutch. Among the names were: Rutherfoord, E. K. Green, Tennant, Collison, Chiappini, Pillans, A. S. Robertson, H. Cloete, William Thomson, George Thomson, S. S. Bailey and of course Pringle, Fairbairn and Greig. It is notable that William Bridekirk did not sign, nor Abraham Faure.

Though chiefly concerned with the Press as typified by the South African Commercial Advertiser, one paragraph of the petition read: "It may be further observed that a magazine devoted chiefly to matters connected with the improvement of the Colony has been discontinued by the Editors in consequence of the Fiscal's interference in the management." This document, the wording of which was probably Pringle's, was finally dated May 26th.³⁴

It may be mentioned that at this same time a subscription list was opened for the impoverished Greig.

The Governor, meanwhile, had had opportunity to study the South African Journal no.II, and this, combined with the news of the petition, decided him to send for the senior editor in the hope of inducing him to conform with the demands of authority without causing adverse comment by the Home government. It was on the 18th of May that the summons to appear immediately was delivered and Thomas Pringle repaired forthwith to the audience-room in the Colonial Office building - that now known as the Old Supreme Court. He found His Excellency with the Chief Justice,

Sir John Truter,^x seated beside him and the second number of the Journal open upon the table. We have two versions from Pringle of what took place at this meeting, the one in a memorandum for the Commission of Inquiry written soon after the event³⁶ and the other in his Narrative, first published in 1834.³⁷ They differ in minor points only and one must assume that they are substantially as Pringle remembered it, though he did admit in a letter to Fairbairn that he had made no notes at the time.³⁸ Doubtless he was too incensed. Opposed to this we have Sir John Truter's recollection of the interview as given to the Commission verbally in July 1825. Truter, while avowedly sympathetic to Pringle, - he had entrusted his grandchildren to him at the Classical and Commercial Academy and had further wished to be a member of the Literary Society founded in 1824^{xx} - was obliged to deny several of the charges made against the Governor, as will appear. The Commissioners admitted later that they were at a loss to know the true nature of the interview.³⁹

Somerset (according to Pringle) lost no time in coming to the point. "So, sir," he exclaimed, "you are one of those who dare^{xxx} to insult me and oppose my government!" A "tirade of abuse" followed, we are told, particularly with regard to the article on The State and Prospects of the English Emigrants, and concluded with reproach for ingratitude for personal favours, by which he had in mind the grants of land to the Pringle family, Thomas Pringle's appointment as sub-librarian - although not compatible with the work of running a school - his being allowed to use the Government Press, and the special reduction of the postage rate^{on} the Journal to 1 skilling (2½d.) per ounce as opposed to the customary 4.⁴⁰ He was also rated for having written such an insolent letter to the Fiscal and having signed the Memorial to the King.

Thus addressed, the free-born Scot felt his frame "tremble with indignation", but managing to restrain himself with great presence of mind, regarded Lord Charles with a disdain "under which

x Sir Johannes Andreas Truter, 1763-1845, first South African to be knighted. See S. Afr. Law J. 1918, p.135. He was chief justice from 1812-1827.

xx Suppressed by the Governor's order. See Ch.V.

xxx T.P.'s Memorandum reads "think proper" for "dare".

his haughty eye instantly sank." He knew the position in which he stood, he said, a humble individual before his sovereign's representative, but he also knew what was due to him as a British subject and a gentleman. He refused to be rated in that way by any man, and repelled the charges against him. He defended his conduct regarding the press and the character of the Journal, and asserted his right to petition the King for a free press. He had never, he declared, been unmindful of the attention of the Government towards the welfare of his settler party, and, however grateful he might be to His Excellency for his appointment to the Library, he had never realised that this deprived him of his free agency in other than legal and loyal matters. In the circumstances he begged to resign his position.

Some argument then ensued on Pringle's temerity to discuss the settler question and the defence of the frontier in the Journal. He claimed the right to speak the truth with no personal animus against the Governor, and denied it was possible to do justice to the subject by omitting certain points considered political. To this Somerset replied that he should then have avoided the subjects entirely.

After this the Governor surprisingly changed his tone, giving Pringle the impression that he now realised he had misjudged the latter's character and could not cow him in this way. He accordingly altered his attack to one of flattery, expressing the wish that the Journal should continue if the editors would only conduct themselves "discreetly". This volte face disgusted Pringle even more than the earlier insults and he was not to be so easily won over. He declined to carry on with the South African Journal "unless legal protection were granted to the press." This concluded the interview and Pringle returned to the Library to write his letter of resignation. He felt called upon to do this, he wrote, since accused of insulting the Government, but at the same time he disclaimed the remotest intention of any disrespect to His Excellency.⁴¹

When questioned some fourteen months later, the other witness

of the proceedings, Sir John Truter, told the Commission of Enquiry that he considered Pringle had not been justified in accusing Lord Charles of insulting words, nor was he able to recall that the Governor had ever accused him of a like offence and of opposing the Government. His Excellency had further said that the Fiscal's interference had been without his authority and that he had never ordered that the Journal should be subject to the Fiscal's censorship - in fact, said Truter, this had "seemed contrary to [his] wish."⁴² Whether Pringle's or Truter's recollection of what was actually said was the more accurate one - and the Chief Justice admitted that he had made no memorandum of the interview - the divergences are not sufficiently serious to alter the fact that the Governor spoke severely and threateningly and that the terms demanded were such as Pringle with his temperament and experience could not consider acceptable.

So died South Africa's first literary periodical in the English language.

-----oOo-----

THE SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

No.1

Issued in dark brown wrappers printed as follows:

THE / SOUTH AFRICAN / JOURNAL. / [rule] / No. I. /
JANUARY-FEBRUARY, / 1824. / [rule] / CAPE TOWN: / PRINTED
FOR THE EDITORS, AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS; / AND
PUBLISHED BY / W. BRIDEKIRK, JUN. CAPE TOWN; /
T. AND G. UNDERWOOD, AND LONGMAN AND CO. / LONDON; /
AND A. CONSTABLE AND CO. AND D. BROWN, / EDINBURGH. /
[rule] / Price, 2½ Rix-Dollars. /

All within a frame 17.5 x 9cm.

Inside of wrappers blank. Grey Collection copy has small advertisement (16.2 x 10.2cm.) for George Greig pasted inside back wrapper.

Outside back wrapper: Advertisement for Wm. Bridekirk, Jun. (full page).

THE
**SOUTH AFRICAN
JOURNAL.**

No. I. *Jan.—Feb. 1824.* Vol. I.

CONTENTS.

ARTICLE.	PAGE.
I. General Introduction,.....	3
II. Verses on perusing some English Newspapers, 8	8
III. The Dead,.....	10
IV. We Meet No More,.....	ib.
V. Sonnet,.....	ib.
VI. Song,.....	11
VII. On a Remark of Tacitus,.....	ib.
VIII. On the Writings of WORDSWORTH,.....	12
IX. Description of the Zareveld,.....	17
X. Notes on-Rust, Bengal Wheat, &c.....	21
XI. An Emigrant's Song,.....	24
XII. Sonnet on the Moravian Institution of Enon, ..	25
XIII. Caffer Song,.....	ib.
XIV. Character and Habits of some of the Wild Animals of South Africa :—No. 1. <i>The Lion</i> ,....	26
XV. Wedded Love,.....	33
XVI. To a beautiful Jewish Girl,.....	34
XVII. The Drinking Song of Munich,.....	35
XVIII. Review of Mr. Broom's Reports on New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land,.....	ib.
XIX. On Literary and Scientific Societies,.....	50
XX. On the Capabilities of the Cape Colony,.....	55
XXI. Cultivation of Tobacco,.....	61
XXII. Of Apparitions,.....	62
XXIII. On the Rearing of Children,.....	65
XXIV. Irruptions of Locusts and Trek-Bekken,.....	70
XXV. Melrose Abbey,.....	73
XXVI. Sonnet,.....	74
XXVII. Solitude,.....	ib.
CAPE CHRONICLE,.....	75

CAPE TOWN :

PRINTED FOR THE EDITORS.

(1)

I. The title-page and list of contents of the first South African literary journal.

To face page 46.

4°. [+]² A - K⁴L² [++] pp. [4]+[3] + 4 - 84 + [1]

Size of uncut copy: 22.8 x 15cm.^x

[+]1^a-2^a, Prospectus; [++]2^b, Conditions; [A] 1^a, title-page with list of contents:-

THE / SOUTH AFRICAN / JOURNAL / [rule] / No.I. Jan. - Feb.
1824. Vol.I./ [rule] / CONTENTS./ [List of contents, 29
lines] / [rule] / CAPE TOWN:/ PRINTED FOR THE EDITORS. /

1^b, To Correspondents; Erratum; A2^a - K1^b, Text; K2^a - L2^b,
1^a, Advertisement for Classical & Commercial Academy, G. Greig,
printer; [++]1^b, blank.

1,000 copies printed.

The words PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, CAPE TOWN, CAPE
OF GOOD HOPE appear at foot of p. [2] and 84.

The Journal was printed on poor quality wove paper without
watermark. The third and fourth leaves of each quire are through-
out 1.5 to 1.9cm. narrower than the first and second, though
this does not affect the imposition.

Typesetting is uniformly good and only one excusable erratum
was noted, but press work is poor, several pages being unevenly
inked and many letters have dropped out altogether.

The type used for prose is 10pt. and for verse and quotations
9pt., with notes in 8pt. Running titles are in italics and
titles of items in small capitals.

No.2

Issued in dark brown wrappers and in exactly similar format
to No.1. Front wrapper printed as above with following diffe-
rence:

No.II/ MARCH-APRIL, / 1824.
All within a frame 17.5 x 9.8cm.

Outside back wrapper: Contents of No.1 on upper half,
advertisement for Wm. Bridekirk on lower half.

4°. L - V⁴ U⁴ a⁴. pp. [3]+88-180.

Size of uncut copy: 23.5 x 15.8cm.

Bibliog. Description (cont.)

[L]1^a, title-page with list of contents:-

THE / SOUTH AFRICAN / JOURNAL./ [rule] / No.II. March - April,
1824. VOL.I./ [rule] / CONTENTS./ [List of contents, 30 lines.]/
[rule] / CAPE TOWN:/ PRINTED FOR THE EDITORS. /

[L]1^b, To Correspondents; Erratum; L2^a-U4^b, Text; al^a-a4, The
Cape Chronicle.

750 copies printed.

The words PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS etc. appear at foot
of p. [86] and 172.

----oOo----

Notes to Chapter III

1. Government Gazette, 15/3/1823, 6/9/1823; Meurant, op. cit.,
p.13.
2. Theal's Records, v.16, p.161, Memorial to Governor.
3. Meurant (L.H.) Sixty Years Ago, p.13-17.
4. Narrative, p.194.
5. Agreement, 7/2/1824. Fairbairn papers, Lib. of Parl.
6. S. Afr. Commercial Advertiser, 4/2/1824.
7. CO. 4454, Bridekirk's evidence.
8. Narrative, p.194.
9. Op. cit. p.18.
10. Quoted in Narrative, p.202 n.
11. Bird (W.W.) State of the Cape In 1822, p.354,360; S. Afr.
Journal, no.1, p.84.
12. CO 4454/13, Cape Archives.
13. See Ch.IV, p. 52.
14. S.Afr.J., no.1, p.3-7.
15. T.P. and J.F. to W.W. Bird, 24/2/1824. Fairbairn papers,
Lib. of Parl.
16. C. T. Gazette, 6/3/1824.
17. CO. 4454/13.
18. Ibid. Evidence of Fairbairn and Bridekirk.
19. S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser, 18/2/1824.
20. Meurant, op. cit. p.32 et seq.
21. S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser, 7/4/1824.
22. Published as single 4to leaf, 20/12/1823. Copy prefaces
S.Afr.P.L. copy of S.Afr.C.A., v.1.

Notes to Ch.III (cont.)

23. Meurant, op. cit. p.55.
24. Pringle's Narrative, p.199.
25. Theal's Records, v.16, p.307.
26. T.P. to J.F. 13/9/1825; Theal, op. cit., v.17, p.461-4; Pringle, op. cit., p.199-200.
27. CO.4454, Denyssen's evidence.
28. Ibid.
29. Theal, op. cit., v.17, p.312.
30. CO. 4454, Fairbairn's evidence.
31. Pringle, op. cit., p.200.
32. Hudson's Journal, 16/5/1824, Cape Archives.
33. T.P. to Colebrooke, 14/5/1824, Libr. of Parl.
34. Theal, op. cit., v.17, p.363.
35. Hudson's Journal, 16/5/1824.
36. Theal, op. cit. v.17: p.322-325, undated.
37. Op. cit., p.201-203.
38. T.P. to J.F. 13/9/1825.
39. CO. 4454, Truter's evidence, 27/7/1825. Report of Commission of Inquiry (Theal, op. cit. v.24, p.1-22.).
40. Somerset to Bathurst, 3/7/1824 (Theal, op. cit., v.18, p.57ff.).
41. CO. 29/63, Cape Archives; Theal, op. cit., v.17, p.325.
42. CO. 4454, Truter's evidence.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL AND ITS CONTRIBUTORS

The South African Journal of 1824 cannot be regarded as a spontaneous bursting into print of a colonial people seeking for cultural expression. It should be clear from the first chapter that the English-speaking Kapenaar was not likely to aspire to such heights from his popular interests and educational level, apart from the opposition of authority. It required a professional man of letters and an experienced amateur (as Fairbairn had hitherto been), both of whom had only recently settled at the Cape, but had come with the avowed intent of using their talents for the improvement of the public mind, to bring it into being. It is significant that after the failure of their efforts in the periodical field it was only in 1830 and under another governor that further periodicals in English appeared.^x

These two, we shall not be surprised to learn, not only edited but also wrote the greater part of the two issues themselves. In fact of the forty-six items of verse and prose, sixteen are definitely by Pringle and thirteen by Fairbairn, while three or four more can probably be attributed to them.

We have no evidence of the number of contributions offered and of the number rejected, but the success of later Cape journals must suggest that, had the South African Journal continued, the English-speaking 'intelligentsia' would have become more articulate therein. They were indeed not slow to express themselves in the correspondence columns of the public press. On the other hand Pringle and Fairbairn set themselves a high standard and with the facility for writing that both possessed they were clearly very ready to write or select from their own earlier works, as much as was needed to fill the required number of pages.

In the general execution of the Journal the Editors certainly did their best to fulfil the commendable promises of their prospectus within the limitations of space imposed by the cost of

x The South African Quarterly Journal, published by the South African Institution and primarily scientific, and the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, edited by A. J. Jardine. (See Ch. VI-IX.)

production, and No.1 contained thirteen items of verse and thirteen of prose, plus "The Cape Chronicle" - a day-to-day account of news from January 1st to February 26th, 1824. The verse consisted largely of short lyrical or moral poems, and the prose articles included the General Introduction that incurred the Governor's displeasure, a study of Wordsworth's poetry, descriptive articles on the Eastern Cape and its settlers, on Australian affairs as revealed by Commissioner Bigge, on learned societies and on the rearing of children. No.2 was precisely similar in content, four articles being continued from No.1. There were fewer items of verse but these included one long poem, Pringle's Afar in the Desert. There is nothing fictional and by far the lightest writing is Pringle's exciting account of lion hunts.

Typical of the time, the partiality for literary anonymity pervades the Journal as it does its greater contemporaries in Great Britain. The only item of which the author's name is admitted is the Note on the Settlers by H. T. Colebrooke (not the Commissioner and not a South African) reprinted from the Appendices to W. W. Bird's State of the Cape in 1822. The common form of subscription is one or two letters, and these are rarely initials - in fact only at the end of his article on The Lion does Pringle sign himself "T.P." - but nearly always it is the terminal letters of the writer's Christian and occasionally surname that is used. For instance Thomas Pringle signs himself "S" or less frequently "S.E." and John Fairbairn invariably "N". Both however contributed unsigned work, and Pringle for his article on Rust and Wheat used the pseudonym "E.X.", presumably derived from his status as an ex-Albany settler. A very few articles have longer signatures such as "A Settler" and "Afer" (an African).

VERSE

The verse appearing in the Journal is by no means the earliest to be printed and published in South Africa, as several fugitive pieces had appeared from 1810 onwards and the South African Commercial Advertiser had been printing verse from its first issue in January 1824, two months before the Journal saw

the light of day.¹ Here for the first time however was acceptable poetry though of varying quality. Eight of these items were later reprinted in the first anthology of South African verse, R. J. Stapleton's Peetry of the Cape of Good Hope, Selected from the Periodical Journals of the Colony, which was printed by Greig in 1828. This compilation, while being of little credit to its editor's critical faculty, is of interest as a pioneer work and those verses selected for inclusion will be noted in their turn.

Thomas Pringle himself contributed six poems to No.1 and two to No.2, all of which were reprinted in his collected poems after his return to England in 1826. The first of these collections - not counting the Autumnal Excursion of 1819 - was Ephemerides; or Occasional Poems, written in Scotland and South Africa, published by Smith, Elder & Co. in 1828. The African poems were again published in African Sketches (London, Moxon, 1834), the rest of which consisted of the Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, and finally, after the poet's death, they appeared in his Poetical Works (Moxon, 1838).^x It is necessary to record these several editions because Pringle was not a poet to be satisfied with his work and nearly all his verses show variations between one edition and another.

The first of his poems in the Journal (p.8-9) - signed "S., February 1824" - is entitled Verses, On seeing in a late packet of English Papers, the Surrender of Cadiz, and the Proscription of a Free Press in Germany and Switzerland, - by order of the "Holy Alliance". This was inspired by the reports that the concert of the three European autocracies, Russia, Prussia and Austria, based on a mystical declaration of Absolutist and Christian principles, and scared by the possible resurgence of revolution in any form, had taken swift steps to suppress the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in Spain by ordering the French army to invade that country and restore an autocratic king by force of arms. Highly as Castlereagh regarded Metternich,

x This was published for the benefit of Pringle's widow. A reprint appeared the following year.

the British Tory Minister was a great deal more liberal in outlook and in sensitivity to his countrymen's opinions than either the great Austrian Chancellor or the Tsar, the acknowledged leader of the Alliance. The British government would lend no support to such policies. Spain was by no means the only country to feel the tyranny of the Holy Alliance intellectually or politically. Italy was subjugated to Austria and Poland to Russia, to name but two instances.² A lucid Review of the Political State of Europe, almost certainly by Fairbairn, was published in No.2 of the Journal (p.163-66).

Pringle's poem is violently anti-despotic, beginning:

"Again we hear of distant wars,
Of fields and cities lost or gained,
Of Kings and Emperors and Czars
Colleagued to hold Mankind enchained."

It has some good lines, such as:

"We see the hopes of Freedom crushed
All soiled the flag she late unfurled,
Her song upon the mountains hushed,
And silent gloom pervades the world."

but mostly it is on the following grandiose level:

"Alas for Spain! who fiercely fought, -
Nor vainly, - 'gainst a nobler foe -
Now by the Bourbon sold and bought,
And shamed and sunk - without a blow!"

After bewailing the fate of Europe he turns to England "where Freedom lingers yet", but he is not satisfied with her efforts and produces on his theme what must be one of the worst verses he ever penned:

"And where is Chatham's mighty Son? -
And he, the thunderbolt of war
Who shivered all he struck upon -
The Chief of Nile and Trafalgar!"^x

x The version of this poem in Ephemerides, entitled simply Verses, on the Restoration of Despotism in Spain, is considerably revised. Verse 1 begins:

"'Tis the old tale:- perfidious war
And forts and fields for tyrants gain'd".

It is there dated: "Cape Town, Dec. 1823."

The epithet here attached to Nelson is taken either consciously or unconsciously straight from Scott's Introduction to Canto I of Marmion (To William Stewart Rose Esq.). There we read:

"Nor mourn ye less his perished worth
Who bade the conqueror go forth,
And launch'd the thunderbolt of war
On Egypt, Hafnia, Trafalgar..."

(Hafnia = Copenhagen).

In these excerpts we have ample opportunity to observe the liberal spirit we have learnt to expect in Pringle, the poem clearly having been written under great stress of feeling. The poetic muse, so much better suited to the description of the Scottish countryside or of the Eastern Cape Colony, is however not demonstrated. An Emigrant's Song (p.24) is a beautiful, though mournful and nostalgic lyric, even if its sentiments lack "manly and energetic determination", as maintained in an editorial footnote! Here indeed were the editors writing with tongue in cheek, for while the authorship of the poem is not at all in doubt, they declared that "The preceding Verses have been sent us by an esteemed Correspondent and are among the most tolerable we have yet received from the English Settlement on the Eastern Frontier." This was followed by moralizing on the mistaken sentiments expressed in the poem and an assurance that the emigrants would win through in spite of their difficulties. The Emigrant of the poem indeed bemoans the fact that she ever left England's peace for the unfriendly desolation of Africa. It is remarkable however that in his collected poems the poet preserved the sentiments - even if unpopular - but changed the English maid to a Scottish Border lass and the title to The Scottish Exile's Song? x
The refrain of the original:

O! lovely spreads th' Acacia grove
In Amakosa's glen;
But fairer far the home I love
And ne'er must see again."

becomes:

"O, bonny grows the broom on Blaikla^{xx}knowes
And the birk in Lerdan vale
And green are the hills o' the milk white ewes
By the briery banks o' Cayle."

In the notes to Ephemerides Pringle hastens to make clear that the poem is intended to express the feelings of a desolate female rather than the real frame of mind of the Scottish settlers who had proved so resourceful.

x In later collections the title was changed again to The Exile's Lament.
xx Pringle's birthplace.

In a different vein is the Sonnet written on a Visit to the Moravian Missionary Institution of Enon, or White Water, South Africa (p.25). This mission station must have impressed Pringle deeply as a haven of peace in a savage countryside. The sonnet was described by the reviewer of Ephemerides in the Eclectic Review⁴ as "worthy of Wordsworth". In this case Pringle made no change to the poem in later editions.

The Caffer Song (p.25), also signed "T.", is very pretty and is typical of Pringle's fondness for attempting to depict the aboriginal scene, but the very rhythm of the poem creates a mental picture which is certainly not Africa. The song in which the Xhosa husbandman sings of his home and loved ones is indeed so rhythmically set down that we can almost supply the tune as we read it. That tune would have a close affinity with the popular settings of Burns. The Ephemerides version⁵ bears the sub-title The Rock of Elks, which expression is also substituted for "the Grey Rock" in the poems without apparent reason or improvement.

Wedded Love (p.33), a sentimental little avowal of constancy by a husband to a wife, was written by Pringle before his emigration, though not early enough to be included in The Autumnal Excursion of 1819. It appears however as Song VII in Ephemerides, Pt.I. Poems written in Scotland.⁶

The Sonnet "Seest though, Beloved, yonder cheerless Oak?" (p.74) is likewise of no Cape interest, appearing as Sonnet V in Ephemerides, Pt.I.⁷ It is fatalistic, depressing and far removed from the vigorous rhythm of the Caffer Song and the lyric sentimentality of Wedded Love.

To the second issue of the Journal Pringle contributed only two out of the seven verse items, viz. Afar in the Desert (sic) (signed S.E.) (p.105-107) and The Lion and the Camelopard (unsigned) (p.126). Both were included by Stapleton in his anthology. The former is probably the best known of all Pringle's works and without any doubt the one to go through the most editions with many variants. It was in fact the subject of a bibliographical study by G. W. Robinson which appeared in the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America in 1923⁸ and to which those interested in the various

revisions can be referred.^x Afar in the Desert (the spelling of 'desert' was modernised in the first collected edition) enjoyed a great popularity and won the approbation of Coleridge who declared it to be "among the two or three most perfect lyrical poems in our language".⁹ Though present day opinion would hardly rate it so high it is indeed a fine poem with a lilt that ably imitates the beating of the horse's hoofs:

"Away - away - in the Wilderness vast,
Where the White Man's foot hath never passed."

The effect is achieved by a succession of tetrameters containing a great many anapaests and dactyls in lengthy stanzas with no intermediate full-stops. One is obliged to admit however that a certain monotony results - as of course it may from riding in the desert.

The Lion and the Camelopard, placed conveniently after the second part of Pringle's prose article on the Lion, is a graphic description of the preying of a lion upon a giraffe. Changes in subsequent editions are definitely for the better as this is by no means a satisfactory poem containing for its conclusion such unpleasant lines as:

"Resigns his throat to the raging foe;
Who revels amidst his dying moans -
While the wolves gather round to share his bones."

The final line was changed in Ephemerides to the following three:

"While, gathering round to pick his bones,
The vultures watch, in gaunt array
Till the gorged monarch quits his prey."

The alteration is probably more accurate if no more poetical.

x It may be mentioned here that the version of the poem used by Stapleton was that of Ephemerides and not the Journal. He doubtless considered it only right to choose a revision if available. Stapleton, incidentally, appears to have been unknown to G. W. Robinson.

Two versions of Afar in the Desert in Dutch have been traced:

(i) by F.W. Reitz under the title Ver in de Wildernis, which appeared in Klaas Gezwint en zijn Paert and other songs etc. Cape Town, Juta, 1884, p.87-92;

(ii) by J.P. Hasebroek (1812-1896) under the title In de Afrikaansche Woestijn, published in the Orange Free State Monthly Magazine, v.2, no.22, Aug. 1879, p.937-8.

Of these Reitz's is the more faithful translation but changes the rhythm to pentameters, while Hasebroek, a well-known Netherlands poet in his day, recaptures the spirit of the original admirably with a freer translation, somewhat shortened.

Pringle's Verse in Relation to that of his Contemporaries

As Pringle alone of the contributors to the South African Journal has a recognised place in English literature - albeit a humble one - some attempt to evaluate his poetry will not come amiss here. For the purposes of this study only his South African verse has been taken into account.

It would only be fair to say that Pringle as a poet would have sunk into oblivion if it were not that he was the first poet of any acknowledged ability to attempt to describe the South African scene in English. Other versifiers followed him certainly, such as W. R. Thomson, H. H. Dugmore, and Mrs Mary Barber - daughter of an 1820 settler - but none of their works has lived though they may have earned a place in anthologies of South African poetry. Pringle was a minor poet only and he would never have thought of himself as anything else, though the excellence of his Narrative and his lion stories must place him among the most readable of the prose writers who depicted the Cape in the first half of the century, saying what he wanted to say with a clarity and absence of unnecessary verbiage which was so different from Fairbairn's ponderous style.

In one respect particularly Pringle's work is both remarkable and important, and that is in his lack of hesitation to use Africanderisms when he felt them to be essential to the spirit of his subject. He was undoubtedly the first English poet in whose works local Cape words and even complete phrases in South African Dutch are to be found. The use of these words illustrates the degree of identification Pringle felt with the land of his adoption, and this although he was still using peculiarly Scots words such as "shieling", "stound", "glen" and so on in the same poems. Moreover when he uses them it is not self-consciously but quite naturally. The Cape poets mentioned above who followed him did not among them use even the comparatively small number of South African words that Pringle does.^x

x Thomson uses 'kraal' only, and Mrs Barber 'trek' (not used by P.!) and 'rand'.

His examples of South African Dutch (Afrikaans) phrases are to be found in conversations in The Emigrant's Cabin, a poem in dialogue form, written as early as 1822^x to induce Fairbairn to join him at the Cape. Firstly the visitor (Fairbairn) is invited to share a meal -

"Drest by that 'Nut Brown Maiden' Vytjé Vaal.
[To the Hottentot Girl] Meid roep de Juffrouwen
naar 't middagmaal.
[To F.] Which means - 'The ladies unto dinner call.'"

Later the old Hottentot shepherd says of a visiting Tembu chief:

"Powana wagh'
Tot dat de Baas hem binnens-huis zal
vraagh.
P. - In boorish Dutch which means
'Powana waits
Till Master bid him welcome to our gates.'"

Other Dutch words in these verses are Kaap smaak - so italicised - used with reference to the Cape wine, and the now common kranz. Here perhaps one feels that local phrases and words are introduced particularly to impress the imaginary visitor to the emigrant settlement, but elsewhere such words appear more casually. It is only natural that the Bechuana Boy should call on 'Utiko' (Tixo) - the Almighty - and that Pringle's Boer neighbours should be summoned to the 'spoor' when the lion hunt is on. Other words found are 'commando' (Caffer Commando), 'heemraad', 'bovenland' and 'roer' (Forester of the Neutral Ground), this last being one which has not passed into general South African English usage. The words 'assagai' and 'kraal' do not really fall in the same category since they were both in common use long before this date.¹⁰ The former was originally a Berber word, come to us through Arabic and Portuguese, while 'kraal' is found in travel literature as early as Medley's translation of Kolb's Cape of Good Hope in 1731.

Hottentot and Xhosa words - apart from place names - include 'Amanglézi' (the English) (Emigrant's Cabin and Makanna's Gathering), 'gorrah' (a Hottentot musical instrument) (The Coranna) and 'umkoba' (the yellow-wood tree) (The Captive of Camalú).

In this early assimilation of local idiom Pringle is not only

x First published in African Sketches, 1834.

exceptional for South Africa but also for English colonial poets in other parts of the world and for Americans. In Australia, for instance, it is not until 1862 that comparable local expressions are found,¹¹ while in the United States - negro-spirituals apart - it is only with original minds like Whitman and Longfellow that we meet them in verse.¹²

If we seek an explanation of this unusual enterprise on Pringle's part, it is surely to be found in the fact that he came to a land which had already been partially settled for 170 years by another white race, in the language of which most of its peculiarities had become familiar. Further, there were to be found there indigenous peoples in whom he took a greater interest than the average immigrant.

For all this, however, it will be evident to any reader of Pringle's work that he was greatly influenced by the established poets of his day. Reaching maturity in the second decade of the nineteenth century, he was a near contemporary of Byron, Shelley and Keats, but lacking the originality and true genius of such as them, he remained under the influence of his older contemporaries, Wordsworth, Scott and Campbell, and of a forerunner, William Cowper. Byron, however, who died when the second number of the South African Journal was going to press, was also a dominating force.

Wordsworth is of course most noticeable in all his nature poems - in style if not in thought. If imagination and mystical experience were features of the Romantic revival, Pringle has little claim to be numbered among its disciples. Nature to him is indeed all important, but nature is the purely material sense with nothing of the ethereal or mystical about it. It may remind him of days gone by, but these would never give him any intimations of immortality. Pringle always has his feet very firmly on the ground - or in the stirrups. His approach in fact is far more of the rational and suggestive of Cowper in his longer poems.^x Evening Rambles, a pleasant poem on the wild

x The Cowper of Boadicea, Alexander Selkirk and the Olney Hymns may perhaps be seen in The Incantation and the Song of the Wild Bushman.

countryside around Glen-Lynden, is certainly describing many things in verse which had not been described before, and through the eyes of a resident colonist and not a mere European visitor, even if he cannot help recalling his native Scotland when reminded of it. The language however is largely Wordsworth's.

Compare:

My wonted seat receives me now -
This cliff with myrtle-tufted brow,
Towering high o'er grove and stream
As if to greet the parting gleam.
With shattered rocks besprinkled o'er
Behind ascends the mountain hoar
Whose crest o'erhangs the Bushman's Cave
(His fortress once, and now his grave,)...

In Wordsworth's hands, how much more vital would this have become! Pringle was indeed an acute observer but at the end of the poem we are scarcely more certain than we were at the beginning whether he gained any joy from it. Wordsworth can never long resist the urge to express his pleasure or let imagination lead him on to innumerable inferences (cf. Yarrow).

We must not endeavour to compare Pringle too closely with Wordsworth: their intellects were on different levels. The greatest height to which Pringle's imagination could climb - if imagination is the right word here - is in the lines which conclude Afar in the Desert -

'As I sit apart by the desert stone,
Like Elijah at Horeb's cave alone,
"A still small voice" comes through the wild
(Like a Father consoling his fretful child),
Which banishes bitterness, wrath, and fear, -
Saying - MAN IS DISTANT, BUT GOD IS NEAR!'

Otherwise the most he can do is to try to put himself in the place of a frontier boer or a Bushman or a Xhosa - as in the unconvincing Caffer Song, or more successfully in The Incantation.

It may be argued that Pringle's finest nature poem - Afar in the Desert - owed nothing to Wordsworth. It would indeed be hard to find a precursor in that poet's works. If it has a forerunner in style, it is to Byron that we must look and find the answer in his Mazeppa, published in 1819, and recent enough to be still fresh in Pringle's mind. The whole setting of course is entirely different, but the hoofs which bore the young Mazeppa madly galloping over hill and dale certainly have their echo in Afar in the Desert.

Compare:

"Away, away, my steed and I,
Upon the pinions of the wind,
All human dwellings left behind;
We sped like meteors through the sky,
When with its crackling sound the night
Is chequered with the northern light."

(Mazeppa, XI.)

with:

"Away - away from the dwellings of men,
By the wild deer's haunt, by the buffalo's glen,
By valleys remote where the oribi plays
Where the gnu, the gazelle, and the hartebeest graze
.....
Where the zebra wantonly tosses his mane,
With the wild hoof scouring the desolate plain;
And the fleet-footed ostrich over the waste
Speeds like a horseman who travels in haste
Hieing away to the home of her rest..."

If the rhythm differs slightly, it should be remembered that Mazeppa's steed was galloping madly while Pringle's merely cantered.

This, of course, is by no means the only example of Byronic influence in Pringle. Elsewhere¹³ it has been pointed out that The Emigrants^x copies exactly the metre and stanza of Childe Harold, while the Verses on the Restoration of Despotism in Spain - though using a different stanza - are very much an echo of Byron's The Isles of Greece,¹⁴ and convey very similar patriotic sentiments. The Caffer Commando which begins:-

"Hark! - heard ye the signals of triumph afar?
'Tis our Caffer Commando returning from war:
The voice of their laughter comes loud on the wind
Nor heed they the curses that follow behind"

approaches as close to The Destruction of Sennacherib as a South African poem could.

As we have said, the influence of the Wizard of the North was admitted very early - Scott being quoted by Leitch Ritchie¹⁵ as declaring "that he wished the original notes had always been as fine as their echo" - this referring to The Autumnal Excursion. In his South African hunting verses and works of similar nature, however, Pringle imitates so palpably that in the transposition from Scotland to the Cape - particularly when South African names occur - he merely offends.

Compare: "Mount - mount for the hunting - with musket and
spear
Call our friends to the field - for the Lion is near!
Call Arend and Ekhard and Groepe to the spoor;
Call Muller and Coetzer and Lucas Van Vuur."

x First published in 1828 as Glen-Lynden.

Pringle we know had a great admiration for Thomas Campbell, to whom he dedicated a poem. The latter's style however - except in his patriotic poems which were not in Pringle's line - is one that has few points which make comparison easy. There are none the less considerable similarities between Campbell's Lines on the Departure of Emigrants for New South Wales and our poet's The Emigrants which discusses the departure of settlers for the Cape. The rhythm of Campbell's Lines on Revisiting Cathcart is likewise echoed in Pringle's An Emigrant's Song.

Further analysis of Pringle's work is not warranted. The foregoing should be adequate to indicate his position in relation to his contemporaries. Many worse poets than he achieved popularity in their time and we shall not grudge Pringle his. The critic - believed to be J. G. Lockhart - discussing African Sketches in the Quarterly Review of December 1835¹⁶ summed up his style as follows:

"What strikes us as most remarkable in Pringle's poetry is its almost constant elegance. Nothing could be more remote from the image of conventional elegance than the appearance, the manners, the spoken language even, of the man himself: yet there is rarely in his prose, almost never in his verse, anything with which the most fastidious reader can have the smallest right to be offended. We think the following lines in their style almost faultless:-..."

He proceeds to quote the whole of Evening Rambles.

While our opinions of certain poems and passages given above will not permit us to endorse this wholeheartedly, criticism from such a quarter is not to be idly dismissed, and in this case throws interesting light on the poet as a man.¹⁷

John Fairbairn wrote little verse and as described in an earlier chapter¹⁸ had few pretensions to be a poet. He did however contribute five poems to the South African Journal, all of which are signed 'N'. Pringle, in the notes to African Sketches,¹⁹ remarks on Fairbairn's poetry and regrets that he did not produce more. He there quotes two other poems from his friend's pen:

"I found a stream among the hills by night", and "Heart-wrung with

grief and bitter care".

Fairbairn's verse contributions to the Journal are all in No.1 and are of no particular distinction. They strike one as having more in common with seventeenth century poetry - notably that of Shirley - than with the romanticism of his own age. Here and there a line occurs which attracts attention rather for its familiar ring than its original conception. Compare the following from Melrose Abbey (S.Afr.J., p.73);²⁰

"Beneath this sky-like dome have prayed
The heroes of the stormy ages,
And here their noble dust is laid,
Commingled with the saint's and sage's."

or this from Song (p.11):

"Then deem not love is lightly got,
Nor months not years of pain regard:
Hard is the lover's, soldier's lot,
But rich as Heaven the dear reward."

This poem was also published in the South African Commercial Advertiser for 28th January 1824, before the Journal appeared. His other verses are The Dead ("The faces of the Dead are fair")(p.10), We Meet No More ("We meet no more - the peaceful hour")(p.10) and Solitude ("Doth peace of mind, or slumber undisturbed")(p.74). It may be noted that this last - perhaps the best of his poems - is the only one in a different metre:

"Doth peace of mind, or slumber undisturbed
By lonely springs, or silent grottoes dwell?
Or is there medicine for a mind perturbed,
O Solitude! within thy secret cell?"

If these verses are in any way a true reflection of his own state of mind at this time, Fairbairn was not a happy man. This poem and the colourless The Dead were chosen by Stapleton for his anthology.²¹

On pages 34 and 35 of No.1 are two poems headed Fugitive Poetry and bearing this explanation:

"The following little Pieces have been given to us, as early and unpublished effusions from the pen of a great and virtuous living poet. As the author has not deemed them deserving of a place in his collected works, we do not feel authorized to distinguish them by his name, though we willingly indulge our Correspondent's wish, and our own feelings, by inserting them in our pages."

In 1824 at the Cape of Good Hope, the law of copyright doubtless had little meaning for magazine editors. These poems - To a Beautiful Jewish Girl and The Drinking Song of Munich are, with

The Name Unknown in No.2, the work of Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) and were written during his "literary pilgrimage" to Germany in 1800-1 when he was 23 or 24 years old. The first poem is not included in the edition of his poetical works published in 1830, but is quoted in his Life and Letters, edited by William Beattie in 1849 (v.1, p.347-8), and also in Cyrus Redding's Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Thomas Campbell, 1860 (v.1, p.52-3). The full title was "To a beautiful Jewish girl of Altona: a fragment", and as a fragment Campbell would not allow it to be published.^x Thus while Pringle held Campbell in the highest regard (cf. Sonnet VIII in Ephemerides, p.80, which is dedicated to him), he and Fairbairn were acting contrary to the poet's wishes in "indulging" their correspondent's wish - if such ever existed.

Of The Drinking Song, Beattie tells us that it was "a song translated from the German, which afterwards appeared in a London newspaper".²² It was included in the 1830 edition of Campbell's works.^{xx}

The Name Unknown: an Imitation of Klopstock (p.91), is mentioned by Beattie.²³ This poem also dates from the German period - in the Journal it is described as "Written in Germany in 1800" - and is clearly based on Klopstock's ode, "Die künftige Geliebte", a very much longer work. Campbell had met Klopstock, then in his late seventies, in Hamburg in June 1800.²⁴

It is to be regretted that the poem to Judith, the beautiful Jewess, was not completed, as it has considerable beauty and is worthy of inclusion in any suitable anthology. As it was, Stapleton apparently decided on the strength of the editors' preface that the first two poems would be out of place in Poetry of the Cape of Good Hope, but, not connecting the third with the same source, he did select that.

There remain five other pieces of verse of unknown authorship, of which the first in order of appearance is a sonnet "And dost thou turn from me the melting eye" (p.10) signed "N.S."

x Both these versions have verse 2, l. 2 reading: "echoed of" not "echoed oft" as in the S.Afr.J. The latter is preferable.

xx In this later version verse 2, l.9 starts "Could build", while the S.Afr.J. has "Should build". The former is preferable.

There being little likelihood that it is a joint effort of the two editors, the letters could be the terminals of Stephen Twycross, merchant of Long Street, Cape Town, and Treasurer of the Commercial Exchange.²⁵ The only evidence to support this suggestion is the fact that he was a foundation member of the South African Literary Society of 1824 and hence, it may be presumed, of a literary bent and acquainted with Pringle and Fairbairn.²⁶

The Stricken Deer (p.92), though unsigned in the Journal, is attributed to 'N.' in Stapleton's anthology (p.94). Its depressing pessimism would hardly support this. The motif of the "stricken deer", shunning and shunned by the herd, is used by several English poets but by none in such black despair as the writer here. Shakespeare's use in Hamlet is quite inconsequential, being a mere snatch from a lost ballad, while Thomas Moore in his Irish Melodies employs it in a lyric on the theme of all-forgiving love. The best known example, that in Cowper's The Task, Book III:

"I was a stricken deer that left the herd
Long since..."

may indeed have suggested the metaphor to the Cape writer but there the influence ended. Cowper's intention was to show how he was saved from "death in distant shades" by the power of Christ, while the other falls "in darkness to decay".²⁷

The satirical Modern Friendship (p.92) is a brief eight lines, also included by Stapleton, and Aux Femmes is a fill-up in French. On the Death of a Little Girl (Stapleton, p.39-40) is a more considerable poem but its chief interest lies in its emanation from the Albany district in April 1823 - according to the Journal's statement - which makes it one of the earliest examples of settler verse after Pringle.

PROSE

The prose content of the South African Journal, even more than the verse, is predominantly the work of Pringle and Fairbairn. In fact, of the twenty-four items, which include two fill-ups of eighteen and twenty-five lines only, thirteen are definitely by one of them and a further five almost certainly.

As John Fairbairn was the largest prose contributor we will consider his work first. His, of course, was the General Introduction (p.3-7), to which exception was taken by authority and of which some idea of the tone was given in Chapter III - full of scorn for the barbarous and oppressed, dogmatic in criticism of the foreigner and supremely assured in holding up Britain as the world leader in almost all departments. His style is rhetorical and florid but typical of the age.^x It abounds in such vaguely metaphorical passages as:

"From the shores of the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Caspian, the active spirit of commerce, with all the arts in its train, is streaming toward the interior, and awakening to a better life the semi-barbarous worshippers of the Czar."²⁸

In literary criticism Fairbairn is less pompous but not more readable. His considerable essay in this vein, On the Writings of Wordsworth (p.12-16, 107-117), extends through both issue of the Journal and was described by John Noble in his article on Fairbairn in the Cape Monthly Magazine²⁹ as of sufficient standard to appear in Blackwood's or the Quarterly Review. This may be so, though doubtless it would not have escaped censorious comment there, but reasoned as Fairbairn's criticism is and generally sound, it is nevertheless uninspiringly written and, to the present-day mind, prosaic. Of Wordsworth's style and descriptive powers he thinks highly but condemns the general content of the poems, the narrative power and character drawing - particularly that of peasant stock - as being far removed from reality. Fairbairn with his journalist's approach to the world could not appreciate Wordsworth to the full. He could not rise in the air with the Skylark or he would never have criticised in the following terms:

"In these instances (To a Skylark and The Small Celandine) the author, instead of withdrawing behind his subject, and reflecting upon it, from his secret stand, all the colours of the sun, stands directly before it, covers it with the skreen of his own self-love and tells you a thousand wonders

cf. Macaulay's Essays, 1825-1844.

of its virtue and efficacy, every one of which you know to be grounded in illusion."³⁰

We must however grant Fairbairn the honour of having recognised Wordsworth not only as one of the greatest poets of his age but also as being assured of a place among the greatest English poets of all time.

The review and summary of Mr. Bigge's Reports on the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, also in two parts, (p.35-50, 93-105), is unsigned but almost certainly by Fairbairn. It contains lengthy extracts from the original reports and is so purely factual that it need not concern us here.

The short article On Apparitions (p.62-4) may have been original when it was written - though we may doubt this - but today its explanation of ghostly phenomena holds little interest. In any event this item strikes one as quite inadequate and merely written to fill up two and a half pages.

His essay in No. 1 on Literary and Scientific Societies (p.50-55) is written in the same heavy style which characterised his Wordsworth. A short history of learned societies is attempted with particular stress on the part played by them for the freedom of learning and the popularisation of knowledge - topics not likely to commend themselves too strongly to the Governor. No.2 opens with a second article under the same title but dealing solely with the history of the learned society established in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where it will be recalled Fairbairn had been engaged as a schoolmaster. The only interest this account can have for us is its obvious imputation that the Cape should have a comparable institution, as was the editors' fervent wish.

Finally we have Fairbairn's unsigned Review of the Political State of Europe (p.163-6). Here we have him in his typical leader style which was to become so familiar to the public of the Cape in the South African Commercial Advertiser, with its rolling polysyllables and remorseless condemnation of all that smacks of despotism. The purpose of these three-and-a-quarter pages is to show how the high hopes of a new world, after the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of the monarchies of Europe, had been

brought to naught by the anti-liberal policy of the Concert of Europe and the Holy Alliance. His interpretation of the situation is very able for one at such close quarters, but it omits any mention of the cause of this policy - the fear of another revolutionary movement like that of France - or of the inherent danger that lay in a European settlement which gave no consideration whatever to national aspirations as opposed to hereditary autocracy. It needed the later events of the century and the first World War to reveal this.

How different in style is the prose of Thomas Pringle! - clear, straightforward and graphic, it holds the reader from the start. His admirable Description of the Zureveld - the area chiefly occupied by the settlers of 1820 and later to be called Albany - is described as "From an unpublished Journal, written in 1821". It is in fact identical with pages 10 to 21 of his Some Account of the Present State of the English Settlers in Albany,³¹ except in minor instances and two short passages omitted.^x The following is a fair example of his style:

"On surveying the Locations of the English Settlers during this journey, my companion^{xx} was strongly impressed with the conviction, that many of them had fixed their residence too near the course of the brooks or temporary torrents, which are apt to ravage the bottom lands and occasion immense damage to the cultivated ground in every part of the Colony; and he pointed out to me, and to several of themselves, the marks of former deluges on the trees and banks, higher than some of the huts they inhabited, or the fields and gardens they were cultivating; but as these vestiges of destruction appeared old and indistinct, the notice of them did not seem to produce any strong impression."³²

Certainly in this article it was only the settlers' ignorance for which he had any criticism and not their administration by Government. It is this unbiassed attitude which makes Pringle's approach to the problem particularly valuable.

The three pages of agricultural notes which follow, signed "E.X.", are likewise to be found in the same work where they appear as footnotes to pages 22 to 25 and 67. They deal with Rust, Bengal and solid stem wheat and the influence of climate on soil.

x It is also very like the description of this journey in P.'s Narrative, p.107-110.

xx Robert Hart, superintendent of the government farm at Somerset [East]. This journey was undertaken in July 1821. (Narrative, p.107-110).

Since the South African Journal, no. 1 was published on the 6th March, it is probable that the appearance of these extracts and of the article on the Zureveld here predates the publication of the book published in London. An advertisement for the Journal at the end of the book is dated Cape Town, 20th January 1824, and allowing for at least a two month passage to England this could not have appeared in print before the latter part of March.

Pringle intended to publish a series of articles on South African wild animals but succeeded only in dealing with the Lion in two articles (p.26-33, 151-60) based on his own experience and current hearsay. Hunting stories and accounts of attacks on man and beast form the main part of these, the lightest and most popular contributions to the Journal. It was intended to follow them with remarks on the Elephant.

In 1823 a valuable study entitled State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, by a Civil Servant of the Colony, was published in London under the editorship of Henry Thomas Colebrooke, a noted orientalist who chanced to have at one time owned property at the Cape.^x The Author of the work in question was of course William Wilberforce Bird, Controller of Customs, who must have preserved his anonymity well to maintain his position, for his review of conditions was not lacking in constructive criticism and the book was freely sold at the Cape.³³ Pringle took it upon himself to discuss this work, quoting lengthy passages from the original - too lengthy in fact, as he admits at the close that he had by no means covered the whole book. As far as he went he covered general administration, the law courts, the office of Fiscal, Landdrost and Heemraden, and the marriage laws - but twenty-eight pages out of the 377. Of some of Bird's criticisms and recommendations he approves but he does not scruple to say if he thinks these recommendations do not go far enough or that the writer is over-critical.

x Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837) was an eminent Sanscrit scholar and a magistrate in the H.E.I.Co., achieving the distinction of a seat on the Council in 1807. He returned to the U.K. in 1814 and it must have been en route that he bought his Cape property. He was obliged to travel thither in 1821 in this connection leaving again in 1822. He also published a paper On the Climate of S.Africa in Q.J.Science, 14:241-54, 1823. (DNB XI:282-6; J. Roy. Asiatic Soc., 5:1-60, bibliogr.)

As an annexure to this review an appendix to Bird's book is reprinted, the author being the editor, H. T. Colebrooke, and the subject the Settlers. Colebrooke, having visited the Cape, had some right to be mildly critical of the causes of distress. It was Pringle's own article On the Present State and Prospect of the English Emigrants in South Africa however that gave the most searching examination of the situation. The numerous passages here to which the authorities at the Cape took exception are detailed in a document submitted to the Commission of Inquiry as Annexure A to Pringle's Statement of Some Particulars Connected with the History of the Press in South Africa.³⁴ Quotation of two passages only will illustrate the dangerous tenor of the article and show that government censure was scarcely to be wondered at:

e.g. "And if the sums deposited by them [the settlers] as security for their embarkation, and their eventual settlement in the Colony or in that district the Zureveld had been returned to them as stipulated, to employ as they chose themselves, instead of being retained without their consent to be injudiciously expended on their account by Government, - if a more efficient system of defence had been constantly maintained to secure them from the incessant harassment and ruinous depredations of the Caffres, - ... many of them would have succeeded..."

Included among the causes of the failure of the emigration scheme are:

"2. An arbitrary system of Government, and its natural consequences, abuse of power by local functionaries, monopolies, restrictions, &c.

3. The vacillating [sic] and inefficient system pursued in regard to the Caffres."

Of the prose contributors whose identity is unknown there is in contrast to the foregoing a highly eulogistic article On the Capabilities of the Colony, "from an Emigrant to the Editors", signed "A Settler, Albany, Feb. 5th 1824." The degree to which the writer praises the natural resources, climate and potentialities of the Cape makes one inevitably wonder if this is another case of an editor printing a controversial communication of his own authorship in the hope of arousing a spirited correspondence. A long and strongly worded reply did in fact appear in the South African Commercial Advertiser for 14th April, also signed "A Settler".

A short article (p.61-62) on Cultivation of Tobacco, is signed

'D.'. Except that the writer was familiar with the method of growth of this crop, though he was over-optimistic about its future at the Cape, we have no clue to his identity. W. W. Bird in his book has a poor opinion of tobacco's chances, though a small quantity was produced in the "distant parts of the Colony" in 1822.^x

An interesting speculation arises from the article On the Rearing of Children (p.65-67, 127-138), of which two parts appeared and more were intended. This article is signed 'Y' and is avowedly the work of a medical practitioner.³⁵ Strangely there were several medical men at the Cape at this time whose names ended in the letter 'Y', including the celebrated Dr. James Barry, Dr. Samuel Bailey, founder of Somerset Hospital, and Dr. John Murray, surgeon to the forces. The one who most nearly fits the requirements in this case, however, is Richard Heurtley (1770-1830) who came to the Cape as a surgeon in the Navy in 1795 during the First British Occupation, and chose to remain here during the jurisdiction of the Batavian Republic. He signed himself 'M.D.' but from the practice of those times need not have held that degree.^{xx} He was later described as "one of the most successful practitioners in Cape Town", and as one of the oldest English residents.³⁶ He was furthermore a member of the South African Literary Society of 1824, so quickly to be suppressed, and had an ardent love of the classics, music and painting. He was certainly married but we have no record of any surviving children at the time of his death after a long illness in May 1830.³⁷

If the surmise is correct and Dr. Heurtley did write the article, he must have been a physician of remarkably advanced ideas, for the obstetricians and child experts of today would find little to condemn in his recommendations. Unfortunately, apart from general remarks, the writer did not get further than antenatal care,

x Tobacco has only become an important crop in South Africa this century. (Farming in S.Afr., 27(312):199-200, 215. 1952)

xx He was allowed to vaccinate by the Batavian Republican government in 1803 (Archives: BR82 Vaccination 1803). He died aged 60 on 13th May 1830, being survived by his wife Johanna Sophia. (Will 5/4/1830). I am indebted to Dr. Edmund H. Burrows, author of The History of Medicine in S.Afr., for drawing my attention to Heurtley.

but his advice to expectant mothers, regarding diet, exercise and clothing, must have been quite revolutionary. His remarks on baths are interesting and enlightening:

"I cannot well account", he writes, "for the prejudice that exists against bathing among the native^x inhabitants of this colony. A bath is never thought of till ordered as a remedy for the recovery of health, when there is often the greatest difficulty, even in Cape Town, of obtaining a proper one; and yet there are few things more conducive to the health and comfort of a family than a bathing-room."

It is to be hoped that the Colony benefited in a practical manner from such advice which included the advocacy of salt water bathing as a tonic.

There remains to remark upon only a short article in No.1 on the prevalence of locusts in the Graaff-Reinet district, and of migrating 'trek-bokken' in time of drought. This is signed 'Afer, District of Graaff-Reinet. Feb. 10th 1824'. Taking into account the slowness of the post-cart from that centre, which must have taken at least a week,³⁸ there can have been little time to spare for this article to go to press for publication on March 6th.

Within the 180 pages of the two issues a fair variety of topics is covered, as we have seen in this chapter, and we are fortunate in having a record also of what was intended "for early insertion" in subsequent issues. This appears on the concluding pages of Pringle's book, Some Account of the Present State of the English Settlers in Albany, as part of an advertisement for the Journal. There is no evidence of this list's appearing in Cape Town. The items include:

A history of the Cape in a series of articles,
Articles on the diversity of soil and climate in the Colony,
The leopard, the panther, the wolf, the hyena and the elephant,

x The meaning of 'native' is here purely literal.

An excursion to the Winterberg and Koonap River,
The Moravian institution at Witte River,
"The Travels of Peter Peregrine Esq. in South Africa",
Articles on astronomy, geology and botany, (Pringle?)
"The Bushman Boy", the first of a series of South African tales
Articles on the laws and customs of the various native tribes,
Articles on the progress of Christian missions,
The present state of religion and morality,
The connection between the Dutch and Scottish Churches,
Merino sheep,
The cultivation of tea, coffee and hemp,
Cape wines.

Most of the subjects promised in the Prospectus will be found in this ambitious list, including articles of a religious nature of which many readers might well have felt the want in the first two issues, "religious intelligence" having indeed been mentioned especially. One of the three intended items in this category - that on the progress of Christian missions - might have indicated to us whether Pringle and Fairbairn were prepared to champion in these pages the cause of Dr. Philip and the missionaries regarding slavery and the oppression of the native races. The declaration of this attitude, in view of their close association with Philip whose daughter Fairbairn was to marry, is an omission in the published Journal which one is bound to remark. That Pringle, who was so enthusiastically offered the post of Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society after his return to England in 1826, already felt keenly about these matters is clear from frequent allusions in his Narrative and from various poems that afterwards appeared in African Sketches.^x The impression is given however that while the editors' liberal spirit would not allow them to keep silent regarding the errors of government and the distress of the settlers - on which they knew they had the majority on their side - when it came to a social matter such as slavery or race relations, they felt it better to avoid alienating

e.g. The Kaffir Commando and the sonnets on The Hottentot, The Caffer, The Bushman and Slavery.

a large section of their potential public until the Journal was well established.

COMPARISON WITH BRITISH JOURNALS

How, we may well ask, did the South African Journal compare with its contemporaries in England and Scotland? In their Prospectus of 24th January 1824, the editors not surprisingly stated that the editorial plan of their periodical would be based on the magazines and reviews of Europe. It would be pointless however to compare it with the great Reviews, the Quarterly and the Edinburgh - Tory and Whig respectively - or the philosophical-radical Westminster, except to notice that the South African Journal more closely resembles the last-named in layout and general appearance^x than it does many other contemporaries, including the Blackwood's Magazine which Pringle had himself edited. The plan of the Reviews was to keep their articles inexorably in the form of reviews of current literature and the works of the most eminent contributors so appeared, often quoting extensively from the publications under scrutiny. Such a plan would scarcely have suited the Cape and a more reasonable comparison may be drawn with the other two great rivals, Blackwood's and the London Magazine of that day, which ran from January 1820 to June 1829. Established with the definite intention of rivalling the Tory Blackwood's, the London so violently attacked Lockhart that the first editor, John Scott, was forced to fight a duel in which he was mortally wounded.³⁹ At least the Cape editors did not have to face such a challenge, though in his later journalistic days Fairbairn came near to it.^{xx} John Taylor, Scott's successor and the discoverer of Sir Philip Francis as the real "Junius", was ably assisted by several eminent literary men.⁴⁰ Politics apart, these two journals were very similar in style and content. Blackwood's however strikes one as being, under Wilson and Lock-

x Single column 10pt. type with verse and quotations in 9pt., as opposed to Blackwood's double column 8pt. which must have been unpopular with elderly readers, though a common style for periodicals then.

xx R.W. Murray in his S.Afr. Reminiscences (p.23) recounts how the mob twice personally attacked Fairbairn because of his newspaper criticism - subject unspecified, though one occasion was on the 15th October 1849 as the result of his advocacy of the anti-convict boycott.

hart, more vigorous and entertaining than the more erudite and staid London Magazine. In neither, let it be said, is politics intrusive. Both published original verse and prose, reviews of public affairs and the arts and concluded with chronicles of domestic intelligence, public appointments and the like, as the South African Journal tried to do.

The first point of difference that must strike one in comparison with the Cape Journal, however, is inevitably that of bulk. The average number of pages in a monthly issue of Blackwood's was one hundred-and-twenty and of the London, one hundred-and-ten. With this available space it is not surprising that the articles published covered a large variety of subjects and were often of considerable length. The contents list of an issue of Blackwood's taken at random will illustrate most clearly the disparity between the South African Journal and its Scottish contemporary in this respect. The issue of August 1829 contained the following: my Landlady and her Lodgers [by John Galt], The Dublin University, Sketches of Italy and the Italians, Sonnets on the Scenery of the Tweed, Extracts from Buchanan's Epithalamium by Archdeacon Wrangham, First and Last Love (fiction), Sketches on the Road to Ireland, French Literature, The Old Gentleman's Teetotum (fiction), Review of the last Session of Parliament, The Watchman's Lament (verse), Canting Poetry, A Letter about Men and Women (by James Hogg), A Dissolution of Parliament, Monthly List of New Publications.

An issue of the London Magazine presents so similar a list that quoting further is hardly necessary. In most of the fields in which the above items fall, Pringle and Fairbairn strove, we can see, to emulate their great prototypes with an eye to the interests of their immediate public - notably agricultural - and partly they succeeded. Fairbairn's article on the Political State of Europe compares very favourably with a similar one in the London Magazine, which was if anything less forceful, and his study of Wordsworth might - as John Noble maintained - have found a place in one of the great Reviews.⁴¹ Pringle's lion stories are likewise as vigorous as Blackwood could require, and his verse is better than much that found publication in English journals. Further

comparison would seem unfair when we consider the mighty figures who dominated the British journals at this time - J. G. Lockhart, John Wilson, James Hogg and William Maginn of Blackwood's, Charles Lamb, Thomas de Quincey, Thomas Hood and William Hazlitt of the London. This was one of the greatest ages of the English periodical, which set a standard that failure to equal is small disgrace. The importance of the South African Journal lies in the fact that it set out to be South African and not merely an English imitation, and in this it fulfilled its destiny.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. See Miller (G.M.) A Calendar of S.Afr. English Verse Publications to 1855 (Q.Bull.S.Afr. Libr. 5(2):45-54.).
2. See Fisher (H.A.L.) History of Europe, Bk III, ch.9.
3. Ephemerides, p.122; African Sketches, p.66.
4. Eclectic Rev. 29:351, Apr. 1828.
5. Ephemerides, p.101.
6. Ibid., p.69.
7. Ibid., p.77. Stapleton, p.93-94, where its authorship is acknowledged.
8. V.17(1).
9. Ritchie (L.) Memoirs of T.P., op. cit., p.cxl.ii.
10. Oxford English Dictionary, note under 'assagai'.
11. See Howarth (R.G.) "Sisters of the South" (Groote Schuur, Univ. of Cape Town, 1959, p.19.)
cf. Australia's first poet worthy of the name, Charles Harpur (1813-1868) whose Thoughts was published in 1845, with the work of Henry Kendall (1839-1882) whose Poems and Songs appeared in 1862. (See C.H.E.L.14:363-5) and Leaves from Australian Forests, 1868.
12. See Spiller (R.E.) and others Literary History of the U.S.; rev. ed., 1953, p.900.
13. C.H.E.L. 14 Ch. 13, South African Poetry, by Sir T.H. Warren, p.374.
14. Don Juan, Canto III, 86.
15. Ritchie (L.), op. cit., p.xxxi.
16. Q. Rev. No.CIX, p.74-85.
17. Other studies of Pringle's poetry are Clark (J.) A Study of Pringle (S.A. Quarterly, Mar. 1921, p.10-14; Jun. 1921, p.8-11.); Miller (G.M.) and Sergeant (Howard) A Critical Survey of S.Afr. Poetry in English, Cape Town, 1957, Ch.2; Warren (Sir T.Herbert) South African Poetry, op. cit.; and Brink (André Philippus) Three South African English Poets; a critical study (Pringle, F.C. Slater and Guy Butler . Thesis (M.A.) - Potchefstroom Univ., 1958.
18. Ch.II, p.18.
19. African Sketches, p.97, no.121.
20. The Ms. of this, formerly in the Jardine Collection, is now in the S.Afr. Public Library.
21. Stapleton, pp.10 and 94.
22. Beattie, op. cit., p.337.
23. Ibid., p.341.
24. Ibid., p.229.
25. African Court Calendar, 1825.
26. S.Afr. Literary Society.Papers, 1824. Cape Town, 1925, p.15.
See also this work Ch.V, p. 82.

Notes to Ch.IV (cont.)

27. Hamlet III:2, l.289; Moore "Come rest in this bosom, my own stricken deer"; Cowper The Task, Bk.III, l.108, 1784. Cf. also Shelley "A herd-abandoned deer struck by the hunter's dart." (Adonais, xxxiii,9)
28. S.Afr.J., p.6.
29. C.M.M., 7:374.
30. S.Afr.J., p.15.
31. London, T. & G. Underwood, 1824.
32. S.Afr.J., p.20.
33. See Cape Town Gazette, Jan.3, 1824, Advt. by Bridekirk.
34. Theal's Records, v.17:464-6.
35. S.Afr. J., p.65, line 9 of text.
36. S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser, 15/5/1830; 19/5/1830.
37. Death notice (Master's Office); S.Afr.C.A. 15/5/1830 and Gazette, 21/5/1830.
38. Post cart times given in S.Afr. Almanack, 1829, p.164.
39. DNB, v.51:47-48. Article on John Scott.
40. Ibid., v.55:447. Article on Taylor.
41. See Ch. IV, p. 65.

CHAPTER V

THE AFTERMATH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL, AND THE NEW ORGAN

THE APPEAL OF THE JOURNAL

In considering the South African Journal retrospectively, we must inevitably wonder who read it and whether it gave the Cape public what it wanted.¹ Indeed, we have no assurance that had it been allowed to continue it would have proved a success, nor that the proprietors could in fact have afforded to continue it very long on the showing at the time of cessation.² On this question more will appear later. Both the editors declared themselves convinced that the Journal was a success and would increase in popularity, though fully admitting that they had lost money on the venture - a figure put by Bridekirk at over Rds.700 (£50). If the Journal had been allowed to go on, said Fairbairn, they were prepared to regard this as worthwhile capital outlay.³ In this connection it is interesting to note that the Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift, while having potentially a larger public (Dutch-speaking) with a fundamentally different background and outlook, at the start had the same circulation as its English counterpart. Within a year however it had doubled its number of subscribers to nearly 260, though even then, Dr. Faure admitted, it did no more than cover expenses.⁴ This periodical, nevertheless, continued to run until 1843.

The commercially-minded Bridekirk must not influence our impressions too deeply. It is clear that to him the whole matter was a business undertaking and before the Commission of Inquiry the following year he had no inclination to stand up for the Journal or its editors. He dispassionately admitted then that it was not a popular publication and had indeed declined in popularity.⁵ The sense of mission and loyalty to one's colleagues which held together Pringle, Fairbairn and Greig was entirely lacking in Bridekirk, who did not sign the petition for a free press and readily accepted a government loan in July 1824 to enable him to buy Greig's confiscated types so that he could start his own non-critical paper, the South African Chronicle.⁶

The potential public for an English language press at the Cape must inevitably be gauged from the number of residents of British origin. Among the Dutch population one would naturally expect the professional men and senior public servants to be well conversant with English - it was obligatory for the latter from 1813 - but it only became the official language between 1823 and 1827, and it has been estimated that of the total white population (including the 5,000 British settlers) but one in eight could at this time speak English.⁷

The English-speaking population was indeed still small. Hockly reckons that of the 47,000 whites in the Cape in 1819 - before the body of settlers arrived - but 3,000 were of British descent.⁸ Theal furthermore maintains that "before 1820 the white population of the Cape Colony was almost entirely Dutch. The only British residents in the country were the principal civil servants, some merchants in Cape Town, the staff of the naval arsenal in Simonstown, two or three farmers, a few missionaries and some mechanics and labourers recently introduced by Mr. Benjamin Moodie, Mr. James Gosling and Mr. Peter Tait."⁹

Of these last-mentioned groups, only Moodie's deserves notice as it consisted of two-hundred Scottish mechanics brought out most successfully in 1817. Gosling's venture with twelve boys was a complete failure and Tait's party was but seven men. English civil servants may be reckoned as some seventy in number;¹⁰ while the Cape Town directory for 1824 shows there were about thirty artisans, fifty-four persons employed in commerce and twenty professional men with British surnames in the town. Most of these went to make up the 1,209 persons who emigrated to the Cape between 1815 and 1819 after the final cession of the Colony to the British crown in 1814.¹¹

Then in 1820 arrived the majority of the subsidized British settlers, numbering about 4,000, plus another 1,000 unofficial settlers who came at their own expense. Of the official settlers there were 1,455 men, 795 women and 1,750 children, who were largely settled in the Eastern districts.¹² The Irish party under William Parker from Cork were temporarily placed at Clan-

william but had to be moved. Authorities differ slightly regarding the distribution of the settlers among the various trades and callings. Edwards says that 55% were agriculturists, 33% artisans, 7% shopkeepers, and that 2% fell into each of the categories of army and navy, seamen and the professions - a group which is made to include clerks, accountants and "gentlemen".¹³ Hockly more recently considers that only 42% were agricultural workers, 32% skilled artisans, 17% employed in commerce, 5% from the army and navy and 4% from the professions.¹⁴ These differences are of little account, as in either case the figures show clearly that the great majority of the settlers were employed in manual occupations and that a very small percentage were of a class which would be either interested in or could afford to purchase a journal of the type under discussion. Hockly tells us that "with one or two outstanding exceptions the majority of those who arrived as adults with families were so deeply engrossed in the struggle for existence to the exclusion of practically all other activities, that little attention could be devoted to literary, intellectual and scientific pursuits."¹⁵ Thomas Pringle, of course, was one of these exceptions, but the others, men such as Andrew Geddes Bain, J. Centlivres Chase, Rev. William Shaw, William Hartley, Robert Godlonton, Dr. A. G. Campbell, Dr. J. Atherstone, Rev. John Ayliff and Rev. J. W. Shepstone - all of whom were to leave their mark - were mostly young men in their twenties who were still finding their feet, and their day was yet to come. That they obtained and read the Journal we must at least hope.

In the western Cape the rough manual work was naturally done by the slaves, but while we have few details of the life and conditions of the shop assistant, clerk and artisan of those days in South Africa, we have no reason to believe - however tempting emigration might seem - that hours of work, half-days and holidays were any more satisfactory to the worker than in England. Government regulation of hours and paid holidays was still in the distant future and the only Cape legislation at all on such matters is that prohibiting Sunday trading.¹⁶ This meant that the worker arrived home late and tired of an evening - places of business

frequently remaining open until 8 p.m. or 10 p.m.¹⁷ - and, in a noisy, ill-lit family circle, attraction was hardly to be expected to any but the lightest of reading matter, such as was provided by numerous small English publications like John Limbird's Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction which sold at 2d. weekly.¹⁸

The most reliable figures for wages and salaries at this time are provided by Bird for the Civil Service.¹⁹ At the prevailing exchange rate, the Colonial Chaplain was well paid at £700 p.a. and the Port Captain at £530, but the Superintendent of the Printing Press received only £90, while clerks ranged from £37.10s. to £67.10s. Country postmasters received from £22. 10s. to £37.10s. The cost of living may have been low on modern standards^x but what clerk with an income which worked out at between 2/- and 4/- per day, would in a time of depression expend 3/9 on a literary journal?

Turning to the upper classes we have Cowper Rose's opinion that "the society of Cape Town is a copy of English society, and like most copies, catches little except the faults of the original."²⁰ As was pointed out in the brief survey in Chapter I, society was largely under the influence of the higher government officials and the military. Rose, himself an army officer (Lieutenant, Royal Engineers), did not see many of his fellows as having similar interests to his own. There were some 136 officers in the six regiments stationed at the Cape, and of these Rose alone is known to have been of a literary bent from his writings. The senior officers would be too much of the Governor's circle to consider kindly any liberal journal, while few of the others would have any deep interest in a wild country in which they were obliged to make a temporary stay.

Of the 130 subscribers to the Journal in Cape Town, one strongly suspects that the nucleus was those sixty-one serious-minded men who were subsequently foundation members of the South

x A few prices quoted in the S.Afr. Chronicle for 8/9/1824 and converted here into shillings and pence, will give some idea of costs:

Potatoes per bushell, 2/- to 4/-; Beans per bushell, 4/- to 5/-;

Butter per lb. 3³/₄d. to 6³/₄d.; Honey per lb. 4¹/₂d. to 5¹/₂d.;

Soap per lb. 7¹/₂d. to 8³/₄d.

It will be remembered that Cape Town had a reputation for being a very dear town. (See Ch.I, p.7, and note 27.)

African Literary Society, founded and suppressed in the following July, and of which more will be said later. Of these sixty-one a dozen might have been of Dutch origin.²¹

An attempt was made to form a cultural society for "promoting culture in all its branches" in the Eastern Province as early as January 1821. It met only once however at Bathurst under the chairmanship of Heemraad Thomas Philipps, and instead of enjoying a cultural evening the meeting spent its time preparing a petition to air grievances against the local magistrate.²² Nothing more was heard of it and this collapse gives an indication of the general attitude to such matters.^x

Much of what has been said regarding potential readers of the Journal holds good for potential writers and contributors. As mentioned above there were many among the settlers of 1820 whose names were soon to become known in the literary and other spheres. Andrew Geddes Bain wrote verses for the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette in 1831²³ and Robert Godlonton was editing the Grahamstown Journal by 1834,^{xx} but apart from Pringle and the unidentified contributors from among their number to the South African Journal and the South African Commercial Advertiser, the only settler known to have published anything as early as this was Irishman William Parker. Parker, whose settler party had had to be moved from the Clanwilliam district to the Eastern districts, held Colonel Bird, the Colonial Secretary, responsible for this initial failure, and with strong religious prejudice attacked him in a vituperative pamphlet, Jesuits Unmasked, London, 1823, and in Proofs of the Delusion of H.M.'s Representative at the Cape, Cork, 1826. These were published after Parker's return from the Cape and from their character scarcely warrant consideration as works of literature. In fact it would seem that the

x This same Philipps' letters, edited by A. Keppel-Jones under the title Philipps, 1820 Settler; his Letters (Shuter, 1960), give a clear picture of the life of a settler at this time.

xx Godlonton and Thos. Stringfellow, both printers by trade, brought a press with them in 1820 but were not allowed to take it on past the Cape to the Eastern Districts. Instead it was sent to Graaff-Reinet where Government notices were printed on it. Here is another reason for settler inarticulateness. Godlonton started contributing to the Grahamstown Journal in June 1832 and went into partnership with Meurant the proprietor, in 1834. (Meurant (L.H.) Sixty Years Ago, p.76-77, 91, 101.)

sole important work in English published by a resident before the appearance of the Commercial Advertiser and the Journal was W. W. Bird's reasoned and comprehensive State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822. Under the prevailing régime this book could obviously not have been published at the Cape, and Bird of course was a civil servant and not a settler.^x

THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH

To close the history of the South African Journal we must trace the events which immediately followed its discontinuance.

In the very next Gazette (22nd May) after that in which the stopping was announced, this surprising notice appeared:

"Any Person or Persons competent to undertake the publication of a Periodical English Miscellany, upon the terms proposed in the Prospectus of Mr. Thos. Pringle (annexed) will be allowed the use of the Government Press (Mr. Pringle having declined availing himself of it in future) and every encouragement will be given to the undertaking..."

A similar invitation was issued with regard to the weekly paper as produced by Mr. Greig, and the annexed prospectus was that originally presented by Messrs Pringle and Faure with their Memorial of February 1823 - that originally turned down by the Governor.

This final effort of Somerset's to pose as the patron of the press, and not its suppressor, met with no response whatever as far as an "English Miscellany" went, though Bridekirk, as we have seen above, readily came forward to publish the South African Chronicle,²⁴ edited by Pringle's successor at the Library, A. J. Jardine.²⁵ This however was not printed on the Government Press but with the types confiscated from Greig. The latter incidentally had been offered a remission of his banishment order but declined to accept it proceeding to England as soon as could be to fight his case in Downing Street itself.^{xx}

One last effort to continue the South African Journal through

x For a contemporary sketch of Bird see Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, July 1831, p.192.

xx This visit resulted in the publication of Command Paper 470 in Jan. 1827: Papers relating to the 'S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser' and its editor Mr. Geo. Greig, in which the foregoing circumstances are recounted.

the London agents, Underwoods, was publicised in the Gazette of 5th June in the following terms:

"SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNAL

The late Editors of the South African Journal have the honor to inform the Public, that they have transferred the Editorship of that Work to a Gentleman in London, in whose abilities, principles, and discretion, they have unbounded confidence; and that the Journal will be published by Messrs Thomas & George Underwood, Booksellers, 32, Fleet-Street, London, and transmitted to this Colony, to Subscribers only, at Twenty Rix-dollars per Annum.

"Literary Contributions and Orders for the Work, will be received by Mr. W. Bridekirk, Jun. Bookseller and Stationer, and by Messrs Cooke and Thompson, Merchants, Cape Town.

"The late Editors beg to return their sincere thanks to their former Correspondents and Subscribers; and to express a hope that the S.A. Journal will continue, under this new arrangement, to merit their attention.

Cape Town, June 3d, 1824.

Thos. Pringle.
John Fairbairn."

Of this nothing came, even if, as Pringle claimed, the demand for the Journal was greater than ever after the second issue.²⁶ It was indeed a bow at a venture, since Underwood and the "Gentleman in London", whoever he was, could not have been consulted by the time the advertisement appeared. Doubtless the idea was encouraged by Underwood's recommendation, quoted by Fairbairn to the Commission of Inquiry, that for circulation in Britain it would be more economical to print in London.²⁷

On the same date as the above statement was made Somerset wrote to Bathurst explaining his action in dealing with the Cape press and referring to Pringle's "impropriety of tone". "There does not exist," he further wrote, "a less well-affected man towards His Majesty's Government in all His Majesty's Dominions, unless it be perhaps his Co-adjutor Mr. J. Fairbairn."²⁸

To add to Pringle's vexation at this time was the belief - never confirmed - that the Fiscal had issued a warrant for the search of his house and papers. This arose, not from anything to do with his journalistic enterprises, but from a matter with which he certainly had nothing to do, namely the appearance on the streets of Cape Town of certain scurrilous placards defaming the characters of the Governor, Dr. James Barry and other prominent persons. In an attempt to discover the perpetrators of these gross libels, orders for the search of suspected persons'

premises were issued and Jardine, now in the Library, told Pringle that he had heard someone say there that he was on the list. The latter was never able to determine to his satisfaction that this was not so, though the Fiscal himself denied it before the Commission of Inquiry which accepted his word.²⁹

The condition of Pringle and Fairbairn's other source of livelihood, the Classical and Commercial Academy, now began to show cause for serious concern, the numbers dwindling rapidly. At the beginning of 1824 they had forty-seven day scholars on the roll. Between March and December no fewer than twenty-nine were withdrawn and the school began the year 1825 with a mere eighteen. Though naturally the proprietors blamed the official attitude to themselves for this, Sir John Truter maintained that he withdrew his grandson because he was making no progress, a situation for which he held Fairbairn's shortcomings as a teacher largely to blame.³⁰ The Commissioners supported this view. Somerset himself believed - though Pringle admitted that he exerted no direct influence on the public³¹ - that the school instilled into the minds of youth "the most disgusting principles of Republicanism - forming debating societies among the pupils and learning by heart and writing out extracts tending to those dangerous sentiments."³²

They were not speedily downhearted however, in spite of the turn of events, and the two partners were soon busy on a new project dear to their hearts, though not a remunerative one, viz. the establishment of a literary society. On July 11th a few gentlemen met at the house of Messrs. George Thompson and C. S. Pillans - both prominent merchants - with this aim in view, and Thomas Pringle agreed to act as Secretary pro tempore. It was resolved that a deputation including the Chief Justice himself, Mr. John Barrow and Advocate Henry Cloete should wait upon the Governor and ask him to become patron. Somerset however did not even wait for them to seek audience but ordered Truter to have nothing more to do with it. It was, he said, quite enough for

him to know that the idea had originated with Messrs. Pringle and Fairbairn.³³

Disheartened and penniless, Pringle saw no prospect at the Cape while the present régime lasted, and on October 8th he left Cape Town for Albany where he could at least live very cheaply with his relatives. Unfortunately a riding accident near Genadendal fractured his thigh and necessitated his lying up there for some weeks. During this time he was not idle but wrote constantly to Fairbairn, enclosing articles and even poems for the South African Chronicle, to which he had no objection to contribute, however much he might despise its publisher and editor at the moment. In his letter of October 31st he enclosed articles on Buku and Rust and a poem To Scotland. The article on Rust appeared in the Chronicle in due course (24th November) but the others did not find a place though the poem is included in Pringle's collected works as the sonnet My Country. Later the Chronicle published more of his poems under the pseudonym "Agricola". These were Franschhoek, Genadendal and The Albany Emigrant, which was dated "Albany, June 15th 1825." This last is not found in his collected poems but is an obvious sequel to Evening Rambles (1822).³⁴

In December he was sufficiently recovered to return to Cape Town to settle up his affairs as far as he was able. In spite of selling everything possible - including his books - he found his financial position even worse than he had feared. Return to England under such conditions was out of the question, so once again he set out for his family's location at Glen-Lynden, this time by sea. He left Cape Town on February 11th 1825.³⁵

After spending a month in Grahamstown he reached his destination in April. He was not content to remain inactive for long however, but took advantage of the visit of his old friend Dr. John Philip to the district in July, to join him in an extensive tour through the Eastern Province, meeting Andries Stockenström and learning much of Kaffir affairs, still in a very unsettled state.³⁶

Meanwhile he kept up a succession of letters to Fairbairn,³⁷ who, having suffered less severely financially, had no intention of relinquishing any chance of a journalistic career at the Cape by running away now. He must also be on hand to present their case to the Commission of Inquiry in due course. This chance eventually came in August 1825.

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY AND AFTER

The Commissioners heard evidence on "Mr. Pringle's Case" from 27th July until 4th August, beginning with the Chief Justice and continuing with the Fiscal, Advocate Henry Cloete, Jardine, Bridekirk, Richert (the Government printer) and Abraham Faure. Fairbairn himself was the last to be called. In addition they had before them a copy of Pringle's statement to Lord Bathurst, dated 15th January 1825.³⁸ All that is pertinent in the evidence has already been quoted in these pages.³⁹

The Report of the Commission upon the Case of Mr. Thos. Pringle was not issued until 26th November 1825, but may conveniently be outlined at this point. It was as clear and impartial as one could wish to find it.⁴⁰ The Commissioners had no axe to grind on the Governor's behalf and had no hesitation in condemning his actions when they felt occasion warranted. Thus, when they sympathise with his viewpoint, one need suspect no ulterior motive.

In refusing permission for publication in the first instance, they said, Somerset was concerned lest the Journal fall at some future date into improper hands and be directed against civil and political institutions - in particular the Established Church.^x The Commissioners did regard the Fiscal's interference as injudicious, since the topics in the Journal that were objected to were not controversially discussed. On the other hand, the Editors' course in suspending publication so abruptly and without further consultation, could not be regarded as "either decorous or respectful". It was this, they believed,

x Reading his dispatch of 14th Feb. 1823, (see Ch. II, p. 20), one must certainly gain the impression that he regarded Pringle as an improper person straight away.

that was largely responsible for the Governor's displeasure. The Editors' claim for financial redress indeed lost much of its force in being thus made so many weeks before the next issue of the Journal was due in July.

Regarding the stormy interview with the Governor of 18th May 1824, even the Commissioners admitted that they were at a loss to know its true nature, Pringle's and Truter's versions being so different.

Comparing the conceivable fates of the Dutch and English Journals, they were prepared to say that while the former might not have suffered from the exclusion of politics, the English one certainly would, and this realisation probably caused the increase of political comment in the second issue.

In the matter of pecuniary loss, the Committee found Pringle was not entitled to receive any compensation. He had stopped publication of his own accord and losses sustained before that time had been purely his own responsibility. On the other hand he should be encouraged to go on. The school's decline they did not think was attributable to the Government attitude - though it could have been - it was rather to be accounted for by neglect resulting from the supervisors' literary commitments.

The Governor's attitude to the Literary and Scientific Society was regretted, as it could not be believed that sedition could be talked among such respectable gentlemen; and finally the Commissioners did not consider that it had been incompatible with Pringle's duty as librarian to sign the petition for a free press.

Such was the official report and one must indeed regard it as eminently fair and accurate. It certainly did nothing to improve Pringle's chances of obtaining financial redress in London but it nevertheless in no way prejudiced the future of either Pringle or Fairbairn at the Cape.

The month of August 1825 saw the triumphal return to the Colony of George Greig, armed with Lord Bathurst's official permission to resume publication of the Commercial Advertiser within the self-imposed limits of his Prospectus of December 1823.^x Bathurst's authority had actually arrived in the previous February in a letter instructing Somerset to issue a licence to Greig and to return to him his printing materials.⁴¹ This second part was of course impossible as they had been sold to Bridekirk, but he had brought some new types with him and lost little time in getting down to business again.^{xx} He arrived on the brig Olive Branch on the 12th August and announced the resumption of the Commercial Advertiser immediately,⁴² Fairbairn naturally being very willing to return to the editorial chair, this time alone. The requisite licence was issued on 27th August⁴³ and the first number of the revived paper (no. 19 of the whole) appeared on the 31st. A mild rivalry existed between it and the South African Chronicle until the latter expired at the end of 1826.

Tringle continued to send letters setting out the case afresh but adding little new. He had clearly been allowing circumstances to prey upon his mind until the shortcomings of all concerned had been magnified. Everyone came in for censure, particularly Bridekirk whom he described as "that vagabond",^{xxx} while Jardine too, editor of the Chronicle, was severely rated. The agent for the Journal at Stellenbosch was accused of not having accounted for his sales⁴⁴ and even poor Faure did not completely escape.⁴⁵ Fairbairn was warned not to depend on him very far as his journal was full of flattery of Lord Charles.

x His path in London had not been entirely smooth, due to misunderstanding about the ownership of the press he had used - actually Dr. Philip's. (See Command paper 470: Theal's Records v.24: 123-31.)

xx Greig returned fully expecting to get back his lost materials (so he said) and took every step to achieve this end without success. He claimed he had only brought back with him materials intended to enlarge his stock. (Theal. Records v.23:17, Letter to Bathurst, 26/8/1825.)

xxx Bridekirk set up his own printing office with Greig's types on July 30th 1824 (G.G. 31/7/1824) and later received the contract to print the Gazette from 4 April 1828 to 26 June 1835. He also printed the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette (q.v.) from 1830. He sold his business to Richert and Pike in January 1835. He died a "capitalist" on 8 Sept. 1843, aged 47 years. (Death Notice.)

Later, hearing that Faure had been seized with an apoplexy, he softened his tone to the extent of admitting that it was only in the political field that he was not to be trusted.⁴⁶ The sonnets, The Nameless Stream (written at Glen-Lynden), The Cape of Storms and To Oppression, add to the picture of his depressed state at this time.

Pringle was also writing to Earl Bathurst direct,⁴⁷ to the Commissioners⁴⁸ and to Henry Brougham whom he hoped to brief in his interest. It was perhaps as the result of his at last hearing from Brougham in November that he decided to set out for England, come what might.⁴⁹ He left Glen-Lynden - this time for ever - on December 19th, and after travelling by sea from Algoa Bay, he spent six weeks in Cape Town finally settling his affairs and obtaining a passage to England. "Circumstances occurred (he writes) which with the kind aid of friends in Cape Town, enabled me so to arrange matters as to accomplish that purpose." - and with this cryptic explanation we must be content, though, whatever assistance was given, there is no doubt that he was still in debt to the extent of £1,000.⁵⁰

During this stay he had what he describes as "satisfactory interviews" with the Commissioners of Inquiry and the Acting Governor, Major-General Richard Bourke, who had arrived only during the previous February. Bourke's appointment was that of Lt.-Governor of the Eastern Districts, but since it had been strongly urged to Somerset that he return to England to defend himself against the accusations now being made against him on various counts, the latter had accordingly left the Colony on March 5th, fully expecting to return.⁵¹ Return of course he never did, though he did not resign his governorship until the following year.^x

THE "NEW ORGAN"

Meanwhile, encouraged by the success of Greig and determined to carry the idea of a free press still further, Fairbairn

x Proceedings against Somerset dragged on for many months, finally coming before Parliament in June 1827. His accusers included Col. Bird, Sir R. Donkin, Mr. Bishop Burnett and the Rev. W. Geary. In spite of all, the debate petered out and no division was ever taken. Somerset lived on in retirement until his death in Brighton on 20th Feb. 1831. (See Theal. History, 1795-1872, v.1:425. S.Afr. Comm.Advr 22/6/1831.)

began to formulate ideas of a new weekly periodical to be called the New Organ. He approached the Colonial Secretary - now Sir Richard Plasket - and found him quite sympathetic and prepared to accept a prospectus as an advertisement in the Government Gazette. This naturally gave Fairbairn the impression that no official opposition was to be expected.⁵² The prospectus, which appeared in the South African Commercial Advertiser as well on the 4th October, 1825, and was published separately on 12th November, was couched in familiar and ambitious but none the less praiseworthy terms. After discoursing at length on the value of public opinion among a free and enlightened people, and on the advantages to be reaped from the invention of printing and the freedom of the press, he goes on to say:

"I have therefore laid down the plan of a Periodical Publication, in which I intend to introduce Original Papers, Reviews, and extracts from the most approved authors, on every subject connected with the Improvement of the mind and the welfare of Society. My object is to put the acquisition of useful knowledge and sound principles in Government, Morals and Religion, within the reach of all men of every rank and condition in the Colony - particularly of the young, whose views and principles may hereafter deeply affect the Public happiness and prosperity, from the stations they may be called upon to fill. And my reason for adopting this method of attempting it, is partly founded on the great scarcity and high price of books - the deficient system of Education inseparable from a young Colony, and the opportunity it affords me of varying my topics and my style according to the circumstances of my readers..."

It must have been in October that Fairbairn wrote about it to Pringle, for early in November the latter replied dubiously: "I scarcely think they will let you begin - so I presume you mean in that case to give your organ 'another handle'."⁵³

The New Organ, with its aim as a kind of educational digest, was in reality a very modest publication when it appeared on Friday January 6th 1826. It was to be a weekly of eight pages (8in.x5in. only, price 4d. Greig, needless to say, was printer and publisher and so convinced was he of the legality of the situation that on the publication date he wrote to the Colonial Secretary to beg the same privilege of a reduced postage rate as applied to the Commercial Advertiser.⁵⁴

There was nothing controversial in the publication, but as Pringle had feared, official opposition at once arose, though of

a different kind from that which had faced the press in 1824. The Governor, with impeachment threatening at home, was but a shadow of his former autocratic self. The reports sent home by the Commission of Inquiry had not been ignored.⁵⁵ In addition, on 4th May 1825 an Advisory Council had been set up consisting of the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, the Second-in-Command of the Forces, the Auditor-General, the Receiver-General and the Deputy Quartermaster-General, with the Governor as President. It was before this august body that Fairbairn was arraigned less than a week after the New Organ's appearance.⁵⁶ Had he not been out of town he would have been summoned two days earlier in company with Joseph Suasso de Lima, the little Portuguese Jew who had just started South Africa's first Dutch newspaper, De Verzemelaar.⁵⁷ The charge was that neither had applied for a licence to publish as Lord Bathurst had made it quite clear must be done when Greig was allowed to continue the Advertiser.^x De Lima agreed to apply at once, but Fairbairn, when he came before the Council on 12th January, claimed that he thought the acceptance of his prospectus for publication in the Gazette had implied official approval.

The Colonial Secretary was quick to disillusion him. Not only must a licence be obtained, he stated, but it must be in terms of Greig's prospectus - the only one approved by the Secretary of State. Not unexpectedly Fairbairn firmly declined to do this; demanding to know since when this vague document had become the law of the land. He regarded it as far too limited. The Council in return decided that it was not competent to authorize publication under any other conditions than those stated. On the other hand any prospectus drawn up by Mr. Fairbairn would be submitted to Lord Bathurst for his decision. Pending this the New Organ must remain suspended. To this at length Fairbairn agreed though he would have preferred a general law to privilege.

The prospectus already published by him on 12th November was

x A proclamation by Sir Geo. Yonge in 1800 was also cited; presumably that of 2/7/1800 giving Walker and Robertson a monopoly of printing and rendering any other person setting up a press liable to prosecution.

in due course submitted with a covering letter to Bathurst dated 14th January.⁵⁸ In this he was quite outspoken. "I was not informed that the confused and inaccurate production commonly called 'Greig's Prospectus' had been made the Law of the Colony (he wrote)... until I had been at considerable expense in establishing my work..." The Council received these documents and declared - as was indeed the case - that this new prospectus prescribed no "restrictions or limitations" - only the general nature of the intended publication. The fact that they were prepared to continue negotiations at all and not to condemn Fairbairn out of hand shows clearly the changed attitude of the Governor and his officials.

The Commercial Advertiser of 18th January announced the suspension of the New Organ - of which only one number had been published - by an order of the Governor-in-Council, until reference could be made to Lord Bathurst.

On the 26th Fairbairn was again called before the Council and requested to state what restrictions would be acceptable to him. This he resolutely refused to do. He reiterated that he desired to see a general law and under present conditions would not apply for a licence for further publication. All the documents in the case were thereafter referred to the Secretary of State.

Bathurst's reply was received by the Council only at its meeting of 31st July and was dated 11th April.⁵⁹ He expressed his complete approval of the action taken on the matter and confirmed that no licence should be granted to any individual until he had submitted a prospectus for the approval of the Governor-in-Council. This decision was in due form communicated to Fairbairn whose desire for a "general law" was no nearer satisfaction. The Commercial Advertiser was to be once more suppressed and the editor obliged to visit England before the freedom of the press was to be finally established.

No further attempt was made to revive the New Organ and Fairbairn did not again venture into the field of periodical literature as distinct from newspapers during his long journalistic career.

THE LATER HISTORY OF FAIRBAIRN AND PRINGLE

The subsequent career of John Fairbairn was full of incident. He remained editor and later proprietor of the South African Commercial Advertiser until his retirement at the close of 1859,⁶⁰ fearlessly attacking what he felt to be despotic or illiberal in government or municipal policy, and such controversial topics as the freeing of the slaves, the anti-convict agitation and the introduction of representative government were subjects for his pen. It was in 1827 however that Lord Charles Somerset - still nominally Governor, though in England - precipitated the last engagement in the struggle for the freedom of the Cape press by persuading Bathurst to direct the Lt.-Governor to cancel Greig's licence to publish. This resulted from the appearance in the Advertiser of 24th May, 1826, of an article on the case of the Fiscal v. P.S. Buissine, former Receiver of Land Revenue, indicted for embezzlement and libel in 1823. The article was copied verbatim from the Times of 25th January, 1826, and attacked Somerset in no uncertain terms for his handling of the case.⁶¹ The advertiser was consequently suspended for a second time after the issue of March 10th 1827, and Fairbairn himself this time hastened to London. After protracted negotiations he succeeded in securing further assurance of freedom for the Cape press from William Huskisson who had replaced Bathurst at the Colonial Office. He returned to the Cape in time to recommence publication on October 3rd, 1828. An ordinance was formally promulgated on April 30th 1829,⁶² regulating the printing and publishing of newspapers, and this remained in force until repealed by the Act (no.8) of July 8th 1959, introduced into the Cape Parliament by Fairbairn himself.⁶³

On May 10th 1831 he married Elizabeth second daughter of Dr. John Philip, but their union was a short one as she died on May 30th 1840,⁶⁴ leaving him two sons and a daughter.

In September 1850 he was nominated as one of the "popular" members of the Legislative Council to enable the Governor to pass through that house the ordinances leading to the introduction of representative government, but with three others he resigned after only a few days in protest at certain limitations in the

proposed legislation. He was soon afterwards entrusted with an alternative draft constitution to take to London but was not accepted as an accredited representative by the Secretary of State. With the advent of Representative Government in 1854 however, he entered the Legislative Assembly as a member for Swellendam, which seat he held until 1863, though only in January 1860 did he manage to visit his constituency for the first time!⁶⁵

He died suddenly on October 5th 1864 in full possession of his faculties, and in his passing he was much honoured.⁶⁶

Pringle sailed for England with his family on April 16th 1826, and reached London early in July.^{x67} Then began four months of interviews and petitions to the Government for redress. There would be no point in our following these in detail for they inevitably met with a firm if courteous denial of ability to assist and culminated in a letter from the joint Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Robert W. Hay, on November 6th 1826, which read:

"You are aware that it was exclusively for your conduct as a settler that his Lordship felt inclined to hold out to you any encouragement; but as you have quitted the Cape you have placed it out of his Lordship's power to assist your views in the manner that might have been done if you had remained in the colony."⁶⁸

This "manner" was presumably meant to imply the making of a further grant of land that he might rehabilitate himself as a farmer - if that were possible. This then was the final official view and right or wrong it had to be accepted. Knowing now the Commission of Inquiry's considered and unbiased opinion on the case, we cannot be surprised that the Colonial Office took the same view. In the matter of the Academy no certain reason for pecuniary loss can be ascribed, though it may be suspected, but as regards the journal the loss was admittedly incurred before official censure caused Pringle to close down, and had he and Fairbairn been prepared to act in a more circumspect manner he might have lived to recoup himself, though from

x Their names do not appear on any contemporary shipping list but it must be presumed that they sailed on the Brig Luna, the only vessel to leave the Cape on the day recorded by P. (S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser, 19/4/1826.)

Faure's experience this is doubtful. It was not in the character of either Pringle or Fairbairn to consider such "soft-peddling" worthy of their calling.^x

Sir Walter Scott, earlier acquaintance and benefactor, was another to shake his head over the collapse of these literary endeavours but to offer little comfort. He was visiting London in October 1826, in connection with his work on Napoleon, and Pringle called upon him at his lodgings to leave some African relics to supplement those sent to Abbotsford in 1822. Unfortunately Sir Walter was not at home and there is no record of a further attempt at reunion, but Scott's comment in his Journal was not of the kindest, though it doubtless expressed the opinion of many:

"Thos. Pringle is returned from the Cape and called in my absence. He might have done well there could he have scoured his brain of politics, but he must needs publish a Whig journal at the Cape of Good Hope! He is a worthy creature, but conceited withal and hinc illae lachrymae. He brought me some antlers and a skin in addition to others he had sent to Abbotsford four years since."⁶⁹

But Thomas Pringle's career was not at an end yet. His earlier humanitarian efforts soon bore fruit and in March 1827 he became secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, the attention of which he had attracted by an article on slavery contributed to the New Monthly Magazine in October 1826.⁷⁰ For the next seven years therefore he lived in London, devoting himself to this cause and being intimately associated with such great men of the Evangelical movement as Wilberforce, Fowell Buxton, Thomas Clarkson and Zachery Macaulay. In addition he undertook such literary work as the editing of the popular annual Friendship's Offering after 1828, and of Hay and Belfrage's Memoir of Alexander Waugh in 1830. He also helped George Thompson with the notes to his Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, 1827. His own publications during this period consisted of Ephemerides in 1828,

x The theory has been put to the writer that in view of their pecuniary embarrassment Pringle and Fairbairn were in reality seeking an excuse to discontinue the Journal. No evidence can be found for such a view and it is not supported.

a short poem Glen-Lynden: a Tale of Teviotdale, also published in that year, and African Sketches in 1834, wherein his Narrative made its first appearance.^x

The final triumph of the anti-slavery movement in the summer of 1834 coincided unhappily with the appearance in Pringle of pulmonary disease. A return to the climate of Africa was advocated as essential. Earlier his influential friends had been unsuccessfully endeavouring to procure for him a colonial appointment since the work of the Anti-Slavery Committee must eventually come to an end or be very considerably reduced. Removal was now more vital than ever and a grant of land was sought once again from the Colonial Office - likewise unsuccessfully. So, with the generous assistance of his friends, Pringle made his arrangements to sail for the Cape on October 25th 1834, with no definite assurance of livelihood. As the date approached however, his condition deteriorated and he was advised to stay at home. After an attack of severe diarrhoea he died peacefully on December 5th at his home in Bryanston Street, Marylebone, aged 45 years and eleven months. He was buried in Bunhill Fields, Finsbury, the chief graveyard for Non-conformists before 1867.⁷¹

When the news reached the Cape, which was not till March of 1835, Fairbairn published the following tribute to his friend:

"The admirers of worth and genius will learn with regret the death of Mr. Thomas Pringle, who expired at his residence in Bryanstone Square,^{xx} London, on the 6th of December last, in the 46th year of his age.

With Mr. Pringle's reputation as an elegant Poet, possessing strong claims to originality, the world is well acquainted, but his last work entitled "African Sketches", published only a few months previous to his death, gives his name a secure place amongst the most intrepid and generous defenders of the natural rights of mankind. It is a noble addition to that species of literature to which Milton, after he had composed the sweetest of his immortal works, looked back with most satisfaction; and he drew from his efforts in that field, the high consolation and dauntless courage which supported him in his years of blindness and solitude, "when fallen on evil days and evil tongues, and compassed round with darkness and with dangers!"

x In the Cape Literary Gazette for Sept. 1834 (v.IV, p.134), the Editor wrote: "Pringle's new work [African Sketches] is causing a shaking among the dry bones in the Colony. It has been aptly termed a bunch of whip-cord; it must certainly prove lacerating to much of the proud flesh around us."

xx This is an error on Fairbairn's part as the Times for 8th December definitely gives Bryanston Street as the place of death. The Square and the Street are by no means adjacent.

Of Mr. Pringle's private character, it is impossible to speak with too much warmth of esteem and affection. An intimate acquaintance and uninterrupted friendship of twenty-six years, has left upon the mind of the writer a conviction that Pringle was the most amiable man of genius he ever knew. Steady in his attachments, modest, frank, forgiving, - we know not a quality of the heart that renders talents agreeable, and wit safe, in social and domestic life, which he did not exhibit in the degree most to be desired, whether the stream of accidents ran rough or smooth.

It should be pleasing to his friends - and they are all who ever knew him - to know that he died in the faith and hope of Christianity; and those who sorrow most for his loss have the best grounds for believing that their separation will not be for ever!"⁷² x

Thomas Pringle was not perhaps a great man, even if he had his touch of genius. He certainly had his failings, the principal being a lack of tact and caution, but undoubtedly he was a sincere man and a humane one, for whose example in the fight for truth and the relief of oppression we may be grateful.

THE CONTENTS OF THE NEW ORGAN

Considering the exalted aims expressed in its prospectus, the New Organ is a disappointing publication. As far as is known, the only surviving copy of the sole issue is that now in the Mendelssohn Collection of the Library of Parliament, Cape Town. There is no wrapper and no indication that it ever had one, which in view of its price is not likely. The first page bears the following title at its head:

The New Organ^x / [rule] / No.I. FRIDAY, JANUARY 6, 1826,
PRICE 4 PENCE. / rule

(x In Gothic type.)

There are eight pages, 19.8 x 12.5 cm., and with the exception of the editorial which is in single column, 9pt. type, the text is in double column, 7pt. The type area of all pages except the first measures 15 x 9.3 cm., excluding the headline (THE NEW ORGAN).

The type employed is the same as that used for the revived South African Commercial Advertiser.

A colophon on page 8 reads:

x It was intended that Fairbairn should write a detailed biography of his friend and to that end Mrs. Pringle dispatched to him a large number of private papers soon after her husband's death. Fairbairn received severe censure from Leitch Ritchie for having neglected this trust, but in fact the papers never reached him, being lost in transit.⁷³

CAPE TOWN:/Printed (for the Editor) by G.GREIG,/Market Square.

The Editorial covers the first two-and-a-half pages and in typical Fairbairn style discusses the criteria by which the moral and intellectual character of a people may be judged. These are claimed to be the state of the Church, educational institutions, the administration of justice and the system of government. The Cape is considered in relation to each and some improvement in the general situation noted. For Fairbairn this is a poorly constructed article of little or no lasting value.

It is followed by a lengthy letter to the Editor signed "Africanus, Cape Town, Jan.2, 1826", deploring the general lack of Sunday observance at the Cape, and part of another letter concerning the maintenance of the value of the Rix-dollar. These three indigenous items comprise nearly half the available space.

The rest of the journal, in compliance with the pious object of giving "extracts from the most approved authors, on every subject connected with the Improvement of the mind and welfare of Society", comprises excerpts from periodicals and other contemporary literature. In view of the rarity of the New Organ, these items will be detailed here:

- (1) William Tell's Chapel. From the German of Stolberg. p.5.

Seven verses of unknown and undistinguished authorship, taken from the Mirror, a popular London journal. Count Friedrich zu Stolberg (1750-1819) was a nobleman of liberal views calculated to appeal strongly to Fairbairn.

- (2) Stanzas: And where is he? not by the side p.5
Whose every want he loved to tend...

These are signed: H. Neele. Henry Neele (1798-1825) was a minor poet whose Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous had appeared in 1823 and had achieved considerable success. (DNB, XL, p.166.)

- (3) Siberian Peasants. Source not given. p.6.
(4) Professor Porson p.6.

A rather feeble anecdote about Porson's celebrated addiction to the bottle.

- (5) Mexican Mountaineer, from Hall's South America (signed F.C.N. p.6.

This was actually taken from Capt. Basil Hall's Extracts
from a Journal written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico

in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822. 2v. Edinburgh, 1824, p.189. The passage quoted gives a Mexican's views on the throwing off of allegiance to the king of Spain.

(6) A brief excerpt from the Dublin Evening Post commending the appointment of a Roman Catholic to a legal post in Ireland.

Catholic-Protestant feeling was particularly high in Ireland at this time due to the struggle for Catholic emancipation which only achieved success in 1829. p.6.

(7) The Library of the Seraglio at Constantinople. p.7-8.

This is a report obtained from Prince Constantine Carazza of Walachia and published in the Collezione Univers. di Scienze, Lettere, Arte &c. of Bologna, according to the Editor, though this journal cannot be traced. It explains the ennoblement of the Carazza family through services to Sultan Mustapha IV (1807-8), and declares that the Seraglio library was less important than had been supposed.

(8) Robert's Safety Hood. p.8.

Culled from the Macclesfield Herald, this is a description of an early form of respirator for enabling persons to enter gas-filled rooms.

(9) Charles II. p.8.

An anecdote of Charles II and Dr. Thomas Kenn, who, when prebendary of Winchester, would not allow Nell Gwynne to lodge in his house. (DNE, XXX, p.399-404.)

This then was the compass of the New Organ, and while varied, it must strike one as adding very little to the general education of the Cape public. Admittedly the intention was to produce a weekly miscellany, but even so one is left with the impression that, if this is the best that the Editor could select for his opening number, he must have had a most inadequate collection of contemporary literature upon which to draw. This was the age - as we have already had occasion to note - of the great Reviews, not to speak of Blackwood's, the London, the Gentleman's and the New Monthly Magazines. The South African Public Library - as

can be seen in the catalogue then recently compiled by Thomas Pringle^x - was already building up a respectable stock of literature, yet Fairbairn was offering his readers no more than the kind of oddment which had long been appearing and was not out of place in the South African Commercial Advertiser and the South African Chronicle.

Neele's poem is the only worthwhile literary feature, while the only truly educational items are those on Mexican republicanism and the Safety Hood. One cannot regard the longest item - on a Sultan's dragoman and the library of his harem - as falling within the field of "useful knowledge" for the Capetonian. Information given on actual works in that library is extremely meagre.

This uninspired effort leads one to the conclusion that John Fairbairn, while an able journalist and leader-writer, was unsuited to the task of editor of a popular magazine. The dependence of the South African Journal upon the editorial skill of Thomas Pringle - even if not vigorous enough for William Blackwood - is here made very evident. R. W. Murray, founding editor of the Cape Argus, in his South African Reminiscences, pays tribute to Fairbairn's literary ability, for while it may seem ponderous to us to-day, it was - as remarked earlier⁷⁴ - popular in his time. Murray is not blind however to Fairbairn's shortcomings, pointing out that he had no journalistic training and, having been too long a schoolmaster, was excessively dogmatic. Nevertheless, "Men," says Murray, "admired his writings when they did not agree with him" and, "he would have made a better magazine than newspaper writer." While remembering that Murray was attached to several papers that were rivals of Fairbairn's, one has no cause to regard these contentions as biased.^{xx} Fairbairn might well have been a good "magazine writer" of course, without being a good magazine editor, and admiration for writing

x A Catalogue of the Collection of Books in the English Language in the South African Public Library, 1825. From this it is seen that the Library took the Quarterly, Edinburgh and Monthly Revs., the Journal of Science, Literature and the Arts, the Literary Gazette and the New Monthly.

xx Richard William Murray was on the staff of the Cape Town Mail and the Cape Monitor before becoming co-founder of the Cape Argus in 1857.⁷⁵

for its own sake is likely to be more readily accorded to magazine articles than to newspaper journalism where viewpoint interests the average reader rather than style.

No effort was made to give publicity to the New Organ in the Commercial Advertiser, but for the benefit of the Dutch-speaking readers, Fairbairn published a translation of part of his editorial together with remarks on the freedom of the press and the two letters of local origin, in the issue of 11th January. The South African Chronicle completely ignored it, although ever ready to take up the offensive against the Advertiser when occasion warranted. In this case Jardine doubtless felt there was nothing that need be said.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. cf. Ch.III, p.31.
2. See Bridekirk's report to Commission of Inquiry, Ch.III, p.31.
3. T.P. to J.F., 13/9/1825, and Fairbairn's and Bridekirk's evidence before Commission, July-Aug. 1825. Archives CO.4454.
4. A. Faure's evidence. CO.4454.
5. Bridekirk's evidence. Ibid.
6. Cape of Good Hope. Papers relating to the 'S.A. Commercial Advertiser' and its editor Mr. Greig. 1827. (Command paper 470). p.20, 23-25.
7. Malherbe (E.G.) Education in South Africa, 1652-1922. p.57; Govt. advertisement, 19/2/1813; Proclamation, 5/7/1822.
8. Hockly (H.E.) The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in S.Afr.; 2nd ed., p.32.
9. Theal (G. McC.) History of S.Afr. from 1795 to 1872, v.1, 4th ed. p.346-7.
10. African Court Calendar, 1824.
11. Bird (W.W.) op. cit., p.354, Note V, by the Editor, H. T. Colebrooke.
12. Hockly, op. cit., p.32.
13. Edwards (Isobel E.) The 1820 Settlers in S.Afr.; a study in British Colonial Policy. Longmans, 1934. p.171-5.
14. Hockly, op. cit., p.31.
15. Ibid., p.153.
16. Cape Ordinance no.48, 1828, Section XIV.
17. cf. Altick (R.D.) The English Common Reader: a Social History of the Mass-reading Public, 1800-1900. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957. Ch.4. The Social Background, p.86-8.
18. Ibid. p.320.
19. Bird (W.W.) op. cit., p.332-7.
20. Rose (Cowper) op. cit. p.2.
21. S.Afr. Literary Society. Papers, 1824. Cape Town, Bridekirk, 1825.
22. Hockly, op. cit. p.68.
23. Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, v.1, no.10, March 1831, p.129-30.
24. Govt. Gazette, 31/7/1824.
25. Jardine was appointed to the vacancy at the Library on 28/5/1824 (Govt. notice in Gazette). His identity as editor of the S.Afr. Chronicle is confirmed by Meurant, op. cit., p.74n.
26. T.P. to J.F., 13/9/1825.
27. CO.4454: Fairbairn's evidence.

Notes to Ch. V (cont.)

28. CO. GH.23/7, p.162; Theal's Records, v.18:57.
29. CO.4454: Denyssen's and Jardine's evidence; T.P. to Fiscal, 11/6/1824.
30. Pringle's Narrative, p.204; CO.4454: Truter's evidence, and 4454/14 (School statistics).
31. T.P. to J.F., 13/9/1825.
32. CO. GH.23/7, p.185.
33. S.Afr. Literary Society. Papers, 1824. 24p. Pringle, op.cit. p.207.
34. T.P. to J.F., 20/10/1824, 25/10/1824, 31/10/1824.
35. Pringle, op. cit., p.214ff.
36. Ibid. p.227ff.
37. T.P. to J.F., 22/3/1825, 29/6/25, 19/8/25, 27/8/25, 2/9/25, 13/9/25, 14/10/25, 19/10/25, 4/11/25.
38. CO.4454.
39. Ch.III.
40. Theal's Records, v.24:1-22.
41. Somerset to Bathurst, 6/7/1825, in reply to his of 14/2/1825. (Theal, op. cit. v.22:173.)
42. Govt. Gazette, 19/8/1825.
43. Theal, op. cit., v.23:27.
44. T.P. to J.F., 27/8/1825.
45. T.P. to J.F., 19/8/1825.
46. T.P. to J.F., 14/10/25.
47. Ibid.
48. T.P. to Commissioners, 8/9/25, 5/11/25 (Theal, op. cit. v.23:401-6)
49. T.P. to J.F., 4/11/25.
50. Pringle, op. cit., p.352; Ritchie's Memoir, p.lxxxv.
51. Theal (G. McC.) History...1795-1872, v.1, 4th ed., p.425-7.
52. Theal. Records, v.29:234.
53. T.P. to J.F., 4/11/1825.
54. Theal, op. cit., v.25:256.
55. Theal. History, op. cit., p.425.
56. Theal. Records, v.29:233-9. The full proceedings of the Council meetings are given.
57. See Mandelbrote (J.C.) Joseph Suasso de Lima, 1791-1858: a Bibliography. (Q.B.S.Afr. Library, 3:2-22.); Meurant, op. cit. p.75n.

Notes to Ch. V (cont.)

58. Theal. Records, v.25:302-309.
 59. Idem, v.29:354.
 60. Noble (John) (Cape Monthly Magazine, 7:374-84, 1860.)
 61. Fairbairn (J.) Papers explaining the cause of Lord Bathurst's last interference with the press at the Cape of G.H. London, 1827.
 62. Ordinance no.60, 1829.
 63. Noble (J.) op. cit., p.382.
 64. S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser, 25/5/1831; obituary, ibid. 3/6/1840.
 65. Kilpin (R.) The Romance of a Colonial Parliament, passim; Burrows (E.H.) Overberg Outspan, p.188. For J.F. as member see Murray (R.W.) Pen and Ink Sketches in Parliament, 1855, p.6.
 66. S.Afr. Advertiser and Mail, 6/10/1864.
 67. Pringle, op. cit., p.354; T.P. to J.F., 12/7/26.
 68. Ritchie, op. cit., p.lxxxix.
 69. Scott (Sir Walter) Journal, 23/10/1826; DNB, LI:99.
 70. Conder (J.) op. cit., p.xxii-xxxi; DNB, XLVI:390.
 71. Ritchie, op. cit., p.cxxi; Conder, op. cit., p.xxxi.
 72. S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser, 18/3/1835.
 73. Ritchie, op. cit., p.x-xi note; Cape Monthly Mag. 7:360, 1860.
 74. Ch. IV, p.65.
 75. Cape Argus Centenary Supplement, 1957, p.6-7.
-

CHAPTER VI

SATIRICAL DOGGEREL AND A JOURNAL OF SCIENCE

THE CAPE PRESS 1824-28

For the next five years the Cape languished without any periodical publication apart from the newspaper press, though as we have had occasion to remark, the South African Chronicle and the revived Commercial Advertiser both printed odd verses and articles of general interest besides news. The Chronicle, edited by A. J. Jardine, has been disparaged in the past from the circumstances of its establishment and its lack of political conscience, but it was as well conducted as the Advertiser in other respects, even if the proprietor found that strict adherence to the conditions of publication allowed resulted in low circulation and financial loss. This position was aggravated by the necessity to pay interest on the loan of Rds.12,500 (£937.10s.) granted to assist the purchase of Greig's confiscated types. Ironically the paper desirous of supporting the government view also found a rival in the official Cape Town Gazette, both as an advertising organ and as one that could on occasion be "first with the news".^x

The Chronicle however managed to carry on until December 1826, sixteen months after the recommencement of the Commercial Advertiser, and even if the editorials lacked the rolling periods of Fairbairn, Jardine was capable of good writing and his leader on the freedom of the press in the issue of 2nd February 1825 is quite surprisingly liberal.

When the Commercial Advertiser was obliged to suspend publication for the second time in March 1827, its place was taken

x Correspondence in the Cape Archives reveals the difficulties in which Bridekirk found himself at the beginning of 1825. His accounts for the first three months of working showed that his expenses - £278.6s.6d. - were £97.14s.6d. in excess of his receipts. Circulation was 443 subscribers and an average of only 25 other copies sold per week. Jardine received a salary of only Rds.100 (£7.10s.) per month. In March 1825 he informed the Governor that he wished to sever his connection with the Chronicle as he had no authority over what should be printed.¹ That he did resign before the paper ceased seems certain. On the back wrapper of the Cape Literary Gazette v.5 no. 6, he disclaimed any connection with the Chronicle of Oct.17 1826, or later issues.

a few months later by the short-lived and little-noticed weekly paper The Colonist, which ran from 22nd November 1827 until 30th September of the following year. The editor and proprietor was William Beddy, a bachelor of arts of Trinity College, Dublin, who had established the Feinaiglian School^x in Cape Town in 1824. A licence to publish a newspaper was granted to him on November 5th 1827.² While being at no time violent or vituperative in his comment on current affairs, Beddy had no hesitation in voicing his opinions on two burning questions of the day - the need for a representative assembly and the abolition of slavery at the Cape. Law reports also figured largely in his pages. In addition general overseas news at second-hand filled two or three pages per issue and these occasionally included notes of literary interest, as for example an account of Scott's admission to the authorship of the Waverley Novels.³

The first 23 issues were printed by Bridekirk, but in consequence of his interference with the editorial side, which, according to Beddy, amounted to 'a sort of Censorship', the production was handed over to George Greig in April 1828.⁴ It is hard to observe any change or improvement thereafter - the quality of printing was definitely inferior - but notice should be taken of the Extracts from Manuscript Papers upon African Civilization which, ten years before the publication of Donald Moodie's Record, appeared in thirteen consecutive issues of the Colonist from June 10th 1828. Tracing the relations between black and white at the Cape from the earliest times, they are less biased and more historically accurate than Philip's Researches in South Africa which they just antedate, though they are trying to prove the same point. We know that Ds. Meent Borchers of Stellenbosch was working on the old Cape records at this time, but this survey must from internal evidence have been compiled by an Englishman.

Beddy, however, was never really happy about the paper, feeling that his editorial powers were inadequate, and so, as soon as Fairbairn was ready to continue the Commercial Advertiser after his triumphal return from London, he readily relinquished the

x A school in which the method of teaching was based on the mnemonic system of Gregor von Feinaigle (fl.1810). See Ency. Brit. 15:624.

SOUTH AFRICAN GRINS;

OR, THE

QUIZZICAL DEPOT OF GENERAL HUMBÚG.

No. 1.

April, 1825.

Vol. 1.

These *Grins*, so very strange and queer,
Every man of taste should hear;
For, by *Momus* 't has been decreed,
None but fools will neglect to read.

PUBLISHED BY

THAT MOST NOTORIOUS HUMBÚG,

Q. IN THE CORNER, Esq.

DISCIPLE OF MOMUS, &c. &c. &c.

"Care to our coffin adds a nail, no doubt;
"While ev'ry grin, so merry, draws one out."

PRINTED AT THE CHRONICLE OFFICE, HEBERORCHT,
(For the Author,)

By W. BRIDEKIRK, JUN.

Price, Four Skillings.

(5.)

II. The title-page of the first part of the satirical verses published by Frederick Brooks.

To face page 108.

field to him.⁵ Later Beddy migrated to the Eastern Province and became Clerk to the Clerk of the Peace for the Albany district. He died in 1837 when Clerk to the Lieutenant-Governor.⁶

"South African Grins"

Another publication, which comes within the field of periodical literature only because the author chose to issue it in parts at short intervals, was Frederic Brooks's strange effusion entitled: South African Grins; or the Quizzical Depot of General Humbug. Published by that most notorious Humbug, Q. in the Corner, Esq. Disciple of Momus, &c. &c. &c. This was printed for the author by Bridekirk at the Chronicle Office, and appeared in four parts in April, May and June 1825, as Vol.1, nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4. The first issue was sold at 4 skillings (9d.), after which the price was raised to 6 skillings (1/1½) per copy. No.1 (April) was advertised in the Chronicle to appear on 30th April, No.2 (May) on the 14th May and No.3 (June) on 21st May. No.4 was not individually advertised and was probably not issued separately, the first mention of it appearing in an advertisement of 1st June which urged all Capers to seize the opportunity of buying the four numbers of the Grins "neatly stitched and covered" for Rds.3 (4/6d.)^x, as the author was shortly leaving the country.

The contents are doggerel - frequently satirical and less often amusing - of the crudest order, describing Cape Town, its life and customs, and as such it has social-historical value.

"You mustn't, my friend, (writes Q.) expect from I, Flights of high-flown poetry."

And indeed after such lines this is not likely. As one would expect, many of his lines are in a condemnatory vein, though by no means all. He has a poor opinion of the Burgher Senate (Town Council) and its failure to improve the amenities of the town, and while he has little to say in praise of the inhabitants, he

x The complete work runs to 96pp., no.1 (pp.1-24), no.2(pp.25-48), no.3 (pp.49-72), no.4 (pp.73-96). The only known copy of no.4 is in Durban Public Library. Miller and Sergeant, op. cit. p.15, erroneously state that no.1 appeared in the S.Afr.Chronicle of 30th April 1825, on which date there was no issue. This must have resulted from careless transcription of notes. Publication was announced in the issue of 20th April.

steers clear of actual libel and matters likely to bring him into conflict with the authorities. His critical remarks even included literature:

"There's Burchell's dull and stupid book,^x
About which such great pains he took;
Its essence you may if you please,
On a sheet of paper clap with ease.
One chap writes down his notes so vile
And nearly everything doth revile;
And in heavy, dull, stupid prose,
Pulls every Caper by the nose:^{xx}
Another publishes the state
Of the Colony of the Cape
In eight hundred and twenty-two,^{xxx}
Which publication's not all true;
But the work throughout is ably writ,
And some folks in't are severely bit."⁷

A case of the pot calling the kettle black, if ever there was one.

"Q," was probably correct however when he wrote thus about Cape Town's reading habits:-

"Few people, I'm sorry to say,
To the Public Library bend their way;
Reading in short is no great passion,
Indeed 'tis not at all the fashion;
Unless 'tis to peruse the Cape Newspapers,
Which are to accommodate the Capers,
Printed in Dutch and English half and half;
'Tis true, tho' possibly you may laugh.
A Free Press in Cape Town's not permitted,
Which is a thing much to be pitied;
As I think, to this little rising state,
'Twould be an acquisition very great.
That which young men most require
They very rarely most admire;
Or Cape bucks the Library would attend,
And their understandings mend,
And fill their pates with Classic lore,
Which at present contain no great store
Of wit, and wisdom, and common sense,
But, a great store of pride and ignorance.
Sometimes when at the Library reading,
Giving my mind a moderate feeding,
A few young blades the great room enter,
And run to the table in the centre,
Turn over the papers in great haste
But finding naught to suit their taste,
First stretch their arms, then widely gape,
And then, out of the room quick escape."⁸

x Burchell (W.J.) Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, 2 v. London, 1822-24. Brooks's appraisal is of course quite ridiculous.

xx While one cannot be certain there is every likelihood that the work referred to here is Edward Blount's Notes on the Cape of Good Hope made during an Excursion in that Colony in the Year 1820, published anonymously in London in 1821. There was indeed little about Cape Town that pleased Blount.

xxx Bird (W.W.) State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822. London, Murray, 1823.

We can have less sympathy with the man who can stoop to parodying Burns's lovely lyric My love is like a red, red rose as follows:

"My love has got a flat, flat nose,
I long to see it soon,
My love is like a blackberry,
All of a sooty bloom."
(The Hottentot Beauty)⁹

The fourth part makes considerable reference to the voyage of the Enterprise, the first steamship to enter Table Bay. Ten pages are devoted to a fantastic encounter between the ship and an incensed King Neptune at the equator. The Arrival of the Steam Vessel Anticipated however reflects genuinely the enthusiasm with which the Enterprise was awaited, though she did not actually arrive until October 13th 1825. The rest of this exceptionally rare number consists of some of Brooks's bitterest - and maybe best - satire on the Cape people. The work ends with a scurrilous attack on Holland of all places, for no apparent reason save to enable the author to vent his spleen.

The identity of the author is revealed in the first place by a simple rhyming riddle which prefaces No.1.^x Confirmation however is obtained from a manuscript of part of the complete work in the Mendelssohn Collection. This is written in a very clear hand and has a printed label pasted on its cover which reads: A Burlesque Description of Cape Town and its Inhabitants, Printed for Mr. Frederic Brooks. A pencil note, presumably by a son or daughter of the writer, on the manuscript title-page reads: "Proceeded to the Cape in 1820" and below: "My father returned to England with Capt. Owen in H.M. Ship Leven in August, 1826." [!] As Miller and Sergeant have pointed out however, the Leven which had been carrying out a considerable survey did not arrive at the Cape until 26th September 1825, sailing for home, after refitting, on 16th November 1825. While Brooks could have worked his passage on her - she had lost many men on her voyage - the name might well have been confused with Lavinia (Capt. J. Brooks), which left Table Bay for London on June 11th.¹¹

x "But should you fish into a brook;
The Author you'll be sure to hook."¹⁰

No passenger list was published though vacancies for two passengers were advertised on May 25th and he may have occupied one of these.^x His departure was certainly expected, both from the advertisement of June 1st quoted above and from retaliatory doggerel which appeared in the South African Chronicle on June 8th entitled A Friendly Adieu to Humbug Q. It was signed "Hans Caper" and began:

"By vulgar rhymes and dirty jokes
You fain would quiz the good Cape folks."

and with no attempt at dissemblance declared:

"'Tis plain to trace in all your books,
The fountain head of filthy BROOKS."

Of Brooks we know nothing more. His name does not appear in the known lists of 1820 settlers, so one presumes he came to the Cape at his own expense or in some service.

The Grins was first advertised as forthcoming as early as November 24th 1824, and again on December 1st, but as recorded above, it was five months before publication took place. It would seem likely that the version surviving in manuscript, which is very much shorter and has considerable variations from that subsequently printed, was what was originally intended to be published, being later augmented and the date of publication consequently delayed. The variations are both in arrangement and in wording but there is nothing in them to suggest that this revision was made to avoid censorship.

For no ascertainable reason there is a variant also of No.3 of the published edition. This occurs on p.50 where paragraph 2 in one version begins:

"The Streets of Cape Town, ev'ry day,"

and in the other

"The Streets of Cape Town, you must know".

The former is almost certainly the earlier, as on the reverse page (p.49), there is a misprint - "Southern" for "Southern", which is corrected in the other version known. Unfortunately

x Miller in his Calendar of S.Afr. English Verse Publications to 1855 (Q.B. S.Afr.L. 5(2):48) says the S.Afr. Chronicle "lists" Brooks as leaving by Lavinia - this is not so. It can only be said that she was the most likely ship.

in the only known copy of the former,^x the next five lines have been cut out. On the other hand the lines in the second version are those of the manuscript copy. The work however is not sufficiently important to warrant further speculation on this matter.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL

The dearth of periodical literature was eventually ended in February 1830 by the advent of the South African Quarterly Journal. South Africa's first scientific periodical owes its foundation to the establishment of the South African Institution in June 1829, within a few days of the "re-establishment" - as its founders were anxious should be remembered - of the South African Literary Society.¹² Both these organisations received the ready blessing of a more liberal governor than Somerset - Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole. In fact the claim was made that it was at his behest that the Institution was founded.¹³ This took place at a public meeting on Wednesday 17th June, presided over by H.M. Attorney-General, A. Oliphant, Esq., when it was resolved "that an Institution be established for investigating the Geography, Natural History and general Resources of South Africa." Whoever first mooted the idea, it is fairly certain that the most active persons concerned with the foundation were the two Hon. Secretaries elected at the first formal meeting on 27th June, viz. Dr. Andrew Smith, M.D. and the Rev. Dr. James Adamson, D.D. Of Smith (1797-1872), who was afterwards knighted, much has been written and his celebrity as an explorer and a zoologist, as well as an army surgeon, is well documented.¹⁴ He came to the Cape in 1821 as a Hospital Assistant and gradually rose in the service after leaving in 1837, until he reached the highest post - that of Director-General of the Army medical department - in 1853.^{xx} He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1857 and created a Knight of the Bath in 1858. His position at the Cape in 1829 was that of Assistant Surgeon to the Forces and he had already become a public benefactor

x In the Mendelssohn Collection. This copy is imperfect, lacking several leaves. The missing five lines however may conceivably have been cut away to remove an owner's name on the reverse side which is p.1 of No.3.

xx Circumstances inevitably led to his receiving censure for the conditions in the Crimea but he was exonerated.

as the founder of a museum which he later handed over to the South African Institution. His major work, Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa, appeared in five volumes in 1849 and was made possible by the considerable exploratory expeditions in which he was engaged in the 1830's.

DR. JAMES ADAMSON

James Adamson, his co-secretary, was a man of many parts. The first minister of the Scottish Church in Cape Town, he was one of the pioneer professors of the newly established South African College where he held the chair of Mathematics. By all accounts he was a giant among intellectuals, though Ritchie tells us he lacked that quality which made it possible for him to impart his knowledge simply to others.¹⁵

Born at Cupar, Fife, in 1797, and himself the son of a minister, Adamson was already known as a mathematician from his contributions to the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal during the years 1825 to 27. He was ordained in February of the last-named year as minister of the Scottish Church in Cape Town - later St. Andrew's - where he took up his duties in November 1827. He was one of the founders of the South African College^x and his connection with the College lasted until 1850, although it was not always without friction. He resigned his chair of mathematics in 1830 along with Edward Judge, another clerical professor, on the issue of religious instruction within the College, but was appointed government nominee on the Council in 1834. He continued to hold this office even when he returned to lecturing in 1836, this time in physics. In 1841 he resigned his charge at St. Andrew's to devote his attention to the chair of English and Classics, and it would seem that at times he carried the whole burden of the College on his shoulders. His resignation in 1850 was due to a clash with another powerful personality who had arrived on the scene, Dr. Langham Dale, and to the impossible financial position into which the College had been allowed to fall at that time. He left the Colony and went to the United

x There is divided opinion as to who was primarily responsible for the idea of a South African college. Some believe Dr. A. Faure to have been the man.

States where he was active in the founding of a missionary training college at Oxford, Ohio.¹⁶ From April 1857 until December 1858 he was Recording Secretary of the American Geographical and Statistical Society - now the American Geographical Society of New York. In 1860 he returned to the Cape where he lived in retirement, contributing occasional articles to the local periodical press. He died at his home at Green Point on 16th July 1875, having been predeceased by his wife Catherina Hendrica - an Auret by birth - and by his eldest son Laurence of the Cape Civil Service, who both died in 1870.¹⁷

James Adamson was without doubt one of the most erudite and versatile men the Cape Colony ever knew. Sir John Herschel, who addressed to Adamson his famous letter on a system of public education for the Colony,¹⁸ described him as having a "cyclopaedic mind", while John Noble, editor of the Cape Monthly Magazine, declared him to be equally at home with the root of a plant, the root of an algebraic equation or a philological one.¹⁹ It was he who inaugurated the long continued practice of learned addresses at the Annual General Meeting of the South African Public Library, and his own discourses, we are told, were "remarkable as the outpourings of a mind rich with the spoils of many sciences and all ages, expressed in a rushing multitude of words and facts and fine imaginings." It is not surprising however that eloquence of this type was frequently above his audience's heads. The Hon. William Porter was moved to say that Adamson's "faculty for communicating information was less conspicuous than his faculty for acquiring information."²⁰ The writer of the obituary notice in the Cape Argus (possibly R. W. Murray)²¹ furthermore remarked on "some strange and strained defects in the intellectual character". One could not help wondering, he wrote, why such a giant had not impressed himself more strongly and permanently on the national life of the Colony, and one must reach the conclusion that this was due to "the strong, rugged, sturdy originality of his intellectual character". No doubt these qualities were responsible for the occasional friction that Adamson created, not only at the South African College but also in the Kirk Session.

To say that Adamson did not impress himself strongly on the national life however is to do him less than justice and perhaps at this distance in time we can more easily measure his achievement. Even if it was Abraham Faure who deserves credit for first mooted the idea of a university institution at the Cape,²² Adamson's work in the foundation and administration of the College would by itself be a sufficient memorial, but in addition he was remembered for many public services. In the religious sphere he was not only the first minister of his Church in South Africa but did much mission work among the Coloured people - particularly the freed slaves.²³ In 1837 the Governor appointed him a member of the Commission of Inquiry into the improvement of Table Bay Harbour, which resulted in the building of the Breakwater. The report, we are told, was written by him. A decade later he persuaded Sir Harry Smith to open the Botanic Gardens to the public and was one of their first Commissioners.²⁴

Though he addressed the Annual General Meeting of the South African Public Library on more than one occasion and was well known there, he only served on the Committee from 1829 to 1831 and again from 1834 to 1835. The Secretaryship of the South African Institution and its successor he held without a break for twenty years.

One would indeed have expected a man of his ability to leave behind some considerable creative work of literature or science, but in this at least he disappoints us. A glance at his bibliography shows him to have had recourse to the pen often and briefly on most of the many topics in which he was interested, whether ecclesiastical, educational, political, literary or scientific. His fattest volume was a manual of instruction in English and Latin grammar for the students of the South African College, published in 1846 and running to 272 pages.^x A manuscript preface by the author to the South African Public Library copy states that there were scant funds and few purchasers for the work, most of the students being supplied with copies free by their professor.

x A Manual of Instruction for the South African College. Literature. Part I. The Principles of Grammar applied to the English Language. Cape Town, Pike & Philip (printers) for the College: J.H. Collard, 1846. English grammar comprises the first 140 pages, followed by Latin, which has no separate title-page.

Another educational work in which he assisted was The Cape Cyclopaedia (Cape Town, 1835), edited by a schoolmaster, William Gorrie. Adamson both helped in the compilation and contributed to this pioneer effort of which only the first volume and a part of the second were published.

His most considerable religious writing is contained in contributions to another magazine, the South African Christian Recorder, published from March 1831 to February 1832 and after a break again in 1836. A violent attack from a foreign source on German Socinianism in the first issues of this journal resulted in considerable controversy in the pages of the South African Commercial Advertiser, and Adamson was induced to defend the Recorder in three articles published in August, September and October. A lengthy sermon by him on religious education appeared in the November issue for 1831.²⁵

One of his most interesting publications, in the light of history, is entitled On Colonial Government; being Reflections on the Importance and Facility of Imparting to the House of Peers Functions Representative Explanatory and Deliberative, as a Senate Universal for all the Constituents of the Empire. This was among his last works and appeared in 1870. His thesis was that there was no need to create a new body representative of the peoples of the then expanding Empire - as was being suggested - but that the House of Lords could fulfill that function by having among its members all Colonial governors who had completed their term of office. The idea is an appealing one.

Adamson could write fine prose and even those of his readers who found it difficult of comprehension must have read it with pleasure, though it erred on the side of the rhetorical even when not written for public delivery as the majority of his published works were. No better examples are to be found than those quoted from the Quarterly Journal hereafter (p. 120).

John Noble in his article on Adamson in the Cape Monthly Magazine¹⁵, already referred to, gives other notable prose examples, but when he tried his hand at verse Adamson failed signally. Fortunately his efforts in this form were few. Apart from a

collection of undistinguished hymns published in 1844 under the title Sacred Songs for South Africa,^x but four verse items from his pen are known. In general his verse is dull and includes too many transferred epithets and misapplied metaphors. Even more remarkable for a man of his erudition is an occasional lapse in rhythm which makes reading difficult. His lengthy poem The Lost Boat is of poor quality throughout its forty-seven stanzas - some of them are appalling - and one imagines that it was the fashion of the age alone which encouraged Adamson to publish such efforts.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL

With two men of the calibre of Dr. Andrew Smith and Dr. James Adamson conducting the affairs of the South African Institution as "Corresponding" and "Private" Secretaries respectively, it is not surprising that the publication of a journal to record its communications and proceedings should be an early consideration.²⁶ In the case of Smith however, we have good reason to believe that his motives were largely personal. Professor P. R. Kirby, who is at present (mid-1961) writing the first full biography of Smith, has reached the conclusion from the material in his possession that the latter was anxious to start a scientific journal at the Cape for the express purpose of publishing his own researches therein. It was essential of course for the results of scientific discoveries at the Cape to be published both authoritatively and expeditiously to secure recognition, and the only existing medium at the Cape - the South African Commercial Advertiser - hardly qualified as an authoritative publication that would be generally accepted in scientific circles. The delay resultant from overseas publication might also prove serious in the case of newly discovered species.^{xx} This conclu-

x Sacred Songs for South Africa, being chiefly Versions and Imitations of Psalms and Hymns in the Liturgy of the Colonial Church. Cape Town, Collard, 1844.

xx I am greatly indebted to Prof. Kirby for allowing me to quote this information from his forthcoming biography.

sion - as will be seen - is supported by the fact that the Quarterly Journal did not survive Dr. Smith's departure from the Colony.

The first notice of intention to publish a "quarterly journal of science" appeared at the end of October 1829, when those who wished to subscribe were enjoined to send in their names within fourteen days.²⁷ It was not until February 10th of the following year however that the first issue of the South African Quarterly Journal was published for the Institution by William Bridekirk, covering the months October to January and priced at 3/- for the 104 pages. With breaks in 1831, 1832 and 1835-36, the journal continued until the issue of December 1836 which appeared in 1837.

At no time was the editorship declared, although it was a policy to publish the names of all contributors.²⁸ All numbers were simply "edited at the South African Institution". In F. G. Stokes's catalogue of the Fairbridge Library in 1904, the Journal is ascribed to Andrew Smith,²⁹ and this assumption is not surprising,^x but while he would certainly have given advice and assisted at the delivery of the first issue, he was engaged in so much active work far afield during his last seven years at the Cape that any regular editorial work would have been out of the question. The mere fact that he was named "Corresponding Secretary" suggests that his association with the Institution was one likely to be beneficial principally through his scientific researches and his contacts with scientists in other parts of the world.

In September 1830 Smith was already finding it necessary to relinquish the Secretaryship, at least temporarily, prior to his "approaching departure for the Frontier". He asked for an acting secretary to be appointed.³⁰ Thereafter he was rarely

x Adamson's statement in the CMM, 7:153, 1860, that Smith "rendered the SAQJ a work of primary value in regard to the natural history of this region", may have been misinterpreted as implying that he was responsible for the editing of the journal rather than for its most valuable scientific contents. Speaking of the Journal in 1854, Prof. Roderick Noble stated it was: "edited, I believe, by Dr. Andrew Smith and Dr. Adamson." (Periodical Literature of the Half Century, 1800-1850, in S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 14 and 19/12/1854.)

in Cape Town. The Proceedings of the Institution for April 5th and October 10th 1831³¹ record the receipt by the Council of various specimens sent by Dr. Smith, clearly intimating that he was at a distance, and then in January 1832 he began his important expedition to Natal at the command of the Governor. Ostensibly this was for scientific purposes only but secretly it was to negotiate with the Zulu king Dingaan. He returned from this successfully at the end of June 1832 and again accepted the secretaryship in 1833.³² This year was to see the launching of the Cape Association for Exploring Central Africa.^x The expedition sponsored by it - needless to say under Smith's leadership - left in July 1834 and did not return until January 1836.

From the foregoing and from the absence of any specific mention of an editor by the Institution, it seems clear that Adamson included the editing of the Quarterly Journal among his secretarial duties, assisted by his co-secretary of the time who was, in 1832, Dr. Robert Dyce, M.D., and in 1834, 35 and 36 John Centlivres Chase. It is to be feared however that they did not have a complete free hand in the matter.^{xx} There can be no doubt at all that the Introductory Remarks on pages 1 to 8 of the first issue are from Adamson's pen.^{xxx} His beautiful prose style and great breadth of interest are here found to good advantage. He opens by explaining the object of the Journal, which is to put on record whatsoever of the papers read before the Institution "may appear of permanent or extensive interest; and an attempt will be made to aid the general purpose of the Institution, by collecting and disseminating such miscellaneous information, as is likely to be widely useful." Realising that the Institution was still very young he went on to point out that it was through the contributions of the many humble intellects rather than the few mighty ones that society was then principally advancing.

x The contemporary conception of Central Africa did not extend much beyond the present Bechuanaland and Northern Cape.

xxx The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette commented that they "are strikingly original and evidently the production of no common mind." (No.1, p.4, June 1830). The reviewer must have known well who the writer was.

xx See p. 133 of this chapter.

"It would be vain to say (he writes), that the season of mighty men had gone by, and that another such as Newton would never arise to shed instant and abounding illumination over mysteries heretofore pryed into in vain; but it does seem less likely, that any one should now appear entertaining in himself so wide a share of all human knowledge, and prepared to add so mighty a proportion to all that was known before. To surpass as he did would seem now to require an intellect even more gigantic than his own; and as the circle of the sciences widens, it must become more and more a wonder if any one should arise, prepared as he was to produce such conspicuous advancement in them all."³³

He then proceeds to outline the various fields in which investigation and study might be furthered for the common weal:

"But we shall find attractive and profitable information (he points out), not only in attending to the things which men have used or improved, but also to those which have been hitherto scarcely subjected to their power, or are utterly beyond its reach. There are every where such things to be studied, of which many materially affect our well-being. The kingdoms of nature as they are termed, animated and inanimate, abound with them. The races of animals which are extending for our comfort, or vanishing before our power, or those others which seek their transitory enjoyments in the air, ocean or wilderness beyond our reach, do or may in some respect exert an influence upon our peace, prospects, or pursuits. The energies of many yet unsubdued, may be rendered subservient to our purposes, or the ravages of the annoying or destructive may be prevented. In fact, there are few of such annoyances which the attention and skill of some practised generations, may not alleviate or utterly extinguish... But the history and habits of different objects must first be ascertained with greater accuracy."³⁴

He concludes with these typically high-sounding phrases:

"Canopied by a sky of strange and unsearched splendour; and nourished by a land of unrivalled interest; with fantastic mountains immersing their foundations in the seas and their summits in the vapours of a hemisphere almost unknown, it will be long indeed before the means of investigation correspond to the variety and importance of the objects submitted to them: and ere we attain the great end of conceiving adequately the wisdom of their Author, many and lofty must be the stages of information we ascend."

THE
SOUTH AFRICAN
Quarterly Journal.

No. I.

From OCTOBER, 1829, to JANUARY, 1830.

EDITED AT THE
SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

CAPE TOWN:
PUBLISHED BY W. BRIDEKIRK, HEERGRACHT;
AND BY
J. M. RICHARDSON, 23, CORNHILL, LONDON.

1830.

III. The inner title-page of the first issue of
South Africa's earliest scientific journal.
To face page 121.

Bibliographical Description of the South African
Quarterly Journal^x

[Vol.I] No.1 - No.4, 1829-30.

Issued in grey-green wrappers printed as follows:

The / South African / Quarterly Journal / [double rule] /
No.I / From October, 1829, to January, 1830. / [ornament] /
Edited at the / South African Institution. / [double rule] /
Cape Town: / Published by W. Bridekirk, Heeregracht; / and by /
J.M. Richardson, xx 23, Cornhill, London. / [rule] / 1830.
Price, Three Shillings.
[All within a frame.]

Wrappers of Nos.1-3 reinforced on inside with coarse white paper. No.1 has Notice inside front wrapper; no.2 has longer Notice inside front and advertisement for Mr Macartney's lectures inside back; No.3 has Notices inside front. Other insides blank.

Outside of back wrappers lists contents of issue.

No.1 only has inside title-page with similar wording to above but no frame or price.

Issues numbered and dated as follows:

- No.I. From Oct. 1829 to Jan. 1830 (Published Feb.10.)
(pp. [i] ,104. Rules and regulations of S.Afr. Institution, 1830, 7p. at end.)
- No.II. From Jan. to April 1830 (Advertised to be
(pp. [i] , [105] -224, [iii] List of (published April 1
subscribers at end.) (but probably delayed till May.)
- No.III. From April to July 1830 (Published July 5.)
(half-title: April to June)
(pp. [i] , [225] -344.)
- No.IV. From July to Sept. 1830 (Advertised for Oct.
(pp.345-464.) (1 but publication date uncertain.)
- 4to. A - Z⁴, Aa - Zz⁴, 3A - 3M⁴.

Maximum size of uncut copy: 23 x 15 cm.

Vol.I No.5, 1831.

Issued in bright green wrappers printed as follows:

The / South African / Quarterly Journal. / [double rule] /
No.V / October 1831. / [ornament] / Edited at / The South African
Institution / [double rule] / Cape Town: / Published by George
Greig, Keizersgracht; / and / J.M. Richardson, 23, Cornhill,
London. / 1832. / Price, Three Shillings.
[All within a frame.]

x Based on unbound and uncut copy in Grey Collection, S.Afr. Public Library.

xx James Mallcott Richardson (1771?-1854) was a freeman and later a liveryman of the Stationers' Company. He was also a sworn broker, licensed in 1811. He remained in business, in company with his relatives Pelham and Guildford Richardson, until his death in March 1854 at the age of 83. His selection as London agent may have been due to his being known as the bookseller through whom the S.Afr. Public Library had been buying since Oct.1824. Adamson was on the Library Committee when the SAQJ was established. Richardson continued in this capacity until dissatisfaction with his service ended the arrangement in July 1848. He handled other Cape publications, notably Donald Moodie's Record, and Correspondence between Donald Moodie and the Rev. John Philip, D.D., both published in 1841.³⁵

Inside of wrappers blank. Contents of issue on back wrapper.

8vo. B - I⁸, K², [L]¹, [M]². pp. [9] - 140, [vi] .

Maximum size of uncut copy: 22 x 14 cm.

[L] 1^a, Title-page to Vol.I; [M] 1^a-2^b, Alphabetical Index to / Vol.I / [Nos.I-IV] .

Title-page reads:

The / South African / Quarterly Journal. / [ornament] / Edited at / The South African Institution. / [ornament] / Vol.I / From October 1829, to September 1830. / [ornament] / Cape Town: / Published by George Greig, Keizersgracht; / and / J.M. Richardson, 23, Cornhill, London. / [rule] / 1830.

While No.V must be regarded as the last part of Vol.I, it was printed by George Greig instead of Bridekirk after a lapse of time, which accounts for independent page numbering. Apology for error in starting at p.9 is made at foot of p.140.

Second Series Vol.II , 1833-1836.

Issued in blue wrappers printed as follows:

The / South African / Quarterly Journal. / [rule] / Second Series. / No.1 / [wavy rule] / October-December, 1833. / [wavy rule] / Edited at the South African Institution. / [rule] / Published in monthly parts. / Part I. / [rule] / Cape Town: / Printed and published by George Greig, / Keizersgracht, / [rule] / 1833. [No frame.]

The following variations in wording occur:

No.2, Pt.II - No.4, Pt.I have: "Heeregracht" for "Keizersgracht".
No.4, Pts.II - III omit "Printed and Published by".
For final issue see below.

Inside wrappers and back cover blank.

Issues numbered and dated as follows:

- No.1. October - December, 1833.
 - Pt.I. pp. [i]-32. Addenda slip^x to face p.16.)
 - Pt.II. pp. [33] -64.)
 - Pt.III. pp. [65] -96.)
- No.2. January - March, 1834.
 - Pt.I. (pp. [97] -128.)
 - Pt.II. pp. [129] -160, 1 plate^{xx} to face p.144.)
 - (Wrapper misprinted Pt.III.)
 - Pt.III. (pp. [161] -192.)
- No.3. April - June, 1834.
 - Pt.I. (pp. [193] -224.)
 - Pt.II. (pp. [225] -256.)
 - Pt.III. (pp. [257] -288.)
- No.4. July - September, 1834.
 - Pt.I. (pp. [289] -320.)
 - Pt.II. (pp. [321] -352.)
 - Pt.III. (pp. [353] -388, [iii], 1 folding table to face p.361.)
 - (Half-title: September, 1835.)

x Note on method of indicating teeth in mammals.
xx "Brachydactylus Typicus".

4to. A - Z⁴, Aa - Rr⁴, 2s - 3c⁴.

Maximum size of uncut copy: 23 x 15 cm. (No.4, Pt.III, 22.8 x 14.5 cm.)

No.4, Pt.III includes: 3c^{3a}, Index to Vol.II; 3c^{3b}, Contents of No.V, First Series; 3c^{4a}, Title-page to Vol.II; 3c^{4b}, blank.

Title-page to Vol.II concludes:

...Edited at / The South African Literary and Scientific Institution. / Vol.II. / September 1835. / [ornament] / Cape Town: / Printed at the 'Albion Press', Grave-street; / and Published by A.S. Robertson, Shortmarket-street; / and / J.M. Richardson, 23, Cornhill, London.

Note at foot of 3c^{3b}: Printed at the "Gazette Office".

Final issue, December 1836.

Issued in blue wrappers printed as before but concluding:

...Second Series. / No.1. / [wavy rule] / December, 1836. / [wavy rule] / Edited at the / South African Institution. / [rule] Published in monthly parts. / Part I. / [rule] / Cape Town: / Printed and Published at the "Gazette Office", / Grave-Street. / [rule] / 1837.

Inside and back of wrappers blank.

4to. A - D⁴. pp. [1] - 32.

Maximum size of uncut copy: 23 x 14.8 cm.

Note on Printers of Vol.II.

Up to No.4, Pt.II, 1834, the Quarterly Journal was printed and published by George Greig. At the end of June 1835 however he announced his withdrawal from the printing and retail trade with the intention of confining himself to wholesale business. At the same time he sold his interest in the South African Commercial Advertiser to Fairbairn. His retail business he disposed of to Archibald Shaw Robertson whom he recommended to his former customers as one of whom he had had experience for eight or nine years.³⁶ As there is no indication of Robertson being in business at the Cape before 1834, it is very possible that he had been in Greig's employ and, in view of the period of years mentioned, one whom he had brought back with him after his successful visit to England in 1825.

The proprietor of the Albion Press, 1, Grave-street (now Parliament Street), who took over Greig's active printing business, was Samuel John Mollett who had previously been Bridekirk's foreman and was one of four printers who came out with the British settlers of 1820.³⁷ He printed not only this work and the South

African Commercial Advertiser, but the Government Gazette after Bridekirk retired, also at the end of June 1835. The Albion Press and the Gazette Office thus became one and the same. There is a strong probability however that Greig maintained a controlling interest in the press, for while his name does not appear in imprints or colophons after this date, he is known to have held government contracts for printing up till 1856 when he went bankrupt.³⁸ He traded in Cape Town as George Greig & Co., merchants, but gave up permanent residence there in 1843 when he returned to London.³⁹ A George Greig, merchant, of George Yard, Lombard Street, appears in the London directory as late as 1871 and may have been he, but when his eldest son George Alexander died in January 1875, he was described as "the late".⁴⁰

Clearly the blue wrappers for No.4, Pt.III of the Quarterly Journal were run off by Greig in 1834 when it was expected that Part III would soon follow Part II. For reasons which will become apparent, the publication of Part III was much delayed and by the time it did appear Greig had retired from the scene.

THE CONTENTS OF THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL AND ITS LATER HISTORY

The South African Quarterly Journal started off in fine style, the first issue running to as many as 104 pages. The general style of presentation compares very favourably with such scientific journals as the Philosophical Magazine and the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal. Contributions included the first part of Andrew Smith's systematic work on South African birds, which was to continue throughout the next three issues, an account of the earthquakes of 1809 at the Cape by W. L. von Buchen-

röder,^x a translation of Simon van der Stel's Namaqualand diary of 1685, also by von Buchenröder, sketches of South African botany by James Bowie,^{xx} an account of the Rios de Sena district of Portuguese East Africa, brought back by Capt. Owen of the Leven and communicated by A. J. Jardine, and a description of two new fishes by Dr. W. D. Webster of H.M.S. Chanticleer.

Von Buchenröder was no great writer of English but his contributions are unquestionably interesting and valuable records. Where he obtained the copy of van der Stel's Namaqualand journal is a mystery however. According to Professor Gilbert Waterhouse, editor of the standard translation,⁴⁵ the original was lost from the Dutch East India Company's archives in the 18th century and was acquired by Trinity College, Dublin, in 1795, to be rediscovered by him in the Library in 1922. There is no copy today in the Cape Archives. A glaring error in the first line of von Buchenröder's version - 3 o'clock for 10 o'clock - and a lesser divergence - 56 white men for 57 - a few lines later, suggests that he was working from an inaccurate copy. The facsimile of the MS. published by Waterhouse in his edition shows the original to be perfectly clear.⁴⁶

The second issue, for January to April 1830, was of equally high standard containing articles by Daniel Cloete of Constantia on the culture of the vine and wine-making, and on Delagoa Bay by an anonymous officer from H.M.S. Leven, communicated

x Wilhelm Ludwig von Buchenröder (c.1783-1846) was the eldest son of Baron Friedrich von Buchenröder, an ex-major in the Dutch army who had come to the Cape with his family in 1803 to organise the settlement of Dutch labourers. His venture had been a failure but when he returned to Holland, his family which had become estranged from him, remained behind. Wilhelm, who did not use the title, saw service as a lieutenant in the Hottentotsche Infanterie and would have been present at the Battle of Blaauwberg, 1806.⁴¹ By the 1820's he was a respected colonist in the Bethelsdorp district near Port Elizabeth. He died on 19/11/1846 aged 63, at his estate "Perseverance" on the Zwartkops River.⁴² His friend and executor, John Centlivres Chase, wrote of him: "His intellectual powers extensive knowledge of the affairs of the Colony, his amiability of temper and gentlemanly manner, rendered him a special favorite with all those who had the pleasure of his friendship or acquaintance."⁴³

xx James Bowie, botanist, first came to the Cape as a young man in 1817 being then collector of seeds and plants for Kew Gardens. He left in 1822 but returned in 1827 privately. Though his work was clearly held in some repute at the time - he contributed four papers to the S.Afr.Q.J. - his subsequent career has been described as "a wasted life". He died in 1869.⁴⁴

by Jardine. More important was an article by Andrew Smith on the Origin and History of the Bushmen which while not particularly well written was of sufficient value to warrant its being reprinted in the Philosophical Magazine of London.⁴⁷

Other well-known Cape names which appear in the first volume are Ds. Meent Borchers, Dr. George Thom, A. J. Jardine, J. Centlivres Chase and Andrew Geddes Bain. Borchers (1762-1832), the celebrated predikant of Stellenbosch, was the first writer to have a poem printed and published at the Cape, viz. his De Maan which was printed on the Government Press in 1802.^x His contribution to the South African Quarterly Journal was entitled An Historical Account of the Formation, Progress and Present State of the European Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. It appeared in two numbers (3 and 4) only and covered the first two years of van Riebeeck's settlement, summarised from the Dagboek and the records of the Council of Policy. It was not the first attempt at a history of South Africa - that honour must go to Joseph Suasso de Lima's Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika which was published in catechistic form in 1825 - but it was certainly the first to make use of original source material.^{xx} Part of the first instalment, it may be remarked, had already been published in the Colonist some two years previously.⁴⁸

Dr. George Thom - one of the Scottish ministers of religion brought to this country by Lord Charles Somerset and one who was later responsible for recruiting teachers to staff the new English schools at the Cape^{xxx} - was at Tulbagh at this time. There he had ample opportunity to indulge an interest in geology and to him goes the honour of presenting the first paper on this subject in this country.

x Reprinted, 1857.

xx The writer of his obituary in Ned.Z.A. Tijdschr., dl.9,p.143, stated: "In 1828 begon hem het verlangen te bezielen, om eene algemeene historie uit de archiven der Kolonie byeen te brengen, en access verkregen hebbende, sorteerde hy ter Koloniale Secretary en elders de benoogdigde materialen, nam dezelve naar zyn stil landverblyf, ontstofte het reeds verouderde kled van den Grondlegger der Kolonie, den verdienstelyken van Riebeeck, en hy onttrok der vergetelheid ten minste de eerste jaren (1652 tot 1673) een gedeelte waarvan verkort gedrukt is in The South African Journal [sic] van 1830."

xxx Thom was on leave in Great Britain in 1820-22 after which he brought back several teachers and Rev. Andrew Murray, Sr. He retired in 1833 and died in 1842.⁵⁰

Alexander Johnstone Jardine, whom we have already had occasion to mention and will have again,^x showed his considerable ability as a writer in Observations on the Seal-fishing of the Colony and some of the physiological Peculiarities of Seals with Remarks on Dyer's Islands. These islands lie off the Cape coast a few miles south-east of Danger Point and were named after Sampson Dyer, an American Negro, who first made use of them and lived close by in the early part of the 19th century. In 1824, Jardine, who unfortunately did not date his letter, wrote to the Colonial Secretary urging the Government to take an interest in Dyer's Islands.⁴⁹ This letter and the article here indicate an acquaintance with this lonely part of the coast between Danger Point and Cape Agulhas, resulting perhaps from being tutor to a farmer's family in the neighbourhood. We have no other hint as to Jardine's activities between his arrival at the Cape in March 1823 and his appointment to the Library in May of the following year. His contribution to the Quarterly Journal describes the barbarous methods used by sealers and still regrettably common today, namely clubbing. He draws a pathetic picture of the anguish and bloodshed wrought among the seal community but there is no suggestion that it touched him deeply or that he felt it was wrong. The physiological observations are not profound.

John Centlivres Chase and Andrew Geddes Bain were both men who played an important role in the history of the Cape. The former, who contributed factual accounts of the ill-fated expedition to Delagoa Bay of Messrs. Cowie and Green in 1829, and of that in the same direction by Messrs. Sdoon and M'Luckie, was one of the most distinguished of 1820 settlers.^{xx} He came to

x Jardine's life will be discussed in a later chapter.
xx J.C. Chase, "the Father of the Eastern Province", was born in Westminster on 28/7/1795, the son of Mr Genge Chase. In 1819 he became secretary to an emigration society and the following year sailed for Algoa Bay in the Chapman with Bailie's party. In 1825 he was made Accountant of Albany and in 1828, Vendue Master and Agent to the Orphan Chamber. He came to Cape Town in 1831 being elected a member of the S.Afr. Institution on May 25th. He was Landing Surveyor in the Customs department in 1834-35, during which time he devoted himself privately to collecting material in defence of the colonists against Dr. Philip's accusations, and in consequence coming into conflict with John Fairbairn. He lost his civil service post in 1835 and set

Cape Town in 1831 and in 1833 was appointed Secretary to the Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa. He was also co-secretary of the South African Institution from 1834 to 1836. Later in his distinguished career he wrote a good deal - his most considerable works being The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay &c. with Statistics of the Colony, London, Pelham Richardson, 1843; Natal Records, 2 vols., Grahamstown, 1843 and History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town, 1869, in which he collaborated with Alexander Wilmot. Chase wrote the part covering the period 1820 to 1868, as he was well qualified to do.

Andrew Geddes Bain (1797-1864), pioneer road-engineer and geologist, was a writer of ability. Extracts from his Journal of "a Visit to some of the Interior Tribes of Southern Africa in 1826" appeared in No.4 with the unrealised intention of continuation. The full Journal is published in The Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain, ed. by M. H. Lister (Van Riebeeck Society, 1949), in which a biographical sketch of Bain may be found. He journeyed northwards from Graaff-Reinet with John Burnet Biddulph on a trading venture. The tribes visited were the Barolong and the Bangwaketse - Bawanketsie according to Bain - of the West Tswanas. His is a most graphic and readable account.

Scientific papers borrowed from European sources were chosen with care and do not preponderate. There are but thirteen among the fifty items in Volume I. Several have a definite South African application, such as Dr. M. Roulen's Inquiries respecting (cont. from p.127) about qualifying himself as a notary. He returned to the Eastern Province in 1837 and in addition to his legal practice became partner in the whaling and sheep-farming business of Capt. Frederick Korsten whose daughter, Maria, he married as his second wife. His first wife, Arabella Broome, who came from England with him, died 18 Aug. 1830. In 1847 he became Secretary to the Eastern Province Government and was a strong advocate of separation. In 1848 he was appointed Civil Commissioner for Albert in the north-east Cape which led to the founding of Aliwal North. In 1849 he was moved to Uitenhage where he remained until 1863. In his retirement he entered the Legislative Assembly where he represented Port Elizabeth in 1864. In 1866 he was elected to the Legislative Council for the Eastern Districts, remaining a member until 1875. Ill health dogged his last years and he died on 13/12/1877. He lived his later years on the estate Cradock Place near Port Elizabeth, inherited by his wife from her father. He was survived by ten children.⁵¹

certain Changes observed to have taken place in domestic Animals transported from the Old to the New Continent, gleaned from the Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal, and James Wilson's On the Origin and Natural History of the Ox and its allied Species from the Quarterly Journal of Agriculture, one section of which refers to the Cape Buffalo. The same applies to the Sketch of the Progress of Geographical Discovery by M. Jouannin of the Geographical Society of Paris, which appears in No.5. Adamson's connexions are evident in the large proportion of borrowing from Edinburgh journals, but the regular features Miscellaneous Intelligence and Local Intelligence which conclude Nos.1 to 4 comprise a quantity of valuable information gleaned from a wide field, scientific, eventful and statistical.

The first notice of the South African Quarterly Journal from without appeared in the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette's first issue of June 16th 1830 (p.4). It was "a pleasure to announce - complimentary to the intellectual portion of its (the Cape's) inhabitants", wrote the reviewer, presumably Jardine. The following paragraph is worth quoting in full:

"It struck us, on turning over the pages now under review, that the subjects selected, or rather the style in which they were written, was somewhat heavy. From periodical literature, the general reader deems himself entitled to expect amusement as well as information, and if the writer can convey original instruction at the same time, and without demanding any additional thought, (as he in the hackneyed jest is said to have passed off a light guinea between two good halfpence) this supererogatory merit will not, perhaps be taken amiss."

This comment, with a strange equation of subject and style in the first sentence, suggests a lack of appreciation of what the Quarterly Journal was setting out to be in the line of a learned journal. A later paragraph moreover is hard to reconcile with it. It reads:

"We know, observes a celebrated writer (Channing) that simplicity and perspicuity are important qualities of style; but there are vastly nobler and more important ones. The best style is not that which puts the reader most easily and in the shortest time in possession of a writer's naked thoughts; but that is the truest image of a great intellect, which conveys fully, and carries furthest into their souls, the conceptions and feelings of a profound and lofty spirit. To be universally intelligible is not the highest merit. A great mind cannot without injurious restraint, shrink itself into the grasp of common passive readers."

From all accounts this might have been written with Dr. Adamson in mind. It seems clear however that neither the South African Institution nor Adamson, nor Andrew Smith, envisaged the Quarterly Journal as a periodical for "the general reader" any more than the Philosophical Magazine or the Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal were so considered. As a learned journal the first volume compared very favourably with these.

There were but 147 subscribers when No.2 was published and members of the Institution did not receive it as a privilege of membership. Furthermore, of the fifty-six ordinary members, several did not subscribe.^x Nevertheless in February 1831 Jardine wrote in the Cape Literary Gazette that "The promptness with which the colonists came forward to support this English journal was most honourable to their literacy and taste."⁵²

The Annual Report of the Institution in June 1830 did not see fit - in view of the Journal's brief existence - to go further than claiming the response to be "sufficiently encouraging". A year later however the Council was "glad to find that the South African Quarterly Journal has excited attention both in this country and elsewhere."⁵³ This attention was manifest in the Philosophical Magazine itself which reported in the issue of September 1830 that "We have been favoured with two Numbers of a work which it has given us a very great pleasure to see, - the South African Quarterly Journal."⁵⁴ The proceedings of the South African Institution which appeared in No.1 were then summarized. More constructive criticism was voiced by the same organ in reviewing No.3 in April 1832:

"On the whole we cannot but deem the South-African Journal a very useful work, and it has our warmest wishes for its success. We would suggest, however, that the occasional introduction of condensed views (such as Dr. Smith must be fully competent to furnish) of some of the important researches and reforms of science proceeding, and detailed in our Scientific Journals and Transactions of Societies, would considerably augment its utility to the investigations of nature at the Cape, by tending to preserve them from the errors and inconveniences which to some extent are inseparable from their distance from the centres of scientific knowledge in Europe."⁵⁵

The suggestion offered is perhaps a little surprising when precisely

x The price was 3s. per issue.

that was being attempted in Miscellaneous Intelligence. One must presume something more considerable was envisaged. Certainly no attempt was made to carry it any further, even though by the time these words appeared the Institution had begun to find it difficult to fill the journal on the scale on which it had been launched. The Council's pleasure in the journal's success recorded in the 1831 Report was qualified by the following:

"... its continued and regular publication would, we know from experience, be in many respects advantageous to the Institution and the public, but in consequence of the supply of material falling short of that which is required by a quarterly publication, it has been found necessary to publish successive numbers only when suitable means present themselves."

This policy was indeed carried out after No. IV which was originally intended to complete Vol. I as the title-page published with No. V plainly shows, for No. V, dated October 1831, was not issued until 1832. Its late appearance had already been the subject of comment by the Cape Literary Gazette which in January of that year had said of the Journal:

"It enjoys the patronage of a respectable body of subscribers, but unfortunately there has been considerable delay in the publication of the 5th Number, only four having made their appearance. What the assignable causes of the suspension of the work are we know not; but we submit that the subscribers and friends of the South African Institution, are fairly entitled to an explanation."⁵⁶

A sincere attempt was made to remedy the situation with No. V for it contained as many as 140 pages and included the beginning of a new and important work by Dr. Smith, Contributions to the Natural History of South Africa, and a considerable paper on the domestication of the Mammiferae by the celebrated zoologist Baron Cuvier.^x It was however the last such effort that proved possible and when the Journal next appeared, over a year later, it was in a very different form.

In January 1832 the South African Institution acquired its own headquarters in Looyers Plain (now Bouquet St.),⁵⁷ and in the middle of the same year an event took place which might have put fresh life into the Quarterly Journal but which strangely

x Reprinted from the Edinb. New Phil. J.

enough made no difference to it at all. This was the amalgamation of the South African Institution with the South African Literary Society to form the South African Literary and Scientific Institution. This took place at the end of June.^x As mentioned above, the South African Literary Society had been re-established on 3rd June 1829 under the joint-secretaryship of John Fairbairn and the J. H. Hofmeyr of that time, the Governor having readily granted a licence.^{xx} The members showed considerably less creative ability than did those of their sister institution, for at the first annual general meeting on 6th February 1830, it was admitted by the Committee that "we have not received from our Members any such productions of their genius and research, as it is the object of the Society to call forth, to stimulate and to reward" - and this although the Society had 121 members, thirty-one of whom had been foundation members of the suppressed society of 1824. The names of note on the membership list are too numerous to mention, but it may be recorded that they include Bain, Borchards, von Buchenröder, Chase and von Ludwig,^{xxx} all of whom contributed to the Quarterly Journal. The names of Adamson, Jardine and Smith however are wanting.⁵⁹

The first meeting of the joint society was held on 14th July 1832, and the President and joint-secretaries of the old South African Institution, Lt.-Col. J. Bell, Dr. James Adamson and Dr. Robert Dyce, M.D.,^{xxxx} were re-elected as officers of the new body.⁶⁰ The suggestion that the two societies should merge had been made as early as July 1829 by a correspondent of the

x Kirby, in the introduction to Andrew Smith's Diary (v.1, p.27), states that it was Smith who brought about this amalgamation, but since he only reached Grahamstown on his return from Natal on 29th June 1832⁵⁸ and the first advertisement announcing the merger appeared in the S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser for 7/7/1832 it is difficult to see how this can have been so.

xx The "board" of presidents consisted of Sir John Truter, Judge W.W. Burton, Andries Stockenström and the Rev. A. Faure.

xxx Baron Carl Ferdinand Heinrich von Ludwig, 1784-1847, was the son of the chief justice of Württemberg. He came to S.Africa as a chemist in 1806, opening his own shop in 1807. His garden at "Ludwigsburg", Kloof St., was one of the show places of Cape Town. He introduced 1,658 new varieties of plants into the Cape.⁶²

xxxx Dyce, an army surgeon who had seen service in Mauritius, was household physician to the Governor. He served on the Library Committee from 1829-33. When Sir Lowry Cole retired from office in 1833, he also left the Colony "on leave" but never returned, being posted to Chatham.

Commercial Advertiser, signing himself 'Colonus', who advocated that together with the South African Public Library they be combined into one "Royal Institution".⁶¹ He received no support however at that time.

As has been said, the introduction of new blood did not produce any noticeable results as far as the Quarterly Journal was concerned; in fact a full year went by before publication was resumed with the Second Series. In December 1832 the Cape Literary Gazette had again asked what had happened to the Quarterly Journal, even going so far as to suggest certain things that might be published in it.

"Let the Council or Committee of the Institution resuscitate the Journal forthwith; (wrote the Editor) Let a sole Editor be appointed, because in literary publications we dislike Committees of Management. These generally ruin the independence of a work. They cut, carve, add, delete, and transpose at their pleasure, till every feature of originality or individuality is expunged, and nothing remains but the most woeful common-place. The illustrious third and fourth rate class of brains, succeed uniformly in reducing every thing to their own level."

This certainly confirms that Adamsen was not a free agent in the conduct of the Journal and suggests that had he been so and had been able to devote the time to it, the position would have been much better.

It was decided to make the new series appear in the form of short monthly issues while preserving the title by describing them as parts of quarterly numbers. The combined pagination of the latter will be found to be in each case about ten pages shorter than was offered in the first series. This practice continued for the next four quarters although in the Annual Report for 1833-34, during the presidency of Sir John Herschel himself, it had to be admitted that "It cannot fail to happen, that in so limited a community as is ours, and in a place where facilities for observation are so few, an institution depending on its own stores or sources of information, will be unable to sustain the interest which novelty or discovery might be expected to impart to its proceedings." After admitting further that only council members bothered to attend meetings, the whole preamble to this

report is an apology for the lack of response by members to the fare put before them and an account of the efforts made to attract them.⁶⁴ The Institution nevertheless succeeded in continuing for another fifteen years and during his four-year period of residence at the Cape Sir John Herschel did a great deal to assist it. Many and varied as Sir John's activities were in the fields of astronomy, meteorology, topographical sketching and botany, his only contributions to the Quarterly Journal were embodied in the Report of the Institution's Meteorological Committee,⁶⁵ for which he was primarily responsible, and in the Instructions addressed to the Director of the Expedition into Central Africa, issued by the Committee of the Association for Exploring Central Africa in June 1834.⁶⁶ This famous expedition, already referred to, left Graaff-Reinet, its assembly point, under Dr. Smith's leadership on 12th August 1834, and was away eighteen months. The interest aroused by it caused J. C. Chase, secretary of the Association, to compile a lengthy survey of the Progress and present State of Geographical Discovery in the African Continent, made from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, which was read at the Institution and published in five consecutive issues of the Quarterly Journal. Starting at the time of van Riebeeck, he outlined the many expeditions, official and private, which helped gradually to push back the frontiers of the Colony. Written at a time when research facilities were far less developed than now, this is really a remarkable work. Many original sources are quoted such as van Riebeeck's Dagboek, the manuscript of Johan Daniel Büttner's VaareRelation und Beschreibung von Cabo de Goede Hoop in the Dessinian Collection^x and Beutler's journey to the east of 1752. The printed sources, starting with Peter Kolb, are too numerous to detail and no important one is omitted. What was then known of the fate of the Grosvenor survivors of 1782 and of the attempts to locate them, also appears in the first part of the survey. The last part of the work - which runs all told

~~x - The expedition quoted from this source and dated by Chase 1684, is almost certainly confused with some later one. No expedition of free burghers is known to historians in this year.~~

to forty-nine pages - consists of an outline of the geography of the country concerned. This is also of considerable value as it not only describes the natural features but records what native tribes were inhabiting each locality. This undoubtedly comprises one of the most valuable and best written contributions to the Quarterly Journal.

The most considerable contribution to the Second Series was Dr. Smith's epitome of African Zoology drawn up at the request of the Council of the Institution in August 1833. This systematic and "concise description of the objects of the animal kingdom inhabiting Africa, its islands and seas" appeared in the ten issues from No.1, pt.1 to No.4, pt.2, and was never completed. What was published was presumably as much as Smith could produce before his work for the Expedition demanded all his attention. He left Cape Town on July 2nd 1834. Incomplete though it was, this attempt at taxonomy was not really superseded until the publication of Stark and Sclater's Fauna of South Africa in 1900.

A short note by Smith in No.2,pt.2 (Jan.-March 1834) describing a new species of Australian lizard styled by him Brachydactylus, is remarkable for the inclusion of a woodcut illustration. While woodcuts, lithographs and line engravings had appeared in South African periodicals since 1829, as will be described later, illustration was still a rarity. This is the only one in the South African Quarterly Journal.

Yet another army surgeon, Dr. Nathaniel Morgan, was an important contributor to the Second Series. His was an ethnographical study of the Xhosas which appeared in the first three parts. While the author was no stylist this work is clearly the result of very considerable study of all aspects of tribal life and concludes with a list of the sounds in the Xhosa language.

With the departure of Dr. Smith on the Expedition, the beginning of the end set in for the Quarterly Journal. No.4, pt.2, dated July-September 1834, consisted largely of the Meteorological Committee's Instructions for making and registering Meteorological Observations, and the only other item was an able article on Vaccination by Dr. John Murray, Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals at

the Cape, who was a vice-president of the Institution. The inclusion of this paper proves from internal evidence that this part of the Journal was published well after the August when it should have appeared. The Annual Report read at the Annual General Meeting on 11th July 1835, states that "there have been published during the last year two parts of the Journal ... of which one more is required to complete a volume. The difficulties formerly noticed, in regard to the means of publication, have not been removed."

Reporting this meeting the Literary Gazette remarked:

"The senior Secretary, Rev. Dr. Adamson, read the Report... The meeting was thinly attended, and but for a few (two or three generally perform all the work of public institutions) the Society and the Museum would probably fall away altogether."⁶⁷

Part 3 eventually appeared but a year late, being dated September 1835. This issue is notable for a paper by Dr. Adamson himself, entitled: Remarks on the Logic of Elementary Geometry, which had been read at the Institution the preceding June. Even at this length of time one must pity those members - whether they knew their Euclid or not - who sat courteously through it, for it would be difficult to discover a less exciting subject on which to lecture to a general learned society, and its publication is scarcely likely to have increased the popularity of the Quarterly Journal. The issue was fortunately saved by the inclusion of a paper on the importance of tide observations at the Cape by the celebrated Rev. Professor William Whewell,^x Master of Trinity College, communicated by Sir John Herschel.

It was not until over a year later that the Quarterly Journal made its final bow to the public, for an issue for December 1836 was published early in 1837. Why it appeared at all is hard to understand, unless it was for the sake of the third Report of the Meteorological Committee which comprises more than half the number. This Report however was in any case published separately. The rest of this now extremely scarce item is made up of an anonymous trifle on filling barometer tubes, the Report of the Senate of the South African College for 1836, and the Return of Population of the Colony

x Incorrectly spelt 'Whevel' in the S.Afr.Q.J.

for 1834. An uninspiring collection indeed.

Thus ended the first scientific journal of South Africa - "Not with a bang but a whimper" - and there was no contemporary to notice its passing as the Cape Literary Gazette, which had more than once pointed out that another issue was overdue,⁶⁸ had itself ceased publication in 1835.

The South African Quarterly Journal should be chiefly remembered for its publication of the zoological work of Dr. (Sir) Andrew Smith and for the historico-geographical contributions of John Centlivres Chase. That it fulfilled the objects for which it was established during its first year there can be little doubt, but the decline after that must be laid largely at the door of the members of the Institution whose lack of enthusiasm and paucity of numbers (only 69 in 1835) is so evident. One must also come to the conclusion that the Editor, who returned to lecturing in 1836, was losing interest in it.

James Long Fitzpatrick, who started the Cape of Good Hope Literary Magazine ten years later, set out in the Introductory Address to his first number to account for the failure of earlier ventures.

"The failure of the "South African Journal" [sic] (he wrote) which, though not liable to the same objections which have urged against the former work [Cape Literary Gazette^x], fell almost still-born from the press, is still less difficult to account for. That work was of a character too purely scientific to be likely to engage in its support a sufficient number of contributors, whether literary or pecuniary, to maintain, for any length of time, so ponderous an undertaking..."

While a few years later Professor Roderick Noble said of it: "Edited, I believe, by Dr. Andrew Smith and Dr. Adamson ... it was never popular, and could scarcely have been intended to be so."⁶⁹ This only serves to confirm the contentions that have

x Fitzpatrick claimed that the Gazette was "not sufficiently miscellaneous in its character" and that it was too much like a newspaper. Opinion on this will be given later.

already been put forward.

Inevitably the question must arise as to why advantage was not taken of the return of the Central African Expedition in January 1836 to fill the Journal for months thereafter. The sponsoring Association for Exploring Central Africa was after all a child of the Literary and Scientific Institution^x and at the meeting of the former held on 19th March to receive Dr. Smith's preliminary report, Dr. Adamson, Sir John Herschel and other members of the Institution were present. John Centlivres Chase moreover was at the time secretary of both bodies. It was unanimously agreed at this meeting that an abstract of the report be published forthwith and a 68-page pamphlet printed by Mollett, who had been responsible for the Quarterly Journal since 1835, appeared in the following June - but why not in the Quarterly Journal? In the absence of documentary evidence an entirely satisfactory answer cannot be given. Smith returned with an abundance of material which it took him years to work up to his satisfaction by which time he had left the Colony. The first part of his Illustrations of Zoology which resulted from the Expedition's discoveries appeared in April 1838, and the whole work with the collaboration of W. S. MacLeay, and illustrated superbly by G. H. Fox, was only completed in 1849. Smith's Journal of the Expedition, which he fully meant to publish, did not however appear in print until a century later (1939-40).^{xx}

Such a work was obviously beyond the limitations of a Cape periodical or a Cape printer. As regards the Report which was published by Mollett, this was specifically declared to be "for subscribers only" and while many of these were also subscribers to the Quarterly Journal, those shareholders who - as Professor Kirby has pointed out - were only interested in the commercial development that might result from the Expedition, were not likely to be among them.

x See Abstract of Proceedings... Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa, 1833, p.3.

xx The Diary of Sir Andrew Smith..., ed.... by Percival R. Kirby. Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1939-40. 2v.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

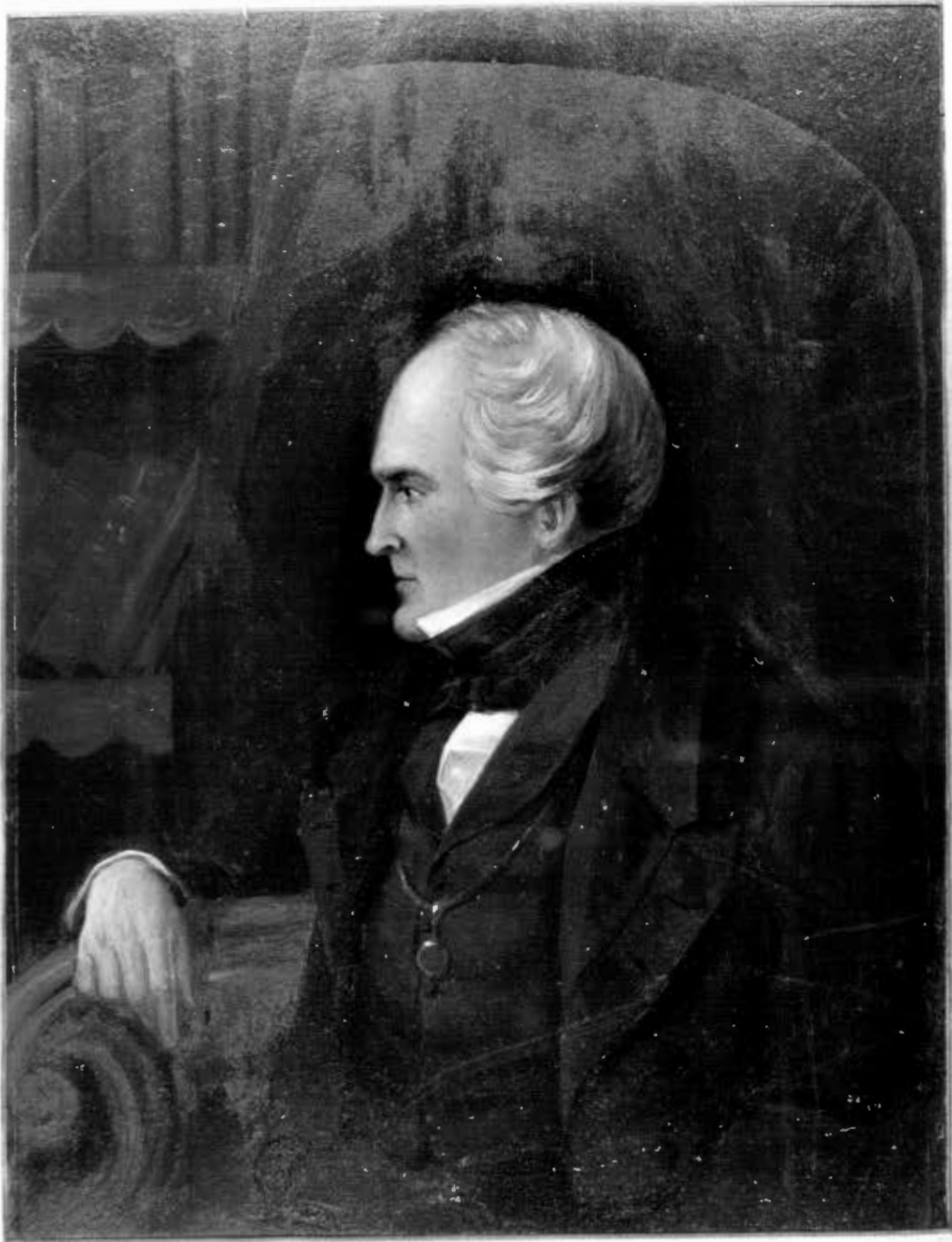
1. Cape Archives, CO 235/29, /266, /287.
2. Theal's Records, v.34, p.473.
3. The Colonist, 14/2/1828, p.103.
4. Ibid. 29/4/1828, p. [2] .
5. Ibid. 30/9/1828, leading article.
6. Cape Almanack, 1831; Grahamstown Journal, 2/3/1837.
7. South African Grins, no.1, p.13.
8. Ibid. no.3, p.52-3.
9. Ibid. no.3, p.61.
10. Ibid. no.1, p. [3] .
11. S.Afr.Commercial Advertiser, 28/9/1825, 23/11/1825, 15/6/1825.
12. S.Afr. Institution. Annual Report, 1830; S.Afr. Literary Society. Report of 1st Annual General Meeting, 1830, in Rules and Regulations, 1830, p.8-11; Crawford (L.) The S.Afr. Literary and Scientific Institution, 1832-1857, in Trans. Roy. Soc. S.Afr. v.22, p.313-320, 1934.
13. S. Afr. Q. J. No.1, Introductory remarks, p.3.
14. Kirby (P.R.) ed. Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith, 1834-36. Cape Town, V.R.S., 1939. 2v. Introduction, v.1, p.9-56, includes Memoir of Sir A. Smith by Alexander Michie, taken from Proc. Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, v.8, p.33-46, 1876. The Works of Sir Andrew Smith, Kirby, v.2, p.317-318. See also D.N.B., v.53, p.15.
15. The chief sources of information about Adamson are: Noble (John) James Adamson, D.D. in Cape Monthly Magazine, N.S. v.11, p.83-94; Ritchie (W.) History of the South African College, 2v., 1918, passim; St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Cape Town. A Centenary Record, 1929. p.57.
16. Western College for Women, formerly Western Female Seminary, founded 1853, opened 1855. A presbyterian foundation. (American Universities and Colleges, 4th ed. 1940, p.971-2.
17. Cape Argus, 30/8/1870; Death notice in Master's Office, Cape Town.
18. Cape Argus, 17/7/1875; Noble, op. cit. p.84-85, 93.
19. Noble, op. cit. p.93.
20. Noble, op. cit. p.85.
21. Cape Argus, 17/7/1875.
22. Levy (G.) University of Cape Town: early Beginnings in Q.Bull. S.Afr.Libr., v.11, p.59-62, 1956.
23. Noble, op. cit. p.93.
24. Ibid. p.93.
25. S.Afr. Christian Recorder, v.1, no.6, p.170-5, Aug.1831, no.7, p.195-204, Sep.'31, no.8, p.219-28, Oct.'31; no.9 & 10 p.249-84, Oct.-Nov.1831.
26. Proc. S.Afr. Institution, Oct.28, 1829, in S.Afr.Q.J., no.1, p.84, 1830.

Notes to Ch. VI (cont.)

27. S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser, 31/10/1829.
28. S.Afr.Q.J., no.1, p.3.
29. The Fairbridge Library: a Catalogue, 1904, p.389.
30. Proc. S.Afr. Institution, Sept. 1830, in S.Afr. Q.J. no.5, p.102, 1831.
31. Ibid. p.103, 110.
32. Kirby (P.R.) Andrew Smith and Natal, Cape Town, V.R.S., 1955, p.36. S.Afr. Literary and Scientific Institution. Annual Report, 1833, p.17.
33. S.Afr.Q.J., v.1, p.4.
34. Ibid. p.7. The final passage is on p.8.
35. Information received from the Guildhall Library, London, Nov. 1959, and Minutes of the Committee of the S.Afr. Public Library, 1824-1848.
36. S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser, 27/6/1835.
37. Meurant (L.H.) Sixty years ago, p.89.
38. A new contract for government printing was the cause of an action brought by William Greig against George in August 1855. (S.Afr. Comm. Advr. 21/8/1855). His insolvency was gazetted in the Gazette of 12/8/1856. See also Cape Archives MOIB2/913.
39. Greig's departure from the Cape is announced in sale advertisements in the Gazettes for 5/5 and 7/7/1843. The report of the law-suit above cited refers to him as usually resident in London. See also Post Office London Directory 1871, p.306.
40. The Times, 26/1/1875, Deaths.
41. Hoge (J.) Personalalia of Germans at the Cape in Archives Yrbk. 1946, p.52-53.
42. Theal's Records, v.19, p.290-1. Death notice in Master's Office, Cape Town.
43. Eastern Province Herald, 28/11/1846.
44. Verduyn den Boer (J.H.) Botanists at the Cape, Cape Town, 1929. p.44-47.
45. Van der Stel (Simon) Simon v.d. Stel's Journal of his Expedition to Namaqualand, 1685-86, ed. Gilbert Waterhouse, 1932. p.xii.
46. Ibid. facsimile facing p.3.
47. Phil. Mag. N.S. v.9, no.50, p.119-177.
48. Colonist, 29/3/1828, p.151-2; 17/4/1828, p.175.
49. Cape Archives, C.O. Private individuals, v.367, 1824, no.252.
50. N.G. Kerk Jaarboek, 1949, p.720. du Plessis (J.) The Life of Andrew Murray of S.Africa. 1920 . p.15-17.
51. Eastern Province Herald, 18/12/1877; Hockly (H.E.) Story of the British Settlers of 1820, passim; Redgrave (J.J.) Port Elizabeth in bygone Days. p.503-5.
52. C. of G.H. Lit. Gaz. v.1, no.9, p.120.

Notes to Ch. VI (cont.)

53. S.Afr. Institution. Annual Report, 1831, p.5.
54. Phil. Mag. N.S. v.8, p.222-4.
55. Ibid. N.S. v.11, p.279-80.
56. C. of G.H. Lit. Gaz. v.2, no.1, p.239.
57. S. Afr. Institution. Proceedings, in S. Afr. Q.J., no.5, p.111.
58. Kirby (P.R.) op. cit., 'Natal itinerary', p.36.
59. S. Afr. Literary Society. Rules and Regulations... with an appendix of papers, 1830. p.9, 16-17.
60. C. of G.H. Lit. Gaz., v.2, no.8, p.352. Aug. 1832.
61. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 22/7/1829.
62. Hoge (J.) op. cit., p.252-2.
63. Army Lists, 1825, 1825, 1834; Cape Almanacks, 1830-34.
64. S. Afr. Q. J., v.2, no.4, pt.1, 1834. p.289-90.
65. Ibid. v.2, no.4, pts.2 & 3, 1834-35; v. [3], pt.1, no.1, p.1-18, 1837.
66. Ibid., v.2, no.3, pt.3, 1834. p.257-66.
67. S. Afr. Lit. & Sci. Inst. Annual Report, read 11th July 1835, in S. Afr. Q.J., v.2, no.4, pt.3, 1835, p.374; C. of G.H. Lit. Gaz., v.5, no.7, p.114, 1835.
68. C. of G.H. Lit. Gaz., v.1, no.9, p.120; v.2, no.1, p.239.
69. C. of G. H. Lit. Mag., v.1, no.1, p.4, 1847. Noble (R.) Periodical Literature of the Half Century 1800-1850, in S.Afr. Comm. Advr. 14, 19/12/1854.
70. Kirby (P.R.) Sir Andrew Smith's "Zoology", in Africana Notes & News, v.2, p.2-14.



Alexander Johnstone Jardine

LIBRARIAN SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC LIBRARY
1824 - 1845

IV. Alexander Johnstone Jardine (c.1790 - 1845),
editor of the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette.

To face page 142.

I.

Alexander Johnstone Jardine

It is much to be regretted that one of the most important literary figures of the 1830's at the Cape is also one of the most elusive. Of Alexander Johnstone Jardine, Librarian of the South African Public Library for twenty-one years and founder-editor of the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, very little indeed is known and this is largely because, in accordance with his wishes, almost all his private papers were destroyed by his executor after his death¹ and furthermore he was related to no Cape family.^x Even the year of his birth is uncertain since records differ about his age at the time of his death, unmarried, intestate and insolvent on July 26th 1845. The obituary notice in the South African Commercial Advertiser states vaguely that he was "54 or 56 years" old, the death-notice has "about fifty-four", while his tombstone in the Old Somerset Road Cemetery read "53"! It is thus not possible to fix his birth more closely than between 1789 and 1792. As regards his place of birth, the death-notice, signed by Alex. McDonald Jr. on behalf of the Library Committee, is equally vague, giving merely "Scotland", and his parents "not known". There are however good grounds for believing that he was a native of the parish of Johnstone in Annandale, Dumfriesshire.

The name Jardine is of course well-known in the Lowlands of Scotland and the baronetcy of Applegarth (or Applegirth), Dumfriesshire, dates back to 1672, the most celebrated holder of the title being Sir William Jardine, 7th bart. (1800-1874), the eminent naturalist. It is not possible to link Alexander Johnstone Jardine with this family definitely though no fewer than six of the baronets to date have borne the name Alexander, and comparison of the portrait of A. J. with that of Sir William shows that they possessed strong similarity of feature as regards fore-

x The popular belief that he was a relative of the late Major William Jardine of Applegarth, Sir Lowry's Pass, Cape Province is denied by present members of the family. The firm of William Jardine, draper, first appears in the Cape Almanack for 1870.

head, nose and mouth. The surname Johnstone is also well-known in Dumfries-shire and intermarriage between the two families by no means improbable.

Parish registers for Dumfries-shire are unfortunately imperfect² but evidence which points to Johnstone as being the parish from which A. J. Jardine hailed is to be found in his own Cape Literary Gazette for September 1834 where on p. 140 a brief extract from the New Statistical Account of Scotland (1834-45) dealing with Johnstone parish is given the following footnote:

"Probably communicated by our old friend Dr. Colvin [minister of Johnstone].
On these sweet scenes I lov'd so well,
Delighted thought shall ever dwell,
And long as memory's faithful eye,
The Johnstone hamlet can descry
Or anxious contemplation trace,
But one faint feature in the place,
So long as this hill-side shall be dear,
And life's perspective finish here! (Ed.)"

Corroboration, if needed, is provided by the South African Public Library's copy of the New Statistical Account in which the section on Johnstone alone of the many parishes has been annotated very critically in pencil by one who clearly knew the district well.^x The hand is unquestionably Jardine's, abundant examples being forthcoming in the Library Committee's minute books.

Of his life before he emigrated to the Cape in 1823 little is known bar two or three incidents described in his own reminiscences of an acquaintanceship with Richard Brinsley Sheridan which have survived in the pages of the Cape Literary Gazette or of the Cape Monthly Magazine. These will be of interest to students of Sheridan in his later years, for they do not appear in his recognised biographies, but in addition they indicate districts where Jardine must have resided during that time. That he enjoyed a good education is clear from his subsequent writing and reputation for learning, though his name does not appear on the registers of any of the Scottish universities nor in the published records of the English ones.

x A reminiscence of Annandale is also to be found in a footnote to p.87 of his A Fragment of Church History (Cape Town, 1827), while in the introductory remarks to James Halliday's Adventure at St Helena, in C.L.G. vol.III(1) p.5, Halliday is described as a childhood friend and a native of Johnstone village.

His first meeting with Sheridan was, he tells us, at Everton, near Liverpool, in 1810. The encounter was an accidental one when Jardine was engaged in gardening and the great dramatist was in need of a few minutes' rest from walking. "We became friends," states the reminiscence briefly, "and I had the pleasure to occasion his reading for the first time in after years, books which became his favourites..."³

An incident of much greater importance however, also involving Sheridan, was described in detail by Jardine some ten years after the event, to pass the time during his tedious voyage to the Cape early in 1823. Somehow it escaped the destruction of his other papers and was published in the Cape Monthly Magazine in 1858⁴; many years after his death. The incident, which occurred sometime in 1811 or 1812^x, was one in which the young Jardine, then about twenty years of age, found himself involved in a desperate attempt to obtain a reprieve for a certain Will Cobby, then lying under sentence of death in a London prison.^{xx} A letter of recommendation to Spencer Perceval, the prime-minister, proved of no avail and from Downing Street he was passed on from one official to another until he resolved to approach Sheridan. In his account Jardine speaks of having "a few lines of introduction" which does not suggest very close friendship as yet. Possibly this was only the second time they had met. Still a member of Parliament, though not in office, Sheridan was what was more important in this case - the confidential advisor of the Prince Regent. He immediately took the matter in hand, although it was already a late hour, and set out with Jardine to find the Prince. Early efforts failed to locate him and Sheridan eventually left Jardine to sleep at the house of his brewer friend Samuel Whitbread while he continued the search. When Jardine awoke in the morning it was to learn that the reprieve for Cobby had been secured. It is not surprising that such an experience should have remained clear in his mind years later. This, and a brief reminiscence of an expedition with Sheridan to Southampton

x The event was during the premiership of Perceval (1809-May 1812) but after the beginning of the Regency (January 1811).

xx There is no record of his being tried at the Old Bailey. According to Jardine Cobby lay in the prison in Horsemonger Lane (Borough?).

which appeared in v.2, no.1 of the Cape Literary Gazette, show that he was seeking his fortune in or near London at that period of his life.

Jardine came to the Cape early in 1823, Dr. George Thom of Tulbagh standing surety for him, and he was granted the official "Permission to Remain" on March 13th.^{x5} His arrival cannot be traced in the shipping intelligence published in the Cape Town Gazette so his position in the ship must have been a humble one. Thom had been on leave in Britain during the years 1820-1822, after which he brought back several schoolmasters at the request of the Governor, and also the Rev. Andrew Murray Sr.^{xx6} Jardine was not among this number by all accounts but it seems probable that he had met Thom in the United Kingdom and discussed the prospects of emigration. It is not impossible that he was interviewed for one of the teaching posts and for some reason was not appointed. Nevertheless, arrive he did and a little over a year later was appointed Librarian of the South African Public Library in place of Thomas Pringle who had resigned in the circumstances already related. A suggestion regarding his activities in the intervening period was made in the last chapter arising from a letter of his (undated but of the year 1824)⁷ in which he introduced to the Colonial Secretary the American negro Sampson Dyer after whom Dyer's Islands were named, and advocated the exploitation of the islands. Allusion has also been made to the article on seal-hunting by Jardine published in the South African Quarterly Journal. Clearly he must have spent some time in that sparsely populated area near Cape Agulhas, most likely in the capacity of tutor to some farmer's family.^{xxx}

x By a proclamation of 20/5/1797, still in force in 1823, all immigrants wishing to remain in the Colony must apply to the Fiscal within twelve hours of arrival for a special licence.

xx They landed on July 2nd 1822.

xxx There is also the possibility that like Pringle and Greig he sought permission to start a newspaper, for many years later (1835) he recalled an interview with the Governor in 1823 in which the latter said to him: "You are too political. Earl Bathurst is much averse to any discussion in this colony on political matters ... and the old colonists, the Dutch, are equally opposed to what you may call the Liberty of the Press." (C.L.G.V(4):49.) It is strongly to be suggested however that Jardine mixed his dates and that this was an incident during his editorship of the South African Chronicle, 1824-26.

Whatever his previous occupation - and we should be happy indeed to know what recommended him for the post - Jardine's appointment as Librarian was gazetted on May 28th 1824,^x only ten days after the resignation of his predecessor. The Commission of Inquiry described him a few months later as "a person not improperly chosen for such an office",⁸ and implied that unlike Pringle he paid undivided attention to his duties. To begin with his salary was the same - a mere £75 per annum, but in 1829, when the Library became a subscription and circulating one on the resolution of a large public meeting, this was doubled.⁹ His relations with Pringle - not always of the best - have been touched upon in the story of the latter's last unhappy months at the Cape when he (Jardine) was responsible for spreading the rumour that a search warrant was issued against him. This and his readiness to edit the South African Chronicle, so brazenly stepping into the place of the suspended Commercial Advertiser, was quite enough to antagonise Pringle in his then state of mind.

Jardine's editorship of the Chronicle from 1824 to 1826 at the request of William Bridekirk was his first literary work at the Cape that is known and, as was shown in the previous chapter, that paper was by no means as inane as it has often been declared to be. The Chronicle ceased publication in December 1826 and Jardine was without regular literary employment outside his librarianship until he established his own periodical, the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, in June 1830. It is not to be supposed however that his pen was idle, for in 1827 there appeared from it A Fragment of Church History, a volume of 89 pages published by Bridekirk and intended to assist the appeal for funds for the new Scottish Church. He was a staunch supporter of the Church though it was said that back in Scotland he had belonged to a secession body.¹⁰ He was elected a member of the general committee of the Church at the Cape in November 1824 and signed the petition for a church building the following month. Later he was appointed a trustee and appeared in that capacity at the laying of the foundation stone of the new building in Somerset Road, later to be called

x Technically he was only 'sub-librarian' until 1828, the Revs. Geo. Hough and F. Kaufmann being Hon. Librarians until the Ordinance No. 35 of Dec. 1827 came into force.

St. Andrew's, on October 24th 1827.¹¹ A Fragment of Church History however deals principally with the history of the Scottish Church both at the Cape and at home, but Chapter III is devoted to general religious statistics of the Colony, both church and mission, while there follow eight appendices on 'Unity in Religion', missionary societies, the English Episcopal Church, the Lutheran Church, the Dutch Reformed Church, education and secular institutions such as the Royal Observatory, the Library and the Museum. A passage in the Preface indicative of his tolerant outlook reads:

"Yielding to none in profound attachment to the great doctrines of religious liberty, the writer considers that these are generally best supported by an open and explicit avowal of our own opinion."

The work was critically, though in general favourably, reviewed in The Colonist of March 13th 1828.

The Cape Literary Gazette - his major literary work - forms the subject of the second section of this chapter. It ran from June 1830 until the close of 1835. During this period his only other publication was a Catalogue of the Collection of Books in the South African Public Library (246p.) which appeared in 1834 to supersede his first catalogue of 1825.^x A further New General Catalogue, running to 338 pages, was produced by him in 1842. These volumes provide the clearest indication of the growth and value of the South African Public Library in Jardine's time.

His interest in the supply of books to readers did not stop at the Library in which he worked, for, on his own account and with the approval of his Committee, he devoted much time to the establishment of country libraries and book societies. In June 1830 he reported that these had been started in Grahamstown (D. Moodie, sec.), Worcester, Swellendam, Stellenbosch, Clan William and Somerset (West).

"These Societies," he explained in the Literary Gazette,¹² are supplied with books at the London prices, and without any pecuniary advantage to their agent in Cape Town, who has been permitted by the Committee of the Public Library to attend to their several interests, and thus contribute towards the promotion of reading, and the wider dissemination of our language."

x A supplement to the 1825 catalogue was published in 1829.

In this he was following the good example set in Scotland in 1817 by Samuel Brown of Haddington whose "itinerating libraries" he admired and described fully in the Cape Literary Gazette some time later.¹³ The London bookseller for whom Jardine acted as agent was of course James Mallcott Richardson of 23 Cornhill, who was also supplying the Library and handling the South African Quarterly Journal in England. Admirable as the scheme was, it had the drawback that if the bookclubs and libraries neglected to reimburse Jardine - as they often did - he was left responsible, and when he died in July 1845, he was found to be in debt to Richardson to the extent of £807-9s.-1d.^x

The Cape readers were indeed bad payers for when young John Charles Molteno came out under Richardson's sponsorship in 1831 to work under Jardine for £25 per annum, plus board and lodging, he was expressly asked by the bookseller to look into the matter of outstanding accounts - a tall order for a seventeen-year-old boy in a strange country.^{xx} 14 Molteno did not stay long under Jardine's tutelage although the latter assured him that he would have ample free time to earn another £30 from writing. Such a life did not appeal to the future prime-minister and he soon entered the employ of the prominent Cape Town merchant Mr. John Bardwell Ebdon.¹⁵

One of the most remarkable events of Jardine's career was his dismissal from his post and subsequent reinstatement. This took place early in 1836 and caused considerable commotion in Cape Town. The trouble started in December 1835 when the Library Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir John Wylde, chief justice, resolved to withdraw from circulation the September issue of Alexander's

x The report of the Trustee (R.W. Eaton) on 30/9/1846, stated: "It has been ascertained that the deceased was in the habit, for many years, of ordering out Books for account of numerous persons, and of receiving the money from them after delivery; the magnitude of Mr. Richardson's claim appears to have chiefly arisen from the execution of these orders and the very few remittances which were made on that account..." (Cape Archives MOIB 1/82).

xx Richardson's instruction was: "When you get out consult with Mr. Jardine with respect to the numerous Accounts owing to me at the Cape, and with Mr. Jardine's approval (and probably he may choose in his name) continually press, always in the civilest manner, (except unfortunately the parties should be bad ones) for Settlements, and if the persons say they cannot get Bills on London, say that Messrs. Donaldson Dixon & Co of Cape Town, will receive any such however small or large on my Account, and will direct their House here to pay me the Amount, you always advising me of what has been paid in; & if this is well done I will take care that you shall be remunerated; Mr. Jardine will best know which party will require most urgent pressing, but most I apprehend will require urging to make payments as early as I should wish."

East India and Colonial Magazine and discontinue the Library's subscription, in consequence of an article entitled "Colonel Smith and the Caffer Hintza" in which they considered there was a serious libel against "a person" at the Cape contained in a footnote. The newspapers had been full of the case of Chief Hintsa some months earlier at the close of the Sixth Kaffir War when he was shot in attempting to escape from the position of hostage. Col. Smith, "the person" in question, was of course Sir Harry Smith as he came to be, afterwards Governor of the Cape. While he did not himself shoot Hintsa whom he was accompanying in search of stolen cattle - it was the guide George Southey who actually pulled the trigger - Smith was held responsible by many and branded a murderer throughout the civilised world. The article in Alexander's was typical in attacking him in violent language. Whatever the merits of the charge the libellous footnote was certainly pure supposition for which there was no support whatever.^{x16}

The full story of the dispute of the Committee with the Librarian and with the Subscribers is to be found in the Minute Books and in the contemporary press.¹⁷ Briefly the train of events was as follows.

The body of subscribers to the Library objecting to the Committee's resolutions on the above matter and certain other questions of administration, applied for a special General Meeting to consider them. This was refused by the Committee. The Subscribers notwithstanding called their own meeting on 15th February 1836, under the chairmanship of the Hon. A. Oliphant, attorney-general, and condemned the Committee's actions. While they disapproved of the article in Alexander's Magazine, they considered the discontinuance of the journal unwarranted. Jardine acted as secretary to this meeting.

x The footnote read:

"Is this the Smith, who, when Captain, being stigmatised by his brother officers as a coward, to give the lie to the stigma, allowed his ire to fall on the most unoffending man society ever knew - who, without the slightest provocation, first - horse-whipped, to revolting barbarity, then shot poor O'Grady of Dublin and for the offence, was shut up two years in Kilmainham Jail? We merely ask - is this the Smith?"

Kilmainham Jail is in a suburb of Dublin.

A week later the Library Committee met again and discovered that while Jardine had withdrawn and sealed the bought copy of the offending publication, a duplicate presented to the Library by a subscriber, Captain Gillespie Dunlevie, paymaster of the 98th Regiment, had been returned to that gentleman on the Librarian's own responsibility. This was regarded as "so gross a breach of duty" that he was given two days' notice of dismissal. When the Committee met again Jardine had not by any means had time to order his accounts and begged for an extension of time. He now explained that Dunlevie's copy had been in a drawer and that the donor had seen it when the drawer was opened and demanded it. Jardine was asked to put this in writing which he accordingly did, now stating that he had not been able to see any reason why he should not hand the journal over for the sake of pleasing a subscriber. This further qualification of his action only antagonised the Committee still more and it was insisted that he had disobeyed their specific instructions and must go at the end of the week. The Subscribers meanwhile arranged another meeting (with Jardine as secretary) in spite of a memorandum from Wylde that any such meeting would be out of order, and instructed the Committee to suspend Jardine's dismissal until they had met again in a week's time. The Committee on March 1st discharged Jardine forthwith though he still had not prepared his accounts. Meeting again on the 5th however the Subscribers under the chairmanship of Mr. Martin West, J.P., declared that the Committee had no power to discharge the Librarian and rescinded its resolution along with certain others, resolving that new regulations for the Library be drawn up and submitted to the Governor for approval. The Committee being after all only elected by the Subscribers, were obliged to accept the latter's ruling, at the same time disclaiming any personal or vindictive feelings against Jardine. No further mention of the affair was made and in due course new regulations were promulgated clarifying and limiting the Committee's authority.

Jardine himself unfortunately does not come out of the affair entirely favourably. The Committee's decisions may have been

at fault but that is no reason why he should twice change his explanation of his failure to carry out their instruction. In addition there was a strange matter of minutes appearing in the official Minute Book for a meeting on February 13th which all the Committee agreed had never taken place, it having been merely an unofficial gathering of three or four in the Library on that day, one of those present being a member who had resigned. These minutes - of no special importance in themselves - still stand scored through in the book.

This unpleasant business concluded, Jardine returned to his Library chair for another nine years and no more such disturbances upset his tenure of office. He essayed no fresh literary venture after the Cape Literary Gazette came to an end through lack of funds at the end of 1835, but continued to contribute to other publications, notably Sam Sly's African Journal, edited by W. L. Sammons. It is not possible to determine with certainty which his contributions to this paper were, though the literary criticism appearing under the heading Literature might well have been his. Sammons in his obituary notice on Jardine remarks that he "contributed many witty sallies to the pages of this Journal."¹⁸

Jardine died actually in the Library he loved so well at about four o'clock in the afternoon of 26th July 1845.¹⁹ The cause of death was described as "an enlargement of the heart" from which he had been suffering for some time though in no great pain. A recent attack of pleurisy had weakened his constitution and reduced his resistance. He was buried on 28th July in the English cemetery in Somerses Road in the presence of his many friends. Dr. James Adamson delivered the funeral address.²⁰ The tombstone read:

Sacred to the Memory of
Alexander Johnstone Jardine
to whose useful & devoted Service
for the long period of 24 years^x
the Inhabitants of Cape Town
are gratefully indebted
for the present state of prosperity
of the Public Library
Obiit (26 July) 1845
Aged 53²¹

x This of course is an error. He was Librarian for twenty-one years and two months.

Many years before (1832) he had written his own epitaph in concluding some verses which appeared in his Literary Gazette:

"Let not my name on staring stone,
With loud bare lies be worded:
What little good or ill I've done,
Elsewhere is safe recorded."²²

It is fortunate that in this latter statement he was largely right.

Apart from the heavy debt to Richardson - which he doubtless hoped would be resolved in his life-time - he must have lived comfortably in the little four-roomed cottage which he bought for himself in Claremont. According to the notice of sale this was "embellished with the well-known taste and judgment of its deceased owner" and possessed "a garden highly cultivated and planted with choice varieties of fruit trees, shrubs etc."^{x23} His interest in this direction was well known and reference will be found to it in the following tribute in the South African Commercial Advertiser:²⁰

"It [the Library] has grown up as it were around Mr. Jardine in such a manner as to make it hard, and not a little sad, to think of the one without the other. Being a bachelor, and unconnected by relationship with any colonial families, he seemed to the public, and even to the great majority of his acquaintance, to have no private life, but to be simply the "Man of the Library", with whom it was a pleasant custom daily to exchange a few words about Books, and also about their authors, with many eminent among whom he had in early life some personal acquaintance, while his Bibliographic knowledge was extensive and his fund of literary anecdote rare, curious, and apparently inexhaustible.

"In all his tastes there was much of elegance; his knowledge of botany and his skill in treating plants were shown even in the dry vicinity of the Library Building,^{xx} but more extensively around a little rustic cottage, at Claremont, which he had purchased, and where he resided for the last few years of his life. His power of doing much with little in this department, was a source of pleasure as well as of pleasantry amongst his friends."

All Cape papers with the exception of the Zuid Afrikaan, which still felt ill-disposed towards him after a scathing attack

x Jardine's estate was only declared insolvent on 22/7/1846. The total liabilities were £1,099-18s.-4d. and the assets only £109-11s.-7d. The Cottage was sold for £387 and the furniture, which included mahogany chairs and rosewood tables, £200. The former however was mortgaged for £350. (Cape Archives MOIB 2/646; Govt. Gazette 1/9/1845, 23/7/1846.)

xx The north wing of the Commercial Exchange building on the Grand Parade - not the present building in the Gardens. Evidence of this gardening is to be seen in a picture hanging in the Library which shows the wing and the surrounding vegetation. The picture is an architect's design for a new library building, the background being by T.W. Bowler. It must have been painted about 1857.

in the Cape Literary Gazette of January 1832,^x and ignored his passing completely, had pleasant memories of him to recall: "Our agreeable, chatty Librarian" said the Cape Town Mail of D. D. Buchanan; "The friendly way in which he always treated the subscribers and visitors," wrote Suasso de Lima in his Verzamelaar, "will long be remembered." Should these eulogies smack too much of the dictum "de mortuis nil nisi bonum", a quotation from the Albany Mirror of 1841 will show that he earned much the same commendation in his lifetime. In describing the Cape Town Library that journal said:

"...The Librarian, also, a man of agreeable manners and address, adds much to the attraction of the place. All strangers, more especially visitors from India, find him a valuable acquisition on their arrival at the Cape. He is the ready medium, through which they learn something of the state of affairs here, as well as in England and of matters in general. Besides he is not like one of your bookworms, who grow thin on literary lore, but possessed of a goodly presence and comely aspect, that sheds a cheerful influence on the establishment."²⁴

Such a description agrees very well with the only known portrait of him - a small commercially executed painting belonging to the South African Library. Here there is also to be seen "much of elegance" as stated in the Commercial Advertiser. It depicts a smart, cleanshaven man with fresh complexion and sandy hair. He has a high forehead, long straight nose, determined mouth and a protruding chin. A note on the back giving details for the artist reads "Bushy brows, blue sharp [eyes], sandy-whitish [hair]- florid."

In politics he was a Whig and an ardent admirer of Henry Brougham. Needless to say he was strongly in support of the Reform Bill,^{xx} the abolition of slavery and the development of colonial institutions in due time, as will be seen in the pages of his Literary Gazette. Whatever indeed he may have been prepared to do as editor of the South African Chronicle, in his own publication he was determined to be subservient to no man. "For be it known unto you,

x Ch. VIII p. 194.

xx There exists a copy of the Statutes of King's College, Cape of Good Hope, a proposed Anglican institution never founded, on the back of which is written in Jardine's hand: "Mem. I take it for granted that the founders of Kings College mean to support the Reform Bill. After reading the above printed Prospectus - I must pronounce in the words of England's Glory and the pride of the whole earth - Lord Brougham - Humbug.

"Bishop of London forsooth! - away with the whole crew!"
This must date from after Nov. 1830 when Brougham was raised to the peerage.

men and brethren, (he wrote in July 1833) that the sale of the Literary Gazette might have been extended three-fold, had we succumbed to the one-eyed monster the mob, and joined in the clamour against certain philanthropic principles, of which the paper in question the Commercial Advertiser has been the steady and uncompromising advocate."²⁵

In Cape politics it will inevitably be found that he was not always on the best of terms with his Afrikaner fellow countrymen and their organ De Zuid Afrikaan. As an educated man with a European background he frequently found the "country Dutch" merely boorish, while the politics of the Dutch press he regarded as dangerously reactionary.^x Condemnation of De Zuid Afrikaan in February 1832 earned him the following scathing attack from a correspondent in that journal,²⁶ much at variance with the eulogiums quoted above. When one entered the Library, he wrote, one might be in

"... some noisy Club-room, or near the bar of the Swan with Two Necks in Lad-lane... the Librarian, much like a London Cheesemonger, behind his counter, loudly laughing and talking with a set of old idle praters, some of whom are even would-be men of some consequence... from whom he gathers all the news of the day in order to replenish the columns of his Gazette... Let new rules be framed, and a reform of the entire Establishment immediately set on foot, more especially with respect to the Librarian, who, if the hints thrown out in your last Number be authentic, and can be made applicable to him, ought no longer to fill that important situation."

In the Philip-Settler controversy, Jardine appears to have maintained a neutral position - certainly not one to bring the wrath of John Fairbairn down upon him.

As a writer he was competent and interesting without being in any way striking. To produce as a spare time activity the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette which ran for five-and-a-half years in monthly parts, he must have worked exceedingly hard, it being very clear that there was no question - as there was with Pringle - of his neglecting his library work. Indeed under him the South African Library grew into an institution to be reckoned with. It is surprising that he refrained from joining the South

x See Ch.VII, pt.2, p.187.

African Literary and Scientific Institution until 1832. Perhaps he felt that his official position and his critical literary work made it desirable for him to remain an observer outside such bodies. In 1833 he showed his interest in a wider sphere by becoming a shareholder in the Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa.²⁷

DEVELOPMENTS AT THE CAPE, 1820-30

Before starting to examine the Cape Literary Gazette in detail it would be as well to notice some of the changes and developments that had taken place since Pringle and the bulk of the English settlers had landed at the Cape in the early 1820's. Some of these have of course been commented upon in the previous chapters of this work. Firstly, on the cultural side the scene was no longer as arid as it had once appeared. The South African College had been established in 1829 and was already attracting students. The South African Institution was also in the first flush of youth under the eye of a beneficent governor, along with its counterpart, the South African Literary Society, while the Library had its complement in Dr. Andrew Smith's Museum. Thanks to the tenacity of Fairbairn and Greig the freedom of the press was definitely assured and in 1830 Cape Town had a newspaper on three days in the week, while Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift still ran.

Government continued in the form established after the Commission of Inquiry - the Governor sitting with a council of his senior officials - but in 1828 a new legal system was introduced based on the English pattern, the office of fiscal being abolished. The finances of the Colony - never in a particularly buoyant state - continued to be run on a deficit.

In the physical sphere steady development was evident. Many new town houses were built and others rebuilt in the contemporary English colonial style, while St. Andrew's Church was built on severe neo-classical lines. The English church adherents, to their shame, had to wait until 1834 for a building of their own. Out in the country communication with the

interior was being facilitated by the construction of Sir Lowry's Pass over the Hottentots Holland, work on which was far advanced and to be completed by July 1830. With new blood the Cape was advancing.²⁸

Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 1830-1835

Bibliographical Description

A. Separate issues

[Vol. I] No.1, June 16, 1830. Issued in orange wrappers printed as follows:

The / Cape of Good Hope / Literary Gazette^x / [ornament] / No.1. / [double rule] / Cape Town: Wednesday, June 16, 1830. / [double rule] / Contents: / [16 lines, double column] / [double rule] / Cape Town / Printed and Published by W. Bridekirk, Heeregracht.

[All within a decorative frame]

Outside of back wrappers: 'Memoranda' for June, viz. sun and moon, anniversaries.

Half-title on p.1:

The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette,^x / Devoted exclusively to / Literature, Criticism, Science, / and the Advancement of Useful Knowledge. / [double rule] / No. 1. Cape Town: Wednesday, June 16, 1830. Price, (Five Shillings / [double rule].) (per Quarter.)

4to. unsigned.

Size of uncut copy: 28 x 21½-22 cm.

[Vol.I] No.1, 2nd ed., published March 30, 1831.^{xx} Issued in white wrappers printed as follows: [Woodcut of Britannia with Table Mt. behind] ^{xxx}

The Cape of Good Hope Literary^x / Gazette.^x / No.1. / (Second Edition.) / [double rule] / Cape Town: Wednesday, June 16, 1830. / [double rule] / Cape Town: / Re-printed and Published by W. Bridekirk, Heeregracht. / [rule] / Note.- The first eight pages of this Edition are re-printed by Mr. Bridekirk, and the four last by Mr. Greig. / [rule] / Terms:- 20s. per Annum.

All within the same decorative frame as 1st ed.

Outside of back wrapper: Contents.

Differences between 1st and 2nd eds.:

Half-title has '(2d Edit.)' following 'No.1.'

p.1, col.2. last word: 1st ed. 'who'
2nd ed. 'are'.

p.3, col.2. The end of Wilkinson the Indian is completely re-set in 2nd ed.

p.3, col.3. last word: 1st ed. 'precau-'
2nd ed. 'precaution'.

p.4, col.3. foot-note: 2nd ed. 'Rewish' [!]

p.9, col.3. Heading The Two Brothers is at least 1 pt. larger in 2nd ed.

p.10, col.3. last word: 1st ed. 'manu-'
2nd ed. 'unnecessary'.

p.12, col.3 ends: 1st ed. 'Printed and Published by W. Bridekirk, Cape Town.'
2nd ed. 'Reprinted by G. Greig, Cape Town.'

x In gothic type.

xx See wrapper of No. XI, March 1831.

xxx In this very crude woodcut Britannia sits conventionally with her shield and trident on a slight eminence, Behind to the left (see p. 157)

Note: No reasons for the division of labour between two printers are envisaged other than the purely practical ones of expedition and pressure of work.

[Vol.I] No.2, July 21, 1830. No copy with wrappers traced.

Half-title on p.13 set lower than in No.1 with the Royal arms above. This is the only number bearing the arms.

[Vol.I] No.3, August 18, 1830. Issued in green or yellow wrappers^x printed as follows:

The Cape of Good Hope Literary^{xx}/ Gazette.^{xx}/ [ornament] / No. III. / [double rule] / Cape Town: Wednesday, August 18, 1830. / [double rule] / Contents: / [9 lines] / [double rule] / Cape Town: / Printed and Published by W. Bridekirk, Heeregracht.

[All within the same decorative frame as before.]

Outside of back wrappers: list of accessions to Public Library.

The same size (approx.) and layout is maintained for the rest of Vol.I, with various colours. From No.11, March 30, 1831, 'Terms:- 20s. per Annum.' appears below imprint.

The following variations are to be noticed throughout the run of the work:

Vol.II onwards: numbering appears as: VOL.II.---No.III.

Vol.II, no.1. is erroneously dated 1831.

Vol.III, no.2 onwards: 'Heeregracht' dropped from imprint.

Vol.IV onwards, days of issue dropped, month only specified.

Vol.V, no.7 onwards: 'Printed and Published by G.J. Pike.'

No noticeable change in style.^{xxx}

Half-titles remain constant with the following minor changes:

Vol.II onwards: numbering appears as: No.1. Vol.II.
price appears as (20 Shillings
(per Annum.

Vol.IV onwards: day of issue dropped, month only specified.

Running title:

Verso: The Cape of Good Hope

Recto: Literary Gazette

except on last page of each issue where it is:

The Cape of Good Hope, &c.

B. Volumes

Each of the five volumes was issued with a separate title-page but only Vol.I was provided with an index. Title-pages and preliminaries are as follows:

Vol.I. 1830-31:

The / Cape of Good Hope / Literary Gazette.^{xx} / [double rule] / Vol.I. / [double rule] / Quotation from Quarterly Review, 4 lines / [double rule] / [quotation from Annual Report of S.Afr. Institution, 1830, 5 lines] / [double rule] / Cape Town: / Printed and Published by W. Bridekirk, Gazette Office, Heeregracht. / [rule] / 1830-31.

6p. p. [ii], Dedication to Dr. John Murray.- p.[iii - v], Index.- p. [vi], blank.

Vol.II. 1832:

The / Cape of Good Hope / Literary Gazette.^{xx} / for 1832. /

(cont. from p.156) is a fully rigged ship and to the right a small sailing vessel. This is the only appearance of this cut.

x Colours of wrappers have some variation. Those described are the copies in the S.Afr. Public Library and the Library of Parliament Cape Town.

xx In gothic type.

xxx Bridekirk sold his business to his superintendent Pike, early in 1835, retiring himself in June. Pike was associated with Andries Richert but the latter's name does not often appear in imprints.

Devoted exclusively to / Literature, Criticism Science, /
and the Advancement of / Useful Knowledge. / [double rule] /
Vol.II. / [double rule] / [quotation from Robert Hall's
Advantages of knowledge to the lower classes^x, 5 lines] /
[quotation from preface to S.Afr. Quarterly Jnl. no.1,
6 lines] / [double rule] / Cape Town: / Printed and Pub-
lished by W. Bridekirk, Heeregracht. / [rule] / 1832.

2 p. p.[ii] , 'Dedicatory' to William Wilberforce Bird.

Vol.III, 1833:

The / Cape of Good Hope / Literary Gazette.^{xx} / [double rule] /
/ Vol.III. / [double rule] / [quotation from Robert Southey,
source unknown, 3 lines] / [double rule] / Cape Town: Prin-
ted and Published by W. Bridekirk, Gazette Office, Church-
street. / [rule] / 1833.

2 p. p. [ii], dedication to the Hon. J.W. Stoll.

Vol.IV, 1834:

The / Cape of Good / Literary Gazette,^{xx} / for 1834. /
Devoted exclusively to / Literature, Criticism, Science, /
and the Advancement of / Useful Knowledge. / [double rule] /
Vol.IV. / [double rule] / [quotation from Horace Smith,
source unknown, 7 lines] / [double rule] / Cape Town: /
Printed and Published by W. Bridekirk, No.2, Church-street. /
[rule] / 1834.

4p. p.[ii], Introductory. - p.[iii], Dedicatory, to the
British merchants of Cape Town.

Vol.V, 1835:

The / Cape of Good Hope / Literary Gazette.^{xx} / [double rule] /
Vol.V. 1835. / [double rule] / [quotation from Quarterly
Review, 7 lines] / [rule] / [quotation from Sharon Turner's
Modern History of England, Pt.2, 1829, p.x^{xxx} 4 lines] /
[double rule] / Cape Town: / Printed and Published by G.J.
Pike, No.11, St. George's-street. / [rule] / 1836.

2p. p.[ii] blank.

x A sermon published in 1810.

xx In gothic type.

xxx Some liberties are taken with the original.

C. Collation of Individual Issues.

			<u>Pages</u>	<u>Total Pages</u>	<u>Wrappers</u>
[Vol.I.] No.1.	Wednesday, June 16, 1830		1 - 12	12	Orange
1.(2nd ed.)	do. do.		1 - 12	12	White
	(publ. March 30, 1831)				
2.	Wednesday, July 21, 1830		13 - 24	12	Not known
3.	do. Aug. 18, 1830		25 - 36	12	Green/Yellow
4.	do. Sep. 15, 1830		37 - 52	16	Green
5.	do. Oct. 13, 1830		53 - 68	16	Green
6.	do. Nov. 10, 1830		69 - 80	12	Orange/Yellow
7.	do. Dec. 8, 1830		81 - 92	12	Green
8.	do. Jan. 5, 1831		93 -104	12	Grey
9.	do. Feb. 2, 1831		105--120	16	Yellow
10.	do. March 2, 1831		121 -132	12	Yellow
11.	do. March 30, 1831		133 -144	12	White
			+1 plate		
12.	do. May 4, 1831		145 -160	16	Yellow/White
13.	do. June 1, 1831		157[?]-168	12	Yellow
14.	do. June 29, 1831		169 -180	12	Yellow
15.	do. July 27, 1831		181 -192	12	Yellow/White
16.	do. Aug. 24, 1831		193 -208	16	White
17.	do. Sep. 24, 1831		209 -224	16	Grey/White
	T.-p. and index	1830-31	[i - v]	6	
Vol.II. No.1.	Monday, Jan. 2, 1832		225 -240	16	Grey/Blue-grey
	(1831 on some wrappers)				
2.	Wednesday, Feb. 1, 1832		241 -256	16	Off-white
3.	Thursday, March 1, 1832		257 -272	16	Off-white/Yellow
4.	Monday, April 2, 1832		273 -288	16	Off-white
5.	Tuesday, May 1, 1832		289 -304	16	Blue
6.	Friday, June 1, 1832		305 -320	16	Blue
7.	Monday, July 2, 1832		321 -336	16	Grey-green

C. Collation of Individual Issues. (cont.)

		Pages	Total pages	Wrappers
Vol.II. No.8.	Wednesday, Aug. 1, 1832	337-352	16	Grey-green
9.	Saturday, Sept. 1, 1832	353-368	16	Grey-green
10.	Monday, Oct. 1, 1832	369-384	16	Blue
11.	Thursday, Nov. 1, 1832	385-400	16	Grey
12.	Saturday, Dec. 1, 1832	401-416	16	Grey
T.-p.	1832	[i-ii]	2	
Vol.III.No.1.	Tuesday, Jan. 1, 1833	1- 16	16	Grey
2.	Friday, Feb. 1, 1833	17- 32	16	Cream/Yellow
3.	Friday, March 1, 1833	33- 48	16	Cream/Yellow
4.	Monday, April 1, 1833	49- 64	16	Cream/Yellow
5.	Wednesday, May 1, 1833	65- 80	16	Grey
6.	Saturday, June 1, 1833	81- 96	16	Grey
7.	Monday, July 1, 1833	97-116	20	Grey
		[i-iv] ^x	4	
8.	Thursday, Aug. 1, 1833	117-132	16	Grey
9.	Monday, Sept. 2, 1833	133-148	16	Dark grey
10.	Tuesday, Oct. 1, 1833	149-164	16	Dark grey/Grey
		+1 plate		
11.	Friday, Nov. 1, 1833	165-180	16	Dark grey
12.	Monday, Dec. 2, 1833	181-196	16	Grey/Pink
		[i] ^{xx}	1	
T.-p. and dedication	1833	[i-ii]	2	

x Papers in Reference to a Plan for an Expedition into Central Africa sewn in. Some copies also have Abstract of Proceedings, 1833, 16p. (19½ x 11½cm.)

xx Advertisement by J.D. Gregory for his Cape Bazaar, sewn in at end. The State Library (Pretoria) copy of Vol.III has a Prospectus of a Company, to be denominated the "Cape Banking Company" also dating from 1833, but with no indication of the issue to which it was attached.

C. Collation of Individual Issues. (cont.)

			<u>Pages</u>	<u>Total pages</u>	<u>Wrappers</u>
Vol.IV. No.1.	January,	1834	1- 16	16	Pink
2.	February,	1834	17- 32	16	Pink/Grey
3.	March,	1834	33- 48	16	Pink
4.	April,	1834	49- 64	16	Pink
5.	May,	1834	65- 80	16	Pink
6.	June,	1834	81- 96	16	Blue/Blue-pink
7.	July,	1834	97-112 ^x	16	Blue
8.	August,	1834	113-128	16	Green
9.	September,	1834	129-144	16	Green
10.	October,	1834	145-164	20	Green
11.	November,	1834	165-180	16	Green
12.	December,	1834	181-196	16	Green
T.-p. and dedication	1834		[i-iii]	4	
Vol.V. No.1.	January,	1835	1- 16	16	Blue-green
2.	February,	1835	17- 32	16	"
3.	March,	1835	33- 48	16	"
4.	April,	1835	49- 64	16	"
5.	May,	1835	65- 80	16	"
6.	June,	1835	81- 96	16	"
7.	July,	1835	97-114	18	"
8.	August,	1835	115-130	16	"
9.	September,	1835	131-146	16	"
10.	October,	1835	147-162	16	"
11.	November,	1835	163-178	16	Green
12.	December,	1835	179-194 ⁺	16 ⁺	Blue-green
			[i ^{xx}	1	
T.-p.	1835(1836)		[i]	2	

x Instructions for the Expedition into Central Africa, 10p., sewn in.

xx Advertisement for S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser (22½ x 14cm.) sewn in at end.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

Part I

1. Cape Monthly Mag. v.4, p.48, July 1858. The reference here to Jardine's will cannot be strictly accurate as he died intestate according to Master's Office register 17/194.
2. Information received from the Scots Ancestry Research Association.
3. Cape Literary Gazette, v.3, no.9, p.136, 1833.
4. C.M.M., v.4, p.48-52, 1858.
5. Cape Archives, Permissions to remain, no.3980, March 13 1823.
6. du Plessis (J.) The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa, p.17-18.
7. Cape Archives, C.O. Private individuals, v.367, 1824, no.252.
8. Theal's Records, v.24, p.20.
9. Minutes of the Library Committee, 24/12/1821, 21/4/1829.
10. Morgan (Geo.) Remarks on the State of the Scottish Church, Cape Town, 1846, p.36n. Evidence is also provided here of A.J.J.'s authorship of A Fragment of Church History.
11. Theal's Records, v.19, p.336; v.34, p.58.
12. E.L.G., v.1, no.2, p.12.
13. Ibid., v.1, no.17, p.219-21. See also Saunders (L.J.) Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840, p.254-56.
14. J.M. Richardson to J.C. Molteno, 26/7/1831. Letter in S.Afr. Public Library.
15. Molteno (P.A.) The Life and Times of Sir John Charles Molteno, v.1, p.8-9.
16. Alexander's East India and Colonial Mag., v.10, p.208-10, 1835. See also Smith (Sir H.G.W.) Autobiography, v.2, p.41-49, 1901.
17. Minutes of the Library Committee and of Subscribers' Meetings, 7/12/1835 - 26/3/1836; S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 27/2/1836, 2/3/1836, 9/3/1836.
18. Sam Sly's African J., 31/7/1845.
19. Death notice 7959/45 and Register 17/194, Master's Office, Cape Town.
20. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 30/7/1845; Sam Sly's African J., 31/7/1845.
21. Photograph in possession of Mr. A.H. Jardine of Cape Town.
22. C.L.G., v.2, p.351.
23. Govt. Gazette, 8/7/1845, 15/7/1845.
24. Albany Mirror, v.1, no.1, p.15, Apr.1841.
25. C.L.G., v.3, no.7, p.113.
26. Ibid., v.2, no.2, p.239; Zuid Afrikaan, 2/3/1832.
27. Papers in Reference to a Plan for an Expedition into Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope, 12th June 1833. p. [3].
28. This summary of developments is based on material gleaned from various sources but principally the Cape Almanacks for the relevant years and Theal's History of South Africa, 4th ed., v.6, p.16-24.
29. C.L.G., v.5, no.6, p.95. June 1835.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE LITERARY GAZETTE, Vol. I

When Jardine launched his Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette on June 16th 1830, he may well have been judged guilty of a degree of plagiarism by those familiar with the London literary scene, for not only did he borrow most of his title from existing journals but also format, layout, style of headings and general editorial approach. Where he fell short will become evident in due course.

The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences &c., the first of this type of periodical, was founded by Henry Colburn in January 1817 and edited by William Jerdan (1782-1869), who was also a shareholder, until 1850, when he was obliged to sell out.^{x1} The Gazette continued until 1863. It appeared weekly with sixteen three-column pages for 8d., and while being primarily concerned with reviews of new books was naturally very different in style from the great Reviews and monthly magazines. Its review articles rarely exceeded four columns and might be no more than four lines. In accordance with custom long passages from the work under consideration were often quoted. In addition regular sections were headed Arts and Sciences, covering the activities of societies, Literary and Learned, wherein university news was to be found, Fine Arts, Drama, Varieties and Literary Novelties. There were invariably two to four pages of advertisements, literary and educational. For ten years the Literary Gazette led the field in London cultural weeklies but in 1828 there came one which, covering precisely similar topics, not only covered them better and was better printed but also pioneered the campaign against "puffery". This was James Silk Buckingham's The Athenaeum, started but only briefly continued in partnership with Colburn who had become annoyed by Jerdan's independence. In June 1830 however it was taken over by Charles Wentworth Dilke who continued in control until his death in 1864.^{xx} In outward appearance the Literary

x Jerdan also attempted a Foreign Literary Gazette, established in Jan. 1830. It expired after thirteen weekly numbers however.
xx The Athenaeum continued until 1921.

The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette,

DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO
LITERATURE, CRITICISM, SCIENCE,
AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

No. 1.

CAPE TOWN: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16, 1830.

PRICE, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Five Shillings} \\ \text{per Quarter.} \end{array} \right.$

TO THE PUBLIC.

If we be successful in being supported, we hope to be successful in being useful,—that will be our profit. As a community, we possess a position almost unrivalled for facilities in securing information or extending it. Placed on the highway of common communication, betwixt the world's nations, whether aged in wisdom or in ignorance, or yet little more than the half-formed germ of prospective empires, who can never feel the lack of information from others:—canopied by a sky of strange and unsearched splendour; and

being of man considered as rational, demands the cultivation and improvement of his mental faculties. These faculties distinguish him from all objects by which he is surrounded, and stamp him with an evident and almost divine superiority. The mind derives its strength from labour, and its activity from exercise, hence it is, that on the

are desirous of receiving information from a periodical Paper in the *English language*, and who feel an adequate interest in the cultivation and diffusion of literature and general knowledge, to afford that countenance and support to the present undertaking, which shall guarantee its success, and secure its

THE LONDON LITERARY GAZETTE; AND Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.

This Journal is supplied Weekly, or Monthly, by the principal Booksellers and Newsmen, throughout the Kingdom; but to those who may desire its immediate transmission, by post, we recommend the LITERARY GAZETTE, printed on stamped paper, price One Shilling.

No. 699.

SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1830.

PRICE 8d.

REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS.

The Life of Reginald Heber, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta. By his Widow. With Selections from his Correspondence, unpublished Poems, and Private Papers; together with a Journal of his Tour in Norway, Sweden, Russia, and Germany; and a History of the Cossaks. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1830. J. Murray.

It will be allowed, that the office of a critic to a weekly periodical journal is no sinecure; seeing that this work of *ordly quarto size*, and

fervour into the duties of his sacred profession, relaxing from them only to pursue the congenial enjoyments of literature. He wrote many articles for the *Quarterly Review*; and, stopping only to say, that about this time (April 1809) he increased his felicity by marrying Miss Amelia Shipley, daughter of the late Dean and grand-daughter of the late Bishop of St. Asaph,—we shall make a selection of a few of the interesting literary notes and anecdotes which we find scattered throughout his correspondence. As these are mostly very short, and sufficiently

510. Η ποσει η μεγα αυτης Διασημ υστουσι αυτη, Οσως ινακτισται ποτ' ιατηρηταισιν αναλινθου, Η κλιση Λυσιου, η Βιλασσα, ηΒεμυχηριου Χαλχουαλι, φιλαι εικαι αγαθησιν Ηρακλειου Και ετσι η μεγαλη ιασηδινουσι ιασησιν
515. Τακτικησιν αυθουσι, μεγα κλυσιου, εις μαλα σασι Καλχουσι εις μεγαλησιν Σιου και χουσι ιδουσι.
Proh Deos! certe magnus dolor peregrino erit viro Quicunque bene habitatum aliquando adventus civitatem
Aut nobilium Lyciam, aut Bithoniam, aut Bemicanum Eris-civitatem, charam domum ob circumstantibus

EDINBURGH LITERARY GAZETTE

DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO
LITERATURE, CRITICISM, SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS.

VOL. II.—No. 57.

SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1830.

THE PERKIN WARBECKS, OR THE TWO SIMONS FURE.

The swan upon Saint Mary's lake Floats double, swan and shadow.—WOLFELOWERS.

bold and phlegmatic, as the English temperament is generally supposed to be, its literature is rich in works of high and vivid imagination, as contradistinguished from pictures of actual and existing modes of life. From the death of Dryden, however, until the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century, the flame of romance seemed to have exhausted itself, and to be dying out, leaving frigid rule and scientific artifice in its stead. The unsettling of men's minds by the writings of Rousseau and Voltaire on the continent, joined with the rise of Cowper (a strange conjunction) among ourselves, and the new order of

terrors, that mothers were at length obliged to lock it up from their sickly and sentimental daughters; nor was its morality altogether unchargeable with laxity. Lewis, however, took a leap from the closet to the stage, and we yet remember, when boys,

—Eheu fugaces, Posthuma, labentur aevi!
—Grimacing in the very bosom of the scene in the "Castle Spectre" which brought the murdered maiden upon the stage. If productions are to be judged by their effect; this like the "Robbers" of Schiller, has left on facile imaginations traces which are uneffaceable. "The Tales of Terror," and the "Tales of Wonder," succeeded—some of them stories of amazing vigor, extravagant, wild, superstitious, but withal highly readable, and of enchanting interest. In spirit Lewis was

Following the taste of the times, Mrs. Hemley has now returned to the historical romance, and may well think compensation with the habit gained of those who in the day fifty acquired reputation by engraving fiction on fact. The practice is at best a questionable one (speaking according to the utilitarian system of Jeremy Bentham); but this is not the time for us to set about the discussion of that other world. It is enough for us to say, that in tracing her characters they have displayed a vigorous intellect; and that with purity of sentiment, and with a style full of spirit-stirring images and originality. Clifford and Frida are striking pictures of humanity, and are brought into admirable contrast with Harman de Faro, a man of elevated sentiment and stainless virtue. Mrs. Hemley's

V. The first pages of contemporary issues of the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette and its British counterparts, the London Literary Gazette and the Edinburgh Literary Gazette, showing how closely Jardine copied the latter in style.

To face page 164.

Gazette and the Athenaeum were very similar, apart from the cleaner type-face of the latter. From the time Dilke took over, however, the Athenaeum built up for itself a reputation for impartial and fair reviewing hitherto unknown. The accepted practice of "puffery" whereby publishers paid to have their books favourably reviewed - as well as running their own journals for this purpose - pervaded literary criticism outside the Reviews and Magazines where politics was more often the influence.²

The Athenaeum started also with 16 pages for 8d. but reduced its price to 4d. in 1831 as the need to increase circulation became acute through the loss of advertising revenue.³ Like the Literary Gazette each issue opened with reviews up to six columns in length. Then followed Original Papers - usually signed - Scientific and Literary, Fine Arts, Theatrical, sometimes Music and Miscellanea, with advertisements at the end.

Yet another literary periodical, the Edinburgh Literary Gazette appeared on the scene in May 1829. Strange as it may seem the founder and the editor of this journal are not known, and although in the 31st issue (December 12 1829) the proprietor's name is given as Edward Mayne Blackie, of him nothing else is remembered.^{x4} Approximating closely in style to its London counterparts, the Edinburgh lasted only sixty-one weeks, the last issue being that of July 1830. It had however attracted the attention of A. J. Jardine who ensured its receipt in the South African Public Library and copied its title even more closely than that of the Literary Gazette in London for his Cape venture. The full title was The Edinburgh Literary Gazette, devoted exclusively to Literature, Criticism, Science and the Arts. Of these objects Jardine dropped only the last in his title which read The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, devoted exclusively to Literature, Criticism, Science, and the Advancement of Useful Knowledge. This change is significant and an admission either that there were few arts to record at the Cape or that the editor was a utilitarian who saw nothing in arts that were not useful. Examination of the Cape publication will incline one to the latter view.

x He had no connection with the publishing family of Blackie, as far as is known.

Jardine's Gazette was a monthly - rather it appeared four-weekly throughout its first volume which ran for seventeen issues from Wednesday June 16th 1830 until Wednesday, September 24th 1831. Of these seventeen issues the majority^{are/} of twelve pages though on occasion an additional half sheet would be incorporated, bringing the total up to sixteen. In the second and subsequent volumes sixteen pages was the rule with an occasional increase to twenty.

As already remarked, the size and general layout corresponded very closely to its London and Edinburgh counterparts. Recurrent headings however were fewer and Critical Notices, Contemporary Criticism (overseas reviews), Original Correspondence, Miscellanea, Literary Extracts (copied from a variety of sources, periodical and otherwise), and Literary and Scientific Notices were all that can be regarded as regular.

LITERARY CRITICISM

The first point to be noticed in comparison with the overseas literary gazettes is that critical reviews were far less prominent. While both the London Literary Gazette and the Athenaeum opened each number with a considerable review of current publications of importance, Jardine gave pride of place to editorial comment on current affairs as did the Edinburgh Literary Gazette. Such cultural activity as Cape Town afforded received regular attention, this including the meetings of the Literary Society and the South African Institution and reports from the South African College and the South African Public Library, but fine arts, music and drama, alas, received no attention. With regard to the former one is prepared to admit that there was little at the Cape to warrant the notice of a critic, but the theatre did exist in Cape Town and productions were regularly reported in such a respectable journal as Het Ned. Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift, yet not a word of them appears in the Gazette. The English Theatrical Amateur Company "All the World's a Stage" was performing regularly in the South African Playhouse in Hottentot Square, assisted by H. Booth, professional from the Theatre

Royal, London, while the Dutch company "Tot Nut en Vermaak" was also active.⁶ This disregard cannot be accounted for merely by the presumption that Jardine had a low opinion of the local theatre or did not care for it personally as a means of entertainment. We must rather infer that strict Presbyterian upbringing made him view the Stage as something outside his world.^x In London, it may be remarked, the chief dramatic critics of the day wrote for the Athenaeum.

Situated 6,000 miles and two months away from the centres of publishing, Jardine certainly had no need to fear the wrath of publishers whose books might be harshly dealt with in his pages. In the very first issue moreover he declared a policy of impartial reviewing concurrent with that of Dilke in the Athenaeum, whose first issues he could not possibly have seen.

"Society grants to no author a charter of protection", he wrote in prefatory remarks to the first reviews, "but has decided that reviewers may range and skirmish as they like. Public criticism must be, therefore, confronted with reasonable firmness, and all its varieties must be tranquilly endured... We all act and behave in society, according to what we have grown up to be; and our pen obeys and displays our mental character as expressive as our manners, our conversation, or our conduct... The right of everyone is to judge as he pleases; and each will express himself according to his own taste and choice. It is for the advantage of our individual character to judge equitably, and to write with honourable candour. But even in this respect no one can be dictated to. Like Draco, the conscientious reviewer must visit the sins of vanity and egotism, with no less severity than those of cruelty and profligacy."^{xx7}

Then, at the close of his first volume in September 1831, he declared with pleasure:

x Some little light is thrown on his attitude to the professional theatre by the review in v.2, no.1 (p.233) of Galt's Lives of the Players where he says:

"We differ with the author, and care very little about play-actors, - their profession being only adopted in most instances, as a dernier resort; those who follow it are a set of adventurers alternately raised to the summit of prosperity, or plunged in the abyss of despair. For our own parts, we never see a poor de'il of a shabby genteel player off the stage, and apart from tinsel, without feeling that, of all mankind he is most to be pitied."

Nearly two years later however, in v.3, no.12 (p.164), when bemoaning the lack of contributions from colonists he admits that the theatre is flourishing and the Dutch theatre quite respectable.

xx The early part of this credo is quoted almost word for word on the title page of Volume 5 where it is acknowledged to be from the works of Sharon Turner (1768-1847), an able but now forgotten historian chiefly celebrated for his Modern History of England, 1828-29. The first few lines of the above excerpt down to "conduct", were taken from Part 2 of this work, p.x.

"It certainly affords some tolerable grounds for triumph, that we have succeeded in bringing our first volume to a close, unassisted by the modern methods of the newspaper trick, cunning and puffery. Every tome, every pamphlet, be its pretensions as lofty as Goliath, or as dwarfish as Monsieur Gouffe, provided it has its imprimatur from certain personages or associations, or societies or holy alliances, is immediately puffed into notice."⁸

Nevertheless there is very little adverse literary criticism to be found in the Cape Literary Gazette, although some fifty books are noticed in the first volume. Apart from the nine works of South African interest, the impression received indeed is that the books were selected for review from the current accessions to the South African Public Library as being those which the Editor considered most worth bringing to the readers' attention, even if at times the choice is surprising.^x It should not be inferred however that Jardine did all the reviewing himself. Some reviews are signed "C.S." and at the end of the seventh issue the Editor makes reference to "our Reviewer" as "a gentleman of acknowledged ability" who had favoured the Gazette with his "disinterested assistance".⁹

The selection of books reviewed covers a wide field ranging from popular history and biography to the Hindu law of inheritance and forensic medicine. The influence of the interests of Indian civil servants and Army officers at the Cape on furlough is clear from the attention given to Indian items which would certainly have escaped notice otherwise. One of the most notable of these was William Tulloh Robertson's translation of Firdousi's Roostum Zaboollee and Sohrab,^{xx} published in Calcutta in 1829.¹⁰ Robertson (1799-1835) had been a magistrate in Futtihpore. He spent some years at the Cape, a son being born to him here in March 1830, while he himself died young - doubtless a delayed victim of the Indian climate - early in 1835. In his obituary which appeared in the Literary Gazette in April of that year, it is

x It would appear from the minute books of the Library Committee at this time that the books received from London were - apart from any specific requests - selected and sent by the bookseller J. M. Richardson of Cornhill, who held the contract from 1824 until 1848.

xx Sohrab and Rustam - part of the Shah-Nameh (The Book of the Kings) the national epic of Persia. The book, presented by him and handsomely bound in red, is still in the S.Afr. Public Library.

stated that "Mr. Robertson favoured this Journal in 1830, with many valuable contributions." These certainly included two short pieces of verse in the second issue (p.24) signed 'W.T.R.', which will be referred to again later, and in all probability the article in the same issue (p.16) entitled Asia and Africa, which traces classical allusions to the two continents and was signed 'R', was also his.

Notice of certain issues of the Calcutta paper The Bengal Hurkaru was solely the result of the Editor's attention being drawn to the strong attacks on the Cape as a holiday resort published therein and of his wish to see her defended. The two reviews are signed 'C.S.'.

South African items noticed in Volume I were the South African Quarterly Journal - the review of which has already been quoted in the last chapter - Cowper Rose's Four Years in South Africa, 1829, Dr. John Philip's Researches in South Africa, illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes, Thomas Miller's The Exact Position of the Slave Question, George Greig's South African Almanac and Directory for 1831, Stapleton's Cape of Good Hope Pocket Almanac, Commander John Pole's A Few Reasons why the Agricultural Poor should have enough Land for Raising their own Food, 1830, and Wright's Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope - a powerful indictment. Hay and Belfrage's Memoir of the Rev. Alexander Waugh was also reviewed, probably because its editing was one of Thomas Pringle's minor literary efforts during his last years.

For reasons best known to the Editor, the short notice of Rose's book was written in Gaelic, and proves on analysis to be quotations from the first chapter of the Book of Ecclesiastes

thought apposite to Rose's superficial treatment of the Cape scene.^x

x I am indebted to Prof. L.F. Casson for identifying the passage as being made up of verses 2, 9 and 15 of Ch.I in the Gaelic version of Ecclesiastes. Beneath a heading: "Cò dh'iarr so air ùr laimh?" - which may be translated "Who sought this out in such a hurry?" - there are the three verses which in the English Revised Version are as follows:

2. Vanity of vanities, saith [Gaelic-"said"] the Preacher; vanity of vanities, all is vanity.
9. That which hath been is that which shall be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun.
15. That which is crooked cannot be made straight: and that which is wanting cannot be numbered.

(see p.169)

Jardine no doubt knew Rose during his stay at the Cape but the book itself suggests no reason for the exotic language. Cowper Rose was indeed of Scottish origin being the second son of Samuel Rose, friend of William Cowper and the lawyer who defended William Blake at his trial for treason in 1804, but Samuel Rose was born in Chiswick and though qualifying in law in Scotland, practised largely in the London area.¹¹

Philip's Researches were recognised to be of considerable importance and received the longest review of any book. This notice - starting in No.3 and continuing in the following issue - is stated to be by one "whose labours in the field of this Colony's literature for a series of years past, are well known." Fairbairn might well fill this description best but the style is not his and the criticism is stronger than one would expect of that ardent pro-Philipite. The writer does not hesitate to say so when he considers Philip to be unfair to the British or over-gullible with regard to the Hottentots. This sounds more like John Centlivres Chase, but he had not yet appeared on the literary scene. Adamson's literary career was likewise only just beginning. One is forced to the conclusion that in spite of the preamble quoted above, the reviewer was in fact Jardine himself.^x

The sympathetic though critical review of The Exact Position of the Slave Question by Thomas Miller, a civil servant of the Colony,^{xx} was one of those signed 'C.S.'. Under the heading "Mr. Miller's Pamphlet" editorial comment on this work also appears later in the same issue.¹² There 'C.S.' is described as "a venerable and accomplished individual whose frequent contributions to this journal demand our warmest thanks, and no less the esteem of the community, for his readiness at all times to promote the intellectual advancement of the Colony." Remembering the prominent part played by C. S. Pillans, merchant, in the founding of the suppressed Literary Society of 1824, we are strongly tempted to

(cont. from p.168) The only explanation for the choice of these texts is that A.J.J. felt that Rose in his description of life at the Cape concerned himself too much with the vanities of social life - balls, races, fashions etc. - and that there was little in the book worth worrying about.

x. It might well be asked why Abraham Faure is not considered in this connection. Perusal of the review in question however will soon persuade one that a man of his background could not have written it.

xx Cape Town, George Greig, 1831, 4Op. Miller was a clerk to the Colonial Secretary, and in 1829 Colonial Aide-de-Camp to the Governor. (C.Almanack)

suppose 'C.S.' to have been he. The same reviewer was responsible for the notice on another anti-slavery work - Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope,^x by the Rev. William Wright, chaplain at Bathurst in the Albany district and a former missionary.¹³

Non-South African items reviewed included Thomas Hamilton's Annals of the Peninsula Campaigns, the Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir T. Stamford Raffles, Bourrienne's Private Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, Temple's Travels in Various Parts of Peru and Croly's Life and Times of His Late Majesty George IV. All of these, and over twenty more reviewed works, appear in the 1834 catalogue of the South African Public Library. Among them is a composite review in no.11 (March 30 1831) discussing the merit of several cheap series or "libraries" then issuing from the press in large quantities from the houses of Constable, Chambers, Murray and others. The opinion expressed is a generalization scarcely deserved in all cases, viz.:

"We are somewhat at variance with such publications... because they convert the spontaneous enterprise of literature into a bookseller's speculation, and deprive authorship of its elective and con amore character; and invest it with an appearance of constraint and prescription."

The writer who could so regard Constable's Miscellany, The Family Library, or Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Encyclopaedia, was clearly a man who had the best of literature at hand and who at this time failed to appreciate the need for cheap reading matter resulting from increasing education among the poorer classes - and this despite his enthusiasm for country libraries. He was indeed to change his attitude two years later when in an article entitled Library for the People (Vol.III, p.49) he praised these same cheap editions and the popular "penny literature" of the day as being most valuable for the poor.

Less usual subjects for review were Dr. J. G. Smith's Principles of Forensic Medicine and Hints for the Examination of Medical Witnesses, P. M. Wynch's The Daya-Crama-Sangraha; an original Treatise on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance, published in Calcutta,^{xx} Dr. Robert Macnish's The Anatomy of Drunkenness,

x London, Longman, 1831, 107p. It was a very fair appraisal of the condition of slaves, leaving the reader to make his own deductions.

xx The author was however at the Cape at the time, see paragraph below.

Heutzpeter's Epistle to my Friends in Great Britain concerning the last Scene of the World with Relation to the Return of Christ to Earth, and A Catechism of Phrenology. Few of such books could be expected to have a wide appeal at the Cape and only the first named was in the Library.

Only one work of fiction was thought worthy of notice in this first volume of the Gazette - Susan Ferrier's Destiny; or the Chief's Daughter, 3 vols., 1831. This rarity is perhaps explained by the reviewer's opening sentence which reads: "New novels are a species of literature which we seldom (with very few exceptions) submit to the drudgery of reading." He commends the work of Miss Ferrier on the whole however because "there is always a moral attached to the productions of her pen, - calculated to inform the mind, and amend the heart."¹⁴ It is understandable that a journal that had no time for the theatre would have in like manner little time for imaginative literature. The very few items included in the Cape Literary Gazette will be noticed in due course. There is no doubt however that over the years Jardine's attitude to fiction was modified.^x

A surprisingly harsh criticism of the Edinburgh Review appears in the issue of January 5th 1831. The writer remarks that "more than ordinary attention has been paid to the influential journal by the reading community of Cape Town, during the past month. This we presume has arisen from the appeals made in its favour by several writers and speakers." It is to be doubted whether "several" is not an exaggeration, but praise of the Edinburgh Review was certainly given in a lengthy speech proposing the toast of "The Liberty of the Press" at a Public Dinner in the Commercial Rooms held on November 18th 1830, to celebrate the fall of the Bourbon monarchy in France. The speaker was P. M. Wynch, an East India Company legal authority whose treatise on Hindu law of inheritance had been reviewed in the Gazette some months previously. He commended the Edinburgh Review for its hostile attitude to the Bourbons and described it as "a work which has done more to enlighten the

x See Ch.IX, p.261.

Public mind on Government, Science and Literature, than any work extant."¹⁵ Comment on British and European politics is rare though not unknown in the Cape Literary Gazette, but this eulogium was too much for Jardine and - Whig though he was - this review distinctly declares an anti-Whig attitude if not a Tory one.

Under the heading Contemporary Criticism very brief excerpts of overseas reviews appear in two issues. The periodicals from which these are gleaned include the Literary Gazette of London, the Edinburgh Review, Edinburgh Literary Gazette, the Monthly Review, Atlas, and the Spectator. They are of little import to us now except to indicate the width of reading of the "editorial staff". More interesting is an item in No.6 entitled Comparative Criticism in which the reviews of nine books are copied in each case from at least two sources. The confliction of opinion in every case is most amusing. The seven reviews taken from the London Literary Gazette, it should be noted, are invariably eulogistic.

VERSE

If we analyse the contents of the Cape Literary Gazette's first volume we find that apart from literary criticism the contents can be grouped under the following heads in order of quantity: topicalities, scientific and technological items, literary and bibliographical matters, anecdotes and reminiscences, history and travel. Verse contributions cannot be compared in this way, since - while there are at least forty pieces, nearly all original - many are but a few lines. There are some items in this category however which merit attention, even if for the most part they are undistinguished.

Under the heading Poetry in No.2, the Editor regrets the necessity to make a limited use of the very many verse contributions received - "We have as much on hand," he writes, "as would commence building a wall round Parnassus." He then proceeds to extol the poetic muse much after the manner of Shelley. That the Cape public should have been so aroused by the appearance of a literary organ in its midst as to inundate the Editor with their attempts at versification suggests a marked development in the cultural level since

the days of the South African Journal, even if the standard was not very high. Unfortunately the flow was not maintained as both at the end of the second and of the third volumes the Editor was crying out for copy.

The first verses to be published accompany and illustrate an article on the Aborigines of the Colony in which the difficulties to be encountered in attempting to civilize the Hottentot are discussed. The poem which follows is based on a story purporting to date from the time of Simon van der Stel (1691-1699), telling of a promising Hottentot boy who was induced to study at a public school in the settlement but in due course threw off his civilized garb and took to the woods again. Though not poetry on the highest level it is an attractive piece in the Pringle tradition, employing local Cape words, as in this typical verse:

"From Keiskahama's farthest springs,
Where savage tribes pursue their game;
His kombaars tied with leathern strings
This hunter of the woestyn came."x

Other local words are berg (town) and kirri (club). There is no clue as to the authorship of this poem.

In the same issue there is a piece of thirty-six lines of blank verse entitled Bishop Heber, from the MS3. Poems of John Wheatley, Esq., and dated "Cape Town, June 4, 1830." Inspired by Heber's death in 1826, the writer produces a noble and sincere panegyric on one "Whom Milton's muse might glory to commend". The reference to Milton and the attempt to reproduce his style in these lines leads one to believe that four other poems in the Cape Literary Gazette subscribed 'W.' were also the work of Wheatley. These are The Seaman Overboard (p.23-24), Stanzas (p.27), The Cape of Storms (p.48-49) and To the Table Mountain (p.67), published in the second to the fifth issues.

Of John Wheatley we do know something. He was the author of several works on political economy including Remarks on Currency
x Kombaars = kombers (blanket) and woestyn = desert.
While the actual incident referred to cannot be traced - there were several Hottentot children in the schools of the settlement at the time - the writer had a most exaggerated idea of what the "public schools" of the day included in their curriculum which was solely religious instruction and the "three r's." The first school, started in 1658 for slave children, did indeed come to an end because all the pupils ran away! (See Malherbe (E.G.) Education in South Africa, p.28-30.)

and Commerce, 1803, and An Essay on the Theory of Money, 1807-22. A pamphlet on the corn laws entitled Tempora Praeterita was published anonymously by him at the Cape in 1828, though it had no direct reference to this part of the world. A brief notice in the Cape Literary Gazette of January 1831 records his death on a voyage to England, presumably towards the end of 1830 - an event which went otherwise unnoticed in the local press.

The most considerable and certainly the finest of his poetic efforts - if we are right in claiming him as its author - is The Cape of Storms; written at Sea,¹⁶ a poem of some 250 lines in eight-line stanzas, quite remarkable to find in this journal though tending to fall off towards the close. The style is markedly Miltonic, and the writer twice refers its readers to Milton in footnotes to explain his allusions. Here is his description of a storm over Cape Point:

"Do'st note the gathering clouds, as on thro' heav'n
They speed their midway flight twixt sea and skies?
Like to the first-born by the Archangel driv'n
On earth, with flaming sword from Paradise.
Do'st mark the spirit stirring of the deep,
As onwards sweeps the stormy hurricane;
Rous'd like a roaring lion from his sleep;
That wildly stares around and shakes his shaggy mane?"

His admiration for Milton is further shown in the following passage:

"Ye who would further seek to know of Light,
Go read it as recorded in the page
Of that immortal bard, bereft of sight
Himself the god-like Homer of his age!
Oh! for one spark of that celestial flame,
That inspiration once to Milton giv'n,
Which lit his way to never dying fame;
The fire - "the pomp; and prodigality of heav'n!"

The Miltonic spark goes out later in the poem however and it is Byron whose influence is more striking. The shrieking sea bird wheeling against the storm is envisaged by the poet as having been present at various crises of history - though not it would seem always in the same form. Coming near to his own time he writes:

"By Danube's darkly rolling tide, and o'er
The field of Austerlitz, on Eylau's plain
At Friedland - Jena - Berlin - Ulm - once more,
All splendid did he re-appear again!
On Moscow's conflagration - when the sun
Turn'd ghastly pale, and sicken'd at the sight,
The eagle saw his race of Glory run,
He tried in vain to soar - then shriek'd and sank in night."

It may be noted that the final hexameter of each stanza has its

counterpart in the stanzas of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. In the final verses the author expresses his wish to die a hero's death for the cause of Freedom, he does not mind where. These lines add little to the value of the poem.

To the Table Mountain (18 lines) is very similar in tone, describing Vasco da Gama's rounding the Cape. He erroneously attributes the naming of the Cape of Good Hope to him instead of King John II of Portugal.¹⁷

William Tulloh Robertson, whose translation of Roostum Zaboo-lee and Sohrab has already been remarked on, contributed two slight pieces over the initials 'W.T.R.' in No.2. The first is entitled To ---, with an Annual, and the second To a Lady, with an Annual. The annuals referred to are the popular little gift-books of the time, identified in the verses as Forget me not (edited by F. Shoberl, 1824-47) and The Winter's Wreath (1828-32).

Two items of high moral tone but slight poetical merit are Emulation; or the Distribution of Prizes; dedicated to the Youth of the South African College and the Public Schools of the Colony, and The Stellenbosch District.¹⁸ These are both subscribed 'E.', 'Hottentot's Holland.' and are most probably the work of the Rev. James Edgar, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Somerset West from 1830 until his death in 1848, and one of the Scottish ministers recruited for that Church.^x He made further contributions later.

An interesting item of Settler verse is to be found in The London Emigrant and Ostrich; a true Story, signed 'SELIM, Tharfield, Albany, Nov.10, 1830.'¹⁹ Without any doubt this is by Miles Bowker (1764-1839), the prominent 1820 settler who took as his pseudonym an anagram of his Christian name. The verse is little better than doggerel but its graphic description of the Albany countryside and of an encounter with an ostrich, should justify its place as settler literature.

Other examples of settler verse are to be found in the Cape Literary Gazette, notably an amusing little narrative piece by

x He arrived at the Cape in 1828 and was first stationed at Durbanville.

Andrew Geddes Bain, To Choose a Wife by Lighting a Candle (p.130), signed 'A.G.B., Graaff-Reinet, 1st Feb. 1831.', and The Adieu - on leaving England; from a Juvenile Correspondent at Grahamstown, signed 'Emily' (p.139):

Poetical gleanings from overseas sources are remarkably few - only five in the whole of the first volume. Of these the longest is The British Poets (p.19-20), borrowed from Blackwood's for April 1830, where it appears under the title Poetical Portraits. The author there used the anonym 'A Modern Pythagorean', as he did for most of his contributions to Blackwood's. He was Dr. Robert Macnish (1802-1837) who secured literary fame in 1826 with his novel The Metempsychosis, also published in Blackwood's.²⁰ His socio-medical work The Anatomy of Drunkenness is reviewed in the Cape Literary Gazette no.8. The Poetical Portraits are quatrains - thirty-four in number - each devoted to a poet, in most cases contemporary. He does his best to sum up his subject in this brief space and in most cases succeeds, often with satire and humour. At the end of the issue of the Gazette in which these verses appear, there is a thirty-fifth verse, described as "additional". This is on Thomas Pringle and does not appear in Blackwood's, being probably contributed by a local hand - perhaps Jardine himself, for we have no reason to think that the latter had anything but the highest regard for Pringle, whatever Pringle's opinion of him may have been under the strain of his last few months in South Africa. The verse reads:

"Sweet minstrel of the lyre,
And Teviot wild notes free,
The Chief among the choir,
In songs to - LIBERTY."

In an epoch when both the Evangelical and the utilitarian influence on literature led to excessive seriousness in this form of art, it is a relief to find now and then a contribution in light vein which at the same time illumines the local scene. Such a one is The Souchong Table, or Says she, and says I; Extract of a Letter from Miss Cherubina Snowdrop, of Boquet-street, Cape Town, to Miss Patty Cowslip, of Tranquil Dale, Albany, which appears in No.2. Cape Town female gossip is amusingly imitated after this fashion:

"Last Monday week, we went to tea
(Mama and I) with Mrs. G.
Fanny was there, and Miss Ann Brown,
The greatest flirts in all the town.
At first we all were somewhat shy;
Mama felt cold and so did I:-
Indeed that room, sit where you will
Has draught enough to turn a mill.
.....
Says G. "There's dreadful doings still
In that affair about the will;
For now the folks in George's street
Don't speak to Higg's, when they meet."
"Pray, ma'am," says I, "has poor Miss A.
Been left as handsome as they say?"
"My dear," says she "'tis no such thing;
She'd nothing but a mourning ring,
I'm positive," says Mrs. G.--
So then we laughed, and drank our tea."

Unfortunately the real scandal of the day was too long a story
"to be repeated in a song"!

A poem which by its publication again brings home the close association of the Cape with India in these days, is Derozio's On the Abolition of Suttee, which appears in the issue for February 1831. Henry Louis Vivian Derozio who died in that same year, is described in an obituary article in the Cape Literary Gazette of July 1832 as an 'East Indian' from Calcutta. The Cambridge History of English Literature²¹ however, in which he has earned brief mention, declares him to have been of mixed parentage as his name would certainly suggest. Showing great promise in youth, he began writing verse in his teens and his first volume of poems was published in Calcutta in 1827. This was followed by The Fakeer of Jungheer, and other Poems in 1828 and The Walk by Moonlight shortly before his premature death. A later edition of his works, edited by B. B. Shah, was published in 1907. Derozio's contribution to Anglo-Indian literature was a valuable one. The poem printed in the Gazette and dated 8th Dec. 1829, has great strength and is the production of a sensitive and sympathetic nature.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

The part of the Cape Literary Gazette of most lasting value must naturally be that concerning current affairs, and on these the Gazette did not hesitate to express moderate opinion, either editorially or through publishing 'Original Correspondence'. Only rarely - as will be seen - did it adopt an attitude likely to

cause ill-feeling in any quarter. Now and then a note would appear at the end of an issue regretting that a certain contribution could not be accepted.^x

As a medium for the discussion of topicalities Jardine for some months ran a feature entitled The Colloquists, starting in the fifth number of October 13th 1830. This had no counterpart in the Gazette's prototypes in London and Edinburgh, but the idea was doubtless borrowed from Blackwood's celebrated Noctes Ambrosianae - imaginary conversations by Professor John Wilson, J. G. Lockhart, James Hogg and William Maginn. Lacking the brilliance of the foregoing, Jardine's effort covered a wide variety of subjects of common concern at the Cape in dialogues between three imaginary citizens, Orlando, Vivian and Hermes who meet at "The Retreat". To some extent they fail in that there is no difference discernible between the several characters, and though there are grounds in the first conversation for thinking that Vivian portrays a more light-hearted temperament than his fellows, this quality is not maintained. On the other hand it is by no means certain that The Colloquists were all Jardine. Orlando was he for he used the name as author of his Rambles in the Mountains in Volume II, but Vivian may well have been another. In No.12 (May 1831) there is a brief, formal report of the annual meeting of subscribers to the Public Library. This followed by a much longer and more vigorous account signed 'Vivian'. "An obliging and frequent correspondent of ours," states an editorial note, "has thought proper to indulge his humour and his critical acumen on the subject of the above meeting..." Another footnote defends the Librarian on a charge of bias brought against him by the writer. Later exception was taken to this report by the chairman of the meeting, Judge Menzies, and in the following issue Jardine made apology for it, disclaiming any connection, on the grounds of ill health at the time.^{xx} 'Vivian' was often the author

x cf. No.7(p.92) where the publication of "a Review of our Reviewer" is declined as "destitute of principle"; No.8(p.104) where the Editor states "We cannot interfere with Newspaper politics"! and No.11(p.144) where he declines anything in the nature of law reports.

xx "The fact is WE had little to do with the last number, (from severe indisposition,) and it was with extreme regret that we read the untoward article by Vivian." (No.13, p.168.)

of a regular feature Notes of the Month from Vol.II, no.7.

As a medium for showing opposing points of view however, the Colloquists were not in vain. The amenities of Cape Town, the wine trade, election by ballot, and temperance are the principal subjects discussed in the seven conversations published, the last appearing in March 1832. On most occasions the conversations arise easily out of the subjects and objects of recent public meetings, the opinions of the main speakers being commented upon. The importance of and interest attached to public meetings in the Cape's small community is clearly exhibited, especially as opportunities for free speech. No.II of the Colloquies - dated "Tuesday Evening, Nov. 23 1830 " - begins thus:

"Orlando.- Well, gentlemen, I think the month of November, 1830, Cape Town,- will live in the pages of our colonial history. Three public meetings at the Commercial Exchange, and free discussion more than tolerated! - Who says we are not ripe for the largest measure of free institutions?

Hermes.- I do,- and from what I have read in the Advertiser, of the perverse decisions on the part of certain country juries in criminal cases, I should be extremely sorry to entrust my liberty as a freeman, either by vote or otherwise, into the hands of such pig-headed personages."

From thence the conversation passes to the loyal address presented to the new King by the meeting in question, and the bad taste in introducing "a begging clause" for certain free institutions into it. In No.IV Vivian gives Hermes the speech in toto, with interjections, that he should have delivered at the recent Reform meeting, and it is in the sixth conversation that the Editor is brought in to address his appreciative public at the conclusion of his first volume, as mentioned above.

Regarding one of the most burning questions of the day - slavery - the Cape Literary Gazette certainly held strong philanthropic opinions which it was never hesitant to voice. Not only did the Colloquists discuss the problem of compensation - one opinion of course being that it was not obligatory to those who had amassed their riches out of their slaves - but emancipation is a recurrent theme throughout the journal.

Other matters of moment to which space was devoted were the Cape wine trade - then in a depressed condition - duelling - not yet stamped out - the need for further immigration and the estab-

lishment of a savings bank. This last was first advocated in the issue of October 13 1830, both in an editorial and in a letter of great length (6½ pages) from Mr. J. Marshall, president of the Lombard Bank in Cape Town. Marshall's arguments and the Cape Literary Gazette's support were rewarded in due course and the Cape of Good Hope Savings Bank was established by Ordinance of June 8th 1831, with the promulgator as president. This venerable institution - still in existence - opened its doors to the public in St. George's Street on June 25th of the same year, on which day, according to report, 105 persons were enrolled and over £420 were deposited.²²

One of the most unusual topical articles is that entitled The Report of a Remarkable Trial (By the Man in the Moon) which appeared in the issue for February 2nd 1831. This is a review of the previous year in the form of a trial of Anno Domini 1830 before Lord Chief Justice Minos, with Experience and Truth as assessors, for certain high crimes and misdemeanours. The conduct of the court is most irregular - the judge evincing a most marked partiality on behalf of the defendant - but it enables the author to demonstrate contemporary opinion on a variety of subjects. Complainants in various walks of life come forward and voice their disapprobation of the way they have been treated by the departing year - disappointed politicians, both Whig and Tory, avaricious ship-owners, never-satisfied farmers, war-minded soldiers and so forth. To each Minos gives a severe reprimand. Any question of judgment at the close of the proceedings is forgotten or at any rate reserved, Minos's remarks concluding with a disquisition on the value of poetry! As a revelation of the evils and shortcomings of the age this item has considerable value.

In the months of May and June 1831 there was a spirited exchange of correspondence on a religious subject. It arose out of a casual remark in the Colloquists No.III of March 1831 that the backward farmers of Stellenbosch should be enlightened by having 'Rammohun Roy's "Precepts of Jesus"' translated for them. Rajah Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833), the author of several religious

works,^x was the founder of the Brahma Samāj (Union of God) sect in 1828. Largely based on the Upanishads, its tenets were nevertheless very sympathetic towards Christianity and its adherents became quite closely associated with the Unitarians. Roy was made a Rajah by the Emperor of Delhi in 1830 and sent to England as an ambassador-at-large, calling at the Cape en route during January 1831. In England Roy was lionised but the climate did not suit him and he died in Bristol on 18th October 1833.²³

The brief reference to his work by the Colloquists did not go unnoticed. A letter signed 'Magister Artium' and headed 'Rammohun Roy's Precepts of Jesus' appeared in the twelfth issue (May 1831). This strongly condemned the 'Precepts' as not being Christian and warned readers in powerful prose to "beware of the infidelity of these times". The following issue (June 1st) saw a reasoned Unitarian rejoinder signed 'Bereus', which charged 'Magister Artium' with not having read the book and showed where his contentions were illogical and where Ram Mohan Roy's sentiments were Christian. 'Magister Artium' did not reply - or at any rate no reply was published. The identity of 'Bereus' is revealed in the Fairbridge copy of the Cape Literary Gazette where Charles Aken Fairbridge himself^{xx} inserted the name of his father Dr. J. W. Fairbridge (1792-1845), at that time District Surgeon for the Cape. The pseudonym is a back formation from the Bereans who are described in Acts ch.17, v.10-11 as those people who "received the word with all readiness of mind and searched the Scriptures daily whether these things were so". Cuttings of this correspondence and more on the same theme appearing in the South African Commercial Advertiser in 1833 and 34, are also preserved in the Fairbridge Collection, as are Dr. Fairbridge's copies of Roy's works. He certainly met Roy when

x The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists. To which is added, the First and Second Appeal to the Christian Public in Reply to the Observations of Dr. Marshman of Serampore. Calcutta, printed: London, reprinted by the Unitarian Society, 1823 (1st ed. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1820.)

Final appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus". Calcutta, Unitarian Press, Dhurmtollah, 1823. Further reference to Roy is to be found in Ch.VIII pt.1, p. 195. infra.

xx C.A. Fairbridge (1823-1893), lawyer and bibliophile. I am indebted to Mr. S.A. Rochlin for drawing my attention to the identification in the Fairbridge copy.

he visited the Cape, as a friend named Grey wrote to him from London in June of 1832 to say that on meeting the Rajah in London the latter had asked especially after him.²⁴

The identification of 'Magister Artium' is more difficult. C. A. Fairbridge believed that it was Jardine himself but there seems no justification for this. In the first place one would suppose the user of such a pseudonym to be a Master of Arts and we have no evidence that Jardine was this. His name, as has been said, does not appear on the roll of any of the Scottish universities nor in the published records of any English one. Only three holders of the M.A. degree are definitely known to have been in Cape Town at this time: the Rev. George Hough, Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. B. C. Goodison, an army chaplain, and James Rose Innes, professor of mathematics at the South African College. Of these Goodison died on 16th February 1832 after "several months' illness".²⁵ Hough would seem the most likely candidate, the style of the letter being definitely clerical and not dissimilar to that of his published sermons.

OTHER TOPICS

Science received much attention in the first volume of the Gazette even though the South African Quarterly Journal was in existence. Contributions in this field however were naturally briefer and more topical than the serious papers communicated to the South African Institution. Halley's comet was expected towards the end of 1832 - actually it did not appear until August-September 1835 - and a correspondent calling himself 'the Man in the Moon' wrote an interesting letter on the subject of comets in general. Geology, botany, climate and agricultural research all received worthwhile attention, the second being best represented by a paper in three parts on the Botany of Wynberg by James Bowie who also contributed to the Quarterly Journal.²⁶ A letter on the subject of windmills produced the only plate in

Volume I.^x This is an engraving of a diagram of the invention by a Mr. George Murray Pedder of Cape Town, used by him successfully at St. Helena Bay, and though unsigned, is a competent piece of draughtsmanship, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ ins.^x

Of the lighter prose contributions to the Gazette the two most readable are Wilkinson, the Indian (p.2-3) and Reminiscences of our Village (p.157-9). The former is a graphic story of the rescue of a slave girl from being sold to a stranger and her restoration to the arms of her young mistress by a chance attendant at the sale who pays over all his available assets. The other is a longer and more complicated story which describes a touching episode in the life of the village of Morland in Westmorland, when its vicar made a clandestine marriage. Sources of information in Westmorland cannot vouch for the authenticity of the story though some of the place-names are correct and there was a Reverend John Webster in the Morland parish, though he was not vicar.^{xx27}

As already remarked upon, the Editor took full advantage of his position as Librarian to add articles of bibliographical interest. In his editorial farewell in No.17 he states openly indeed that in the establishment of the Cape Literary Gazette "we had greatly in view the interest of the South African Public Library, - an institution that seemed to us to enjoy none of the hearty goodwill of the existing Press."^{xxx} Apart from a general description of the Library in No.1, he wrote on the Dessinian Collection, old and scarce books and bibliographical researches. In addition the Annual General Meetings of subscribers and the elections of committees were always reported. The account of the meeting of May 1831 has already been mentioned. This lively report of a possibly

x The only other illustration in Vol.I is a tail-piece on p.219 to a review of an extract from Thos. Hope's treatise On the Origin and Prospects of Man, 3v., 1831. It is a crude woodcut of a motto and crest - At Spes Infracta with a broken globe and a conventional rainbow above it. A very much better rendering of this the Hope family crest, is to be found at the end of the book in question, while the C.L.G. cut also appears in Jardine's New General Catalogue, 1842, p.338. More illustrations appeared later.

xx In the Index to Vol.I this item is described as "by the Editor", but this must surely be an error unless the story is a complete fabrication, since the narrator - Walter Douglas - is supposed to be a native of Westmorland and a member of the Church of England. In any case the style is not Jardine's.

xxx He regularly used the back wrappers for listing recent accessions to the Library.

exaggeratedly stormy meeting and election shows nevertheless how seriously such matters were taken in the absence of a wider political set-up. There was heated opposition to the accounts and to the type of periodical received in the Library:

'Mr Buckton' writes Vivian, 'having represented that such periodicals contained base and notorious libels on the Colony; the Professor John Pears argued - "then that is the very reason why we ought to take them in the Library - that we may know what is said of us, and refute the people who have the temerity to traduce us."'28

The whole matter indeed is treated as if in the absence of a real election meeting to satisfy the political instincts of the populace, the Library's affairs must suffice.

Such then was the first volume of the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette. Of unquestionable local interest and importance^x it was an undoubted success which led the Editor in his closing review²⁹ to remark with truth that:

"Among the recollections and satisfactions of the past, we have the pleasing consciousness of having striven to lead the public mind to proper objects - of having never pampered a vicious taste, nor fed the open ears of the curious with private slander, or unjust and malignant reflection. We may the less hesitate to ascribe to many of our papers the true merit which belong to them, since they are not our own, but are referable to gentlemen of admitted talent both of the Cape, and many of our highly esteemed Indian visitors... Lastly, as regards criticism and free discussion, we have been frank and unreserved. We have indulged in criticism but not cavil. The colonists we are bound to confess, are too much afraid of criticism and free discussion, and it is on this, as well as other accounts we imagine, that many of our contributors apprehend the country unfit for free institutions. There cannot be a more unfavourable symptom in any portion of the community, than a disdain of advice, or anger at criticism..."

These latter remarks would suggest that in 130 years South Africans have changed little. Jardine's degree of self-praise however was justified if what he tells us at the beginning of the second volume is true, namely that:

"When the present publication was undertaken, several friends smiled at what they were pleased to term our credulity, in supposing the colony ripe for a Literary Journal in the English language. Having made the experiment, and witnessed the favourable results, we apprehend we may be

x Mendelssohn in his South African Bibliography (v.1, p.288) quotes Theal as stating that the C.L.G. "is of little value"; this is a gross error on Mendelssohn's part, the reference in Theal's Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets relating to Africa, 1912, p.59, is to the Cape Literary Magazine, not the Gazette which is the previous item.

allowed to take some credit to ourselves in rightly estimating by the exercise of a correct second-sight, the growing intellect of this most interesting of the British Colonies."30

But this must be somewhat modified in the light of the admission a month later that:

"Unworthy should we be, did we not at this moment avow what perhaps may be news to some of our readers that it is entirely owing to the steady patronage of the mercantile body of Cape Town, that this journal is kept afloat - that it is enabled to pay its way. All other countenance has been hitherto as the small dust of the balance..."31

Considering the inevitable numerical preponderance of "the mercantile body" in such a settlement as Cape Town and the general educational position of the country people, this need scarcely be "news" to us. There undoubtedly was some appreciation from the country districts however, even if it was to be weighed only as "small dust". From Graaff-Reinet a correspondent wrote in August 1830:

"The receipt of the first number of the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, was hailed here with the most ardent good wishes for its success. It has given a stimulus to our exertions in endeavouring to promote the best interests of the Colony."32

One fact which must puzzle us and for which no certain explanation can be given is that Jardine made no effort to advertise his first issue of the 16th June 1830 in the public press - though later issues were^x - and, what is equally strange, the South African Commercial Advertiser under John Fairbairn made no comment whatever upon the first volume. Admittedly Jardine and Fairbairn had been rivals in the days of the South African Chronicle but that was four years before and the Literary Gazette was a very different sort of thing. It was left to the other Cape paper - Charles Etienne Boniface's Zuid-Afrikaan - to be the first to notice the Cape Literary Gazette's existence, and this it did at considerable length on 12th November 1830, a day or two after the appearance of the Gazette's sixth issue.

The Zuid-Afrikaan, established by Boniface and C. N. Neethling in April 1830 as the mouthpiece of the Afrikaans-speaking Kapenaars, was - like the Advertiser at that time - published in both Dutch

x Apology was made in the S.Afr.Comm.Advr. for 10/7/1830 for the unavoidable delay in the appearance of No.2. According to Bridekirk this was due to "press of business". (S.Afr.Comm. Advr. 17/7/1830)

and English in the same issue. The leading article of No.1 declared it to be opposed to Humbug of all kinds: "Free Press Humbug, Independent Newspaper Humbug, Missionary Humbug en vooral ... de Philippist Humbug." This being its editorial policy, the following sympathetic notice is remarkable for its lack of bias, though it is rather disappointing in its refusal to commit itself. After a brief apology for having hitherto neglected the Cape Literary Gazette, the notice goes on to say:

"The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette is one of a species of Periodicals which claims the merit of originality, inasmuch as it is the first attempt to establish in the Colony a medium through which we are enabled to transmit our thoughts and sentiments on men and things by a more sublime exercise of our mental faculties."

At one time, the writer continues, this would have been very difficult under the uncongenial form of government prevailing, but not now:

"The leading columns of this publication (he goes on) are appropriated to the consideration of subjects connected with Colonial topics in a form calculated to excite our more elevated sympathies with the objects around us, - the other portion of it is devoted to, what we would term, exotic matter, - criticisms on works of utility and amusement published in Europe and which have found their way to the Colony.

"It is not our intention to dwell on the talents or the literary merits of the individual who has entered on a field so arduous and unprecedented, we do not profess to sit in judgment on his ability to preside over the minds of our literary coterie - what we have stated is we believe, generally acknowledged, while the six numbers which have already appeared under his auspices afford the best proofs of his efficiency. Did our limits permit us, we should wish to show how far we appreciate them; not being able however to do so to our satisfaction at present, we can only conclude by recommending the Cape Literary Gazette strongly to the notice of the aspirants to literary honours."

It was not until the second volume was under way that the Commercial Advertiser was roused to make comment and this only as direct result of a survey of "Our Periodical Press - 1831-32" which appeared in Vol.2, no.1, praising the Advertiser and condemning the Zuid Afrikaan.

"On this subject [the sins of the Zuid Afrikaan] "we recommend the perusal of an excellent article in the "Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette for this month." wrote the Editor, "It is distinguished (except in the paragraphs complimentary to ourselves, which are far above our deserts) by truth, candor and discrimination."³

Praise under such conditions is not very impressive, even a month later the Advertiser insisted that "the last two

numbers of the Literary Gazette do credit to the Colony."

The Zuid Afrikaan made no editorial retaliation being content to leave this to its correspondents. In February 1832, Jardine published the first of four articles describing a tour he had made the previous October and November through Stellenbosch, Genadendal and Caledon, under the title Recollections of Rambles among the Mountains (by Orlando). Stellenbosch had not pleased him and he recorded uncomplimentary remarks about the "uncivilized look in the man un-Englished" and of the frosty-faced innkeeper. Towards the end of the article he expressed strong liberal views on what he considered should be done in the Colony by way of reform if he were governor for one day, and condemned the Zuid Afrikaan roundly for being largely responsible for the existing situation. This article - by far the most controversial that Jardine had ever penned, and certainly an injudicious one - received a violent rebuff from a correspondent in the Zuid Afrikaan signing himself "Censor" who wrote in the issue of February 24th that if he were governor for a day, he "would either dispatch the Rambler with the first opportunity out of the Colony, or send to Otaheite or Nova Zembla for a person to instruct him how to conduct a Literary Gazette..."

A week later a correspondent "Hxxxx" went a degree further by not only criticising Jardine as an editor but also as a librarian in the letter that has already been quoted in this chapter (p.154). Jardine made no comment on this attack in his columns and the correspondence was not continued. Topical discussion in the Literary Gazette was on less explosive subjects in the following months.

If the Gazette received scant attention from the local press, the Editor could at least be comforted by several mildly commendatory notices in British periodicals. Although scarcely within the same field, the Philosophical Magazine in April 1832,³⁴ said of it: "This we doubt not must prove to the Colonists a useful and agreeable means of diffusing and receiving information. We notice in its pages several articles of a scientific nature, but none that contain any novelties for our readers." On the strength

of Bowie's mutual association, the Gardener's Magazine devoted a whole page to it after receiving Nos. 13 and 14 of June 1831.³⁵ The reviewer was chiefly concerned with Bowie's botanical contributions to those numbers but described the whole as "A miscellany designed to supply intellectual gratification to the readers of Southern Africa... The work appears to be well conducted."

Notices also appeared in the Nautical Magazine and in Annals of Philosophy.

Jardine could look forward with confidence to the continued support of his venture.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

Part 2

1. D.N.B., v.29, p.337-38.
2. Marchand (L.A.) The Athenaeum; a Mirror of Victorian Culture, p.98-100.
3. Ibid., p.34-35.
4. The National Library of Scotland can supply no information on the Edinb. Lit. Gaz.
5. Blackie (A.A.C.) Blackie & Son, 1809-1959, has no mention of him.
6. Bosman (F.C.L.) Drama en Toneel in Suid-Afrika, passim.
7. C.L.G., v.1, no.1, p.3, June 1830.
8. Ibid., no.17, p.212, Sep. 1831.
9. Ibid., no.7, p.92, Dec. 1830.
10. Ibid., no.2, p.18, July 1830. East India Register, 1830, p.9. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 6/3/1830, 8/5/1830, 11/8/1830.
11. D.N.B., v.49, p.243-44.
12. C.L.G., v.1, no.9, p.110-13, Feb. 1831.
13. Ibid., no.17, p.215-17, Sep. 1831.
14. Ibid., no.14, p.175, June 1831.
15. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 20/11 and 24/11/1830.
16. C.L.G., v.1, no.4, p.48-49, Sep. 1830.
17. Ibid., no.5, p.67, Oct. 1830.
18. Ibid., no.6, p.70-71, Nov. 1830; no.17, p.215, Sep. 1830.
19. Ibid., no.8, p.97, Jan. 1831. See also Mitford Barberton (I. and R.) The Bowkers of Tharfield, p.21-52.
20. Halkett and Laing. Dictionary of anonymous and pseudonymous English Literature, v.1, p.80 and 216, v.5, p.338. D.N.B., v.35, p.253-54.
21. Cambridge History of English Literature, v.14, p.336.
22. C.L.G., v.1, no.14, p.180, June 1831.
23. Carpenter (Mary) ed. Last Days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy. London, 1866. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 19/1, 26/1/1831.
24. Press cuttings are pasted in a volume entitled Alphen (W. van) Papegay. A.L. by A. Grey to Dr. J.W. Fairbridge, 9/6/1832, in possession of Mrs. Audrey Brooke, at present on loan to S.Afr. Public Library.
25. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 18/2/1832.
26. See Ch.VI, p.125n.
27. Information received from Carlisle Public Library and the Carlisle Diocesan Registrar.
28. C.L.G., v.1, no.12, p.150, May 1831.
29. Ibid., no.17, p.211-12, Sep. 1831.
30. Ibid., v.2, no.1, Jan. 1832.
31. Ibid., no.2, p.256, Feb. 1832.

Notes to Ch.VII, pt.2

32. Ibid., v.1, no.3, p.36, Aug. 1830.
33. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 4/1/1832; C.L.G., v.2, no.1, p.239,
and also no.2, p.243, 1832.
34. Phil. Mag., N.S., v.11, p.280, Apr. 1832.
35. Gardener's Mag., v.8, p.718, 1832.
36. C.L.G., v.3, no.3, Mar. and no.12, Dec. 1833, back wrappers.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CAPE LITERARY GAZETTE, VOLUMES II AND III

Part I - volume II

A. J. Jardine gave no apology for suspending the Cape Literary Gazette after No.17 in September 1831, apart from the short note that "The present Number completes the final volume... and should its friends feel inclined to renew their Subscriptions for a second Volume, the Journal will be recommenced as soon as a sufficient number of Names are obtained to defray the printing, and other incidental expenses. Subscription lists are open at the usual places of Public resort. Terms:- Fourteen Rix-dollars per annum."¹ As usual there was also the prayer to subscribers in arrears to pay up as soon as possible. There is little cause to doubt that the financial one was the principal reason for temporary cessation, though it must not be overlooked that the Editor was anxious to take a holiday and that this had been under consideration as early as the previous February. He accordingly took the opportunity of applying to the Library Committee for leave of absence "to visit the country for two or three weeks".²

This was granted, and on 24th October Jardine left Cape Town for Stellenbosch. There he stayed some days, going on to the Moravian settlement at Genadendal which he reached on 5th November. After a three-day visit there he turned south to Caledon, doubtless staying at some farm on the way for he only arrived on the 11th. The fact that the general direction of his journeying was towards that area with which he was familiar in his earliest months at the Cape, suggests that he was intending to look up old friends. From Caledon he headed for home.

This itinerary and his impressions are described in a series of articles published in the early issues of the second volume of his Literary Gazette under the title Recollections of Rambles among the Mountains.³

The second volume began in January 1832, No.1 being dated January 2nd and advertised as "just published" in the South

African Commercial Advertiser for the 1st, which shows that Jardine must have begun working on it soon after his return from the country. His editorial remarks at the beginning indicate that he resumed publication with secure finances and full confidence in continued success, declaring that "we have lost none of our intellectual contributors, that we have gained several new ones, - and that having added very considerably to our readers we are in the highest good humour imaginable."^x The determination to continue without limitation or restriction of any sort is reiterated "as the result of an anxious desire to promote the welfare of the colony, in the spirit of independent criticism and free inquiry."

LITERARY CRITICISM AND EXTRACTS

As far as independent literary criticism went, Vol. 2 is most disappointing. Only thirteen books were reviewed at any length throughout the year and some of these notices were more in the nature of excerpts than criticism. A further nineteen books were discussed in a few lines in two comprehensive articles entitled New Books (in no.2) and Late Arrivals (new books on the table) (in no.10.).^{xx} This falling off, which continued in later volumes, may be compared with thirty-five books reviewed in the first twelve issues of Vol.I and fifty-two in the full seventeen issues. The works reviewed at length included J. W. Croker's edition of Boswell,^{xxx} Francis Palgrave's History of England (vol.I.), Nares' Memoirs of Lord Burghley, George Don's A General System of Gardening and Botany, Lytton's Eugene Aram, Skizzen von der Insel Java, by J. J. X. Pfyffer^{xxxx} and An Inquiry into the Use and Abuse of Grand Juries, by Peter Laurie.⁵ This last was on a subject of considerable topical interest at the Cape.

x A correspondent in February 1832 compared the "eclipse" in the Cape world of letters during the suspension of the Lit.Gaz. with the total eclipse of the sun as described by Hume in his History of England.⁴

xx This article includes Washington Irving's The Alhambra, de Quincey's novel Klosterheim, Disraeli's Contarini Fleming, Mrs. Trollope's Domestic Manners of the Americans and Southey's History of the Peninsular War.

xxx Most surprisingly given by Jardine as "Croker" - a rare lapse.

xxxx The writer was a Swiss geographer to whom five items are credited in the British Museum Catalogue.

Again however it must be admitted that there is little real criticism here, the reviewer being content with recommendation and lengthy quotation from the original. An exception to this is found in the considerable notice devoted to one of the rare novels reviewed - Eugene Aram. Finding Lytton an exception among novel writers the reviewer praises him and the book in the following terms:

"Eugene Aram appears to us to be the very best of Mr. Bulwer's productions. It has not a particle of his characteristic affectation, hence his style is clear, expressive, and frequently beautiful - and more beautiful for being perfectly natural. But we have our regrets. We are sorry at the occasional use of low, vulgar slang expressions. The introduction of Dame Darkmans, as one of the characters in the piece, has induced the author to bring forth his political views. The old crone is a sort of second Meg Merilies [sic]. The corporal and his cat deserve to be turned out of the history, and the psalm-quoting Publican is, we think, extremely unnatural. Then, again, in the religious views of the author we take no part."⁶

That the foregoing are among the most vehement strictures ever employed when there is no personal animosity, reveals the customary style of reviewing in the Cape Literary Gazette.

Only two review articles in Vol. 2 deal with South African publications. The first entitled "Our Periodical Press, 1831-32" has already been mentioned.⁷ After commending the great progress of printing at the Cape in the seven previous years, Jardine takes what he describes as "a cursory view" of the state of the Press in the Colony. In this manner he covers the Cape Town Gazette, the South African Commercial Advertiser, Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift, De Zuid Afrikaan, The South African Quarterly Journal, The South African Christian Recorder (started in 1831) and - though scarcely in the same category - Greig's South African Almanack and Directory.

Of the Government Gazette Jardine thought little since General Bourke had stopped the inclusion of news items and occasional papers, though he admitted its popularity among the farming community who wanted the market prices. The Commercial Advertiser deservedly receives a serious appraisal. After pointing out its faults - including the charge of a "Warburtonian arrogance",^x he

x Presumably from Bishop William Warburton of Gloucester (1698-1779), described by Sir Paul Harvey as "a bad scholar, a literary bully, and a man of untrustworthy character."⁸

pays a sincere tribute to the paper and its editor, describing it as a public blessing and him as enlightened and independent, having fought the battles of the Colony nobly, fearlessly and single-handed.^x De Zuid Afrikaan, on the other hand, could scarcely be denounced in stronger language, such expressions as "a return to barbarism", "miserable print", "besotted ignorance" and "viperous Journal dealing out Profaneness, Hate, Fury and Disaffection" being employed in true Eatanswill manner. It is not surprising that the Zuid Afrikaan never forgave him.

Of the South African Christian Recorder, subject of much controversy in the press during the previous year,^{xx} the Literary Gazette was regretfully severe, deploring the controversial tone adopted in a journal that should have no religious bias.

The only other critical notice that deserves attention is that of a Cape pamphlet by Thomas Le Breton entitled A Letter addressed to the Shareholders of the South African Assurance Company. Naturally this was selected for its topicality rather than its literary value, if any. Le Breton, the founder and secretary of the South African Life and Fire Assurance Company, had felt induced to resign because the Directors had refused to accept his life as a risk! His pamphlet ably voiced his complaint that there was discrimination against him and also gave a clear exposition of how in his opinion an assurance business should be run. The Literary Gazette summed up the situation with the sage remark that "a man of great merit is a kind of public enemy".^{xxx}

As distinct from criticism, a great deal more space in the second volume is devoted to extracts from a variety of literary sources. In some issues this amounts to as much as six pages in sixteen. The value of these Literary Extracts varies greatly also but is interesting in showing the wide reading and breadth of interest of the Editor, not to mention what he considered would interest his readers. One of the most varied selections of this

x Unfortunately A.J.J.'s relations with the Advertiser were not always to be so cordial. See Pt. 2 of this chapter, p.222,223.

xx See Ch. VI, p.116.

xxx Le Breton had other irons in the fire. He advertised his General Agency and Registry Office in the Almanack for 1831, and at the same address (11, Heeregracht) his mineral water factory! He was however declared insolvent in May 1834.⁹

kind is that in No.9 (September 1832) which includes the following:

Marcus Tullius Cicero in the Dungeons of the Inquisition of Rome in 1815 (extracted from the English Ms. of an Italian Exile).

The African Chief (poem by the American poet William Cullen Bryant).

The Lion Sermon (the origin of an annual sermon preached to commemorate the escape from a lion by Sir John Gayer in the 17th cent.).

Roman customs at a modern banquet (from Auston Park).

England brought to judgment [and acquitted], (by Chernevix).

Eugene Aram (historical facts).

A gentlemanly avowal of a difference of opinion: Coleridge versus Irving^x (from Coleridge's On the Constitution of Church and State).

An attack upon the clubs (from the Monthly Magazine).

A singular Adventure (from the Athenaeum).

The annual wants of Britain (from Effects of Machinery).

English manners (from the Tour of a German Prince in Science).

Women (by Pen Tamar).

The Canadas (from Godfrey T. Vigne's Six Months in America, 1832).

Sir Walter Scott (his return to London from the Continent).

Jeremy Bentham's will.

Frederick the Great (from Lord Dover's Life).

While several of these are of no great length and none were gleaned from any celebrated author - except Coleridge - they are very readable and entertaining. The first listed is by far the longest, telling of the experiences before the Inquisition of an Italian gentleman who in the character of Cicero during the Roman Carnival was rash enough to declare that he had held long conversations with an eminent deceased cardinal in Hell!

Another extract worthy of notice is Rammohun Roy in Old England in which further information about the celebrated Rajah is given from a letter dated 10th September 1831 by one who clearly accompanied him on his tour of England. Most of this letter covers his visit to Liverpool and describes the Manchester & Liverpool Railway. ^{xx10}

x Edward Irving (1792-1834), founder of the Irvingites (Catholic Apostolic Church).

xx Ram Mohun Roy arrived in Liverpool from India on April 8 1831.¹⁰

An important item of historical interest is Captain Dugald Carmichael's journal of The British Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope in 1805 [sic].¹¹ This describes in some detail the Battle of Blouberg at which Carmichael was present as a lieutenant in the 72nd Regiment. He was better known as a botanist in his later years, being a Fellow of the Linnaean Society and warranting a biographical notice in Sir W. J. Hooker's Botanical Miscellany.^x It is from this source that Jardine took the extract he published and the South African Public Library copy still bears the pencil marks used to denote the chosen passages.¹²

Miss Harriet Martineau's Illustrations of Political Economy had begun to appear in 1832, achieving great popularity. The Cape Literary Gazette published two extracts and considerable passages from the work were summarised in the South African Commercial Advertiser some time later.¹³ The first extract chosen by Jardine was not surprisingly an imaginary tale of British settlers at the Cape with the moral labor vincit omnia. The second was entitled Demerara and dealt with the advantages of free as opposed to slave labour in the production of sugar.

PROSE CONTRIBUTIONS

Of original contributions the series by Jardine himself - Recollections of Rambles among the Mountains - must undoubtedly head those of lasting value.³ Running through four numbers they not only give an entertaining - if biased - account of the places he visited - Stellenbosch, Genadendal and Caledon, but also opinion upon them and upon travel at the Cape in those days. Mention has already been made of his opinion of the unlettered country folk, but he also roundly condemns the Stellenbosch hostelries as inhospitable, gloomy places with non-existent service and food of poor quality. His opinion of the Landdrost was also low but one ray of light in Stellenbosch was Mr. J. G. G. Lindenberg's well-chosen library. It was these accounts indeed which helped to make Jardine unpopular with the Dutch-speaking population.

x By the Rev. Colin Smith, London, 1831.

Of Genadendal he had much praise, particularly for the improvements noticeable on this his second visit, a fact which confirms the contention that Jardine knew this part of the country well.

Caledon, though in some respects pleasant, he found poverty-stricken in spite of its natural amenities which included the hot springs and bracing air. These, he advocated, should be exploited by 'patronage' and the erection of an inn, as was later effected. He also recommended the appointment of an "educated" landdrost to "watch over the interests of man, woman and child."

Jardine's principal contribution to Vol.2 - though only important as an example of contemporary thought - was his Lectures on Natural Philosophy. Eleven in all, these were claimed to be delivered by 'Orlando' before the Poker Club, Cape Town. The Poker Club, first heard of in the pages of the Cape Literary Gazette in May 1832, was an imaginary society modelled on that of a similar name established earlier in Scotland by Lord Elibank, David Hume and others. The purpose of the Club was to stir up free inquiry. A lecture "delivered at a late meeting" of the Club was published in June 1832, comparing the slavery of Pharaoh's time with that of the Cape - to the detriment of the latter.¹⁴ The series on natural philosophy however began in August and continued until November 1833 in the third volume.¹⁵

In his opening remarks the author suggests that he is addressing himself primarily to youth, and the lectures do indeed constitute a good example of the contemporary conception of the physical world as subscribed to by the educated Christian or Jew who had so far no Lyell, Darwin or Huxley to cause him to dispute the literal account of the Book of Genesis or the correctness of the Ussherian chronology.^x Lecture I deals with the Creation, II with the planetary system, III with the creation of vegetables, IV with the organization and system of the vegetable kingdom, and so forth.^{xx} Every opportunity is taken to show that the Mosaic

x As early as 1778 Buffon had proposed a theory of the evolution of the earth which postulated a world at least 60,000 years old. This is of course nothing compared with present estimates (\pm 4,500,000,000) but is at least far beyond Ussher's 6,000 years.

xx The later lectures were V Plants, VI Fish and Whales, VII Birds, VIII Quadrupeds, IX Reptiles, X Snakes, XI Insects.

conception - so-called - is the one that fits all the facts known to contemporary science with regard to the origins of the universe and of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. His ideas are in many ways akin to those of William Paley in his Natural Theology of 1802. Authorities which are cited in notes include Paley (1743-1805) and further James Bradley (1693-1762), Sir David Brewster (1781-1868), Thomas Young (1773-1829), Sir John Herschel (1792-1871), John Macculloch (1773-1835), Baron von Humboldt (1769-1859), James Thomson (1780-1849), Luke Howard (1772-1804), John Frederick Daniel (1790-1845), Thomas Knight (1759-1838), Augustin de Candolle (1778-1841), John Latham (1740-1837), Baron de Cuvier (1769-1832), Sir Andrew Smith (1797-1872), Étienne de Lacépède (1756-1825) and Horace de Saussure (1740-1799). With them are quoted the observations of numerous travellers. It will be agreed that some of these names are famous and others are now forgotten - there are a few not listed which are impossible to identify. The names do however indicate wide reading - as we have come to expect from Jardine - though if he had read Charles Lyell's great Principles of Geology which was to change the whole course of geology and evolutionary theory, and of which the first volume had appeared in 1830,¹⁶ he gives no indication. His authorities, it will be noticed, were mostly his older contemporaries and their predecessors and this leads us to the supposition that this series of so-called 'lectures' was the product of many years' study.

Thus does he romantically describe the creation of light:

"At this point of time, the Divine command was 'Light, BE! and Light was.'

"It came instantaneously, pouring on and pervading the terrestrial mass; and operations of this beautiful element, whose penetrating, universal and marvelous agencies are yet so little understood, fulfilled its Author's wishes:

'Elohim saw the Light, that it was good.'"¹⁷

Of the creation of plants he wrote:

"Plants are distinguished for their multiplicity and variety; for their exuberance of imagination and taste which they display and for that sense of elegance and beauty which their Maker must have had, to have so formed and diversified them. They are entirely the creation of His choice - the inventions of His rich and beautiful fancy. They have been all individually designed; and special thought must have been employed in each."¹⁸

Such writing is clearly not the work of a scientist but of an

educated, if rather old-fashioned man of letters.^x Dr. James Adamson - though most definitely a Christian man of science - never wrote like this. Some of Jardine's readers however suspected that someone from the South African College was responsible for the Lectures on Natural Philosophy, but any such idea was dispelled by the announcement in the Gazette of October 1832: "So far from the Lectures ... by Orlando, being an emanation from The South African College, we can assure An Inquirer that no single communication has appeared in this Journal from the source suspected. This explanation is due to several of our valuable contributors..."^{xx20} Context apart, this is a surprising statement.

Another series of scientific writings of a very different order appeared for a short time contemporaneously with the foregoing under the title of Principia Rerum Naturalium.²¹ "Translated from the Latin" and contributed by the translator who called himself "Philochrestos" (Lover of the Good), the first extract was prefaced by a letter to the editor in the issue of September 1832, wherein it was stated that "If consistent with the plan of your literary work I will from time to time as leisure permits, present you with a continuation. I am led to believe no complete English translation of this work, is at present extant."

In the 1830's learned dissertations in Latin on scientific subjects were of course still being written and it is quite conceivable that this work was translated from some nineteenth century treatise - but it is also possible that the "translator's" contention was mere pretence to lend greater authority to the work and that Philochrestos was himself the author. On the

x This approach was of course to continue for some years to come. Dr. G. Kitson Clark in his recent broadcast talks The Making of Victorian England (based on his Oxford Ford lectures) points out that "in many cases Christianity provided even the most mundane Victorian with both the focus and the background of his life. It provided him with all that he had of philosophy, with his ethics and his cosmology, at least until impious scientists laid heavy hands on the first chapters of Genesis."¹⁹

xx Adamson was not at the College at this time, having resigned his chair in 1830 and only resuming association with it in 1834. He is thus not involved here.

other hand if it were of known authorship the translator would surely mention this or state that it was anonymous.^x The work reads easily - translation or no - and as far as it goes is concerned with what leads to "philosophical wisdom, or the knowledge of the mechanic or organic world." Unlike the outpourings of Orlando these contributions suggest that their author was a mechanist and a positivist who attributed nothing to the mind of a Supreme Being.

"Experience," we are told, "may be defined to be the knowledge of everything in the world of Nature, which is capable of being received by the medium of the senses."

and again:

"It is impossible to receive knowledge immediately from the soul; but man attains it through the mediate organs and senses ... it is only by means of experience impressed on the organs, and transmitted from thence to the mind, that we are capable of becoming wise. The means therefore of all our wisdom rest on experience; without which the human race would be barbarous, merely animal, and irrational."²²

The last instalment was that of December 1832, though a continuation was there promised. That this work should have appeared in the Cape Literary Gazette at all when the scientific beliefs of the editor are so plainly presented in the same issues, speaks well for his lack of bias in such matters and for his readiness to risk a public outcry against the propagation of such views.

The final number in the second volume, apart from containing a valuable obituary of the Rev. Fearon Fallows, first Astronomer Royal at the Cape, prints an interesting and detailed account of the treatment of tetanus.²³ It begins with a general survey of the contemporary methods of treating the disorder, which often included the amputation of the infected limb, and this is signed 'J.M.'. These initials must without doubt stand for Dr. John Murray, deputy inspector-general to the forces and principal medical officer at the Cape. He refers however to the case reported by "Dr. Murray" which follows entitled: "Cause of Tetanus, following a punctured Wound in the Foot, cured by division of the

x Exhaustive search has failed to reveal any published work bearing this name, possible though it is.

Posterior Tibial Nerve." This report is signed: "John Murray, M.D., Assist. Surgeon, Hon. E.I.C. Service. Cape of Good Hope, 24th Oct. 1832." While at first confusing, it becomes clear on investigation that this was pure coincidence, the second Dr. John Murray being quite a different person from him of the Cape. His name is found in the East India Register for 1833 as receiving his appointment on 27th April 1831. He was a passenger on the James Pattison from Portsmouth, 12th August 1832, and he recounts the performance of a successful operation for tetanus on a mid-shipman, William Pile, aged 15, who had run a rusty nail into his foot. It was Murray's belief that severance of the tibial nerve cut off communication between the wounded part and the brain, resulting in the relief of the locked jaw. Modern medical opinion does not support this, the logical deduction being that in cutting deeply to find the nerve, Murray accidentally removed infected tissue. The tetanus bacillus was only discovered in 1884.²⁴

Two articles, both introduced by a deferential letter to the editor, appear over the initials 'H.O.'. The first, in No.11, is entitled The Dial of Ahaz and the second, in No.12, is On the Era of the Crucifixion and its Accomplishment, according to the Prediction of the Prophet Daniel. The author was the Rev. Dr. Holt Okes, D.D., who is included among the Divines of the Cape whose views were published together in the December issue of the Gazette by means of short extracts from their published works. Okes is chosen there to represent "Evangelical Doctrine", though he held no ecclesiastical office at that time.^x The Dial of Ahaz, which is mentioned in II Kings, ch.20, is of slight general interest but was the sort of problem with which Okes - like Adamson a mathematician - enjoyed diverting his mind. The second, more valuable article on the date of the Crucifixion, is subscribed 'H.O. - S.T.P.' which may suggest a collaboration with some one else. 'S.T.P.' however stands for Sacrae Theologiae Professor and may be taken as merely indicating Okes's qualifications. In the article he reaches the conclusion that the Crucifixion of

x See overleaf for note.

Our Lord took place in A.D. 30 which should correctly be called 34. Okes is heard of again in Vol.5 of this journal when he engaged in a classical discussion on the correct translation of a passage of Herodotus and also explained a passage of Virgil.²⁵

x Holt Okes was born in King's Lynn, Norfolk, in June 1777, the son of Thomas Okes, M.D. He was a pensioner of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and graduated as 16th wrangler in 1801. He was ordained the same year and took his doctorate in divinity in 1820. He emigrated to the Cape in 1830, arriving with his wife, two sons and five daughters on 4th November. In the following January he opened a Classical Academy at Grove House, Roeland Street, which continued until 1836, while his wife ran a school for girls. On 30th October 1834 however, he was appointed provisional chaplain at Wynberg, a position which was only made permanent in 1845. His evangelical views had an influence there which has persisted until this day. In 1848 he was obliged to resign through ill health and he died, a widower, at the Hermitage, Wynberg, on 14th June 1854.²⁶

The copy of Newton's Principia Mathematica (1st ed., 1687) in the Grey Collection of the S.Afr. Public Library, once belonged to him, being acquired in Cambridge in 1802. It contains his armorial bookplate with the unusual motto "Fortiter et prudenter". It is to be presumed that Grey bought it at a sale of Okes's books. Publications of Okes's known are: Verses on the Celestial Sphere, (1835); A Catechism relating to the Six Days' Creation, 1845; A Sermon preached at Wynberg, 1846.

VERSE

In concluding a study of this volume some mention must be made of the verse contributions. Only a handful of them warrant attention, it must be admitted, and these not necessarily for their poetic merit. In the last number of the volume the Editor, under the heading Poetical Apathy at the Cape, declares regretfully that he has often wondered at the absence of local poetic talent and cannot account for it, the more because he realises that "all the delight of our being, lies in imagination." The initial enthusiasm seems indeed to have waned for two years previously, it will be remembered, the Editor had to apologise for being unable to make use of all the poetry offered for publication.²⁷ The remarks quoted preface three verse items of Jardine's own, written, it would appear, to show that if no one else would oblige in this literary form, he could. They are not his most important contributions in verse however and attention must first be given to his lengthier work in No.2, entitled Weeping Willowism; or Parting Time anticipated. An impromptu Farewell, on hearing the Decision of the Council of Five, that my Garden was to be taken away, and appropriated to the Uses of a FREE MASON'S LODGE. With Notes and Comments.²⁸ The fifteen verses of this effusion are in effect a catalogue of the flowers soon to be lost, and these are followed by seven columns of notes which are by Jardine without the least doubt, and enable him to demonstrate on paper the love of horticulture which he had already exhibited in fact around the Library walls. The notes begin:

"My Garden. As we understand it, this must be the parlour garden adjoining the Commercial Exchange, and attached to the Public Library; and the attempt at verse is designed, we apprehend, as a catalogue raisonnée of its contents ..."

This however need not deter one from the assurance that the verses were also Jardine's.

'Adieu, my companions - sweet flowers,
Your perfumes so grateful to sense
No more shall ye gladden my hours,
The mandate is - get thee gone hence!
"Hail, Masonry! thou Craft divine!"^x

x This recurrent line is the opening of a Masonic hymn according to A.J.J.'s notes, p.245.

So runs the second verse, while later we read:

'And last, though not least, little flower
Of Constancy's emblem so true;
The Reveller's^x grim worldly power,
Shall soon doff thy bonnet so blue.
"Hail, Masonry! thou Craft divine!"

The Masonic Lodge in question was The Hope, established in 1820 by members of the Lodge De Goede Hoop, revived in 1829 and until 1831 domiciled in the African Society House in the Heerengracht. From 1832 however it is recorded as meeting in the North Wing of the Commercial Exchange and as the title of the foregoing poem declares, rooms were especially built on for it. In September 1831 the Committee of the Commercial Exchange agreed to add to the rear or Parade side of the Library rooms, it being understood that the ground in front of the Library windows - that is, on the Heerengracht side - could be developed as a garden. In the following January the Committee informed the Library that it was about to build on this land - presumably in the angle formed by the north wing and the main front of the building. This was the blow which inspired Jardine to produce Weeping Willowism.²⁹ In the following December he reported in the Cape Literary Gazette the arrival in November of a pair of swallows who took up their old nesting place at the Library but sought in vain the fountain which had been close by the year before.³⁰ It is clear from the sources quoted in the previous chapter however, that enough garden remained to be a memorial to Jardine on his death.

The Notes and Comments on the foregoing include several other short verses, mostly from the works of recognised poets. One however is declared to have been inspired by "The discovery of a little favourite flower [Heart's ease] in the garden of Mr. van Renen [sic, i.e. Mr Daniel van Reenen] at the Brewery [Papenboom]."³¹ It is a pathetic effort not worth quoting. Jardine also takes the opportunity in these notes of further reminiscence about Sheridan, in this case reference to the latter's love of wild flowers in later life.

x The worm. A.J.J. quotes a poem by Herbert Knowles (d.1817) having the line: "And none but the worm is a reveller here", i.e. in a graveyard. The complete poem, from the churchyard of Richmond, Yorks, is quoted in C.L.G. v.5, p.87.

Other verses by Jardine probably include those quoted without source in his Recollections of Rambles among the Mountains: No.2, regarding Sunday morning at Genadendal.³² The fact that the origins of other verses quoted are generally given lends support to the attribution to him here. If it is his, it is undoubtedly one of his best poems.

"The swallow skimming o'er the green,
The loosen'd cattle loit'ring round
The hymning grove - the purling stream,
Alone disturb the calm profound.

O'er the high vault of stainless blue
Light snowy fleeces float serene;
Like hov'ring spirits, pleased to view
The stillness of the Sabbath scene."

.....

By no means perfect and derivative of the "nature" verse of the previous century, this yet shines out in a barren scene.

Unmistakably his also are verses of a very different tone expressing the writer's wishes regarding the disposal of his mortal remains - wishes, it is to be regretted, not carried out at his death. They were prompted by current concern at a new regulation prohibiting the burying of any but members of the Episcopal Church in Bathurst churchyard.

"Lay me not in the charnel ground, (he writes)
Where flesh and bones are mangled;
Nor let the sullen death-bell sound,
Nor any chime be jangled.

But lay me 'neath the shady trees,
Where the waving boughs are wreathed;
And let no sound but the sighing breeze
Be o'er my burial breathed."³³

.....

The three pieces which follow his remarks on Poetical Apathy are The Deluge, Recollections of the Late Miss O- of Castle-street, Cape Town and Thoughts suggested at the Close of the Year.³⁴ Each in a different metre and form they are neither original nor remarkable.

Of other indigenous verse there is only to be noticed A Fable, by a Lady, which appears under the heading Original Poetry but which makes one seriously doubt the editor's critical ability, and an amusing piece of comic verse entitled A War Note for the Army which - parodying the Border ballads - encourages the women

of the Colony to take action against the threatened cutting off of tea supplies from China.^{x35} Here are two verses:

"Come, tie on your bonnet, your shawl, and your boa
Each proud virgin amazon, onward with me;
Come, rouse for the fight, all ye maids who adore
The flavour of TWANKAY, SOUCHONG, or BOHEA!

Come clatter the tea-cups, and brandish each spoon
Beat loudly the tea-tray, the kettle, the urn;
No more for the lover or sweet honey-moon,
But for TWANKAY and war, let your soft bosoms burn!"

Poetry gleaned from foreign sources includes items borrowed from the Keepsake, the Amethyst, or Christian's Annual,^{xx} Edinburgh Literary Journal, Chambers' Journal and from Erasmus Darwin's strange but popular epic The Botanic Garden, published in 1786.^{xxx} The obituary notice for Henry Derosio, the Anglo-Indian poet already mentioned, contains three excerpts from his works which amply show his real poetical ability. The following sonnet, written to the students of the Hindu College of Bangal where he taught, is probably the finest poetry in the Cape Literary Gazette, even if the syntax of the first two lines is somewhat at fault. It is quoted here since collected editions of his works are rare.

"Expanding, like the petals of young flowers;
I watch the gentle opening of your minds.
And the sweet loosening of the spell that binds
Your intellectual energies and powers
That stretch (like young birds in soft summer hours)
Their wings to try their strength, O how the winds
Of circumstance, and freshening April showers
Of early knowledge, and unnumbered kinds
Of new perceptions shed their influence;
And how you worship Truth omnipotence !
What joyance rains upon me when I see
Fame, in the mirror of futurity,
Weaving the chaplets you are yet to gain,
And then I feel I have not lived in vain."^{37xxxx}

The American poet William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878) is represented by his poem The African Chief, originally published in the North American Review. This is stated to be based on an

x Trade with China was still being carried on under great difficulties at this time. Canton was the only port open to foreign merchants and the H.E.I.Co. held the monopoly until April 1833³⁶. The position of Canton merchants is described in C.L.G. v.2, p.277-78.

xx Edinburgh, 1832-34.

xxx II, no.5, p.298. The excerpt is a prophetic passage foretelling the future prosperity of Sydney, N.S.W.

xxxx According to the obituary notice, this first appeared in the Bengal Annual for 1831, Calcutta.

actual incident concerning the selling as a slave of a captive chief.^{x38}

In the tenth number of Vol.2 (October 1832) we are faced with a small problem which at present seems incapable of solution. This is created by the appearance of a poem by Samuel Taylor Coleridge - then still living - in a different and probably earlier version than any known elsewhere. The poem is here entitled God Omnipresent and is prefaced by the editorial note. "The following impromptu lines by Coleridge, have been kindly presented to us in the handwriting of their Author." The subscription reads "S.T. Coleridge, Sunday 19th June 1814."

Here is the Cape version of the poem:

"My Maker! of thy Power the trace
In every creature's form and face
The wond'ring Soul surveys!
Thy wisdom, infinite above
Seraphic thought, a Father's love
As infinite displays.

Thou mad'st, then fillest, Earth and Air,
Yet didst the lisper, Man, declare
The whole Earth's voice and mind!
O! let us still with heedful heart,
Lord! even as Thou all-present art,
Thy presence know and find!

Then come what will of weal or woe,
Joy's bosom-spring shall steady flow:
For tho' 'tis Heaven thy Self to see,
Where but Thy Shadow falls, Grief cannot be!³⁹

According to E. H. Coleridge this poem was first included among S. T. Coleridge's collected poems in 1852 when it was entitled "A Hymn" and possessed very considerable variations from the Cape Literary Gazette version.^{xx} It was the only poem then printed from manuscript and a note in that edition states that this manuscript was given to the editors by J. W. Wilkins of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and had been addressed to Mrs William Hood of Brunswick Square, who had given it to a relative of Wilkins not later than 1817. The first verse is the same

x Another poem by Bryant, Lines to a Water Fowl, was included by R.J. Stapleton in his Poetry of the Cape of Good Hope (1828), under the impression that it was original when it appeared in the S.Afr. Chronicle on 10/11/1824, and was there stated to be "extracted from a sailor's album, on Dyer's Island."

xx Poems of S.T. Coleridge; ed. by Derwent and Sara Coleridge; a new ed. London, Moxon, 1852.
Poems of S.T. Coleridge; ed. by Ernest Hartley Coleridge.
O.U.P., 1912. p.423n. and xi.

in both versions and the last verse also, with minor literal or punctuational changes. In 1852 however a second stanza was included that does not appear in the 1832 version, and the stanza following - beginning here "Thou mad'st, then fillest, Earth and Air;" was very materially altered for the better.

The leading authority on Coleridge, Dr. Earl Leslie Griggs, can throw no light on the origin of the manuscript to which Jardine must have had access, having found no mention of it in the poet's letters.⁴⁰ He agrees that as far as is known the only connection that Coleridge ever had with the Cape was through Thomas Pringle with whom he corresponded during the years 1827 to 1833, when the latter was secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in London and certainly in touch with old friends at the Cape - especially John Fairbairn.⁴¹ This explanation of the way in which the poem came to South Africa seems the most likely one and we must be content with it for the present.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

Part I

1. C.L.G., v.1, no.17, p.224.
2. South African Public Library Committee minutes, 7/2/1831 and 22/10/1831.
3. C.L.G., v.2, no.2, p.241-43; no.4, p.273-75; no.5, p.289-91; no.6, p.305-06.
4. Ibid., no.2, p.248.
5. Ibid., no.1, p.230-31; no.3, p.266-68; no.5, p.292; no.5, p.292-93; no.7, p.323-25; no.7, p.325-26; no.11, p.393.
6. Ibid., no.7, p.323.
7. Ibid., no.1, p.238-40.
8. Harvey (Sir Paul) comp. The Oxford Companion to English Literature, 3rd ed. 1946. p.834.
9. S.Afr. Comm. Advr. 31/5/1834.
10. Carpenter (M.) ed. The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy. 1866. p.77. C.L.G., v.2, no.1, p.237-38.
11. C.L.G., v.2, no.10, p.380-82.
12. Hooker (Sir W.J.) Botanical Miscellany, 1831, v.2, p.1-59; p.258-343; v.3, p.23-76.
13. C.L.G., v.2, no.11, p.395. S.Afr. Comm. Advr. 2 - 19/3/1836.
14. C.L.G., v.2, no.5, p.303; no.6, p.307.
15. Ibid., v.2, no.8, p.337-40; no.9, p.353-56; no.10, p.368-71; no.11, p.385-88; v.3, no.1, p.1-5; no.2, p.17-21; no.3, p.33-36; no.4, p.49-50; no.5, p.65-67; no.7, p.97-99; no.9, p.133-34; no.11, p.165-67.
16. Lyell (Sir Charles) Principles of Geology, 3 v. 1830-33.
17. C.L.G., v.2, no.8, p.338.
18. Ibid., no.10, p.370.
19. The Listener, v.65, p.560, London, 30 Mar. 1961.
20. C.L.G., v.2, no.10, p.384.
21. Ibid., no.9, p.358; no.10, p.373; no.11, p.394-95; no.12, p.409-10.
22. Ibid., no.10, p.373.
23. Ibid., no.12, p.402-04.
24. Major (R.H.) History of Medicine. 1954. p.842.
25. C.L.G., v.5, no.3, p.39-42; no.4, p.54, 1835.
26. Zuid Afrikaan 5/11/1830. S.Afr. Comm. Advr. 18/12/1830. Hewitt (James A.) Sketches of English Church History in South Africa. Cape Town, 1887. p.30. South African Church Mag., v.2, no.7, p.228, July 1854. Venn (J. and J.A.) Alumni Cantabrigienses, pt.2, v.4, p.585. Death notice 2585/54 (Cape).
27. C.L.G., v.1, no.2, p.23; v.2, no.12, p.415.
28. Ibid., v.2, no.2, p.243-45.
29. S.Afr. Almanack & Directory, 1831-33. Cranstoun-Day (T.N.) The British Lodge no.334. p.32-33. S.Afr. Public Library Committee minutes, 9/9/1831, 18/1/1832.
30. C.L.G., v.2, no.12, p.415.

Notes to Ch.VIII pt.1

31. Ibid., no.2, p.244.
32. Ibid., no.2, p.273.
33. Ibid., no.8, p.351.
34. Ibid., no.12, p.415-16.
35. Ibid., no.5, p.294; no.8, p.341-42.
36. Costin (W.C.) Great Britain and China, 1833-60. Oxford,1937.
37. Ibid., p.322.
38. Ibid., no.9, p.362. Bigelow (J.) William Cullen Bryant.
Boston, Mass., 1890. p.68.
39. C.L.G., no.10, p.384.
40. Information very kindly supplied in a letter to the author.
41. Q. Bull. S. Afr. Libr., v.6, no.1, p.1-6, 1951.

Part II - Volume III

At the close of 1832 Jardine tried to dispose of the Gazette, even advertising on the wrapper of the December issue that he was "contemplating official and other engagements connected with the Press of 1833 and distinct from this Journal." No one however came forward to ease the burden from his shoulders and he felt obliged to continue.

"... We had hoped," he wrote in January, "for some able successor who might have conducted the present publication, and rendered it more worthy in every way the marked countenance which it has obtained. But we have failed in our endeavours to acquire such assistance: our duty is, therefore, to persevere as heretofore, whatever else may obstruct our path; because we think it would argue very little for the rising intelligence and growing prosperity of the Cape, to abandon the only Journal in the English language which it possesses."¹

There is no clue as to what these "engagements" might be, either in the Literary Gazette or in the minutes of the Library Committee. The word "official" leads one to envisage such an appointment as the editorship of the Government Gazette, which it is conceivable he might have been offered, but whatever it was it was turned down. No new English newspapers or journals appeared during 1833, though in February "a halfpenny magazine for the people" was announced, which turned out to be De Kaapsche Cyclopaedie, published weekly.^{x2} The review in the Cape Literary Gazette for April regretted the non-existence of an English counterpart as there was "an equally destitute portion of English readers". Although Jardine was very keen on such ideas, as his article on the Library for the People shows,³ an English Cape Cyclopaedia did not eventuate for another two years and then not under his guidance.^{xx}

The Cape Literary Gazette during 1833 continued in the customary pattern, book-reviewing again being very limited. Reviews must have proved unpopular with the readers. Cape publications noticed are the South African Directory, a similar but smaller

x A.J.J. wrote in a tail-piece to v.3, no.2: "And, O! wonder upon wonders! A Halfpenny Magazine for the people is about to be started. We shall beat Lord Brougham and the Diffusion Society all to sticks!" This weekly, however, was almost entirely confined to religious topics.

xx Vol.I, 1835, 205 pp., was edited by William Gorrie, schoolmaster, with the help of Dr. James Adamson.

work, The Cape Calendar,^x a sermon preached at Wynberg by Bishop Turner of Calcutta on The Dignity of Public Worship, and De Kaapsche Cyclopaedie already mentioned.⁴ Of overseas publications the Life of Sir David Baird,⁵ captor of the Cape in 1795 - here attributed to Hook but described as anonymous by the British Museum - and A Residence at the Court of London, London, 1833,⁶ by the American diplomat Richard Rush, deserve mention.

MUSIC CRITICISM

Another type of reviewing which makes welcome appearance for the first time here is music criticism. A violinist, Signor Masoni, described as the pupil and companion of Paganini, stopped at the Cape for a few days in July 1833 on his way to England from Calcutta. He gave two concerts in the Commercial Hall on Saturday 20th and Sunday 21st July under the patronage of Lady Frances Cole, and was assisted by a singer and the band of the 72nd Regiment.⁷ A critic in the South African Commercial Advertiser was greatly impressed, particularly with the virtuoso's "trills on the Chromatic scale" and his extempore variations on Paisiello's (1740-1816) "Nel cor più".^{xx} It was hoped that local musicians would be stimulated into giving more concerts.⁸

Jardine however had no taste for this kind of music, regarding vocal performance alone as worth listening to. He tended to sneer at the "two brilliant audiences" and remarked that "the Signor moreover contrived, it is said, to purse some £150 of our currency, with candle ends in the bargain."

"... did a large portion of it the audience really know why they were tickled or pleased?" he asked, "There was no appeal to the memory, the scrapings of the Signor was [sic] not allied to language, and when music is not connected with both, it becomes a mere sensual or vague affair, leaving little permanent impression upon the mind ... But the Signor is a disciple of Paganini - only think of that! Poor Paganini! he that drew together the thousands of London, and disburthened the public of its cash, is now neglected, and cannot find a London audience of sufficient strength to pay for lighting his

x In reviewing this Jardine ironically remarked: "In one respect, the Editor has very much confounded that beautiful distinction of ranks which has hitherto preserved the decent order of things. For is it not enough to make any one of the Cape Squirearchy fall into fits, to be classed with 'Africa van de Kaap, Coolie', or 'Dollie, a slave, Coffee-steeg', or 'Griet, van de Kaap, Laundress and a thousand others...' Directories of this period commonly listed non-Whites separately.

xx Beethoven composed six variations for piano on the same theme which comes from the opera La Molinara.

music room! Masoni is doubtless a clever musician; but really we beg pardon to some of our readers - but despite of the staccato and the pizzicato, and all the varorums sic of the Signor -

'I wadna gie our ain Strathpeys [sic]
For half a hundred score o' 'em.' "9

There is no evidence in the biographies of Paganini that his English tours at this time were not a continued triumphant success - nor for that matter is there any evidence that Masoni (or perhaps Mason ?) was ever his pupil. One is tempted however to designate Jardine something of a Philistine.

In the next issue of the Gazette a correspondent signing himself "Fanatico de la Musica" took the Editor to task severely but good-humouredly. Jardine was quite unrepentant, though he did in the same issue bemoan the fact that at Masoni's concerts "out of an audience of about 400, scarcely twenty individuals understood music sufficiently to appreciate or to comprehend the really excellent parts of his performance."¹⁰

Another visiting musician was Mrs. Goodall Atkinson, a noted soprano, who called on her way to Calcutta in the following October. She gave two concerts in the Commercial Hall on the 15th and 17th and a "Musical Soiree" in the new music room at George's Hotel on the 19th, to the great satisfaction of all, the Cape Literary Gazette included. Her repertoire comprised Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Rossini and others.¹¹ There is little doubt about the ability of Mrs. Atkinson, for writing in his History of Music, published by Constable in 1830, William C. Stafford said of her:

"Mrs. P. Atkinson (formerly Miss Goodall) has a voice of much sweetness, possesses great talents, and is, perhaps, one of the most scientific singers of the day."

Jardine devoted nearly a column and a half to her concerts under the heading "Vocal Music - NOT from a Correspondent."¹² The point here was that the reports on both musicians in the Commercial Advertiser were acknowledged to be from correspondents and hence not editorial opinion. Jardine however exhibits continued narrowness of outlook in confining his comment to the Scottish songs in Mrs. Atkinson's repertoire - Wandering Willie, Charlie is my Darling, Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch and Auld Robin

Gray by Lady Anne Barnard. For him a song must have a story in it.

PROSE CONTRIBUTIONS

At least one serious article of some substance - apart from the Lectures on Natural Philosophy continued from the previous year - was usually found for each issue of Volume III. The first is a reminiscence by a childhood friend of Jardine's, James Halliday, formerly surgeon on the Honourable East India Company's ships, and like Jardine a native of Johnstone in Annandale.¹³ It is entitled An Adventure at St. Helena. Halliday had left Europe shortly before the Battle of Waterloo and only heard of the event on arrival at Canton. On his return voyage however his ship put in at St. Helena where the ex-Emperor was already in residence. By sheer bravado and by dodging the sentries, he and a fellow ship's officer contrived to obtain an unauthorised interview with Napoleon on the occasion of his evening outing. They were impressed by his wide knowledge and the diversity of his questions. Nothing was evident of the "murderer", "monster" or "assassin" of popular belief. Needless to say the intruders received a stiff reprimand when their exploit became known to the authorities.

Important for the time is an article by Jardine himself entitled Reflections on Witnessing a late Execution in Cape Town of two Brothers. It matters little to us now who the unfortunates were, but what is important is that Jardine felt called upon to denounce in no uncertain terms not only public execution but capital punishment itself.

"But if capital punishments do little good (he writes), they do much harm. The frequent public destruction of life, has a fearfully hardening effect upon whom it is intended to intimidate. While it excites in them the spirit of revenge, it seldom fails to lower their estimate of the life of man, and render them less afraid of taking it away in their turn by acts of violence."¹⁴

Jardine was not alone in such ideas but still much in the minority. The movement begun by the Italian reformer Beccaria in 1767 and fought for by such men as Eden, Romilly, James Mackintosh and Wilberforce, had by 1833 brought about a considerable reduction in the number of capital offences, but of the great humanitarians, Bentham alone had in his old age gone so far as to advocate the total abolition of the death penalty.¹⁵ His pamphlet On Death-punishment

had appeared in 1830. Jardine may well have been influenced by Bentham's views in this respect - particularly his assertion that capital punishment tended to produce crimes, but Jardine rested his case on the Christian standpoint while Bentham was a philosophical radical. As far as public execution went, his cry was indeed a lone one at the Cape, for it was not until 1869 that by law executions must be performed within the precincts of a prison.¹⁶

PIETER GYSBERT NOODT

In the issue of March 1833 there appears an interesting though completely inaccurate account of the death of Governor Pieter Gysbert Noodt in 1729.¹⁷ Prefatorial remarks here declare that the reader should not enquire whence this narrative has come though the editor suspects that it has been translated from papers in the Dessinian Collection of the Public Library. No likely Mss. are known to be there today and in any case Jardine as Librarian would have known for certain. Apart from this version there are two available accounts of the circumstances leading to the sudden death of Noodt on 23rd April 1729 soon after signing the death warrants of a number of deserters. The official account recorded in the reports of the Court of Justice and repeated by Theal,¹⁸ tells of the desertion of thirteen soldiers who made off across the Cape Flats with nine muskets and ammunition. They were stopped by the Landdrost of Stellenbosch and with the exception of the leader who was shot, all were eventually captured. The sentences passed upon them were harsh but not unduly so for the times. Four were to be hanged, five to be flogged and branded and suffer fifteen years hard labour in chains, and the rest received various sentences of hard labour.^x The executions took place on the morning of 23rd April 1729 and the Governor exercised his prerogative by allowing the bodies to be buried and not exposed. He himself died at about 4.0 p.m. the same day in the summerhouse in the Company's Garden. There is no doubt that he was a harsh, ill-tempered man, generally disliked, but the popular tradition of his being particularly brutal in this case is unfounded.

x None of those hanged was a German, it should be noted. Two of the others were.

The best known version of the story - though erroneous - is that found in O.F. Mentzel's Lebens-geschichte Herrn Rudolph Siegfried Allemanns, (Glogau, 1784), published in translation as Life at the Cape in the Mid-18th Century.¹⁹ This account - gleaned from hearsay, for Mentzel only arrived at the Cape in 1732 or 33²⁰ - describes a planned revolt by thirty to forty men who had lost part of their pay through the Governor's greed. The plan was discovered and they were sentenced to run the gauntlet ten times and then be sent to Batavia as sailors. Noodt however is said to have insisted that they all hang. The condemned men declined the ministrations of the predikant on the grounds that they were all Lutherans and some of them theological students. On the scaffold one of these students summoned the Governor to appear with him before the Judgment Seat of God. When the Council came to report to the Governor at the Castle he was found to be dead with an expression of despair on his face. Soon afterwards the popular cry was taken up: "Noot is dood, nu is er geen noodt."^x

In the Cape Literary Gazette story, entitled Pieter Gysbert Noot [sic]; an Historical Narrative of the Colony, another fanciful account is presented, even more divergent from the facts than Mentzel's. Here the victims of the Governor's cruelty are two young Germans, Hubert and Mandrot, who are pressed into the Company's service while on a visit to Antwerp, and shipped to the Cape as soldiers. On arrival they decline to take the oath of allegiance demanded of them and are committed for trial. Some details of the trial are given and needless to say the two young men are sentenced to death for sedition. There follows a considerable account of their argument in prison with the predikant, de Roos by name, on the ethics of their case. The executions take place the next day precisely at noon, after which there is an awful silence and "an extraordinary or unearthly voice" is heard saying:

"Pieter Gysbert Noot - Pieter Gysbert Noot - meet the two martyrs this moment at the bar of God!"

x This version was used most effectively in the recent 'Son et Lumière' presentation at Cape Town Castle during the summers of 1960 and 1961.

There is then a graphic description of Noodt's last minutes in the summerhouse - here called the Pavilion of the Sun - during which he is greatly troubled by the prickings of conscience. He breaks into the following "soliloquy" which has an Elizabethan flavour:

"Is it delusion this?
Or wears the mind of man within itself
A conscious feeling of its destination?
What say these suddenly imposed thoughts,
Which make such deepen'd traces on my brain.
My spirit sickens at the hateful thought,
Of low marauding strife or bloody gash;
It hangs upon it with such thick oppression,
As doth the heavy, dense, sulphurous air
Upon the breath it stifles."

When the Court arrives to report justice done and succeeds in forcing an entrance, the Governor is found dead in his chair with his neck twisted.

The only points in this story which agree with the facts as known are that some soldiers were sentenced to death for mutiny, or a similar crime, and that on the same day that the executions were carried out the Governor, Noodt, died suddenly in the summerhouse in the Company's Garden - not in the Castle. On the other hand the only points of comparison with Mentzel's story are the awful words summoning Noodt to the Judgment Seat and the Court's proceeding to report the execution to him. While the writer in the Cape Literary Gazette could have read Mentzel,^x the differences are so great that it seems most unlikely.

That a legend regarding Noodt's death survived into the nineteenth century is certain - mention is made of it in the first history of South Africa published at the Cape in 1825^{xx} - it can therefore be assumed that the writer in the Literary Gazette spun his own yarn from this legend and from such of the bare facts as he knew.

OTHER EVENTFUL TALES

Another tale (in No.4, p.51-54) which might or might not

x Dr. Ludwig Pappe, who came to the Cape in 1831, had a copy which he acquired in 1830. This is now in the S.Afr. Public Library.

xx J. Suasso de Lima in his Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Cape Town, 1825, p.14, wrote of Noodt: "... hy overleed in den Jare 1729 en van zynen dood heeft men vele fabelachtige vertellingen verspreid dewelke echter om derzelve ongerymheden geen geloof verdienen."

have been true, is that of Frederick, the escaped slave who married a farmer's young widow and laboured many years to buy his freedom and lift the burden from his conscience, only to find in the end that he had been freed already by his former master's will. The importance of this story lies in the fact that to the readers of the year 1833 it was still very much of a possibility. It may be remarked that at no point in the story is the colour of the man's skin mentioned. This does not seem to have been regarded as of any importance.

An account of events which can be confirmed from the contemporary newspapers is the Settler's Log published in two parts in June and July.²¹ The 'log' is the journal of an ill-fated voyage in the schooner Jane and Henry which left Liverpool for Australia on 19th July 1832 with a complement of sixty-five souls. She arrived in Table Bay on 25th March 1833 - over eight months later. Trouble started early when the Captain, who drank heavily, made attacks upon both members of the crew and the passengers so that the rest of the ship's company felt obliged to place him under restraint despite the possible charge of mutiny. The mate however proved a poor navigator and gave way to another no better so that the ship went far off course. Eventually the Captain was reinstated and a voyage ensued, marked by fights, shortages, becalmings and deaths from fever. Ten of their number were believed killed by natives at Luanda (?) where they put in for water. Unfortunately the record ends on the 4th March when the writer may have fallen ill, for the Editor informs us that he was one of several who died after landing at the Cape.

There is little doubt of the truth of this narrative as three charges were later heard before the Admiralty Court at Cape Town, two against the Master, Robert Latimer, for assault on a sailor and on a passenger, and one against Francis Small, a half-pay lieutenant who figures in the Log, for assaulting the Master. The cases were heard on 15th and 16th April and Latimer was sentenced to three months hard labour, Small being discharged with a fine. The latter published numerous documents a few days later in defence

of his character, and these included letters describing some of the trials of the voyage.²²

The writer of the Log - which was printed verbatim from the manuscript - was an untutored steerage passenger whose English leaves much to be desired. It is sufficiently graphic however to give a vivid picture of this unlucky voyage. Here is his description of the first trouble with the Captain:

"The captain at night at words with the surgeon and the[y] came unto blows but the[y] got stoped [sic] again then they [sic] captain wanted to have him put in irons but they passengers stoped him then he threatened to run any man through with the beanet [sic] that spoke unto him then they passengers thought it high time to [take] Some further steps with him So we all called a meeting and thoug [h] t it to be the best plan to take him and put him in iorns [sic] so we sat too and put the handcuffs on him and then we put the mate in [h]is plase [sic] as captain so then we all signed for it and we looked what position we was in and it was in latatude [sic] 3"5 and longetude [sic] 20" 18..."

St. Mary's Chapel; a Narrative of the Seventeenth Century, "by a visitor at the Cape of Good Hope", is yet another of the many contributions Jardine attracted from his Scottish compatriots.²³ It tells of certain events in the history of a fourteenth century chapel built on the banks of the Darra, a mountain stream in Aberdeenshire, a few miles south of the town of Turriff.^x It was the scene of an engagement between the forces of Montrose and Argyle in October 1644, and was later burnt down by a reputed witch. Though the writer somewhat confusingly places the end of the story in the middle, this is quite a well-written account after the style of Scott's Tales of a Grandfather. Unfortunately it cannot be relied upon for accuracy. He refers, for example, to the action taking place near the Chapel on Ascension Day, 1644, although Montrose's campaign in that country was subsequent to the sacking of Aberdeen on 13th September.

The second part of the narrative is subscribed 'S.' and the author was probably a Mr. H. Saundby. Three pieces of poor verse are also the work of 'S.', including one entitled Farewell to Southern Africa, dated "Table Bay, August 1833."²⁴ This indication

x The City Librarian, Aberdeen, is unable to confirm the past existence of the Chapel, though he has been kind enough to check the existence of the Darra at Turriff.

that the writer was leaving the Cape at that time leads one to connect 'S.' with the Mr. Saundby who advertised in the South African Commercial Advertiser of 31st August, that he was about to leave the Colony. H. Saundby was also a member of the South African Literary Society.²⁵

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Articles of topical interest in Volume III included Library for the People and The British Settlers.²⁶ In the former of these, far from decrying publications such as Lardner's Encyclopaedia, Constable's Miscellany and the Library of Useful Knowledge, as he had done in his first volume,²⁷ Jardine recommended them wholeheartedly, together with the penny magazines, for "the mechanics, the labourers and apprentices ... in a state of moral and intellectual destitution." "We require a Lending Library," he wrote, "It must be one conducted on a liberal plan, and wholly detached from those systems of exclusion which only tolerate one set of opinions." The Popular Library in Cape Town was established on the 18th August 1834 with Jardine as Hon. Secretary and Ewan Christian as Treasurer. It was immediately "popular" and the organisers could soon report an average of 193 borrowers per day at a subscription of only 4s.4d. per annum or one penny per week!^x Strict regard was paid to the moral tendency of the books. Jardine himself resigned the secretaryship at the end of October but continued to serve on the Committee. Strangely the Library does not seem to have lasted beyond the year 1837.²⁸

The article on The British Settlers (No.12, p.181-83) is by John Centlivres Chase and one of the very few in the Gazette of which the full name of the author is given. Biographical notes on Chase were supplied in Chapter VI when his contributions to the South African Quarterly Journal were noticed, and it will be remembered that he had been at least ten years in the Albany District - Treasurer for two - and was well qualified to write of the settlers of 1820. The article is ably presented and constitutes, as the sub-title states: "A Sketch of the Establishment,

x At first the Popular Library had accommodation in a small committee room adjoining the S.Afr. Public Library, but soon moved to the Commercial Hall and then to a new room in the west wing of the Exchange building.²⁸

Progress, and Present State of the British Settlement of Albany... from the Date of its Foundation in the Year 1820, to August 1833." Thus did he describe the district as it was when the settlers came:

"There were no villages, no places of worship,^x the Sabbath according to the remarks of a military officer in 1820, never having travelled farther than the Sunday's River, which is eighty miles to the westward of the boundary. There were no schools, if we except the new missionary station at Theopolis, which, exposed to constant and harrassing warfare held a precarious existence. The population was trifling, and dependent upon the military alone, who were introduced for the sole purpose of liberating the frontier from savage inroad, and then to retire. In fine, Albany was a desert space, where the power of fire and sword for the purpose of aggression or avengement had immediately before passed, and with every prospect of remaining so, but for the arrival of the Settlers, and as has before been remarked, after previous expulsion of the natives, three attempts having failed to people it with native born Colonist."²⁹

The latter part of the article is rendered less interesting by essential statistics showing the tremendous development in twelve years, but Chase wrote in glowing terms of "the march of success" which he believed to be "the most unparalleled in the history of colonization, especially after such a tissue of disasters."

Another topical subject of great importance to Cape Town, as it was to most European cities at this time, was the overcrowding of cemeteries. This was discussed at length by Jardine in the opening article of No.10, Church-yards at the Cape. He advocated the establishment of a joint-stock company to develop a new area for a cemetery, namely "all that elevated ground at the foot of the mountain, N.W. of Chiappini and Rose-street to the left of St. Andrew's Church, extending even to the top of Waal-street." It is indeed fortunate that with the exception of the small Moslem and Chinese burial grounds on the side of Signal Hill, such a short-sighted policy was not adopted. The main graveyards in the 1830's were on the sea side of Somerset Road - as they had been for many years - and they continued to be used officially up to the 1850's. Jardine himself was buried there. The gravestones and other remains were only removed to Maitland in 1921.³⁰

A few short articles are of a local topographical interest, as

x In the following issue (vol.IV, no.1, p.10) Chase published a few corrections to his article. Under 'Places of Worship' he wrote that the only exception to this lack was also the Institution for Hottentots at Theopolis. From 1812 to 1820, he says, the minister of Graaff-Reinet rode 180 miles to perform divine service at Grahamstown.

for example that describing The Plumstead Village (January 1833), Rondebosch and its Vicinity (July) and Cape Rambles I and II (November and December).³¹ Of these the last two describe firstly the journey to Stellenbosch over the Cape Flats - or Downs as they were often known - and secondly a climb up to Prinskasteel and along to the Elephant's Eye Cave on the Tokai Mountains.

Special mention is due to the article on Rondebosch as it is the most preposterous piece of writing to be contributed to the Cape Literary Gazette. One can only suppose that Jardine published it with his tongue in his cheek! The following is a fair example of the flowery style in which the writer displays a larger vocabulary than he knows how to use correctly:

"The Village of Rondebosch is agreeably situated on the top of an eminence or vale, though it looks most presumptuously, and with seeming effrontery, upon some tall nodding pines in triangular conformation, which grace the purling rivulet of the Liesbeek beneath - a river in which may diurnally be perceived the graceful anklet [sic] and the fair-formed foot of a Callyphyrgion [sic] Venus, pulverising one's nether commodities against the adamantine solidity of some granite lump; and the ebon wedges of their fellow "ivory blacks", the Mozambique, who unite their savors with the other women and the clothes; while reposing in luxurious somnambulency, may be distinguished the well disciplined and unhappy convict, who wiles away the hours of existence, and his condemnation for felony, in breathing his sweetest effusion into the ears of some hazel dulcinea."³²

Notes of the Month - begun in February 1832 - continued to comment on current local affairs ranging from Cape-born Dr. Peter Chiappini's medical thesis³³ to the scarcity of labour and how the immigration of vagrant boys from the streets of London was hardly likely to ease the problem. As a rule the Literary Gazette and the Commercial Advertiser got on well together, as has been remarked but on this question of juvenile immigration which was being pushed very much by Fairbairn in the Advertiser on behalf of the party of twenty boys who arrived in May 1833 under the auspices of the Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy, there was very strong difference of opinion. "What is there to expect from the beggery, wretchedness, profligacy, sloth and squalidness of a London-tutored vagrant?" asked Jardine.³⁴ He was answered by an Albany farmer who wrote to the Graham's Town Journal a few months

x It can only be assumed that the author meant "Callipygian"!

later condemning Jardine's attitude and declaring that the very worst vagrant from England was better than what they had been obliged to employ hitherto. The first batch of twenty boys all went on to Albany where they were comfortably settled. In all some 750 boys were sent out during the next seven years and only in a few cases were their apprenticeships unsatisfactory. The scheme came to an end in 1839 due to the false tale told by one of the worst types who managed to get back to England.³⁵

In July 1833 Jardine and the Advertiser were again at loggerheads. The newspaper was quite strongly attacked on five counts, all of which can be traced back to leading articles.^x It cannot be by chance that this issue was not advertised in the normal way.

In March 1833 it was the Graham's Town Journal that Jardine was up against in an article headed The Graham's Town Journal - South Sea Islands &c. He was disappointed, he said, in the line of conduct adopted by the paper since its inception (late in 1831), especially the antipathy to religious denominations other than Methodism and constant harping on the shortcomings of Dr. Philip's Researches. In the issue of the Journal for 23rd May, Meurant^{xx} printed a violent reply by "A Subscriber" who began by saying how surprised he had been to discover that the Cape Literary Gazette still existed. "There is a reluctance (he wrote) in all small communities to tell literary people that their productions are trash..." He accused Jardine of aiming at notoriety for the sake of free publicity. This did not excite further correspondence however. During the following year the two journals were at peace, but in 1835, as will be seen, there was much further friction.

The activities of a society which has escaped notice elsewhere also received attention in these columns. This was the Minor Institute of which Jardine was the Acting Secretary. It was contemporarily described as "a club existing in this town for the

x The charges were (1) The support of the Bengal Hurkaru when it accused Cape Town shopkeepers of overcharging, (2) Slights to the Established Church, (3) Economic views, (4) Immigration of vagrants, (5) 'Litigation or law' - the libel case of Laubscher v. Fairbairn and Greig, won by the latter.³⁶

xx Meurant became agent in Grahamstown for the C.L.G. only in the following November.

discussion of topics of general public interest." We are told that the Institute was founded as early as 1824 with one David Still as president and James Gray as secretary.³⁷ If this was so it must have kept itself very quiet and out of sight of authority. Clearly its secret lay in exclusiveness.

"Bodies or Institutions..." wrote Jardine in July 1833 after recalling the society's establishment, "usually flourish while unanimity prevails and while their numbers are limited rather than injudiciously increased ... Our object (he goes on) is to encourage improvement in whatever shape it may appear... Although any question, not excluded by fundamental rules, is to be discussed, yet essays, poems, scientific information, and judicious schemes or ideas should be eligible, if only for the purpose of maturing them."

In August we find the Minor Institute under fire from a correspondent in the South African Commercial Advertiser because of this excessive exclusiveness, and in the same issue an advertisement appears for an extraordinary general meeting over Jardine's signature.³⁸ This attack would seem to have had an effect as in September we read that "Since the abrogation of the 'exclusive' regulation ... those who feel a real interest in the objects of the Society have attended regularly." Dr. Henry E. Macartney, M.R.C.S. - well known in Cape Town for his lectures on natural history - addressed the Institute on 16th September.³⁹ How long it flourished after that date is not known.

Illustrating an article on methods of raising water, and at the same time acting as an advertisement for the producer - there appears in Vol.III, no.10 a lithograph by Johannes Cornelis Poortermans. Poortermans, who had only recently arrived in the Colony from Holland, was to work here for many years. As an artist he left much to be desired, but his products are now rare and eagerly sought after by collectors. He is best known for his Series of Lithographical Drawings of the Cape published in the 1840's. The plate in the Cape Literary Gazette is the first example of his work known and includes an accurate drawing of his press at Newlands.⁴⁰

VERSE

The verse in Volume III has little to commend it. In No.3 we find under the heading Ecclesiastical Sketches from Wordsworth

two of the Ecclesiastical Sonnets of 1821-22, namely no.17, "As a star that shines dependent upon star", and no.18, "A genial hearth, a hospitable board," but there is no other borrowed poetry of note. The indigenous verse is particularly poor and need only be mentioned in the course of the identification of some of its authors.

Jardine's own verse contributions in this volume are confined to a nostalgic lyric, A Recollection of Annan Water, a sarcastic condemnation of the Grahamstown Reading Society for voting itself out of existence in September 1833, and a satire entitled Cape Gratitude in which he decries the action of the Zuid Afrikaan in condemning 1832 as "a wretched year".⁴¹ In thirteen verses he has recorded blessings for which the Colony could be thankful.

The work of 'S.' - probably H. Saundby - has already been mentioned above. Apart from his Farewell to Southern Africa, he contributed The Scottish Patriots' Song: commemorative of the Heroism of the Covenanters, and the Battle of Drumclog, 1st June, A.D. 1679, and an ambitious but unrewarding effort entitled The Crucifixion.⁴² This is remarkable for a stanza of ten lines with the following rhyme scheme: a b c b d d b c b a. The rhymes of the first and last lines are much too far apart to be appreciated.

There are more verses by 'E, Hottentots Holland' - that is the Rev. James Edgar, Scottish minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. These are The Emigrant's Lament and The Responsive Minstrels; or Here and There, in which a British youth is made to bemoan his lot at the Cape and a Cape youth his in Glasgow.⁴³

An amusing item in the issue for December 1833 is To my Pen, by 'A., Graham's Town'. The author of this is probably Dr. John Atherstone (1793-1855) leading medical man of Albany and the father of Dr. William Guybon Atherstone.⁴⁴ He has often wondered, he writes, why his pen scribbles so much nonsense - at last he has found out:

"Now it's as clear as mud - for how the deuce
Could you write anything but nonsense when
'Tis plain that you're the offspring of a goose,
Put in the hands of other geese, called men,
To scribble nonsense with ..."

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII,

Part 2

1. C.L.G., v.3, no.1, p.16.
2. S.Afr. Comm. Advr. 13/2/1833.
3. C.L.G., v.3, no.4, p.51.
4. Ibid., no.1, p.15.
5. 2 v., London, 1832.
6. English ed., London, 1833.
7. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 20/7/1833.
8. Ibid., 24/7/1833.
9. C.L.G., v.3, no.9, p.148.
10. Ibid., no.10, p.164.
11. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 16, 19/10/1833.
12. C.L.G., v.3, no.11, p.180.
13. Ibid., no.1, p.5-7.
14. Ibid., no.2, p.31.
15. Radzinowicz (L.) A History of English Criminal Law, v.1, 1948.
Ch.10, especially p.390.
16. Cape of Good Hope Act no.3 of 1869.
17. C.L.G., v.3, no.3, p.36-38.
18. Cape of Good Hope. Archives. Précis of the Archives: Journal,
1699-1732; ed. by H.C.V. Leibbrandt. Cape Town, 1896. p.315.
19. Ch.X. English translation publ. Van Riebeeck Society (no.2),
1919.
20. Mentzel (O.F.) Geographical and Topographical Description of
the Cape of Good Hope, v.2, Cape Town, Van Riebeeck
Soc., 1925. p.9.
21. C.L.G., v.3, no.6, p.84-86; no.7, p.104-06.
22. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 20, 27/4/1833.
23. C.L.G., v.3, no.7, p.100-102; no.8, p.119-20.
24. Ibid., no.10, p.151.
25. S.Afr. Literary Society. Second Report. Cape Town, 1831.
p.12.
26. C.L.G., v.3, no.4, p.51; no.12, p.181-83.
27. Ibid., v.1, no.11, p.135.
28. Cape Town. Popular Library. Report of the First Anniversary
Meeting of the Friends of the Popular Library, 18th Aug. 1835.
p.8-10. A.L. A.J.J. to E. Christian, 30/10/1835. Cape of
G.H. Annual Register for 1837 records Popular Library for
last time.
29. C.L.G., v.3, no.12, p.181-82.
30. Laidler (P.W.) A Tavern of the Ocean; (new ed.) Cape Town,
Maskew Miller, 1952. p.168. Crew's Plan of Cape Town,

Notes to Ch. VIII, pt.2

- c.1850. Geo. Thompson's Plan of Cape Town, 1827. Andrew Barnard was buried in the Somerset Road cemetery in 1807 (Fairbridge (D.) Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape of Good Hope. 1924. p.332.)
31. C.L.G., v.3, no.1, p.14-15; no.7, p.102-104; no.11, p.167-168, no.12, p.183-84.
 32. Ibid., no.7, p.102.
 33. Ibid., no.2, p.30.
 34. S.Afr. Comm. Advr. 15, 18, 22/5/1833. C.L.G., v.3, no.6, p.93-94
 35. Grahamstown Journal, 25/7/1833, 18/7/1833. Theal (G.M.) History of South Africa, 1795-1872, 4th ed. v.2, p.194-95.
 36. S.Afr. Comm. Advr. (1) 17/4/1833; (2) 8/6/1833; (3) passim; (4) 15-22/5/1833; (5) 27/6/1833.
 37. C.L.G., v.3, no.7, p.115; S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 10/8/1833.
 38. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 10/8/1833.
 39. Ibid. 21/9/1833; for Macartney see 13/7/1833, and also C.L.G. v.3, no.10, wrapper.
 40. Jeffreys (M.K.) The Elusive Lithographer (in Q. Bull. S.Afr. Libr., v.5, no.1, p.1-10, 1950.)
 41. C.L.G., v.3, no.4, p.54; no.10, p.164; no.2, p.30. (Zuid Afrikaan, 4/1/1833.)
 42. Ibid., no.10, p.151; no.5, p.80, no.7, p.104.
 43. Ibid., no.6, p.96; no.9, p.135.
 44. Ibid., no.12, p.185. Burrows (E.H.) A History of Medicine in South Africa. Cape Town, 1958. p.162-63.

CHAPTER IX

THE CAPE LITERARY GAZETTE VOLUMES IV & V

Part I

VOLUME IV, 1834

The publication of the first issue of the Gazette for 1834 was much delayed. The printer, Bridekirk, was obliged to place official business first and the month of January gave his press plenty of work of this nature. The new Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, landed on the 16th bringing with him orders from London for the immediate setting up of a Legislative Council, and also the Royal Proclamation for the abolition of slavery, to take effect on the 1st December following. It was not surprising therefore that Bridekirk issued an apology from the Gazette Office on the 23rd January in view of "the occupation of his Press by Public Documents of great interest," and although he declared the Cape Literary Gazette to be in the press then, it was not until the 15th February that it was finally on sale.¹ Publication never really caught up with this delay throughout the year and this accounts for events frequently receiving comment in the issue of the same month in which they occurred.

The Gazette was pursued however with unremitting vigour and the volume is no less varied and interesting than its predecessors - in fact the appearance of nine small woodcuts in the text lends it an attraction not shared by any of the others.

In his address to the Public in the first issue, the Editor again emphasized his independence and freedom from mercenary motive.

"In such an age of the Colony, it is pleasing to live, and think, and write, (he wrote) - none daring to make us afraid; to endeavour to be one of the contributors to its information, profit, or amusement. The attempt may often fail, but it is gratifying to make the individual effort, and never can it be wholly useless, whatever may be the imperfections with which it is accompanied."²

LITERARY CRITICISM

Notable reviews in this volume were lengthy notices on the official Report and Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Parts of China in the Ship Lord Amherst, (London, 1833)³ and on the American Captain Benjamin Morrell's Narrative of Four Voyages to the South

Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Atlantic Ocean, from the Year 1822 to 1831, (New York, Harper, 1832).⁴

These were principally summaries of contents, and not critical.

The Life of Sir John Moore, by his brother, (London, 1834), however, is criticised severely for its political bias.⁵

The fourth number contains a very sympathetic and well-written biographical sketch of George Crabbe, not long deceased. This could have been taken from any good English literary periodical, but since Jardine is usually most punctilious about his attributions it must be regarded as his own work.

In August 1834, Jardine devoted a considerable amount of space to a detailed criticism of A Discourse held [sic] by the Rev. G. W. van der Lingen at the Opening of the Fifth Session of the South African College, and translated into English by A. N. E. Changuion, which was published during the year.⁶ It was customary at the opening of the College year to invite two eminent local figures to address the assembly - one in English and the other in Dutch. On this occasion the speakers were Dr. Adamson and Ds. Gottlieb Wilhelm Antonie van der Lingen of Paarl.^x The latter took as his subject a very wide one which he dealt with in a rambling manner. In his own words it was "the fair and encouraging prospects which our country and nation present to those friends to humanity, who endeavour to enlighten the minds of their creatures, and to promote their moral improvement." He ranged from the climate and natural features of the Cape to its aboriginal and its white inhabitants/in particular ... to the latter's largely German stock and what it had achieved, and what bright prospects there were for the future. As far as is known the original Dutch version was not published but for the benefit of the English-speaking community Dr. A. N. E. Changuion,^{xx} professor of Classical and Dutch

x Van der Lingen was born in Cape Town in 1804 of missionary parents and died in Paarl in 1869. He was educated in Utrecht and was installed as predikant of Paarl on 5/6/1831, remaining there all his life. He had the reputation of being a man of learning.⁷

xx Anthony Nicolas Ernest Changuion came to the S.Afr. College in October 1831 at the age of 28, on the recommendation of Leyden University which had conferred on him the degree of Lit.Hum.Doct. He left the College in 1843 to set up his own school at 17 Strand St. This lasted until Sept. 1860 and many eminent Capetonians passed through it. In 1865 he retired to Switzerland.⁸

literature at the South African College, decided to translate it and its accompanying notes. That there are flaws in the discourse there is no denying. That Cape Town - for example - should be regarded as "the centre of the sublunary world" and until the building of a Suez canal, "as yet situated nearer to most of the inhabited parts of the globe than any other region," is certainly surprising intelligence. Likewise is the identification of the Hottentots with the people of Ophir open to question, as are some of his other ethnological arguments. Such statements however do not warrant the bitter attack which Jardine brought to bear upon the discourse in more than two pages. It is difficult to decide whether van der Lingen for his ideas; or Changuion for his English, is the worse treated. The latter is also blamed for the notes, in spite of the fact that he states clearly in his preface that none of what follows is his except the translation. Van der Lingen is accused of bombast, ignorance and extravagance and his breath, writes the reviewer, "might have been as profitably employed in whistling 'Polly put the kettle on', or any other South African melody!" He concludes by referring the reader to the note on p.18 of the Discourse which, he says, describes orator and translator, the final sentence being: "By semi-learned, are meant would-be-learned, quacks in learning; very shallow wiseacres in literary knowledge." It was a diatribe such as this which made Jardine so unpopular with the Dutch-speaking population.

What van der Lingen's reaction was we do not know but Changuion, whose English was impeccable, published a reply in the South African Commercial Advertiser for 13th September 1834 which, while containing much straight speaking, never sank to the level Jardine had reached. Even in the following passage addressed to the latter, a certain dignified humour is to be observed:

"We might think it unkind, that you should have hurled the Rev. author and his translator down to the bottom of a page; yea to the very confines of blank space, and there leave them! but thanks to your merciful disposition, they are not quite desolate, for they find themselves surrounded, even there, by a whole cluster of your honourable fraternity."⁹

It is to his credit that Jardine republished this in his next issue, but he seems to have been quite impervious to its arguments, describing it as "a tissue of logomachies - the mere effervescence of

an apparently conceited and frothy mind" which he readily reprinted. He does not come out of the affair with much honour.

Other important reviews of South African Literature appear in the December issue where, under the heading The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, three works are noticed at some length.¹⁰ These are John Howison's European Colonies in various Parts of the World (2 vols., London, Bentley, 1834), Pringle's African Sketches (London, 1834) and Thomas Philipps' Advantages of Emigration to Algoa Bay (London, Effingham Wilson, 1834). Pringle's work, in which his Narrative of a Residence first appeared, had already been noticed in the Cape Literary Gazette for the previous August when the editor apologised for inadequate time to study it and reprinted the Spectator's complimentary review with considerable excerpts.^x

The article which runs to no less than five pages is almost certainly by Dr. Richard Hartley Kennedy, surgeon in the Bombay division of the Hon. East India Company's Service, then on furlough at the Cape. Kennedy contributed several other items some of which are subscribed "R.H.K.". The first hint of his identity is found in No.7, (p.112) where with reference to an article entitled Indian Exports, the editor writes

"We suspect that a new pen has been put forth from a hand that can handle an anatomist's knife as well as the artist's pencil... We look forward with intense anxiety for the promised budget of this writer..." Then at the end of No.12, on p.196, he writes "Our Volume (the 4th) for this year has been greatly enriched by the varied and powerful contributions of an esteemed Subscriber.⁵

The same talented pen will be found conspicuous in the present Number, more especially in reference to the Review [i.e. of the works on the Cape] and Loss of the Eldon, &c..."

The article last mentioned was subscribed "R.H.K.".

A Dr. Kennedy, described as an Indian visitor, was elected a member of the South African Literary and Scientific Institution

x In September 1834, Jardine wrote (p.134) "Pringle's new work is causing a shaking among the dry bones in the Colony. It has been aptly termed a bunch of whip-cord; it must certainly prove lacerating to much of the proud-flesh around us." Ch.V of African Sketches is reprinted in No.11, p.171-73. [an

on 2nd August 1834, and he is easily identified with Richard Hartley Kennedy, M.D., of the Bombay service. He was on leave at the Cape from 5th June 1834 until sometime between July and October 1835.^{x11}

In the review of the three works on the Cape, Pringle's book is dismissed in the first paragraph in cordial terms on the ground that it had already been sufficiently dealt with elsewhere. The writer then gives a very detailed criticism of that part of Howison's two-volume work which deals with South Africa - that is p.163-376 of Vol. I - attempting to compare it with Philipps' pamphlet of only 36 pages. Howison - also a surgeon from Bombay - writes of the Cape as one who had certainly visited it and in addition read the standard literature. His account is both comprehensive and interesting and is aimed at the general reader. Philipps' work on the other hand was written solely as an introductory guide for would-be settlers. To compare them therefore seems pointless. Suffice it to say that Kennedy approved of Philipps and found much to criticize in Howison. One interesting point arising however is the suggestion that Howison may have been the author of the three volume novel Makanna, or the Land of the Savage (London, Simpkin & Marshall, 1834).^{xx} This work Kennedy describes as "a lamentable failure".

x Kennedy appears to have come from Nottingham where he attended the Rev. John Blanchard's school, and later was a member of Glasgow and Cambridge Universities. He graduated M.D. in 1810 and was also M.R.C.S., M.A.S. and M.R.S.L. (if Jardine's note on the back wrapper of Vol.IV no.12 is correct - he is not in Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses). He joined the H.E.I.C.S. in 1811 and was gazetted surgeon in 1822. After campaigning with the Army in Sind and Kabul in 1838-39 he rose to be Physician-General, Bombay, in 1842, retiring on 1st May 1843. He died in London on 24th July 1865. Apart from medical treatises he wrote De Clifford, a Romance of the Red Rose, a Poem in 12 Books, London, 1826; Visconti, an historic Tragedy in 5 Acts, Calcutta, 1829; and Narrative of the Campaign of the Army of the Indus in Sind and Kabool in 1838-9, London, 1840. While in Cape Town on leave he collected some of his poems and published them as The Relicquary [sic]; or a Collection of poetical Fragments, Relics &c., (Pike, 1835). Most of these pieces had previously appeared in the Bijou. His poetry was not of a very high order, and was strongly influenced by that of Henry Kirke White (1785-1806) whom he claimed as a school-mate. Songs from Visconti were published in C.L.G. v.5, no.7, p.107-08.¹²

xx Makanna, the with-doctor who became a leader of the Xosas, defeated Gaika in 1818 and attacked Grahamstown in April 1819 when he was obliged to surrender. He has been the subject of a novel by M. N. Morgan - Bronze Napoleon - in 1940, and of a poem by Pringle, Makanna's Gathering. The novel of 1834 is only partly concerned with him. See also Rae (J.C.) Makanna and the Battle of Grahamstown [versel], 1951.

It is certainly a romance of little merit, typical of the period. Copies however still survive.

PROSE CONTRIBUTIONS

The principal contributions to the Cape Literary Gazette by J. H. Kennedy were under the heading Indian Exports [Pt. I] and Pt. II in Nos. 7 and 8 respectively, Part III in No. 11, and a fourth part in Vol. 5, no. 8, shortly before he quitted the Colony. He was also the author of Sir James Macintosh in Vol. 4, no. 10, The Loss of the Ship "Eldon" by Fire, in No. 12 and probably of The Millenium: the Rev. Joseph Wolfe [i.e. Wolff] in No. 9.

Indian Exports is written with a light touch, the pill being sugared by anecdotes from the author's Indian and Cape experiences. In the first place the "exports" under consideration are the visitors themselves who had such an influence on the Cape of that day and put so much money into the coffers of the local shopkeepers.^x Kennedy tells how Cape Town struck these visitors in comparison with Bombay, Madras or Calcutta, how they became nobodies and missed the warmth of hospitality that Indian social life afforded. Cape society was difficult to fit into and a social club after the style of Almacks was much needed.

In the following part he deals with the commercial side, advocating the increase of trade between India and the Cape and comparing the relative prices of wine and horses in particular, and of other products to a lesser degree.

These articles prompted a correspondent from the Breeds River district signing himself "x.x - x.x -." to augment Kennedy's recommendations by urging the settlement of retired members of the Indian service at the Cape, it not being forgotten that the Colony was now British. He bemoaned the barrenness of the settler's life, only to be improved by increased numbers and the acceptance of the Kaffir as a hired labourer. Kennedy was allowed to reply in the third part to his series where he regretted that retired Indians did not make good Colonists, being used to too many ser-

x Lists of Indian visitors were published on the back wrappers of the following issues of the C.L.G.: 3(6); 4(2); 5(2),(7), (10) and (12). Indian here of course means Anglo-Indian.

vants. He also remarked that the Cape had really become but little anglicized in the past twenty-eight years.

Some strong criticism of Kennedy was voiced by Major Samuel Parlby,^x ex-Indian Army man and a prominent settler of Kleyn River Valley, Swellendam district, who in a long letter in the South African Commercial Advertiser of 27th December, stoutly upheld the advantages of settlement for such as him. This did not impress Kennedy however and he defended himself robustly in the next issue, much to the pleasure of Jardine.¹³

Kennedy's final thoughts on Indian-Cape affairs appeared in the August 1835 issue which was published early in the following September. He opened this article with a violent attack on the quality of colonial journalism as found in the Zuid Afrikaan and the Graham's Town Journal, which ill-compared with that of England and India.

"The Zuid Afrikaan Balaams bray, fire and faggot, in bastard colonial Dutch, and the Graham's Town Journal storms and placards in a style, whose harshness and constitution betray, that the writer has an inward conception of euphony in language, dependant upon the insertion and elision of the aspirate, by the most approved rule within the sound of the Bow-bells!"^{xx14}

He next proceeded to recommend the establishment of a joint-stock company for land improvement and surprisingly showed a complete volte-face compared with his earlier remarks ten months before, by strongly advocating settlement for retired and invalided Indian officials in this cheap country with its kindly climate. Taxation however must be reduced, he said, to attract immigrants who might otherwise go to America!^{xxx} He then made the bold

x Major Parlby wrote a pamphlet a few years later: Hints to Emigrants, to show that in the Climate, Capabilities and Geographic Position, this truly valuable Colony is worthy the highest Attention of the Statesman ... and Emigrant. (London, 1838.)

xx This hit must be at Robert Godlonton who became editor at the beginning of 1834. One of the most celebrated settlers, he was born in London in 1794 and became apprenticed to a printing house. The review of his Introduction to the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes in Vol.5, no.6, is also by Kennedy who refers to "the style, overflowing with cockneyisms."

xxx £150,000 in taxes was paid by 100,000 people, he declared. William Dunn, a farmer of Sebastian's Bay, however, writing in February on Hints and Suggestions for Colonial Improvements, rejoiced in the "very few taxes" - communications were the chief want.^(ed)

statement - possibly true at this time but scarcely judicious - that "England maintains the Cape Colony solely for the sake of India and the China Trade." This leads him to the proposal that the Cape could be cheaply garrisoned by a depot detachment for every corps in India, and that invalids could be more economically and effectively housed and treated here and then returned to India after recovery. Strange to say this article roused no comment in the local press.

The article on the Rev. Joseph Wolff, referred to above, is almost certainly Kennedy's, since it deals largely with the former's lecture tour in India where the writer met him. An article on him is to be found in the Dictionary of National Biography.^{x15}

Another biographical study, signed "R.H.K.", appears in the following number (No.10) and deals with Sir James Macintosh, Recorder of Bombay in the early years of the century. Here Kennedy seems anxious to correct exaggerated stories about Macintosh's undistinguished term of office on the Bombay bench.

Kennedy's last prose contribution to the Cape Literary Gazette, vol.4, was on the loss of the H.E.I.C.'s Ship Earl of Eldon by fire in the Indian Ocean on 27th September, 1834.¹⁶ The remarkable circumstance regarding this disaster was that not one of the ship's company was lost, despite the vessel being 1,000 miles from land and the season a stormy one. The Captain, Edward Theaker handled the situation magnificently and afterwards the passengers addressed a joint letter of appreciation to him.^{xx}

Jardine must certainly have been grateful for Dr. Kennedy's contributions even if they were controversial. Their particular value lay in their being calculated to attract the Indian visitor's attention as well as that of the resident.

Regarding Jardine's own contributions note should be taken of his Bibliographical Researches, No.I in January and Bibliographical Researches in the South African Public Library, No.II in July.

The latter article is not the continuation of the former, as one

x Wolff was a converted Jew who held some eccentric views about the Millenium and biblical chronology.

xx The episode was also noticed in the S.Afr. Comm. Advr. for 20/12/1834.

might well suppose, but a footnote to it refers the reader to the contribution with the same title appearing as far back as Vol.I, no.14, June 29, 1831. It seems likely that when Jardine titled his article of January 1834, he had temporarily forgotten the previous one in 1831. This January article deals primarily with the sins of the borrowers and spoliators of books. In this respect human nature has indeed not changed and the following might have been written by a librarian of any age:

"But the truth is, there is not a more pestilent class of nuisances on the wide surface of the globe, than book-borrowers. They who borrow and never return. It is a melancholy fact, that persons who would not wrong you of a six-pence in hard cash, will have no scruple whatever in keeping your books. But there is another class of people greatly to be dreaded - your book-spoliators - plate destroyers, mutilators, back-breakers, and marginal scribblers, aided and abetted by that large family - the tear-sheets."¹⁷

The Bibliographical Researches in the South African Public Library, No.II open with remarks about the library classification, the system recommended being that of Etienne Gabriel Peignot (1764-1849), which was based on Bacon's Chart of Human Learning.^x He proceeds then to a systematic study of the Library's contents, beginning with a description of the various Bibles in different languages. Jardine clearly intended to continue this series and it is to be regretted that he never did.

Odds and Ends from a Settler's Scrap-book: Albaniana Nos. 1 and 2, by John Centlivres Chase, appeared in the March and May numbers over the initials "J.C.C.", and are of especial interest being embellished with woodcuts. No.1. has the subtitle Precious Stones in Albany. A Knave of Diamonds. After describing the sorry plight of the early British settlers, Chase tells the story of the impoverished farmer who in the very early days called upon the Provisional Magistrate to consult him upon a matter of importance. He understood, he said, that certain reservations were imposed in the titles of their "estates" and these included

x Jardine refers to Peignot's Dictionnaire raisonné de Bibliographie, 3 vols. (Paris, 1802-4). Its primary classes are Memory (History), Imagination (Literature) and Reason (Philosophy). We have no means of telling whether the books were then arranged on the library shelves after this system. Certainly the Catalogue of 1834 is not but adheres to the common French system of Bouillard (c.1678) later modified by Brunet.¹⁸

discoveries of precious stones.

"What!" exclaimed the multi-functional functionary, for he was Judge and Jury, Coroner and Lord lieutenant... "What!" and rising from his chair, "do, Sir, please be seated; well, then, you have discovered a mine of precious stones, eh! on your own estate; eh!" "Why, no, Sir," replied the hundred-acred gentleman, with affected and provoking hesitation, "I - I - cannot - exactly - state that - I - have - discovered any precious stones, but I have found a precious lot of stones!"¹⁹

This anecdote may well be based on fact. It appears in shorter form on the front page of the Graham's Town Journal for 6th April 1832. There however the magistrate - or landdrost - is actually described as "Capt. T." and the settler as "H." of Bathurst. There are too many local names beginning with H. for any guess to be hazarded as to the settler's identity, but the magistrate was certainly Captain Charles Trappes, late of the 72nd Regiment, who was appointed provisional magistrate of Albany in September 1820 and later of Bathurst. He was far from popular and as the result of complaints of victimisation was removed from his position in June 1821. The meeting of the still-born Cultural Society of Bathurst in January 1821, of which mention was made in Chapter V, spent its time, it will be remembered, drawing up a petition to the Lt.-Governor to have Trappes deposed. Hockly describes him as being incompetent, but when he was moved the Lt.-Governor made it clear that it was no reflection on his ability.²⁰

Another story told in this article is of an Irish settler who on being sentenced by the court for some misdemeanour to three days upon bread and water, thanked his judge since he would then "get two of the scarcest articles in the Colony!"

Albaniana No.1 is illustrated by four woodcuts. The first depicts the facetious settler facing the magistrate with the caption: "All that glistens [sic] is not gold" (Shakespeare.), the second, with the title "Brother Settlers contrasted", shows the prosperous farmer of 1830 as compared with the thin, ragged one of ten years earlier. The third is of a man sitting with a morose countenance, the caption being "Dry times, sirs!'", while the last is an amusing little tail-piece entitled "Short Tails. This is the way WE wag-on." and depicting an ox-wagon loaded with wool-bales. All the woodcuts in Volume IV will be discussed together later.

No. II of Albaniana is entitled "The Vital Spark", and with an unconscionable amount of padding, in which the author regrets that a new country like the Cape is denied an antiquity and the "fabulous ages" to look back upon, Chase eventually gets to the anecdote he wishes to tell, and this is rather disappointing when it does come.²¹

THE WOODCUT ILLUSTRATIONS

There are three woodcuts here, two having punning captions. The first of these, at the head of the article, reads "Describing a Modern Settlement" and the cut depicts a lawyer elucidating a will to a harassed client, while the second - "Tales embellished with Wood-cuts!" belongs to the picture of a bewigged pedagogue birching a poor boy upon his knee. This bears little, if any, relation to the letterpress below. The final woodcut, entitled "There were giants in those days", depicts a naked figure riding on an elephant and brandishing a torn up tree - a reminiscence of the "fabulous ages" referred to. Though somewhat crude, these illustrations possess considerable character. With them must be ranked the woodcut at the head of the Notes of the Month column for April, which shows a man sitting on a high office stool with the words "Not: Pub:" [Notary public] as an integral part of the block.

This set of eight woodcuts is of especial interest because they must almost certainly have been made for the Gazette by one engraver. One other cut - that of Rondebosch Church - which illustrates a poem entitled "The Village Church" attributed to John Cunningham (1729-1773)^x in No.4, (p.60), is in a very different style.

Of the eight however, three are signed with the following shorthand-like characters: (6 Y, ^{xx} viz. A Knave of Diamonds, the man on the office stool, and There were Giants in those Days. These same signs are found on the woodcut of Brachydactylus Typicus in the South African Quarterly Journal, 2nd Series, no.2, pt.2. The only engravers known to be working at the Cape at this time were

x This poem is not among Cunningham's collected poems but is certainly in his style.

xx These signs cannot be identified with any contemporary shorthand.

ant; in short, he was as all functionaries were in those *orderly* days, *servants of all work*.—Factotums. "What!" and rising from his chair, "do, Sir, please be seated; well, then, you have discovered a mine of precious stones, eh! on your own estate, eh!" "Why, no, Sir," replied the hundred-acred gentleman, with affected and provoking hesitation, "I—I—cannot—exactly—state that—I—have—discovered any—precious stones, but I have found a *precious lot of stones!*"

The port and claret-complexioned frontispiece of the worthy (they are always worthy) magistrate thus insulted in his curule chair, first assumed all the prismatic hues—red, yellow, blue, down to deep violet, and then suddenly blanched with rage, and then— Well, I shall tell the remainder some other day; and for the present refer you to my *Belle-vue* above.

BROTHER SETTLERS CONTRASTED.

Anno 1830. Anno 1820.



"Look here upon this picture, and on this."
The counterfeit presentment of two brothers.
"HYPERION TO A SATYR."
(Shakespeare.)

RARE COMFORTS—BREAD AND WATER.

DRY TIMES, SIR!!



In the times alluded to in the former reminiscence, when men, just newly transplanted from the land of intelligence, of free thought, and free speech, had not been tamed down to colonial usages, at least such as then existed,

to suppress their indignation and contempt, because it was dangerous to proclaim such feelings, or convenient to conceal them; a state of things almost as injurious to the community as absolute licence, and more so than the unrestrained use of that safety valve, the Public Press; there were many amongst the settlers, who *boldly spoke out their opinions* of passing events, and some not too *wisely, nor too well*. Amongst these was a cidevant Irish Captain of Militia, who had joined the ranks of the immigrants, and who, from a capacity peculiar to his countrymen, was always getting into one scrape or another; he had an appetite for a *broil*, would have been a martyr for the sake of a *steak* (or stake, hang the orthography of the word.) It was the *de'il's* fault or his own; and I leave them to settle the matter—

"Jolly companions every one."

Two years of failure of the wheat crops, which had devastated the greater part of the colony, had in the British settlement itself, literally made *bread*, (however vulgar it may be to quote an old home adage,) "*a sight good for sore eyes.*" A drought too, afflicted the country, which in general seasons is somewhat deficient in that pabulum of existence, and Albany, the new land of promise, suffered severely from both these inflictions, because a shoal of eaters and drinkers, with throats rather dry, and stomachs of singular, (no, rather *plural*) capacity, thanks to a warm and too fine a climate, had been thrown suddenly into the colony without any notice, consequently any preparation, and without any possibility of immediately shifting for themselves.

Captain Paddy (I cannot appropriate to him a better or more significant *alias*.) happened at this period to have occupied the peculiar attention of some of the gentlemen of the local court, doubtless for the perpetration of some unheard of virtue, some extravagant excellence, I really forget the precise nature of the allegation; and was, as *might be expected*, convicted. After summing up the evidence, the *Deputy Landdrost*, for such was the barbarous title of His Britannic Majesty's local representative in those long-to-be-remembered days, adjudged that Captain Paddy should "be confined in the District Jail for three days, upon *bread and water.*"

"Och! and by the powers, thank you, Sir," cried Captain Paddy, with his

stentorian voice and rich emerald-ian brogue, "thank you, Sir; then I shall get *two* of the *scarcest* articles in the Colony!"

Captain Paddy's wit and philosophy prevented his incarceration.

SHORT TAILS.



"This is the way WE wag-on."

J. C. C.

THE REMINISCENT, No. 6.

A GOVERNMENT CORRESPONDENT.

It is inconceivable—the silly measures which guided many of the acts of the Sidmouth administration. It is a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of political writers, that the Government of England directed monthly returns of the state of the villages: *i. e.* the state of public feeling, from the Post Office Keepers. In England, it is well-known, that many of these are exceedingly ignorant men. It was my lot to take up a temporary abode in a village near Stafford, at the residence of the candidate for the election of the Borough at the next forthcoming dissolution of Parliament. This gentleman had made himself popular by many public acts of beneficence, and was the founder of a Provident institution not only there but in many other places. It was my task to lay hold of the London papers at the Post Office as soon as the mail should arrive. The Postmaster and myself became on terms of talking intimacy, when one day he bowed humbly hoped to be forgiven, and asked for advice on a delicate subject: the poor fellow expressed in whispered tones his incompetency to carry on a Government correspondence, and solicited my assistance;—he at the same time produced what he termed a rough copy, and begged (*entre nous*) for my correction. I requested to be possessed of the MS. and promised a more suitable reply. The Post Office Keeper's letter was worded precisely as follows:

"My Lord!

This is to inform your Lordship that there is no news particular in this part of the country but how long soever this will keep so is moral impossible for any living man to say. The parliament men that are coming down to the Borrow next year, it is likely will kick up

VI. A page from the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, vol. IV, no. 3, showing woodcuts 2, 3 and 4 of the series described on p. 239-40.

To face page 240

Alexander Reid and Frederick Willem de Wet.²² Examples of the latter's work in a Cape Almanack advertisement of 1834 shows very poor craftsmanship of a flat, uninteresting nature, and while Reid was certainly not a great artist either (he was an ex-soldier) his signed work - Jan van Riebeeck in the Ned. Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift for July/August 1829 and Green Point lighthouse, the Commercial Exchange and a copy of George Thompson's map of Cape Town in the Cape Almanack for 1830 - does show some character. His style there exhibited has some kinship to that of the Cape Literary Gazette artist and he could have been responsible for the 'eight'. Beyond that it would not be wise to go,^x except to remark that the cursive 'A' of Alex. in Reid's woodcut signature, is made with two curves very similar to those of the sign (6, inverted, and that the 'le' of Alex. come together very much like 6, inverted. In fact the sign could be a simplification of part of Reid's signature.

An interesting sequel to the publication of these woodcuts in 1834, is that after eleven or twelve years they appeared in print again, this time under "Sam Sly" (W. L. Sammons) in his African Journal. If we are to believe Sammons he was quite ignorant of the fact that they had already been used at the Cape and in what connection, as over a period of eight months he printed seven of them in completely different contexts from the original.^{xx23}

x Mr A. Gordon Brown's suggestion that Chase was the engraver of "Short Tails" because the initials J.C.C. are printed below it, is not supported.²² These initials must refer to the article, not the woodcut. There is no record of Chase being a craftsman.

xx Sammons only came to the Cape late in 1842.²⁴

The following comparison will illustrate his use of the woodcuts:

	<u>Cape Literary Gazette</u>		<u>Sam Sly's African Journal</u>
1.)	No.3, p.35 A Knave of Diamonds	6/11/1845	"A Poor Author"
2.)	p.36 Brother Settlers contrasted	30/4/46	"A 'Wink'ler' and an Editor"
3.)	"Dry Times, Sirs!!"	25/6/46	"The Sum Total"
4.)	"Short Tails"	5/3/46	under <u>Our Letter Box</u> (with a frame)
5.)	No.4, p.62 Man on office stool	15/6/46	"Summing up."
6.)	No.5, p.68 "Describing a modern Settlement"	2/10/45	"Creditor and Debtor"
7.)	p.69 "Tales embellished with Wood-cuts"		<u>Not used</u>
8.)	p.70 "There were Giants in those Days"	12/2/46	"The Man wot stole <u>The Ichaboe Arms</u> " (See the <u>Journal</u> for an explanation of this)

Also connected with Albany affairs is a long letter published in the February issue addressed to the Editor of the Graham's Town Journal with the title Thoughts on our Humane Policy, and the Civilization of the Native Tribes. This is signed 'Hermes' and is doubtless by Jardine himself. The Editor in question did not see fit to republish it in his paper though it was inspired by a leading article in the Journal of 23rd January preceding, which criticised the appointment of Captain A. B. Armstrong (a serving officer) as Justice of the Peace for Albany and Somerset. In this case the Cape Literary Gazette came out on the side of the Journal and, going further, strongly advocated the need for Christian philanthropy in winning frontier tribes to peace and goodwill, William Penn and the American Indians being quoted as an example. Jardine was not to know that Richard Gush, settler of Salem and a Quaker convert, would put these precepts into practice a year later by facing unarmed a band of 500 hostile Xosas who had come to steal the district's cattle. After a parley they retired and left Salem alone during the remainder of the war of 1835.²⁵

TOPICAL ARTICLES

This volume is particularly rich in worthwhile articles of local interest. Only the most important of them can be mentioned. For example, Jardine's perennial concern for popular libraries is shown again in his publishing under the title Libraries for the People, an address delivered by Sir John Herschel to the subscribers to the Windsor and Eton Public Library and Reading Room in January 1833.^x

In No.2 (p.23-24) there is an article On Cape Opium, signed Kunhardt. This was Friedrich Herman Kunhardt of the firm of Kunhardt & Co., apothecaries, chemists and druggists.^{xx}

A Chapter on Cape Scenery in the April issue, is that rare thing for the utilitarian 1830's - a genuine appreciation of the beauties of the Peninsula and of Table Mountain in particular. This

x An Address to the Subscribers of the Windsor and Eton Public Library and Reading Room, delivered at the first General Meeting... held at the Christopher Inn, Eton on Tuesday 29th Jan. 1833. London, 1833.

xx 21, Heerengracht. See Cape Almanacks, 1834 onwards.

Also connected with Albany affairs is a long letter published in the February issue addressed to the Editor of the Graham's Town Journal with the title Thoughts on our Humane Policy, and the Civilization of the Native Tribes. This is signed 'Hermes' and is doubtless by Jardine himself. The Editor in question did not see fit to republish it in his paper though it was inspired by a leading article in the Journal of 23rd January preceding, which criticised the appointment of Captain A. B. Armstrong (a serving officer) as Justice of the Peace for Albany and Somerset. In this case the Cape Literary Gazette came out on the side of the Journal and, going further, strongly advocated the need for Christian philanthropy in winning frontier tribes to peace and goodwill, William Penn and the American Indians being quoted as an example. Jardine was not to know that Richard Gush, settler of Salem and a Quaker convert, would put these precepts into practice a year later by facing unarmed a band of 500 hostile Xosas who had come to steal the district's cattle. After a parley they retired and left Salem alone during the remainder of the war of 1835.²⁵

TOPICAL ARTICLES

This volume is particularly rich in worthwhile articles of local interest. Only the most important of them can be mentioned. For example, Jardine's perennial concern for popular libraries is shown again in his publishing under the title Libraries for the People, an address delivered by Sir John Herschel to the subscribers to the Windsor and Eton Public Library and Reading Room in January 1833.^x

In No.2 (p.23-24) there is an article On Cape Opium, signed Kunhardt. This was Friedrich Herman Kunhardt of the firm of Kunhardt & Co., apothecaries, chemists and druggists.^{xx}

A Chapter on Cape Scenery in the April issue, is that rare thing for the utilitarian 1830's - a genuine appreciation of the beauties of the Peninsula and of Table Mountain in particular. This

x An Address to the Subscribers of the Windsor and Eton Public Library and Reading Room, delivered at the first General Meeting... held at the Christopher Inn, Eton on Tuesday 29th Jan. 1833. London, 1833.

xx 21, Heerengracht. See Cape Almanacks, 1834 onwards.

is sub-titled "To Day-dreamers" and is subscribed P.McK. The author cannot unfortunately be identified though certainly McKenzies appear in the contemporary directories. It is a well written article intended to inspire the Capetonian to go out and enjoy his local scenery, it being regretted that the demand for fuel had already caused the destruction of much of the beauty of Table Valley where the silver trees had been felled and nothing planted in their place.

"But he who will endure the uninteresting sameness of the hot dusty road between Cape Town and Rondebosch (promises the writer) may then prolong his ride in the shade through the woods of Newlands to the romantic skirts of Wynberg-hill; there, the scene is full of variety - the open heath, the gay flowers, and the green proteas, refresh the eye; the taller bushes, mixed with the shining branches of the silver trees, festooned with creepers, occasionally present the finest groups of foliage; while the Table Mountain and Duivelsberg, or the distant Stellenbosch range, form a background worthy of such scenery."²⁶

In the July issue, under the heading Sketches of the Cape, there appear a number of excerpts from the first of three articles bearing this title published in the United Service Journal for May, July and August, 1834. The Editor of the Cape Literary Gazette informs us that there is nothing original about them and that the author was an officer in the 75th Regiment. The articles in the United Service Journal however are subscribed 'H.R.' and the army lists record no officer with those initials in the 75th during its spell of duty at the Cape from 1830 to 1842. There was however an H. P. Raymond, lieutenant of the 72nd Highlanders - at the Cape, 1828-1840 - and it may possibly have been he. The complete Sketches in the United Service Journal reveal that the author was a subaltern stationed on Robben Island at one time and on the Frontier in March 1833. There may indeed be little originality in the account but Jardine was doubtless influenced in the writer's favour by his praise of the South African Public Library which runs as follows:

"During the burning heats of summer, and in the occasional gloomy and wet days of winter, its spacious and lofty rooms offer an agreeable lounge, and certain antidote to ennui. The books are so arranged in classes, on shelves, all round the rooms, that one can readily lay hands on any book one

wishes; and the tables in the centre, after each arrival from England, are surrounded by visitants snatching a look at the magazines, or last caricatures by H.B.^x The books are lent out, and these advantages, superior to what any circulating library in England can offer, (the collection being so much finer,) are obtained for various rates of subscription - the highest three guineas, and the lowest but half-a-guinea."

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Current affairs of the year reflected in the Gazette range from the all-important Abolition of Slavery to the Fancy Ball given by Lady Ryan at George's Hotel. The Abolition (1st December 1834) was heralded in the November issue with verses entitled First of December. "Slavery is no more," and an editorial, Thy Chains are Broken: Africa is Free! The verses, though full of sincerity are of poor quality. The fact that they bear the subscription 'xx' suggests that they are not the work of the Editor. They are certainly not in his style. The Editorial starts off triumphantly:

"This DAY there is no longer a SLAVE at the Cape of Good Hope!"

and later:

"Thus has ended one of the most glorious contests, after a continuance for ages, of any, ever carried on in any period of a country's history. A contest between those who, through vicious custom, and the impulse of avarice, had trampled under foot the sacred rights of their nature, and had even attempted to efface all title to the divine image from their minds."

Without wishing to detract at all from the great work of the abolitionists, one must admit that such sweeping condemnation did not improve race relations. It is well known that Cape masters and slaves were frequently on the very best of terms.

The December number, under Notes of the Month, reported the celebration of the great day, beginning with the striking of midnight on the Groote Kerk clock which was soon followed by a feu de joie from the military.

"The morning light (wrote Jardine) beheld great numbers of the freed men and women in their Sunday dresses, congratulating each other on the felicities

x John Doyle.

of personal freedom. The same welcomes took place among the British inhabitants, and at a public school of high character, the Master shook hands with all his pupils, and congratulated each one that they had met for the first time in a land of freedom. In various parts of the Town and vicinity, and in Table Bay, flags and banners were displayed, with appropriate inscriptions, and on the noble Hall of the Merchants the Commercial Exchange the Union Flag of England was for the first time unfurled."x28

More jollification ensued with much roast beef and plum pudding, culminating in a public dinner at George's Hotel where John Fairbairn proposed the toast of the Champions of Emancipation and Andries Waterboer, the Griqua Chief, was a guest. Jardine concludes by telling us that the day passed without a single unpleasant incident.

From the foregoing one might be led to expect adverse comment on the event from the Zuid Afrikaan. In fact there was none, though indeed no news of the jollification was reported. The paper laid stress on the fact that the day had passed quietly and in an orderly manner, contrary to the endeavours of some "perturbators and enemies of the country to excite and agitate the minds of the Apprentices" - that is, the freed slaves. The editor hoped they would "ere long experience who are their real, their greatest friends."29

The controversial Vagrancy Law of the same year likewise produced strong views from Jardine.xx30 The draft of this Ordinance was in September carried by a small majority (6 to 4) of the Legislative Council - the Governor himself voting against it. The proposals of this legislation to decrease vagrancy included the prohibition of the searching for the natural products of the earth for food. It was claimed by the opposers that this would lead to starvation for many of the Hottentot and Coloured population. It was this clause particularly that the Literary Gazette regarded as inhuman. Jardine again showed his racial bias by printing the members of the Legislative Council who were of "African birth" in italics. They all voted for the Law which was in the end vetoed by the home government in the following March.

x This of course means on that building - not in the Cape as a whole.

xx A memorial against the Law lay for signature at the Public Library. Major Parlby said Jardine pressed him to sign it. The Grahamstown Journal was in favour of the Law.31

In the following month, October, several pages in the Gazette were devoted to the great Public Meeting of October 8th, held in the Commercial Hall to discuss the need for the Colony for a legislative assembly. Convened by thirty-seven "English gentlemen" - Fairbairn prominent among them - the meeting was said to have been attended by one thousand people. Both a lengthy article by an unknown contributor and Jardine's own account of the proceedings³² came to the same conclusion, that the English convenors had been insulted and that the "twaddle" and "fudge" that was talked only went to prove that the Colony was far from ready to legislate for itself. It is sad to see how here again opportunity was taken to promote racial discord. According to Jardine the meeting was "pecked" by a faction of the "country Boers" who approved of the fine resolutions on the agenda and then appointed a committee of their own which excluded all the thirty-seven Englishmen aforesaid.^x It was nevertheless another twenty years before a representative assembly was granted.

When such serious topics as the foregoing abound, it is a surprise to encounter the devoting of a page - "In the absence of a Court Journal" - to the Fancy Ball given by Lady Ryan, wife of Sir Edward Ryan, at George's Hotel on 28th August.^{xx} It must indeed have been a splendid occasion for Cape Town when "upwards of one hundred guests were entertained to the music of the band of the 72nd Regiment." In a new and unfamiliar guise Jardine turned to describing the costumes of both the ladies and the gentlemen in glowing terms.

How very much superior this ball must have been to the ordinary public function of a few months earlier, as recorded by the verses entitled The Late Fancy Ball: a young Lady's Epistle which appeared in June.

x Local press opinion naturally varied. The Comm.Advr. declared the anti-English feeling would obviously nullify the petition to the King, while the Zuid Afrikaan congratulated fellow colonists on rejecting Fairbairn. Anti-English feeling was strongly denied.

xx Sir Edward Ryan (1793-1875), on sick-leave, was Chief Justice of Bengal, 1833-43 and later a Civil Service Commissioner. His wife was Louisa Bridgnorth.³⁵

So warmly we met! and so closely were jumbled,
Like pigeons in pies (for the rooms were too small)
I was fearful my new satin dress would be tumbled
As I rambled about at the late Fancy Ball.

Some attempted to dance! but ran 'gainst each other;
Some flirted - some sickened; but this agreed all,
They had ne'er before witnessed a crowd or a smother
Like the running to eat at the late Fancy Ball.³⁴

VERSE

As in previous volumes there is much poor verse in the fourth that deserves no notice. For the first number however Jardine borrowed a few lines from one of Coleridge's very last poems, a sonnet My Baptismal Birthday, which had just been published in Friendship's Offering for the current year (p.163). The lines taken - here printed under the heading Lines Composed on a Sick-bed - are the second sestet and final couplet beginning:

"Heir of Heaven! henceforth I dread not death."

The first number opens with an impressive elegy on Wilberforce who had died the previous July. Probably by Jardine, it is one of the rare examples of blank verse in the Gazette. Among the less sentimental lines are the following:

"No cenotaph on foreign lands, uprear,
Heaven's canopy alone contains his fame.
Against the stream of grasping injury
He fought the battle of the weak and out-cast poor,
He died amid the freemen's gathering song,
In the bright morn of Freedom's coming day,
And fell beneath the flutter of her flag!

The author's scansion is sometimes at fault but it is a sincere tribute to one he hero-worshipped.

Another poem by Jardine, from its style, is Sabbath Days, which may be compared with "The Swallow skimming o'er the green" in Volume 2.³⁶

A Fable. Imitated from the Spanish of Don Thomas de Yriarte, subscribed 'D.' in No.2, is probably by John Dyason, a Cape Town school master.^x

x A note on the wrapper of No.1. reads: "Mr. Dyason and Mr. Dunn will be pleased to accept our thanks. Their contributions will be published." Mr. Wm. Dunn's letter, Hints and Suggestions for Colonial Improvement appeared also in No.2 (p.20), so it is a strong probability that the initial 'D.' stands for Dyason. He appears as a schoolmaster in the Cape Almanack for 1834.

A Farewell to the Cape. Pour et Contre, subscribed 'B.', shows strongly the influence of Fringlo's South African poems:

"Fare thee well! I abandon thy boisterous shores
Where the wide southern ocean unceasingly roars;
And thy desolate regions of mountain and rock,
Where the Hottentot serf tends the foreigner's flock:
And thy glens and ravines fraught with African gloom,
For the dastardly wolf an appropriate doom;

[So continued for eighteen lines before there is a full stop.] "37

The author was possibly John Bird, of the Madras Civil Service, who rented Stellenberg House for a time and announced his departure from the Colony on 5th February 1834.³⁸ Also signed 'B.' was To the Table Mountain in No.7, (p.100), but whether Bird or not, the author is not to be confused with another 'B', writer of Lines affectionately addressed to - to - myself! On my thirtieth Birthday, (Stellenbosch, Jan. 13th, 1834.). This versifier reveals his name to be 'Hal' and is certainly the same as 'Harry B.' author of To a Rose in a Lady's Bosom in No.3.³⁹

Two complementary pieces of local interest appear in Nos.4 and 5 parodying the Border Ballads.⁴⁰ The first is A Country Call; to the Inhabitants of Cape Town:

"March, march! Church-street and George's-street
Pepper-steeg, Koffy-steeg, march forward in state!
March Grand Parade, and famed Kromme-elboog-steeg
Which limps on its crutches like Government Gate!"

The Town is not to be persuaded however, and A Reply of the Town to the Country Call presents Cape Town as seen through rose-coloured spectacles - if with tongue in cheek - and purports to be by a Utilitarian follower of Macculloch and Mill:

"Sweet, sweet bloom our bow-pots, in balconies blowing!
Resplendent in Strand-street, with lantern-light made.
Oh! dear are our heeregrachts with sweet water flowing,
And charming the fir trees on Grand Parade!

In the October issue there were published an incredible collection of verses, declared to be the efforts of nine separate aspirants, under the heading The Associate Minstrels.⁴¹ Jardine prefixed them with the remark that when Ds. van der Lingen had asserted in his discourse to the South African College^x that "the Muses, whatever oppositions they may have to encounter at first,
x Pilloried in the August issue.

will make this country their dwelling place, and that too at no distant period," he had probably not known that for some time he (the Editor) had been inundated with communications from Cape poets. "Now, we have determined," he concluded "to discharge all arrears; therefore, without further preface or apology, we present our readers with specimens of the Associate Minstrels - verbatim et literatim." Nine pieces follow, all save two with their covering letters, and all quite ridiculous. They had been submitted, claims the Editor, by a Lieutenant-Colonel on behalf of his daughter,^x by a young woman on a convict ship bound for Botany Bay, a soldier of the 72nd Regiment, a sailor, "One of the Juveniles"; "G. Fletcher, Composer of Poetry", and a young lady, not quite 15 years old.

One might be disposed to regard these as fictitious and the product of Jardine's own sense of humour, were it not for the appearance among them of George Gordon Fletcher, "composer of poetry", of No. 62, Strand-Street. His letter is dated August 1st 1834, and he says he has "just arrived". That Fletcher was a real person is well known.⁴² He was the son of William Fletcher, Lord Byron's confidential valet, and had arrived in Cape Town possessing several relics of the poet, including a jacket. His connections encouraged him to think that he could also be a poet and many examples of his verses are recorded.^{xx} The piece here would seem to be the earliest to be printed at the Cape and one that has escaped attention hitherto. It is entitled Lines at Sea but was not inspired by his voyage out since it describes a pleasure boat with plenty of food and drink on board:

x "It is really clever for her age, but I am not much surprised at it, seeing there is a great poet connected with my family, who is my brother." (The Colonel's letter).

xx Two articles on Fletcher have been published and these outline what little is known of him and his work. He appears first in the Cape Calendar & Directory for 1835 as a coachbuilder and wheelwright, and his last mention in the directory is in 1850. He was indefatigable in his determination to be a poet and his verses appeared also in Sam Sly's African Journal and The Mediator.⁴² His possession of the jacket is also recorded in Mrs. Doris Langley Moore's book The Late Lord Byron, London, 1961, p.44 443.

"While in this noble vessel, we on the water ride,
How pleasant is the journey, how great the Captain's pride;
The music sweetly playing, the people full of glee,
One to another saying, what pleasing sights we see.

.....

Now the Steward really can most amply all supply,
Besides, he's such a pleasing man, he'll give to all that's
dry;
Wine, whiskey, brandy, rum or gin, good bottled stout as well,
Without, most hearts are sad within, if they the truth
would tell.

The six verses printed are described as only "a few lines by way of sample". The following year he bombarded Jardine with further efforts of like nature and eventually the latter was induced to publish them, which he did in the last issue - but not without his personal comments.⁴³

The fourth volume ended on a sombre note with the Sixth Kaffir war raging on the Eastern frontier - "a sad drawback to the satisfaction otherwise experienced in the colony, in the late abundant harvest, the progress of knowledge, and quiet commencement of newborn Freedom." Jardine however bid adieu to his readers with the reminder that he would meet them again in 1835, and

"If we be successful in being supported, we hope to be successful in being useful, - that will be our profit..."⁴⁴

As will be seen, this was indeed all the profit he was to get, for with the fifth volume the Gazette ceased through inadequate support.



NOTES TO CHAPTER IX, PT. I

1. S.Afr.Comm.Advr. 25/1/1834, 12/2/1834.
2. C.L.G., v.4, no.1, back wrapper.
3. Ibid., no.1, p.1-3; no.2, p.17-19.
4. Ibid., no.3, p.33-34; no.4, p.49-51.
5. Ibid., no.7, p.104.
6. Ibid., no.8, p.113-14. van der Lingen (G.W.A.) A Discourse, held by the Rev. G.W.A. van der Lingen, at the Opening of the Fifth Session of the South African College, and translated into English by A.N.E. Changuion. Cape Town, Brand, 1834.
7. Gerdener (G.B.A.) Bouers van Weleer, p.19-28.
8. Ritchie (William) History of the South African College, v.1. passim.
9. C.L.G., v.4, no.9, p.140.
10. Ibid., no.12, p.181-85.
11. Ibid., no.8, p.128; East India Register, 1834, S.Afr.Comm.Advr., 11/6/1834; C.L.G., v.5, no.7 & 10, back wrappers.
12. The Remains of Henry Kirke White of Nottingham; with an Account of his Life by Robert Southey, 11th ed., London, 1825, p.iv. Kennedy (R.H.) The Relicquary, p.11n and 20n.
13. S.Afr.Comm.Advr., 31/12/1834; C.L.G., v.4, no.12, back wrapper.
14. C.L.G., v.5, no.8, p.117-21.
15. Ibid. v.4, no.9, p.129-132; D.N.B., v.62, p.306-07.
16. Ibid., v.4, no.12, p.190.
17. Ibid., no.1, p.4.
18. Sayers (W.C. Berwick) Manual of Classification, 2nd ed., South African Public Library. A Catalogue of the Collection of Books in the S.Afr. Public Library, 1834. Tables I & II.
19. C.L.G., v.4, no.3, p.35-36.
20. Hockly (H.E.) op. cit. p.62, 68, 73; Theal. Records, v.13, p.498; v.14, p.237-40.
21. C.L.G., v.4, no.5, p.69-70.
22. Gordon-Brown (A.) Pictorial Art in S.Afr., p.26-28.
23. Sam Sly's African Journal, 2/10/1845; Gordon-Brown (A.) Supplement to Pictorial Art in S.Afr. (In Africana Notes & News, v.12, no.7, p.232, 1957.)
24. Hattersly (A.F.) Sam Sly (In Q.Bull.S.Afr.Lib., v.9, no.4, p.113.)
25. The Life of Richard Gush, an African Emigrant, York, 1860, p.6-7.

Notes to Ch.IX, Pt.I (cont.)

26. C.L.G. v.4, no.4, p.51.
27. Ibid., no.7, p.102-04.
28. Ibid., no.12, p.194.
29. Zuid Afrikaan, 2/12/1834.
30. C.L.G., v.4, no.9, p.141-42.
31. S.Afr.Comm.Advr. 20/8/1834; Graham's Town J., 12/6/1834.
32. C.L.G., v.4, no.10, p.153-55, 162; S.Afr.Comm.Advr. 11/10/
1834.
33. S.Afr.Comm.Advr. 11/10/1834; Zuid Afrikaan, 17/10/1834.
34. C.L.G., v.4, no.6, p.95.
35. D.N.E., v.50, p.34.
36. C.L.G., v.4, no.7, p.111; v.2, no.2, p.273. (See Ch.8, pt.1.)
37. Ibid., v.4, no.3, p.38.
38. S.Afr.Comm.Advr., 5/2/1834.
39. C.L.G., v.4, no.3, p.35.
40. Ibid., no.4, p.63; no.5, p.79.
41. Ibid., no.10, p.149-50.
42. Rochlin (S.A.) George Gordon Fletcher. (In Q.Bull.S.Afr.Libr.
v.7, no.1., p.9-13, 1952; Varley (D.H.) Further Notes on
George Gordon Fletcher. (Ibid. v.10, no.1. p.3-9, 1955.).
Miller (G.M.) A Calendar of S.Afr.English Verse Publica-
tions to 1855. (Ibid., v.5, no.2, p.52, 1950).
43. C.L.G., v.5, no.7 back wrapper; no.12. Notes of the Month,
p.191-92.
44. Ibid., v.4, no.12, p.196.

Part II

VOLUME V AND LAST

Compared with the previous year, 1835 for the western Cape Colony was uneventful. Apart from the Kaffir war on the eastern frontier, proceeding towards its close in mid-September, there were few happenings of local interest to inspire the journalist. It is true that the first signs of the Great Trek were already appearing and the first parties had already crossed the borders of the Colony, but there is no whisper of such events in the Cape Literary Gazette. Whether it was because of this situation or of a staleness on the part of the Editor, it cannot be said with certainty, but the fifth and final volume of the Gazette is lacking in the appeal maintained during the previous four-and-a-half years. In the middle of 1835 the Gazette suffered a change of printer and publisher, but this was in name only as George James Pike, who took over, had been Bridekirk's manager¹ and no change in production was noticeable. We have no reason to believe that Pike was anxious to be rid of the publication in favour of more remunerative business, though of course this could have been the case.^x

By now the publication date had settled down to being between the 4th and 9th of the month following that of issue, though No.4 did not appear until the 16th May and No.12, for December, was advertised only on the 13th January 1836.²

Thereafter no more was heard of the Gazette from its editor until six years later when an attempt was made to establish a counterpart in Grahamstown under the name of the Albany Mirror.^{xx} No.1 was published in April 1841 and Jardine sent a message of congratulation to the Editor which was printed on the first page. After the usual formalities he turned to the eternal question of subscribers in arrears -

"Nothing so much obscures the peri-cranium and obfuscates the flow of good things," he writes, "which an editor is about to put forth, as the constant allusions, repetition

x He was appointed general agent for the S.Afr. Commercial Advertiser in January, 1836, though he did not print that paper.

(See Advert. leaf inserted in C.L.G. v.5 no.12.)

xx Only six parts, April to September, 1841, published by R.H. Caffyn, are known.

and reiteration (trying even to the most severe tempers) of these notifications and appeals to the pocket^x... - this, my dear sir, and I say it with a sigh, has been the cause - the whole and sole cause - of the extinction of the late Lit., but let us hope for better things..."³

He then offers the Editor his own list of subscribers, adding:

"Some of the names I send you, I fear may be illegible, as they have been long lying by, but you may calculate with certainty, on 200 subscribers from Cape Town - and therefore, you will make your arrangements accordingly."

Even if one remembers that the South African Journal in 1824 could depend on only 130 subscribers in the Town, the figure of 200 is not impressive ten years later. The Cape Literary Gazette was just not attracting enough readers. Any suggestion that the discontinuance was influenced in the first place by the Editor's suspension from office by the Library Committee over the withdrawal of Alexander's Magazine, can be discounted, for though the offending issue was removed from the Library table in December 1835, it was not until February 15th that the first special general meeting of subscribers was called and a week later still that Jardine was accused of breach of duty.^{xx} If a January issue of the Gazette was planned it should certainly have been out before then.

LITERARY CRITICISM

Literary criticism in this volume includes four Cape items. The first of these concerns the Observations on the Merino, by F. W. Reitz, senior, father of the president-to-be.⁴ Still, it seems, many local farmers were blind to the great possibilities of the merino fleece and Reitz was heartily congratulated on his pamphlet which not only traces the history of the merino in Europe but contains many local facts and practical recommendations for the wool farmer.

A more considerable work to be reviewed was Robert Godlonton's Introductory Remarks to a Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-35.⁵ This was in fact only the first part - parts 2 and 3 being published in the following year, shortly before the Narrative itself - and

x The 6th, 8th, 9th and 10th numbers of vol.5 all published appeals on the back wrappers.

xx See Ch.VII p.148-151.

comprised a survey of Cape history from early times to show how the war then in progress was the outcome of bad government policy.

The reviewer was extremely hard on Godlonton, devoting the majority of his three-and-a-half pages to defending Mr Anthony Oliphant, attorney-general of the Colony, against the charge of allowing humane principles to be carried to such lengths in the treatment of the natives, that common sense was lost sight of. It is fairly clear that the reviewer here was not Jardine but Dr. R. H. Kennedy. This is confirmed by the reaction to his outspoken criticism in the Grahamstown Journal for 16th July 1835 where he was described as "a certain mischievous busy-body from the East, who, a mere guest, a transient visitor, plunges recklessly into the arena of politics, and employs his leisure - à la Bruce, in officious meddling with affairs of which he is utterly ignorant..." A correspondent, "Tim", in the Zuid Afrikaan for 24th July, also attacked him facetiously, remarking that when he read the review to his grandmother she had such a fit of laughter that she burst a bloodvessel, and when "Dr. K-" was called in he pronounced her not long for this world. Under the pseudonym "The Mere Guest", Kennedy had the last word in a letter to the Cape Literary Gazette for July (published on 8th August) where he justified his right to criticise in Cape Affairs.⁶ His Indian Export articles certainly showed him to be better qualified than most visitors could be expected to be. Kennedy is here at his best - with a certain righteous but restrained indignation:-

mind/ "As respects the perplexities of Colonial Politics and the reckless plunge! - (he writes) the Colony contains a population of about 150,000 souls, - pays a revenue of about the same number of pounds sterling, and requires an expenditure of about the same amount, with a garrison of three regiments and the Cape Corps paid by the British Government. There is not a clerk in any slop-shop in Thames-street, though his education may have never flourished in any other academic grove than a Sunday-school, whose comprehensive cockney/could not grapple with and embrace all the gigantic outlines and smallest minutiae of Colonial Politics, as well as that world's wonder - our Graham's Town Introductionist [i.e. Godlonton].

"But the mighty truths of colonial privilege or international rights: the mutual duties which bind, or ought to bind man to man, and nation to nation; the solemn reciprocal obligations betwixt Government and the Governed over the whole surface of the round world, require a clear head and honest heart to be rightly comprehended; and are something beyond what is meant by the Introductionist, as his "arena of politics": and no doubt they surpass the Balaam capabilities^x either here or in Graham's Town."^{xx}

In the same issue (June) there is a notice of Lieut. John Moodie's Ten Years in South Africa.⁷ It cannot be described as a review or sensible piece of criticism for the writer admits that he has not read the work and is simply going by the few extracts published in the London Literary Gazette. Five columns of these are quoted after which the editor concludes with the verdict that "From these extracts our readers will, no doubt, characterise Moodie's Book as a calumnious production, a disgrace to the author, the press, and the British name."

John Wedderburn Dunbar Moodie, youngest brother of Benjamin Moodie of Swellendam, after a career in the Navy followed his eldest brother to the Cape in 1819. After no great success in the capacity of settler, he left in 1829 and soon after went to Canada where he died in 1869.⁹ His first book (the above) was published in two volumes by Bentley in 1835.^{xxx} The extracts selected from the work were discussions (1) on the Hottentots, (2) on the Cape Dutch and (3) on the Grahamstown merchants and the missionaries. In all these cases Moodie had disparaging remarks to make, such as:

"All the lower classes in colonies are Republicans in principle, and feeling their consequence in the community, are eager to be considered on an equality with the higher classes."¹⁰

"The Missionaries are themselves but the mere slaves of a party - half religious, half political."¹¹

As we know, Jardine was no Tory and no Philipist but that he took strong exception to the above is not to be wondered at. On the other hand, when - instead of fair criticism - an editor resorts to filling space with 3,500 words from a book which he confesses

* See Indian Exports, No.4: "whilst the Zuid-Afrikaan Balaams bray, fire and faggot, in bastard colonial Dutch..."⁸

xx In a postscript, Kennedy states that he is preparing for publication his Journal of a Year's Residence in Cape Town. There is no record of this ever having been published.

xxx Many years later he published Scenes and Adventures as a Soldier and Settler during Half a Century. Montreal, 1866.

he has not read and of which he has the lowest opinion, this can only be interpreted as a move towards sensationalism and - for the Cape Literary Gazette - a definite lowering of standards.

The fourth work of local interest to be noticed was Robert Montgomery Martin's History of the British Colonies, vol.4: Possessions in Africa and Australasia.^x Here is reviewing of better quality, Martin's comprehensive book being taken piece by piece with good sense. The reviewer - almost certainly Jardine - compares the opinions expressed with his own experience when this is possible, and in this way an appraisal of Lord Charles Somerset and his administration is given which is probably unique for this period.

"The truth is (he writes), Lord Charles, although a man of capacity and kindness, and accessible to all, fell upon evil times, and bad laws. His advisers, too, were all of a kidney with these laws. He was a notable example of a shrewd, sensible, well informed man, but paying implicit homage to the letter of despotic regulations - to laws changeable, ambiguous, uncertain, all or either of them being summoned whenever Expediency should call them to its bar. These laws existed in the most barbarous periods, before men had acquired the art or learned the use of writing. But it was the law of the Cape in 1821. It was the law of men who, in fact, made it expressly to decide upon; made it for the particular occasion; made it ex post facto; - made it with fresh modifications for each occasion as it occurred.

"We are bound to declare for ourselves, that we are fully sensible that Lord Charles, in himself, was not an ill-disposed man. His mistakes were the faults of others, in whom he unfortunately placed unlimited confidence..."

It may be that it was the holding of such views that enabled Jardine to edit the South African Chronicle during Somerset's time. Opinions are also expressed on Caledon, Bourke and Sir Lowry Cole.^{xx}

The only review of other works that need be noticed is that of an article by the celebrated Quaker reformer, William Howitt, entitled The Great Modern Poets Great Reformers. This dealt with Sir Walter Scott and Robert Southey and was published in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine (new series, vol.2, p.157-167, March 1835), from which Jardine published a lengthy excerpt.^{xxx} The title of

x Martin's work was in 5 vols. altogether, published in 1834 & 35. Martin visited the Cape in June 1823 and joined H.M.S. Leven on its expedition to Delagoa Bay. He wrote other historical works and was the founder-editor of the Colonial Magazine in 1840.¹³

xx It was left to a correspondent, "Vale", to correct Martin's many errors of topography and detail in an open letter to him in the last issue of the Gazette (p.187-8).

xxx The copy of this journal in the S.Afr. Public Library possesses underlinings and marginal notes in Jardine's hand. (see p.258)

Jardine's article is On the Radical Tendency of Sir Walter Scott's Writings,¹⁴ and in it he praises Howitt for being the first to place Scott in the proper light, by showing him to be far from the champion of royalty and aristocracy, but in reality on the side of the oppressed against the tyrant and the aggressor.

Another essay of Howitt's, War and its Evil Consequences, is printed in full in the October issue.¹⁵ Howitt was the type of radical in whom Jardine found much to admire.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Topical contributions include a long letter from Andrew Geddes Bain, the road pioneer, dated 18th December 1834, and addressed to J. C. Chase.¹⁶ This describes his hunting trip to the Molopo River, one fraught with much danger and hardship.^x Another interesting letter, of unknown authorship, is published under the title The Otium cum Dignitate in Cafferland.¹⁷ It was addressed to Jardine by an officer in the force which Sir Benjamin D'Urban led into Hintza's country in March 1835. The letter was written from Butterworth on April 18th "on the Koegha River" [i.e. the Gcuwa]. From internal evidence the writer was certainly a member of the headquarters division under Colonel Peddie, and probably an officer in the 72nd Regiment as this is the only unit mentioned in the Graham's Town Journal as leaving the town on March 16th,¹⁸ the date recorded in the letter, the rest following a few days later. Though on hazardous active service in which the enemy could be all around them at any moment, he was able to enjoy the beauties of nature and describe them graphically.

In February Jardine opened his number with an article on the economic situation of the Cape compared with that of Great Britain, entitled The Port and Colony,¹⁹ but more important in this field was John Centlivres Chase's contribution on trade with the Xhosas, now brought to a standstill by the current war. Under the title The Late Caffre Trade; Origin, Progress, and Effect of the Trading

(cont. from p.257) It was clearly sent to the printer with the Editor's own capitalizations and italicizations to emphasize his argument. Jardine states it was one of a series but this was not so.

x This letter is reprinted in Miss M.H. Lister's edition of The Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain (Van Riebeeck Society, 1949.), p.131-156.

Intercourse with the Native Tribes surrounding the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope,²⁰ the greater part of this essay in economic history is admitted to be reprinted from an earlier article by Chase which appeared in the Cape Almanack for 1830.^x This does not detract from its value however since two columns of notes include sources and give additional authority to the work.

Chase, the staunch supporter of the settlers, though he was prepared to use the Cape Literary Gazette when necessary, did not always agree with Jardine. Three months after the foregoing they were engaged in a sharp quarrel over the refusal of the latter to publish documentary evidence submitted by Chase to refute two leading articles by Fairbairn in the South African Commercial Advertiser of the previous August.²¹ These leaders showed the administration of the law and the conduct of the soldiery in Albany in a very bad light. Chase published the offending passages and the documentary evidence he had obtained in the Zuid Afrikaan for 29th May and 5th June. Jardine replied on the back wrapper of No.5 of the Literary Gazette (published in June) that he had agreed to publish if the newspapers would not, and thanked Chase for describing the Gazette as "your highly interesting and truly independent periodical."

Chase sent a further letter to the Zuid Afrikaan in which he described the Cape Literary Gazette as a "pretty little monthly Bagatelle" and denied ever having called it either impartial or independent.²² Such bickering ill became two men both intent on doing the best they could for their adopted country.

Reference to the Commercial Advertiser may bring to mind that in June 1835 Fairbairn acquired George Greig's interest in the paper and this took effect from the end of the month.²³ The bald announcement in the Advertiser itself would not lead one to presume that there was anything questionable about this transaction and indeed there was not, but Jardine tells us in Extra Limites: The Press at the Cape of Good Hope that -

x Intercourse with Native Tribes; Origin, Progress and effects of the Caffer Fair, signed "An Economist, Eastern Province, July 1829." (S.Afr. Almanack, 1830, p.255-60)

"This fair and honourable transaction has been magnified and tortured into a thousand hideous shapes. And the respectable individuals who affixed their names to the deed [as securities], have been vilified, insulted and made the sport of spiteful malice, saucy impudence, and unblushing falsehood."

He then gives a list of the fourteen eminent and honourable men and the sums they guaranteed, with Dr. John Philip at the head with £200, others being Dr. Abercrombie, F. Collison and H. E. Rutherford. This list, says Jardine should surely silence the critics. He concludes with unstinted praise for Fairbairn, though, as we have seen, at times the Cape Literary Gazette and the Commercial Advertiser did not agree.

LITERARY TOPICS

On literary subjects we must notice Books for the People; Reflections suggested by the late Public Meeting of the Popular Library which appeared in the August number.²⁵ Much of this article is concerned with the argument put forward by Sir John Herschel on this occasion, in which he stressed the value of fiction.

"Although willing to allow that fictitious writing is the most humble means of moral instruction" argued Sir John, "I am still earnest in endeavouring to maintain its utility, especially on the ground that it finds its way to the dense multitude who close their eyes upon the introduction of purer light."

Hannah More, Scott and Bunyan are then quoted by way of example and, in reply to the question "What has manned our merchantmen and people our fleets?"; the remarkable answer is given "... our best men have been those who almost knew Robinson Crusoe by heart!" It is not clear however whether this statement is ascribed to Herschel or is Jardine's own.

There is no suggestion that such views were shared by all those present on this occasion - a distinguished company including Sir John Wylde, Captain Fawcett,^x Dr. Philip, the Hon. A. Oliphant and John Fairbairn - in fact the contrary is implied.

A footnote to this article bemoans the fact that "It cannot be concealed that a most fearful ignorance prevails in many of the country districts in this colony. The people do not

x Author of Account of an Eighteen Months' Residence at the Cape of Good Hope in 1835-6. Cape Town. 1836.

read, their minds are in a state of stupor as to laudable ambition, improvement, or enterprise ..."²⁶

A hundred years later much the same thing could still be said by an eminent educationist such as Dr. E. G. Málherbe in his Educa-tion and the Poor White (1932):²⁷

"One of the great accusations we make against Dutch South Africans - particularly those of the rural areas - is that they do not read. They are not lovers of books... It is probable that many people who have deteriorated economically to poor whitism, or to the verge of it, might have avoided this if they had read more and had kept abreast with the times, the newer methods of agri-culture, etc., and the advantages of co-operation."

Only since the second world war has the spread of rural library services, together with the growth of Afrikaans publishing, gone any way towards remedying the situation.

In his 1842 Catalogue of Books in the Public Library, Jardine again gave his views on the value of works of imagination - in a footnote to the relevant section.²⁸ After quoting examples of their appreciation by Bacon, Gray, Cowper, Johnson and Adam Clarke - not to say Herschel again - he concludes:

"But these authorities must not be used to encourage a pas-sion of continuous novel reading. A walk in the garden is both pleasant and salutary; but it is not delectable to live in it."^x

Restrained though it may be this attitude is distinctly kinder than that expressed in the Cape Literary Gazette in its early days. ²⁹

A more orthodox view for the time is taken by the author of On the Influence of Literature which was published in the penul-timate number and was intended to be continued but never was.³⁰ This is one of the most erudite literary contributions to be pub-lished by Jardine and is in all probability the work of Dr. James Adamson. Plentifully supplied with classical quotations the article sets out to show how nations were at their greatest when art and literature reached their highest levels and not when they were most warlike.

"When was Rome more famed," it is asked "than during the Augustan age, a period obscuring all the glories of the Scipios, when eloquence in the breast of Cicero, and poesy in the soul of Virgil, stamped it with the seal of

x The catalogue contains twenty-two pages of novels.

immortality. But, when that zest in the reign of the succeeding Caesars fell, when Luxury usurped the seat of Learning, and degenerated the organic powers of the mind, - Rome waned from her glory, and became weakened and effeminate; nor was it until the overthrow of the Greek Empire, which scattered forth the learned minds of the proud city of Constantine to seek for shelter on its shores, that Italy resumed a shadow of her former splendour in learning and science, under the genius and patronage of the house of Medici."

There is nothing new in all this of course, but it did no harm to repeat it at the Cape. Continuing, the writer maintains that literature leads to the study of languages, history, philosophy, and poetry, and knowledge of these expands the reasoning faculties. Unlike Herschel, the writer spurns fiction.

"... to those who have not given up their minds to the fictitious and the marvellous, but have adhered to the real and circumstantial, History will possess all the charm of imaginary writing. 'For truth is strange, stranger than Fiction,' and with this additional pleasure attached to it when we feel assured that what we have been expending our time and memory upon in storing up, has actually taken place on the grand stage of human events."

Poetry he acknowledges as beautiful and inspiring but ornamental rather than useful. Some professions however need it since "A taste for poetry, in the orator, the pleader, and even in the divine, is, I may almost say, necessary, as it gives brilliancy to the imagination, pathos to the sentiment, and exuberance to the language."

Since this was only the first part of his treatise the author did not develop his theme to the full but he did in his opening paragraphs intimate that what he had to say concerned the Colony, for in a new country, both by government and settler, learning and its productions were too often neglected.

In both this article and the preceding it will be found that the utilitarian principle is fundamental.

POLITICS

Leaving it late indeed in the career of the Cape Literary Gazette, Jardine for the first time in April 1835 concerned himself with European politics. An article appeared entitled Great Britain and its Administrations³¹ which, beginning with an expression of satisfaction at the awakening of political consciousness at the Cape since "the darkness of the by-gone

days" - but twelve years past - proceeds to outline British foreign policy under the administrations of Liverpool, Canning, Wellington and Lord Grey. This was followed the next month by The Exact Position of the Dutch Negotiations; Holland v. Belgium.³² There were however no more articles of this type though the October issue opened with a reprint of a pamphlet by Lord Brougham, published the same year, with the title "We can't afford it", which was concerned with reform in various departments.³³

VERSE

Of verse there is very little in the fifth volume, apart from the examples of George Fletcher's work already referred to. Those of Fletcher's which Jardine was finally induced to publish were selected from a large collection by the end of the year and were Lines on Cape Town, A Patriotic Invocation on the Caffer Irruption, Sorrow; the Beginning and Ending of a Poet's Life, The Cape Library, A Walk to the Salt River, and three verses of a political nature.³⁴ Of these Sorrow deals with Byron, his hero, and - laugh at Fletcher as one may - the poetaster's sincerity must be revered. The following is all that Jardine published of the piece, but it is however probably the preface to a work Fletcher published in London in 1831 entitled A Poem on the lamented Death and Interment of the late Lord Byron, which continues in the strain suggested by the Editor.

"Think of the sorrow that awaits the bard;
Alas! my friends, I think its very hard;
Be humble in your hopes, nor wish to gain
A poet's fickle, dear bought, hard earn'd fame,
Their paths are thorny, hazardous and steep,
And the poor poet's often doom'd to weep;
I've seen the man whose sweetly flowing strains
Have spread abroad through far distant plains,
Whose name while England stands is sure to last,
Brought to the grave, untimely, and down-cast;
Remember Byron! view his hapless fate,-
How my heart feels at what I must relate.

Of the small quantity of other verse in this volume one stray piece may be noted which marks the arrival in Cape Town of the feminine fashion known as pantalets.^x The author does not

x This would suggest that Cape fashions were much behind the times since, according to authorities, after 1820 pantalets were only worn by small girls. (See Wilcox (H.T.) The Mode in Costume, 1948. p.263.)³⁵

like them and begs the ladies to give them up -

"For Beaux advance with cautious care
To all fair ones who trousers wear,
The cause of which on this fact hitches -
Those who wear trousers, may wear breeches."³⁶

The fifth volume - and hence the Gazette - ends with some patriotic verses entitled The Banner of the Free, on seeing the British Flag for the first Time at Hottentot's Holland, on the 29th December, 1835, and by a resident at Uitspan Place on the Cape Flats.³⁷ Written under the influence of Thomas Campbell, this was clearly inspired by the occasion of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's return from the Kaffir War, for he arrived back in Cape Town on the morning of 30th December, and had passed the Hottentots Holland mountains the previous day.³⁸

CONCLUSION

So passed the most considerable literary venture the Cape had yet known and one which with all its errors has proved an invaluable supplement to the newspaper press and the descriptive works of the day in holding up a mirror to the contemporary scene. Any publication of this kind must naturally take a line which may not be popular with all, but it was certainly unfortunate for its success that Jardine should have on the one hand opposed the Zuid Afrikaan so bitterly and thus alienated its readers, and on the other hand embraced causes which rendered him unpopular with the settlers and hence the Graham's Town Journal. His relations with the South African Commercial Advertiser were good, that is to say he criticised when he thought criticism was due and praised and supported when he agreed with it.

He was no doubt wise to curry favour with the Indian visitors since - as Dr. Kennedy revealed - each came prepared to spend from £30 to £100 per month in the Colony, and furthermore there were many educated men among their number. His attention to their interests shows indeed the influence they exerted upon the English community.

The Cape Literary Gazette died unsung, and in vain does one look for any regretful obituary in the local press. Twelve

years later James Long Fitzpatrick in the Introductory Address to his Cape of Good Hope Literary Magazine, expressed a second hand opinion on the Gazette which is of little value since Fitzpatrick did not arrive in the Colony until 1846³⁹ and did not even have his facts correct. It may be quoted however, if only to show how misleading such reports can be. After asking why no attempt has been made to produce a literary journal at the Cape, he continues:

"It may, however, be in the recollection of many of our readers, that such an attempt was made, several years ago, under the auspices of the late Mr. Jardine, the Librarian of the Public Library in Cape Town. This work, "The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette", was continued for three years, (1830-1833) [sic] and expired at the end of that period, if we are rightly informed, from a failure of interest rather on the part of the conductors, than of the subscribers. There were however, we think, other circumstances, which may have contributed to its decline. It may appear invidious to speak disparagingly of a deceased predecessor, - *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, - but as far as it may serve us, either as an example or as a warning, we are right to study its history. It appears then to us, that the periodical in question was not sufficiently miscellaneous in its character, - that it partook too much of the nature of a newspaper, and that the limits to which it was confined did not admit of a satisfactory treatment of more than one or two subjects, if so many, in each number ..."⁴⁰

As has already been remarked, there may be some truth in the suggestion of "failure of interest on the part of the conductors" but the other reasons for decline are not to be taken seriously. The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette copied the style of the London and Edinburgh Literary Gazettes and as such were ex natura rei part newspapers, but had Jardine in his sixteen or twenty pages treated of one or two subjects only each month, it should be safe to predict that the life of the Cape Literary Gazette would have been far shorter than the five-and-a-half years during which it shed its brave if indifferent light over the Cape of Good Hope.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX, PT. 2

1. C.L.G., v.5, no.6, p.95.
2. S.Afr. Comm.Advr. 16/5/1835; 13/1/1836.
3. Albany Mirror, No.1, p.1, April 1841.
4. C.L.G., v.5, no.3, p.33-35.
5. Ibid., v.5, no.6, p.81-84.
6. Ibid., v.5, no.7, p.101-03.
7. Ibid., v.5, no.6, p.84-86.
8. Ibid., v.5, no.8, p.117.
9. Burrows (E.H.) The Moodies of Melsetter. Cape Town, 1954.
ch.4, p.56-75.
10. Moodie (J.W.D.) op.cit., v.2, p.306.
11. Ibid., v.1, p.204.
12. C.L.G., v.5, no.9, p.131-34.
13. D.N.B., v.36 p.293.
14. C.L.G., v.5, no.7, p.99-101.
15. Ibid., v.5, no.10, p.155-56.
16. Journal of a Traveller, Ibid., v.5, no.2, p.19-23.
17. C.L.G., v.5, no.4, p.63-64.
18. Graham's Town Journal, 20/3/35.
19. C.L.G., v.5, no.2, p.17-19.
20. Ibid., p.27-30.
21. S.Afr.Comm.Advr. 27/8, 30/8/1834.
22. Zuid Afrikaan, 19/6/1835.
23. S.Afr.Comm.Advr., 6/6/1835. Announcement dated 5/6/1835.
24. C.L.G., v.5, no.7, p.113.
25. Ibid., v.5, no.8, p.115-16.
26. Ibid., p.116.
27. Carnegie Commission of Investigation on the Poor White Question in S.Africa. The Poor White Problem in S.Afr., v.3, 1932, p.32.
28. South African Public Library. Catalogue of Books in the Public Library, p.161-62.
29. C.L.G., v.1, no.14, June 1831, p.175.
30. Ibid., v.5, no.11, p.163-67.
31. Ibid., v.5, no.4, p.49-50.
32. Ibid., v.5, no.5, p.65-66.

Notes to Ch.IX Pt.2 (cont.)

33. Pamphleteering, ibid., v.5, no.10, p.147-50.
 34. Ibid., v.5, no.12, p.192.
 35. Wilcox (R.T.) The Mode in Costume, 1948, p.263.
 36. Hints to Young Ladies, C.L.G., v.5, no.7, p.103.
 37. Ibid., v.5, no.12, p.194.
 38. S.Afr. Comm. Advr., 30/12/1835.
 39. Cape Archives GHI/34, no.117: Hattersley (A.F.) James Long Fitzpatrick (in Q.Bull.S.Afr.Libr., v.15, no.4, p.131-34, June 1961.)
 40. Cape of Good Hope Literary Magazine, v.1, no.1, p.3-4, 1847.
-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Material

- BRINK (André Philippus) Three South African English poets; a critical study. [Pringle, F.C. Slater and Guy Butler]. Thesis (M.A.) Potchefstroom Univ., 1958.
- BROOKS (Frederick) A Burlesque description of Cape Town & its inhabitants. MS. in Library of Parliament, Cape Town.
- CAPE Archives Batavian Republic. Vaccination, 1803. Colonial Office papers. (C.O.) 1822-Commercial Exchange. Arrivals & departures. Government House papers (G.H.) Insolvencies (MOIB) Permissions to remain.
- BÜTTNER (Johan Daniel) Ware Relation und Beschreibung (sic) von Cabo de Goede Hoop. MS. in Dessinian Collection, S.Afr.P.L.
- CAPE of Good Hope. Supreme court. Master's Office Death notices & Register.
- EDINBURGH, University. Records. Unpublished.
- FAIRBAIRN (John) Melrose Abbey. MS. in S.Afr.P.L.
- _____ Papers. In Library of Parliament, Cape Town.
- GREY (A.) Autograph letter to Dr. J.W. Fairbridge. London, 9/6/1832. Fairbridge letters at present on loan to S.Afr.P.L.
- HUDSON (Samuel Eusebius) Journal, 1824. In Cape Archives.
- JARDINE (Alexander Johnstone) Autograph letter to Ewan Christian. Cape Town, 30/10/1835. In S.Afr.P.L.
- LEGERWOOD, Berwickshire Register of births, 1794.
- PRINGLE, (Thomas) Autograph letters to John Fairbairn. In Library of Parliament, Cape Town.
- _____ Autograph letters to Sir W. Scott and Sir Geo. Mackenzie. In National Library of Scotland.
- RICHARDSON (James Mallcott) Autograph letter to John Charles Molteno. London, 26/7/1831. In S.Afr.P.L.
- SOUTH African Public Library Minutes of the Committee, 1820-Unpublished. In S.Afr.P.L.

Periodical Publications

- AFRICAN Court Calendar. Cape Town, George Ross, 1818-1820; A. Richert, 1821-1825.
- ALBANY Mirror, nos.1-6. Graham's Town, R.H. Caffyn, April-Sept., 1841.
- ALEXANDER'S East India and Colonial Magazine, v.10, 1835.
- ARMY Lists. (London, War Office), 1824-
- The ATHENAEUM; Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts. London, 1828-1921.
- BLACKWOOD'S Magazine. Edinburgh, 1817-1830.
- CAPE Almanacks, 1801- (Annuals variously titled are commonly referred to by this term.)
- CAPE ARGUS. Cape Town, 1870, 1875.
- CAPE of Good Hope Literary Gazette, devoted exclusively to literature, criticism, science, and the advancement of useful knowledge. v.1-5. Cape Town, Bridekirk, 1830-1835; Pike, 1835.
- CAPE of Good Hope Literary Magazine; ed. by James L. Fitzpatrick. v.I-II. Cape Town, van de Sandt de Villiers, June 1847-Dec. 1848.
- CAPE Town Gazette and African Advertiser. Cape Town, 1800-June 1828.
continued as
CAPE of Good Hope Government Gazette, July 1826-
- The COLONIST. Cape Town, Wm. Beddy, 1827-1828.
- EAST India Register and Directory for 1830-1836. London, Brown & Clark, 1830-1836. 2 eds. per annum.
- EASTERN Province Herald. Port Elizabeth, 1846, 1877.
- ECLECTIC Review. v.29. London, Holdsworth, 1828.
- EDINBURGH Literary Gazette, devoted exclusively to literature, criticism, science and the arts. Edinburgh, 1829-1830.
- EDINBURGH Philosophical Journal. Edinburgh, Constable, 1825-1827.
- EDINBURGH Review. Edinburgh, Constable, 1802-
- FARMING in South Africa. v.27, no.312. Pretoria, Dept. of Agriculture, 1952.
- FRIENDSHIP'S Offering; a literary album and Christmas and New Year present. London, Smith Elder, 1830-1834.
- GARDENER'S Magazine and Register of rural and domestic improvement. v.8. London, 1832.
- GRAHAM'S Town Journal. Grahamstown, L.H. Meurant, 1831-1835.
- De KAAPSCHE Cyclopedie, no.1-56 ? Kaapstad, Feb.1833-[March], 1834. Later issues are undated and unnumbered.
- LITERARY Gazette and Journal of belles lettres, arts, sciences, &c. London, 1817-1863.
- LONDON Magazine. London, Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1820-1929.

Het NEDERDUITSCH Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift. Kaapstad,
W. Bridekirk, 1824-1843.

The NEW Organ. no.1. Cape Town, Friday, Jan.6, 1826.
All published.

ORANGE Free State monthly magazine. v.2, no.22. Bloemfontein,
C. Borckenhagen, Aug. 1879.

PHILOSOPHICAL magazine. N.S. v.1-11. London, 1827-1832.

QUARTERLY bulletin of the South African Library. v.1 -
Cape Town, 1946-

QUARTERLY review. London, Murray, 1809-

SAM Sly's African journal, [ed. by W.L. Sammons] . Cape Town,
1843-1851.

SOUTH African Christian recorder. v.1, 1831-1832. Cape Town,
C.N. Neethling and P.A. Brand [printers] . v.2, 1836-1837, G.J.
Pike [printer].

SOUTH African chronicle [ed. by A.J. Jardine] . Cape Town,
Bridekirk, 1824-1826.

SOUTH African church magazine. v.2. Cape Town, 1854.

SOUTH African commercial advertiser. Cape Town, Greig, 1824-1869.

SOUTH African grins; or the Quizzical depot of general humbug.
Published by that most notorious humbug, Q. in the corner, Esq.
[Frederic Brooks] . Disciple of Momus, &c., &c. v.1, nos.1-4.
Cape Town, Bridekirk, for the Author, April, May, June 1825.

SOUTH African journal [ed. by Thos. Pringle & John Fairbairn] ,
nos. I & II. Cape Town, Bridekirk, Jan/Feb.-March/April 1824.

TAIT'S Edinburgh magazine; new series, v.2. Edinburgh, 1835.

De VERZAMELAAR. [ed. by J. Suasso de Lima] . Kaapstad, 1826-
1829, 1839-1948 (with temporary suspensions).

WESTMINSTER review. London, Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1824-1836.

De ZUID Afrikaan. [ed. by Charles Etienne Boniface]. Kaapstad,
1830-

Government Publications

CAPE of Good Hope. Archives Précis of the Archives: Journal,
1699-1732; ed. by H.C.V. Leibbrandt. Cape Town, Richards,
1896.

CAPE of Good Hope. Ordinances. No.35, 1827... for repealing the
tax levied for gauging casks of wine, brandy and vinegar, and
for appointing trustees to preserve and maintain the Public
Library.

Ordinances. No.48, 1828... for establishing an
executive police in Cape Town and the district thereof, and
for consolidating and amending the laws and regulations
relating thereto.

Ordinances. No.60, 1829... for preventing the mis-
chiefs arising from the printing and publishing of news-
papers and papers of a like nature, by persons not known,
and for regulating the printing and publication of such papers
in other respects, and also for restraining the abuses arising
from the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels.

Government Publications (cont.)

CAPE of Good Hope. Statutes. Act no.3 of 1869... for regulating the execution of capital punishment.

GREAT BRITAIN. Papers relating to the 'South African commercial advertiser' and its editor Mr. Greig. London, Jan.1827. (Command Paper 470).

Printed Books and Articles

- ADAMSON (James) On Colonial government. Cape Town, van de Sandt de Villiers & Co., 1870.
-
- The South African Institution; its fruits in past years. (In Cape monthly magazine, v.7, p.153-59, 1860).
-
- A Manual of instruction for the South African College. Literature, Part I. The principles of grammar applied to the English language. Cape Town, Pike & Philip printers for the College; J. H. Collard, 1846.
-
- Sacred songs for South Africa, being chiefly versions and imitations of psalms and hymns in the liturgy of the Colonial Church. Cape Town, Collard, 1844.
- ALTICK (Richard Daniel) The English common reader: a social history of the mass-reading public, 1800-1900. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago press, 1957.
- BAIN (Andrew Geddes) The journals of Andrew Geddes Bain, trader, explorer, soldier, road engineer and geologist; ed. with biographical sketch and footnotes by M.H. Lister. Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1949.
- BENTHAM (Jeremy) On death-punishment; Jeremy Bentham to his fellow-citizens of France. (Dec. 17th, 1830). (In The Works of Jeremy Bentham, v.1, p.525-32. Edinburgh, 1843).
- BIGELOW (John) William Cullen Bryant. Boston, Mass, Houghton, Mifflin, 1890.
- BIRD (William Wilberforce) State of the Cape in 1822. London, Murray, 1823.
- BLACKIE (Agnes Anna Coventry) Blackie & Son, 1809-1959: a short history of the firm. London, Blackie, 1959.
- BOSMAN (Frederick Christian Ludolf) Drama en toneel in Suid-Afrika. Deel I. 1652-1855. Amsterdam, de Bussy, 1928.
- BOTHA (Colin Graham) Sir John Andries Truter, Kt., LL.D., 1763-1845, Chief Justice of the Cape of Good Hope. (In S.Afr.Law J. v.35, p.135,1918.)
- BROOKS (Frederick) see SOUTH African grins under Periodical Publications.

Printed books and articles (cont.)

- BUNBURY (Sir Charles) Journal of a residence at the Cape of Good Hope, with excursions into the interior... London, Murray, 1848.
- BURROWS (Edmund Hartford) A History of medicine in South Africa. Cape Town, Balkema, 1958.
-
- The Moodies of Melsetter. Cape Town, Balkema, 1954.
-
- Overberg outspan; a chronicle of people & places in the South Western districts of the Cape. Cape Town, Maskew Miller, (1952).
- CAMBRIDGE history of English literature, v.14. The Nineteenth century, III. Cambridge, Univ. press, 1916.
- CAMPBELL (Thomas) Life and letters; ed. by William Beattie. London Moxon, 1849. 3v.
- CAPE Argus centenary supplement. Cape Town, 1957.
- The CAPE cyclopaedia; ed. by William Gorrie. v.I-II, no.1. Cape Town, Bridekirk, 1835-37.
- CAPE of Good Hope Association for exploring Central Africa Abstract of proceedings drawn up for publication by direction of the Managing committee. Cape Town, Greig, 1833.
-
- Papers in reference to a plan for an expedition into Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope, &c. Cape Town, (Bridekirk, printer), 12th June, 1833.
- CAPE Town, Popular Library Report of the First Anniversary meeting of the Friends of the Popular Library, Cape Town, 18th August, 1835. Cape Town, Pike, 1835.
- CARNEGIE commission of investigation on the poor white problem in S.Afr. v.3. Education and the poor white, by E.G. Malherbe. Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia drukkerij, 1932.
- CARPENTER (Mary) ed. Last days in England of Rajah Rammohun Roy. London, Trübner, 1866.
- CLARK (George Sidney Roberts Kitson) The making of Victorian England. (In The Listener, v.65, p.560. London, 1961).
- CLARK (John) A study of Pringle. (In S.Afr. Quarterly, Mar. 1921, p.10-14, June 1921, p.8-11).
- COLEBROOKE (Henry Thomas) On the climate of South Africa. (In Q.J. Science, v.14, p.241-54, 1823).
- COLERIDGE (Samuel Taylor) Poems; ed. by Derwent and Sarah Coleridge; a new ed. London, Moxon, 1852.
-
- ed. by Ernest Hartley Coleridge. London, Oxford Univ. press, 1912.
- CONDER (Josiah) Biographical sketch of Thos. Pringle (In Pringle (Thos.) Narrative of a residence in S.Afr.; new ed. London, Moxon, 1835.
- COSTIN (William Conrad) Great Britain and China, 1833-60. London, Oxford Univ. press, 1937.

Printed books and articles (cont.)

- CRANSTOUN-DAY (Thomas N) The British Lodge no.334, and English Freemasonry at the Cape of Good Hope, 1795-1936. Cape Town, The Lodge, 1937.
- CRAWFORD (Lawrence) The South African Literary and Scientific Institution, 1832-1857. (In Trans.Roy. Soc.S.Afr. v.22, p.313-20, 1934).
- DARWIN (Erasmus) The Botanic Garden; a poem in two parts. London, Johnson, 1791.
- DE KOCK (Michael Hendrik) Economic development of South Africa. London, King, 1936.
- DE LIMA (Joseph Suasso de) geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop. Kaapstad, Bridekirk, drukker, 1823.
- DICTIONARY of national biography. London, Smith, Elder, 1885-1912. 72v.
- DU PLESSIS (Johannes) The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa. London, Marshall, 1920 .
- EDWARDS (Isobel Eirlys) The 1820 settlers in South Africa; a study in British Colonial policy. London, Longmans for Royal Empire Society, 1934.
- FAIRBAIRN (John) Papers explaining the cause of Lord Bathurst's last interference with the press at the Cape of Good Hope. London, Bagster & Thomas [printers], 1827.
- FAIRBRIDGE (Charles Aken) The Fairbridge library: a catalogue of books formed by the late Charles Aken Fairbridge and preserved at Sea Point, Cape Colony. [Cape Town], Privately printed, 1904.
- FAWCETT (John) Account of an eighteen months' residence at the Cape of Good Hope in 1835-6. Cape Town, Pike, 1836.
- FIRDAUSI Roostum Zaboolie and Sohrab, from the History of Persia, entitled Shah Namuh, or, Book of Kings... trans. into English verse, with the original text annexed... by William Tulloh Robertson. Calcutta, Thacker, 1829.
- FISHER (Herbert Albert Laurens) History of Europe; complete ed. in 1 vol. London, Arnold, 1936.
- FLETCHER (George Gordon) A poem on the lamented death and interment of the late Lord Byron... composed by G. Fletcher... with A Poem on the rose, and A Letter to a merchant's daughter... London, The Author, 1831.
- GEFEDEREERDE Nederduitse Geref. Kerk Jaarboek, 1949. Kaapstad, Jaarboek-Kommissie van die Raad, 1948.
- GERDENER (Gustav Bernard August) Bouwers van Weleer: Lewenssketse van enkele groot figure uit die Geskiedenis van die N.G. Kerk in S. Afrika. N.G. Kerk-Uitgewers, 1951.

Printed books and articles (cont.)

- GODLONTON (Robert) Introductory remarks to a narrative of the irruption of the Kafir hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of G.H., 1834-35. Graham's Town, Meurant & Godlonton, 1835-36. 3v.
- GORDON-BROWN (Alfred) Pictorial art in South Africa during three centuries to 1875; with notes on over 400 artists. London, Sawyer, 1952.
- _____ Supplement. (In Africana notes & news, v.12, no.7, p.232, 1957.)
- HALL (Basil) Extracts from a journal written on the coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico in the years 1820, 1821, 1822. Edinburgh, 1824.
- HALL (Robert) Advantages of knowledge to the lower classes. (In his Entire works... with a brief memoir of his life. v.1, p.193-218. London, 1831.
- HARVEY (Sir Paul) The Oxford companion to English literature. comp. 3rd ed. London, Oxford Univ. press, 1946.
- HATTERSLEY (Alan Frederick) Christopher Chapman Bird. (In Q.Bull.S.Afr. Libr., v.10, no.4, p.117-28, 1956.).
- HAY (James) and Memoir of Alexander Waugh (ed. by Thos. Belfrage (Henry) Pringle). London, Hamilton, 1830.
- HEWITT (James Alexander) Sketches of English church history in South Africa from 1795-1848. Cape Town, Juta, 1887.
- HOCKLY (Harold Edward) The Story of the British settlers of 1820 in South Africa. 2nd. and rev. ed. Cape Town, Juta, 1957.
- HOGE (John) Personalia of Germans at the Cape, 1652-1806. (In Archives yrbk. for S.Afr. history, 1946. Cape Town, Govt.printer, 1948.
- HOOKER (Sir William Jackson) Botanical miscellany... London, Murray, 1830-33. 3v.
- HOPE (Thomas) An Essay on the origin and prospects of man. London, Murray, 1831. 3v.
- HOWARTH (Robert Guy) "Sisters of the South" (In Groote Schuur, Cape Town University, 1959, p.19)
- HEWITT (William) Great modern poets great reformers. (In Tait's Edinburgh magazine n.s. v.2, p. 157-67, March 1835).
- JARDINE (Alexander Johnstone) A fragment of church history at the Cape of Good Hope. Cape Town, Bridekirk, 1827.
- _____ Sheridan - a reminiscence. (In Cape monthly mag. v.4, p.48-52, 1858).
- JEFFREYS (Marie Kathleen) The elusive lithographer. (In Q.Bull.S.Afr. Libr. v.5, no.1, p.1-10, 1950).

Printed books and articles (cont.)

- KENNEDY (Richard Hartley) The Relicquary [sic]; or a collection of poetical fragments, relics, &c. Cape Town, Pike, 1835.
- KILPIN (Ralph) The romance of a Colonial Parliament; being a narrative of the Parliament and Councils of the Cape of Good Hope from the founding of the Colony... in 1652 to the Union of South Africa in 1910... London, Longmans, 1930.
- KIRBY (Percival Robson) ed. Andrew Smith and Natal: documents relating to the early history of that Province; selected, ed. and annotated. Cape Town, van Riebeeck Society, 1955.
- _____ Sir Andrew Smith's "Zoology". (In Africana notes and news, v.2, p.2-14, 1944).
- LAIDLER (Percy Ward) A tavern of the ocean (new ed.). Cape Town, Maskew Miller, (1952).
- LE BRETON (Thomas) A letter addressed to the shareholders of the South African Assurance company. Cape Town, Bridekirk, printer, 1832.
- LEVY (Goldie) University of Cape Town: early beginnings. (In Q.Bull.S.Afr. Libr., v.11, p.59-62, 1956).
- LYELL (Sir Charles), Bt. Principles of geology. London, Murray, 1830-33. 3v.
- MAJOR (Ralph Hermon) History of medicine. Oxford, Blackwell, 1854. 2v.
- MAKANNA, or the land of the savage. London, Simpkin & Marshall, 1834. 3v.
- MALHERBE (Ernst Gideon) Education in South Africa (1652-1922); a critical survey of the development of educational administration in the Cape, Natal, Transvaal & the O.F.S. Cape Town, Juta, 1925.
- see also CARNEGIE Commission of investigation on the Poor white question in South Africa.
- MANDELBROTE (Joyce C) Joseph Suasso de Lima; a bibliography. (In Q.Bull.S.Afr.Lib. 3 (1): 2-22, Sep. 1948).
- MARCHAND (Leslie Alexis) The Athenaeum; a mirror of Victorian culture. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. Carolina press, 1941.
- MARTIN (Robert Montgomery) History of the British Colonies; vol.4: Possessions in Africa and Australasia. London, Cochrane, 1835.
- MENDELSSOHN (Sydney) A South African bibliography... London, Kegan Paul, 1910. 2v.

Printed books and articles (cont.)

- MENTZEL (Otto Fredrick) A geographical and topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope; trans. from the German by H.J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town, van Riebeeck Society, 1921-44. 3v.
-
- Lebens-Geschichte Herrn Rudolph Siegfried Allemanns... in Diensten der Holländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie. Glogau, Gunter, 1784.
- MEURANT (Louis Henri) Sixty years ago; or, Reminiscences of the struggle for the freedom of the press in S.A., and the establishment of the first newspaper in the Eastern Province. Cape Town, S. Solomon, 1885.
- MICHIE (Alexander) Memoir of Sir Andrew Smith. (In Proc. Berwickshire naturalists' club, v.8, p.33-46, 1876).
- MILLER (George M) A calendar of South African English verse publications to 1855. (In Q.Bull.S.Afr. Libr. v.5, no.2, p.45-54, 1950).
- _____ and Sergeant (Howard) A critical survey of S.Afr. poetry in English. Cape Town, Balkema, 1957.
- MITFORD BARBERTON (Ivan The Bowkers of Tharfield. Oxford Univ. Press, 1952.
Graham, & Raymond Berners)
- MOLTENO (Percy Alport) The life and times of Sir John Charles Molteno... first Premier of Cape Colony ... London, Smith, Elder, 1900. 2v.
- MOODIE (Donald) Specimens of the authentic records of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the aboriginal tribes, to which is prefixed an inquiry into the justice and expediency of publishing the remaining portion of those records. Cape Town, Robertson, (1835-41).
- _____ and Philip(John) Correspondence... Cape Town, Robertson, 1841
- MOODIE (John Wedderburn Dunbar) Ten years in South Africa; including a particular description of the wild sports of that country. London, Bentley, 1835. 2v.
- MORGAN (George) Remarks on the state of the Scottish church, Cape Town. Cape Town, A.S. Robertson, 1846.
- MURRAY (Richard William) Pen and ink sketches, in Parliament; by Limner. Cape Town, Monitor office, 1855.
- _____ South African reminiscences... Cape Town, Juta, 1894.
- NEW statistical account of Scotland, by the Ministers of the respective parishes... v.4: Dumfries, Kircudbright, Wigtown. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1845.

Printed books and articles (cont.)

- NIENABER (Gabriel
Stephanus) Van room tot selfmoord. [C.E. Boniface].
Johannesburg, Voortrekkerpers, 1939.
- NOBLE (John) James Adamson, D.D. (In Cape monthly maga-
zine, N.s., v.11, p.83-94. 1875).
- _____ John Fairbairn, Esq., M.L.A. (In Cape
monthly magazine, v.7, p.374-84, 1860).
- NOBLE (Roderick) Periodical literature of the half century,
1800-1850. (In S.Afr.Comm.Advr., 14 &
19/12/1854).
- OLIPHANT (Margaret) William Blackwood & his sons. Edinburgh,
Blackwood, 1897-8. 2v.
- PALEY (William) Natural theology, with illustrative notes,
by Henry Lord Brougham, and Sir C. Bell...
London, 1836. 2v.
- PARKER (William) Jesuits unmasked. London, Seeley, 1823.
- _____ Proofs of the delusion of H.M.'s represen-
tative at the Cape. Cork, 1826.
- PEIGNOT (Gabriel) Dictionnaire raisonné de bibliographie.
Paris, 1802-04. 3v.
- PELLS (Edward George) 300 years of education in South Africa.
Cape Town, Juta, 1954 .
- PETTMAN (Charles) South African place names, past and present.
Queenstown, Daily Representative, 1931.
- PHILIP (John) Researches in South Africa, illustrating
the civil, moral and religious condition
of the native tribes. London, Duncan, 1828.
2v.
- PHILIPPS (Thomas) Philipps, 1820 settler; his letters; ed. by
A. Keppel Jones in consultation with
Philipps' great-grand-daughter, E.E.
Heathcote. Pietermaritzburg, Shuter, 1860.
- PRINGLE (Eric)
and others Pringles of the valleys; their history and
genealogy; by Eric Pringle and John A.
Pringle. Adelaide, C.P., Eric Pringle
of Glen Thorn, 1957.
- PRINGLE (Thomas) African sketches. London, Moxon, 1824.
Pt.1. Poems illustrative of S.Afr. - Pt.2
Narrative of a residence in S.Afr.
- _____ Ephemerides; or Occupational poems, written
in Scotland & S.Afr. London, Smith, Elder,
1828.
- _____ Glen-Lynden: a tale of Teviotdale.
London, Smith, Elder, 1828.
- _____ Narrative of a residence in South Africa to
which is prefixed a biographical sketch of
the author, by Josiah Conder. New ed.
London, Moxon, 1835.
- _____ The poetical works of Thomas Pringle, with a
sketch of his life by Leitch Ritchie.
London, Moxon, 1837.

Printed books and articles (cont.)

- PRINGLE (Thomas) Some account of the present state of the English settlers in Albany, S.Afr. London, Underwood, 1824.
- RADZINOWICZ (Leon) A history of English criminal law and its administration from 1750. v.1. The movement for reform. London, Stevens, 1948.
- RAE (Isobel) The strange story of Dr. James Barry. London, Longmans, 1958.
- REDDING (Cyrus) Literary reminiscences and memoirs of Thomas Campbell. London, Skeet, 1860.
- REDGRAVE (John Joseph) Port Elizabeth in bygone days. Wynberg, Rustica press, [printers] 1947.
- REITZ (Francis William) Klaas Gezwint en zijn paert and other songs, etc. Cape Town, Juta, 1884.
-
- Observations on the merino, containing a brief account of the methods by which that animal has been brought to its present state of perfection in Germany, and intended for the consideration of wool-growers at the Cape of G.H. Cape Town, Greig, 1834.
- RITCHIE (Leitch) Memoirs of Thomas Pringle. (In Pringle (Thos.) Poetical works. London, Moxon, 1838.
- ROCHLIN (Samuel Abraham) George Gordon Fletcher. (In QuBull.S.Afr. Libr., v.7, no.1, p.9-13, 1952).
- ROSE (Cowper) Four years in Southern Africa. London, Colburn & Bentley, 1829.
- ST. ANDREW'S Presbyterian Church, Cape Town. A centenary record. Cape Town, Presbyterian bookroom, 1929.
- SAUNDERS (Lawrence James) Scottish democracy, 1815-1840: the social and intellectual background. Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1950.
- SKETCHES of the Cape, nos. I, II & III, by H.R. (In United Services journal, 1834, Pt.2, p.54-65, 339-57, 497-512. London, Colburn, 1834).
- SMITH (Sir Andrew) The diary of Sir Andrew Smith, Director of the "Expedition for exploring Central Africa", 1834-1836; ed. by Percival R. Kirby. Cape Town, van Riebeeck Society, 1939-40. 2v.
-
- Illustrations of the zoology of South Africa. London, Smith, Elder, 1849.
- SMITH (Sir Harry George Wakelyn) bt. Autobiography of Lt.-Gen. Sir Harry Smith. London, Murray, 1901.
- SOUTH African Institution Annual report, 1830. Cape Town, Bridekirk, [printer], 1830.
-
- 1831. Cape Town, Greig, [printer], (1831).

Printed books and articles (cont.)

- SOUTH African Literary and Scientific Institution Annual report, 1833. Cape Town, Greig [printer], 1833.
- SOUTH African Literary Society Papers, 1824. Cape Town, Bridekirk, 1825.
-
- Rules and regulations... with an appendix of papers. Cape Town, Greig, [printer], 1830.
-
- Second report... read and approved at the second Annual meeting of the members, held on 4th of June, 1831. Cape Town, Greig, [printer], 1831.
- SOUTH African Museum South African museum, Cape Town, 1855-1955. Cape Town, The Museum, 1955.
- SOUTH African Public Library A catalogue of the collection of books in the English language in the S.Afr. Public Library. Cape Town, 1825.
-
- Catalogue of the collection of books in the South African Public Library, Cape of Good Hope, comp. by the Librarian. Cape Town, Bridekirk, 1834.
-
- A new general catalogue of the books in the Public Library, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope...comp. and systematically arranged with bibliographical notes, by the Librarian. Cape Town, Solomon, 1842.
- SPILLER (Robert Ernest) and others Literary history of the United States; rev. ed. New York, Macmillan, 1953.
- STAFFORD (William C) History of music. Edinburgh, Constable, 1830.
- STAPLETON (R J) Poetry of the Cape of Good Hope, selected from the periodical journals of the Colony. Cape Town, Greig, 1828.
- THEAL (George McCall) Catalogue of books and pamphlets relating to Africa south of the Zambesi in the English, Dutch, French and Portuguese languages...Cape Town, Cape Times, 1912.
-
- History of South Africa, 1795-1872. 3rd and 4th eds. London, Allen & Unwin, 1919-27. 5v.
-
- Records of the Cape Colony...copied for the Cape Government from the MS. documents in the Public Record Office, London. London, Clowes for Govt. of the Cape Colony, 1897-1905. 36v.
- THOMAS Pringle (In Cape Quarterly Review, v.1, no.1, p.102-27,1881)
- TORRANCE (H.) Cape Town in 1823. Glasgow, Maclehose, 1909.
- TREDREY (Frank D) The House of Blackwood, 1804-1954. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1954.
- TURNER (Sharon) Modern history of England. London, 1828-29. 2v.

Printed books and articles (cont.)

- VAN DER LINGEN (Gottlieb Wilhelm Antonie) A discourse, held by the Rev. G.W.A. van der Lingen at the opening of the fifth session of the South African College, and translated into English by A.N.E. Changuion. Cape Town, Brand, 1834.
- VAN DER STEL (Simon) Simon van der Stel's Journal of his expedition to Namaqualand, 1685-86; ed. from the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, by Gilbert Waterhouse. London, Longmans, 1932.
- VARLEY (Douglas Harold) Further notes on George Gordon Fletcher. (In Q.Bull.S.Afr.Lib., v.10, no.1, p.3-9, 1955).
- VENN (John and John Archibald), comps. Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates, and holders of offices at the University of Cambridge from the earliest times to 1900. Cambridge Univ.Press, 1922-54. 10v.
- VERDUYN den Boer (Jan Hendrik) Botanists at the Cape; I. Biographical notes of Cape botanists, with 21 portraits. Cape Town, The Author, 1929.
- WALKER (Eric Anderson) History of Southern Africa. 3rd.ed. London, Longmans, (1957).
- WEBSTER (William Henry Bayley) Narrative of a voyage to the Southern Atlantic Ocean, in the years 1828, 29, 30, performed in H.M. sloop Chanticleer, under the command of the late Captain Henry Foster. London, Bentley, 1834. 2v.
- WHITE (Henry Kirke) The remains of Henry Kirke White of Nottingham, with an account of his life by Robert Southey. 11th ed. London, Longmans, 1825.
- WILCOX (Ruth Turner) The mode in costume. New York, Scribner, 1945.
- YORK Friends' Trust Association The life of Richard Gush, an African emigrant. (York, The Association, 1860).