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MISSIONARIES AND THE XHOSAS - A COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE LONDON AND GLASGOW SOCIETIES

Abner Mgabi Msuthu Saule

A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty of Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Education.

Johannesburg 1985

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ABSTRACT

MISSIONARIES AND THE XHOSAS - A COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE LONDON AND GLASGOW SOCIETIES

SAULE, Abner Mgabi Msuthu, M. Ed. University of the Witwatersrand, 1965.

The Eastern Frontier of the Cape was the meeting point of Europeans and Xhosas at the close of the 18th century. Conflict between the two, particularly over land, ensued. Christian Mission Societies operated in this context as part of the complex relationships between white settlers, African tribesmen and colonial administrators.

This report examines the role of two of the most important of these societies, the London Missionary Society and the Glasgow Missionary Society, in particular during the first half of the 19th century. The common features of their policies are analysed as well as the differences between them, and an assessment attempted of their respective achievements. Particular attention is paid to their educational work among the Xhosas.

The historical method of investigation is followed, which shows that the London Missionary Society was more concerned about justice and the Glasgow Missionary Society about education, hence the establishment of Lovedale and Fort Hare institutions and others.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Abner Mgabi Msuthu Saule
10th Day of April 1985

DEDICATION

In Memory of my mother
Johanah Saule
1916-1962

PREFACE

My interest in the work of the missionaries among the Xhosas in the Eastern Cape is as a result of the fact that I schooled for a long time in the area where this historic meeting took place. The institutions I attended are Healdtown and Fort Hare.

My very special appreciation must go to Dr. P. Butterfield, formerly of the University of the Witwatersrand, and my lecturer in Comparative Education and History of Education, for his encouragement and help in the framing of the proposal. Mr. Peter Randall, also a lecturer in History of Education in the same university was of exceptional help by giving me guidance as I was going through the body of the thesis.

I am also highly indebted to Mrs. B. Strachan and Mrs. A. Stuart, the librarians of the University of the Witwatersrand in the William Cullen Library for the assistance they gave me in my research, and the arrangement of the bibliography.

Lastly, the patience and understanding of my wife, Lindie, made the work possible.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this study I am going to concern myself, as the title indicates, with the work of Christian missionaries among the Xhosa people in the eastern part of the Cape Province. I am going to look into the impact of the missionary influence on the culture and nationhood of the Xhosa people and in turn examine the reaction of the latter to this new and foreign influence.

Many missionary societies sent missionaries to Southern-Africa from the eighteenth century and the area that was later referred to as the Eastern Province in particular. These were the London Missionary Society, the Glasgow Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Moravian Missionary Society, the Berlin Missionary Society and the American Board Missions to mention a few. However, I am going to concentrate on the first two, the London Missionary Society and the Glasgow Missionary Society, for the simple reason that these played a far greater role in the Cape Province than the others. The reason for this is that Britain played a very significant role in shaping the political future of the Cape Colony for a long time and later the future of South Africa as a whole and thus these British orientated societies were in a favourable position to operate in this part of the world.

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This does not mean that they were the only British missionary societies to work among the Xhosas. There

were others like the Wesleyan missionaries who did valuable work especially among the Fingoes in the Peddie and Healdtown areas and some reference will be made to some of the missionaries. But more attention will be paid to the two because of their close affinity one to the other in the sense that one of the most important figures in the formation of the London Missionary Society, Dr. John Love, who became its distinguished secretary, was also very influential in the formation of the Glasgow Missionary Society later and also came from Glasgow. Their missionaries also worked hand in glove in the foundation of the two most important institutions in the Eastern Cape, Lovedale and Fort Hare.

Secondly, although there is a lot that has been written on the missionaries and the Xhosas in the Eastern Cape, there is nothing that compares these two societies and the work they performed. I feel this is important because the impact of these two societies has had a ripple effect down the waters of the history of South Africa up to the present day. In other words they have been in the forefront in the provision of education to the African people and their educational institutions have produced prominent leaders in all walks of life in the African community. We have had men like Rev. Tiyo Soga, the first educated African minister in South Africa, Professor D.D.T. Jabavu, Professor Z.K. Mathews, and more recently men like Nelson Mandela and Gatsha Buthelezi to mention a few. It is also noteworthy that a number of African leaders north of the Zambesi River are products of institutions like Lovedale and Fort Hare.

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general aims were similar and were firstly the evangelisation of the pagan. As we shall see, it was felt among the missionaries that the word of God had to be brought to the "benighted heathen" in all the corners of the world and thus save their souls. Secondly, these societies, indeed all the missionary societies, had a civilising effect on the primitive heathen communities and this was more pronounced in the field f education. Education here became a double-edged weapon In the sense that the heathen were to be taught to read and write so that in the end they should be in a position to read the bible themselves and also to be able to teach and preach to their fellowmen. On the other hand they would be absorbing not only the Christian values of love for one's neighbour, but also values like common decency as found in Western civilisation.

Besides, the missionaries were bent on the eradication of pagan practices like witchcraft, especially the poignant end of any individual who happens to be "smelt out" by a witchdoctor. There were also practices of polygamy and the payment of lobola. These were anathema to Western culture especially as represented by the missionaries. As we shall see, the power of the chiefs followed by that of the witchdoctors was very strong and deeply embedded in African culture and it became imperative to break this first. We shall therefore see to what extent the missionaries succeeded in this regard.

The specific aims of these two societies were also similar in that each of them wanted the converts to adhere to their respective churches. In the final analysis that is what happened because those who were

under the influence of the Glasgow Missionary Society became Presbyterians and those under the influence of the London Missionary Society became members of the Church of the Province of South Africa, which is the Anglican Church.

I shall also try to look into the view of a school of thought that sees the missionaries as agents of colonialism and imperialism as represented by Nosipho Majeke in her Role of the Missionaries in Conquest. According to these people the aim of the missionaries was the subjugation of the African people under the British rule and the capture of their land with all its wealth and resources for the benefit of the mother country, Britain. Their viewpoint is borne out by the British occupation of the Cape in 1795. As Du Plessis puts it,

> "The fact that the British had in 1795 gained possession of the Cape of Good Hope led to the Directors next to consider the desirability of commencing a mission in the newly acquired Colony." (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.100)

These people thus see the missionary, the military and the governor as forming a force that was responsible for the breaking of the power of the Xhosas in the Eastern Cape in preparing the ground for the final subjugation of these people under British rule.

Another important point of comparison will be the attitude of these two societies towards the heathen. This will clearly come out when I deal with, especially, Dr. Van der Kemp and J. Read of the London Missionary Society on the one hand and Dr. J. Stewart and Rev. R. Shepherd of the Glasgow Missionary Society on the other.

A broad range of literature, both primary and secondary sources, has been consulted and a number of difficulties have been encountered. The first one is that while there is abundant literature available on the London Missionary Society, there is not a great deal on the Glasgow Missionary Society with the result that for the latter I had to rely mainly on Shepherd (1940). The second difficulty I encountered was the lack of works that specifically deal with these two societies on the basis of comparison. Probably more still has to be done in this regard especially that these societies played such a vital role in the history of the Eastern Cape and of the Africans generally, as pointed out earlier. However, Shepherd gives valuable information on the formation of the two most important institutions, Lovedale and Fort Hare, and the people behind them, especially Dr. James Stewart and Dr. James Henderson.

On the other hand Richard Lovett (1899) has provided valuable information on the formation, aims and programmes of the London Missionary Society although he too does not treat the Glasgow Missionary Society. He is also a protagonist of the society and is therefore not critical in his approach. In fact he becomes too sentimentally involved when he handles the conflict between Dr. Van der Kemp and Read on the one hand and the colonists and the landdrosts on the other in their attitudes towards the heathen.

Another secondary source is J. Du Plessis (1911) who, in writing about all the missionary societies in South Africa, deals with both the Glasgow and the London missionary societies. He too does not have enough information on the Glasgow Missionary Society and thus deals mainly with the London Missionary Society, nor

does he compare the two societies. Going through his work, one senses a difficulty he experiences in his attempt to be as objective as possible in dealing, in particular, with the conflict situations between the Dutch colonists and the "kafirs" on the one hand, and the missionaries on the other. For a man who is personally involved in the situation by virtue of being of Dutch stock, it is quite commendable that he does not easily fall victim of prejudice and favouritism. He does give a good exposition of the role of the missionaries in dealing with the heathen.

It is important to note here that the scope of this work covers the relationship of four factors, the missionaries, the colonists, the colonial administration and the Xhosas. The alignment here can be put as the missionaries versus the colonists and the colonial administration especially the Dutch colonists on the treatment of the Xhosas and other non-white groups. The Dutch colonists are of special importance here because of their belief in Calvinism which regarded all dark-skinned people as sub-humans. In this regard we find the work of Dr. John Philip (1828) as a primary source that is on the side of the missionaries against the colonists. It is supplemented also as a primary source by the auto-biography of Sir Andries Stockenstrom (1887). One is able to get from these writers the work of the London Missionary Society in conflict with the aims and desires of the Dutch colonists and at times of the Cape Government.

In opposition to this we find R. Godlonton (1851) who has got no good word at all for the "Kaffir hordes" and favoured the colonists. He had a strong influence on the media since he was closely associated with the

press. His work is also regarded as a primary source. Nosipho Majeke (1952), a secondary source, sees no good at all in the work of the missionaries and regards them purely as agents of imperialism. However, she too does not provide any comparison between the two societies on their work with the Xhosas. She mercilessly attacks Dr. Philip, whom other people regarded as a liberal.

Charles Brownlee (1896) provides valuable information on the work of the missionaries from the point of view of an administrator since he was the commissioner of the Xhosas in the eastern frontier based at Fort Cox. He is also a good primary source, especially in throwing some light on the complicated incident of the cattle-killing as prompted by Nongquawuse. However, he also does not give us any comparison on the two missionary societies. Another good source on the history of the Xhosa people is that of J.B. Peires (1981), although it is a secondary source. More sources will appear in the body of the dissertation and also in the bibliography.

At this juncture it is important to see how the missionaries came into contact with the Xhosas. Indeed the meeting of the Africans and the Europeans on the banks of the Fish River in the Eighteenth Century is of historic significance, not only to South Africa, but also to the rest of Southern Africa. It does not mean that there had been no contact before between these two groups. There had been whites, meaning Europeans, who met the black people, who in this case would include Africans or Bantu-speaking peoples, the Hottentots and the Bushmen on the southern tip of Africa earlier in their attempts to find a sea route to India. At times they encountered ship-wrecks along the southern coast

or would just like to get fresh replenishment of the provisions. There were also earlier adventurers of the Portuguese missionaries who travelled as far as Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, (J. Du Plessis, 1911, p.7). But the Fish River contact is of significance because it was not just an incident but an historical event which was a result of the development of two movements, one from the north-east and the other from the west.

It is generally accepted that the Africans were coming from central Africa around the region of the Great Lakes, though some historians and anthropologists dispute this point on the basis of fosil discoveries. However, their recorded history begins on the south-eastern coast of Africa, especially around Natal and Transkei with a very obscure origin. It is at this stage that we see the Xhosas under their capable chief called Tshiwo who was succeeded by Phalo, regarded as his son, though in actuality he was the son of his brother, Mdange (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.45).

Phalo had two sons, Gcaleka and Rharhabe, between whom there was no love lost. Though Gcaleka was the elder, he was sickly and had taken to divination, a thing that made Rharhabe to feel insecure because he knew that when a commoner "smells out" people he does not touch the chief and thus the latter remains safe. However, when it is the chief who "smells out" people, there is nobody who can guarantee his safety. Because of certain differences, including this one of divination, Rharhabe decided to leave his brother Gcaleka and settle at the area now called Stutterheim. From this place the movement of Phalo's people was in a south-westerly direction until they reached the area now called the Ciskei, where they formed themselves

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into the Rharhabes or amaRharhabe, named after their chief.

Rharhabe had two sons, Mlawu, the elder, and Ndlambe. Mlawu, in turn, had two sons, one of whom was Ngqika who, after the death of his father, was supposed to be the chief, but because he was still young, Ndlambe acted as regent for him (J. Peires, 1981, p.50). It is for this reason that we find the Ndlambes and the Ngqikas in the Ciskei and these are people who were in the forefront during the whole course of the frontier wars as they were moving westwards and came into contact with the whites who were moving eastwards. Both groups were in search of more grazing land for their stock.

The whites, on the other hand, came from Europe, pushed from that part of the world by wars, poverty and diseases and had decided for the first time to settle on the southern tip of the continent of Africa, initially to build a halfway station for fresh food and water in their journeys between Europe and India. This later became a permanent settlement. In the meantime there was a revival of the Christian movement in Britain, piloted by the Baptist Church. In 1788 William Carey wrote a pamphlet, "An Enquiry into the obligations of Christians, to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen" (R. Lovett , 1899, p.5). This accompanied the general upsurge of colonialism and imperialism and the general scramble for colonies by the European powers to get more raw material and new markets. Meanwhile the natives of the newly acquired colonies in Asia, Africa and South America, because of their hostility, posed a threat to the lives of the Europeans and the general feeling was that it was because they were primitive and heathen and therefore

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had to be civilized and christianised. Thus, when the Cape was occupied by Britain in 1795, and particularly from the second occupation of 1806, it became one of the colonies to which the missionaries were sent.

In the following pages, therefore, I shall pay attention to the London and Glasgow missionaries, especially their work among the Xhosas in the Eastern Frontier, which was the land between the Fish and the Kei rivers, for the reasons stated earlier. The long-term achievements of the two societies differed, and I shall attempt to identify the reasons for this. In the process I shall compare the aims and attitudes of the two, their activities, and the complex relationship between missionaries, colonists, the colonial government and the indigenous Xhosa people.

CHAPTER 2

THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY - ORIGINS, AIMS AND EARLY PROGRAMMES

The second half of the Eighteenth Century saw Western Europe plunged into social and political turmoil culminating in the French Revolution in 1789. This had a profound effect on the religious lives of the people. The church had suffered from the attacks of the Revolution as much as had the feudal nobility and the monarchy (David Thompson, 1957, p.103). Rationalism and free thinking of the philosophers influenced the ordinary people and were widely identified with the ideas of the French Revolution of liberty, equality and fraternity and this led to a lot of violence, chaos and the breakdown of the old cherished traditions of society like the divine right of kings.

However, ironically, some good came out of this disruptive situation. As David Thompson puts it,

> "The violence and the extremism of the Revolution bred a revival of faith and a renewal of clerica-list sympathies." (D. Thompson, 1957, p.104)

Influential people came to the defence of the church dogmas and the old institutions of society. Thompson concludes:

> "Many of the greatest intellects in Europe, and some of the more biting pens, devoted themselves to affirming the dogmas of Christianity and old religious beliefs. Edmund Burke, whose tremendous

> literary attack on the ideas of the French Revolution ... made him the spokesman of conservatism throughout Europe, had stated eloquently the case for traditionalism and reverence for established institutions." (D. Thompson, 1957, p.104).

All these things brought about a general revival of evangelism with the result that the last decade of the Eighteenth Century was the most fruitful in the history of mission work. D.J. Potgieter remarks in the Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Vol. 7 (1972, p.26), "... The French Revolution had, notwithstanding its disruptive influence, quickened the human spirit and released it from bondage to make it aware of the right of all men to the liberating gospel." This happened at a time when the new discoveries had opened up almost all the corners of the world and Western Europe had come to be aware of the pagan in foreign lands.

It was at this time that the London Missionary Society came into existence. It was the oldest of the Protestant missionary societies. Norman Goodall (1954, Pv) sums it up as, "... a fruit of the rising tide of the Evangelical awakening." About the position it occupies in the history of Christiandom he points out:

> "The record of the London Missionary Society constitutes a major chapter in the history, not only of Christian missions, but also of the entire Church" (N. Goodall, 1954, p.5).

According to Richard Lovett:

> "The London Missionary Society ... is a child of the evangelical revival in England originated by Whitefield and the Wesleys" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.32).

The Baptist Church, strongly influenced by William Carey's article of 1788 entitled, "An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to use means for the conversion of the Heathen" piloted the Christian movement (Lovett, 1899, p.4). Carey further preached in 1792 his famous sermon, "Expect great things from God" and "Attempt great things for God", which led to a ministers' meeting taking a decision, "That a plan be prepared against the next ministers' meeting at Kettering for forming a Baptist society for propagating the gospel among the Heathen" (Lovett, 1899, p.5). As a result of this on 2 October 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society was formed. This became a strong incentive for the formation of the London Missionary Society. It also led to David Bogue, in an attempt to instigate his fellow Christians to the formation of the society, remarking in Reports of the London Missionary Society 1795 to 1814 Vol.1, p.3, published by J. Dennett:

> "Besides, all other bodies of professing Christians have done, and are doing, something for the conversion of the heathen ... An association is just formed by the Baptists for this benevolent purpose, and their first missionaries have already entered on the work."

From this time onwards a number of incidents occurred which paved the way for the formation of the London Missionary Society. The first and the most important one was the sailing of William Carey to India in 1793 for mission work. Within six months of his arrival there, he wrote a letter to Dr. Ryland, expressing his experiences in that part of the world. This letter had such tremendous impact on Dr. Ryland that he called a meeting of other ministers to read it to them. The ministers included David Bogue and other ministers staying around Bristol. There were other ministers from elsewhere who were visiting Bristol at the time.

After the meeting David Bogue of the Gosport Academy held a meeting with other ministers to decide as to how they could arouse people's interest in the spreading of the Gospel to the heathens. The room where they met was later called "the cradle of the Missionary Society" because that was where the idea of the formation of a missionary society was hatched for the first time. After this meeting Bogue published an article entitled, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practise Infant Baptism" in the Evangelical Magazine. This article came to be the foundation of the London Missionary Society.

Bogue raised a number of vital points in his article, some of which it would be appropriate and relevant to cite. He reminded his fellowmen that there was a time when they themselves were in the same situation as the heathen in other lands and people from far away places brought the gospel to them. Richard Lovett (1899, p.8) quotes him as saying, "The servants of Jesus came from other lands, and preached His Gospel among you. Hence your knowledge of salvation." This point was further emphasised by the Rev. George Burder of Coventry in a later address, when he pointed out:

> "Dear bretheren, let it be remembered that Britain, Christian Britain, was once an island of idolatrous barbarians, and such it had yet remained, unless some of God's dear people in distant countries ... had formed the benevolent plan of sending missionaries hither. Let us in turn 'go and do likewise'" (Lovett, 1899, p.22).

Bogue felt that his fellow Christians owed it to God and those people who had brought the Word of God to them, to do likewise to other people who still lived in darkness. They had to spread the Gospel to the heathen and the unenlightened countries. In this way they would be glorifying God and expressing gratitude to him for having given his son as a Redeemer.

It is interesting here to note that Bogue included among the heathen and the people of unenlightened countries who needed salvation, the Muslims who had their own well-organised religion, which they felt was superior to any other religion. This is one of the things, according to Lovett, that led the critics of Bogue's time to question the Christians in Britain as to what right they had to interfere in other people's religions in other countries when in fact they still had a lot of work to do among their own people. In the light of this, one is inclined to feel that, though ostensibly the basic desire was to salvage the souls of the benighted heathen in foreign lands, a plausible and altruistic motive by any standard, the real issue at stake was the expansion of the British Empire, the spread of British influence and the safeguarding of British economic and political interests. The missionaries were to conduct this campaign along the religious front.

However, Bogue went on in his article to remind his audience that Jesus Christ himself preached love for one's neighbour as one loves oneself and that everybody was one's neighbour. For that reason the word of God had to be spread to the other countries which were still in darkness and destitute of the word of God. He quoted him:

> "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." (Reports of the London Missionary Society, Vol.1, p.2).

He then urged his fellow ecumenical Christians to follow the example of the other groups like the Catholics, the Church of Scotland, the Church of England and the Methodists, pointing out that they were the only group that still remained idle.

He further touched on the question of raising funds. He suggested that people should engage themselves in discussions with others in an attempt to convince them on the project and appeal to them to contribute money for this purpose. Letters too had to be written to known people for donations. To allay the fears of those who had some misgivings about the success of the whole enterprise, he pointed out that actually the Work of God flourishes more under adverse conditions as it was proved during the time of Tiberius, Caligula and Nero. After this magnificent appealing address, a number of circular letters was sent to ministers and lay preachers and the response was very good.

It is very appropriate here to point out that, as indicated earlier, this address played a very important role in the formation of a religious society that has left its footprints on the sands of time throughout the world. It was an important landmark in the history and foundation of the London Missionary Society. We here pause to ask why this had to be so. No doubt, Bogue was a brilliant and talented man with his own inherent potentialities. He was quite eloquent and had a strong magnetic appeal to his audience. However, the most important fact to consider here is the time at which the event occurred.

This was a time when there was a general rising tide of evangelism throughout the Christian world, that is, the Western World. This evangelism had been closely associated with the upsurge of Colonialism and Imperialism. As there was a general scramble for the acquisition of new colonies and a dire need, through greed, for raw material and new markets, many adventurous people from Europe had been going to many

countries throughout the world. This was done both by states and individual merchants and companies. As a result of this, many dangers were encountered and wars fought with foreign people. It soon became clear that the problem pivoted around differences in culture and religion. It is worth noting here that peoples of Europe regarded themselves as being several stages ahead of, and above the aborigines of foreign lands and as a result they regarded them as savages who constantly lived under the shadow of death and destruction. From a religious point of view they were thus labelled as heathen or pagans. These difficulties made it impossible for the Europeans to exploit the resources of the newly-found colonies including labour which they so desperately needed. This has made it very difficult to distinguish between missionary work as such which entailed the spread of the Gospel, and the promotion of colonialism and imperialism. The result has been for people like Nosipho Majeke in her book, The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest (1952) to regard the missionaries as agents of imperialism.

In any case Bogue came at the right time to preach the right thing for the ears of the people. In other words, he himself was the product of his time and not its producer, hence his address had such a tremendous appeal that it made many people search their consciences because of a feeling of guilt.

Bogue's suggestions in his address fell on soil that had already been prepared for acceptance by a number of factors. The Evangelical Magazine had played an important part in preaching and advocating inter-denominationalism, which became a very important principle of the London Missionary Society. The

magazine had been advocating this idea for some time. Also its chief editor, John Eyre, was drawn into the circle of the founding fathers of this society and thus be became a very important agent and as a result the magazine became the unofficial mouthpiece of this nascent organisation.

Another factor that made a profound appeal to the people was T. Haweis' review of a book entitled Letters on Missions written by Melville Horne. This book was very important in stimulating missionary zeal and encouraging interdenominational effort. The review appeared in the Evangelical Magazine in 1794.

Strong influence also came from the movement of the Warwickshire ministers who in June 1793 met and agreed, "That it is the duty of all Christians to employ every means in their power to spread the knowledge of the Gospel both at home and abroad." (Lovett, 1899, p.12). These ministers further resolved that a fund be formed for purposes of financing the project and that a prayer meeting be held every first Monday of the month for the success of this aim. Dr. E. Williams, who was one of the ministers in the London area, was thus commissioned to write circular letters to the other Christian organisations, appealing for financial contributions. This circular letter:

> "... became a powerful factor in developing the rapidly growing opinion, that the time had come for energetic action in the attempt to win the world to the Savior." (Lovett, 1899, p.13).

After Bogue's letter, events started moving very rapidly and a number of meetings were held. The first meeting held to consider the practicability of founding a missionary society was on November 4, 1794 at Baker's

Coffee House, Change Alley, Cornhill. This was a place where ministers used to meet for their casual chatting and this was regarded as more convenient. The next one was held at the Castle and Falcon in Aldergate Street, where the room was bigger. The general theme of the meeting was the "conversion of the heathen." Unfortunately there are no recorded minutes of these early meetings. The first meeting that had a record was held on 8 January 1795, where a number of prominent ministers were present, including John Eyre, John Love and others. The second one was held on 15 January 1795, part of whose minutes read as follows:

> "A short account was given to the ministers present for the first time of the progress of this design of sending missionaries to the heathen ... It was moved, seconded and unanimously resolved, that Ministers who favour this design, and desire to exert themselves in promoting it by bringing forward a general meeting of Ministers and others for the purpose of organising a society to act efficiently in the affair, do signify the same by putting down their names in a book to be provided for the purpose" (R. Lovett, p.14).

The next meeting was held on 17 February, where a declaration was undertaken by the Ministers present to the following effect:

> "We, whose names are here subscribed, declare our earnest desire to exert ourselves for promoting the great work of introducing the Gospel and its ordinances to heathen and other unenlightened countries, and unite together, purposing to use our best endeavours, that we may bring forward the

> formation of an extensive and regularly organised society, to consist of evangelical Ministers and lay bretheren of all denominations, the object of which society shall be a concert and pursue the most effectual measures for accomplishing this important and glorious design" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.15).

From the foregoing two important issues begin to emerge. The first one is the urgency and the speed at which a society had to be formed for the purpose of saving the heathen. There was nothing to suggest that the destruction of the heathen was imminent to warrant such haste, and thus we can safely conclude that this was caused by the expected competition that was to be presented by other already existing societies. Probably one would be unfair here to question the genuineness of those concerned in the salvation of the heathen as fellow human beings and the children of God.

The second issue to emerge, probably coupled with the first one, is a competition that existed among the different metropolitan countries in the scramble for new colonies. This comes out clearly in the determination of these ministers in promoting the great work "of spreading the Gospel and, what is more, in seeking the most effectual measures for accomplishing this important and glorious design."

Examples to prove the above points abound in history throughout the world and especially in South Africa as we shall see in the behaviour of Dr. Philip, Rev. Calderwood and others. However, it cannot be denied that some of these holy men had a genuine and sincere interest in saving the heathen from perpetual damnation and destruction as fellow beings who are equals in the eyes of God as we shall see with Dr. Van der Kemp.

A number of addresses were published in the Evangelical Magazine in an attempt to arouse the interest of the people in and around London, and also circular letters appealing for collections and also explaining what had up to then been accomplished. One of the important addresses was one by the Rev. George Burder, which was entitled "An Address to the serious and zealous Professors of the Gospel, of every denomination, respecting an attempt to evangalise the Heathen." In this address Burder pointed out that the "Friend of Sinners", Jesus Christ, entreated his disciples: "Go ye forth, and teach all nations" and he said that this happened eighteen hundred years back, but in the face of all odds the Word of the Lord survived. He then wondered why his fellow Christians could not evangalise the Pagan world. He urged them to follow the example of the Danes, the Scots and the Baptists to form a similar society (R. Lovett, 1899, p.18).

In the meantime there was a group of professors who raised objections to missionary work on the grounds that it was dangerous because the missionaries could be killed in foreign countries. These were called the Laodicean professors. To them the Rev. Burder gave a ready answer that risks had to be undertaken. After all, as he pointed out, soldiers did take them in defence of their countries and their names. Also merchants took risks in search of unknown riches and were prepared to trade with strange people in strange lands. In the case of the missionaries it would even be far more worthwhile and honourable to die in the service of God (R. Lovett, 1899, p.19).

A general meeting was proposed for August 18, 19 and 20, 1795, but was later postponed to September 22, 23 and 24. This was the conference of the founding of the

London Missionary Society. The chairman of the conference was Sir Egerton Leigh. A crucial resolution was taken to the effect, "that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the establishment of a society for sending Missionaries to the heathen and unenlightened countries is highly desirable." (Lovett, 1899, p.25). In another meeting of the conference a committee was chosen to formulate a constitution for the society and the members of the committee were to use as a basis the number of ideas that had already emerged in the preceding meetings.

The committee did not take long to draw up the plan of the society. They came up with a proposed constitution that was discussed and accepted by the conference article by article. The first article gave the name of the society which was THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY. In the second article the aim of the society was stated as, ".. to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.30).

Article number three dealt with the membership of the society. Members were to be people who paid an annual subscription of one guinea. The second category of members were to be those people who were benefactors and made donations of ten pounds each, and the third group were to be the ministers of congregations in the country who subscribed or collected fifty pounds annually for the use of the society.

The general meetings of the society were to be held annually in London to choose a treasurer, a secretary,

the directors and the collectors. In these meetings matters of the society were to be discussed and decisions taken by a majority of the members present. At first there were to be twenty-five members of the Directory, but thereafter there were to be as many as the society would decide. The directors were to be elected annually and three-fifths of them were to live in or around London where monthly meetings were to be held every second Monday of the month at 5.30 p.m. Ordinary members were free to attend. Seven or more of the directors were to constitute a Board of Directors. The secretary was to be the only member to be paid a salary (R. Lovett, 1899, p.32).

On 24 September 1795 Dr. Haweis gave a long address which dwelt in particular on the objections raised by some of the agencies as described earlier. He stressed the point that although the work was difficult, however, to make an attempt was noble, and that anyway it was more honourable to fail in an undertaking of this nature than to succeed in some other worthless pursuits.

In the last meeting that was held on 25 September a treasurer was chosen, Joseph Hardcastle. The conference also took a decision that the first group of missionaries to be dispatched would be sent to Tahiti. The first Board of Directors was chosen on the same day and was given the task of compiling a report of the proceedings. This report was published on 5 October 1795 and was regarded as the first annual report of the society and appears in the bibliography and references.

The London Missionary Society had a number of committees to deal with the different aspects of the work of the organisation. One of these committees was the Examinations Committee which was charged with the task of choosing appropriate missionaries to be sent to the different places. Guidelines were set for the choosing of prospective missionaries and these were referred to as the "Rules for the Examination of Missionaries."

Briefly these rules required that for a person to be able to be chosen for missionary work in other countries, he would have to have a good share of the Grace of God and possess a call to the job. It was not necessary that he had to be highly learned, though he was expected to have a fair amount of knowledge of mission work. However, he had to have a good knowledge of the mechanic arts, especially those who would be going to places like the South Seas and Africa. He had to write a letter to the Board of Directors, making clear his desires and motives in joining missionary work and this letter was to reach the board through the secretary of the society and would be discussed in a monthly meeting of the board. The prospective missionary was also expected to get a certificate from the minister of his congregation or any other prominent member in the congregation stating his Christian experiences. This had to be confirmed by one of the Directors. If the Board then accepted that person unanimously, he would be taken immediately. But if only two-thirds of the members of the Board agreed to take him, further investigations would be conducted

about the background of that person. However, if two-thirds of the Board members rejected his application, he would be dropped immediately without any further investigations. The last requirement was that he had to be acquainted with the difficulties he would be confronted with in foreign countries and would have to be prepared to face them and not be taken by surprise (R. Lovett, 1899, p.43).

Thus the formation of the London Missionary Society was finalised through a smooth process and everybody was looking forward to a successful and prosperous future. However, as it will always happen after a good and auspicious start, a number of things were still to happen, which made the members of the society to learn from experience the hard way. The first problem that the society encountered was the choice of people to undertake mission work. Despite the strict procedure to be followed in choosing candidates, as we saw above, in the constitution, being extremely taken up by the resounding success in the launching of the society, the members of the Board of Directors were not very discreet in choosing their men for mission work. The main difficulty came over whether overriding importance had to be put on "Godly men who understand mechanic arts," or the man of scholarly and disciplined mind. Most of the members felt that the former had to be given prominence as the missionaries would be useful among uncivilized nations. This landed the society in difficulties because the missionaries did not have a clear understanding of what heathen life was all about (R. Lovett, 1899, p.46).

The reason for this is not too far to seek. To a large extent the people who had been making contact with uncivilized masses had been merchants who were, by definition, driven by the profit motive. They were the

people who used to go back to their countries with stories of how a barbarous people lived, and the outstanding feature of all was their unmitigated indolence and sloth. Needless to say that this impression permeated the whole history of missionary work and was even more pronounced among those who came to Africa. If this argument holds any water, one is irresistibly tempted to conclude that what was paramount in the minds of these early missionaries was not just to convert the heathen into a new, superior and modern religion, but mainly to make them more serviceable to a new type of civilisation whose mode of existence was based on gainful employment and industry. Little effort was made to understand the differences in the two cultures and this inevitably led to disastrous conflicts.

It was after some bitter experiences that those who held the view that people who were to undertake mission work were to have "mental force and intellectual and spiritual training" triumphed (R. Lovett, 1899, p.47).

On 9 November 1795, the board decided that married men could be taken as missionaries if the Committee of Examinations had approved of them. Thus in the first group that was sent to Tahiti there were six married men, although only two had children (R. Lovett, 1899, p.47).

Another problem that emerged concerned the confession of faith to which all the missionaries on board the Duff, the ship that sailed the first group to Tahiti, had to subscribe. There was a difference in interpretation resulting from the difference in denomination. The missionaries also did not agree on the question of whether Christ died for all men and

this led to a long and bitter discussion which drew the captain of the ship, Captain Wilson, into the controversy. This resulted in two of the members of the group being excommunicated. But they were later re-admitted into what was then known as the "Church of Christ on board the Duff."

As a result of these differences, in a meeting held on 9 May 179[illegible], the Board of Directors adopted what ever since then was referred to as the "fundamental principle" of the London Missionary Society. It would be appropriate here to quote this principle in full:

> "As the union of God's people of various Denominations, in carrying on this great work, is a most desirable Object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there may be differences of opinion among serious persons), but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen: and that it shall be left to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government, as to them shall appear most agreeable to the word of God." (R. Lovett, 1899, p.49).

The adoption of this principle was an important landmark in the history of the London Missionary Society. It did not only iron out the differences in the society that were threatening to destroy it, but also marked a stage of growth and maturity for the movement.

The question of learning and qualifications remained a running sore for the society and became more pronounced during the course of 1797 with the result that David Bogue suggested strongly that there should be a centre where prospective missionaries should be trained. This idea was further strengthened by an essay that came up in the Evangelical Magazine pointing out that the Directors should at times appoint people for missionary work without the Examinations Committee because there are many who have the talent but would just not come forward. The essay went on, "Let these hidden jewels be found out, ordained, and be sent forth to labour in God's harvest, that they at last may shine as the sun for ever in the kingdom of their Father, after having turned many of the heathen unto righteousness" (R. Lovett, 1899. p.53).

This essay resulted in the treasurer, Mr. Joseph Hardcastle, reading a paper in one of the meetings of the society, suggesting certain resolutions regarding the choice of missionaries as suggested in the essay. The essence of the resolutions was that people should make suggestions to the Board concerning the procuring of suitable missionaries. Also the question of those heathens who could easily be adapted to mission work had to be thoroughly discussed. However, these suggestions did not solve the problem of lack of training among the missionaries which kept on worrying David Bogue until it was sharply highlighted by the second trip to the Tahiti.

The second voyage which was captained by Robson in the Duff was undertaken on 20 December 1798. It was ill-fated because the Duff was captured by the French first and later by the Portuguese before its crew was

sent back to England where it arrived on 21 January 1800.

These first two voyages of the society had proved convincingly that there was a lack of discipline among the missionaries and that more training was necessary. Lovett (1899, p.64) concludes in this regard: "This summary of results indicates that the methods of 1796 and 1798 did not quite give the results that were so ardently desired. There must have been something radically wrong in the method of selection and education which resulted in leaving ... simply nine effective workers out of a company of sixty." We thus see that these people basically lacked faith in the guidance of God and this made them to be unequal to the task before them.

As a result of these disasters the Directors decided to suspend all mission undertaking to the South Seas. They appointed David Bogue as a tutor of the missionary students. Because of lack of funds, a new training missionary seminary could not be established and as a result it was decided that missionaries were to be trained in the already existing seminaries. It was further felt that a period of a year had to lapse from the time of acceptance to the training for mission work for a student to the time of departure for field work. The idea behind this was to give examiners enough time to assess the character of the candidate and also to give the latter an opportunity to opt out of the project if he was weak-willed. The Gosport Academy where Bogue was in charge became the main centre for training missionaries (R. Lovett, 1899, p.67).

Despite all the difficulties the London Missionary Society was confronted with, it managed to spread its

influence not only to foreign heathen lands, but also in the British Isles and throughout Europe. It had a great influence on the Church of Scotland, especially in that Rev. John Love was its secretary. It was also instrumental in the formation of the Netherlands Missionary Society through Dr. Van der Kemp. In our next chapter we shall look into its work among the "Bantu" of South Africa, especially the Xhosas in the eastern part of the Cape Colony.

CHAPTER 3

THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Having seen how the London Missionary Society was formed and its aims, composition and programmes, we can now proceed to look into its work in the Cape Colony. However, at this juncture it is important, first of all, to see this society, not in isolation, but against the background of the times and historical events not only in England but throughout Europe, indeed, throughout the world.

At the time of the society's formation, Britain was expanding its colonial empire and British supremacy was being felt over increasing areas of the globe. She was becoming economically powerful, especially as a result of the Industrial Revolution. At the same time the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity as propagated by the leaders of the French Revolution were still fresh in many people's minds. Although Edmund Burke had talked strongly against the French Revolution, many English people had been profoundly influenced by the new revolutionary spirit. It was therefore only too natural that when Britain was spreading her commercial tentacles, having just occupied the Cape in 1795, the London Missionary Society, which had been formed in the same year, thought of sending a Christian mission to that part of the "dark continent" with its teeming "heathens."

The London Missionary Society was not the first society to send missionaries to Southern Africa.

The first missionwork carried out in this part of the world was by the Portuguese who belonged to the Society of Jesus formed by Ignatius Loyola in 1540. It sent Da Silveira to the Zambesi area where he baptised the chief of the people there together with his family. But when the Arab traders who were more influential here, saw the spread of Christianity, they persuaded the chief to order the murder of Da Silveira in 1561 (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.8) and thus the mission ended in failure. What is important here is that the mission failed, not because the Muslims brought about the death of Da Silveira, though this was partly the cause, but because the time was not yet opportune for the spread of Christianity, unlike the position of the later missionaries of the London Missionary Society who came at a time of the revival of evangelism. Thus, as pointed out earlier, it is important to see the work of the London Missionary Society in the Cape, not in isolation, but together with the social, political and commercial interests of the metropolitan country.

The first London Missionary Society party that was sent to the Cape of Good Hope in 1798 was composed of Dr. Van der Kemp, Johannes Jacobus Kitchener, both Hollanders, and two Englishmen, John Edmond and William Edwards. The leader of the group was Van der Kemp.

Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp was born in Rotterdam in 1748, the son of a Lutheran Minister. He had worked in the army for some time but later went to Edinburgh to finish up his studies in medicine and got an M.D. degree. He was a deist and, like Saul, felt that the best service to render to God was to destroy Christianity. However, although he was originally hostile to Christianity, a calamity that befell him

brought about a change in his life. He lost his wife and his only child, a son, when a boat they were using to cross a river capsized and the two drowned. His survival appeared to be a miracle. From that moment onward he devoted his life to the service of Christ as the son of God. When he read an article about the London Missionary Society just after it had been formed, he got interested and wrote a letter to the Directors in London, offering his services for mission work among the "heathen". He was accepted and after forming the Netherlands Missionary Society, he set sail for the Cape with his company as already indicated (A.D. Martin, 1931, p.54).

When they arrived at the Cape, they were cordially welcomed both by the governor of the Cape Colony, General Dundas, and the Dutch colonists and everything was done to make them comfortable. The first thing they did was to help in the formation of the South African Society at the instigation of a letter which Van der Kemp had brought from the Directors of the London Missionary Society and read to all the congregations in the Cape. This message was well received and the formation of a society thereafter was the first achievement of the London Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope.

From here the party was divided into two groups. Dr. Van der Kemp was bent right from the beginning, on going to the eastern frontier to work among the "Kafirs" and in this he was to go with Edmond. However, they could not go immediately because of troubles in that area caused by the third frontier war. In the meantime the other two missionaries, Kitcherer and Edwards, moved northwards to spread the Gospel among the San (Bushmen). This expedition proved a

dismal failure because the missionaries could not make headway with the Bushmen whose life Kitcherer described as "very horrible." "They mostly spent their time in sleep, except when hunger drove them into the hunting fields" (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.104). They were scattered all over the area and thus presented the missionaries with a serious problem of not being able to bring them together to preach to them. Also communication was well nigh impossible because of their complicated language which was full of clicks and could not be irterpreted. To this effect J. Du Plessis concludes:

> "Very little impression could, however, be made upon the scattered individuals of a race that stood at a lower stage socially and religiously than any other race upon the face of the globe, that had no chief, no family life, no social cohesion, no tribal organisation, and apparently none of those religious beliefs and ceremonies which even the most savage races profess and practise" (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.104).

The views expressed above provide a useful summary of the then prevailing attitudes of the Europeans towards the Bushmen. In fact the question of Bushmen presents a very difficult and hitherto insurmountable problem. If Du Plessis was right that they were "a race that stood at a lower stage socially and religiously than any other", one has to consider whether they have physical and mental limitations that will never allow them to develop any further up the ladder of civilisation, or whether it is a question of not having been given enough opportunity to develop their potential. We should remember that there was a time

when they became such a threat that the boers went out on expeditions to destroy them like pests. This might have shocked them beyond recovery.

We should also remember that the same impression was held about the "Bantus" for a long time by the Europeans that there is a stage beyond which they cannot develop educationally. A.M. Chirgwin remarks in this regard:

> "Not so long ago it was confidently asserted that the African could be educated up to a certain point, when mental saturation was reached, after which he could learn no more ... Scientific inquiry has disproved both the premises and the conclusion. Mental saturation is found to be caused, in Africa as in Europe, by squalor, undernourishment and other removable causes; and as these causes are being removed an increasing nu. er of Bantu are climbing the high rungs on the educational ladder" (A.M. Chirgwin, 1927, p.54).

Probably it could be a similar case with the Bushmen albeit it has taken too long. But one feels their being forcibly driven to seclusion in the desert and kept there in isolation has been responsible for their deterioration. Up to the present day, they are generally still at the same level at which the missionaries found them which caused them to fail to convert them to Christianity.

After some time Van der Kemp and Edmond left for "Kafirland" in the Eastern Frontier territory and along the way they were received with open-handed hospitality by the colonists who did everything to help them in

their long adventurous journey. (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.120). Their reception along this journey was the same until they reached Graaff Reinet and in which regard A.D. Martin (1931, p.80) remarks, "Had all the Boer farmers been thus minded what prosperity, spiritual and material, would have accrued to the Colony! What bloody raids and wars would have been averted!" Unfortunately this was not the case, as Martin (1931, p.80) summarises it, in "a land where the varieties of life shade into one another, animal and human seeming often to be of one temper and habit." In the very arrangement that Kitcherer and Edwards go northward to the Bushmen, while Kemp and Edmond eastward to the Xhosas, D.K. Clinton (1937) sees ulterior motives of a political nature. On page 15 he remarks:

> "In connection with this proposal, there occurs the first example of an attempt to make political use of the London missionaries and Van der Kemp's concurrence with what seemed to him a reasonable demand."

Clinton then goes on to show how the feelings of the Boers were incensed by the adroit manipulation of the missionaries by the British rule. He boldly declares:

> "... this mission ... was charged with political significance. The disaffected Kaffirs, in alliance with the Hottentots, were still terrorising the north-eastern and eastern frontier; the British authorities were anxious to conciliate the Kaffirs and sympathised with the Hottentots. The recently rebellious Boers,

> deserted by their Hottentot servants, and deprived of the means of defence, were already beginning to think of trekking away from the obnoxious British rule, but against any such intention, there was the positive order of the Government that none should cross the borders, or have any intercourse with the Kaffirs.
>
> Under the circumstances, it was impossible that the missionaries should escape the jealous scrutiny of the discontented inhabitants" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.16).

At the end of their journey, Van der Kemp and Edmond reached Graaff Reinet, having travelled for a month, and they relaxed for a fortnight before setting out for Xhosaland. The main idea was to reach the Paramount Chief's Great Place and set up a mission station there. Their first attempt to meet Ngqika failed because of the troubles that were raging between the Xhosa and the settlers at that time. On the second attempt Ngqika was prepared to meet them. A.D. Martin (p.84) states, "on the 14th of September a Kafir emisary who knew a little Dutch arrived from the King to act as their guide. And then as they drew nearer to Gaika's headquarters every day brought more human contact. On the 20th they reached the royal residence." This was in 1799. The meeting of the missionaries with this great Xhosa chief was quite dramatic. Ngqika strode towards them, looking straight into their eyes, the councellors forming a semi-circle behind him and right at the back the tribesmen watching with awe. Ngqika greeted them and welcomed them to his kraal. (A.D. Martin, p.84)

At this place, to their great surprise, they met a number of renegade white soldiers and colonists, among

whom was Conraad Buys, a Dutch fugitive from the Cape, at that time involved in very grave political offences. Though he was greatly feared by the Cape Administration and the colonists, he was Ngqika's confidant. He did not trust Van der Kemp and his party, thinking that he had come to betray him and his friends. The Xhosas too did id not trust the missionaries because of the troubles they had had with the settlers. Buys instilled fear into Van der Kemp by saying that he should go away because the Xhosas were planning to kill them. But this courageous missionary was undaunted. However, Ngqika did not allow them to remain at the Tyhumi where the Great Place was, but gave them a plot along the Debe River (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.122).

On this ground Van der Kemp and his party pitched their tent. He realised that life among the "Kaffirs" was full of fears of wild animals and people alike; fears of war and betrayal, stealing and poisoning, wizardry and other secret machinations. Nobody trusted anybody. A.D. Martin states·

> "When Van der Kemp and his party kneel in evening prayer, the simultaneous movement so scares a native who is present that he seizes his assegai and flees for his life. A young Kafir woman, coming to visit them, is terrified at the appearance of their tent, which is large and unfamiliar in design. Seeing it shake in the wind, she believes it to be a wild beast let loose by the white men to destroy her" (A.D. Martin, 1931, p.89).

Anyway, after six weeks in this area a "day school" was started with twelve young people and instruction was given in reading and writing as well as religious

teaching. It is surprising to learn that Ngqika too attended these meetings. Martin remarks in this regard about a young Hottentot lady called Sarah who ultimately came to stay with Van der Kemp as his convert. In her astonishment, Martain says (p.94):

> "The white teacher was speaking to a group of naked little ones, and one or two grown-up men, and among these, to her great astonishment, was Ngqika, the King. He, too, was listening, and learning to make curious marks on what looked like white leaves and to speak names in parts, as though every word were made up of many smaller words."

In the meantime a malicious rumour was spread by the colonists that Van der Kemp was not christianising the "Kaffirs" but indoctrinating them with Jacobin ideas and this made the new governor, Sir George Young, to write to the Secretary of State in England that Van der Kemp was refusing to leave Ngqika. Fortunately Van der Kemp was already on his way back to Graaff Reinet. By this time Edmond had already left for Cape Town on his way to Bengal. He had never been at ease among the Xhosas and was always expressing misgivings about their "Kaffir" mission to his colleague. On the day of his departure he and Van der Kemp went to a wood where they prayed in tears after which Edmond departed in his wagon. This was a moving and touching parting of two comrades in the midst of danger. Martin quotes Van der Kemp as saying about this parting:

> "I went upon a hill, and followed his wagon (Edmond's) for about half an hour with my eyes, when, it sinking behind the mountains, I lost sight of him to see him no more." (A.D. Martin, 1931, p.91).

On his arrival at Graaff Reinet, Dr. Van der Kemp was asked by the white congregation there to lead them as their minister, but he declined, pointing out that his main concern was to carry on with missionary work among the "heathen." By this time a second group of London Missionary Society missionaries had arrived from England, among whom were James Read and Van der Lingen, who joined Van der Kemp on the Eastern Frontier. It was Van der Lingen who finally decided to lead the Graaff Reinet congregation.

There were Hottentots who were living along the banks of the Sundays River, some of whom were under a chief called Klaas Stuurman. Governor Dundas wanted to win the friendship of these Hottentots over to the side of the Colonial Government, especially in the light of the continuing hostility of the Xhosas. When they were attacked by the Xhosas, they took refuge at Graaff Reinet and Van der Kemp got a good opportunity of working among them. He started a school for their children where they were taught spelling and the principles of Christianity (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.22). These Hottentots were joined by those Van der Kemp had brought along with him from "Kaffirland" among whom was Sarah and her children, to whom we referred earlier.

Dr. Van der Kemp believed in a racially-mixed congregation, a thing the colonists resented. Proof of this is what one Hottentot told Dr. Van der Kemp what the colonists were teaching them on whether God created Christians as well as Hottentots. He said, "you know that the Dutch farmers teach us, that He never created us, nor takes any notice of us" (Martin, 1931, p.81). With people having a mentality of this nature it was clear that Van der Kemp was setting the cat among the pigeons by urging a mixed congregation.

Every evening the Hottentots assembled for worship and instruction the church which was commonly used by the white congregation and they were particularly incensed by a prayer meeting which was held on 1 June 1801 whose sermon from Psalm 74, 4-10 appeared to be an attack on them. The seriousness of this was reflected in an incident that ensued and here we quote A.D. Martin at length:

> "Growlings within the Church were accompanied by more articulate opposition without. On June 30th news came of the approach of a body of armed Boers, who under a pretext that they had been driven from their homes by Kafirs - a pretext 'soon proved to be false' presented their complaints against both Mr. Maynier's protection of the Hottentots and Kafirs - whereby they said these tribes were encouraged to rob and murder them - and against the missionaries efforts to instruct the natives in reading, writing and religion. They declared that such instruction pla . the natives on an equal footing with Christians; they objected also to the Church being used by natives and they said they were prepared, by force if necessary, to compel the Commissioner to stop such proceedings" (A.D. Martin, 1931, p.104)

At the same time the Hottentot population of Graaff Reinet had increased mostly composed of runaway farm servants. This made Van der Kemp later to be able to say, "The number of children at present in our school is sixty-two." (A.D. Martin, p.105).

All these incidents led to the Dutch-speaking farmers rebelling against the landdrost, Maynier, and even

shooting at Van der Kemp, though he escaped. Maynier asked Van der Kemp to be an ambassador for peace to the Boer camp and it is interesting to find that the Boers were prepared to listen to him and peace was for some time restored. But after a second rebellion Van der Kemp met Maynier and made a very important statement which foreshadowed the colour policy of the Cape Colony and later of South Africa as a whole. As quoted by Clinton, it says:

> "That the Hottentots should be perfectly free upon an equal foot in every respect with the Colonists, and by no sort of compulsion brought under a necessity to enter into their service, but have a piece of ground given to them by Government as their own" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.24).

In interpreting the statement, Clinton continues:

> "Though the idea was not clearly articulate, some form of segregation seemed to the missionaries, even this early, a solution to the country's difficulties" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.24).

Of more startling interest was the interpretation of those people who hated the missionaries and felt that the statement changed the course of history in South Africa. Among these was the historian, Sir George Cory, whom I feel has to be quoted extensively. In his book, The Rise of South Africa, he gloomily declares:

> "With an account of this man begins a thread in the historical texture of the Eastern Province, which, as time went on, became more predominant and developed into one of the most important

features of the fabric, giving to it its sombre and melancholy hue. In the pattern, gradually unfolded, are seen the systematic and legalised robbery by Kafirs, Hottentot rebellion, the abandoning of the Colony by hundreds of its worthy Dutch inhabitants, the grossest misrepresentation which cut off the sympathy of their kinsfolk in their native land from the suffering British Colonists, and a pseudo-philanthropy which had no ears but for the supposed virtues of the black and vices of the white. Had a certain section of the missionary element never appeared in the Cape Colony, the history of the East might have been a very different and happier one" (Vol.1, p.111) (From Martin, 1931, p.107).

Martin himself feels that Van der Kemp's statement marked an epoch in the history of what was later called the "Native Question" in South Africa.

Dr. Van der Kemp then applied to the governor, General Dundas, to establish an institution, or mission station, which he outlined in thirteen clauses. The most important of these clauses read as follows:

> "As we are of opinion that the rule layed down by Paul, 'that if any man would not work, neither should he eat,' should be strictly observed in every Christian Society, our intention is to discourage idleness, and laziness, and to have the individuals of our institutions as much as circumstances shall permit, employed in different occupations useful for the cultivation of their rational faculties, or exercise of the body as means of subsistence, and of promoting the welfare

> of this Society and the Colony at large" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.25).

It is important to note also that in another clause he pointed out that those who would join the institution from the service of the farmers would have to produce written permission from the landdrost of the area from which he came. Van der Kemp was later strongly attacked by the colonists both on the question of allowing the Hottentots to be lazy and idle and also on allowing them to flock to Bethelsdorp, leaving the farmers without labour, whereas these issues had been dealt with thoroughly in his document in the different clauses. Clinton remarks in this regard:

> "This is an illuminating document, in view of slanders later hurled at Van der Kemp" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.26).

As a result of the hostility that was prevailing at Graaff Reinet, Van der Kemp and Read left that place in March 1802 with about three hundred Hottentots out of seven hundred. Most of those who remained were in government service. The parties were offered an escort of dragoons for protection against the Colonists but Van der Kemp declined it. Along the way the members of the party were talking about their experiences with the colonists. A.D. Martin remarks:

> "Every night the talk at the camp-fires was full of the cruelty of the Colonists" (A.D. Martin, 1931, p.118).

The party was heading for a place which they had been offered by the Landdrost Maynier along the banks of the Zwartkop River near Port Elizabeth on Algoa Bay. This was a farm known as Botha's Place, belonging to the

Government, some seven miles west of Fort Frederick (Martin, 1931, p.117). Here the party found three primitive houses which Van der Kemp used for school, church and printing office. We are not told who built the houses. Reading and writing classes were held twice a day and the printing press produced a book which was for spelling with monosyllables (Martin, 1931, p.119).

At this settlement the Hottentots were attacked by an epidemic which was caused by a bad supply of water. Van der Kemp himself was attacked by rheumatism. To add to the party's misery, the settlement was attacked by Hottentots who were under Klaas Stuurman, who had been a thorn in the flesh of the colonists for a long time. He was assisted in this attack by a few Xhosas and the attack went on for three nights. Van der Kemp was compelled to take refuge at Fort Frederick with his people from where the new governor, Lieutenant-General Jan Willem Janssens, offered him a new settlement seven miles north of Fort Frederick, which he (Van der Kemp) named Bethelsdorp. This was a very poor and barren place. The houses of the settlement on Botha's Place were burnt down by colonists.

> "Shortly after, all the houses at Botha's Place were burned down by a party of farmers - presumably as a deterrent against future missionary operations there" (Martin, 1931, p.123).

The settlement at Bethelsdorp commenced on 2 June 1803 (Martin, 1931, p.124) and the two missionaries went on with their work of christianising and educating the Hottentots. They were not unmindful of the defects of

their character and to this effect D.K. Clinton comments:

> "The remedy which the missionaries proposed for raising the civil condition of the Hottentots and correcting the defects of their character was the Institution, in which, at the outset, each family was allotted land for a house and garden" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.47).

The aim, as we have seen in the clauses which Van der Kemp sent to the governor when asking for land, was to make the Hottentots work for their living. But the hostility which they had experienced in Graaff Reinet from the colonists and their educated leaders and later from the authorities, continued with added vigour and with a lot of misinterpretations to Bethelsdorp. The attacks were levelled both at Van der Kemp and the Hottentots. When the Cape Colony fell under the Batavian Republic in 1803, the new Commissioner-General de Mist, touring the eastern frontier, visited the Bethelsdorp settlement, accompanied by Dr. Henry Lichtenstein, who was a medical adviser and a German naturalist of twenty-three years of age. Dr. Lichtenstein expressed himself freely about what he called, "the invasion of a swarm of missionaries" (Martin, 1931, p.131). Referring to the Hottentots he said:

> "Wherever the eye is cast, nothing is presented but lean, ragged or naked figures, with indolent sleepy countenances ... It does appear extraordinary that Van der Kemp had never turned his thoughts seriously to instilling habits of industry into his disciples" (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.126).

About Dr. Van der Kemp himself, Lichtenstein commented:

> "He was dressed in a thread-bare 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" (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.125).

There are two important issues that made the colonists to hate the missionaries. The first one was that some of them, especially the Van der Kemp group, were teaching the Hottentots to read and write, spreading among them ideas of equality. Most of the colonists were strongly against this. ...M. Chirgwin argues in this regard:

> "The majority of the white colonists in the Cape held it as an article of their faith that the native peoples, whether Bantu, Hottentots or Bushmen, were less than human: baboons and dogs, whose colour sufficiently indicated the curse of God that rested upon them. It was, therefore, only right to make them slaves, to thrash them and shoot them, and to treat them as beasts" (A.M. Chirgwin, 1927, p.27).

On teaching the Hottentots reading and writing, D.K. Clinton writes:

> "That the Hottentots should be taught reading and writing was resented, since it tended to give the Hottentot an advantage over the Boers, who often were without education and savoured, too, of that policy of civil equality which was so hateful to the Dutchmen" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.52).

The second issue was that the missionary settlements, especially Bethelsdorp, were allowing the Hottentots to flock to them and remain there apparently in idleness and laziness, thus depriving the farmers the labour which they so desperately needed. The implication here is that the colonists were diligent people. On the contrary, they are the people who were lazy, spoilt by the easy availability of slave and Hottentot labour. A.D. Martin (1931, p.109) argues on this point:

> "... the farmers of this period seldom displayed better management of the land than the natives themselves. Professor Eric Walker tells us that they 'grew but little corn and were content to go without bread, milk, butter and vegetables. Their food was meat ... so long as the Boers could get a few luxuries like coffee, brandy, dresslengths and so on from wandering pedlars or from far distant Capé Town, they asked for nothing more except ammunition from the Company ... By 1775 ... contact with slaves and Hottentot servants had bred slovenly habits" (Eric Walker, p.82).

Martin goes on to quote a Royal Commission of Inquiry into South African affairs in the early years of the nineteenth century:

> "The indolence of the Dutch farmers induced by the employment of slaves in the more cultivated portions of the Colony, and the facility with which they obtain Hottentots in the grazing districts, have proved a great obstacle to the improvement of the Colony (A.D. Martin, 1931, p.110).

Quoting John Campbell he writes:

> "Many of the Boers have four or five stout sons who in consequence of the crowd of Hottentots about the house, have no occasion to put their hands to any work, wherefore they sit with their legs across, the greater part of the day, or else indulge themselves in sleep" (Martin, 1931, p.110).

On Dr. Van der Kemp himself, as Dr. Lichtenstein has remarked, it is important to note that the influence of Rousseau is reflected. He sincerely believed in the equality of man as preached by that philosopher. Here Martin states:

> "It has been suggested that in making this great claim, Van der Kemp was reproducing the mind of Rousseau, whose influence had a good deal to do with the thinking of people in Holland during Van der Kemp's early life" (A.D. Martin, 1931, p.111).

With his sincerity, one is inclined to feel that Dr. Van der Kemp wanted to identify himself with the people he wanted to convert in order to gain their confidence. He was so concerned with their plight that he actually saw himself as being one of them, hence his appearance which was similar to that of the Hottentots. However, it has been shown in the "clauses" he sent to the governor when he was applying for land that he was concerned about the idleness of the Hottentots, hence they were given plots of land to cultivate at Bethelsdorp. This concern was also shown in a report he sent with Read to London in 1803, which stated:

> "Laziness is the most prevalent evil among our people, which exposes them to the greatest distresses. Some, however, are willing to work if we could employ them" (A.D. Martin, 1931, p.138).

However they were working under adverse conditions in that area they had been given, Bethelsdorp, and they had no money.

When money became available from the Dutch official, De Mist, who gave them £62. and the London Missionary Society, which gave them £500., some progress was made economically. Herds of cattle and sheep were slowly increased and other industries were introduced. These were lime-burning, charcoal-burning, soap-boiling, fishing, smith's work, the repairing of wagons and turning. Women found employment in making mats and baskets. A Mrs. Matilda Smith taught the girls knitting and they produced stockings and nightcaps which they sold to the soldiers at Fort Frederick (A.D. Martin, 1931 p.138).

In the light of the above exposition, everything cannot be blamed on laziness and thus we have to find out as to what other factors were responsible for the Hottentots flocking on Bethelsdorp. In fact this happened even with the other mission settlements, including the Kat River Settlement. It is strongly suggested that it was as a result of the cruel treatment the Hottentots received at the hand of the farmers. Acts of brutality and murder were reported to the missionaries who in turn raised them with the authorities. Read for example raised these matters with Governor Caledon in a letter he sent on 19 October 1810 and showed how, in the end, the Hottentots had to

resort to the missionaries and take refuge in the settlements. Richard Lovett wrote:

> "The poor Hottentot in vain turns his eye to any person, to whom he dares to unbosom his wounded spirit, and lay open his sore complaints: he has sought for redress, perhaps at the hazard of his life; at last he finds in a Missionary a friend, whom he afterwards begins to experience, is more or less concerned for his temporal and spiritual welfare; then, and not without some degree of fear, he tells his pitiable story" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.511).

With the attitude of the colonists towards these people, as we have seen earlier, regarding them as subhumans, we are here inclined to believe these stories. Read continued:

> "... even a heart of stone must bleed to hear the father relate the loss of his child, the child that of the father, the tender husband his wife, and the wife the husband ... and the survivors forced into an almost endless bondage, and the orphans made worse than slaves" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.511).

These atrocities were investigated after letters of complaints had been sent to the authorities by the missionaries. The governor then referred them to the Black Circuit, the colonists' name for the Circuit Commission, a tribunal that had just been formed for the better administration of justice in the country districts. It consisted of two or more judges of the High Court who had to tour the Colony periodically,

trying important cases (J. du Plessis, p.133). As a sequel to this a number of colonists were charged and many witnesses were brought forward to give evidence. In the end few people were found guilty and it was on the charge of assault, though many charges were for murder.

But even this was something unthinkable to the colonists in the Cape. Richard Lovett remarks about this:

> "That a colonist should have any check exerted over his dealings with Hottentots was in 1812 an extraordinary event: that the Hottentot had any rights whatever in the eyes of a Boer was a doctrine never in practice admitted by them: that he should be supported by those who were powerful enough to see that even white people should be tried for their crimes was intolerable" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.513).

He then concludes:

> "And anyone who knows how difficult it was in 1812 to secure a conviction in a colonial court for any charge in which a 'barbarian' was the accuser, knows perfectly well that for every guilty one punished at least ten equally or more guilty escaped" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.513).

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On the contrary, it is interesting here to read Du Plessis' remark in relation to the missionaries of the London Missionary Society. He states:

> "No responsible missionary today would venture to preach or to practise the doctrine of social equality between the white and the coloured races, or to plead for intermarriage between the European and native" (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.128).

Unfortunately he does not elaborate on the reasons for his declaration. Thus in attempting to interpret situations like these, one is inclined to accept Jane Sales' view that the Dutch farmers in the eastern frontier believed in double predestination, which maintained that:

> "... not only were the elect elected by God (predestination), but the damned were chosen for damnation by God (double predestination)" (J. Sales, 1975, p.11).

In 1802 the Cape was put under the rule of the Batavian Republic, which took effect in 1803. Willem Janssens, as we saw earlier, became governor and visited the eastern frontier. He differed with Van der Kemp on the teaching of writing to the Hottentots at that stage and felt that it could be done later, but Van der Kemp felt Janssens had been influenced by the colonists. Fearing that Van der Kemp would influence the Hottentots to support the British, whose administration he admired, Janssens took him together with Read to Cape Town and detained them there. Janssens had no good word for the British policies, together with the missionaries. On the British Policy Jane Sales writes:

> "In the papers which Janssens wrote at the time of his leaving, he expressed great disapproval of the British policies, 1795 to 1802, especially the

> alliance of the British with the Hottentots against the farmers" (J. Sales, 1975, p.30).

She then goes on to quote him on the missionaries:

> "If the harm that the missionaries have done in the colony and its surroundings ... is weighed against the good that they have done, it will be found that the harm is very serious and the good amounts to nil" (J. Sales, 1975, p.30).

Van der Kemp and Read were released during the second British occupation of the Cape in 1806. They went back to Bethelsdorp, where they continued with their work, including their fight for the rights of the Hottentots. One of the issues they fought against was the punishment of the Hottentots for desertion from the Cape Regiment which was composed of Hottentot soldiers. This was so severe that Van der Kemp took strong exception. At one time three Hottentots had deserted and were later brought in for punishment. Jane Sales writes about this:

> "Two of the three men were shot by firing squads, but one was sentenced to 1000 lashes. After 224 the surgeon stopped the proceedings on the grounds that the man would die, which he did a few weeks later" (J. Sales, 1975, p.51).

On the question of labour, six Hottentots were expected to do public work on the drosdy buildings. Van der Kemp objected strongly to this and felt that Hottentots should not be forced in the same way as the whites were not forced. They should enjoy the same freedom. When Col. Collins, the magistrate of Uitenhage, on the

instructions of the governor, went to discuss the matter with Van der Kemp, the latter expressed himself candidly. As Jane Sales puts it:

> "In this discussion Van der Kemp said that he felt it was not his responsibility to recruit labour for the landdrost, that he considered this forced labour, which was a kind of slavery, and that he would have no part in it. He felt that the Hottentots were free men and should be treated on the same basis as the free whites, who were not subjected to such forced labour" (J. Sales, 1975, p.54).

There were many other accusations of maladministration of justice layed against the authorities and the colonists by the missionaries which, as we saw earlier, led to the Black Circuit cases. Du Plessis feels that as a result of this it took the colonists a long time to forget what the missionaries had done. He comments:

> "The latter were looked upon as the enemies of the white race in South Africa, and as men who did not scruple to believe anything, however baseless, which was detrimental to the character of the Dutch farmers" (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.134).

However, Richard Lovett saw the whole problem from a completely different angle. He felt that the colonists perpetrated all these atrocities because of greed, and the main issue at stake was the question of grabbing land. He argues:

> "They (the colonists) hungered for the land occupied by the natives, whether Kaffirs, Bushmen or Hottentots" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.495).

On this point they were not prepared to stop anywhere short of achieving their goal and to this end they would use any means at their disposal, even committing genocide. He then concludes:

> "These were men who did not care to have their cruelties scanned by impartial eyes. They did not wish the natives to become educated and civilised. Their object was to annihilate or reduce to servitude the whole heathen population and to seize upon their lands" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.495).

As a result of these quarrels, Governor Caledon summoned Read and Van der Kemp to Cape Town for an interview in 1811, but unfortunately there was a change of governorship. Whilst the missionaries were still in Cape Town, Dr. Van der Kemp died.

Dr. Van der Kemp left a strong impression on the minds of the Hottentots in the Eastern Cape frontier, including the Xhosas. In this regard Jane Sales states:

> "Throughout the Eastern Cape, among the Hottentots and the Xhosa, Bethelsdorp was known as the school: One building was used for both church and school, and the two were considered, if not the same, at least very closely related activities. In a large sense, the whole operation of the mission station was seen to be an educational operation" (J. Sales, 1975, p.42).

It is worth noting here that there were differences between the missionaries on one hand, and the government and the general society on the other on the

question of the curriculum. People like Dr. Lichtenstein and Colonel Collins, to whom we have referred earlier, felt that the emphasis had to be put on teaching agricultural work, whereas Dr. Van der Kemp and James Read felt that their first duty was to prepare people for conversion, salvation and ultimately heaven. What made things worse for these critics was the inclusion of Latin and Greek in the curriculum. Jane Sales makes a very crucial point in this regard:

> "That Van der Kemp should even have dreamed of teaching Greek and Latin to the Hottentots was offensive to some of his neighbours who were so certain that the Hottentots had been created to serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water" (J. Sales, 1975, p.43).

On the strength of this she then concludes:

> "The reference to that Biblical notion in the preface of the Bantu Education Act of 1954 was not the first such application of it to conceptions of education for South African non-whites" (J. Sales, 1975, p.43).

Of more interest and importance is what is taking place in black education today at a time when those in power "seek a softer focus on the policies of divion." The Star, a Johannesburg evening paper, in the issue of 23 October 1984, commented on an article that had recently appeared in The New York Times. It said,

> "Behind the anger caused by inferior black education is 'a nightmare utterance' by Dr. H.F. Verwoerd that seems to have remained the

keystone of the black education system in South Africa, The New York Times said yesterday ... One such statement was made in 1954 by Dr. Verwoerd, 'apartheid's theoretician', when he said: 'The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.' That Verwoerdian premise, it added, had changed only slightly since then, with the government of President Botha acknowledging that there was a need for skills that whites alone could not fulfil, and that some - but by no means all - blacks were a permanent feature of urban South African life. But the suspicion lingers among black educators that the sentiment that inspired Dr. Verwoerd still underpins much of the thinking of the dominant Afrikaners. That is to say, black education is fine so long as it suits white purposes ..."

Today it remains to be seen whether the final solution to the problems that confront this country will not come from the resolution of the conflict that exists between those who stand for Van der Kemp's ideas on the one hand and on the other those who stand for the ideas of those people who were his mortal adversaries.

At the time when Dr. Van der Kemp died, the Directors of the London Missionary Society were planning to make him the superintendent of the Cape mission. When this failed, Rev. George Thom was appointed and he gave a bad report about the Cape mission generally and especially about Bethelsdorp. This resulted in the Directors sending Rev. John Campbell and Dr. John Philip to conduct an investigation in the Cape. These

two missionaries concurred with the Rev. Mr. Thom and Philip was later appointed the superintendent.

The Rev. John Philip D.D. was the son of a weaver in Kirkcaldy, Scotland, who joined his father in weaving. He showed considerable eloquence and thus was given an opportunity to go and study for the ministry, after which he ministered to the Aberdeen congregation. He offered his services to the London Missionary Society and was sent to the Cape with the Rev. John Campbell, who was going there for the second time, to investigate the complaints about mission work there. It was on this occasion that he was made superintendent of the Cape in February 1819, a position that brought him to the full glare of publicity for a long time (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.141).

Dr. Philip was a very energetic man who brought about a number of changes in the Cape Colony most of which were improvements in mission work. Right from the beginning he crossed swords with the authorities for speaking for the rights of the underdog. At this early stage he was confronted with a strong man in the person of Lord Charles Somerset as governor, who was very conservative and believed in dictatorship. D.K. Clinton observes:

> "In June 1825 Philip sent a mass of papers to the Directors with the urgent request that they should lay them before Bathurst and press them upon his attention. Lord Charles Somerset, he said, had drawn the sword and thrown the scabbard away and he had no alternative but to enter the contest" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.145).

His main concern was to civilise the Hottentots so that in the end they would be able to enjoy equal rights in a state of freedom like all the inhabitants of the colony. For this reason his task was not only to fight against those that oppressed them, but also to bring about internal changes in the Hottentots themselves. To achieve this he pointed out to them:

> "that their grievances could only be removed by refuting the slanders, by their sobriety, their industry, cleanliness and general good conduct" (R. Clinton, 1937, p.125).

In this way he was trying to show them that to improve their lot they had to play their part also. Jane Sales states in this regard:

> "He told them that he intended to use every power he had to gain equal rights for them, but that they must do their part by getting rid of all the old straw huts and replacing them with substantial, preferably stone, houses" (J. sales, 1975, p.80).

Dr. Philip also realised that to uplift the Hottentots he had to fight against their hopeless improvidence and to achieve this he intended introducing a savings bank for them.

> "The Hottentots have no idea of saving money. They seldom trouble themselves about the future, and when they have scarcely anything to eat, they go to rest with easy minds, unconcerned with tomorrow's fare" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.126).

In the foregoing we are able to see that basically Philip was not a person who was strongly prejudiced against the Boers in favour of the people of colour as he is usually depicted by his enemies. In the same way as it was the case with Van der Kemp, as we have seen, he did find a lot of wrong with the Hottentots which had to be eradicated. What he did not like, and I think quite rightly, was the injustice that they were made to suffer purely because of their colour. D.K. Clinton quotes him as saying:

> "In this Colony our Justices of the Peace are Field Commandants, Field Cornets, and Deputy Field Cornets, who have not more education than their slaves, and as a body, in that respect, far behind the Hottentots at our Institutions ... They are the very men who all along have been the greatest oppressors of the people of colour, who have resisted all the Ordinances of the home Government to amelionate the condition of the slaves, and who are much opposed to their religious instruction" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.131).

This point is further elaborated upon by Richard Lovett who argues:

> "... he had hardly assumed the full responsibilities of his new position before he began that course of ceaseless, energetic, and successful toil on behalf of the native races, which made him for long years the most unpopular man in South Africa among large sections of the colonists. In fact, the true standard of the good work he did, and the vast influence he exerted on the side of liberty, justice for all, and true

> progress, is the bitter hate with which those pursued him whose errors he combated, and those vices he condemned" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.541).

It was not surprising, then, to find Dr. Philip playing such a major role in fighting for the rights of the natives in South Africa. We should also remember that he came from a country, Britain, that was dominated by the ideas of liberty and equality and where the philantropic movement was at its best fighting against all forms of slavery and oppression. He was, no doubt, convinced that Britain could come into the South African situation as a saviour on the side of the black people. In making this point, Richard Lovett states:

> "He went out under the conviction, then common in England, that the cruelties and the oppression from which the native races had suffered under Dutch rule has been largely ameliorated by the transfer of power to England" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.541).

This British background, coupled with the nature of his task as a Christian missionary, and seen against the background of the social evils that were prevalent in the Cape Colony at this time, the passing of the Vagrancy Law of 1809, the Apprenticeship Act of 1812 and the much debated proposed law which was called "opgaaf" in 1814 on the taxation of the Hottentots that lived in the mission institutions, makes D.K. Clinton's conclusion quite appropriate in this regard:

> "There can be no doubt after the perusal of the available evidence, that Philip did not deliberately push himself into political affairs,

> progress, is the bitter hate with which those pursued him whose errors he combated, and those vices he condemned" (R. Lovett, 1899, p.541).

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> "There can be no doubt after the perusal of the available evidence, that Philip did not deliberately push himself into political affairs,

> but that he was drawn into them by the very nature of his task in South Africa" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.140),

and thus,

> "He did not spare himself, but gave all his energies to his great task of liberating the Coloured People of the Cape Colony" (D.K. Clinton, 1937, p.148).

It is interesting at this juncture to note that Dr. Philip is seen from the radical quarters as much of an enemy as from the conservative elements. To the conservatives he was an enemy because he threatened their privileged prosion as a white-skinned group above that of a people that was not only 'heathen' but also cursed with dark skins. These people,

> "whether Bantu, Hottentots or Bushmen, were less than human: baboons and dogs, whose colour sufficiently indicated the curse of God that rested upon them" (A.M. Chirgwin, 1927, p.27).

To the conservatives, therefore, issues of liberty and equality were the special preserve of the white man. On the other hand the radicals do not only believe in freedom and equality for all men regardless of race, colour or creed, but, what is more, are against the economic exploitation of one class by another. This, in short, is what, to them, is responsible for colonialism and imperialism. It is this group, therefore, that accuses Philip, together with other missionaries, of being an agent of British imperialism. They argue that he was not just concerned about the spread of the Gospel and christianising and civilizing

the "heathen", he was also concerned about British economic interests and the spread of British influence. A representative of this radical viewpoint, Nosipho Majeke, (1952, p.8) quotes from the preface of Philips' book in proving this point:

> "While our missionaries are everywhere, scattering the seeds of civilization ... they are extending British interest, British influences and the British empire ... Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way, their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants ... Industry, trade and agriculture spring up (Dr. J. Philip, 1828).

They point out that the missionaries, more often than not, preceded the military forces in the process of subjugation and conquest of the "Kaffirs" and the end result would be exploitation of the native races and the plundering of their land.

However, whatever the argument, Dr. Philip did involve himself in a field that was suitable for politicians. This becomes clear when he started concluding treaties with chiefs like Waterboer, Adam Kok and Moshweshwe in an attempt to protect the northern border of the Colony (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.150). To some people this is a policy of divide and rule. An argument is also advanced that some missionaries openly took part in politics by becoming native commissioners as it was the case with the Rev. Henry Calderwood, who was in charge of the Fingoes in the Healdtown area (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.429) and the sons of missionaries,

Charles Brownlee, the son of Rev. John Brownlee, and Theophilus Shepstone, who became very conversant in the Xhosa language, the latter eventually coming to play a major role in "native administration" in Natal.

We have seen the work of the London Missionary Society among the Bushmen whom Kitcherer described as a race,

> "... that had no chief, no family life, no social cohesion, no tribal organisation, and apparently none of those religious beliefs and ceremonies which even the most savage races profess and practice" (R.Lovett, 1899, p.104).

It lasted a very short period and ended in failure. We further saw how they worked among the Hottentots who, though also weak, were better organised than the Bushmen. We now turn to the Xhosas who were the best organised politically and militarily of the three racial groups. In appearance they were fairly taller than the two groups and were quite well-built. Although they did move from one place to another, they lived a stable life in huts built of reeds and clay.

> "Most homesteads consisted of eight to fifteen beehive-shaped dwellings, a framework of branches plastered with clay and dung and thatched with long grass" (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.3).

This is the group that the colonists met on the Fish River on their eastward movement in search of better pasturage, and a number of frontier wars ensued with the first in 1779 when Rharhabe drove the imiDange-

tribe into the territory of the Boers (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.50). These wars made any attempt by the missionaries to settle among the Xhosas well nigh impossible as we have seen how Van der Kemp was bent on settling among Ngqika's people but could not succeed. Even when the missionaries were able to settle among the Xhosas, they found it difficult to convert them into Christianity because, firstly, they had their own well-established religion (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.67). Secondly, which is more important, the Xhosas never trusted the white man even with the friendly gestures he advanced towards them. They had come to one conclusion that he had come to seize their land and thus he had to be driven back into the sea from whence he came. Chirgwin, in comparing on the one hand the Hottentots and the Bushmen who never gave any resistance to the invasion of the Europeans, and the Xhosas on the other, writes:

> "With the Bantu tribes it was different. They fought with all their force to check this alien invasion, and even to hurl it back into the sea. They saw that the two cultures were so different that there could be no truce between them. Hence with stroke after hammer stroke they pounded Boer and Briton alike" (A.M. Chirgwin, 1927, p.35).

Chief Sandile, Ngqika's son and heir to the throne, put it succinctly in showing the mistrust the Xhosas had in the missionaries when he remarked about the Rev. H.H. Dugmore:

> "... a man who came to teach the truth to Caffers: but he does not know the truth himself. Such men

> from the Colony speak lightly of war: they delight in the grass and water of Caffraria and make strings of lies to secure it" (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.128).

It is important to note that the meeting between these two groups, black and white, had to be fraught with difficulties and dangers inherent in a situation of this nature because both of them had each a well-established form of culture, albeit at different levels of development, with the white one technologically more advanced. Secondly, and more important, their major concern was the acquisition of more grazing land for their respective stock, with its accompanying subsidiary of cattle-thieving from both sides. J.B. Peires comments in this regard:

> "Friction is endemic in frontier situations, and neither Xhosa nor Colonists were wholly innocent or wholly culpable ... Underlying specific grievances ... was the clash of two pastoral peoples for land and cattle" (J.B. Peires, 1981, P.53).

This led to a bitter conflict and a string of wars which left permanent scars on the relations between black and white whose effect is still telling up to the present day. These wars led Sir Harry Smith, who later became governor of the colony, to remark in disgust about the Xhosas:

> "I view them as irreclaimable savages ... whose extermination would be a blessing" (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.113).

One realises the seriousness of this statement when one thinks of what happened to the Bushmen.

This greed for land on the part of the whites is further illustrated by a remark made by one of the settlers, T.K. Bowker, in the middle of the 1834-1835 war. He mused:

> "The appearance of the country is very fine. It will make excellent sheep farms. Kaffir corn fields in every valley ... Far too good for such a race of runaways as the Kaffirs" (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.123).

This brings us to another important missionary settlement of the London Missionary Society, the Kat River Settlement, which was the brainchild of Andries Stockenstrom. He never wanted this land to be occupied by the Xhosa, who were injurious to the colony (W.B. Boyce, 1838, p.7). Initially this area belonged to Chief Ngqika, who was later persuaded to evacuate it and, in turn, the colonists would not occupy it, and thus it had to remain as a neutral territory. It is interesting to note that it was here that Van der Kemp expected to meet Ngqika as he was bent on a mission to the Xhosa. Jane Sales states:

> "The Kat River mission from 1816 to 1818 was, in many ways, a continuation of the concern for the Xhosa people which led Van der Kemp to Ngqika's home in 1799" (J. Sales, 1975, p. 63).

The first missionary who worked in this area among the Xhosas was a Wesleyan, the Rev. Joseph Williams, who died in 1818 (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.246). In 1822 the government had turned a blind eye and allowed, once more, Maqoma, the son of Ngqika, to re-occupy the Kat River Valley, much against the desires of the colonists who so coveted that rich land with abundant water supply (G.J. Tabane, 1983, p.2). A pretext was then devised to drive the Xhosas out of the area. The government alleged that Maqoma had attacked the Thembu people and other small tribes and for this reason he was pushed out of the Kat River Valley with his people. The Xhosas were never happy in being driven out of such a fertile area (W.B. Boyce, 1838, p.7).

In 1829 the governor, Sir Lowry Cole, issued an instruction for a settlement to be opened up for the Hottentots and Dr. Philip appointed the Rev. James Read as missionary of its London Missionary Society (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.247). According to G. Tabane (1983, p.5) Read was invited by Andries Stockenstrom as missionary because he wanted to attract the Hottentots from Theopolis, a London Missionary Society station near Bethelsdorp. The government also appointed the Rev. William Thomson of the Dutch Reformed Church with his station at Balfour to the settlement (G. Tabane, 1983, p.5). James Read founded his station at Philipton.

Although the government had engineered the establishment of this settlement, it was not prepared to shoulder the financial burden resulting therefrom and thus the missionaries had to provide the educational facilities. But Balfour received some government aid (G. Tabane, 1983, p.5).

Classes started immediately at Philipton under the guidance of Read himself. These were literacy classes based on reading and writing and the learning of the Dutch language for purposes of reading and studying the bible and the catechism. They were held in the evenings and hymns were sung. The classes catered only for adults. The Rev. Read held a class every week which he prepared for sacrament and it was called a Sabbath class (G. Tabane, 1983, p.5).

It was soon realised that the number of children was increasing and thus a need for public week-day schools had arisen. In about two years the London Missionary Society established twelve day-schools and four infant schools for pre-schooling at Philipton. A Normal School was also established for the training of teachers. James Read, Junior, became the superintendent of the day schools, which by 1834 had about seven hundred pupils. All the schools were run by blacks (which here includes Hottentots and "Bastards") with the exception of the creché, which was run by Mrs. Read and the Sewing School by her daughter (G.J. Tabane, 1983, p.7).

The curriculum consisted of English and Dutch, history, geography, arithmetic, scripture, reading and writing, and rudiments of mathematics. As would be expected, the teachers were poorly paid because the schools were not government subsidised and at times the community had to augment what the missionaries were giving them. Dr. Philip was highly impressed by the progress he found there when he visited the settlement. He commented:

> "I never, till I came on this occasion to the Kat River, saw the full value of our Missionary institutions. The attainments which were undervalued at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis are of inestimable value" (G.J. Tabane, 1983, p.7).

During the 1834-1835 war the schools were burnt, but Mr. Barker of the London Missionary Society stationed at Theopolis as missionary rebuilt them and by 1836 nine of them were operating again. The number increased to 17 and the pupils to 1,400 with the result that the pupil-teacher ratio was 94:1. Read, Junior, established school committees in order to involve the community. In 1845 a printing press was established and school-books, catechisms, circulars, etcetera were printed and this increased the literacy of the community (G.J. Tabane, 1983, p.26).

The same destruction occurred again during the 1846 war and this time even books were burnt. The grievances that the Hottentots had after this war led to their rebellion in 1851 during the course of another war, and this time the whole settlement was destroyed and the grant that had been given to the London Missionary Society was declared null and void. Tabane sums it up thus:

> "The Kat River Settlement had 'died' and with it everything else in it ... including the education of the Blacks in this Eastern Frontier Settlement" (G.J. Tabane, 1983, p.38).

The destruction of the Kat River Settlement marked the end of all the major projects of the London Missionary Society in the Eastern Cape Frontier. We shall now turn to the Glasgow Missionary Society.

CHAPTER 4

THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND

We have seen how political events in Europe, especially the French Revolution, played a part in the origins of the London Missionary Society and the Glasgow Missionary Society was to be no exception. The spiritual movement (see Chapter 2) was a factor that led to the formation of the Glasgow Society in the same way as it had done with the London Missionary Society in September 1795 (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.23). As D. Williams (1967, p.34) puts it, "like the London Missionary Society (it) was an outgrowth of the Evangelical Revival."

The establishment of the London Missionary Society in 1795 in London had a direct influence on the formation of the Glasgow Missionary Society. Immediately after the London Missionary Society had come into being, in the same month in fact, several ministers began to meet regularly in Glasgow to discuss the sending of the Gospel, as they put it, "to distant and dark regions" of the world (R.H.W. Shepherd, p.21). They continued to meet until on 9 February 1796 twenty-three ministers and thirteen lay preachers gathered to form the Glasgow Missionary Society, irrespective of denominational affiliation. This meeting was held at the Chapel-of-Ease, Session-house, Albion Street, Glasgow (D. Williams, p.34).

The moving spirit behind this new society was the Rev. John Love, the veteran secretary of the London

Missionary Society, though he was not one of its founders (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.183). The founding meeting elected as chairman the Rev. Alexander Pirie and as secretary the Rev. Robert Balfour. Also present was the Rev. John Burns. It is interesting to note that a number of mission stations in the Eastern Cape were later named after these distinguished men (Shepherd, p.21). The meeting stated the aim of the society as, "... propagating the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in heathen countries" (Shepherd, p.21). The members present also decided that the society was to co-operate with the others already in existence and individuals with the same aim irrespective of denomination, and that an attempt would be made to avoid interfering with the principles of individual churches. It was further decided that contact would be maintained with the Rev. Dr. Love of the London Missionary Society and representatives of the Glasgow Missionary Society would be sent to the annual meetings of the London Missionary Society.

The Rev. Thomas Bell was charged with the task of setting out what were called the basic "talents" required of a missionary to undertake his duties. These appeared in a document dated 1 March 1796 which declared,

> "As to the talents requisite in a Missionary, we are humbly of opinion that,
>
> 1. He should be ... with piety, prudence and aptitude to teach.
>
> 2. His principles should be examined, particularly as to the ruin and recovery of mankind.

3. His bodily constitution should be considered.

4. His age should not be below twenty-four years, nor exceed forty.

5. He should be eligible from any denomination of Christians in the Society.

6. He should have some acquaintance with the Rules of Physic, as in knowing the pulse, letting of blood, etc..." (Shepherd, p.24).

There were also further stipulations as to how the missionaries were to relate to the "heathen" on reaching their destination. They were strongly warned on the question of talking ill of the "heathen" customs because this would antagonise them and thus minimise the chances of their accepting Christianity. In fact, the missionaries were expected to adopt a friendly attitude towards the whole way of life of the natives, including the idols they were worshiping (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.26).

Of more importance was that the missionaries had to have a strong desire to become missionaries. In this regard the feeling of the Board of Directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society coincided with that of Mr. A. Fuller, of Kettering, the principal agent in managing the affairs of the Baptist Missionary Society, who forcefully declared:

> "No man is fit to be sent, in my judgment, either as a principal or an assistant, who does not possess a peculiar desire after the work, ... It is not every person, however, who may possess a

> desire to be a missionary, who ought to be accepted (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.26).

Apparently Mr. Fuller here had in mind people who did not have a genuine desire to be missionaries, but rather intended to use the society as a means to their personal and selfish ends. He continued:

> "You will probably find many, during this great stir, who will offer themselves to go, but whose desire, upon examination, will be found to have originated in a dissatisfaction with something at home. They dislike the politics of their country, and therefore wish to leave it, or they have been chagrined by disappointment in civil and wordly affairs; or they are vain, and conceive it to be a fine thing to attract the attention, and bear a commission from thousands; or they are idle, and wish to ramble up and down the world; or inconsiderate, and have not properly counted the cost (R.H.W. Shepherd, p.26).

A thorough examination, therefore, was to be carried out of any prospective missionary to be able to detect these weak points rather than allow them to show up at a late stage when great damage had already been caused. Some commentators later felt that if the society had stuck to these principles as they had been laid out, some of the failures would have been avoided (R.H.W Shepherd, 1940, p.27).

The first troubles of the Glasgow Missionary Society arose from its personnel. The attention of the society was geared towards Africa and the paramount aim here was to mitigate the slave trade. Earlier a colony had

been established in Sierra Leone to deal with this problem and it was governed by Mr. Zachary Macaulay, who was a friend of Bishop William Wilberforce, the major campaigner against slavery. This tempted the Directors to send missionaries there (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.27). However, they failed to secure people with regular classical and logical education. This was a serious set-back because, in terms of the standards and requirements stipulated by the society, as we have seen, people with inadequate education would not cope with the task, and indeed, it turned out to be so later. Also at this time war was raging in Europe and to venture to the sea would be to risk falling into the hands of the French (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.27).

But the supporters of the society urged that a party of missionaries should be sent because they would like to see the fruits of their financial and other sacrifices. The Directors had no alternative but to yield to the demands of the supporters and thus had to look for volunteers. They succeeded in securing the services of Duncan Campbell and Robert Henderson who were very highly religious though their level of education left much to be desired. Anyway the Directors had banked much on Macaulay as governor to give them the necessary assistance (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.27).

In the end the Sierra Leone mission turned out to be a hopeless failure because both men were intellectually and spiritually unequal to the task before them. Campbell sank to a life of depravity and was even suspected of being involved in the slave trade. Henderson was troubled by ill health and had to return to Scotland. He was also accused of following paths of licentious infidelity (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.28).

The second attempt made by the Glasgow Missionary Society to send missionaries abroad was when it collaborated with the Edinburgh and the London Missionary Societies in a mission to Africa in 1799. They sent six agents to Sierra Leone, two of them ordained clergy and four mechanics. This mission was so fraught with problems that the missionaries quarrelled even before leaving the English Channel. They voted out the man who was their leader, but he refused to abdicate. The matter was referred to the Directors in London and Dr. Love was sent to go and attend to the problem. Unfortunately he missed them because when he arrived at the port they had already left (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.28).

The tension remained high among the missionaries until they reached Sierra Leone where the governor called them to a meeting in an attempt to resolve the dispute. A number of accusations and counter-accusations came up among the members. One accusation made by some was that there were other members of the group who were guilty of heterodoxy; and a second accusation, from those members who were not ordained, was that the ordained ones were making themselves lords over the group. The most trifling complaint came from a member called Cappe of the London Missionary Society who alleged that Graham of the Glasgow Missionary Society was not allowing him to sing his own hymns, saying that he had only to sing the Scottish version of the Psalm of David. No reconciliation could be reached at this meeting and it broke up (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.29).

The end result of these quarrels was that these men were divided into three parties and the two Glasgow Missionaries, against the advice of the governor,

decided to settle at Sherbro instead of at Bananas. Both these men died (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.29).

All these events vindicated Fuller's view that people who were to be sent out as missionaries had to have a strong desire for mission work otherwise they would be failures. These missionaries had shown a dismal lack of discipline and lack of interest in the task before them and consequently tarnished the image of missionary societies generally. What was more was that their quarrels were based on petty and stupid issues which betrayed their lack of education. The Directors thus decided that in future people who would join these missionary expeditions would have to have some level of liberal education and a full course in theological studies.

In July 1800 Dr. Love moved to Glasgow from London. Here he played a very important role in the Glasgow Missionary Society. "This was an event of first-rate importance for the Society" (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Vol. 5, p.203). He became chairman in 1807 and secretary in 1809 until his death in 1825 Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Vol. 5, p.203).

Although the Glasgow Missionary Society had realised at that stage that what was important was thorough and intensive training, it lacked funds and thus its activities came to a halt:

> "For the first twenty-four years the record of the Glasgow Society was one of failure and disappointment. The attempt to found a mission in Sierra Leone was abortive. In these early stages of

> missionary enterprise the supply of suitable men was lamentably deficient, and those who were accepted and sent out proved in many cases unworthy of the trust committed to them" (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.183).

Another set-back for the missionary movement in Scotland was a split which divided the people of Scotland into two camps in 1838 (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Vol. 5, p.203). There were those people who favoured a state church as against those who followed the "voluntary principle". As a result the Glasgow Missionary Society also split into two, the Glasgow Missionary Society that adhered to the state church (the Free Church of Scotland) and ceased to be an interdenominational society; and the Glasgow South African Missionary Society which was attached to the United Presbyterian Church (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.91).

Though the split was undesirable, however, those involved were able to handle it with care. They appeared to have used extreme prudence and caution to see to it that it did not affect their mission work. This was especially so in the Cape Colony as we shall see in the next chapter (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Vol. 5, p.203).

CHAPTER 5

THE GLASGOW MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA

By 1820 the Dutch-speaking population had increased considerably in the Cape Colony and this caused a need for more ministers of religion among the people there who belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. Dr. George Thom, a respected minister of Caledon, had been their minister though he was more interested in the London Missionary Society. When he visited his country, Scotland, through the request of the people in the Cape, he managed to get the Rev. Andrew Murray for Graaff Reinet and the Rev. Alexander Smith for Uitenhage (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.183).

However, Thom had more interest in work among the "Kaffirs" and thus he influenced the Glasgow Missionary Society to send missionaries to Kaffraria. Though the society had no money, they received an offer of services from a young man, William Richie Thomson, who had been training at Glasgow University for the ministry. His original intention was to join emigrants who wanted to go to the Cape as their pastor, but their number was not sufficient and thus the trip failed (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.30).

Because the society had no money, Dr. Thom suggested that an arrangement be made with the government at the Cape. The society was to pay for the travelling expenses of Mr. Thomson, while the government would be responsible for his salary of £100 a year while in the Cape. The arrangement was concluded. Thomson was to

be joined by John Bennie whose studies for missionary services were to be interrupted. In Bennie's case, both the travelling expenses and the salary were to be paid by the society. Through the recommendation of Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Love, who were members of the Directorate, the two men went to London where Thomson was ordained in the Presbyterian Church in the presence of the Presbyterian and Dutch ministers (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.31).

It is of interest here to note that Thomson's interest in the Cape had been evoked by the story of Dr. van der Kemp:

> "Some time during 1812-1813, on receiving the news of the death of Van der Kemp, Fletcher preached a sermon on missions. The story of Van der Kemp's life and death made a deep impression on Thomson. His predilection was towards work in Africa" (D. Williams, 1967, p.35).

Mr. Alexander Fletcher was Thomson's Sunday school teacher.

On 29April 1821 Thomson and Bennie left for the Cape Colony accompanied by Mrs. Thomson on the ship Woodlark. The ship was also carrying supplies for the British settlers who had settled in the district of Albany the previous year (D. Williams, 1967, p.38).

In July the party arrived in Cape Town where they were welcomed by the people there "with great Christian hospitality in a city half-composed of slaves." From there they sailed to Algoa Bay whence they travelled to the Chumie where they arrived in November 1821,

accompanied by a Dr. Coke. Dr. Coke was of great help because when Bennie was attacked by apoplexy on the way, he came to his rescue with his medical expertise (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.32).

At Chumie they were welcomed by the Rev. John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society, who had in his arms the young Charles Brownlee, who was to play a very important role in the administration of the natives in the Eastern Cape and eventually became the first Minister of Native Affairs in the Eastern Cape (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.32).

At this stage it is important to understand the relationship between the Rev. John Brownlee and the government in so far as the "Kaffirs" were concerned because this is one of the most important issues to consider when assessing the role played by the missionaries in the shaping of the future of the Africans in South Africa. Brownlee got into a position that was previously occupied by the Rev. Joseph Williams of the London Missionary Society, who was acting both as a missionary and also as a government agent (D. Williams, 1967, p.20). This was a very nasty position because the government was constantly at war with the Xhosas who felt they were being robbed of their land by the white race whom the government represented. The missionaries were also white and therefore it was easy to suspect them of working for the downfall of the "Kaffir" chiefs by giving information to the white military forces about their position. This, in fact, is what actually happened.

> "Therefore the missionary had a dual secular function in Kaffirland: the inculcation of

> civilisation through Christianity and the transmission of information to the Colonial Government" (D. Williams, 1967, p.24).

So, as Williams was acting as missionary and agent under Lord Charles Somerset's Government, "Brownlee was appointed to fill in the gap left by William's death" (D. Williams, 1967, p.21).

The Chumie station was on the Gwali River and not on the Tyhumie River as is usually mistakenly thought, and the difference in spelling has to be noted. the land is good with abundant water and timber. There were many Xhosas who lived in the surrounding area from whom the missionaries wanted to gain knowledge about the Xhosa mode of living and language. The latter was of paramount importance since in preaching the Gospel it had to be used as a means of communication. The missionaries struggled at first in mastering the language which they found so difficult because of its clicks (Shephard, 1940, p.33).

John Brownlee had already started with some work at this station when Thomson and Bennie joined him. The first thing they did was to open a school which was headed by Bennie. He started with forty children and the number went up to sixty within a very short time (R.H.W. Shephard, 1940, p.56). Bennie himself, who was basically a linguist, started learning Dutch, which he grasped with ease. He also tried to learn Xhosa but found it very difficult.

The next step was the christianising of the "Kaffirs". The missionaries realised that it was very difficult to carry on with this task with people whose environment

was still largely "heathen". Whatever successes they would achieve at the mission station would be undone when the converts went back to their people. This was an observation that was also made by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society. The Rev. John Campbell, for example, realised that it was possible to convert a heathen to Christianity without making him accept civilisation. He wrote:

> "They have relinquished sinful conduct, and are looking for the coming of the Son of man: yet they can sleep on the bare ground as comfortably as the European on his bed of down - nor do they perceive the necessity for the same delicacy in dressing as he does, because they have been accustomed to another mode from their infancy" (J. Campbell, 1815, p.76).

The same observation was made by Charles Brownlee who noted that the "heathen Kaffirs" who had been working for the Europeans and were forced to use European clothes would cast them away when they went back to their countrymen. He stated:

> "Apart from missionary influence, contact with Europeans has done very little indeed to civilise the natives, or to change their habits and customs" (C. Brownlee, 1896, p.355).

A point of interest here is that this problem has persisted throughout the years since the Europeans came to this part of the world and spread Christianity. It has created a conflict situation among the Africans. For example it is very common to find an African Christian family, that does not only profess

Christianity, but also practises it by attending church services almost every Sunday and children attending Sunday school, slaughtering a goat as a sacrifice to the ancestors. Some of these people are of fairly liberal education and are, by any standards, civilised in outlook. For this reason they usually perform these ancestor worship ceremonies in a secret or disguised manner for fear of public censure. Others are quite open about it, and point out that what they are doing is no different from what Abraham in the bible did when he was called upon to slaughter his son, Isaac. When he was about to slaughter him, he was stopped by a voice which directed him to slaughter a sheep.

What is interesting is that these people do acknowledge the fact that there is a "life hereafter" and a "world to come" which they have to work for hence they go to church to pray for the Grace of God to abide with them. But they do not see any reason why they have to abandon the customs of their forefathers when the Europeans have not done that. They believe that Christianity was used to mislead them and thus to rob them of their land. A.M. Chirgwin points out that (at the time when the book was written) 1,5000,000 whites held 240,000,000 acres of land whilst 4,750,000 Africans held 27,000,000 acres. He then says this is what made one of the members of a "Bantu" club in Johannesburg to remark:

> "When the white man came to this country, he had the Bible, and we had the land: today we have the Bible and he has the land" (A.M. Chirgwin, 1927, p.37).

Without our having to examine the validity of the above statement, this new interpretation of the scriptures has caused blacks to be in a state of conflict because they uphold two cultures, the western, modern culture of which Christianity is part; and their own original culture, enshrined in ancestor-worship. Others have gone to the extent of talking about going back to the "Roots", especially the enlightened youth. Amongst the latter group we find the sceptics who pose questions with regard to the concept of God. Peires observes about this group:

> "A favourite remark of Xhosa sceptics was that if God was all powerful and the Devil the author of all sin, God should simply convert the Devil and save everyone trouble" (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.76).

This is the problem the missionaries were confronted with when they were trying to christianise the Xhosas whose environment and background was still heathen. The Xhosas were not yet fully convinced that by accepting Christianity they had to abandon completely what had made their forefathers to survive for years. Peires remarks in this regard:

> "Thus it was largely in vain that the missionaries, most of whom equated Christianity with European civilisation and behaviour, attempted to persuade the Xhosa to abandon trusted practices which they regarded as essential to their earthly prosperity and well-being in favour of a doctrine which was abstract and explicitly devoid of material benefits" (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.75).

Then Peires concludes:

> "Christianity could not hope entirely to replace traditional religion, intimately bound up as the latter was with the family and with the life cycle of birth, maturity and death ... A new religion could appeal only to those whose old world was irrevocably shattered and who wanted new tools to build a new one (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.75).

The missionaries felt that the only solution in the protection of their converts against this background and especially from being ridiculed by their people was to keep them within the mission stations. They were called out every morning for a prayer (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.57). During the day Bennie was teaching the children. Brownlee attended to the men whilst Thomson to the women. These were instructed mainly in reading. On Sundays they had a special programme which started at dawn and would go on till evening (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.58).

However, even at this stage the missionaries still encountered a number of difficulties. The suspicion among the Xhosas that the whole plan was that the white people should rob them of their land continued. Shepherd notes in this regard:

> "So early as 1830, a Native declared that as the schools increased the country was taken from them" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.59).

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three women, were being prepared for baptism. Six of these people had been influenced by Joseph Williams the London Missionary Society missionary referred to earlier (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.59). This can be counted as a great achievement when considering the odds against the missionaries and there was cause for delight.

On 29 June 1823 five of those Xhosas, three men and two women, were baptised. The remaining two were found to be still unfit and thus not ready for baptism. The baptism of these people was epoch-making because for the first time on the tip of Southern Africa members of the black Xhosa nation were baptised under the banner of Christianity. The three missionaries all partook in the ceremony in the midst of a big crowd and the candidates were highly agitated. The latter were all dressed in European clothes. Bennie remarked about this memorable event:

> "Now, then, the foundation of the church is laid in Caffreria" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.61),

a remark reminiscent of what Jesus Christ said to Peter, when he pointed out that he was the rock on which the Church of Christ was to be built.

The original names of the baptised were dropped and they were given European names. Shepherd remarks about this practice:

> "Following a custom then adopted but later abandoned, the individuals receiving baptism were deprived of their Bantu names and given names of Europeans it was desired honoured"
> (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.61).

This is still being practised up to the present day albeit with a change of emphasis from the religious interpretation to conformity with modernity.

Earlier the traditional names of the "Bantus" were regarded as "heathen" names hence the parents on baptism would be called upon to give their child a "Christian" name. For example, if a baby boy at birth had been given by his parents the name of "Mzikayise", meaning "his father's household", because the father felt that his kraal has been honoured by the birth of a boy, at baptism he might have been given the name of "George" probably because he was born when King George VI was visiting the country. The tendency of late for the blacks is to do away with what they call "foreign" names and here one is able to see the influence of "Black Consciousness."

In the following month after the baptism of the five Xhosas, their children, six boys and one girl, were also baptised. On the first Sunday of November 1823 the first sacrament of the Lord's Supper was observed and those baptised joined the missionaries at the Table (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.61).

In the same year John Ross was dispatched from Scotland by the Glasgow Missionary Society to the Cape Colony. From Cape Town he travelled overland to the Chumie mission station. Along the way he passed Genadendal, a Moravian mission station where he saw avenues of oak trees. He copied this and at a later date he planted oak trees at Lovedale. After some time services were held in the open air church that was called "Under the Oaks" which is still there to the present day. Ross had brought along with him a small printing press with

which they started producing the "Kaffir" alphabet. Bennie, in writing to Dr. Love, noted:

> "Through your instrumentality a new era has commenced in the history of the Kaffir nation" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.63).

The missionaries further suggested to the Directors in Glasgow that they should be allowed to use the "Bantus" themselves to preach to their fellow pagan bretheren for a stipulated amount and this was accepted (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.63).

The missionaries started looking further afield, partly because some of the Xhosa chiefs started inviting them to come to preach to their people; and partly because the Board of Directors expected them to expand anyway. Since Bennie and Ross were not paid by the government but by the society, the latter felt that they had to get a station of their own because they were the responsibility of the society. Consequently a station was established in November 1824 on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Tyhumie River called Ncera, south-east of the Chumie station. In the following year, on 17December 1825, Dr. Love died and the name of the new station was changed from Incerah to Lovedale in his honour (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.184).

The missionaries devoted most of their energy to mastering the Xhosa language and translating the scriptures and other books. To Thomson was assigned the task of translating the Gospel according to St. John and to Brownlee that of St. Matthew. Careful scrutiny had to be exercised in the production of these works so that they would not send distortions to the "pagans"

who would in turn misinterpret the whole mission. As a result they all had to read one another's work closely before it was committed to the press (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.65).

The missionaries were concerned not only with the spiritual welfare of the Xhosas, but also with their bodily needs and appearance. As one of them pointed out:

> "Their being civilized ... is important and will be conducive to temporal good and comfort to themselves, and to our countrymen and others having intercourse with them" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.66).

As part of their "civilising" work, a furrow for irrigation was constructed which is still there. The natives were also taught tree-planting and agriculture. Thomson was able later to say:

> "It is a comfort to me that I can show brickmakers, thatchers, sawyers, ploughmen and jobbers at ditching, hedging and fieldwork ... A neat little village has been formed, inhabited by those who a little while ago roamed the world at large, as wild and savage as their old neighbours, the lions and tigers of the forest"
> (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.67).

In showing their capacity for learning he continues:

> "They imitate us in all things - even in their dress; and now beads and baubles have fallen in the market, and old clothes are in demand" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.67).

On this civilising process, it is important to note that the government of the time also strongly believed that the frontier problems would be solved only if the "Kaffirs" were civilised and this could be done through Christianity. The governor who was strong in this was Lord Charles Somerset. As professor Williams puts it:

> "To Somerset religion was 'the best basis of civilization.' Through the missionary agency and the use of Christianity, civilisation would produce something of an answer to the problem of the turbulent frontier" (D. Williams, 1967, p.22).

Williams continues:

> "Civilisation, Somerset hoped, would induce a change in the Kaffir way of life and thought and make him live at peace with the Colony" (D. Williams, 1967, p.22).

Here Somerset's views coincide with those of Ross when he declared:

> "... it was agreeable to see the Bantu adopting the dress as well as the thoughts and feelings of civilised life" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.67). In other words the whole outlook of the "Bantu" was being changed and his personality transformed, and in that way he would see things differently, with a changed system of values.

Like Somerset, the Rev. Dr. John Philip, Superintendent of the London Missionary Society in the Cape Colony, saw the missionaries as strong agents in the

subjugation of the "savages", even stronger than the military. In his book, Researches in South Africa (1828) he maintains:

> "The most efficient agents (missionaries) which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest and best military posts that a wise government can employ to defend its frontier against the predatory incursions of savage tribes" (D. Williams, 1967, p.24).

Hence the dual secular function of the missionaries as seen by Somerset as we have seen already.

Again these two men saw it as the duty of the British Empire to civilise the whole world generally and the "Kaffirs" in particular in the Cape Colony. Professor Williams continues:

> "What were the roots of Somerset's belief that through civilisation the Kaffirs would be rendered peaceable? The growth of the conviction that it was Britain's 'supreme mission to civilise the world by means of a far-flung Empire' took place, significantly enough, after the American Revolution. It was part and parcel of the humanitarianism which aroused the British public. By 1828, when Dr. Philip published his Researches in South Africa it was accepted that civilisation was a 'never-failing collateral' of Christianity (D.Williams, 1967, p.23).

Here a pattern begins to emerge on the workings of the missionaries together with the colonial governments especially under a man like Somerset. On the

information the missionary was supposed to submit to the government, Williams states:

> "This information would enable Government to have at its fingertips the necessary data to conclude a successful campaign in the event of a frontier war. During times of peace the information would be useful for promoting trade and intercourse generally" (D. Williams, 1967, p.25).

We can thus safely conclude here that this process of christianising and civilising the "Kaffirs" meant in the final analysis bringing them into a new mode of production and distribution which is usually referred to as capitalism. This would, no doubt, benefit the mother-country, Britain, more than the colonial country, and much less the aborigines. However, this is not to overlook the upliftment of the blacks from a "primitive" state of existence to a position with better facilities and broadened spiritual and intellectual horizons. This point is going to be discussed later.

The devastating war of 1834-35 led to the destruction of the Lovedale mission station on the Ncera River and was reconstructed later where Lovedale institution is today (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.186).

More missionaries were sent to the Cape in 1827. By this time it had become evident that not only mental work was to be considered, but what was more, manual work had to be given more attention, especially for a people that had just emerged from "barbarism". For this reason, in this party there were two missionaries

and two mechanics. The missionaries were the Rev. James McLachlan and Mr. William Chalmers and the industrial men were Mr. James Weir and Mr. Alexander McDiarmid. They all brought their wives along with them, except Mr. Weir who came with his mother. Unfortunately Mrs. McLachlan became mentally ill and the couple had to go back to Scotland (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.71).

By 1828 the Chumie station was manned by Thomson, Weir and Robert Balfour, a Xhosa convert who got this name after baptism, as explained earlier. The Lovedale station was staffed by Bennie, Chalmers and Charles Henry, also a Xhosa convert like Balfour, and a teacher. The Rev. John Brownlee had left in 1825 to join the London Missionary Society again and he took an easterly direction. He later founded the town of King William's Town (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.71).

In the meantime Ross and McDiarmid moved in a north-westerly direction to found a station at a place they named Balfour, after the first secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society. The missionaries strategically put this station near Chief Maqoma's place to be able to influence him. But after some time, because of troubles with the Xhosas, the missionaries left Balfour (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.72).

On the other hand, because Thomson was paid by the government, the Xhosas suspected him of being a government informer. He tried to clear his name but he could not:

> "The fact that the post for the Colony constantly left his door opened helped to convince the Kaffir

> chiefs that he was an informer to the Government. (The impression existed amongst the colonists that he was nothing but a government spy)" (D. Williams, 1967, p.103).

The Xhosas had no alternative but to see him as part and parcel of a whole process of robbery and disastrous events. Professor Williams goes on:

> "By the Kaffirs of the Chumie area he was regarded as the harbinger of colonial expansion, a process which had evicted the Black Man from the Ceded Territory in 1819, which had assaulted Gaika in 1822, and which had ejected Maqoma from the Kat River valley in 1829. Several times his life was in danger. Once a change of temper only on the part of the erratic Gaika recalled a party apparently sent to put an end to Thomson" (D. Williams, 1967, p.103).

It is interesting to note that Thomson himself was aware of this. Professor Williams says in this regard

> "The intimate connection between the Colonial Government and the missionary station in Kaffirland was seen by Thomson himself as the basic reason for his personal failure as a missionary" (D. Williams, 1967, p.103).

He once wrote to the Acting Colonial Secretary in England in October 1828:

> "It is very apparent that a strong prejudice exists against me as well as enmity towards the people of the Institution on the part of the

> chiefs to a greater extent than I had formerly any reason to suppose, by which their confidence in me is destroyed, my influence in the country diminished, and my work as a missionary rendered in a great measure abortive" (D. Williams, 1967, p.104).

Coming to himself as a person, he went on:

> "They consider me the principal instigator of the chastisements they have at any time received from the colonial power for their thefts ... These charges were directly alleged against me on a late occasion by one of the chiefs in the presence of Lieutenant Ross of the Mounted Cape Infantry" (D. Williams, 1967, p.104).

The above information is quite revealing on the question of the attitude of the Africans, especially the Xhosas, towards the missionaries generally. Thomson was advised to go to Balfour for his own safety. He took along fifty-two men, sixty-two women and one-hundred-and-one children (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.74).

More mission stations were established towards the east. These were Burnshill and Pirie, named after the officials of the Glasgow Missionary Society. Unfortunately, as already mentioned, at about this time the split occurred in Scotland, which divided the church into two. This affected the Glasgow Missionary Society and as a result two societies were formed, the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Glasgow South African Society. The missionaries in South Africa were also divided, but this was done amicably without

obtrusion on the sions in South Africa (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.18). We shall now look at the most outstanding work of the society, the founding of Lovedale Institution and Fort Hare College.

CHAPTER 6

LOVEDALE: ITS WORK AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE FOUNDING OF FORT HARE

Work at Lovedale mission station was very slow because there were not many Xhosas living in the area. This gave the Rev. John Bennie, who was in charge of the station, enough opportunity to attend to the work of producing literature in the Xhosa language (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.83). In the meantime more stone buildings were erected. Unfortunately trouble between the Xhosas and the Cape Government was brewing.

In the middle of the drought (May 1829) the Colonial authorities saw fit to expel Maqoma from the Kat River Basin on the grounds that he had unjustifiably attacked certain chiefs of the Tshatshu Thembu. He was driven beyond the Tyhumie River (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.89). Maqoma was not satisfied by this reason. Quoting an officer who brought the news to him, Peires writes:

> "He distinctly said, which we found out afterwards to be the case, that he could not make out the cause of his removal, and asked me if I would tell him; and I really could not; I had heard nothing; no cause was ever assigned to me for the removal" (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.91).

The real cause, of course, was the appropriation of land.

Although the loss of land was the primary cause of Xhosa discontent, the other one was the reprisal system

by the military patrols known as the commandos. This was a process of following the spoor of cattle stolen by Xhosas to a homestead from where they would be collected.

> "Farmers whose cattle had strayed through negligence or who simply wanted more cattle could 'trace' a spoor to the nearest homestead and secure cattle out of all proportion to their losses. At best, the system made the innocent suffer for the guilty" (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.91).

Peires continues:

> "Feeling that the cattle question was a mere pretext, the Xhosa concluded that the real object of the Colony was the appropriation of their land" (J.B. Peires, 1981, p.91).

However, the war itself was sparked by a small incident when a sub-chief, Xoxo, the son of Ngqika, was injured when the whites were driving cattled which had been retrieved from him to Grahamstown. The Xhosas felt offended because the royal blood could not just be spilt by ordinary people with impunity (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.83.)

The war was a ferocious one where a number of mission stations were attacked. The missionaries who, to their dismay, saw some of their converts joining their fellowmen, escaped to Grahamstown with a few of their converts. As for Lovedale, it was completely destroyed (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.84). In this regard Robert Young makes an interesting remark. In his book <u>African Wastes Reclaimed</u> he writes:

> "It was no child's play that these pioneers (missionaries) were called to. For thousands of years the curse pronounced on Ham had rested on the natives of the country and as a fruit of it they had been living in the lowest state of savage debasement, cruelty and wretchedness" (R. Young, 1902, p.18).

This, of course, is to overlook the cruelty perpetrated by the whites on the "Kaffirs". During the course of the war Colonel Smith crossed the Kei River and captured Hintsa, whom the Xhosas regarded as their king. He was not to be released until Maqoma and Tyhali surrendered and about 20,000 cattle given to him as ransom. This led to the brutal murder of Hintsa, which some historians regard as treacherous (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940).

The Xhosa people, indeed all the African people, never pardoned this poignant incident which exposed the thinly veiled brutality and rapacity of the white race which was masquarading under the cloak of Christianity and civilisation. Though the Xhosas had started the war, it was not without genuine and justifiable cause; and in any case there was nothing that warranted, thus far, the type of treatment that the Europeans meted out to a king, whom in their own society they so respected and honoured. To add insult to injury, when Smith was charged with murder, he was found not guilty.

It is a painful truth to observe that this perversion of justice that is not colour-blind still prevails to this day where a white judge, passing judgment on a white man who had killed a black man for stealing his 63 cents for buying milk, says that in actuality the

former deserved a gold medal for the act. Commenting on this, the Rand Daily Mail on Tuesday May 29 1984, with satisfaction, pointed out:

> "It has been encouraging to note the immediate reaction of responsible people and organisations to any implication that the law, or our society, should in any way minimise the value of human life ... Members of the public (too) expressed deep concern at Mr. Justice Steyn's remarks, which came during the trial of Mr. Francisco Quintino, who was charged with murdering a man attempting to steal milk money ... Mr. Justice Steyn seems to agree that he did say the accused deserved social approval - even a medal - for shooting the thief."

Needless to say that in this incident race clouded the mind of the judge in passing the sentence. We are here reluctantly tempted to feel that it was the same thing with the judge who handled Hintsa's case.

However, as it used to happen, the Xhosas lost more land because Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the then governor of the Cape Colony, annexed the whole area from the Fish River up to the Kei River and a number of forts were built (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.85). The missionaries went back to their stations except Bennie whose printing press had been destroyed.

Towards the end of 1836 the missionaries of the four stations, Chumie, Lovedale, Burnshill and Pirie, decided to form themselves into a Board for the discussion of their mutual interests. They decided to change the Ncera site and move it to a new area on the eastern bank of the Tyhumie River (R.H.W. Shepherd,

1940, p.87). Bennie was once more in charge of it. The area was quite suitable, especially for agricultural purposes, since the missionaries wanted the Xhosas to understand, more than anything else, the use of the soil for their own advancement.

The first building in this area was erected by James Weir. On the western bank of the Tyhume was a man called Charles Lennox Stretch, who was commissioner to the Ngqika people. This man had always been well disposed towards the missionaries and had love for the Xhosa people, whom he used to help even on a charity basis. He invited the missionaries to come and build next to him on the west bank of the river. He further encouraged them to build a church school for children. Within a short time there were 132 children in this school, 94 girls and 38 boys. Nineteen of these were dressed in European clothes, a clear sign that the influence of the missionaries was beginning to make some inroads into the Xhosa community despite the wars (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.88; R. Young, p.40).

The missionaries had long been entertaining a feeling that the "Bantus" had to be trained to be able to preach to and also to teach their own people. In 1837 they made a recommendation to the Directors in Scotland pointing out that even the children of the missionaries could be trained here and would be better qualified to deal with the Xhosas than their fathers. They would be more proficient in the Xhosa language since they would have grasped it at an early age. (This, of course, is what happened in the case of Charles Brownlee and Theophilus Shepstone.) The Board accepted this suggestion and a seminary was to be built at Lovedale. A two-storeyed building was started immediately, but

unfortunately it delayed until it was completed in 1841 (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.90).

In this building was a tutor's house and a classroom, a library, a room together with a classroom for a female teacher, a kitchen and servants quarters and ten rooms for student boarders. There were also to be agricultural operations by the students for their own consumption and also for their general health in the form of outdoor exercise (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.90). The students would also be in a position to train their own people in the surrounding areas in agricultural operations. Unfortunately the missionaries could not get a qualified person from Scotland thus a qualified "Bantu" was appointed to the post of the department of agriculture. A furrow, headed by Captain Stretch, was constructed to boost the agricultural scheme and it is still there to the present day (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.91).

As the members of the Missionary Board in the Cape had asked for a tutor for teachers, preachers and catechists in the seminary, William Govan was appointed in 1839 (R. Young, p.48). In a publication entitled Lovedale: South Africa dated 9 July 1933, it is stated:

> "The Rev. William Govan was sent from Scotland to found an institution in which teachers and others could be trained for work in the schools and other departments of the mission, and which would also form a centre where children of the missionaries and settlers could obtain their education, for in the Eastern Province at that time educational facilities, even for Europeans, were few and far apart. It was thus that Lovedale came into being (R. Young, 1902, p.6).

On his arrival on 16 January 1841 William Govan set himself on the task to studying the Xhosa language because these were the people among whom he was going to work (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.95).

The actual date of the opening of the institution was Wednesday 21 July 1841 and coincidentally the first anniversary of Govan's ordination as a minister (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.95). The service was conducted by the Rev. W.R. Thomson, who had travelled all the way from Balfour for this grand occasion. It is important to note here that it was quite fitting that Thomson had to be in charge of the service because he was the first ordained missionary of the Glasgow Missionary Society and therefore that the first delighting fruits of the noble task of the society had to get the blessings of a man who was the pride of the society (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.96). After Thomson's sermon, the whole process was given all over again by the Rev. John Bennie in the Xhosa version (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.96).

After the service a meeting chaired by Thomson was held which was addressed, among others, by the Rev. Laing. He reminded the meeting what the Xhosas used to say:

> "Let us, said several intelligent Kaffirs, have access to knowledge in English, for it is as a river, and, unlike our rivers, it is overf owing and ever full" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.97).

It is significant here to note that what was said as early as this period came to be the bone of contention in the 1950's with the advent of the system of Bantu Education, when it was alleged that the type of

education the Bantu was getting was making him a misfit in his society by making him a "black Englishman." Of course the whole controversy culminated in the June 1976 student riots which were sparked by certain fanatics who wanted English to be superseded by Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools.

What is interesting here is the fact that the present black, whether he is enlightened or not, still sees this issue in the same way as that primitive "Kaffir" of the early nineteenth century and opts for English as a medium of instruction for the education of his child. The reason here is not too far to seek. English is not just an international language, as it is commonly said, and thus a convenience for travelling abroad, but, what is more, a vehicle of liberalism which is the embodiment of all the modern ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. It is a medium through which most of the economies of the international community are transacted and in that way a symbol of progress and development. For an oppressed people whose development still leaves much to be desired and whose progress, they feel, is deliberately thwarted by other nations, English presents itself as the only hope for their future, short of viclence. In a lavish feast that was held at Jebulani Amphitheatre to inaugurate the Soweto Town Council, the Rand Daily Mail of Saturday 3, 1984, reported:

> "On education, the mayor (Tshabalala) said he wished to see all Soweto children receive a good education based on missionary Christian principles."

Needless to point out that Mr. Tshabalala was expressing a sentiment that is shared by many, not only in Soweto but in the whole black community and thus the Rev. Laing, as early as all that, had hit the nail on the head when he referred to English and knowledge in his address.

Another person of note who addressed the meeting was the Rev. Calderwood of the London Missionary Society, who founded the station of Birklands to be later known as Healdtown, later one of the biggest missionary institutions in South Africa (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.97).

On this occasion Govan took important decisions. The first one was that the institution was to be undenominational and the second one, that it was to be multiracial (R. Young, 1902, p.50). Both black and white students were made to dine together in the same hall, though they used different tables. The reason for the separation of tables was that firstly the Europeans were paying more for fees than the blacks and secondly the diet was not the same because of the differing cultural backgrounds. But the classes were mixed (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.98).

This awkward arrangement which was neither complete integration nor complete separation was well articulated by one of the teachers in Lovedale. We quote him at length:

> "Several of the principles on which Lovedale has been conducted are peculiar to it, and are not found elsewhere. The first is the brigading of Europeans and Natives together in their true

relation to one another. They are in the same classes; in the same Literary Societies; and they sit in one Dining Hall. They are entirely separated in dormitories, and at dinner they sit at separate tables. In games they are usually separate ... but they meet in the grounds. It will be seen that they are brought into a true relationship with each other, and also that they are not mixed up ... Europeans and Africans have the same Alma Mater ... they acquire common sympathies which usually last for life ... Here the foundation is laid for the true relationship between Europeans and Africans, who must find out how to live together as citizens in the same country. Lovedale is unique in this. In boarding establishments there is no such anywhere else in Africa or America (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.98).

It is to be hoped that a harmonious relationship as the one described above will one day be the solution to the grave problems that beset our beautiful land, where we shall be able to see each other as bothers and sisters and not as masters and servants. It will be only then that the souls of those who founded Lovedale Institution will rest in peace.

In a Governing Council publication entitled Lovedale Appeal (undated) which might have been published early in the Twentieth Century when the institution was appealing for funds, one of the principles on which the institution was founded as stated by David Livingstone, is enunciated as follows:

> "We do not believe in any incapacity of the African in either mind or heart. We have seen

> nothing to justify the notion that they are of a different breed or species from the most civilized. The African is a man with every attribute of human kind (Publication available in the William Cullen Library of the University of the Witwatersrand; p.9).

The publication goes on to point out that:

> "The Institution was founded to serve both Europeans and Natives" (p.10).

It then goes on to show the wide ground covered by the institution:

> "Besides General Education that is provided in the Primary School and the Secondary School, Vocational Training is given in: teaching, carpentry, wagon-making, printing and book-binding, building and plastering, shoemaking, farming and tree-raising, blacksmithing, business, hospital nursing, dispensing and domestic science" (p.10).

The other publication we have referred to earlier, Lovedale: South AFrica, dated 9 July 1933, then posed a problem against which the role to be played by Lovedale Institution was to be seen, and the alternative solutions that were hazarded by the different rulers. On page 3 it observed:

> "How to maintain an advanced civilization while one and a half million descendants of Europeans held a vast land alongside five and a half million Africans - Africans of a race which a century ago did not understand what civilization meant - is South Africa's perennial problem."

It then went on to point out that to some people the problem has got a simple solution:

> "let the white man maintain and develop his civilization, keeping life's good things to himself, while the dark-skinned race is left to retain its primitive ways and is thrown sufficient merely to preserve it in life that it may serve its betters. Only thus, it is argued, is civilization safe: only thus is the African kept content, since, having known no better, he will seek no more" (Lovedale: South Africa, p.3).

To others the problem can be solved by maintaining racial harmony, presumably on the basis of equality. About these people it stated:

> "They are haunted by the saying that to keep a man in the ditch means to stay there with him. They believe that for concord in Africa - as in a piano - both Black and White must play, and play in harmony" (Lovedale: South Africa, p.3).

In short, the above statements do not only give us the principles on which Lovedale Institution was founded, but also the spirit that permeated that small community and overflowed to the rest of not only South Africa but also Africa south of the Sahara. This is the legacy with which the founders who were members of the Glasgow Missionary Society left us. R.H.W. Shepherd (1940, p.102) refers to this institution as "the cradl of English Christianity."

After the opening of the institution the missionaries settled down to their work and its first products were

Vimbe and John Balfour who became teachers and went to teach at Burnshill with Rev. Bennie. Tete, the son of Chief Ngqika, who had entered the institution with Vimbe, unfortunately fell ill and died in 1843 (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.103).

Initially, progress at the institution was not encouraging, however, at the end of 1843 examinations were written supervised by all the surrounding missionaries within the radius of thirty miles. They expressed satisfaction with these examinations, but the achievement was still discouraging, especially to Govan. The Directors tried to explain to the supporters that they should not be discouraged, pointing out that:

> "For first if we look at the matter in a natural point of view, how could we expect the same progress in a state of society scarcely delivered from barbarism, equal to that among ourselves? ... A taste must be formed, society must approve such a taste, and public opinion must help it on, ere it can generally prosper. But in Kaffirland public opinion is all against it, school attainments excite ridicule, and the very habits of the people, we had almost said their constitution, are indisposed to scholastic acquirements" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.103).

True though this point is, at least by now we know that this is not the only explanation to this problem of the Xhosas not readily accepting education. The mistrust they had in the white man that he wanted to rob them of their land, as we have seen in the 1834-35 war, and especially the chiefs who felt that the mission

stations were encouraging disloyalty among their subjects, and the double role played by the missionaries in preaching the Gospel and also being government agents, as we have seen with Rev. Thomson, were things that also militated against any educational project.

With the Glasgow Missionary Society splitting into two as a result of the trouble in the church in Scotland, as we saw earlier, Lovedale fell under the Free Church of Scotland, and went on with the preparation of students for ministry. Realising that few pupils were registering, Govan decided that a maximum of two pupils from each denomination should be exempted from paying fees, a concession that was allowed only to the children of the members of the Presbyterian Church. However, the Directors rejected this and Govan took it to be a vote of no-confidence in him and resigned (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.105). However, he was not to leave Lovedale until he had been replaced. But before the church could respond to this, the War of the Axe broke out (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.105).

Because of the war, Lovedale was closed and Govan and his colleagues moved to Balfour where they joined Rev. Thomson. At the time of closure there were twenty-six pupils at the seminary. A girls' department which had just been opened under a Miss Smith, had nine girls who were daughters of the missionaries (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.109). About hundred pupils were attending at the primary school. There were also some people who were prepared for baptism.

During the course of the war Govan decided to go back to Scotland at his own expense. He took along with him

some students who were sons of missionaries who had won bursaries. He had intended that Tiyo Soga should be amongst them, but unfortunately he could not qualify for a bursary and Govan paid for him (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.112). When Govan left for Scotland, his colleagues expressed the hope that he would come back when peace had been restored.

After the war the area east of the Keiskama River was declared British territory and was called British Kaffraria. The chiefs were allowed to rule their people there but were to be under a High Commissioner and King William's Town was made capital of the area. The missionaries were invited to re-occupy their mission stations under government protection and the area west of the Tyhume River ceased to be neutral territory. It was declared "Ceded Territory" and given the name of Victoria East. The biggest fort in the Colony, Fort Hare, was built and the soldiers were moved from Lovedale to the new fort (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.115).

The unfortunate part of this re-arrangement by Sir Harry Smith was that the area west of Lovedale had been given to the missionaries by Chief Tshali, but after the war Sir Harry Smith put it under the Queen and declared:

> "All missionaries are invited to return to their missions; and, that no misunderstanding or misconception may arise, Her Majesty's high Commissioner gives notice that the land of their mission stations shall be held from her Majesty, and not from any Kaffir chief whatever" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.117).

Fingoes were then settled on this area as a gesture of gratitude for remaining loyal to the government during the course of the war and they, in turn, provided fertile ground for evangelisation (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.117).

Whether the missionaries still had any faith in the Xhosas at this stage is not very clear, but the government played them off against the Xhosas by taking away the land which had been given to them by a Xhosa chief in good faith. What made things worse was that part of this land which is west of Lovedale was occupied by the Fingoes whom the Xhosas despised. It should be remembered that a similar thing happened at Kat River Valley when the Xhosas were driven out of that valley and the Hottentots were settled there with missionaries. When one looks at the present Bantustan system against this background, a pattern begins to emerge, that is, the idea of dividing the non-white groups to facilitate the rule of the whites. This is what is at times referred to as the policy of "divide and rule."

There might be a genuine fear on the part of the whites when it comes to the question of numbers. They themselves are not divided into English, Jew, Italian or whatever, but are treated as one. But their number still falls far short of that of the black groups. Thus the only way for the white group to remain in a position of power is to divide the non-white groups so as to create a false majority. To the outside world, it is hoped, this gives some semblance of democracy.

When the soldiers left Lovedale for Fort Hare, it was discovered that the former needed repairs. The

government agreed to finance this including giving the institution a yearly grant of £100 (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.118). As a form of encouragement the government also promised to donate an amount of £12 for every teacher who passed and headed a school. On 4 July 1849 the Presbyterian Church in Scotland resolved to re-open the institution with ten European and seven "Bantu" pupils (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.119). Another war broke out in 1850 which is commonly referred to as the War of Mlanjeni. Once more the mission stations were attacked and the missionaries, to their rude shock, got rough treatment (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.124). The Chumie station had to be abandoned and Lovedale was saved by the presence of soldiers at Fort Hare. After the war there was a lot of progress at Lovedale and a number of people were converted into Christianity, especially the Fingoes. This trend, of course, was in keeping with the observations made by Charles Brownlee when he pointed out:

> "These people coming into a sort of antagonism with their chief on the matter of superstition and customs, the influence of the chief becomes lessened over them; and every war has found this party increased, and on our side" (Charles Brownlee, 1896, p.180).

When Sir George Grey took over as governor of the Cape, he personally travelled to Lovedale where he addressed the missionaries. He pointed out to them that the type of education that was given to the natives was too bookish. More trades had to be introduced and as a result in 1861 book-binding and printing were introduced. However, he did feel that there had to be a class of teachers, preachers and catechists (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.130).

In 1857 there occurred a disaster among the Xhosa people, the Nongqawuse episode. The origin of this national calamity is still a mystery that historians on both sides of the colour line are still unable to explain convincingly. The problem is that it is very difficult to approach it dispassionately without any political colouring, and as a result we find accusations and counter-accusations from both black and white. The fear and danger is that with the passage of time, any glimmer of fact and truth about it is going to fade away into the dark corners of history, thus leaving any future demagogue to use it in this delicate and explosive situation in our country with disastrous effects.

However, it is noteworthy here to point out that on the part of some blacks, the missionaries do not come out clean. Rightly or wrongly, they have a feeling that they had a hand in it to say the least. No doubt, it benefited the white man both missionary and colonist, especially the colonial government, in that chieftainship, which had been a thorn in the flesh of the government, never recovered from this blow. many victims of the disaster ran to the missionaries and the government for help. Shepherd declares in this regard:

> "Not only the missionaries but with the general white population did the Bantu have kindlier relationships. It was seen that the governing nation, instead of allowing the Bantu to perish, had assumed the role of saviour of thousands" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.142).

In Charles Brownlee (1896, p.138) Mrs Brownlee remarked, "The black man found that the white man had a kind heart."

All we can point out here is that the incident irreparably broke the back-bone of the Xhosa people and thus prepared good ground for cheap labour, especially for the diamond and gold mines that were just around the corner.

Progress, however, continued in Lovedale. In 1862 a magazine appeared at the institution printed both in English and Xhosa called Indaba whose basic idea was to stimulate among the "Bantus" the study of English. This desire was also reflected in the government subsidy that was given to the institution (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.145).

In August 1864 missionaries of all mission societies in South AFrica gathered in King William's Town to consider the desirability of presenting a memorandum to His Excellency, Sir Philip Woodhouse, asking for additional government support for the education of natives in British Kaffraria. This evidenced great interest in the education of the natives. Additional classrooms and a church were built in Lovedale under the auspices of a newly created body called the Deacons Court and Lovedale became the headquarters of all the surrounding churches (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.146).

Round about this time, the Rev. James Stewart, a close companion of David Livingstone, was with him in Central Africa. The Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church in Scotland requested him to visit South Africa and prepare a report on the situation there. Subsequently he visited Lovedale in 1863 and in his report pointed out the lack of funds for this institution, emphasising that otherwise it could be what Calcutta became to India under Dr. Alexander Duff.

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Coincidentally, Dr. Duff was in South Africa also having to give a report to the church in Scotland on Lovedale (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.152).

Consequent to these reports, the Rev. James Stewart was appointed to the staff of Lovedale in 1867 after completing his course in medicine. With him came his wife together with Miss Jane Waterson, who opened up the girl school at Lovedale in 1868 (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.153).

When Stewart arrived at Lovedale he had certain strong views about the education of the natives and these, incidentally, did not tally with those held by Govan. Govan felt that the only salvation for the natives in South Africa was education and through it the natives would be rid of the disadvantages they were faced with in life. He therefore felt that higher education had to be given to a few than to give elementary education to the many (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.156). In summarising his basic aim, Govan stated:

> "... it is desirable that Natives should be enabled to take their place alongside of Europeans, not only in the office of the ministry, but also in the various positions in society, secular as well as ecclesiastical"
> (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.156).

It is clear here that Govan was preaching complete equality, without thinking of the native as constituting the labour force. To him the sky was the limit in the true sense of the word.

On the other hand, Stewart felt that emphasis had to be put on training native preachers and teachers:

> "He proposed, however, to shape the whole course of instruction in Lovedale, with special regard to the wants and conditions of Native Africans, with the distinct aim of raising a special class, namely Native preachers and Native teachers" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.157).

The emphasis with Stewart was that Lovedale had to be made a truly missionary institution with the Christian truth as the central subject of instruction and training native teachers and preachers (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.157).

These two systems of education were sent to Scotland and the Committee for Foreign Missions had to choose one. It was not surprising that the Committee decided in favour of the system propagated by Rev. Stewart, since he had been a great friend of David Livingstone who was in the good books of the church in Scotland (R. Young, 1902, p.106). Govan felt that this would lead to the lowering of standards and in July 1870 he resigned. On his departure, the Rev. James Laing, who had been his companion, wrote:

> "I am strongly of opinion that these changes will inevitably affect the education of the country, both as regards missions and as regards those of European descent, and that a few years will show that a great calamity has befallen South Africa by the abandonment of a plan which had effected so much good and which is certain to effect much more" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.165).

As a token of the esteem in which he was held by his admirers, he was given a sum of £300. His salary was

£200. a year. He donated the gift-money to bursaries for natives and it was combined with his wife's to form the Govan Bursary Fund (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.166).

We have seen how Dr. Stewart came to Lovedale and was later appointed principal after the resignation of the Rev. William Govan. He was born on 14 February 1831 in Edinburgh, Scotland, and when he took over principalship at Lovedale he implemented his policy of giving the native general education for all as against higher education for a few, as propogated by Govan (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.169). Only those taking a theological course were allowed to do Latin and Greek, otherwise, the others were to regard English as their classical language. The "Natives" were not satisfied with this because they felt that they were being given an inferior education. However, Dr. Stewart's emphasis in education was on the Christian and moral moulding of the natives and he strongly believed that Christianity had to come before civilisation. The natives were to be christianised first and as time went on they would automatically become civilised. He stated in this regard:

> "Civilization without Christianity among a primitive people was a mere matter of clothes and white-wash" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.178).

Development started moving apace and a branch of "the Electric Telegraph Office" was opened in 1872, operated by the first natives trained in Lovedale. On the eastern side of the Tyhume River a furrow was built for

agricultural purposes and the natives were taught the modern methods of agriculture (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.174).

Under Stewart's principalship, Lovedale contributed towards the establishment of the Blythswood Institution. Captain Blyth, the Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, seeing progress made by Stewart in Lovedale, asked him to found an institution for the Fingoes. Stewart asked the Fingoes to contribute in part and with the assistance of Dr. Langham Dale, Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, Blythswood was founded (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.181).

When the 1877 war broke out, the mission stations were once more attacked and a lot of destruction occurred. After the war the "Bantus" were disarmed and, once again, the land that belonged to the Ngqika people was divided up into farms which were sold to the white farmers. The chiefs were replaced by the magistrates. At last Lovedale came up strongly against the power of the chiefs, the clan system and the form of land tenure. It pointed out through its medium, the Christian Express,

> "the gigantic evil to which all the chronic insecurity and warfare was due was chieftainship with its crimes of murder, lust, inquisition for witchcraft, and grinding tyranny, which had made the whole continent a den of misery for ages" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.191).

A strong suggestion was then made as a solution to the problem and thus the paper concluded:

> "The only thing, therefore, before the people of this country is to stamp out the clan system once and for ever. ... Remove the chiefs, divide out the land among the people, give them titles to arable holdings and commonage, and placing them entirely under the administration of European magistrates. The well-being, the education, and the christianisation of the Native races, besides the peace of the country, demanded that such steps should be taken" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.192).

It was understandable here why the missionaries had to adopt such a strong stand against the "Kaffirs". A lot of destruction had taken place and their lives had been threatened and it was only too natural for them to be true to type and associate themselves with their kind, the white soldier in shooting the "heathen" and the administrator in dividing his land and breaking down his way of life. After all, they were human beings and the law of "self-preservation" was taking its course, and in the circumstances they had no alternative.

On the other hand, the blacks are not to blame, at least some of them, when they see the missionaries as agents of imperialism, working hand in glove with the other agents, the military and the ruler all bent on grabbing the land of the aborigines for purposes of getting raw material and new markets for the mother country. This, of course, was the end result of the whole process. But it is interesting here to look at Dr. Stewart's approach to political issues which is rather baffling, to say the least (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.200).

The missionaries were free to express their views though they were not interested in party politics (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.201). In fact I think it is more true to say they appeared not to be interested or rather they were not directly involved, albeit others could not control themselves. There was a column in the Christian Express entitled "Her Majesty's Subjects: Black and White". Here Stewart used to express his views on this subject. As quoted by Shepherd he pointed out:

> "The fatal error had been made in the country that a policy had been applied to the Natives, simply as Natives, without distinction of loyal or disloyal, rebellious or not. The result was that there was being created a daily widening chasm between Black and White, and so there was slowly being produced mischief for a future day (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.201).

It is interesting to note that, that "future day" Stewart spoke of has apparently come and has seen the production of a constitution (1984 South African Constitution) that has not only widened the "chasm", but has brought such dangerous racial polarisation that the country is tottering on the brink of economic and political collapse. He continued:

> "Yet the interests of the European and Native population were essentially one. In the providence of God the Black and White races of this country had been brought together, and whatever might be said to the contrary, their interests were one" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.201).

It is significant here to note that this view of the interests of black and white being one, was well articulated at a later date by a more radical group in Kliptown in 1955 in a document called the "Freedom Charter." This charter states in its preamble that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white" (Tom Lodge, 1983, p.71). This is a clear acknowledgement and acceptance of the fact that the interests of the people of South Africa, black and white (European and Native, to use Stewart's terminology) are one and that any denial and rejection of the same will lead to disaster and blood-shed on a "future day". One can justificably conclude that this is the mischief that Dr. Stewart foresaw.

Stewart then pointed out something which was, and, I am afraid, is still prevailing in some certain white minds. He boldly declared:

> "It is assuming too much to hold that we were sent here to become possessors of the soil at the expense of another race. We are not such special favourites of heaven as all that ..." (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.202).

He went further to point out that the action, direct and indirect, of recent legislation, had been to deport out of the country one essential element of its material prosperity. Deportation of the "Native" people beyond certain boundaries had been and was then apparently being carried out, and the growing suspicion both among the "Natives" and even a portion of the "Europeans" was, that such was the object as well as the inevitable result of the new prevailing policy (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.203).

Steward attempted to assume a position of not just being neutral, but also of being objective on the whole question without allowing himself to be carried away by philanthropic sentiments or temptation to bluff. He showed that he was not trying to justify the wrongs of the "Natives" nor to hide them. He pointed out:

> "We are not disposed to regard the Natives of the country as faultless people nor hold them a species of wingless angels in black skins. They have their faults, neither few nor slight. But taking them all in all, whatever exceptions they may be, they are a race with excellent qualities ... They are disposed to accommodate themselves to the new condition of things" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.205).

He went on to point out that because of the policy that was against the natives, even those who had been the allies of the Europeans had turned agaisnt them. They had come to mistrust the white man. He went on:

> "A portion of them had up till now been our steady allies and have fought through three wars on our side. It is said that at this very hour they refuse work when offered to them, and scarcely any could be got when four hundred were wanted. But there is something beneath this refusal which is not expressed. There is the distrust of white man" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.205).

This distrust is not surprising when one takes into consideration the experiences the black people, especially the Xhosas in the Eastern Cape, had gone through. The Fingoes, in the main, are the people who

fought on the side of the whites against the Xhosas when the whites exploited a feud that had developed between these two black groups. The Fingoes were in a desperate situation, living under bad conditions under Chief Hintsa. When Colonel Smith took 15,000 of them from that area during the 1834-35 war to save them, they took him in earnestness and sincerity (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.84). They were not aware that they were going to be used as a buffer group against the Xhosas. Secondly, when Henry Calderwood, a former missionary of the London Missionary Society, became a native commissioner, he divided up the land of the Fingoes into small plots and introduced quit-rents (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.129). The Fingoes resented this. These are some of the things that made the Fingoes to fight against the whites in the 1877 war because they had lost all trust in the white man.

Needless to point out that the distrust of the white man by the blackman still exists to the present day and this will continue until the whole fabric of apartheid has been dismantled, because it still represents the policy of "divide and rule." This policy manifests itself clearly in the field of education whose policy is meant to entrench the unfair division of the land between black and white. This is done through a number of acts like Bantu Authorities, Bantustans and Self-Governing States. Frank Molteno in an article in Kallaway states:

> "Bantu Education was to prepare young Africans psycho-ideologically for the position in which the Bantustans placed them physically and politically. .. The basis of the provision and organisation of education in a Bantu community should, where possible, be the tribal organisation" (Peter Kallaway, 1984, p.93).

Molteno points out that the Bantu Education Act was passed just two years after the Bantu Authorities Act. He goes on:

> "Where the latter (Bantu Authorities Act) was intended inter alia, to create a separate 'Bantu Community', the former (Bantu Education Act) was aimed to fit African people into it. The Bantu Authorities were designed for indirect, but rigid, rule through government-recognised (or government created) chiefs and headmen; it was under the control of these very Bantu Authorities that the Bantu Education Act placed the control of so-called 'community schools'" (Peter Kallaway, 1984, p.93).

The emphasis on tribal divisions by the Bantu Authorities Act was clearly manifested in the Bantu Education Act in its provisions concerning language medium and the exclusive tribal composition of the schools (Peter Kallaway, 1984, p.93).

The foregoing points out clearly that though Dr. Stewart was trying to warn his fellowmen on the question of mistrust, a highly appreciable, commendable and admirable thing, however, he was flogging a dead horse because the policy of "divide and rule" is till with us and that is what bedevils the whole question of trust.

Despite the strong views he expressed, Stewart was appointed in important government bodies like the 1880 Commission on Native Laws and Customs where he recommended that the lobola custom should not only be abolished but also legislated against. The commission

further pointed out that the government was not the only civilising agency among the natives. The missionaries were also playing a very important role in this regard. The Commission declared:

> "We consider we would fail in our duty to the Government and people of the Colony, if we professed to hold that only by means of such legislative action can the Natives be caused to advance, or their condition be ameliorated. There are happily other beneficient forces at work, gradually remoulding their nature and character ... Among the most powerful of these operating at present are the various Christian Missions" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.208).

It has to be noted here that the Christian missions carried out the process of civilising the natives not only through the preaching of the Gospel, but in the main, through the schooling system which they initiated and conducted. The latter, of course, is the most important method of all in the transformation of a colonised people culturally and ideologically. Peter Kallaway notes in this regard:

> "The schooling of the colonised, whether conducted by missionaries or by agents of the colonial government, was part of the process of colonisation - the co-optation and control of subject groups" (P. Kallaway, 1984, p.9).

In the light of the above, it is not surprising that the abovementioned commission of which Stewart was the only member who was a missionary, had to see the legislative work of the government as one with that of

the Christian Missions in the process of civilising the native. Which put differently meant colonising them.

Not all the members of the white community, especially those in power, were happy with the educational progress made by the blacks in Lovedale. There were moves in parliament to curtail the Lovedale grant and a certain Mr. van Rhyn actually moved a motion in parliament to this effect. He exclaimed:

> "... the time has now arrived that the government should henceforth discontinue all grants for the education of the Natives" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.222).

The liberal element was shocked by this move and its feelings were articulated by the Graaff Reinet Advertiser, a newspaper, which hit back thus:

> "The Hon. Mr. van Rhyn's head must be a chaos of absurdities. This is the motion he moved to discontinue all grants for the instruction of Natives ... A more hopeless jumble of incongruous ideas we never saw in print. But perhaps he wanted to show sarcastically of how little use education is to some Europeans; and the whole motion was intended for a skit on the white man" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.222).

The fact of the matter is that van Rhyn was a representative of a certain section in the white community that believed that an educated "Native" was bad. He was stubborn and forged cheques and would not take up certain types of jobs. A red-blanketed one was better because he did not question everything.

The truth of the matter is that an educated native is a threat to the class position of the white man. Education stimulates him to aspire for a position above his station in society as defined by the dominant class. It gives him the knowledge and power to question the right of the white community to dominate over the rest. A threat of this nature cannot be tolerated by any ruling class in any epoch, and in South Africa it is two-fold because it is both class and race domination.

After Dr Stewart had retired as principal of Lovedale, Dr James Henderson was appointed in his place. It was during his principalship that the idea of establishing an Inter-State College came to fruition. This idea had been pursued by Rev. Stewart for a long time. At one time he pointed out:

> ".. that the time had come in the development of Native Education in South Africa when one institution should be entirely set apart for the higher education of the Bantu - a College on such a basis that in future years it should develop into a university" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.176).

This idea was endorsed by the Native Affairs Commission of 1903-5, which declared:

> "that a Central Native College or similar institution be established and aided by the various states for training Native teachers and in order to afford opportunity for higher education to Native students" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.276).

In November 1905, just on his point of death, Dr. Stewart wrote a confidential statement on the Inter-State College Scheme in which he set forth his personal judgment based on experience, and gradually arrived at after many years (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.276). In this statement he expressed his gratification by the question of the commission and had always felt that Lovedale would become, in future, a "Native Christian University" of South Africa and all his and the staff's endeavours were geared towards this goal. He therefore heartily approved of the recommendation of the commission for the establishment of a central college. He further suggested that in its councils and boards it should have representatives of the government, the "Natives" and the missionaries. The hostels were to be arranged according to the different denominations (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.277).

He further suggested that:

> "the Natives and their friends should be prepared to raise in part or in whole the sum necessary for the purchase of Lovedale and the governments should guarantee in perpetuity towards the maintenance of the College an annual sum of £10,000" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.277).

Most of Dr. Stewart's ideas and suggestions permeated the history of Fort Hare except that Lovedale Institution was not converted into the college as he envisaged.

A week after Dr. Stewart's death, a convention of 160 leading "Bantus" called by the blacks of King William's Town district, converged at Lovedale from all over

South Africa, including "Basutoland". The meeting which was chaired by the Rev. James Weir started by paying tribute to Dr. Stewart. During the course of the discussion, most of the ideas which had been suggested by Dr. Stewart were accepted, including the denominational arrangement of the hostels to maintain a Christian tone though avoiding sectarianism. The Convention also agreed, with only eight dissentients, to petition the government to the purchase of Lovedale for this purpose and in that way nationalise the institution. In other words, it would be more of a national concern than a religious concern. Another point on which they agreed was to ask the chiefs to open up a fund for collecting money for the College (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.278).

Later it was felt that Lovedale could not be replaced by the proposed college because it had not completed its work and also that the blacks would be an institution less instead of having an additional one. Dr. Henderson thus proposed that the college should be separate and Lovedale would be its feeder. The site of Fort Hare was chosen (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.279).

Earlier places like Queenstown, Bloemfontein and Tsolo had been suggested because they would be central. But in a conference that was held at Lovedale it was decided that a site that would not be far from Lovedale should be chosen because the latter already had a long history and a strong connection with the "Native" people of South Africa. It was also felt that the college, being the brainchild of Dr. Stewart, should not be divorced from where he had been buried (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.280).

In 1907 an Executive Board of the Inter-State College was formed with Dr. Henderson as chairman. Other executive members were J.W. Weir, Dr. Neil Macvicar, K.A. Hobart Houghton, Gasa, Tengo Jabavu and others. The Transkeian Territories General Council had already donated £10,000., the Free Church of Scotland donated £5,000. and the Hon. F.S. Malan, Minister of Education, announced a grant of £600. from the government if the latter approved the lines on which the college was to be run (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.282).

In the same year a Governing Council was appointed, taking the part of the Board and Henderson became chairman, a position he held until 1930. After 1910 the Under-Secretary for Education represented the government and the college was under the Union Department of Education. Mr. Alexander Kerr was appointed as principal. Another important appointment to the staff was Mr. D.D.T. Jabavu, a London graduate. The college was formally opened by the Prime Minister of the Union, the Rt. Hon. General Louis Botha on 5 February 1916. In his address he thankfully pointed out:

> "Here on the place where the great struggle between White and Black was settled with blood and tears, a monument is erected which will stand. Everyone who knows South Africa and its circumstances will thankfully admit that there is a better understanding between the Black and White today, and this better understanding will be improved by the erection of the College" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.284).

He went further to outline the value of education, addressing himself directly to the "Natives" and concluded:

> "Education without character is but a poor equipment for the struggle of life" (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.286).

In her address, Mrs. Stewart, continuing in the same vein as the Prime Minister, pointed out that Dr. Stewart used to say that education without Christianity was useless. She stressed the importance of work and that to be educated means to be humble and not proud.

Classes started on 22 February 1916 with twenty students, two of whom were Europeans. The science laboratory was a kitchen of one of the houses that were used as classrooms (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.287). In 1918 the government loaned the college £10,000. for building the main tuition block which was named Stewart Hall after Dr. Stewart. More buildings followed, the most important of which were Wesley House in 1921, Iona House in 1924, and Beda Hall in 1935. All these were hostels for residence. Many others followed (R.H.W. Shepherd, 1940, p.290).

The College was incorporated in 1923 under the Higher Education Act of that year and thus got the status of the University College of Fort Hare. It remained the only centre of higher learning for the non-whites of South Africa until 1960 when it was made a Xhosa tribal college. Many other tribal colleges came up from then, like Ngoye for Zulus, Turfloop for Sothos, Belville for Coloureds and Salisbury Island for Indians. In 1974 Fort Hare got its university status.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we shall now try to compare the two missionary societies, the London Missionary Society and the Glasgow Missionary Society in the Eastern Cape. In doing this we are going to start by tackling the aspects on which the two societies differed and possibly supply reasons for this, and later come to those aspects that they shared in common and likewise provide possible reasons where necessary.

Both these societies were from the United Kingdom, though one had its headquarters in London and the other in Glasgow, as the names indicate. The London Missionary Society was established in 1795 and the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1796 and was closely related to the former because one of the officials of the London Missionary Society, Dr. John Love, who was its distinguished secretary for a long time, was the moving spirit behind the formation of the Glasgow Missionary Society and later became one of its leading officials.

Most of the work of the London Missionary Society in the Cape was among the Hottentots and the Bushmen. The important areas in this field were Graaff Reinet, Bethelsdorp and the Kat River Valley. The leading pioneer of mission work in South Africa, Dr. van der Kemp, worked in the first two places, whilst his colleague, the Rev. James Read, worked in all three with outstanding work at the Kat River Settlement, where he

worked with his family, including his son. However, this does not mean that the London Missionary Society missionaries did not work among the Xhosas. For example, Van der Kemp's major aim right from the time of leaving Europe was to work with the Xhosas under Chief Ngqika, having got some information from a person who had been to the Cape. As we saw in the preceding chapters, he made desperate attempts to settle among the Xhosas, but ultimately failed. The other two missionaries were the Rev. Joseph Williams, who arrived in the Kat River Valley in 1816 and the Rev. Calderwood, who worked among the Fingoes in the Healdtown area and later became a commissioner of the Crown to these people. But the important landmark in the history of the London Missionary Society in South Africa is their work among the Hottentots.

As we saw in chapter 3, at Bethelsdorp one building was used both as a school and a church. Needless to point out that this practice became common among the Africans throughout the country till recently when the government started building schools separate from church buildings. The London Missionary Society curriculum was basically aimed at the conversion of the heathen and as a result Dr. Van der Kemp and James Read taught Latin and Greek. On the other hand, as we saw in chapter 3, people like Dr. Lichtenstein and Colonel Collins felt that emphasis had to be put on teaching agriculture. Girls were taught knitting.

More successful work of the London Missionary Society was done by the Rev. Robert Moffat in Bechuanaland. J. du Plessis states in this regard:

> "Whilst Dr. Philip was fighting with the government in the south, Moffat was quietly laying

> the foundation and building up the fabric of the London Society's most successful and enduring work" (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.154).

By 1834 there were two schools with 115 scholars on the banks of the Kuruman river (J. du Plessis, 1911, p.163).

By way of comparison, the Glasgow Missionary Society worked entirely among the Xhosas in the Eastern Cape, where they established stations like Lovedale, Burnshill, Pirie and later Lovedale institution, which was responsible for the establishment of Fort Hare and Blythewood Institution in the Transkei. The establishment of these institutions is a clear indication that the Glasgow Missionary Society missionaries were more concerned with matters of education. Though there were differences of approach, especially between Dr. Stewart and Govan, on the curriculum, however it was generally good for a people who had just emerged from barbarism. The emphasis was on agriculture and Dr. Henderson went further to point out that if the Xhosas neglected this field, grinding poverty would overrun them, as we have seen in chapter 6.

It is also of interest here to note that emphasis was put on industry, as we saw in the curriculum of Lovedale Institution. Subjects like carpentry, masonry, wagon-making and blacksmithing were taught. In 1861 printing and book-binding were introduced (Outlook on a Century, p.4). James Stewart stressed the fact that Christianity and idleness were not compatible (Outlook on a Century, p.5).

Another difference that is interesting to note between these two societies is that the London Missionary Society was more concerned with the basic principles of justice and liberty and the establishment of the dignity of man on the basis of equality, irrespective of race or colour. They had been influenced by the British liberal tradition of which Van der Kemp was an ardent admirer and Dr. John Philip, who became the London Missionary Society superintendent in South Africa in 1819, was a staunch believer. This obviously brought them heading into conflict with the colonists, especially those of Dutch origin, who saw the dark-skinned races as sub-humans, as we have seen, and who felt that the teachings and influence of the missionaries were depriving them of the cheap labour they so desperately needed. The missionaries also clashed with the administration who felt that they were obstructing them in disciplining the warlike Xhosas.

The Glasgow Missionary Society on the other hand, though it also had a liberal outlook, put the emphasis on educating and civilising. Though the colonists generally did not favour the idea of education among the indigenous people, this did not bring the Glasgow Missionary Society missionaries into conflict with them. The working together of the Rev. Thomson with the government also minimised friction between the missionaries and the administration, although this tarnished their image in the eyes of the Xhosas, as we have seen. But in the field of education the Glasgow Missionary Society acquitted itself brilliantly well with the result that the best and the biggest institutions in South Africa for the blacks were those of the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Presbyterian Church. The first educated African minister, the Rev. Tiyo Soga, was from this group which is a clear indication of their success in evangelisation.

On the issues they shared in common, the most important, of course, was the evangelisation of the "heathen". They both had an ardent desire to spread the Gospel of Christ to the pagan people and thus bring about the salvation of the unenlightened nations from everlasting damnation. This brought in its train a number of side-effects. Th conversion of the "heathen" to Christianity could not be realised without the transformation of the heathen from a state of barbarism to that of civilisation. This could only be achieved through their subjugation, especially the powerful Xhosas. Their subjugation, of course, meant success in colonisation, which meant their loss of land and political power.

Finally, the blacks find themselves in a dilemna whether to see the coming of the missionaries to this part of the world as an asset or a liability. Probably it is safe for one to say it is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It is an advantage in the sense that it is true that the coloured groups of this country were in a primitive state when the whites came and it is very doubtful that the colonists, through their governments, would take the initiative to build schools for the education of the native. Instead they were busy taking their land; exploiting them as cheap labour and involved in bitter wars with them. As we have seen, they were averse to anything that smacked of education for the "heathen".

To say the least, the education of the natives would have come too far late under the colonists and their governments and would have come as a result of economic demands brought about by a change in the means of production as it always historically happens. It would

not have come about through a change of heart on the part of the whites. Thus, through the missionaries, the blacks were able to catch up with the trend of civilisation and within a short time became part and parcel of the advanced modern capitalist mode of living. This is not to overlook the subordinate position they are occupying in this capitalist arrangement, which brings us to the other side of the picture.

The coming of the missionaries can also be seen as a disadvantage in view of the fact that they prepared the ground for the military to overpower the Xhosas. We have seen the part played by the Rev. Joseph Williams, the Rev. John Brownlee and the Rev. William Richie Thomson to mention a few. The missionaries were specific agents of the government and had to give reports about what was happening among the Xhosas and their chiefs until Thomson's life was in danger, as we have seen earlier. They were also instrumental in the implementation of the dangerous policy of "divide and rule", albeit at times unwittingly as it was the case with the Rev. James Read in the Kat River Settlement when Maqoma was driven away and his land given to the "Hottentots." However, in playing the Fingoes off against the Xhosas, the missionaries were aware of what was happening.

The Glasgow Missionary Society missionaries ultimately felt that, to bring to an end the devastating wars, the power of the chiefs, the clan system and the form of land tenure the Xhosas practised had to be destroyed. Obviously this meant the destruction of a nation for subjugation. The Christian converts dissociated themselves from their fellowmen and developed

disloyalty towards their traditional chiefs and even took up arms against them in times of war with the whites. That policy of "divide and rule", which we mentioned earlier, is still being used up to the present day, with disastrous effects on the unity of the blacks. This has made many people to adopt a hostile attitude towards the missionaries, especially the present-day church and this is common among the youth.

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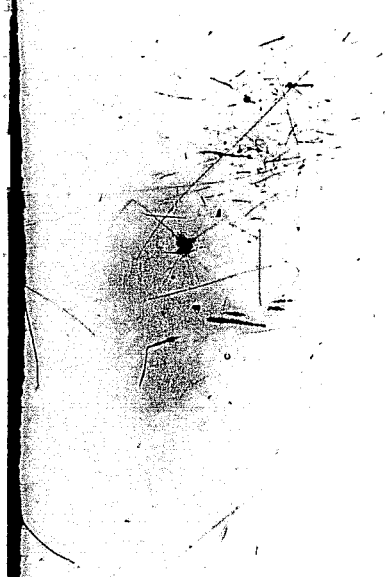
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