

CHAPTER V.

MISSEBARY ETTONT AND THE COLONISED PEOPLE.

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF MISSIONARY WORK AMONGST THE HOTTENTOTS.

The first attempts at Christianising the Hottentots proved to be abortive. Sylant, the Comforter-of-the-sick, related in 1655 how he took a young Hottentot into his household with the object of educating him, "om hem lesen en schrijven te leeren ende oock van hem haer spraeke te leeren om door dat middel haer tot het licht der waarheijt te brengen".¹⁾

Though this and other attempts failed, Sylant was however determined to do his duty to release these people from the bonds of satan, "ende brengen se tot het rijke zijns Soons".²⁾

By its very charter the Dutch East India Company was pledged to spread the doctrines of the Reformed Christian religion amongst the heathen at the Cape. As far back as 1624 the Church of the Netherlands resolved that ministers and Comforters-of-the-sick were to instruct the heathen overseas in the principles of the Christian religion. The relevant order reads as follows:- "Soo sullen de praedicanten ende cranchbesoekers haer benaerstigen, dat se in de taale, welcke de heydenen, waarmede de meeste conversatie is, verstaan insonderheyt in het Portugees, Maleys ende Chinese geatilleert worden, om een yegelycke natie na haer begryp ende verstant in de fondamenten van de christelycke leer te onderwyzen ende het Soort Gods toe te deyen".³⁾

1) Sylant to Classis Amsterdam, 20.4.1655, No.1 in Spoelstra Bouwstoffen I, p.4.

2) Ibid.

3) Spoelstra, Bouwstoffen II, p.560.

For many years to come the policy of the Dutch East India Company was dominated by the view of Imperial Rome expressed in the words "cujus regio, illius regio".¹⁾

During the first thirteen years of the settlement on the shores of Table Bay there were no regular ministers of religion, and the spiritual duties towards the colonists and non-Europeans were undertaken by the Comforter-of-the-Sick and such ministers who were passing the Cape on the way to or from the East.²⁾

With the Bushmen the colonists had very little contact, while the Hottentots were not easily amenable to discipline. Laager, who published an account of "Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs, also named Hottentots", in 1663 said of these people: "All the Kafire or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language."^{3) 4)}

The epidemic of small-pox which occurred in 1713 ravaged the Hottentot population and was one of the greatest disasters in the history of these people. It destroyed many tribes.⁵⁾

When Lt. Beutler undertook an expedition along the East Coast of South Africa from Cape Town to Pessel Bay in 1752⁶⁾, he found various Hottentot tribes in possession of the

1) "To whomsoever the country belongs, his religion shall be therein".

2) van Broekhuizen, H.D.: Die Oordingsgeskiedenis van die Hollandse Kerke in S.A. -1652-1804", p.5-16; 24-28.

3) V.O.S. No.14, p.45.

4) Regreepister, 7.10.1673.

5) (a) Regreepister, 1.5.1713.; (b) C.510, Raad v.Pol. -Kamer Middelburg, 20.5.1713, p.1162-4.; (c) C.510, Raad. van Pol. S.O.Insle, 20.5.1713. p.1169-90.

6) Theal, Pol. Hist. Bok. No.2, p.34. (Beutler's Journey).

land, but they were impoverished as a result of wars among themselves and also with other native tribes. They were living "van den roof, de jagt en hetgeen se verders op 't veld en langs de stranden eetbaar vinden."¹⁾

Twenty-six years later, in 1776, Governor Joachim van Plettenberg undertook a journey into the interior and traversed much of the ground covered earlier by Beutler. Van Plettenberg found but few Hottentots and those he found in the far off territory of Gamsbo (Aberdeen) were "doo en onwetend."²⁾

C.L. Thunberg, a Swedish botanist made a journey from Cape Town to the Sunday and Gautoos Rivers in the years 1772 and 1773. He came into contact with Hottentots and said of them: "It is true, as fast as the colonists spread over the country in gradual succession, the Hottentots have been obliged to retire and make room for the dwellings and cattle of the Europeans; but it is an undoubted fact also that the small-pox, a new and to them unknown distemper, has, like a pestilence, exterminated the greater part of them.

Now there are only a few scattered villages (kraals) or societies of them to be found, in which state they either live by themselves or are taken into service at the Company's posts and grazing farms, or by the colonists themselves. For most part these societies, especially in the vicinity of the Cape, are far from numerous."³⁾

When Le Vaillant travelled over a large part of the territory now known as the Cane Province in the years 1781 and

1) Genl. Mil. Hist. Bok. No. 2, p. 34.- 35 (Beutler's Journey)

2) Ibid, No. 1 p. 11 (van Plettenberg's journey)

3) Thunberg, C.L.: "Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia....." I p. 34 - 5.

1783, he was struck by the indolence and unenterprising behaviour of the Hottentots.¹⁾

Having regard to the low state of development of the Hottentots and the difficulties with which a pioneering people had to contend with, it is not at all surprising that very little was done in the nature of a concerted action during the 17th and 18th centuries to christianise the Hottentots as a people.

Isolated cases did however occur. Mention has already been made of a few Hottentot children who were admitted to the slave schools.²⁾ The Rev. Petrus Kalden, who was stationed in Cape Town from 1695 to 1707 interested himself in missionary work and even devoted himself to a study of the Hottentot language with the object of being of service to these heathen people.³⁾ But in his report to the Classis of Amsterdam in 1706 he had to state that no advance had been made in the efforts to educate and convert the heathen Hottentots. His letter stated: "Dog meest, Eerw. Heeren, dat hier nog ontbreekt, is dat dese hijdense natie of Hottentotten nog sitten in so een duystere onkunde buyten kennis van den waren God en verdelingen van de verbonden der genaden".⁴⁾

In 1709 Johan Georg Röring, a Danish missionary visited the Cape and attempted to do missionary work among the Hottentots, but without success, for he found that "die ewangel spottend weglienen contra by over Gods Woord begon te spreken."⁵⁾

1) Le Vaillant, F: Peise in de Binnelanden....."I, p.271, II, p.105.

2) V.O.G.; Register 1662-1666, 30.11.1663, p.495.

3) Spoolstra, I : De Kapsche Verkrond - Cl. Amsterdam, p.3

4) Spoolstra, Bouwstoffen I. Brief Petrus Kalden - Cl. Amsterdam 2.4.1706, p.27.

5) Vachtigal, A : De Oudere Zending in Zuid-Afrika, p.76.

In an undated letter, written probably in the beginning of 1738, from the Church Council of the Cape to the Classis at Amsterdam, it was declared that there was nothing to mention concerning the conversion of the Hottentots, for "van de bekeering der Hottentotten, (uervan ons) noch niets gebleeken is."¹⁾

The first real and determined effort at evangelisation in South Africa was undertaken by Georg Schmidt in 1737. He was a member of that small but remarkable band of church men known as the Moravians or United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum), a brotherhood that was founded by Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf in the early eighteenth century with headquarters at Herrnhut in Saxony. The Moravians were the first Protestants to establish an organisation for the purpose of sending out missionaries to foreign lands and their work did much to encourage other Protestant churches to do likewise and to fire the imagination of thousands in Europe for missionary work.²⁾

In Holland two spiritual leaders, de Bruyn and van Alphen, were moved to action and they were instrumental in getting the Dutch East India Company to agree to the Moravian Brothers sending a missionary to South Africa,³⁾ and Georg Schmidt was chosen for the onerous task.⁴⁾

When Georg Schmidt set foot in Table Bay on 9th July 1737,⁵⁾ the modern missionary era was still many decades distant. He set up his first mission station at

1) Spoolstra, *Pouwstoffen I*, brief 53, p.184.

2) Hutton, J.E.: "A History of the Moravian Church" (2nd Ed., London (1969) p.246, ff.

3) Nachtigal, A: "De Oudere Zending in Z.A." p.86.

4) (a) Nachtigal, A: "De Oudere Zending in Z.A." p. 86.
(b) See also: Hamersma, F; Ios, S.O; Du Toit, J.D.: "Geschiednis der Christelijke Kerk", p.301, 302.

5) Nachtigal, A: "De Oudere Zending in Z.A." p. 88.

Soetemelkavici, a military outpost along the Conderend River, but soon moved it several miles down the river to the picturesque Ravianskloof, which ultimately became known as Genadendal.¹⁾

For six years Schmidt laboured there. He had no particular training for his difficult task in the modern sense of the word. He had to teach the Hottentots the rudiments of agriculture in addition to God's Word and also had to give some language instruction.²⁾

Schmidt's work was subjected to close scrutiny and in 1742³⁾ a commission of enquiry consisting of three ministers of religion, viz. Le Guenr, Van Genit and Van Echten, found that the "Hottentotsbekeerder", as they called him, was not "suyver in het gelove, en bequaam tot den Godsdienst der Gereformeerde Kercke", and should, therefore, not be permitted to apply the baptism, but should be ordered to leave the country.⁴⁾

These ministers were not indifferent to the evangelisation of the Hottentots and this is shown by the fact that they requested the Classis of Amsterdam to persuade the Directors of the Dutch East India Company to provide for the spreading of the Reformed Christian Religion amongst the Hottentots, who for the most part were "onkundig en onnozel". They said that it was necessary to appoint "twee of ten minsten een, krankbezoeker of schoolmeester, bequaam en sulver in onse leere", for

1) To Flessels, J.: "History of Christian Missions in S.A." p. 53.

2) Schneider, D.C.: "Genadenthal, die erste evangelische Missionstation in Afrika", p. 13-24.

3) C. 24, Bes. Wed. Pol. 1742 (4.9.1742) p. 270.

4) Cl. 65, Brieven van Kerkelijke Kerken aan Classis Amsterdam 1655-1747: Brief Predikanten Le Guenr, van Genit, van Echten - Cl. Amst. 26 Sept. 1742.

this purpose and also for the purpose of "hem (Hottentots) kinderen te onderwijzen".¹⁾

In a reply from the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, it was agreed that Georg Schmidt had exceeded his powers and the Political Council was requested "hem het zelve wel scherpelijk te interdicteeren voor altoos".²⁾ The Classis of Amsterdam, whilst in agreement with the Church Council of the Cape, found itself unable to send out ministers or teachers for the Hottentots, but desired that the Church Council at the Cape do all in its power to educate these people, and in the following terms: "alle vlijt gelieve aan te wenden, om die eenvorige menschen, zoveel in welken is, te onderwijzen of aan goed onderwijs te helpen."³⁾

Schmidt was thus compelled to relinquish his work and he left Cape Town in March 1744, and in the words of the Church Council of the Cape without having accomplished anything good.⁴⁾

Almost a half century elapsed before any further attempts were made by overseas mission societies to continue the work that Schmidt had begun.

Dr. C.B.A. Gerdener, a leading authority on mission work in South Africa, has this to say about the work of Schmidt: "To those who visit the flourishing mission station of Genadendal today, with its more than four thousand inhabitants, luxurious gardens and orchards and

1) Cl. 65. Brieven van Kampsche Kerken aan Classis Amsterdam, 1655-1747: Brief Predikanten Lesueur, v. Genet, v. Echten - Cl. Amst. (26.9.1743)

2) RA 468, Brieven van Heren XVII naar Indië: Heren XVII-Kaap, 8.9.1743 (In Archives at the Hague).

3) Cl. 44, Confijbrieven Classis Amsterdam aan buitenlandse Kerken 1645-1685: Brief Cl. Amst.-Kampsche Kerkr. (5.12.1743) p. 8.

4) Cl. 65: Brieven v. Kampsche Kerken aan Classis Amsterdam, 1655-1747: Lesueur - Cl. Amsterdam (13.5.1744). A passage in it reads: "Men bewaste Hottentotsbekerder in thuyt geveeren, sonder iets goets alhier gedaan te hebben".

and with its wide circle of activities it is almost impossible to picture the conditions of things when the spade of the pioneer missionary pierced the first sod in the virgin soil.¹⁾

2. THE IDEA OF MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE AMONGST THE HOTTENTOTS AND OTHER ORIENTAL PEOPLES.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a missionary revival in Europe led to the arrival in South Africa of representatives from a number of different mission societies. These missionaries came at the turn of the century and during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The result was that by the middle of the century a network of mission stations was spread over a large portion of the Cape.

The advent of these missionaries to the Cape gave impetus to the education of non-Europeans and led to a great increase in the number of schools for Coloured children, as the subsequent discourse will show.

Coloured education is greatly indebted to the endeavours of the missionaries and it behoves us, therefore, to study the work of the missionary societies in greater detail.

(a) THE MORAVIANS.

In December 1791 a letter was sent by the Directors of the Dutch East India Company to the Governor at the Cape²⁾ in which they stated that they had been approached by Baron von Bantzou and G.D. Rothe, on behalf

1) Gerdener, G.B.A.: "Two Centuries of Grace", p.19 op.cit.
2) G.476, Inkomende Grieken 1791-1793 : H.2.XVII - Gouverneur, 22.12.1791, afd. 122.

of the mission of the Moravian Brotherhood, i.e. "de Zendingsschappen der Broeder Uniteit", to allow two or three missionaries to be sent to the Cape to undertake mission work amongst the Hottentots. This request was complied with and the Governor and Council at the Cape were directed to be of assistance to these missionaries. In the letter it was stated further that: "deese zendingen zig niet zullen wagen vestigen op plaatsen, alwaer zig reeds een Christelijke gemeente bevindt". In addition these missionaries were not to be recalled nor replaced without the permission of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company having first been obtained.¹⁾

A year elapsed before the Moravian missionaries arrived to renew the work which had been begun by their co-religionist George Schmidt in 1737 and discontinued in 1743. On 18th December 1793 three missionaries, Hendrik Mansveld van Gonda, Daniel Schürm and Christian Kühnel arrived at Cape Town.²⁾ They were permitted to settle at the post of their predecessor, namely Baviaans-kloof, since this was a place, "alwaer zig nog niet een Christelijke Gemeente bevindt omme zig aldaar neder te zetten ten einde de Hottentotten het Evangelium te verkondigen, hen in de Christelijke leere te onderwijzen, hen indien zij deselve omhelsen, te doopen, onder hen een christelijke Gemeente op te rigten, ende sacramenten toe te dienen."³⁾

This was a new departure in conflict with the established principle of "cujus regio, illius religio", in so far as allowing a religion to be propagated other

1) C.476, Inkomende Brieven 1791-1793 : H.J.I.XVII - Gouverneur, 22.12.1791, afk.122.

2) C.99, Res.Hard Pol.: 18.12.1793, p.946.

3) Ibid.

than the established Dutch Reformed Religion. The Church Council of Stellenbosch was visibly perturbed and directed a letter to its sister council at Cape Town, dated 11th January 1793.¹⁾ In this letter the Church Council of Stellenbosch expressed itself strongly against the employment of schoolmasters who were not "gereformeerde personen". With regard to the Moravian missionaries it had the following comment to make:

"Daerenboven hebben wij nodig geoordeelt, u weleerw. te berigten, dat hier volgens een vry algemeen gerugt verhaalt word, dat drie personen die zig noemen Hutterische zendelingen zig in het overbergseche gedeelte der gemeente hebben te nedergezet, maar men zegt niet verre van de K. Compagnies post de Zoetenelks Velleij, voorgeevende aldaer enige Hottentotten tot conversie te willen brengen. Nog daer wij onkundig zijn van de palen binnen welke zig die menschen houden moeten, en of derzelve al of niet de faculteit moet worden toegestaan om te dooren, of enige andere actus ministeriele te verrigten, zo is ons vriendelijk verzoek te mogen weeten wat of u weleerw. van begrip zijn, dat zij in dezen zouden behooren te doen. om nog ter eener zijde, aan die voorgenoemene bekeering der Hottentotten enig hindernis toe te brengen, nog ook aan de andere zijde aan de gen. drie personen dingen toe te laten waartoe alleen de bedienaren der Godlijke woords, volgens het kerkelijk regt, gqualificeerd zijn."²⁾

The Church Council at Cape Town in its reply, dated 14th February 1793, took up a more liberal point

1) Brief Kerkraad Stellenbosch - Kerkraad Kaapstad, 11.1.1793 (St. Archives).

2) Kerkr. Stellenbosch - Kerkraad Kaapstad, 11.1.1793 (In Kerkargief, Stellenbosch).

of view and contended that it was not averse to the activities of the Moravians, but would like to see the work of the missionaries put on a footing such that "alle (disordre daervoor so veel mogelijk by vervolg worde voorkomen."¹⁾

The missionaries of Bavianskloof kept a diary, intended mainly for the information of the brethren at Herrnhut, in which were faithfully and minutely recorded all the vicissitudes of the mission. In 1892 an account of the early history of this mission, based on the diary, was published by H.G.Schneider at Stuttgart.²⁾

The missionaries at Bavianskloof had to start work in the face of opposition and hostility on the part of the colonists,³⁾ but they persevered in their work and when Von Bouchenroeder visited the settlement in 1803 he was able to testify as follows: "De Broeders onderwijzen de Hottentotten in den godsdienst, het lezen en schrijven en de vrouwen der Zendingen onderwijzen de Hottentotacht meisjes in het naaijen, breiwen en andere huiselijke werkzaamheden. Dagelijks wordt er school gehouden en twee- of driemaal per week kerk."⁴⁾

The Hottentots at Bavianskloof (later Genadendal) were persuaded to forego their nomadic mode of life; they were persuaded to build brick cottages; they were taught horticulture and were even growing their own corn. In addition efforts were made to build a community spirit

1) Kerkraad Kaapstad-Kerkraad Stellenbosch, 18.2.1793: (St. Archives).

2) Schneider, H.G.: "Genadendal, die eerste evangelische Missionstation in Afrika", p.42 ff.

3) VRS. 10, p.130.

4) Von Bouchenroeder, H.F.: Reizen in de Binnelanden van Zuid-Afrika gedaan in den jare 1803, p.93.

amongst them and to make them realise the dignity of labour, the need for discipline and regular habits.

Von Bouchenroeder found about 200 huts at the settlement, each with its own vegetable garden.¹⁾

At the beginning of 1796 a number of Boers for the first time told the missionaries that they considered the Hottentots from this settlement better servants than any they had yet employed. This opinion gradually became widespread and proved of considerable assistance to the mission.²⁾

Both Janssens and De Mist paid visits to the mission station at Gvinsenskloof. Janssens, Governor of the Cape during the rule of the Batavian Republic, made a thorough investigation of the work at this mission-settlement and was much impressed by the work done there. During his visit there he attended a religious service and was welcomed by Hottentot children with "zeer veel decontie en onbegrijpelijk schoon!"³⁾ He was very much impressed by the behaviour, cleanliness and religious fervour of the Hottentots.⁴⁾ As a result of his recommendation the settlement was re-named Genadendal in 1806.⁵⁾

De Mist, too, was very much impressed with the settlement. When he visited the institution he found "eenige Hottentots meisjes en jongens verzameld, die hem met een aangenaam choormusiek ontvingen."⁶⁾ He found some 1100 people living on the settlement and was particularly impressed by the way the missionaries handled the Hottentots

1) Von Bouchenroeder, B.F.: "Reizen in de Binnelanden van Zuid-Afrika gedaan in den jare 1803 p.95.

2) Schneider, H.G.: "Genadendal....." p.142 - 166.

3) Volsbergen, B.C.Godee: "Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandsche Tyd" IV, p.103.

4) Ibid.

5) Kaapsche Courant, 4 Jan.1806.

6) Theal, Belang. Hist.Bok.III. p.146.

They tried to make of the Hottentots worthy human beings¹⁾ and good Christians.

De Mist was so taken up with this institution that he requested the Governor and Council to make a payment from the treasury of "250 Rijksdalers" to the "Instituut der Evangelische Broeders tot beschaving en onderwijs der Hottentotten", as a token of the Government's approval of and interest in its activities. His plea was based on "het nut dat deze Broederschap het Menschen, en inzonderheid dezer Volksplanting aanbrengt, en van de verplichting van het Goevernement om hunne loffelijke pogingen te ondersteunen."²⁾ The Governor and Council accordingly addressed a communication in June 1804 expressing its satisfaction at the measure of success attained thus far in the attempts at educating the heathens.³⁾

In August 1804 the government requested the Moravians at Baviaanskloof to send one of their missionaries to work among the "thuis in 't Landsdienst genomen en aan de Wynbergen gelegerd Corps Hottentotten, om by het zelve hunne nuttige pogingen tot onderwijs en beschaving te doen verken", because it, "ter harte reekende het lot en de zedelijke beschaving der Hottentotsche natie".⁴⁾ The Moravians readily complied with the request and J.P. Kohrkammer was sent to serve the Hottentot detachment stationed at Wynberg.⁵⁾

1) Wolbergen, Reizen.....IV. p. 220.

2) (a) RR 7, Reg. Rand. Fol. (9.5.1804), p.1607;

(b) RR.87, Inkom. Brieven 1803, p.225.

(c) RR III, Notullen van Comm. de Mist 1803-'4 IIII, p.160

3) RR 88, Uitgaande Brieven, 1803-'4, p.309.

4) RR III, Notullen v. Comm. de Mist, 30.9.1804, III.X p.100.

5) Ibid.

At Herrnhut, from where most of the Moravian missionaries came to South Africa, there existed a strong community spirit and a strong belief in the dignity of labour. The Moravian Mission was more than a religious organisation; it aimed at organising a society capable of producing the materials for its own needs. * If a man desired to settle at Herrnhut, the one supreme condition was that he earned his living by honest toil, and lived a godly, righteous and sober life..... To that work was a sacred duty, a delight and a means for the common good.¹⁾*

It was such traditions that the Moravians brought with them to the Cape. The early missionaries were themselves tradesmen and knew what it was to earn a living by manual labour.²⁾ At Genadendal they tried to fashion a community on the lines of Herrnhut, but with due regard to the extreme backwardness of the Pottentots.

That they achieved a great measure of success is evidenced by reports obtained from different sources and from travellers who visited the institutions of the Moravians at different periods during the previous century.

After the British occupation of the Cape, Governor Caledon (1807-1811), who was so impressed by the work of the Moravians at Genadendal, asked them to start a new station at Groene Kloof³⁾, and handed over three government farms for this purpose. Caledon's successor however considered it a great pity that land so ideally suited for a Governor's country residence should have been granted away. In 1814 Somerset proposed that the Groene-

1) Hutton, J.E: "A History of the Moravian Church", p.213-214.

2) Schneider, H.G: "Genadendal....." p.40.

3) Known as Ekurhuleni since 1853.

Kloof missionaries should break up their settlement and transfer the inhabitants to Genadendal. Somerset did not succeed and he was ordered by the Colonial Secretary to afford to Groene Kloof the "security which is necessary to give permanence to that useful institution:"¹⁾

The Circuit Judges of 1813 wrote as follows of Genadendal: "The Genadendal institution which has now existed for upwards of twenty one years, has besides the houses of the Moravian brethren, a very good church..... The undersigned also found here a manufactory of knives, a blacksmith and carpenter's shop and it was the intention within a short time to erect a building especially for a school. The situation of this institution is particularly agreeable, and having abundance of water, is consequently extremely fruitful. There are 232 huts here, the habitations of the Hottentots, regularly built in the order of streets, and which are kept extremely neat and clean. The number of Hottentots at present there is no less than 1,157 souls..... Every family have their own garden..... The Hottentots of this institution appeared to be particularly encouraged to industry.....The verdure of the trees, the regularity of the gardens and the cultivation of the lands at Genadendal cheer the eye and prepossess²⁾ the heart with a favourable idea of the institution itself."

In 1814 Governor Cradock wrote that everybody spoke well of Genadendal.³⁾ It was in that year too that the boundaries of Genadendal were officially beacons off, and some 3,600 morgen were added by the government to the institution, so that the settlement then consisted of some

1) R.C.C. IX, p. 35, 259-63; R.C.C. X p.177-8; 301-302; 329.

2) R.C.C. X p. 90 - 92.

3) R.C.C. IX p. 412 - 3.

1)
5,000 morgen.

In 1816 Latrobe visited the institution at Genaden-
dal and found in addition to a school for boys, one for
girls as well. 2)
The latter had an enrolment of about 100
pupils. 3)
Many Hottentots had also built their own brick
cottages. 4)
He also found that the Moravians had establish-
ed a strict system of supervision over their Hottentots
through the appointment of overseers, chosen by the mis-
sionaries to "maintain order throughout the village." 5)
Delinquents were censured and denied certain privileges
while the overseers or supervisors had the right of order-
ing the infliction "of stripes upon the back with a rod
of quince." 6)
Delinquents could also be expelled from
the institution, if necessary, with the help of a Field-
cornet or Landdrost. 7)

When J.W.D. Moodie visited the Genadendal insti-
tution some years after Latrobe he also made mention of
the good work being done there and of the teaching of the
youth by the missionaries, "at certain hours which may
the least interfere with their other numerous avocations." 8)

When Teenstra visited the institution he found four
persons teaching the children and adults in a good building
that had been erected some few years previously. Boys and
girls were taught separately and much time was devoted to
handicrafts. Teenstra wrote: "Zoo wel als de mannen onder-
wijs geven aan de jongens, doen dit ook hunne vrouwen aan

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- 1) B.C.C. IX p.438-9; X p.90-91; 179-80; 193, 331.
2) Latrobe, C.J.: "Journal of a visit to S.A. in 1815 and
1816 with some account of the missionary settlements
of the United Brethren" p.115.
3) Ibid.
4) Ibid, p.67.
5) Latrobe, Journal of a Visit to S.A.....p.274.
6) B.C.C. XXIV p.231.
7) Latrobe, pp. 67, 272, 277, 282; B.C.C. X 261-2
8) Moodie, J.W.D.: "Ten Years in Southern Africa" I p.78.

de meisjes; deze onderwijzen dezelve in het breiden, 1)
naaijen, borduren en andere vrouwelijke werkzaamheden.

In addition to giving instruction to the children the missionaries at Genadendal were instrumental in getting the Hottentots to build churches,²⁾ to construct a water-mill where the Hottentots could grind the corn they sowed and to erect a cutlery for the making of pruning knives. This cutlery was known throughout the country by 1803.³⁾

That the task of the Moravians in educating and uplifting the Hottentots was not an easy one, becomes clear from remarks made in 1823 by the Rev. H.P. Hallbeck, Superintendent of the Moravian missions at the Cape. He defined the chief weakness of the Hottentot character as "want of energy of mind by which every good impression, every laudable resolution, is but too often effaced and forgotten, and he is rendered unable to go through undertakings which require steadiness, perseverance and independence of character."⁴⁾ But mission stations were necessary, continued Hallbeck, because of such institutions they were sure to find good advisers and gradually the Hottentots were bound to acquire more strength of mind.⁵⁾

It was partly due to this fact that the Moravians established further stations in the Cape Colony. In 1818 they established a mission station at Eron in the Eastern part of the Colony, mainly for Hottentots. In 1828 they purchased a farm in the present district of Brodandorp

1) Teenstra, H.B.: "De Vruchten mijner Werkzaamheden gedurende mijne Reize over de Kaap de Goede Hoop naar Java en terug over St. Helena naar de Nederlanden" p. 213.

2) Bel. Hist. Dok. III, p. 146.

3) Ibid.

4) 50 of 1825 p. 26-7.

5) Ibid.

and established the institution known as Elm. In 1859 they established Witterwater and in 1869 Goedverwacht. The latter two institutions are situated not far from Eiketberg. Besides fruit and vegetables these institutions have produced between 1,500 and 1,700 bushels of wheat per annum.¹⁾ The farm Goedverwacht was actually bequeathed by a farmer to six of his best slaves on condition that they stayed on with him after their emancipation.²⁾

After the emancipation of the slaves there was a gradual influx of non-Europeans to Genadendal and the institution came to be looked upon with disfavour by the surrounding farmers as a "lock upon labour". Even friends of the Coloured People expressed the view that the institutions "as reservoirs of labour" had become too large for the areas they served.³⁾

That the Genadendal institution had been getting too many inhabitants and had become difficult to control, was admitted by one of the missionaries of that institution, the Rev. C.L. Teutsch⁴⁾, on the occasion of an enquiry into the affairs of Genadendal by government officials in 1850-1851. Teutsch contended: "Houses known to shelter drunkenness or flagrant and obstinate immorality ought not to be permitted; when in such cases an individual could not quit the place on the notice given to him by the missionaries it was in former times sufficient to bring it to the notice of the Land-

1) "Die Huisvriend" (a Genadendal Publication) 21.10.1904

2) An article by Rev. R. Schmidt, missionary at Genadendal, in "Die Huisvriend" 21.10.1934.

3) Col 286; Rev. W. Robertson to Gov. Secretary: 5.2.1846.

4) CO. 1242; Teutsch to Mackay, 22.10.1850 and 4.4.1851.

drost or Resident Magistrate and he made his quit the place; but at present we are told to institute a regular lawsuit, the event of which being doubtful, we are obliged to wink at such examples, which of course has an injurious effect on others"¹⁾

The verdict of the investigators on that occasion was that such defects as existed at Genadendal were to be attributed not to the want of good regulations, but to the means of effectually enforcing them,²⁾ and that an improvement could only be effected if the population of Genadendal was restricted to 3,000.³⁾ The investigators, Bell and Mackay further stated: "We submit that an institution which has so long been maintained with such credit and has produced such results while on its present footing, should be touched with a delicate hand."⁴⁾

The investigators were further of the opinion that the missionaries made the Hottentots and other Coloured People too dependant upon them. To Bell and Mackay it appeared "a curious anomaly that the Coloured People should have been redeemed from their former condition by the missionaries merely to be placed in a state of perpetual pupillage and vassalage." They, therefore, looked forward to a time when the secular control of the missionaries over their institutions would cease and they recommended that a municipality should be established at Genadendal, as soon as the people desired it.⁵⁾

1) C.O.1242 : Feutsch to Mackay 22.10.1850 and also 4.4.1851.

2) C.O.1242 : Bell and Mackay to Govt. Secty. 26.9.1851.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid.

5) C.O.1242 : Mackay to Bell, 30.6.1851.

It is of interest to note that the Moravians, in order to defray some of the expenses incurred in their mission enterprises, opened shops on their own account at their mission stations. They looked upon these shops, not merely as a source of profitable income, but also as a means of protecting their people against unscrupulous traders.¹⁾

In 1958 a Select Committee of the Cape Legislative Assembly, which had the negrophil John Doroosir among its members, unanimously reported that the institutions that had been established exclusively for Coloured People, should be abolished since these institutions "partake essentially of class legislation".²⁾ This recommendation was, of course, not complied with.

Genadendal did not quite live up to the promise which it showed in earlier years. By 1980 most of its workshops had been abandoned.³⁾ By 1922 its sanitary arrangements still left much to be desired.⁴⁾ When J.S. Harais visited the institution in 1937 he commented as follows:- "For all its picturesqueness, Genadendal which is still the most populous of the Coloured institutions,⁵⁾ has today no sanitary services, no dam or reservoir for storing water, an open furrow for household use, and badly kept, unlit streets".⁶⁾

One must however judge the work of the Moravians on a broader canvas. It is then that it can be seen in true perspective, as the real pioneering force in the continual upliftment of the Coloured People.

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1) C.O. 1738, Latrobe to Earl Grey, 8.5.1847.

2) A.17, 1958 : p.1 - 2.

3) Schmidt, R.M.: "Die Nulsvriend," 8.10.1922.

4) R. Schmidt to Secy. for Public Health, 26.12.1922 (in Genadendal Archives).

5) 3,990 inhabitants in 1937.

6) Harais, J.S: "The Cape Coloured People" p.255 op.cit.

(b) THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

By the time the Moravians were getting down in earnest to their appointed task, the London Missionary Society, the first British society to enter South Africa, had in 1799 commenced its labours in this country. Its advent marked the beginning of a new epoch, not only in the history of the Coloured People, but also in the general history of South Africa.

The London Missionary Society was established in 1795, and its foundation, like that of the other British missionary societies, must be traced to the great Evangelical Revival heralded by John Wesley and George Whitefield. During the eighteenth century England had been the scene of a great religious movement unparalleled on the European continent.¹⁾ This Evangelical Revival was accompanied by an outburst of enthusiasm for missionary work and of a spirit of humanitarianism, which expressed itself in feelings of sympathy for backward and oppressed people in distant lands.²⁾

It was under the inspiration of this spirit that the Hollanders Dr. Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp and Johannes Jacobus Kicherer, and the Englishmen William Edwards and John Edmond came to South Africa under the aegis of the London Missionary Society. They were soon followed by William Anderson and James Beal.

On the arrival of Dr. van der Kemp and his three colleagues at Cape Town, they were enthusiastically received by the minister for Roodezand, the Rev. Michael Christian Vos. Vos travelled especially to Cape Town

1) Halevy, E : " A History of the English People in 1815," p.339.

2) See Marais, J.S.: " The Colonisation of New Zealand", (Oxford 1927) Chapter II.

to meet the missionaries. In his own words he related the incident as follows:- " Ik spoedde mij den Kaapwaerts, omhelste de Zendingen met blijdschap en was dankbaar aan God daar de tijd nu scheen geboren te zijn, dat God zich zeer nadrukkelijk over de arme Heidenen, wier zielen my reeds achttien jaren zwaar op het hart gelegen hadden, ontfermen wilde..... De oudste Zending Doctor van der Kemp, vol vuur, wilde ook in dit land, en wel in de hoofdplaats, een Godsdienslig Genootschap oprichten. Ik maakte veel zwaarigheid, vooral om op den duur Directeuren te vinden. Zijn Eerw. door bidden kunnende dringen en over zuren kunnende springen, wist van geen zwaarigheid; wij moesten slechts beginnen¹⁾

Such was the enthusiasm of van der Kemp that he was instrumental in getting Vos to establish another missionary society, namely "Het Zuid-Afrikaansch Genootschap"²⁾

The missionaries accompanied Vos to Roodezand where they were ordained. M.C.Vos wrote as follows concerning this: "Voorts kwamen deze Zendingen onder mijn geleide naar het Roodezand, alwaar de Engelsche broeders, die niet geordend waren, en echter, wanneer God hunnen arbeid onder de Heidenen zegende, geordend moesten zijn, als zij de Sacramenten aan hen bedienen wilden, door Doctor van der Kemp (die daartoe van het Europeesch Genootschap ge-autoriseerd was) in zijne kerk, georden werden.

Deze eerste ordening, welke ooit in Zuid-Afrika heeft plaats gehad, werd door vele nabij wonenden uit

1) Merkwaardig Verhaal aangaande Het Leven en de Lotgevallen van Michiel Christiaan Vos, p.129.

2) Ibid.

zijne gemeente, met groot aandoening bijgewoond. Ook werd toen bij rij aan huis door het lot beslist dat de Heer Kicherer met den Heer Edwards naar de Boeschjesmannen gaen zouden, terwijl van der Kemp en Edmond zich naar Kafferland begeven moesten.¹⁾

Thus van der Kemp went beyond the Eastern frontier of the Colony among the Xosas and laboured there for two years, from 1799 to 1801. He then moved into the Colony and began his work amongst the Hottentots. He went first to Craff-Meinet, where a considerable number of Hottentots had assembled, who had left the service of the Boers to seek the protection of the Commissioner Wynier.²⁾

In 1802 Van der Kemp was authorized by the government "to instruct the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of the Zwartkops Bay³⁾ in the christian religion and by exhortations to reclaim them from their present wandering marauding state, to animate them to industry and to encourage them under every circumstance to act with moral rectitude and humanity".⁴⁾ Before the end of the year, however, the settlement had to be abandoned owing to attacks by marauding bands of Xosas and rebel Hottentots, and Van der Kemp and his followers had to seek refuge at a government military outpost at Fort Frederick.⁵⁾ It was here that Governor General Janssens found him and his colleague Read, who had since joined him, in May 1803, during a tour of the Colony.⁶⁾ Janssens and his party

1) Vos, N.O.: Merkwaardig Verhaal, aangaande Het Leven en Lotgevallen van Michiel Christian Vos, p.120.

2) N.O.C.VII, p.52-56; N.O.C.XXX p.242-3.

3) Near the present day Port Elizabeth.

4) N.O.55, Letters despatched within the Colony 1802-1803 p.27.

5) Algoa Bay.

6) Theal, Belang.Hist. Dokumenten III p.219.

found the missionaries in charge of some 200 "ellendige, armoeelige Hottentotten van alle jaren en sexen"¹⁾

The conditions under which the missionaries worked were apparently altogether unsatisfactory for on 31st May 1803 Janssens directed a communication to Van der Kemp in which he stated that: "De situatie waarin UEd. zich met de Hottentotten by Uwe school zijnde bevind kan niet langer op deese onwisse voet blijven als het thans is. Zonder werk, en dus zonder voortbrengselen van den grond, kunnen de mensche niet leeven!"²⁾ In order to make an end to this state of affairs, the Dutch Governor Janssens offered the missionaries of the London Missionary Society a new site at Roodoorn, a place also situated not far from Fort Frederick. It was on this site that the institution of Bethelsdorp was established.³⁾

In the beginning the land at this institution measured ten miles in circumference.⁴⁾ Janssens said of this land that "volgens hetgeen men mij bericht is deeze plaats zeer geschikt tot onderhouding van vee, ter graanbouwing en ter aanlegging van tuinen".⁵⁾

Janssens laid down fourteen points of specific instructions for this mission institution. He clearly enumerated the advantages and responsibilities of the missionaries of "Het Inatituit tot beheering en onderwey der Hottentotten."⁶⁾

1) Coedoe -Molsbergen, Reizen in Z.A. in de Hollandsche Tijd, IV p.134.

2) Janssens to v.d.Kemp: 31.5.1803 in Theol. Belang. Hist. Bok.III.p.235 (original in Algemeen Rijksarchief 's Gravenhage, Amynsten 1890 No.20 h).

3) Ibid.

4) R.C.G.VII p.174; also R.C.G.XXX p.225.

5) Janssens to v.d.Kemp, 31.5.1803, Bel.Hist.Bok.III,p.235

6) Janssens to v.d.Kemp. 3.5.1803 (Bel.Hist.Bok.III,p.235)

Among the conditions imposed were that van der Kemp was to see that "de Kottentotten geene gegronde redden van klagten aan de ingezeeten geeven", and that the institution would at all times work for the "bevoordering van ordre, rust, veyligheid en allegemeen bescherming."¹⁾

In 1834 De Mist toured the Colony and visited Algoa Bay where Dr. van der Kemp came to meet his former class mate. Dr. Lichtenstein, who accompanied De Mist related this meeting in the following terms:- "On the day of our arrival at Algoa Bay the Commissary-General received a visit from Van der Kemp. In the very hottest part of the morning we saw a wagon, such as is used in husbandry, drawn by four meagre oxen, coming slowly along the sandy downs. Van der Kemp sat upon a plank laid across it, without a hat, his venerable bald head exposed to the burning rays of the sun. He was dressed in a threadbare black coat, waistcoat and breeches, without shirt, neckcloth, or stockings; and leather sandals bound upon his feet, the same as are worn by the Kottentots."²⁾

Of Reul, who accompanied Van der Kemp and laboured with him at Bethelsdorp, Lichtenstein said that he seemed to be "a good-hearted man". "This man," wrote Lichtenstein, "in order to give a striking proof of his lowliness and humility, had married a young Kottentot woman belonging to the establishment. The girl was

1) Janssens to v.d.Kemp, 3.5.1803 (Bel.Hist.(ok.III,p.235)
Points 10 and 11 of the "provisioneel allegemeen regul"
2) V.R.G. 10 p.292 op.cit.

baptised a few days before her marriage; but neglected as she was by him, both personally, and with regard to the formation of her mind, nobody could be made to believe that he married her at all from inclination.¹⁾

When De Mist paid a visit to Bethelsdorp he was most disappointed at what he saw, particularly so, as it contrasted so badly with what he had seen on a visit to the Boverian institution at Bavienskloof. The institution appeared to be nothing more than a breeding-place for indolence and vice. Lichtenstein gave the following account of this visit: "Two days after, we returned Van der Kemp's visit. It is scarcely possible to describe the wretched situation in which this establishment appeared to us, especially after having seen that at Bavienskloof. On a wide plain, without a tree, almost without water fit to drink, are scattered forty or fifty little huts in the form of hemispheres, but so low that a man cannot stand upright in them. In the midst is a small clay hut thatched with straw, which goes by the name of a church, and close by some smaller huts of the same materials for the missionaries. All are so wretchedly built, and are kept with so little care and attention, that they have a perfectly ruinous appearance."²⁾

The description continues: "The ground all about is perfectly naked, and hard trodden down, no-where the least trace of human industry: wherever the eye is cast, nothing is presented but lean, ragged or naked figures,

1) V.F.G. 10, p.292 - 294.

2) Ibid. p. 294 op.cit.

with indolent sleepy countenances..... he (van der Kemp) had never turned his thoughts seriously to instilling habits of industry into his disciples."¹⁾

The missionaries lived in a like manner to their adherents. Codee-Holsbergen expressed the conditions thus: "De zondelingen woonden evenals hun gemeentelieden. Alles zag er vervallen, slordig en onbedrig uit. Het 250-tal leefde van ondersteuning uit Engeland en Holland, wat veeteelt en van de jacht. Geen wonder dat de kolonisten spottend Bethelsdorp tot Bedeldersdorp maakten".²⁾

Lichtenstein ascribed the deplorable conditions at Bethelsdorp to the inability of Van der Kemp to cope with practical situations. He said: "It appears to me that Van der Kemp is of little value as a missionary, partly because he is a mere enthusiast, and too much absorbed in the idea of conversion, partly because he is too learned, that is to say, too little acquainted with the common concerns of life, to turn the attention even of a raw Hottentot to them. Thence comes his total neglect of husbandry and all mechanical employments, though these are the arts in which his disciples must be instructed if he would make them really happy."³⁾

Though He Zist was very disappointed with what he saw at Bethelsdorp⁴⁾, he nevertheless, just as in the case of Bavianskloof, instructed the payment from the treasury of a sum of 250 "Rijksdalers" to the institution of Van der Kemp.

The missionary, however, requested that the government rather send him "ten dienste van het Instituut"

1) V.B.S. 10, p. 294.

2) Codee-Holsbergen, "Reizen.....IV p.329 (Mecpodecult door H. Lichtenstein) See also V.B.S.10, p. 295.

3) V.B.S. 10, p.295.

4) Codee-Holsbergen, Reizen.....IV p.329.

certain articles which he specified such as a plough, some tools, razors, beads, buttons, etc. "om den arbeid der Hottentotten te beloonen".¹⁾ He also asked for "eenige leerzame en vermakelijke boekjes tot presentjes voor kinderen", and these were purchased in the sum of 47 Rijds 4 shillings by the Secretary of the Political Council, J.A. Truter, and sent to the Bethelsdorp institution together with the other articles.²⁾

The reason for the failure of Bethelsdorp as an agricultural institution was due partly too to the unsuitability of the site. Observers pointed out that the Bethelsdorp site was entirely unsuited for its purpose, though Read, the colleague of Van der Kemp, was a member of the commission which selected the site.³⁾ The soil was poor, very little was suitable for tillage and there was very little water.⁴⁾

After the second British occupation, efforts were made to have the Bethelsdorp institution transferred to a more suitable spot. Thus Governor Galeson sent two commissioners to discuss the matter with Van der Kemp in 1807 "but nothing could be done or proposed satisfactory to the doctor."⁵⁾

Though Lichtenstein described Dr. van der Kemp as a man of "grand inability", the missionary was a person of decided political views,⁶⁾ who as a spokesman of the Hottentots, was most uncompromising. Already Janssens,

1) (a) B.B.B. Res. Raad Politie (5.7.1804), p.2138; (b) See also : B.B.52, 1804 : Bylagen tot de Resol.(B.V.Pol) p.55.

2) (a) B.B.B. Res.Raad Pol.(1.5.1804), p.2386; (b) Also: Bylagen 1804, B.B.52, p.865.

3) B.B.C. XXX p.242.

4) B.C.C. XIX p. 196.

5) B.C.C. VII p.172-3.

6) Martin, A.D.: "Doctor Vanderkemp" p.29.

who looked upon the work of Van der Kemp more with sorrow than with anger, could not countenance the unfounded rights which the missionary Van der Kerp wished to guarantee to the Hottentots.¹⁾

At first he and the other missionaries of the London Missionary Society defied the government, but later, during the period when Fr. Philip became the superintendent of this mission in South Africa, though the missionaries continued to be very critical of the government, they never went so far as to disobey a direct government order, which was conveyed to them in writing.²⁾

The government, therefore, while befriending the Moravians, were at all times distrustful of the methods employed by the missionaries of the L.M.S. and even went so far as to limit access to their institutions.³⁾

In the meantime conditions at Bethelsdorp continued to remain unsatisfactory, and at the death of Van der Kerp, the institution was taken over by Head. He has been described as Van der Kerp's "feeble successor". A writer makes this comment concerning his work: "While poor Head was writing home to Europe that the Bible and the plough must go together in South Africa..... the carpenter's tools and some valuable machinery sent to the Institution were left to be consumed by their own rust; an English plough, the only one sent by the Society to South Africa was never used..... The school was regarded with indiffer-

1) Theol. Bel.Hist.Fok.III, p.207, 214-219.

2) R.C.G. XXX p.150.

3) R.C.G. IX, p.350 -2 ; R.C.G. XXXV , p.249.

ence and the worst part of Dr. van der Kemp's system was continued.¹⁾

The Circuit Judges, D.F. Berrange and D.J. van Wyneveld, who visited Bethelsdorp in 1813, spoke of the institution in terms such as : "disgusted.....barrenness of the land, where nothing green is to be found.....but on the contrary, a parcel of huts scattered here and there without order or regularity and in a bad condition; objects which from their appearance in themselves afford living proofs that industry and cleanliness are banished from Bethelsdorp." They said furthermore: "that public or private benefit is effected in this institution by no less than seven missionaries with a number of 400 grown up Hottentots and 300 children of both sexes is difficult to perceive."²⁾

They also had uncomplimentary remarks to make concerning the control and education of the children and the general tone at the institution. Their report continued : "The undersigned cannot form any other than the most unfavourable opinion of Bethelsdorp, when it is remarked, with respect to those who attained the age of manhood, that among the multiplicity of persecutions against Hottentots for different crimes, by far the greatest part of all those of the most heinous nature, which at various times in the different situations have come to the cognizance of the undersigned, they found to have been perpetrated by subjects of this institution:

1) (a) Moodie, G.(Ed): " The Record or A Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa."(p.22 of "The Remarks").

(b) See also : R.C.C.XII p.246.

2) R.C.C. X p.90 - 92.

and with regard to the children, who should constitute the object of instruction and civilisation, so as in their early days to imprint in their yet innocent minds good principles, the undersigned were obliged to hear from the very mouths of the missionaries themselves, that the most unlimited freedom of choice was allowed them, whether they thought proper to go into the school, or not for instruction.¹⁾

Bethelsdorp was without any form of discipline. The principle of liberty was so overstrained that "the natural state of barbarism appears there to supersede civilisation and social order."²⁾ Finally a crushing indictment was made by the Judges of the Black Circuit when they commented that "laziness and idleness and consequently dirt and filth, grow there to perfection"³⁾

When the Rev. J. Campbell of the London Missionary Society visited Bethelsdorp in March 1813 he attributed the backwardness at the institution to natural conditions. Here are his own words:- "The ground on which it stands is barren to the extreme, so that nothing green is to be seen near the houses; this also adds to the gloominess of the villages. Neither trees nor gardens are to be seen to relieve the eye; but all this arises from the total want of good water on their ground..... In consequence of the miserable appearance of the village, the settlers are by many people reported to be extremely indolent.

That there are indolent people at Bethelsdorp, as well as other places, especially in South Africa, I have no doubt; but from what I have seen and heard, I believe

1) H.C.C. X p. 91 - 92.

2) H.C.C. IX p. 74.

3) H.C.C. IX p. 74.

also many who are industrious and active.¹⁾
that there are.
His further remarks, however, under the circumstances seem strange, indeed. "I visited their farms in the afternoon, which lies about a mile and a half distant on Little Zwartkops River. I found there ground cultivated on both sides of the river for upward of two miles. Indeed I have not seen so much cultivated land in any part of Africa, where I had yet been - three times more than is to be seen at Baviaans Kloof, though an old missionary station, compared with Bethelsdorp; but the soil is still more barren at Baviaans Kloof."²⁾

Campbell attributed any backwardness at Bethelsdorp to its founder, the late Dr. van der Kerk. He wrote :
"Truth however obliges me to confess that had the founder of Bethelsdorp (Dr. Van der Kerk) been more aware of the importance of civilisation, there might at least have been more external appearance of it than there now is. He seems to have judged it necessary, rather to imitate the savage appearance than to induce the savage to imitate him."³⁾

In 1818 the Rev. J. Campbell was again sent out to South Africa, but this time accompanied by Dr. John Philip. They were deputed by the London Missionary Society to visit its stations at the Cape.⁴⁾

Dr. John Philip was appointed superintendent of the L.M.S. in South Africa and he tried to tighten up control where it appeared to be lax. In 1823 the traveller Thompson was able to testify to the "striking" improvement that had taken place in the external appearance of Bethelsdorp within the past three years.⁵⁾ In that year too the

1) Campbell, J.: "Travels in South Africa undertaken at the Request of the Missionary Society, (1818) p.97.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid p.129.

4) Campbell, J.: "Travels in S.A.: A Second Journey" Vol II, p. 1 - 2.

5) Thompson, G: "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa", I p.23.

number of persons living at Bethelsdorp amounted to 1,420 souls.¹⁾

Seven years after his arrival at the institution, Dr. Philip claimed that conditions had improved at Bethelsdorp and his claim was supported by a Commission of Inquiry. The Hottentots had begun to build better houses, some were receiving industrial training, their economic position had shown improvement, while the discipline at the school had improved.²⁾

In 1825 the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp were in possession of 51 wagons, 135 horses, 2038 cattle, 482 sheep. Some of the Hottentots were doing well as transport riders between the rising towns of Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown, though, "the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth" was considered to be prejudicial to the morals of the Hottentots by a Commission of Inquiry.³⁾

Of the other institutions of the L.M.S. in the Colony, mention must be made of Hankey, Theopolis, Pacaltsdorp and Zuurbraak, for these catered for the Coloured communities, chiefly Hottentots, within the Cape Colony.

In 1809 Earl Caledon allowed a number of Hottentots to settle at Zuurbraak, which is situated near Caledon in the district of Swellendam. Soon afterwards an application was made to the government by a missionary who had been sent from Europe by one of the Dutch missionary societies, to be allowed to proceed to Zuurbraak for the purpose of instructing the heathen there. This request was granted and in the course of time, this missionary was taken into the service of the L.M.S.⁴⁾

1) R.G.C. XXIV p.339.

2) R.G.C.XXX p.147-9; R.G.C. XXIV p.339-400.

3) R.G.C.XXX p.190; R.G.C. XXIV p.340.

By the time of Van der Kerk's death in 1811, the population of Bethelsdorp was 1,150. See Martin, A.D. - "Dokter Vanderkerk" p. 132

Zuurbrak was established as an institution of the London Missionary Society only in 1813, but the lands were not given up to the Society until 1827. In 1853 the lands were given by Sir George Grey in trust to the inhabitants.¹⁾ At this station, in extent about 11,000 acres, a fair proportion of the ground had been brought under cultivation.

The management of Zuurbrak was made difficult by Hottentots who had come there without permission. At one time its population was about 1,200 souls.²⁾

The conduct of the missionary at Zuurbrak, a man named Selsdenfaden, was the subject of serious complaint. He seemed to have regarded his occupation more as a profitable speculation than as an opportunity to dispense the benefits of christian instruction to the heathen community there.³⁾ "The Missionary under the pretence of teaching the principles and duties of the christian religion to the Hottentots, had goaded them to distraction with his tyranny, had fleeced them of their property and reduced them to poverty".⁴⁾ Yet, after a long and tedious investigation, the fiscal reported in September 1831 that "not one of the numerous complaints brought against the missionary at Zuurbrak was capable of being so substantiated as to ground a criminal prosecution thereon."⁵⁾

The Pacaltsdorp institution was originally a small Hottentot settlement called Booyekraal. In 1813 the Rev. Charles Pacalt established a mission of the London Missionary Society there and from that time onwards the station had been called Pacaltsdorp. The extent of the land on which this station was established

1) A. 56'71 p. 4.
2) A. 58'71, p. 4 - 5.
3) F.C.G. XXXV p. 335.
4) Ibid, p. 332-333.
5) Ibid.

was about 3,600 acres.¹⁾

Of the L.S.S. institution of Pacaltsdorp, Dr. John Philip wrote: "When Mr. Pasalt first came to reside among them (The Hottentots), he found them without inclosures, without cultivated ground, without gardens and without any dwellings. All their clothing consisted of the filthy caross, which served them for a covering by day and for a bed and bed-clothes by night; sunk in indolence, they seldom waked but at the calls of appetite and when the cravings of nature were satisfied they went to sleep again."²⁾

..... "He succeeded so far in overcoming their indolent habits, that previous to his death, and within five years after his settlement among them, in addition to their own houses, gardens and corn-fields, they had built a church, capable of containing two hundred and fifty people, which was used as a school house during the week. While teaching them to build their houses and cultivate their grounds, he enlivened the hours of labour by instructing them, in the most easy and familiar manner in the principles and duties of religion."³⁾

To support his contention, Dr. J. Philip quoted Lieut.-Colonel Bird, at one time Colonial Secretary and who visited the Pacaltsdorp station in 1819, as having expressed the opinion that he had seen as much industry at any other place than he saw at Pacaltsdorp. Dr. Philip quoted Lt.-Col. Bird as saying: "The men were all at work. I saw no appearance of idleness, the women were

1) A. 36'71 p.4; also R.C.S. XXIV p.336-7.

2) Philip, J: "Researches in South Africa" Vol. I p.239.

3) Ibid. p.241.

busy; the gardens were laid out in the most regular order and full of vegetables and other produce; the houses were regular, clean and neat; and in short, in my whole journey into the interior, neither at Genadendal nor anywhere else, did I see anything that delighted me so much as the missionary station at Facilitdorp.¹⁾

Another institution of the L.M.S. in the Cape Colony was Theopolis. This station was established in 1813 because the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp were in need of ground for their cattle. It was thus proposed to create another mission station, and as the Governor, Sir John Cradock was at the time on a visit to the frontier, he agreed to the site of Theopolis being chosen for that purpose.²⁾

Theopolis was subjected to incursions and attacks by native hordes living on the frontier.³⁾ As a result of depredations of the kaffers⁴⁾, and more especially after the kaffir invasion of 1846, and also because of frequent droughts, the inhabitants of Theopolis were subjected to great hardships and impoverishment. From 1850 no missionary resided at Theopolis, it being from then on held as an outpost of the mission settlement at Grahamstown.⁵⁾

The most successful and prosperous institution of the L.M.S. was Hankey,⁶⁾ a grain farm on the Gamtoos River, which was purchased about 1832⁷⁾. The Rev. T.B. Philip was the missionary actively engaged there. The

1) Philip, J: "Researches in South Africa" Vo. I p. 231-2.

2) Ibid, p. 235.

3) Ibid.

4) Cape Gazette, 30 Febr. 1849.

5) A. 36 '71 p. 6.

6) A. 39 '71 p. 3.

7) A. 38 '71 p. 4.

extent of the ground of the institution was about 4000 acres.¹⁾

After the emancipation of the Hottentots and the subsequent Hottentot uprisings in the fifties of the previous century, the mission institutions became very unpopular among the Colonists and more particularly so those of the London Missionary Society. The opposition to these institutions was expressed in a comment of the "Grahamstown Journal" on 15th March 1851 in the following terms: "The voice of every Colonist must be loud in demanding that every Institution where a number of the Coloured races are, or can be drawn together, shall be broken up, and restricted from reassembling."²⁾

We thus find that after 1851 the Directors of the L.M.S. gradually turned their minds to abandoning their institutions in the Cape Colony. "Their Cape Congregation must prepare to stand on their own feet and release the Society, its men and its resources for pioneer work in 'heathen fields' beyond", had become the policy of the L.M.S.³⁾ A policy of deliberate withdrawal came into force and by 1871, when the L.M.S. was on the point of giving up its institutions in the Cape Colony, there were but only 400 inhabitants left at Bethelsdorp⁴⁾, while the total population in all its institutions amounted to 4,300 souls.⁵⁾

In 1868 Rev. T.B. Philip gave an account of the work of the L.M.S. institutions and the reasons for their

1) A. 38 '71 p. 5.

2) Grahamstown Journal, 15.3.1851.

3) (a) Macmillan, W.M.: "The Cape Colour Question" p.263.

(b) See also A.38 '71 p. 1-9.

4) A. 38 '71 p. 7.

5) A. 38 '71 p.1 - 11.

decline. He wrote: "These institutions have been instrumental in doing a great amount of good since their first establishment. They have served as asylums to which the poor oppressed could flee for protection, and as fortresses at which the battle for freedom was fought and the victory achieved..... After the Hottentots had in the year 1829, by the 15th Ordinance, obtained their freedom, and in a few years been joined by the body of the slaves after their emancipation, our missions in the towns and villages were very much strengthened, and our institutions began to decay."¹⁾

There was thus a shift from the L.M.S. settlements in the country districts to their schools in the towns and villages.

In 1871, therefore, the London Missionary Society requested the government to survey its lands and issue portions of land in the form of small-holdings to Hottentots on individual title. In 1873 the Cape Parliament passed an Act (2) providing for the survey of the lands of the L.M.S. institutions, and for the granting of titles to inhabitants free of charge. The secular authority of the missionaries was also terminated.³⁾

In 1881 an embryonic form of municipal government was created by the Village Management Act for both European and non-European villages. This Act provided for a certain degree of self-government and was applied to Bethelsdorp as well as to other Coloured villages that had formerly been mission institutions. The results were,

1) A. 38 '71 p. 4.

2) Act No. 12 of 1873.

3) A. 38 '71 p. 1-2; A. 4'72 p. 1-60; also Act No. 12, 1873

however, not very satisfactory.¹⁾

In 1909 a further enactment was made to provide a measure of self-government to Coloured communities.²⁾

c. THE WORK OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY AMONGST THE GRIGUAS.

We now come to a brief discussion of the work of the L.M.S. amongst the Griquas and Namacguas outside the borders of the then existing Cape Colony.

The first missionaries to begin work amongst the Griquas were Anderson and Krazer.

This Griqua mission was really commenced at the Zak River, on the borders of the Colony, in the year 1799, as one of the two branches of the first efforts of the London Missionary Society in South Africa. This effort was in the beginning ostensibly intended for the Bushmen, but it had not been long founded before it included within its sphere of activity, work amongst the Hottentots and Bastards.³⁾ By 1801, however, its efforts were devoted chiefly to the Korfannas, Namacguas and Bastards on the Orange River, the missionaries having resorted thither on the invitation of Hendrik Harends.⁴⁾ Ultimately a party of Griquas "finally terminated a migratory life, by settling down at Griqua Town in 1804 with Messrs. Anderson and Krazer."⁵⁾

Dr. John Phillip, the Superintendent of the L.M.S. in South Africa, said that when the missionaries started to work amongst the Griquas the latter were found to be "a herd of wandering and naked savages, subsisting by plunder and the chase", and devoid of morals and abandoned

1) B.G. 34 '14 p. 142.

2) Act 29 of 1909.

3) Moffat R: "Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa" (1842) p. 193.

4) Ibid.

5) Ibid.

to witchcraft, drunkenness and licentiousness.¹⁾ In support of his contention, Philip quoted from a letter written by the missionary William Anderson and dated 23rd December 1825. In this letter Anderson wrote: "When I went among the Griquas and for some time after, they were without the smallest marks of civilisation. I except one woman (who had by some means got a bit of colonial raiment), they had not one thread of European clothing among them; and their wretched appearance and habits were such as must have excited in our minds an aversion to them had we not been actuated by principles which led us to pity them, and served to strengthen us in pursuing the object of our missionary work - to restore beings sunk in many instances below the brutes. It is a fact, that we were among them at the hazard of our lives.....when we went among them and for some time after, they lived in the habit of plundering each other, and they saw no moral evil in this, nor in any of their actions."²⁾

These statements may be exaggerated, but the fact remains that the Griquas owed much to the missionaries.³⁾ The very existence of the Griquas as a separate entity was due to these missionaries. When Lichtenstein visited the Griqua settlements in 1805, he found that "they had only recently begun, under the conduct of some shrewd and understanding missionaries, to unite in one general and firm bond of union."⁴⁾ Lichtenstein further contended

1) Philip, J : "Researches in S.A." II p. 56.

2) Ibid, p. 57 - 58.

3) Ibid, p. 56 - 61; also V.R.S.11, p.302-3.

4) V.R.S. 11, p. 302 - 3.

"It must, however, be acknowledged that they would not have arrived so rapidly at the degree of cultivation they had then attained, without the intervention of the missionaries, who found the means of making an easy and pleasing impression upon them".¹⁾

The difficulties with which the missionaries had to contend were further pointed out by Lichtenstein. He said: "When Kicherer founded his institution at the Rietfontein in 1801, his principal merit consisted in nothing more than in preaching to the Hottentots already established in the country who had been educated in Christianity; in building, with their assistance, a rude kind of church; and in leaving, when he quitted them after a stay of some months, his assistant Kramer to take care of their souls. His undertaking had, however, the happy consequence, that the families who had hitherto been scattered about, united under his instructions. One pandok after another was constructed, till at length a little village arose But these men brought with them no means of subsistence; their only idea was to live in idleness."²⁾

The people who settled there were a motley crowd and included free blacks, slaves who had escaped from servitude and some of "Africans's hand."³⁾

"The pretence for joining the institution was always a desire to be instructed in christianity; but the fact was, that they found it pleasanter to lead a wholly idle life, than to give themselves the trouble even of robbing, and plundering to obtain a subsistence", wrote Lichtenstein.

1) V.R.S., ii, p. 304.

2) Ibid, p. 304 - 5.

3) Ibid, p. 304 - 5.

4) Ibid, p. 305.

It soon became clear that such a large assemblage of people could not subsist on the one spot, and the people therefore, scattered themselves about and began to move from one pasture land to another, assembling only on occasion when the missionaries held a meeting for public worship.¹⁾ It was in order to put an end to these wandering and unstable habits of the "Bastard-Hottentots",²⁾ that Anderson attempted in 1803 to establish them in fixed habitations at villages at Laanwaterfontein, Rietfontein, Witwater, Tasijboschfontein, Leeuwenkruil and Engelsfontein. Here they were to be taught the elements of agriculture, whilst the persons "of most distinction among the Bastard Hottentots were appointed as magistrates to inspect and take care of the rest".³⁾ But the task of making them plough the land and subsist on agriculture rather than on cattle breeding, was very difficult indeed. "Some, indeed, did begin to plough small portions of land, but most of them considered this as wholly superfluous, till the dry year of 1803 drove them to the necessity of wandering into the more northern parts with their cattle. On this expedition they were conducted by Anderson himself. When they returned thither, at a more propitious season of the year, the prudent missionary immediately sent a waggon to the Roggeveld to procure seed corn: implements of husbandry were also procured..... Thus in the first year, a tract of land, of fifteen acres was rendered cultivable; and, notwithstanding that the season was somewhat dry, the ground was rendered so fertile by means of having water conveyed to it, that, on the average, the corn yielded a hundred fold. This fortunate experiment

1) V.R.S. 11, p. 306.

2) Later to become known as the Griquas.

3) V.R.S. 11, p. 306.

had the desired effect, so that in the very same year corn was sown in all the six villages and succeeded admirably.¹⁾

Lichtenstein found Anderson²⁾ stationed at Leeuwentkail, a village which contained between three and four hundred inhabitants³⁾. He found Leeuwentkail very fertile and much agriculture was undertaken there. "Equal shares of from five to six acres were portioned out, and allotted to those who have industry to cultivate them,"⁴⁾ wrote Lichtenstein. He also found that some stone houses had been erected, and "a very neat house built of wood and bricks with a kitchen garden adjoining", which was owned by one of the distinguished members of the Hasterd community, a man named Moses. "The greatest industry and spirit of order reigned in this household.....maize and tobacco were cultivated in the garden with the usual vegetables for culinary purposes."⁵⁾ A church building was also in the process of construction.⁶⁾

So pleased was Lichtenstein with what he saw, that he said of the little Griqua State that had been established: "This little State deserves not only the attention, but the earnest support of the Government!"⁷⁾ He also referred to the eager enthusiasm which Anderson displayed "for spreading the principles of true religion and enlightened views with regard to human policy".⁸⁾

1) V.R.S.II, p.306.

2) Anderson retained his influence on the Griquas until 1814, after which his influence declined considerably and he had to be replaced. See Moffat, R: "Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa", p.198.

3) V.R.S., p. 323.

4) Ibid, p. 325.

5) Ibid, p.326.

6) Ibid, p. 326.

7) Ibid, p. 327.

8) Ibid, p. 327 op cit.

It was Rev. J. Campbell of the L.M.S. who was in a measure responsible for the establishment of the Griqua nation and made them assume the name of Griqua instead of Bastard. He travelled among them in 1813 and on 6th August of that year he wrote: "The people in this part, being a mixed race, went by the name of Bastards; but having represented to the principal persons the offensiveness of the word to an English or Dutch ear, they resolved to assume some other name. On consulting among themselves, they found the majority were descended from a person of the name of Griqua, and they resolved hereafter to be called Griquas".¹⁾ They also changed the name of their settlement at Blaarwater to Griquatown.²⁾

Campbell was also responsible for formulating laws for the Griquas and for the appointment of "judges" or "magistrates" to put these into effect.³⁾ Campbell also suggested that a coinage system be adopted in the Griqua State and that "they should apply to the Missionary Society to get silver pieces of different value coined for them in England."⁴⁾

When Campbell went among the Griquas in 1813, he found 1266 persons residing at "Griqua Town", while "the Church, or Christian Society" consisted of twenty-six men and sixteen women.⁵⁾ He further went on to say that several of these members of the Church endeavoured to teach others the things of God, especially on their journeys; and at the outposts there were other members of the

1) Campbell, J: Travels in South Africa undertaken at the Request of the Missionary Society, " p. 349.

2) Ibid p. 351.

3) Ibid, p. 350 - 351.

4) Ibid, p. 354 op.cit.

5) Ibid, p. 355.

Church who met "with the people, frequently on week-days and always on the Lord's day, to converse with them, to read the scriptures and to unite in prayer and praise."¹⁾

Campbell also found some 210 persons, who "at different times", attended the school at Grignatown, while at Hardcastle there were forty persons taught by a daughter of Fortuyn, a member of the church.²⁾ Campbell also related how at other outposts the care of the youth was committed to different members of the church, and that at the time of his visit it was "supposed that upwards of a hundred persons" could read and a few could write.³⁾

Campbell found that many of the Grignas had cultivated gardens and grown tobacco, and were in possession of considerable numbers of cattle, sheep and goats. He attributed these conditions to the work of the missionaries, who as a result of frequent exhortations persuaded the Grignas to give up their wandering habits, "like wild Arabs" and to live a stationary life.⁴⁾ He also found the Grignas at Grignatown in possession of some wagons, though most of these were nearly worn out by constant use. Trades were not highly developed. He found that the Grignas could do a little at smith's work, one man could build a wagon; there were tolerably good masons among them. There were some whom he termed "bamboo-makers", or makers of vessels for holding milk or water, while the women could make mats.⁵⁾

1) Campbell, J : "Travels in South Africa....p.356 op cit

2) Ibid p. 356.

3) Ibid, p. 356.

4) Ibid, p. 356 - 357.

5) Ibid.

Campbell summarised the impressions of his visit to Griquatown in the following terms: "Upon the whole I believe this mission has been a great blessing to this part of Africa. Here I received much attention from the missionaries and their families, and from many of the people, and felt pains at the thought of soon parting from them, to see them no more".¹⁾

When on August 9th, 1813 Campbell visited Hardcastle in Namaqualand, he was impressed by the beautiful scenery surrounding the place.²⁾ He found some 885 people residing there. A meeting house for the worship of God had been started, but was unfinished. Campbell commented on the lack of perseverance of the people there and their propensity for a wandering life.³⁾

It was, indeed, these characteristics of the Griquas that frustrated all attempts on the part of the missionaries to uplift them as a people. No matter how hard the missionaries tried to combat the nomadic tendencies of the Griquas by encouraging them to acquire immovable property in the form of gardens and houses⁴⁾, the Griquas never became agriculturalists. It is true that Anderson wrote in 1825 that he saw valleys at Griqua Town covered with barley and corn⁵⁾, while Philip wrote at about the same time that the Griquas cultivated as much as they could irrigate.⁶⁾ But these statements are difficult to reconcile with those of the traveller

1) Campbell, J : "Travels in S.A." p. 357 op. cit.

2) Ibid, p. 361.

3) Ibid, p. 363 - 365.

4) Ibid, p. 363.

5) Philip, J: "Researches in S.A." II p. 60.

6) Ibid, p. 98.

Thompson, who visited the Griquas in 1823. He visited the villages of Campbell and Griquatown. Of Campbell he wrote that the village contained "a few straggling reed huts and three or four houses of a little better construction", but while the place had a good supply of water, "the people had neither bread nor vegetables."¹⁾ At Griquatown, which he found to lie "in a pleasant valley well watered by copious springs, the cultivation of corn had been carried on by the missionaries and a few of the Griquas with tolerable success, by means of irrigation, but not to any great extent." Thompson wrote furthermore that: "The food of the inhabitants, who are, as yet with difficulty excited to agricultural labours, consisted of milk and flesh and occasionally a few pumpkins."²⁾

Added to the above characteristics of the Griquas was their continual and persistent "natural indolence", which precluded them from making any advance. In 1820 Anderson himself told the Deputy-Landdrost stationed at Beaufort West that "such is the natural indolence of the Bastards that not one-fifth part of their land capable of being brought under irrigation is now under culture", and that in spite of the fact that the vicinity was particularly fertile³⁾. Previously in 1818 Stockenström referred in very strong terms to the "sloth" of the Griquas.⁴⁾ In 1820 the Rev. J. Campbell wrote of the "want of economy" among the Griquas, and it was apparent that the Griquas were unable to rectify the situation⁵⁾.

1) Thompson, G: "Travels & Adventures in Southern Africa", 1827, p. 60.

2) Ibid, p. 83 *op cit*.

3) O.G. 271: 21.4.1820, Interview with Anderson-J. Baird.

4) O.G. 208: 27 Aug. 1818, Stockenström to Col. Sec. (Cape).

5) Campbell, J: "Travels in S.A.: Narrative of a Second Journey in the Interior (1822)" p. 263 - 4.

Even Dr. Philip himself noted that the Griquas did not appear to have made any progress during the period 1820 to 1825.¹⁾

The Griquas were also in constant trouble about the chieftainship of their people and it was Moffat who tried to get them united under one leader.²⁾ The traveller Thompson also commented on internal strife among the Griquas and its effect upon these people when he visited them in 1825. He wrote: "Their internal dissensions have recently added another obstacle to settled pursuits and agricultural improvements, not less influential perhaps than their propensity to wandering habits."³⁾

When Backhouse visited Griquatown in 1839 he found the gardens and adjacent lands desolate as a result of persistent drought, and many of the houses were also in ruins.⁴⁾

Referring to the school and the education of the Griquas, Backhouse had, however, this to say: "He visited the school taught by Isaac Hughes, assisted by John Fortuin, a native..... This school was held in the chapel. The languages taught were Dutch and Sechuana..... The pupils in the school were clean and tidy and the schoolrooms were creditably neat..... Some of the children had advanced in Arithmetic as far as Practice..... A considerable number of children and nearly the whole of the adult Griquas could read the Bible."⁵⁾

The picture painted in 1872 of the Griquas by G.E.Stow and others, was, indeed, a deplorable one.

1) Philip, J.: "Researches in S.A." II p.70.

2)(a) Moffat, R.: "Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa", p.199-200; (b) See also : EO of 1835, p.127

3) Thompson, G.: "Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa" p.83 op.cit.

4) Backhouse, J.: "A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa", p.432.

5) Ibid. p.447

Campbell, the settlement next in importance to Griquatown was in ruins, while Griquatown itself was rapidly falling into decay. More light penetrated through the roof of the church than through the doors and windows, while houses had become uninhabitable. The remnants of the Griquas who continued to live in Griqualand West were found to be miserable, filthy and sickly looking.¹⁾

By 1903 the Griquas as a tribe were practically extinct. They were without land and lived as paupers and common labourers. Indolence and drink were the main causes of their downfall.²⁾ In 1905, the South African Native Affairs Commission found that the Griquas had ceased to be a land-owning people and had become totally impoverished, yet they continued to be a great church-going people, thus reflecting a century of missionary effort.³⁾

(d) THE SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The enthusiasm for missionary work which was revived in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century and which led to various overseas missions establishing stations in South Africa, was responsible too for an indigenous missionary society being established at the Cape. During the latter half of the eighteenth century very little was done by the Cape burghers with regard to the christianisation of the slaves and in 1770 a law was promulgated which prohibited the colonists from selling baptised slaves, thus causing them to object

1) Cape Monthly Magazine: Aug. and Dec. 1872, p.75-7 and 324 - 9 resp.

2) (a) C. 42 '93 p. 6 - 12; (b) C.7'92, p.12; (c) C.9'94 p.17-18; C.12'94, p.11.

3) South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-5) Vol. II p. 1099, 1116, 1129.

to the christianisation of their slaves.¹⁾ In 1788, however, there were colonists in Cape Town and in the country districts who devoted some days per week "tot het gods-dienstig onderwys der heidenen".²⁾

As a result of the interest taken by the Rev. M.C.Vos, the Dutch Reformed minister at Tulbagh and the Rev. H.R. van Lier, the necessary funds were collected and the South African Missionary Society was established in 1799³⁾. A certain widow, Mrs. H.P. Mulder made an outstanding contribution of 15,000 gulden and this served as an example and stimulus to others.⁴⁾

On 22nd April 1799 "Het Zuid Afrikaansche Genootschap tot uitbreiding van Jezus Koningrijk onder de Heidenen" came into being.,⁵⁾ with the object of promoting "de uytbreiding van Christus Ryk alhier onder de onver-lichten in denze Colonie, en Heidenen zo binnē als buyten dezelve, door allerly middelen".⁶⁾ A Board of Directors was appointed consisting of nine members, one being the Rev. M.C.Vos.⁷⁾

While the London Missionary Society and others concerned themselves almost exclusively with the Hottentot and Bantu, this South African missionary society, whose members were predominantly Cape burghers, from the beginning, devoted most of its attention to the slaves. At first all instruction was given to the heathen "in be-zondere huizen van onderscheide leden by beurtwisseling".⁸⁾

1) H.C.G. IX p. 130 - 3.

2)(a) Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift, 1894, p.25; (b) Also Olland, F.H: "Bladen uit de Verzameling van Petrus Borchardus Borchardus", p.59, 61.

3)(a) H.C.G. Res. Raad v. Pol. (21.3.1804), p.1065.

(b) Also H.C.A. Tydschrift, 1825, p.19.

4) H.C.A. Tydschrift, 1825, p.19.

5) Ibid.

6) BR 6, Res. Raad v. Pol. (21.3.1804) p.1066; see also H.C.A. Tijdschrift 1824, p.25.

7) H.C.A. Tijdschrift 1824, p.25.

8) H.C.A. Tijdschrift 1825, p.19.

Though the start was inauspicious and the Society had to contend with opposition from the Commissary-General J.A.de Mist¹⁾, good progress was made and in 1804 the Society was able to occupy its own building, known as "Het Groote Oefeningshuis" in Long Street, Cape Town.²⁾ When this building was occupied, the opening ceremony was conducted appropriately by Rev. J.P.Corrurier, the oldest minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape. This occurred on 15th March 1804³⁾. The government's approval of the work of the missionary society was evidenced from the fact that it exempted the society from taxation with regard to the purchase of the stand on which the building was erected.⁴⁾ At this building in Cape Town the slaves had the opportunity of receiving general education as well as religious instruction and "op elken dag der week stonden de deuren open en die naar onderwijs begerig waren vonden er gelegenheid, om in hunne begeerte voldaan te zien".⁵⁾

Mannenberg was appointed as the first missionary of this society, but owing to dissatisfaction with his work, he was called upon to relinquish his post and he was replaced by D. le Roux, who after an examination by the Church Council, was found to be competent "tot 't behoerlijke onderwys der lyfseigenen"⁶⁾

The work of this mission society was not confined to Cape Town only, but was extended to the country

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- 1) (a) Moorrees, A: "Die Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in S.A."; 1652 - 1873; p.396. (b) Also, Vos, H.C., "Merkwürdig Verhaal", p. 252.
 2) N.Z.A., Tydschrift, 1824 p.26.
 3) N.Z.A., Tydschrift 1825, p.21.
 4) (a) S.N.6, Res.Ned Pol. (14.3.1804), p.994; (b) Ibid, 21.3.1804, p.1066.
 5) N.Z.A. Tydschrift 1824, p.26.
 6) Soelstra, G: "Bouwstoffen" II p.480; See also Ibid I, p.238.

districts as well. By 1817 the Society had begun to work at Zoar, beyond Swellendam, and by 1822 the mission at Zoar had no fewer than 260 members.¹⁾ Here a certain Joubert served as the first missionary.²⁾

In Cape Town the Society extended its activities in 1824 to include missionary work amongst the Cape Malays by the appointment of W. Elliot as missionary. Elliot had previously been employed as missionary to the London Missionary Society in the Comora Islands and by virtue of his special knowledge of the Malay language, he was admirably suited to ensure that "de deure des Woords ook voor Mahomedanen of Islamiten zal worden ge-opend."³⁾

Elliot laboured for three years but without much success.⁴⁾

Branches of the South African Missionary Society were also established at Rodezand, Stellenbosch, Wagenmakersvallei (Wellington) and Graaff-Reinet. In the course of time these branches broke away from the parent society and "vingen zij op eigen verantwoordelijkheid zendingswerk aan."⁵⁾ The South African Missionary Society also worked at times in conjunction with the London Missionary Society.⁶⁾ This Society was also responsible for sending the missionary J.M.Kok to work amongst the Bechuanas. Kok was later murdered by the natives.⁷⁾

Special mention must be made of the Stellenbosch branch of the South African Missionary Society. This

1) N.Z.A. Tijdschrift 1825, p.31.

2) Vos, W.C.: "Merkwaardig Verhaal", p. 254.

3) N.Z.A. Tijdschrift 1822, note on page 22.

4) Vos, W.C.: "Merkwaardig Verhaal", p. 254.

5) Ibid, p. 252.

6) Ibid, p.252.

7) Ibid, p.253.

This branch came into being in 1800 and twenty-four years later was able to celebrate the opening of a new church building "voor de heidenen".¹⁾ The leading spirit in the missionary endeavour of the Stellenbosch branch of the Society was J.H. Besch, a member of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church. Already in 1790 he started a "schooltjie voor slaven kinderen" and this caused some discussion at the meetings of the Church Council.²⁾ He interested the Rev. Borchers, minister of the church at Stellenbosch in "den beklaglijken toestand van het Oberbergische gedeelte hunner parochie", and the need for appointing one or two persons who could give instruction to "winkandigen en heidenen". As a result, a Dutch seaman, N.J. Bakker, who had been saved from death at sea in a miraculous manner and who had, therefore, in appreciation dedicated his life to the cause of missionary work, was provisionally appointed to teach the slaves in 1799. Sanction for this appointment had to be obtained from the Governor at the Cape, who at that time was General Dundas.³⁾ The governor gave his approval and also permitted the voluntary collection of subscriptions. The Church Council of Stellenbosch thereupon decided (in 1799) to send G. Freiling to work at the "Oberbergische District", but it would not permit the collection of funds for Bakker⁴⁾, though it decided later, in Nov. 1799 to provide him with the necessary desks which he required for

1) N.S.A., Tijdschrift, 1824, p.19.

2) Spoolstra, G: "Bronstoften II" p. 411.

3) Letter Kerkraad Stellenbosch to Governor Dundas. Post Acta Not.Kerkr. Stellenbosch (12 July 1799) :1754-1804

4) Not. Kerkraad Stellenbosch, 9.8.1799 (1754 - 1804, III).

teaching the slaves.¹⁾

Bakker utilised his home as the venue for instructing the slaves, but after having laboured for a short period, he decided, in 1800, to go to Europe where he was ordained as a missionary of the London Missionary Society. He then returned to South Africa in May 1801.²⁾

With Bakker's departure, disputes arose between the South African Missionary Society and the Church Council of Stellenbosch,³⁾ due to the action taken by J.N. Desch and two other directors of the South African Missionary Society, namely N. Hazen and J. Morrellie. These men decided to continue Bakker's work by establishing a school for slaves outside the jurisdiction of the Church Council, an action that was strongly disapproved of by the Church Council of Stellenbosch, but which was condoned by the latter body for the sake of peace and the cause.⁵⁾

On Bakker's return, he applied to the Church Council of Stellenbosch to be allowed to continue with the work he had done prior to his departure, but the Church Council, supported by Commissioner-General de Mist, resolved that any missionary work which Bakker might undertake, would have to be under the aegis and control of the Dutch Reformed Church of Stellenbosch.⁶⁾

Bakker agreed to serve "uit naam^{en} onder het opzicht van het Kerkeraad..... als onderwyzer der Heidenen".⁷⁾ He submitted to an examination, which was conducted by the minister of religion in the presence of an elder of the

1) Not. Kerkraad Stellenbosch, 23.11.1799.

2) Not. Kerkraad Stellenbosch, 8.3.1803.

3) Not. Kerkraad Stellenbosch, 23.3.1800.

4) Not. Kerkraad Stellenbosch, 9.3.1803 (1754-1804, III)

5) Not. Kerkraad Stellenbosch 23.3.1800.

6)(a) Not. Kerkraad Stellenbosch, 22.7.1804 (1804-1809, IV)

(b) See also: Not. Kerk. Stellenbosch, 28.6.1801 and

Not. Kerk. Kaapstad, 3.8.1801 (1791 - 1802).

7) Not. Kerkraad Stellenbosch, 22.7.1804.

church and was found to be competent in knowledge and of good behaviour.¹⁾

Thenceforth there was no further trouble at Stellenbosch and Bakker continued to do good work until 1815, when failing health compelled him to stop. The local school committee thereupon found it impossible to get a voluntary teacher to continue with Bakker's work.²⁾ In 1804 the Church Council of Stellenbosch was able to report that any confusion and irregularities which might have arisen from missionary endeavour undertaken outside the approval and jurisdiction of the "Kerkraad" had been eliminated, and that Bakker had been performing valuable work and moreover "zich in alle opzichten zeer lofflijk onderscheid, niet alleen door vlijt en ijver in zijnen pligt maar ook door gepaste observance der op dit stuk voorgeschrevene wetten."³⁾

It was the religious instruction given to slaves by the missionaries of the South African Missionary Society in Cape Town and elsewhere that stimulated interest in missionary work in the Colonists as a whole during the early part of the nineteenth century. Many colonists allowed their slaves to be present at and to take part in their family prayers, though there were still some who were opposed to slaves receiving religious instruction.⁴⁾ During the period 1810 to 1824 there were some 86 slaves who had been baptised and converted to Christianity.⁵⁾

1) Not. Kerkraad, Stellenbosch, 4.10.1804.

2) S.775, p.159, 189 - 194 (in Cape Archives).

3) (a) Not. Kerkraad, Stellenbosch, 4 and 5 Oct. 1804;

(b) Ibid 15.1.1805.

4) (a) S.S.C. XXXV p. 361.

(b) V.S.B. II, p.447.

5) S.S.C. XXXV p. 364.

Some of these baptised slaves became members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Slaves were allowed to attend the church services of the Europeans and in 1824 there were 3,200 slaves who attended the Christian Church services regularly.¹⁾ A new spirit was being evolved, in complete contrast to the type of prejudice which had prevailed at the end of the eighteenth century, and which had opposed the baptism of slaves and the use of the Church at Graaff-Reinet for the benefit of the Hottentots.²⁾ Thus we find the Rev. M.C.Vos relating how he celebrated the Lord's Supper in his church at Caledon in 1812 with some baptised slaves. He mentions how many slave owners even chose to sit at the same table as their slaves.³⁾

The influence of the South African Missionary Society, though often indirectly, extended itself to many country districts where individuals and communities were interesting themselves in and giving educational and religious instruction to slaves. Thus we find that at Ragnmakersvallei in Drakenstein, religious instruction had been given to slaves from 1796 by W. van Zulch.⁴⁾ In 1801 Bastiaan Tromp was appointed a missionary by the Church Council,⁵⁾ but as he caused dissatisfaction amongst the colonists, he was replaced in 1802 by Daniel le Roux.⁶⁾ In 1806 permission was given by the Church Council of Drakenstein to a certain Paulsen to conduct classes for slaves in spelling and reading and to hold religious services in the district.⁷⁾ It was not until

1) N.S.G. XVIII p.332.

2) (a) Transactions of the N.S.G. Vol.I, p.481-2, 491.

(b) N.S.G.IV p.31; (c) N.S.A. Tydschrift 1826, p.370-1

3) Vos, M.C.: "Merkewaardig Verhaal...." P. 217.

4) Briefboek S.A. Gesl. 1799-1801, p.60-61.

5) Spoelstra G: "Bronstoften II" p.476-478.

6) Ibid, p. 460.

7) Met. Kerkraad Drakenstein (10.12.1806) (1806-1837) p.9 (Kerkargief, N.C.Kerk, Paarl).

1813 that Paulsen and some friends succeeded in having a building erected at Paarl where the slaves could be taught to read and be instructed in religion.¹⁾ In 1834 the congregation of the Dutch Church at Paarl was able to report that "de Gefeningshuizen alhier en aan Wagenmakersvalley als mede onze kerk zowel het algemeen als afzonderlijk onderwijs der slaven in spel en leeskunst en godsdienst" had been in existence for some time.²⁾

At places where there were no missionaries the local clergymen did their best for the slaves.³⁾

Commenting on the South African Missionary Society or "Het Zuid Afrikaansche Genootschap ter bevordering van de uitbreiding van Christus Koninkrijk", Dr. G.B.A. Gerdener says that "Inswel dit geen N.G.kerklike vereniging was, het leiers en lede van die Ned. Geref.Kerk tog die reuze aandeel aan die onderneming gehad."⁴⁾

As more slaves became members of the Dutch Reformed Church, the question arose as to whether all members of a congregation, irrespective of colour or descent, should be allowed to celebrate the Lord's Supper jointly.⁵⁾ The Synod of 1839 upheld the viewpoint that there should be no discrimination.⁶⁾ In 1857 when the development of its missions among the Coloured People brought with it the probability of a large Coloured membership, the Dutch Reformed Church Synod of that year receded from the

1) Not. Kerkraad Brakenstein, 27.10.1813, p.75.

2) S.775, p.21, 29, 30-7, 215.

3) C.O. 413: Truter to Somerset, 25 May 1823.

4) Gerdener, G.B.A: "In Nieu van Genade: 1830-1930" p.11 op.cit.

5) Handelingen der Derde Vergadering van de Algemene Synode der Ned. Geref.Kerk van Zuid-Afrika, 9 Nov.1839.

6) Ibid.

attitude adopted by the Synod of 1829, and upheld the viewpoint that it was permissible and in some cases even advisable to have European and non-European congregations assembled for religious purposes in separate buildings.¹⁾

In this way the principle of "apartheid" was recognised by the church and it was not long before the European and Coloured elements of the Dutch Reformed Church were to form separate and distinct organisations.

(e) THE RHENISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY:

The Rhenish Missionary Society began its work in South Africa in 1839 as a branch of the Vereinigte Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft, which was established originally in 1799 at Elberfeld²⁾. In the Cape Colony proper it devoted its attention to slaves and Hottentots. Its missionaries Leipoldt and von Dumb established the first institution of the mission at Luppertal in the Cederberg. Here a farm in extent 25,000 morgen was purchased and soon a village for Coloured People was established. This village, like those of other German institutions bore a close resemblance to the agricultural villages of Western Europe. The Hottentots who came to Luppertal were taught to work and were instilled with notions of diligence and the dignity of labour. At this institution a mill was erected, a tannery established, a tobacco plantation created and large numbers of fruit trees were planted. The Hottentots had to do all the manual labour and they had to build their own cottages. The missionaries sold their produce for them.³⁾

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- 1) Handelingen der Negende Vergadering van de Algemeene Synode der Ned. Hervormde Kerk van Z.A. 5 - 6 Nov. 1857.
 - 2) Von Rohden, L.: "Geschichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft" (1888). Von Rohden is the historian of the Rhenish Missionary Society.
 - 3) Von Rohden, L.: "Geschichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft", p.109-110; 116.

By 1849 this institution had over 700 inhabitants, and by 1870 it had become self-supporting, in the sense that it did not require funds from outside to keep it going.¹⁾

During the period 1843 to 1846 the Rhenish Missionary Society extended its activities by establishing further mission stations principally for ex-slaves at Saron and also at Steintal near Tullagh.²⁾ One of its stations, Ebenezer on the Olifants River, established by Von Wurmb, was not a success and was abandoned in 1877.³⁾

Very important and valuable work for the education of slaves was carried out by the Rhenish missionary Kahn at Tullagh and also by his colleague Luckhoff at Stellenbosch. After their emancipation, a number of slaves went to the settlements of the Rhenish Missionary Society at Tullagh and Stellenbosch,⁴⁾ and it was at the latter place that Luckhoff continued the work that had been begun by Bakker some thirty years before. In his work Luckhoff was valiantly supported by two women, namely a Mrs. Kuiper and Christiane Kähler, the widow of a Rhenish missionary.⁵⁾

Luckhoff established a day school for children, in succession to the government slave school, which was closed in 1838. This school later received aid from the government, so that by 1848 there were 408 children on the roll, of whom 20 were Europeans and the rest Coloured

1) Von Rohden, L : Geschichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft " p.122 - 123.

2) Ibid p. 119 - 121.

3) Ibid, p.122 - 121.

4) (a) Cape Masters and Servants Blue Book (1849) p.122.

(b) See also C.O.853: Veresford- Civil Commissioner of Stellenbosch, 4 Dec. 1849.

5) Varneck, C : "Christiane Kähler, p.81 - 82.

1)

Of these children a goodly number could read and write.

Luckhoff also established a night school for adults, which in 1842 was attended by 260 persons, more than one-third of the number that normally attended the religious services on Sundays. The classes for adults were held on four nights per week. The pupils were taught to read and write and were also given religious instruction.²⁾

The two women, Mrs. Kuyper and Mrs. Kähler, who assisted Luckhoff, were responsible too for instructing the Coloured girls and women in needlework and domestic duties. Of Mrs. Kähler's work her biographer writes: "Naast den voortdurenden, steeds rijker gezegenden arbeid onder de vrouwen, wijdde zij nu hare bijzondere zorg aan de jonge meisjes, die zij gedurende verscheidene namiddagen onderricht gaf in vrouwelijke handwerken. Zoowel voor de onderwijzeres als voor de meesten harer scholieren waren het liefelijke uren, die zij tezamen doorleefden. De arbeid werd gekruid door bijbelsche en andere verhalen, of ook wel door gezang, en menige zaadkorrel des eeuwigen levens is in deze uren in de jonge zielen gelegd geworden."³⁾

The Danish Missionary Society also undertook missionary work amongst the "Baster"-communities living on the North-Western frontier of the then existing colony, namely in the area in and around Namaqualand and Bushmanland. It interested itself in the mission stations of

1) "Schools and Patriotic Fund" - a folder of documents in Cape Archives; See Letter Stellenbosch School Committee to Col. Sec. 3 July 1832.

2) Ibid.

3) Wernick, G: "Christiane Kähler", p. 81-2.

Steinkopf, Komaggas, Concorvia and Richtersveld¹⁾ in Little Namaqualand and also in the stations of Anandebom, Schietfontein, Tella and De Tuin in and to the south of Bushmanland.²⁾

The Steinkopf station was established in the year 1890 by the Rev. Bracher.³⁾ When S. Melvill, a government official, visited the institution in 1890 he found that a substantial church and school building, as well as a good mission house had been erected there. The gardens were kept in good order, while about 1800 morgen were under cultivation.⁴⁾ One third of the land belonging to the institution was rocky and mountainous and without water, and therefore practically useless.⁵⁾ Some 1300 persons resided at the station in 1890. The institution was furthermore self-supporting, in so far as the payment of the missionary and the upkeep of the mission property was concerned.⁶⁾ The school was attended by a fairly large number of children, varying from 50 to 250, but the progress made by the pupils was not as good as it might have been.⁷⁾ Some 300 to 600 people attended church regularly.⁸⁾

The institution of Komaggas was originally established by the London Missionary Society, but had since 1843 been under the control of the Danish mission.⁹⁾

1) C.60-'90, p.9, 11, 13; also C.41-'89 p. 7-11.

2) C.60-'90, p.18; C.41-'89, p.9; C.7-'59, p.7, 13.

3) C.41-'89, p.8.

4) C.60-'90, p.9.

5) C.41-'89, p.7.

6) C.60-'90, p.9; also C.41-'89, p.8.

7) Ibid.

8) C.41-'89, p.8.

9) C.60-'90, p.13.

The land of this institution was held "under a ticket of occupation dated 7th Nov., 1843", and for some time the resident missionary was the Rev. I.G. Schröder¹⁾. In extent it was 69,000 morgen but by 1869 only 600 morgen were under cultivation,²⁾ although the Native Affairs Commission of 1932 found that water was not plentiful.³⁾

At Komaggas and the other mission stations in Namaqualand communal reserves were established. The Komaggas reserve, like the others, was administered by a Board or Council elected by the inhabitants and presided over by the missionary, without whose concurrence no resolution adopted was valid. The Board acted as a kind of law court and inflicted fines as well as the penalty of loss of sowing or pasturage rights. It could even order the banishment of certain individuals from the reserve.⁴⁾ Each adult inhabitant of the reserve had to pay an annual contribution according to his means towards the salary of the missionary, while special taxes were levied when it was necessary to erect mission buildings or effect repairs.⁵⁾

The land was given to the community as a whole under documents called "certificates of occupation" issued by the Government of the Cape of Good Hope,⁶⁾ and the Board distributed the garden and sowing lands to the heads of the families. The latter had the use of those lands and their produce as long as these were cultivated.

1) G. 60-'89, p.13.

2) G. 41 - '89, p.8.

3) NG 26-1932, p.7.

4) G. 60 - '89, p.24-26.

5) Ibid.

6) G. 41 - '89, p.10.

Such land was heritable¹⁾. The livestock belonged to individuals.²⁾

This form of communal life and land tenure was not common to Kossaggas alone, but was adopted at other institutions as well.³⁾ Its success depended largely upon the resident missionaries being strong and judicious men capable of exercising a powerful influence upon the Raad and members of the community. Furthermore the missionaries had to be acquainted with methods of agriculture and pastoralism.⁴⁾

There was a general consensus of opinion in 1899 that this Raad often constituted a hindrance to the missionary in so far as it restricted and regulated his activities, particularly among people where "ignorance, indolence and prejudice" prevailed.⁵⁾ The result was that an act was passed by the Cape Legislature in 1909⁶⁾, which changed the control of these reserves and vested it in a Board to control local affairs, thereby relieving the missionary from secular control. The Board consisted of members elected by the people, members nominated by the Government and a nominee of the mission society with a European official as the chairman. Occupiers of ground had to be registered and had to pay a fee.⁷⁾

The opening of copper mines in the area during the fifties of the previous century did not help these people, but precipitated their downward path, and such

1) G.60 - '90, p. 29.

2) Ibid.

3) G.41 - '89, p.10.

4) G.60 - '90, p.8.

5) G.41 - '89, p.10.

6) Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, No.29 of 1909.

7) IG 26 - 1932, p.5.

of the money that they earned as transport-riders found its way into the canteens.¹⁾

Thus when Selvill, to whom reference has already been made, visited Komaggas in 1890, he found much valuable garden land lying uncultivated and the walls or fences surrounding the cultivated gardens mostly in a dilapidated state.²⁾ When the German scientist L. Schultze visited this place in 1904, he was struck by the fertility of the soil, which could be irrigated from some strong streams in the vicinity. He found, however, that the "Basters" left most of the ground undeveloped and uncultivated. These people had not learnt to eat vegetables, neither did they produce fruit and vegetables for the market which the copper mines in the area offered. They also lost much of their livestock through drought, because they neglected to look after the grazing grounds, nor did they keep the watering places in order.³⁾

Another institution of the German Missionary Society in Namagoland was Concordia. The soil here was poor and yielded but little, while the thirteen watering-places usually dried up during drought, so that there was not enough water to keep the stock alive.⁴⁾ In 1871 there were only 30 children attending the school, but by 1889 the number had increased to 125. A church building, costing £3,000 was erected and of this amount the residents of the mission contributed two-thirds. In 1889 there were 608 people

1) C.41 - '89, p.7.

2) C.60 - '90, p.3,6,9,12.

3) Schultze, L.: "Aus Namaland und Kalahari", p.122-123.

4) C.41 - '89, p.8 - 9.

living at the station.¹⁾

The condition of the Coloured People in the Namaqualand reserves has steadily deteriorated since the Anglo-Boer War. During the Anglo-Boer War the residents of the reserves had been employed as transport riders. They sold their oxen, wagons and stock; money became plentiful, but with a people not versed in the use of money, all their money was frittered away and great poverty became prevalent.²⁾

When a Native Affairs Commission toured through the reserves of Namaqualand in 1933 the members were struck by the impoverished condition of the people. The Commission reported as follows: "It can be urged without fear of contradiction that very few of the inhabitants of the reserves live above the bread line". This condition of destitution, the Commission found, "was no doubt due in part to the natural thriftlessness and indolence of the people," but also due to the nature of the country and its climate. The Commissioners also found the people callous and mentally apathetic.³⁾

One thing that impressed this Commission of Inquiry, however, was "some excellent schools all over the country managed by teachers of more than average ability,"⁴⁾ thus reflecting the work of the missionaries. The Commission hastened to add the following rider: "But these schools led nowhere. A few outstanding pupils expressed the desire to become

1) C.41 489, p.9.

2) IG 26 - 1932, p.5.

3) Ibid p. 6.

4) Ibid, p. 7.

teachers and clerks, but these avenues were closed as in the one case their parents could not afford to send them to training schools, and in the other there was practically no occupation for them".¹⁾

Conditions at Richtersveld were found to be very bad. The place was in complete decay, presenting "a difficult problem to the philanthropist and the economist." Here, in contrast to the other stations, the school was broken down and deserted.²⁾

Of the mission stations in the Bushmanland area only Pella has survived. This mission station has had a very chequered history. It was first established by the London Missionary Society, but then abandoned. In 1849 it was taken over by the Rhenish Missionary Society, but again abandoned by this mission society owing to depredations of the Bushmen. In 1881 it was re-occupied by certain Roman Catholic priests of the Society for African Missions.³⁾ When a government investigation was made in 1889 of this mission station, it was found that owing to the lack of water little or no land was under cultivation, except for about a morgen of garden land in the village. The community of about 150 to 300 souls resided on the mission lands for about six months of the year, but were obliged to leave them for the other six months, owing to there being no grazing for their stock. There was a school, "the only one for hundreds of miles around", attended.

1) UC 26 - 1932, p.7.

2) Ibid, p.8.

3) C.G. - '90, p.18.

by some 45 children.¹⁾ Though Melvill, who visited Pella in 1899 spoke very highly of the missionaries, who were "energetic men" and who set "an excellent example of industry to boers as well as natives residing on the station or visiting".²⁾ It was generally felt that this station could, from the nature of the country, never be anything else but a small centre for a pastoral people at certain seasons of the year.³⁾

The mission stations at Schietfontein and Amandelboom in the Karesbergen were established by the Rhenish Missionary Society about the middle of the nineteenth century.⁴⁾ When the government surveyor J.E. Auret visited Amandelboom in 1859, he had the following to say : " I attended the church at Amandelboom and visited the school there, when I remarked the orderly and intelligent appearance of the generality of both adults and children. Rev. Intz and Geinske have already done great good in providing for the moral and religious education of the large number of people who had been found scattered over a wide tract of country and in the lowest scale of civilisation."⁵⁾

At Schietfontein Auret found the grazing good during rainy seasons, but during the dry seasons, which was frequent in those parts, the springs dried up, and the water-supply was so weak that no more than 1500 sheep could be kept there.⁶⁾

1) C.41 - '89, p.9.

2) C.60 - '90, p.16.

3) C.41 - '89, p.9.

4) Von Rohden, L. : Geschichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft, p.134 - 7.

5) C.7 '59, p.7.

6) Ibid, p.13.

In a petition addressed to the government in 1848 and signed by the Fieldcornet of Bantam and other Boers, the Bastards at these stations were described as "an active, industrious and honest class," who had acted as the principal deterrent of "Bushmen, Corannas and other savages".¹⁾

Owing to the fact "that many white inhabitants had no farms"²⁾, there was an intrusion of Boers into the area, and the mission stations at Schietfontein and Amandelboom were abandoned. The mission station at Amandelboom became the European village of Milliston and that of Schietfontein became the village of Carnarvon.³⁾

In 1863 a missionary of the Danish Society came upon some 200 families of "Basters", Xaffirs, Bushmen and Hottentots at a place called De Tuin, in the heart of Bushmanland.⁴⁾ He settled among them and established a station there, but owing to the fact that the Boers encroached upon the grazing lands and the "Basters" found it difficult to find work amongst the Boers, it was decided later to leave De Tuin and to seek a new home across the Orange River in the territory which later became known as South West Africa. These people ultimately settled at Rehoboth, where their descendants still live today.⁵⁾

(f) THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

At the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1815,

1) A.113 '61, p.3.

2) Ibid., p.8.

3) (a) A.4 -'72, p.57.; (b) IG 41 -1926, p.28;
(c) IG 42'22, p.2.

4) A. 8 '66, p.13.

5) A.8 '66, p.1 - 15.

Barnabas Shaw was appointed missionary for South Africa.¹⁾ He left London on 19th December 1815 and arrived at Cape Town in April 1816²⁾. He thereupon approached the Governor of the colony, Lord Charles Somerset, with a view to being appointed a christian minister at Cape Town. Somerset was most adamant and refused Shaw his request on the grounds that there was an adequate supply of clergymen, both for the Dutch and English population.³⁾ Somerset also pointed out to Shaw that certain restrictions on the exercise of religion had been imposed by the Dutch authorities in 1804 and that he (Somerset) was loathe to affect changes. These restrictions provided, inter alia that no religious service were to be held outside the public churches and without the permission of the governor at the time, and where such permission was given, the services had to be under the guidance and at the responsibility of the consistory of the community to which the people belonged who wished to hold separate religious meetings.⁴⁾

Shaw was not deterred, however, and on 6th September 1816 he left for the interior and arrived at Leliefontein on the Khamiesberg Mountains in Namaqualand on 23rd October 1816.⁵⁾ Here he established a missionary station, the oldest in Namaqualand.⁶⁾

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- 1) Shaw, Barnabas: "Memorials of South Africa" (1840), p.76.
2) Ibid, p.77.
3) Ibid, p.78.
4) Ibid, p.78.
5) Ibid, p.91.
6) C.41-'63, p.6.

Shaw, who stayed there until 1837¹⁾ described in his memorials the difficulties which he encountered in founding his missionary institution. He wrote: "I had brought a variety of garden seeds with me and also spades and other implements of agriculture. Believing that the earth would yield her increase to the hand of labour, I dug up a piece of ground and formed several beds, on which I sowed lettuce, onions, radish and other seeds..... From necessity, as well as for the sake of example, I was daily engaged in manual labour. Like the other tribes of South Africa, the Hamacwas are an indolent people, and except they can be rescued in some degree from indolence, as well as other vices, they will reap but little advantage from instruction..... I was desirous of keeping them together by leading them to live by agriculture instead of hunting. This led me to attempt the construction of a plough, in which I succeeded beyond my expectations."²⁾

Shaw also wrote of how he attempted to teach the people, but was handicapped by a lack of books. "Though I was daily engaged with the people in superintending the erection of the chapel, yet about fifty, on the Sabbath, were learning to read. These were so attached to their books that they carried them about everywhere."³⁾

According to Shaw, when in 1831, a visitor Mr. Frier, was at Leliesfontein, he said: "I should prefer being a slave to being obliged to teach the Hamacwas",

1) Shaw, Barnabas: "Memorials of South Africa" (1840) p.8.
2) Ibid, p.92, 95, 100.
3) Ibid, p.100.

while in 1831 the traveller G. Thompson said: " The settlement at Lily Fountain appeared to me a well-selected and well conducted missionary station, highly creditable to its founders, and beneficial to the people under their control".¹⁾

In 1831 certain additional farms were bought by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, so that the institution at Leliefontein consisted of some 219,500 morgen. It received a "ticket of occupation" on 24th May 1854.²⁾

In a government report on the state of Leliefontein in 1860, it was stated that about one-half of the ground of the missionary institution was "rocky and badly supplied with water, and with little or no vegetation".³⁾ Some 1500 people were living there. The number of children on the school books was 191, the highest weekly attendance being 107 and the lowest 37. The community also contributed about £50 p.a. to the support of the minister and £18 towards the upkeep of their school.⁴⁾

When S. Melvill visited Leliefontein in 1890, he found that a well-constructed church building had been erected, and that the old church building was utilised as a schoolroom.⁵⁾ He found the inhabitants to be "mostly Hottentots and Bastards of Hottentot descent, with some descendants of the slaves, the latter being decidedly a superior race in the matter

1) Shaw, Barnabas : "Memorials of South Africa" (1840); p.138 - 9.

2) G.60 - '90, p.14 - 15.

3) G.41 - '89, p.6.

4) G.41 - '89, p.7.

5) G.60 - '90, p.14.

of industry and thrift".¹⁾ Many struck him as "very intelligent", while "a few had benefitted considerably by the schooling they received at the station."²⁾ The missionary at the time was Robson. Melvill concluded that, "upon the whole, Leliefontein may be considered as having greater advantages than the other Missionary Institutions in Namaqualand".³⁾

By 1823 the Wesleyan Methodists had also established a school in Cape Town.⁴⁾

(g) THE GROW OF OTHER MISSIONS.

Other missionary societies followed in the wake of the London, Rhénish, Moravian and Wesleyan missions, so that just prior to Union in 1938 there were no fewer than 699 mission schools in the Cape Colony.⁵⁾

Of these other missions, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society began to work in South Africa in 1829. This society did some missionary work amongst the Coloureds in the Cape Colony, but concentrated upon the Bechuana. Later this society spread its activities to Basutoland and the Orange Free State. The Berlin Missionary Society came to South Africa in 1834 and established a station at Bethani in Transorangia. Later it concentrated its efforts on the Bechuana and the native tribes of the Transvaal, although it also did some work amongst the Coloureds of the Cape.⁶⁾

1) G.60 - '90 p.15.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid.

4) H.C.C. XXIV p.364 - 367.

5) G.7 - 1909, p.3.

6) de Flessis, J: "Christian Missions in S.A." p.189-192, 194, 195, 211-212, 220.

In 1835 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent Capt. Gardiner to South Africa. He impressed Glenelg by "the zeal and discretion of his mission to the Zoolahs".¹⁾ The Glasgow Missionary Society was very active during the first half of the nineteenth century in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony. It founded the famous Lovedale Institution, which has been providing teachers and evangelists for many non-European schools and missions in South Africa.²⁾

Another British missionary society which entered the field in South Africa during the first half of the nineteenth century was the Church Missionary Society. This society sent its first missionary, the Rev. Francis Owen, to Natal in 1836,³⁾ while only with the arrival of Bishop Robert Gray in 1848 did the Anglican Church start to do regular mission work in South Africa.

By 1919 the indigenous mission of the Dutch Reformed Church had 75 congregations in the Cape Province with a membership of 19,624 out of 59,103 souls. This mission had in recent years been concentrating on christianising the Coloured People, who were engaged as farm labourers in the country areas.⁴⁾

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- 1) (a) CO 48/170: Gardiner to Glenelg, 2 March 1836; (b) Gray, R.B. Tyler: "Stories of the Early American Missionaries in South Africa", p. 7-8, 10, 12, 16.
2) (a) CO 48/170: Glasgow Missionary Society to Glenelg, received 2 April 1836; (b) Shepherd, R.H.W.: "Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century" - is the record of the Lovedale institution.
3) V.R.S. No. 7, p. 1.
4) Gerdener, C.E.A.: "Die Pinnelandse Sending" (Populair-wetenskaplike Leesboek, deel II, 1919) p. 224 - 6.