Chapter V.

MISSIONARY WORK AND THE CELENTINS.

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF MISSIONARY WORK AMONGST THE HOTTENTOTS.

The first attempts at Christianising the Hottentots proved to be abortive. Sylent, the Comforter-of-the-sick, related in 1656 how he took a young Hottentot into his household with the object of educating him, "om hem lezen en schrijven te leeren en de ook van hem haar spraak te leeren om door dat middel haar tot het licht der waarheid te brengen".1)

Though this and other attempts failed, Sylent was however determined to do his duty to release these people from the bonds of Satan, "ende brengen ze tot het rijckse zijne Sonne".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 1636 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:- "Goo mollen de predicants ende cramekbezoekers heer beperselen, dat se in de talen, welcke de heidenen, waarmede se meeste conversatie is, verstaen insonderheydt in het Portugees, Maleys ende Chinees gesteileerdt worden, om een ypeleyske natio na haar begryp ende verstaed in de fundementen van de christelijckhe heer te onderwyzen ende het Hoort Gods toe te deylen".3)

1) Sylent to Classis Amsterdæm, 20.4.1656, No.1 in Spelstra, Poonstoffen I, p.4.
2) Ibid.
3) Spelstra, Poonstoffen 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-Lost 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. Fasser, who published an account of "Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs, also named Hottentots", in 1668 said of these people: "All the Kafirs or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very unclean, 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 Mosel Bay in 1762, he found various Hottentot tribes in possession of the

¹) "To whosoever the country belongs, his religion shall be therein".
³) V.S.E. No.14, p.43.
⁴) Bagregister, 7.10.1672.
⁵) (a) Bagregister, 1.5.1717. ; (b) 8.510, Rood v.Pol. -Kaiser Middelburg, 20.5.1717, p.1153-4. ; (c) 6.510, Rood. van Pol. G.R.India, 20.5.1712, p.1159-60.
land, but they were impoverished as a result of wars among themselves and also with other native tribes. They were living "van den rood, de jacht en hetgeen ze vinden op 't veen en langs de stranden eetbaar vinden."1) 

Twenty-six years later, in 1775, Governor Joachim van Flettenberg undertook a journey into the interior and traversed much of the ground covered earlier by Bentler. Van Flettenberg found but few Hottentots and those he found in the far off territory of Camdebo (Aberdeen) were "dom en onenzerend."2) 

C.F. Thunberg, a Swedish botanist made a journey from Cape Town to the Sundays and Cangoos Rivers in the years 1778 and 1779. 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 (kraal) 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) 

Then he saillant travelled over a large part of the territory now known as the Cape Province in the years 1781 and

2) Ibid, No.1 c.11 (van Flettenberg's journey)
1783, he was struck by the insolence and unenterprising
behaviour of the Hottentots. 1)

Having regard to the low state of development of
the Hottentots and the difficulties with which a pionee-
ering people had to contend with, it is not at all sur-
prising that very little was done in the nature of a con-
certed 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 1675 to 1707 inter-
ted 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 Classics of Amsterdam in 1705 he had to state
that no advance had been made in the efforts to educate
and convert the heathen Hottentots. His letter stated:
"Nog toest, heer-Recren, dat hier nog ontbreckt, is het
deze huidése natie of Hottentotten nog sitten in so een
mysterie onzonde buitie kenstels van den werck God en vre-
delingen van de verbonden der genaden". 4)

In 1709 Johan Georg Huying, a Danish missionary
visited the Cape and attempted to do missionary work among
the Hottentots, but without success, for he found that
"die evenwel spottend negelezen roders by over god's word
began te spreken." 5)

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2) V.C.: Reisbrieven 1662-1666, 20.Ni.1667, p.496.
3) Speciaal, 1: De Kaapsche Verkrijt - Ol.Amsterdam, p.5
4) Speciaal, Hottentotten 1, Brief Petrus Kalden - Ol.
Amsterdam 3.4.1706, p.27.
5) Nachtigal, A: De Onsere 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 bekering der Hottentoten, (aanvenen one) nogh niets gebeeken is."

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 Nikolaus 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.

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, and Georg Schmidt was chosen for the onerous task.

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

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1) Moolstra, Pousstoffen I, brief 63, p.184.  
4) (a) Nachtigal, A: "He Onderw Zending in Z.A." p.86.  
   (b) See also : Hammers, F: Los, M.O. in Relt, J.D.: "Geschiedenis der Christelijke Kerk", p.201, 302.  
5) Nachtigal, A: "He Onderw Zending in Z.A." p.86.
Goetsengweli, a military outpost along the Conderend River, but soon moved it several miles down the river to the picturesque Lavinsnekloof, which ultimately became known as Conadendel. 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.

Schmidt's work was subjected to close scrutiny and in 1742 2) a commission of enquiry consisting of three ministers of religion, viz. Le Sueur, Van Genit and Van Echten, found that the "Hottentotsbekeerd", as they called him, was not "euyver in het geloove, en bezaam tot der Godsdienst der Gereformeerde Kerke", 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 Classics 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 onnopel". They said that it was necessary to appoint "twee of den minsten een, kransbezoeker of schoolmeester, bezaam en euyver in onze leer", for

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 selve wel scherpelijk te interderijen voor aktoes". 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 those people, and in the following terms: "alle vlijt believe am te wenden, om die onwetende menschen, sooveel in waelden is, te onderwijzen of van goed onderwijs te behalen." 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.P.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


A passage in it reads: "ten bemate Hottentotsbekeerde in thuyse gouveren, zonder iets goets allier gedan te bekomen".
and with its wide circle of activities it is almost impossible to picture the conditions of things when the
shade of the pioneer missionary pierced the first sod in the virgin soil. 1)

2. THE IDEA OF MISSIONARY REVIVAL AMONG THE HESSENERS
AND OTHER SPLENDOUR NATIONS.

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 cen-
tury 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 en-
deavours of the missionaries and it behoves us, therefore,
to study the work of the missionary societies in greater
detail.

(a) THE BAHAVIANS.

In December 1791 a letter was sent by the Direc-
tors of the Dutch East India Company to the Governor
at the Cape in which they stated that they had been
approached by Baron von Bentzon and C.H. Nothe, on behalf

2) 6.476, Inkomende Briefen 1791-1793 : H.3.XVII - Goe-
verneur, 22.10.1791, end. 122.
of the mission of the Moravian Brotherhood, i.e. "de Zondelingschappen 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: "doese zondelingen zig niet zullen wegen vestigen of planten, alwaar zig reeds een Christelijke gemeente bevind". 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 Schalit in 1797 and discontinued in 1793. On 18th December 1799 three missionaries, Hendrik Mansveld van Coude, Daniel Schalit and Christian Kühnel arrived at Cape Town. 2) They were permitted to settle at the post of their predecessor, namely Davidskloof, since this was a place, "alway zig nog niet een Christelijke Gemeente bevind onde zig altijd neder te zetten ten einde de Hottentotten het Evangelium te ver- kondigen, hen in de Christelijke leere te onderwijzen, hen indien zij deseive omhelsen, te doopen, onder hen een christelijke Gemeente op te rigten, onde sacramenten toe te dienen." 3)

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

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 1792. 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:

"Boven en boven hebben wij noodig geoordeeld, u weerspr. te berigten, dat hier volgens een vry algemeen gerucht ver- bezelt wordt, dat drie personen die zij menen Bern- buttersche zendelingen zij in het overbegaanche deelte der gemeente hebben te nedergezet, maar een regt niet verre van de F. Companies poost de Zoutemalke Valleij, voorgevende algyver enige houtkotoren tot conversie te willen brengen. Drog daar wij onkundig zijn van de valen binnen welke zij die menschen houden moeten, en of derselve al of niet de facultiteit moet worden toe- gestaan om te doen, of enige andere actus ministeriële te verrigten, zo is ons vriendelijk verzoek te mogen weeten wat of u beoordeel van begrip zijn, dat wij in doen zouden behooren te doen, om nog ter eenz zijde, aan die voorgenomen bekeering der houtkotoren eenig hindersin toe te brengen, nog ook aan de andere zijde aan de gen. drie personen dingen toe te laten waartoe alleen de badeverden der godelijke woorns, volgens het kerkelijk regt, gequalificeerd zijn." 2)

The Church Council at Cape Town in its reply, dated 16th February 1792, took up a more liberal point

of view and contended that it was not averse to the activities of the Hottentots, but would like to see the work of the missionaries put on a footing such that "die disorde daerwoor so veel mogelijk by vervolg word voorkomen." 1)

The missionaries of Daviauskloof kept a diary, intended mainly for the information of the brethren at Bermbut, in which were faithfully and minutely recorded all the vicissitudes of the mission. In 1882 an account of the early history of this mission, based on the diary, was published by O.G. Schneider at Stuttgart. 2)

The missionaries at Daviauskloof 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 Pouchenroeder visited the settlement in 1862 he was able to testify as follows: "De Broeders onderwijs de Hottentotten in den godsdienst, het lezen en schrijven en de vrouwen der Zandelingen onderrichten de Hottentotse meisjes in het naaien, breien en andere huishuishelijke werkzaamheden. Dagelijks wordt er school gehouden en twee- of driemaal per week kerk." 4)

The Hottentots at Daviauskloof (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 Kapnaslied-Kerkraad Stellenbosch, 16.3.1799: (St. Archives).
3) VBS. 10, p.186.
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 1736 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 Beuvenekloof. 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 decoratief en onbeprijdelijk school". 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 choirmuziek ontvingen." 6) He found some 1100 people living on the settlement and was particularly impressed by the way the missionaries handled the Hottentots.

2) Schneider, O.C: "Genadendal.....p.142 - 166. 
3) Holoburger, A.C.Gooden:"Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandsche Tyd" IV, p.163. 
4) Ibid. 
5) Kaapsche Courant, 4 Jan.1806. 
They tried to make of the Hottentots worthy human beings and good Christians.

The Hottentots were taken up with this institution that he requested the Governor and Council to make a payment from the treasury of "250 rijksdaalers" to the "Instituut der Evangelische Broedersen tot beschaving en onderwijs der Hottentoten", 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 Kanschop, en inzonderheid dezen Volksplanting, aansnelt, en van de verplichting van het Goevernement om humane lofelijke pogingen te ondersteunen." 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. In August 1804 the government requested the Moravians at Davis' Nekloof to send one of their missionaries to work among the "thands in a' Landt_download genomen en aan de Wymbertgen gelegerd Comte Gottentotten, om by het selve humane nutte pogingen tot onderwijs en beschaving te doen verkoos", because it, "ter harte neemende het lot en de zedelijke beschaving der Gottentotsche natie". The Moravians readily complied with the request and J.J. Kohriessen was sent to serve the Hottentot detachment stationed at Wymbert.

1) Wymbert, Veeren.....IV. p. 220.
2) (a) BR 7, Registr. Raad fol. (5.5.1804), p.1667;
   (b) aH.67, Inkom. Breven 1802, p.275.
   (c) BR III, Notulen van Coev. de Vast 1802-4 III, p166
3) (a) BR 66, Cittegena Breven, 1802-14, p.708.
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 them work was a sacred duty, a delight and a means for the common good."

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 Genedendal they tried to fashion a community on the lines of Herrnhut, but with due regard to the extreme backwardness of the Hottentots.

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 Genedendal, asked them to start a new station at Groene Kloof, 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 pronounced that the Groene-

3) Known as "Hout" 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 1812 wrote as follows of Genadendal: "The Genadendal institution which has now existed for upwards of twenty one years, has besides the houses of the Hottentot 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 prepossess the heart with a favourable idea of the institution itself.

In 1813 Governor Cradock wrote that everybody spoke well of Genadendal.\(^2\) It was in that year too that the boundaries of Genadendal were officially beaconed off, and some 3,000 morgen were added by the government to the institution, so that the settlement then consisted of some

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1) H.C.C. IX, p. 25, 259-63; H.C.C. X p. 177-2; 301-302; 329.
2) H.C.C. X p. 90-92.
3) H.C.C. IX p. 413-5.
5,000 morgen.

In 1816 Latrobe visited the institution at Genadendal and found in addition to a school for boys, one for girls as well. The latter had an enrolment of about 150 pupils. Many Hottentots had also built their own brick cottages. He also found that the missionaries had established a strict system of supervision over their Hottentots through the appointment of overseers, chosen by the missionaries to "maintain order throughout the village." Delinquent were censured and denied certain privileges while the overseers or supervisors had the right of ordering the infliction "of stripes upon the back with a rod of quince." Delinquents could also be expelled from the institution, if necessary, with the help of a Field-cornet or landdrost.

When J.W.D. Moodie visited the Genadendal institution 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." 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..."

1) B.G.C. IX p.478-9; 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.148.
3) Ibid.
6) B.G.C. XXV p.221.
de meisjes; deze onderwijzen dezelve in het breiden, naaijen, borduren en andere vrouwelijke werkzaamheden.

In addition to giving instruction to the children, the missionaries at Ceresendal were instrumental in getting the Hottentots to build churches, to construct a water-mill where the Hottentots could grind the corn they saved and to erect a cutlery for the making of pruning knives. This cutlery was known throughout the country by 1805.

That the task of the Norwegians in educating and uplifting the Hottentots was not an easy one, becomes clear from remarks made in 1873 by the Rev. H.P. Hallbeck, Superintendent of the Norwegian 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." 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.

It was partly due to this fact that the Norwegians established further stations in the Cape Colony. In 1916 they established a mission station at Voorn in the Eastern part of the Colony, mainly for Hottentots. In 1836 they purchased a farm in the present district of Bredasdorp.

1) Teenstra, H.J.: "De Vruchten mijner Werkzaamheden gedurende mijn reizen over de Kaap en de Coöde naar Java en terug over St.Helena naar de Nederlanden" p.213.
3) Ibid.
4) Ibid.
6) Ibid.
and established the institution known as Eliz. In 1859 they established Wittevet and in 1859 Goevedervacht. The latter two institutions are situated not far from Riketberg. Besides fruit and vegetables these institutions have produced between 1,500 and 1,700 bushels of wheat per annum. 1) The farm Goevedervacht was actually bequeathed by a farmer to six of his best slaves on condition that they stayed on with him after their emancipation.

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. 2)

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. G. L. Teutsch 3), 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 would 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 Palisvier" (a Genadendal Publication) 21.10.1854
2) An article by Rev. J. Koekel, missionary at Genaden
dal, in "die Palisvier" 31.10.1854.
3) Col 1876; Rev. W. Robertson to Gov. Secretary, 2.11.1846.
4) Col. 1242; Teutsch to Mackay, 28.10.1850 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 affected if the population of
Genadendal was restricted to 5,000. 3) The investigators,
Bell and Mackay further stated: "We submit that an in-
stitution 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 dependent upon them. To Bell and Mackay it
appeared "a curious anomaly that the Coloured People
should have been reduced from their former condition by
the missionaries merely to be placed in a state of per-
secretual servitude and vassalage." They, therefore, looked
forward to a time when the secular control of the mission-
aries over their institutions would cease and they recom-
ended that a municipality should be established at
Genadendal, as soon as the people desired it. 5)

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1) C.O.1342 : Teutech to Mackay 22.10.1850 and also
4.4.1851.
2) C.O.1342 : Bell and Mackay to Govt. Secy. 26.9.1851.
3) Ibid.
4) Ibid.
5) C.O.1343 : Mackay to Bell, 30.6.1851.
It is of interest to note that the Sovereigns, 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 1858 a Select Committee of the Cape Legislative Assembly, which had the negropoil John Mijronin 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". This recommendation was, of course, not complied with.

Genadendal did not quite live up to the promise which it showed in earlier years. By 1880 most of its workshops had been abandoned. 3) By 1922 its sanitary arrangements still left much to be desired. 4) When J.G. Haris 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 Sovereigns 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.

1) C.P., 1838, Letter to Earl Grey, 8.5.1837.
2) A.17, 1858 : p.1 – 2.
5) 3,990 inhabitants in 1937.
(b) THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

By the time the Noravians were getting down in earnest to their appointed task, the London Missionary Society, the first British society to enter South Africa, had in 1790 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 Englishman 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 Reid.

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

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²) See Norsais, 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 Klaapwaarts, onbeloede de Zendelingen met blijdschap en was dankbaar aan God daar de tijd nu scheen geboren te zijn, dat God zich meer nadrukkelijk over de arme Heidenen, vier zielen my reeds achtten jaren zaen op het hart gelegen had, ontfermen wilde...... de oudste Zendeling doctor van der Kemp, vol vaar, wilde ook in dit land, en wel in de hoofdplaats, een Godsdienstig Genootschap oprichten. Ik maakte veel zwaarheid, vooral om op den den Directeuren te vinden. Zijn verzoek door beiden kunnende dringen en over menen kunnende oorlogen, wist van geen zwaarheid; wij moesten slechts beginnen.

Doch was the enthusiasm of van der Kemp that ho was instrumental in getting Vos to establish another missionary society, namely "Het Zuid-Afrikaansch Genootschap".

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

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

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1) Merkwaardig Verhaal aangaande het Leven en de Lotgevallen van Michiel Christian Vos, p.189.
2) Ibid.
wijne gemeente, met groot aandoening bijgewoond. Ook
werd toen bij mij aan huis door het lot bevest dat
de Heer Fischer met den Heer Edmonds naar de Boeschjes-
manen geen zouden, terwijl van der Kemp en Edmond zich
naar Vafferland 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 Craaff-Reinet, where a considerable number of Hotten-
totse had assembled, who had left the service of the Boers
to seek the protection of the Commandeur Meynier. 3)

In 1802 Van der Kemp was authorised by the govern-
ment "to instruct the Hottentots in the neighbourhood
of the Zwartkoos Bay in the christian religion and by
exhortations to reclaim them from their present wandering,
marshalling state, to animate them to industry and to en-
courage 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 Jonassens found him and his
colleague Read, who had since joined him, in May 1803,
during a tour of the Colony. 6) Jonassens and his party

1) Vos, A.C.: Merkwaardige Verhael, aangehe met Loven en
3) Near the present day Fort Elizabeth.
4) R.C.C.55, Letters despatched within the Colony 1802-1803,
p.27.
5) Algoa Bay.
found the missionaries in charge of some 200 "ellenden, armoedige Hottentotten van alle jaren en sexen" 1) 

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

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

Jansens laid down fourteen points of specific instructions for this mission institution. He clearly enumerated the advantages and responsibilities of the missionaries of "Het Instituut tot bezoeering en onderwy\nder Hottentotten." 6) 

Among the conditions imposed were that van der Kemp was to see that "de Hottentotten genee gegrondere reeden van klagten aan de ingezeten geven", and that the institution would at all times work for the "bewor-dering van ordre, rust, velyghheid en allegemeen be-"scherming. 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 roads. Van der Kemp sat upon a slant 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 Hottentots." 2)

Of Mead, 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 loveliness and humility, had married a young Hottentot woman belonging to the establishment. The girl was

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2) V.S.G. 10 p.592 cr.cit.
baptized 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 he next paid a visit to Bethelmore 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 Bavarian Institution at Beavianskloof. 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 Beavianskloof. On a
side plain, without a tree, almost without water fit to
drink, are scattered forty or fifty little huts in the
form of hencoopers, 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 mission-
aries. 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, nowhere the
least trace of human industry: wherever the eye is cast,
nothing is presented but lean, ragged or naked figures,

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."

The missionaries lived in a like manner to their adherents. Codée-Kolsbergen expressed the conditions that "zondelingen voonden eventjes hun gewoonten. Alleen zagen of verwaarloos, soms in eenzaamheid. Het 250-tal leefde van ondersteuning uit Engeland en Holland, wat vreugde en van de jacht. Geen wonder dat de kolonisten spettend Bethelsdorp tot Bedelmersdorp maakten."

Lichtenstein ascribed the dismaying conditions at Bethelsdorp to the inability of Van der Kemp to cope with practical situations. He said: "It appears to be 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 row Hottentot to them. Hence 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.""

Though de Mist was very disappointed with what he saw at Bethelsdorp, he nevertheless, just as in the case of Beverinkskloof, instructed the payment from the treasury of a sum of 250 "Rijksdaalder" to the institution of Van der Kemp.

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

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1) V.R.S. 19, p. 294.
3) V.R.S. 10, p.295.
certain articles which he specified, such as a plough, some tools, razors, beads, buttons, etc. "zo den arbeid der Rotten tot dren te bekomen." He also asked for "eenige le zinc en vermaakelijke boekjes tot presentjes voor kinderen", and these were purchased in the sum of 67 rijks 4 shillings by the Secretary of the Political Council, J.A. Truter, and sent to the Bethelsdorp institution together with the other articles.

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

After the second British occupation, efforts were made to have the Bethelsdorp institution transferred to a more suitable spot. Thus Governor Caledon sent two examiners to discuss the matter with Van der Kemp in 1907 "but nothing could be done or proposed satisfactory to the doctor."

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 Kemp wished to guar-
antee 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 Mr. 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
Hottentots, 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 Bethelshoof continued
to remain unsatisfactory, and at the death of Van der
Kemp, the institution was taken over by Head. He has been
described as Van der Kemp'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-

2) R.C.C. XXI p. 196.
3) R.C.C. IX, p. 290 -2; R.C.C. XXXV, p. 349.
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
Hyvemeld, 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: “What public
or private benefit is effected in this institution by
no less than seven missionaries with a number of 400 grown
up Bontontots 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 con-
tinued : “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 Bontontots 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 objects of this institution:

1) (a) Moodie, R.(Ed): "The Record or A Series of Offi-
cial 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.96 – 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 unbridled 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 consequentially 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) B.C.C. X p. 31 - 32.
2) B.C.C. IX p. 74.
3) B.C.C. IX p. 74.
also many who are industrious and active.

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 Zwartkop 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." 3)

Campbell attributed any backwardness at Bethelsdorp to its founder, the late Dr. van der Kemp. He wrote:

"Truth however obliges me to confess that had the founder of Bethelsdorp (Dr. Van der Kemp) been more aware of the importance of civilization, there might at least have been some external appearance of it then there now is. He seems to have judged it necessary, rather to initiate the savage appearance than to induce the savage to initiate himself."

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 last three years. In that year too the

2) Ibid.
3) Ibid p.129.
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, 125 horses, 303 cattle, 402 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, Paarlfontein, and Zuurbrug, for these catered for the Coloured communities, chiefly Hottentots, within the Cape Colony.

In 1806 Earl Caledon allowed a number of Hottentots to settle at Zuurbrug, which is situated near Caledon in the district of Bredasdorp. 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 Zuurbrug 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.C.S. XXXV p.239.
2) R.C.S.XXX p.147-9; R.C.S. XXX p.239-400.
4) By the time of Van der Kemp's death in 1811, the population of Bethelsdorp was 1,150. See Martin, A.G. - "Doctor Van der Kemp", p.172.
Zuurbruck 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. At this station, in extent about 11,000 acres, a fair proportion of the ground had been brought under cultivation.

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

The conduct of the missionary at Zuurbruck, a man named Seidenfaden, was the subject of serious complaint. He seemed to have regarded his occupation more as a profitable speculation than as an opportunity to disseminate the benefits of Christian instruction to the heathen community there. 2) "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 1851 that "not one of the numerous complaints brought against the missionary at Zuurbruck was capable of being substantiated as to ground a criminal prosecution thereof." 5)

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

1) A. 35'71 p. 7.
2) A. 38'71, p. 7. 5.
3) F.C.C. XXXV p. 325.
5) Ibid.
was about 3,600 (acres). 1) Of the H.M.S. institution of Pedalsdorp, Mr. John Philip wrote: "When Mr. Reid 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 curios, which served them for a covering by day and for a bed and bed-clothes by night; sunk in indolence, they seldom worked but at the calls of necessity 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, Mr. J. Philip quoted Lieut.-Colonel Bird, at one time Colonial Secretary and who visited the Pedalsdorp station in 1819, as having expressed the opinion that he had seen as much industry at any other place than he saw at Pedalsdorp. Mr. Philip quoted Lt.-Col. Bird as saying: "The men were all at work. I saw no appearance of idleness, the women were

1) A. 38°71 p.4; also H.M.S. XXXV p.236-7.  
2) Philip, J: "Researches in South Africa" Vol. I p.239.  
3) Ibid, p.231.
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 Vrededorp. 1)

Another institution of the L.M.S. in the Cape Colony was Theopolis. This station was established in 1813 because the inhabitants of Bethulie were in need of ground for their cattle. It was thus proposed to create another mission station, and as the Governor, Sir John Cranock 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 horses living on the frontier. 3) As a result of depredations of the kaffirs 4), 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 1858 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 Cantoos River, which was purchased about 1852. 7) The Rev. T.N. Philip was the missionary actively engaged there. The

3) Ibid.
4) Cape Gazette, 30 Febr. 1819.
5) A. 36 '71 p. 3.
6) A. 36 '71 p.3.
7) A. 36 '71 p. 4.
extent of the ground of the institution was about 40000 acres. 1)

After the emancipation of the Hottentots and the subsequent Hottentot risings 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 consent 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 Bethelsdorf 4), while the total population in all its institutions amounted to 4,300 souls. 5)

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

1) A. 39 '71 p. 9.
2) Grahamstown Journal, 15.3.1851.
3) (a) Macmillan, V.M. "The Cape Colour Question" p.293.
      (b) See also A.39 '71 p. 1-9.
4) A. 39 '71 p. 7
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 Bottenrots had in the year 1639, by the 19th 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 Bottenrots 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 Bopheladore as well as to other Coloured villages that had formerly been mission institutions. The results were,

1) A. 38 '71 p. 4.
3) A. 38 '71 p. 1-8; A. 4'73 p. 1-68; also Act No.12,1873
however, not very satisfactory. 1)

In 1809 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
GRIQUAS.

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

The first missionaries to begin work amongst the
Griqua were Anderson and Kramer.

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 with
in its sphere of activity, work amongst the Hottentots
and Bastards. 3) By 1801, however, its efforts were de-
\voted chiefly to the Koryfanas, Namquas and Bastards
on the Orange River, the missionaries having resorted
\ither on the invitation of Barend Barends. 4) Ultimately
a party of Griqua "finally terminated a migratory life,
by settling down at Griqua Town in 1804 with Messrs.
Anderson and Kramer. 5)

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

1) B.C. 34 '14 p. 148.
2) Act 29 of 1809.
3) Moffat P. "Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern
Africa" (1842) p. 192.
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 Criquas 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 restraint), 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 re-
store 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 Criquas owed much to the missionaries. 3)
The very existence of the Criquas as a separate entity
was due to these missionaries. When Lichtenstein visited
the Criqua 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 contends

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1) Philip, J.; "Researches in S.A." II p. 56.
2) Ibid, p. 57 - 58.
4) W.R.S. 11, p. 302 - 3.
"It must, however, be acknowledged that they would not have arrived 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 Riecherer founded his institution at the Hottentot 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 pondok 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 indolence." ²)

The people who settled there were a motley crowd and included free blacks, slaves who had escaped from servitude and some of "Africoman's band." 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 eke in a subsistence," wrote Lichtenstein.

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. It was in order to put an end to these wandering and unstable habits of the "Bastard-Hottentots," that Anderson attempted in 1803 to establish them in fixed habitations at villages at Laeswaterfontein, Pietfontein, Witteker, Taelbockfontein, Laeswaterfontein and Engelbrechtfontein. 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." 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. In 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 wagon to the Rooi-woeld 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 Gri吾en.
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 Leussenkuii, a village which contained between three and four hundred inhabitants. He found Leussenkuii 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," 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 Bastard community, a man named Jones. "The greatest industry and spirit of order reigned in this household......save and tobacco were cultivated in the garden with the usual vegetables for culinary purposes."³) A church building was also in the process of construction.⁴)

So pleased was Lichtenstein with what he saw, that he said of the little Griau State that had been es tas blished: "This little State deserves not only the attention, but the earnest support of the Government."⁵) 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."⁶)

¹) V.R.S.S., p. 306.
²) Anderson retained his influence on the Griaus until 1816, after which his influence declined considerably and he had to be replaced. See Moffat, P. "Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa", p.190.
³) V.R.S., p. 323.
⁴) Ibid, p. 325.
⁵) Ibid, p. 325.
⁸) Ibid, p. 327 or 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 offensive-ness 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 Blairwater 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

2) Ibid p.361.
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 318 persons, who "at different times," attended the school at Griquatown, while at Herschel there were forty persons taught by a daughter of Fortuyn, a member of the church2). 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 Griquas 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 Griquas to give up their wandering habits, "like wild Arabs" and to live a stationary life.4) He also found the Griquas at Griquatown 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 Griquas 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 nets.5)

2) Ibid p. 256.
3) Ibid, p. 266.
5) Ibid.
Campbell summarised the impressions of his visit to Griqua town 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 Basutoland, he was impressed by the beautiful scenery surrounding the place. 2) He found some 856 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 houses 4), the Griquas never became agriculturalists. It is true that Anderson wrote in 1835 that he saw valleys at Griqua Town covered with barley and corn 5), 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

2) Ibid., p. 361.
3) Ibid., p. 363 - 365.
4) Ibid., p. 262.
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 struggling 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." 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."  

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 Boers that not one-fifth part of the land capable of being brought under irrigation is now under culture", and that in spite of the fact that the vicinity was particularly fertile. Previously in 1818 Stockenstrom referred in very strong terms to the "sloth" of the Griquas. 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 situation.

2) Ibid. p. 83 on cit.  
4) C. S. 290: 27 Aug. 1828, Stockenstrom to Col. Sec. (Cape).  
Even Dr. Philip himself noted that the Griqua did not appear to have made any progress during the period 1820 to 1825. 1)

The Griqua 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 Griqua and its effect upon these people when he visited them in 1825. He wrote: "Their internal discontents 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 Griquetown 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 Griqua, Backhouse had, however, this to say: "We 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 Soehuana..... 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 Griqua could read the Bible." 5)

The picture painted in 1872 of the Griqua by C.A. Stow and others, was, indeed, a despicable one.

2) (a) Moffat, R.: "Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa", p.198-200; (b) See also : 30 of 1835, p.147.
5) Ibid., p.147.
Campbell, the settlement next in importance to Griqua- town 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 Griqua 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 paviors 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 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 baptized slaves, thus causing them to object

3) (a) C. 42 '02 p. 6 - 13; (b) C. 7 '02, p. 13;
   (c) C. 9 '04, p. 17-18; C. 12 '04, p. 11.
to the christianisation of their slaves. 1) In 1796, however, there were colonists in Cape Town and in the country districts who devoted some days per week "tot het godsdienstig onderwijs 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.P. van der Mer, the necessary funds were collected and the South African Missionary Society was established in 1799. 3) A certain widow, Mrs. H.P. Bulder made an outstanding contribution of 15,000 guilden and this served as an example and stimulus to others. 4)

On 23rd April 1799 "Het Zuid Afrikanse Genoot-schap tot uitbreiding van Jezus Koninkrijk onder de Heidenen" came into being, 5) with the object of promoting "de uitbreiding van Christus byk alther onder de ouverlichten in de ze Colonie, en Heidenen zo binnen als buytten 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 Khoikhoi, 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-sondere leeren van onderscheidelijke leden by beurtwisseling."

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1) N.G.C. IX p. 190 - 3.
2) (a) Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikanensch Tijdschrift, 1834, p.28; (b) Also Olling, F.H.; "Bladen uit de Versailles van Petrus Borcardus Borcherds" p.49, 64.
   (b) Also N.Z.A. Tydschrift, 1825, p.19.
5) Ibid.
6) FR 6, Res.บาด v.Tol. (21.3.1805) p.1066; see also N.Z.A. Tydschrift 1834, p.25.
7) N.Z.A. Tydschrift 1834, p.25.
Though the start was inauspicious and the Society had to contend with opposition from the Commissary-General J.A.de Mist, good progress was made and in 1804 the Society was able to occupy its own building, known as "Het Grote Oefeninghuis" in Long Street, Cape Town. When this building was occupied, the opening ceremony was conducted appropriately by Rev. J.P.Carruier, the oldest minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape. This occurred on 15th March 1804. 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. 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 ondersij bagerig waren vonden er gelogenheid, om in hunne begeerte voldaan te zien".

Hazenenburg 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 P. de Foux, who after an examination by the Church Council, was found to be competent "tot 't behoorlijke onderws der lyfelgenen".

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

2) K.Z.A., Tydschrift, 1824 p.36.
5) K.Z.A, Tydschrift 1824, p.36.
6) Socielatra, G: Hoonstolffenh, p.280; See also Ibid I, p.289.
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 Comoro 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 Sunsetrand, Stellenbosch, Wagenmakersvallei (Wellington) and Graaff-Reinet. In the course of time these branches broke away from the parent society and "vingen zij on 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 Boshuas. 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. 92.
3) N.Z.A. Tijdschrift 1822, note on page 22.
This branch came into being in 1880 and twenty-four years later was able to celebrate the opening of a new church building "voor de heidenen". The leading spirit in the missionary endeavour of the Stellenbosch branch of the Society was J.H. Desch, 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. He interested the Rev. Porcherius, minister of the church at Stellenbosch in "den beklaaglijken toestand van het Oberbergsche gedeelte humor parochie", and the need for appointing one or two persons who could give instruction to "minkamdegen en heidenen". As a result, a Dutch seaman, H.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. 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 "Oberbergsche District", but it would not permit the collection of funds for Bakker, though it decided later, in Nov. 1799, to provide him with the necessary desks which he required for

1) S.S.A., Tijschrift, 1894, p.19.
2) Speculat. G; *Fouroffken II* p. 411.
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 Stellenbosch3), due to the action taken by J.H. Desch and two other directors of the South African Missionary Society, namely N. Herman and J. Morelle. 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 Stellenbosch6).

Bakker agreed to serve “met naam onder het opzigt van het Kerkemaat…… als onder-eyzer der Heidenen”.7) He submitted to an examination, which was conducted by the minister of religion in the presence of an elder of the

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2) Not. Kerkrand Stellenbosch, 6.3.1802.
4) Not. Kerkrand Stellenbosch, 8.3.1803 (1754-1804, III)
6) (a) Not. Kerkrand Stellenbosch 28.7.1804 (1804-1809, IV)
   (b) See also: Not. Kerkr. Stellenbosch, 28.6.1801 and
7) Not. Kerkrand, Stellenbosch, 22.7.1804.
church and was found to be competent in knowledge and of
good behaviour. 1)

Henceforth there was no further trouble at
Stellenbosch and Bekker 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 Bekker's work. 2)
In 1834 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 Bekker had been performing valuable
work and moreover "zich in alle opzichten zeer loflijk
onderscheid, niet alleen door vlijt en ijver in zijnen
pligt maar ook door gepaste observance der op dit stuk
voorgeschreven 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) 5, 7, 75, p. 159, 189 - 194 (in Cape Archives).
3) (a) Not. Kerkraad, Stellenbosch, 4 and 5 Oct. 1804;
(b) Ibid 13, 1, 1808.
4) (a) S.A.M. XXXV p. 281.
(b) V.A.A. 11, p. 447.
5) S.A.M. XXXV p. 284.
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 1829 there were 3,300 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. Thus we find the Rev. M.C. Vos relating how he celebrated the Lord's Supper in his church at Caldon in 1812 with some baptised slaves. He mentions how many slave owners even chose to sit at the same table as their slaves.\(^2\)

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 Wagemakersvallei in Drakenstein, religious instruction had been given to slaves from 1796 by W. van Zyl.\(^3\) In 1801 Sebastian Trum was appointed a missionary by the Church Council\(^4\), but as he caused dissatisfaction amongst the colonists, he was replaced in 1802 by Daniel le Roux.\(^5\) In 1836 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.\(^6\) It was not until

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1) N.C.C. XVIII p.532.
   (b) N.C.C. IV p.51; (c) N.C.A. Tydskrif 1836, p.370-6.
4) Griesboek S.A. Gestig 1799-1861, p.50-61.
6) Ibid., p. 466.
(Kerkjuryf, 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 Oefeningshuizen achter en aan Wagenaarsvalley als mede onze kerk zowel het algemeen als afzonderlijk onderwijs der slaven in spel en lessen 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)

Concerning the South African Missionary Society or "Het Zuid Afrikansche Genootschap ter bevordering van de uitbreiding van Christus Koninkrijk", Dr. C.S.A. Gerdener says that "alswel dit geen H.C.kerklike vereniging was, het lezers en leden van die Kerk, kerken, en die reuze onderdeel aan die onderneming ghed." 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 1829 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

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1) Not. Kerkrad Drakenstein, 27.10.1813, p.75.
2) S.775, p.31, 32, 36-7, 215.
6) Ibid.
attitude adopted by the Synod of 1629, 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. 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 Vereinigung Rhenische Missionsgesellschaft, which was established originally in 1792 at Elberfeld. In the Cape Colony proper it devoted its attention to slaves and Hottentots. Its missionaries Beinhard and von Duthen established the first institution of the mission at Karreval 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 Karreval 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)


By 1849 this institution had over 700 inhabitants, and by
1872 it had become self-supporting, in the sense that it
did not require funds from outside to keep it going. 1)
During the period 1813 to 1816 the Hellenish Missionary
Society extended its activities by establishing further
mission stations principally for ex-servants at Saron and
also at Steinitz near Tulbagh. One of its stations,
thereon on the Olifants River, established by Von Surb, 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 Hellenish missionary John
at Tulbagh and also by his colleague Luckhoff at Stellen-
bosch. After their emancipation, a number of slaves went
to the settlements of the Hellenish Missionary Society at
Tulbagh and Stellenbosch, 4) and it was at the latter
place that Luckhoff continued the work that had been
begun by Becker some thirty years before. In his work
Luckhoff was valiantly supported by the woman, namely a
Mrs. Kuyper and Christiane Zöhler, the widow of a Hellenish
missionary. 5)

Luckhoff established a day school for children,
in succession to the government slave school, which was
closed in 1858. This school later received aid from the
government, so that by 1849 there were 408 children on
the roll, of whom 20 were Europeans and the rest Coloured.

1) Von Rohden, L: Geschichte der Rheinischen Missions-
gesellschaft " p.123 - 133.
2) Ibid, p.110 - 121.
4) Cape Workers and Servants Blue Book (1849) p.139.
5) See also C. . . 852: Versfeld- Civil Commissioner of
Stellenbosch, p. 1959.
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. Köhler, who assisted Luckhoff, were responsible too for instructing the Coloured girls and women in needlework and domestic duties. Of Mrs. Köhler's work her biographer writes: "Naast den voortdurenden, steeds rijkere gezagende arbeid onder de vrouwen, wijdde zij nu hare bijzondere zorg aan de jonge meisjes, die zij gedurende verscheidene nachtdagen onderricht gaf in vrouwelijke handwerken. Zoodanig voor de onderwijzeres als voor de meesten heren schooliers waren het liefelijke uren, die zij tezamen doorleefden. De arbeid werd gekruid door bijbelseche en andere verhalen, of ook wel door gezang, en menige zaakoorpel des eeuwigen levens is in deze uren in de jonge zielen gelegd geworden." 3)

The Bhenish Missionary Society also undertook missionary work amongst the "Saster"- communities living on the North-eastern 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. Secr. 3 July 1822.
2) Ibid.
Steinkopf, Komaggas, Concordia and Richtersveld\textsuperscript{1)} in Little Namaqualand and also in the stations of Amandele- boom, Scheldtfontein, Fella and Be Thun in and to the south of Bushmanland.\textsuperscript{2)}

The Steinkopf station was established in the year 1890 by the Rev. Brecher\textsuperscript{2)} then S. Belvill, 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.\textsuperscript{4)} One third of the land belonging to the institution was rocky and mountainous and without water, and therefore practically useless.\textsuperscript{5)} Some 1900 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.\textsuperscript{6)} The school was attended by a fairly large number of children, varying from 50 to 200, but the progress made by the pupils was not as good as it might have been.\textsuperscript{7)} Some 300 to 600 people attended church regularly.\textsuperscript{8)}

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1)} C.60-490, p.9, 11, 13; also C.41-189, p. 7, 11.
\item \textsuperscript{2)} C.60-490, p.18; C.41-189, p.9; C7-159, p.7, 13.
\item \textsuperscript{3)} C.41-189, p.8.
\item \textsuperscript{4)} C.60-490, p.9.
\item \textsuperscript{5)} C.41-189, p.7.
\item \textsuperscript{6)} C.60-490, p.9; also C.41-189, p.8.
\item \textsuperscript{7)} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{8)} C.41-189, p.8.
\item \textsuperscript{9)} C.60-490, p.13.
\end{itemize}
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. J.C. Schröder. In extent it was 69,000 morgen but by 1869 only 600 morgen were under cultivation, although the Native Affairs Commission of 1932 found that water was not plentiful.

At Komaggas and the other mission stations in Hottentot 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 voting or pastureage rights. It could even order the banishment of certain individuals from the reserve. 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.

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, and the Board distributed the garden and so-called lands to the heads of the families. The latter had the use of those lands and their produce as long as these were cultivated.

2) G. 41 - '98, p.8.
3) RG 26-1932, p.7.
4) G. 60 - '98, p.34-36.
5) Ibid.
6) G. 41 - '99, p.10.
Such land was heritable. The livestock belonged to individuals.

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

There was a general consensus of opinion in 1899 that this Band often constituted a hindrance to the missionary in so far as it restricted and regulated his activities, particularly among people where "ignorance, insolence and prejudice" prevailed. The result was that an act was passed by the Cape Legislature in 1909, 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.

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 much

1) C.40 - '90, p. 29.
2) Ibid.
3) C.41 - '90, p.10.
4) C.40 - '90, p.8.
5) C.41 - '90, p.10.
6) Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, No.29 of 1909.
7) CG 26 - 1922, p.5.
of the money that they earned as transport-riders found its way into the canteens. 1)

Thus when Selvill, to whose reference has already been made, visited Komaggas in 1899, he found much valuable garden land lying uncultiivated and the walls or fences surrounding the cultivated gardens mostly in a dilapidated state. 2) When the German scientist L. Schultz 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 Danish Missionary Society in Namaland 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 50 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 800 people

1) C.41 - '69, p.7.
3) C.60 - '90, p.3, 6, 9, 10.
4) C.41 - '69, 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 1923 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,\(^4\) this 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

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1) C.41 489, p.9.
2) DS 25 – 1923, p.5.
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.

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.

Of the mission stations in the Bushmanland area, only Bellia 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 Brennisch Missionary Society, but again abandoned by this mission society owing to depredations of the Bushmen. In 1861 it was re-occupied by certain Roman Catholic priests of the Society for African Missions. 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) [Ref. 1932, p.7.
3) C.63 - 196, p.18.
by some 45 children. Though Selvill, 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 it, 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."

The mission stations at Schietfontein and Amandelboom in the Karoobergen were established by the Dutch Missionary Society about the middle of the nineteenth century. When the government surveyor J.P. Amsel visited Amandelboom in 1859, he had the following to say: "I attended the church at Amandelboom and visited the school there, then I remarked the orderly and intelligent appearance of the generality of both adults and children. Rev. J. B. and Scheper 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 civilization."

At Schietfontein Amsel 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.

1) 6.41 - '93, p.9.
2) 6.69 - '36, p.16.
3) 6.21 - '99, p.3.
5) 6.7 '59, p.7.
In a petition addressed to the government in 1848 and signed by the Melcomnet of Xamtem and other Beers, the Basters at these stations were described as "an active, industrious and honest class," who had acted as the principal deterrent of "Bushmen, Komsara and other savages.

Owing to the fact "that many white inhabitants had no farms," there was an intrusion of Beers into the area, and the mission stations at Schietfontein and Amatoloom were abandoned. The mission station at Amatoloom became the European village of Villistern and that of Schietfontein became the village of Garmanv.

In 1883 a missionary of the Parochial Society came upon some 200 families of "Basters", Kaffirs, Bushmen and Hottentots at a place called De Zuin, in the heart of Bushmanland. He settled among them and established a station there, but owing to the fact that the Beers encroached upon the grazing lands and the "Basters" found it difficult to find work amongst the Beers, it was decided later to leave De Zuin 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.

(f) THE KENLEYAN METHODIST SOCIETY.

At the Kenleyan Methodist Conference of 1915.

1) A 113 '61, p. 3.
2) Ibid., p. 6.
3) (a) A 4 '72, p. 57.; (b) UC 41 -1926, p. 28;
   (c) UC 42'27, p. 3.
4) A. S. '63, p. 13.
Barnabas Shaw was appointed missionary for South Africa. He left London on 19th September 1815 and arrived at Cape Town in April 1816. 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 accommodating and refused Shaw his request on the grounds that there was an adequate supply of clergymen, both for the Dutch and English population. 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 loath 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.

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

1) Shaw, Barnabas: "Memorials of South Africa" (1840), p.70.
2) Ibid., p.72.
3) Ibid., p.76.
4) Ibid., p.78.
5) Ibid., p.91.
6) C.R.R. '33, p.6.
Shaw, who stayed there until 1637, described in his memoirs the difficulties which he encountered in founding his missionary institution. He wrote: "I had brought a variety of garden seeds with me and also spices 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 Hesana was 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 lead me to attempt the construction of a plough, in which I succeeded beyond my expectations."

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."

According to Shaw, when in 1691, a visitor Mr. Pieter, was at Beliansfontein, he said: "I should prefer being a slave to being obliged to teach the Hesanas."

1) Shaw, Barnaba: "Memorials of South Africa" (1840) p.8.
2) Ibid., p.92, 93, 100.
3) Ibid., p.100.
while in 1851 the traveller C. Thomson said: "The settlement at Lilly Fountain appeared to be a well-selected and well-conducted missionary station, highly creditable to its founders, and beneficial to the people under their control".

In 1881 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 26th May 1854.

In a government report on the state of Leliefontein in 1850, 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". Some 1200 people were living there. The number of children on the school books was 191, the highest weekly attendance being 167 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.

When S. Selvill visited Leliefontein in 1850, he found that a well-constructed church building had been erected, and that the old church building was utilised as a schoolroom. 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: "Reminiscences of South Africa" (1845); p.138 - 9.
3) G.11 = '29, 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 benefited considerably by the schooling they received at the station." 2) The missionary at the time was Botson. Melvill concluded that, "upon the whole, Leliefontein may be considered as having greater advantages than the other Missionary Institutions in Orange-land". 3)

By 1883 the Wesleyan Methodists had also established a school in Cape Town. 4)

Other missionary societies followed in the wake of the London, Rhenish, Moravian and Wesleyan missions, so that just prior to Union in 1910 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 1839. 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 Bechuanas 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) B.C.C. XXX p.364 - 367.
5) G.7 - 1899, p.6.
In 1836 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, 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 christianizing the Coloured People, who were engaged as farm labourers in the country areas. 4)

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1) (a) CO 4/170: Gardiner to Glenelg, 3 March 1836; (b) Gray, F.S.: "Stories of the Early American Missions in South Africa", p.7-8, 10, 12, 16.
2) (a) CO 4/170: Glasgow Missionary Society to Glenelg, received 3 April 1836; (b) Shepherd, F.S.: "Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century" - is the record of the Lovedale Institution.