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THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY AND  
EDUCATION : A STUDY OF THE EASTERN  
CAPE TO 1852

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Education, University  
of Rhodes, Grahamstown, in fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Education.

Port Elizabeth  
September 1982

Dedicated to Abigail and Vincent

I herewith certify that this  
is my own and original work.

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AMBROSE CATO GEORGE

## PREFACE

My interest in the educational work of the L.M.S. was kindled while I was doing research for the preparation of a brochure commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Union Church of Port Elizabeth. (1830 - 1980). I became aware of the invaluable contribution the church had made to the education of blacks in Port Elizabeth.

It must be mentioned that the Union Church was established in Port Elizabeth in 1830 by missionaries of the London Missionary Society who resided at Bethelsdorp at the time. For this reason one could say it was a mission church which established mission schools.

Because of the significant role that church schools played in the education of the blacks in the late 19th and 20th century, I was motivated to undertake this study in order to document in detail the role of the L.M.S. in education during its period of prominence in the Eastern Cape.

Much has been written on the role that the missionaries had played in the conquest of the indigeneous people of Southern Africa. My thinking was particularly stimulated by the "Role of the Missionaries in the Conquest" written by Nosipho Majeke. The merits and demerits of the book are not important but since the opinion represented by the writer forms such a prominent feature of the present political arena in which blacks are striving for greater recognition, it became my desire to try to make an objective analysis of the role played by a particular missionary society (L.M.S.) in the education of blacks in the Eastern Cape. The reader is given an opportunity to make his own conclusions on the subject.

The events in this study started in 1799, since it is the year that heralded the arrival of the first missionaries of the L.M.S. in South Africa, and concludes with events in 1851 because that year terminated an important epoch of the history of the L.M.S. in South Africa. The Kat River Rebellion in 1851 brought to an end the flourishing missionary endeavour of the L.M.S. This historical event could be regarded as one of the main reasons why the directors of the L.M.S. decided that most of their mission stations in the Eastern Cape were to become independent.



It is important for the reader to note that the mission churches which had become independent from the L.M.S. formed first the Union of Voluntary Evangelical Churches in 1859 and then in 1875 the Congregational Union of South Africa (CUSA). In 1967 the B.C.C. (Bantu Congregational Church), the L.M.S. (which was still active in some areas in Southern Africa) and CUSA merged to form the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa.

A Chronological approach in this study could never do justice to the complex problems which faced the L.M.S. in its pioneer educational work in South Africa - particularly in the Eastern Cape. For this reason a thematic approach has been adopted because such an approach would give the reader insight into the problems which confronted the missionaries and how they attempted to overcome them.

The themes covered in this study are:

(1) The educational pattern in England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries since this would most likely be the educational ideals the missionaries were likely to bring with them to South Africa.

(2) The relationship with the Colonial Governments because they would either support or limit London Missionary Society educational activity.

(3) The relationship with the Colonists since there was a close involvement between them and the Khoi on the mission stations. This relationship had a great influence on the work of the London Missionary Society.

(4) The view of the Directors and the missionaries on education and how it affected the socio-economical upliftment of the Khoi.

The library and archives of the L.M.S. are housed at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. The letters are in jackets, placed within folders which are, in turn placed in boxes. Each box contains a list of the material kept in it. The South African correspondence in the Society's Archives has been microfilmed in the aforementioned form and housed at the State Archives, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town where it was consulted for this study. Material for this study was also consulted at the South African library in Cape Town, the Johannesburg Public Library, the Gubbins Library at the University of the Witwatersrand and the Cory Library in Grahamstown.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It was an exceptional privilege and an enriching experience to have undertaken this study under the scholarly guidance of my promoter Prof. Ray Tunmer of Rhodes University. Thank you for the assistance, sacrifice and encouragement which you were able to afford me during the past three years. I sincerely appreciate it.

I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance rendered to me by the Rev. Joseph Wing, Secretary of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa. It was the valuable discussions with him which initiated this study. He kindly allowed me to use the study material available from the United Congregational Church Library in Braamfontein Johannesburg.

I am grateful for the assistance afforded ~~me~~ by the librarian staff of the State Archives and the South African Library in Cape Town, as well as the Gubbins Library at the University of the Witwatersrand, the Johannesburg Public Library, the Library of the University of Port Elizabeth, the Port Elizabeth Public Library and the Cory Library of Rhodes University Grahamstown. Without this assistance the study would not have been possible.

I acknowledge with gratitude my thanks to Dr Visagie of the University of Stellenbosch for kindly allowing me to use the map "Katrivier-nederstelling 1829 - 1850" taken from his doctoral thesis.

I express my gratitude for the co-operation and encouragement given to me by my colleagues Mr. A. Felkers, Mrs S. Malan, Mr L. Africa, Deputy Principal of Chapman Senior Secondary School and Mr and Mrs R. Ellick of C.T.

I thank Mrs J. Fieggan and Miss G. Grimsell, Head of the English Department of Gelvandale Senior Secondary School, who so willingly read the manuscript. Whatever errors remain are my own.

I am also indebted to my parents for their encouragement and Dr L. Kathan for his ready help at all times.

My greatest debt of gratitude I owe to my wife, Gerda, who did all the preparatory typing for this study and my daughter Abigail, for their

encouragement and for having sacrificed innumerable hours of my companionship, to leave me free to concentrate on my research and writing.

Lastly I wish to thank Mrs T. Schoeman for the painstaking task of typing this thesis.

To God all the Glory.

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## CHAPTER ONE

## THE FOUNDING OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The London Missionary Society, similiar to other great religious and philanthropic organizations which sprang into existence at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, was a child of the evangelical revival in England originated by George Whitefield and John Wesley. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 2) The evangelical movement was the result of the religious revival of the second half of the eighteenth century, combined with a strong sense of social responsibility which led its followers to show a powerful missionary zeal. The evangelicals formed a powerful reforming agency. Howard, the prison reformer, Duke, a pioneer in the provision of hospitals for mental diseases, Shaftesbury and Wilberforce are conspicuous examples of the reforming efforts of this group. (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 7)

Their greatest contribution was in arousing public opinion so that social reform became a matter of concern among people who had no connection with the movement. In the field of education the influence of the evangelical movement was less than might have been expected, "because their interest was essentially religious instruction and only secondly in secular studies as a way of acquiring the ability to read the bible". (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 7) Wardle comments that the reformers of this movement accepted the contemporary social stratification and were inclined to be suspicious of popular education "if it carried beyond the rudiments, seeing in it a tendency to make members of the working class discontented with their lot". (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 7)

The honour of leading the formation of the great missionary agencies does not belong to the London Missionary Society but to the Baptist Church. Early in 1792 William Cary published pamphlet entitled "An enquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for Conversion of the Heathen". It stimulated interest among the English clergy to undertake mission work among the heathen in all parts of the world, and also resulted in a group of clergy establishing the Baptist Society on 2 October 1792.

The principle aim of the society was a religious one: "to propagate the gospel among the heathen". (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 5) In March 1793 William Carey and John Thomas set sail for India to undertake mission work. The first news of their activities created enthusiasm and interest at home and gave impetus to the establishment of a missionary society which included members of all the Protestant Churches (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 4)

The Evangelical Magazine, established in 1792, was a useful and important instrument in propagating the cause of establishing the London Missionary Society. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 165) Its editor Dr. David Bogue published, in the magazine of September 1794, a paper which was one of the first and one of the most important steps in the great and providential work of originating the London Missionary Society. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 6) In it he made an earnest appeal to laymen, evangelical clergymen and non-conformist ministers, for renewed missionary zeal and endeavour, advocating the formation of a missionary Society on the lines of the Baptist Society supporting Carey. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 2) In it is stated:

A connection with a society or denomination of Christians should certainly influence us to seek the welfare of the society, and authorises us to invite its members to discharge the duties incumbent on them. Besides all other bodies of professing Christians have done, and, are doing something for the conversion of the Heathen." (L.M.S. Reports, 1815., p. 3)

Dr. Bogue's appeal had an immediate response which resulted in fortnightly meetings in London for conference and prayer on missionary work. There followed a series of appeals to the clergy and layman alike in the form of letters, and printed addresses which were regularly published in the Evangelical Magazine. At the fortnightly meeting on 17 February 1795 in London a form to be subscribed by those interested was drawn up. It read:

We whose names are here subscribed, declare our earnest desire to exert ourselves for promoting the gospel and its ordinances to heathen and other unenlightened countries, and unite together proposing 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 brethren of all denominations, the object of which society shall be to concert and pursue the most effectual measures for accomplishing this important and glorious design." (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, pp. 9,10)



Their interdenominational approach could be seen in the character of the Committee of Correspondence formed at this meeting, (a Committee of Correspondence was elected, consisting of nine ministers including one Anglican, two of the Church of Scotland, two Methodists, three Independents, and one "Presbyterian Dissenter"); in the distribution of its first circular (which started "the first object before us is of such magnitude as to require the combined wisdom and executions of many gospel ministers and societies"); in its plan "early in the ensuing summer to secure a general meeting of ministers and lay-brethren delegated from all parts of the country", and also in the "Fundamental Principle" which was to be enunciated in the following year. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 11)

A number of appeals followed and of particular significance was the address of Rev. George Burder. In it he challenged his hearers to consider how feeble the efforts of Christians had been, since the days of the Reformers, to "evangelize the Pagan part of the world." (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 2) He urged that neither missionaries nor money would be withheld if the benevolent scheme of a missionary society was accepted and, in words which clearly indicated the underlying spirit in which the Society was started, exhorted:

Let us then, utterly and sincerely disclaiming all political views and party designs; abhorring all attempts to disturb order and government in this or any other country: vigorously unite: in the fear of God and in the love of Christ, to establish a Missionary Society upon a large and liberal plan, for sending ministers of Christ to preach the Gospel among the heathen. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 21)

A circular was issued by the Correspondence Committee, giving notice of a General Meeting to be held on 22, 23 and 24 September 1795 "for the purpose of forming a permanent society and deciding upon the best mode of carrying our wishes into effect." (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 14) It also emphasized the importance of sending out properly trained missionaries into the mission field and appealed to its ministers "to make the Congregations over which the Lord has placed us, acquainted with our design, and to recommend it earnestly to their serious devotional and practical regard" (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 14), but warned that con-

siderable funds would be necessary to undertake the tremendous task of sending out missionaries to distant lands.

At a preliminary meeting held at the Castle and Falcon on Monday evening 21 September those present "by a unanimous lifting of hands, declared their warm approbation of the design to establish a society for sending missionaries to heathen and unenlightened countries". (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 17) This decision, rather than those of the general meetings on the days that followed, marks the inception of the London Missionary Society. (Morrison, J., 1944, p. 19 cited by Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 4) These resolutions and appeals resulted in the adoption of a plan for a society, which was formally approved at a great general meeting on 22nd September 1795. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 24) The chairman of this meeting:

introduced the reading of the plan, which had been prepared for the consideration of this meeting, by a series of historical observations, pointing out the analogy between the first propagation of the gospel by the apostles and others in the early ages, and the work now in view, of endeavoring to send the light of the gospel into heathen countries, and explaining the manner in which Christianity has been, in later ages, introduced into some countries formerly Pagan, together with an account of missionary attempts since the period of the Reformation." (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 18)

He then read over the plan which was considered, discussed and accepted. In this "Plan" the society is called "The Missionary Society" and its sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among the heathen and other unenlightened nations. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 24) At this stage it would seem that education was not stressed. Members consisted of persons who made a subscription of at least one guinea annually, and ministers or other representatives of Congregations in the country subscribing to or collecting for the benefit of the Society, five pounds annually. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 24)

General meetings were to be held annually on the second Wednesday of May and oftener if necessary, to choose a Treasurer, Directors, Secretary and Collectors and to receive reports, audit accounts, and deliberate on what further steps may best promote the object of the Society. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 24) At every such meeting one sermon, or more, would be preached by one or more of the associated ministers. The "directorship"



was to consist of as many Directors annually chosen out of its members, as circumstances may require". (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 25) For greater efficiency "they may subdivide into committees, for managing the funds, conducting the correspondence, making reports, examining missionaries, directing the missions"; however "no act of these committees shall be valid till ratified at a monthly meeting". (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 31) The funds were to be derived from donations, legacies, subscriptions and collections; "the only person to receive a salary was the secretary, and the directors were to transact the business of the Society without any emolument". (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 24)

On Friday 25 September 1785 the General Meeting was convened for the last time and on this occasion the first officials of the London Missionary Society and twenty five directors were elected. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 19) The first missionary undertaking was to be to "Tahiti or some other of the islands of the South Sea", and it was later hoped to send missionaries to "Coast of Africa, or to Tartary, by Astrachan, or to Surat on the Malabar Coast, to Bengal, or the Coramandel Coast, or to the island of Sumatra, or to the Pelew Islands". (Morison, J., 1844, p. 4 cited by Briggs, D.R., 1952, p.5) From this it is clear that the Society had not yet created clear objectives.

The expectations of the founders of the society are reflected in a sermon preached by Dr. David Bogue at a meeting following the adoption of the "Plan" of the Society. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 35) He stated that everyone hailed with joy the dawning of a bright day of true Christian desire for the spreading of the Gospel in the world, and declared:

This year will, I hope, form an epoch in the history of man: and from this day by our exertions, and by the exertion of others whom we shall be considerable enlarged both at home and abroad, and continue to increase, till the knowledge of God cover the sea. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 4)

The Directors were requested to publish a report of the proceedings of the general meeting, together with the sermons. This was issued on 5th October 1795 as the first Annual Report of the London Missionary Society. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 40) The founders of the London Missionary Society did not look to one church for the support of its objectives, neither did they look to one country. They sought the co-operation of ministers and friends in Scotland, and a circular letter was addressed to

foreign Protestant Churches in which it requested financial assistance which "will enable us to employ a considerable number of missionaries, who, shall go forth into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature". (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 27) The Founders also gave impetus to the work of the churches in England and most of the men who were the first directors of the Society were also concerned with the formation of the Religious Tract Society, and Foreign Bible Society. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 5)

Of particular importance to the work of the London Missionary Society were the qualifications necessary to become a missionary. At a subsequent general meeting on 28 September 1795, the following rules for the examination of missionaries were adopted:

1. No man shall be a missionary of this Society unless the Committee of Directors appointed for examination of missionaries are unanimous that he possesses an eminent share of the grace of God, and appears to have a call to this particular work.
2. It is not necessary that every missionary should be a learned man; but he must possess a competent measure of that kind of knowledge which the object of the mission requires.
3. Godly men who understand mechanic arts may be signal use to this undertaking as missionaries, especially in the South Sea Islands, Africa, and other uncivilized parts of the world.
4. Every missionary must be well apprized of the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking, and be willing through divine help to encounter them.
5. Every candidate shall express his desire and motives in writing directed to the Secretary, to be communicated by him to the body of Directors at their monthly meeting.
6. Every candidate shall send or bring with him a certificate with regard to his experience in the Christian life, and his standing in the Church, from the Minister or other respectable member of that congregation to which he belongs, countersigned by a Director.
7. If the Committee are unanimous in approving the candidate on the fullest examination, he shall be immediately accepted; if two thirds or more approve, his case shall stand over for further enquiry; but if two-thirds do not approve, he shall be immediately rejected.
8. From the time of a person's being chosen to this work to his being actually sent out, he shall be subject to the will of the Directors, who shall do whatever is in their power to promote his fitness for his particular destination. (Lovett, R., 1899, pp. 43 - 44)

For a time, according to the terms of these resolutions, the only preparation accepted missionaries received, was that given by a committee of London Ministers and individual Country Ministers. At a later meeting of the Directors held on 9 May 1796 a most important addition to the constitution of the Society was made, which ever since has been known as its "Fundamental Principle". This affirms:

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 dissention, it is declared a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church order or 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 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 Shall appear most agreeable to the word of God. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 38)

During 1797 the question of the qualifications which those who intended to become missionaries required continued to provide matter for earnest debate. Many of the directors felt that the original conditions adopted at a general meeting on 28 September 1795 did not make sufficient provision for efficient missionaries. "Godly men who understand mechanic arts were placed high on the scale of usefulness among uncivilized nations than the student, the preacher, the man of scholarly and disciplined mind." (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 86) However, no settled scheme for a better education of intending missionaries had yet been worked out or approved.

As a result of the successful settling of a group of missionaries of the Society on the island of Tahiti early in 1798, it was resolved at a general meeting held on 7 August 1798:

That the Directors be authorized to employ a ship belonging to the Society on another journey to the Pacific Ocean, for the purposes of supplying our brethren who have settled there, with assistance in their labours, of adding to their number, where circumstances render it necessary, and of planning the gospel in other islands of that ocean, where it appear most eligible from their extent, population, or other favourable circumstances. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 95)

Offers of service were received from single and married Christians from all over England. The number of candidates were more numerous than the ship of the Society could carry. Among these were:

Men not only apt to teach, as preachers and catechists, the truth as it is in Jesus, but botanists, agriculturists, ingenious artisans in several branches, and, what we particularly needed, six of the brethren were instructed in the knowledge of medicine and surgery, and two of the sisters in the practice of midwifery. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 95)

In the above statements there is an indication that the society did hope to bring some form of education to the heathen even if it was only of a rudimentary nature. Every member of the second mission to Tahiti left comfortable homes and professions and a number relinquished advantageous prospects. A Rev. Howell was appointed superintendent of the missionaries, who numbered thirty, ten of whom being married, and seven children.

(L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 59) Lovett commented in 1899 that this state of affairs appeared to have been a conspicuous example of enthusiasm out-running discretion. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 87) He added that:

The Lord can work with many or with few, in great spiritual crises a nation may sometimes be borne in a day, but if there is one lesson more emphatically taught than another in the history of the practical working of the Christian Church, it is the importance of Christian workers and on the development of Christian work. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, pp. 59 - 60)

The Duff, the Society's ship, sailed from Portsmouth on 20 December 1798 on her second journey to Tahiti. Disaster struck when the Duff was captured off Cape Trio by a French privateer. Soon after Captain Robson's return to London, the Directors instituted an enquiry into the circumstances connected with the capture of the Duff and the unanimous opinion of the Directors was "that it was an event entirely providential, in no respect implying any want of caution or vigilance on the part of Captain Robson". (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 106). As a result of the capture of Duff the friends of the society suffered considerably; on 3 August 1799 "a subscription was opened for repaying the loss". (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 106) This saved what was a very difficult state of affairs and it is the first list in the Society's records of donations to meet an un-



expected emergency. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 106) On 16 August 1799 the Directors received a second and even more painful shock on the arrival in London of the news that eleven of the earlier missionaries had left Tahiti under circumstances which did them little credit. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 63) By 1800, less than 4 years after sailing on the first journey to Tahiti twenty out of thirty missionaries had proved either unequal or unfaithful to their work and of the thirty missionaries who set out on the second disastrous voyage no less than twenty three ceased to have any connection with the society's work shortly after their return to England. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 64) The summary of results indicates that the methods of selection in 1796 and 1798 did not give the results that were hoped for. With regard to the qualifications which missionaries were to have, as well as their selection, Lovett in 1899 commented that "there must have been something radically wrong in the method of selection and education of the missionaries, if after the Society was in existence for only ten years, only nine effective workers out of a company of sixty were left". (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 65) This experience indicated the main reason why the Society made such an unsatisfactory beginning.

Any missionary activity was going to need considerable financial backing or resources. The early records of the Society's existence are very instructive, in their treatment of finance, and of administrative matter. In the early years the Board of Directors was elected by lot. Experience, however, proved that this method was ineffectual since the lot method occasionally removed the most zealous and useful workers; and soon it was dropped. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 77) Finance was delegated to one of the five special committees constituted on 2 October 1795. The duties of this committee were sent out in a minute passed in 12 October 1795 which stated:

The Committee of Funds are to devise proper methods of augmenting and collecting funds, and depositing them in the hand of the Treasurer; they are to correspond with distant members of their own committee as circumstances may require, assigning particular districts to individuals, and requesting them to preach in any or all the associated congregations within those districts, whenever it may be expedient to have recourse to general collections. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 78)

In the early years of its existence the Society, "in this as in all other matters, the Directors had to feel their way, and it was many years before anything like a modern scientific method was applied to missionary finance". (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 78) It was only when the missionaries set out for the mission field did they turn their attention to the successful organization of finance. In the opinion of many contemporaries and even of their own sympathizers this approach to finance was unbusinesslike. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 79) The main sources of revenue were generous personal subscriptions and the collections made by various bodies of ministers and laymen in different parts of the country. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 79) As early as 1803, when the Society's income was £3034, the directors informed its members that the expenditure of the past year had exceeded the income. This meant that the Society had to dispose of property which the directors would have been glad to use as the basis of its permanent support. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 80) Seven years later, the income, having in the interval more than doubled, began to decline and led to the following statement being made:

As our missions are multiplied and many more labourers are sent forth, especially in Africa and the East, the society will require, notwithstanding the utmost economy in the management of their affairs, an augmented income to meet the constantly growing expenditure. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 80)

During subsequent years there was a frequent repetition of the same difficulty. The most fruitful method of sustaining and augmenting the funds of the society was by appealing to systematic and extensive local effort. This led to the formation of Local Auxiliary Societies in 1806. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 81) These Societies were established in London and throughout the country for the poorer members who could not become annual subscribers. They were required to make small regular contributions to the Society's funds. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 81) It was decided that these Societies would be in regular communication with the Directors, so that the results of their meetings and the state and progress of the work could be made known. Societies were later also established in countries where mission work was started.

The financial views of the founders of the Society, and the directions in which these were compulsorily modified by the pressure of work and experience, are clearly set out in the report for 1818:

There is a diminution in the Income of the Society, so far as it arises from Annual Subscriptions and other voluntary contributions for the year just expired, when compared with that of the preceding year, and a still greater defalcation in the same source of supply, when compared with the proceeds of the year, ending April 1816. That such would be one of the results of the serious distresses which have prevailed during the last two years, through the country at large, it was natural to expect; and it leads the Directors as confidently to look for the return of former abounding liberality in proportion as the pressure which has restrained it is removed. The members of the Society imposed on the Directors the necessity of distinguishing in their estimates of the expenses and income of the Institution, between those changes which, arising from the missions already established, may be considered as permanent, and those which depending on the undertaking of new missions, may be regarded as conditional or contingent. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 85)

It seems therefore that the Society's finances were still not on a more organised basis. That these financial problems were pressing can be understood when the world-wide extent of L.M.S. work in its first years is considered. At the beginning of the 19th century the society even attempted to work in Europe. In the London Missionary Society report of 1800 the motives which impelled the Directors to contemplate this new department of work are very clearly expressed:

The entire abolition of papal authority in France and its appendages, the overthrow of that system of superstition, which, in the judgement of Protestants, constituted the corruption of Christianity, and formed the great apostacy from it, are events of transcendent importance to the cause of religion, the principles of infidelity which are originally produced out of that system have been permitted in a great degree to be instrumental in its overthrow. (L.M.S. Reports 1815, p. 100)

The existing government in France at the time entrenched in their constitution the principle of freedom of religion. Since preaching and direct mission-work was not practicable in the existing political relations of France and Great Britain in the early years of the 18th century, the Directors made use of printed material. (L.M.S. Reports, p. 115) Two thousand copies

of the New Testament in French, with a carefully written preface "adapted to the actual state of religion in that country", were distributed. (L.M.S. Reports, p. 115) A reason for this was that one of the Directors visiting Paris in 1802 searched the book shops for many days before a single copy of the scriptures could be found. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 94)

However the L.M.S. directed its missionary efforts in the main to the "pagan world". In order to get a clear perspective of the scope of the missionary work of the London Missionary Society, we must briefly glance at the important decisions which led to active mission work in so many parts of the world. Initially the whole Board of Directors considered the question of missionary work as "it was only in the course of years that the management of this great and ever growing work assumed carefully and fully organised form". Gradually the necessary subdivision into committees for special fields was established. It has already been mentioned that the imagination, the efficacy and the executive energy of the Society were first very largely centred in the South Seas, but gradually their interests turned to other areas.

On 5 October 1795 a "memorial on the subject of an African Mission was read" by a Mr. Haweis at the anniversary meeting on 13 May 1796:

Dr. Boque presented a memoir on a mission to Madagascar by a Captain Byron; another by himself on a mission to Surat, on the Malabar coast; another on a mission to the West Indian Islands; Rev. Love presented a memoir on a mission to the North Shore of the Caspian Sea. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 102)

It was resolved that all these be referred to the Directors, who were empowered to carry any of them into effect, if they deemed it necessary. On 12 June 1797 the Directors resolved "that it appears extremely desirable that two missionaries should be sent to India, as speedily as opportunities offer, or conveyance can be obtained in a Danish or American ship". (Lovett, R.H., p. 102) They also resolved that two missionaries should be sent to Quebec or any other part of Canada. (Lovett, R.H., p. 102) Mr. Forsyth was accepted as a missionary for India on 26 June 1797. On 24 July 1797 another important landmark in the history



of the Society was set up when Dr. Van der Kemp, who was later sent out to start the L.M.S. mission in South Africa, was unanimously accepted as a missionary of the society. (Lovett, R.H., p. 103) Under the stimulus of the return of the Duff in July 1798, renewed enthusiasm in undertaking new mission work set in. On 18 February 1799 a committee was appointed to "consider missions to the British settlements in Asia, a mission was appointed for Canada or any of the Indian Tribes in or bordering upon the British possessions in America and a minister was chosen for mission work in Swilligate Newfoundland". (Lovett, R.H., p. 104) In 1804 missionary work was begun in Ceylon and South India by three missionaries. On 28 May 1804 the Directors accepted Mr. R. Morrison as a suitable person to be employed by the Society as a missionary. By 1807 Morrison was on his way to China to begin the Society's work in the "great empire". On 8 February, 1808, John Wray landed in Demerara and thus began mission work in the West Indies. On 11 April, 1808, Richard Elliot began work on Tobago, but moved to Le Resouvenir, Demerara, in 1814. In November, 1811, Mr. Bromfield sailed for Malta, and in 1816 Isaac Lowndes was appointed to a Greek mission. On 18 May 1814 John de Bruin reached Port Louis, Mauritius, his work there being preparatory also to the opening of the Madagascar mission. On 26 May 1814, three missionaries who were educated at Berlin and Rotterdam landed at Batavia to begin the work at Java which the Directors had undertaken at the earnest request of Robert Morrison. On 20 May 1817 Edward Stallybrass left London for Buriat, a mongol mission, settling down at Selingish in July, 1819. Two missionaries during the same period began what was to become a very successful mission at Madagascar. (Lovett, R.H., p. 105) Thus within twenty five years from its foundation the society had not only done much to stimulate Christian work in Great Britain and upon the Continent, but it had also carried the Gospel to the South Seas, to South Africa, to India and Madagascar.

Initially the Society did not have clear educational objectives since it had as its sole aim the spreading of the knowledge of Christ among the heathen. After the first journey to Tahiti, the Directors realized that men skilled and qualified in certain fields of education were needed. They thus not only sent religious men but also "botanists, agriculturists, ingenious artisans in various fields," which indicates

that educational objectives were now much clearer. However, it seems that the Directors were over-zealous in trying to get a second group of missionaries to Tahiti with the result that their method of selection and education of missionaries was completely inadequate. This was one of the main reasons why the Society made such an unsuccessful start. As a result, in 1800, a plan for a seminary or the preparation of missionaries was adopted, in which it declared that "a year should elapse from the date of their acceptance to their actual entrance on the work itself" and further "that they should carry with them some acquaintance with agriculture or those branches of mechanics which admit of a useful application in uncivilized countries". (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 68) But though such men "may be of great service in particular branches of duty, yet it is also certain that a proportion of them ought to possess superior talents and more extensive knowledge". (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 76)

The aim of the seminary, where students were to spend a year, was "not to form mathematicians, philosophers or even linguists", but to communicate especially "Spiritual knowledge", and to strengthen "good dispositions". But most important was the fact that the education given "must be missionary, and therefore conducted on a plan dissimilar from other seminaries. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 70) The recommendation is added that the situation of the seminary should be fixed with a view that the students should all acquire a knowledge of surgery and the medical art. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 6)

Dr David Bogue was the tutor of the seminary which was established at Gosport. It seems the Society now had a clearer perspective on what they hoped to achieve at their mission stations. It no longer appeared that the aim was merely religious but there were indications that they also hoped to carry out educational activities, which would be dependent on the prevailing conditions. By early nineteenth century some of the main problems of the Society were isolated. However there was the ambiguity of the extent to which medicine, agriculture and education were to be integral or peripheral to L.M.S. activities, all these facets were recognized as having some place in planning.

The story of the L.M.S. in the rest of the dissertation will concentrate on South Africa and more particularly the Eastern Cape.

## CHAPTER TWO

## THE ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Before undertaking an assessment of the educational work done by the L.M.S., it is necessary to sketch the educational provisions affecting the poorer classes at an elementary level; bearing in mind that these provisions existed in England during the period that the L.M.S. was active in the Eastern Cape. A look at the educational climate in England during the functioning of the L.M.S. is significant in that there inevitably existed a nexus between the educational views prevalent in England during the eighteenth century and the educational approach adopted by the missionaries in the Eastern Cape although these missionaries sometimes felt it incumbent on them to deviate from educational objectives cherished in England.

With the restoration of the monarchy to power in 1660, the Royalists tried to make the Anglican Church truly national by uprooting the Dissenters from their public office (by the Corporation Act of 1661) and from their church livings (by the Act of Uniformity of 1662), by alienating their congregations (by the Conventicle Act of 1664) and depriving them of the privilege even of preaching in corporate towns (by the Five Mile Act of 1665). (Armytage, W.H.G., 1964, p. 27) For the first time protestant non-conformists were isolated and persecuted, and community life in town and village was split as never before with the result that England became a divided society, and nonconformists second-class citizens. (Lawson, J. and Silver H., 1973, p. 165) The division of English society into Anglicans and underprivileged non-Anglicans makes the Restoration an event of importance in the history of English education since it has been blamed for producing an educational slump - a period of stagnation after the vigorous expansion of the previous 100 years. (Lawson, J. and Silver H., 1973, p. 167) A subject that attracted much attention at this time was the education of noblemen and gentlemen, "because of the great influence they exercised in society their proper training was regarded as a matter of national importance". (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 172) In his book, "Some Thoughts Concerning Education", published in 1693 Locke is concerned only with the education of gentlemen,

that 3 or 4 per cent of the population who constituted the ruling class, for as he wrote elsewhere, "mental culture was not for men of low condition, only for those with means and leisure, who by the industry and parts of their ancestors have been set free from a constant drudgery to their backs and their bellies". (Cited by Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 174) Although Locke admitted differences of natural endowment he believed that men of all classes were born with a mind that was blank, and "nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education". (Tunmer, R., 1978, p. 3)

Locke through his insight into human understanding gave new direction to educational thought. From this springs his respect for children and their natural rights and his insistence on their special needs, interests and capacities. From this, too, stems his conviction of the importance of the early years in the formation of character, and his view that education means less for the acquisition of knowledge than the cultivation of mental and physical powers through habit, formed by precept and practice. (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 176) His ideas were very influential throughout the 18th century and the implications of his 'white paper' theory were enormous. Tunmer points out that the implication from the point of view of class was that the environment could be structured to produce a society in which all men were equal or in which there was a hierarchical stratification in which the privileges of birth (or their absence) could be re-enforced to ensure that men remained in the class into which they were born and did not develop aspirations to move from that class to another. (Tunmer, R., 1978, p. 3) As far back as 1697 Locke advocated a completely different education for the poor children in contrast to the education he prescribed for a gentleman. He stated "that working schools be set up in every parish, to which children of all such as demand relief of the parish, above three and under fourteen years of age, whilst they live with their parents, and are not otherwise employed for their livelihood by the allowance of the overseers of the poor, shall be obliged to come". (Cited in Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 8)

A view strongly held among the ruling elite throughout the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, was that too much literacy among the population at large was a danger to the established order. They felt that the social system, divinely ordained, depended on a plentiful supply



of labourers and servants; for them to be educated above their station would make them dissatisfied with their lot and invite social disruption. (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 179)

Nevertheless, sectarian rivalry between the Anglicans and non-conformists stimulated educational activity at the humble level appropriate to the poor. (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 180) Such elementary education as was available to the poor in the eighteenth century was provided by private enterprise and philanthropy. Private-enterprise schools were small and unorganized; they were usually held in the teacher's own house, and they tended to have an uncertain and intermittent existence. (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 181) Private-venture schools were supplemented throughout the country by charity schools founded by philanthropy, "either from charity impulse or ulterior motives". (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 181)

In 1699 the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (the S.P.C.K.) was formed to organize charity schools for 'those whom nature of failure has determined to the plough, the oar and other handicrafts'. (Armytage, W.H.G., 1964, p. 40) Its aim "was primarily social and religious - the reformation of the manner of the poorer classes, the reduction of crime through the teaching of religion and the teaching that the poor should accept their inferior position in life as part of the divine plan". (Cited by Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 170) To achieve these ends, reading and some writing were taught so that the scriptures could be read. "In some schools to these elementary literary skills were added some arithmetic and trade skills, such as knitting or spinning, so that the poor should be fitted for some employment and not relapse into idleness, becoming a burden on the parish ratepayers." (Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 170)

Thus, apart from religion, the main stress was on industrial occupations, "for the children were designed to become labourers or domestic servants and were therefore encouraged to develop habits of industry". (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 6) The children paid no fees, for the charity schools were supplied sometimes by legacies and endowments, but the main subscribers were tradesmen, merchants and local gentry. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 6) The schools often admitted girls as well as boys and provided them with a uniform so that they were popularly known as "blue-coat or greencoat schools". (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 23) Although this

distinctive dress was an attempt to clothe the poor decently, its additional benefit was "the constant reminder that it gave to the children themselves and to the rest of society; that they were indeed 'charity children' provided for by others". (Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 170) In the hymns they sang, the prayers they recited and the sermons they had to listen to, the charity children were constantly reminded of their low estate and the duty and respect they owed their betters. (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 182)

To the more benevolent, well-to-do citizens supporting schools of this kind suddenly became fashionable. "Educationally the poor were very much what the rich made them". (Lawson, J., and Silver, H., 1973, p. 182) Nevertheless, Tunmer points out that at the height of the work of S.P.C.K., which by the end of the first quarter of the 18th century was 'educating' about 25 000 in about 1 500 schools, two types of doubts were being expressed; both being the outcome of the belief that there would be effective and long lasting results from the type of schooling. (Tunmer, R., 1978, p. 4) The first type of doubt was expressed by the supporters of the movement who had to see that the curriculum was limited to fulfil the purposes for which the movement had been established. In 1743 the Archbishop of Canterbury, while preaching the sermon to the annual gathering of London charity school children, pointed out that the charity schools existed to teach religion, to inculcate obedience to lawful authority and to impose the acceptance of an inferior subordinate social position on the children who were admitted to them. (Cited by Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 182) He further makes it clear that charity school children should be introduced to work of some kind, preferably while still at school, and that on leaving school they should be put in to some 'laborious working trade'. (Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 182)

The second type of doubt was that expressed by the opponents of the movement, the chief of them being Bernard Mandeville "who mounted a fortnight attack on the provision of charity schools, giving expression to views which many of the upper classes would have subscribed to, at least in private if not in public". (Cited by Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 176) His main argument against the increased provision of schools was the disastrous economic effects it would cause:

In a free nation where slaves are not allowed the surest wealth consists in a multitude of laborious poor ... without them there could be no enjoyment, and no product of any country could be valuable. To make the society happy and people easy under the meanest circumstances, it is requisite that great numbers of them should be ignorant as well as poor. Knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our desires, and the fewer things a man wishes for, the more easily his necessities may be supplied. (Cited by Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 180)

Mandeville argued further that the teaching of the Christian faith is a worthy end, but that it could be achieved through the ministry of the Church without building charity schools; "Ministers of the gospel may instil into the smallest capacities, more piety and devotion, and better principles of virtue and religion than the charity schools ever did or ever will produce". (Cited by Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 182)

After the General Workhouse Act of 1723, workhouses increased rapidly in towns and large parishes, and here the overseers often engaged a school master to teach the children reading, perhaps some writing but mainly spinning, weaving or knitting. The aim was that the "children of the poor instead of being bred up in ignorance and vice to an idle, beggarly and vagabond life, will have the fear of God before their eyes, get habits of virtue, be inured to labour and thus become useful to their country". (Lawson, J., and Silver, H., 1973, p. 188) In the last decades of the century pauper children were apprenticed in batches to northern factory masters where their notorious exploitation as cheap labour was an important factor in the textile revolution and England's early industrialization. (Lawson, J., and Silver, H., 1973, p. 188) In some places pauper children were removed from the workhouse and sent to schools of industry, where reading and writing might be taught, but always subordinate to vocational training. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 8) In some working charity schools for girls training in housecraft as well as moral and religious discipline was provided, "and the scarcely concealed purpose of these was to supply the local tradesmen - often the subscribers - with obedient cheap domestic servants". (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 189)

From the 1780's the evolution of new social ideas and responses to the problems of social change influenced thinking about popular education. In this situation new educational ideas and efforts to establish schools

were influenced by "the radicalism of the 1790's, the tradition of philanthropy, the utilitarianism associated with the laissez-faire economist, the evangelical movement ... , and the educational radicalism connected with the ideas of Rousseau". (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 228)

The influence of the Evangelical movement in education was less than might have been expected, "because their interest was essentially religious instruction and only secondly in secular studies as a way of acquiring the ability to read the bible". (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 7) Wardle comments that the reformers of this movement accepted the contemporary social stratification and were inclined to be suspicious of popular education "if it carried beyond the rudiments, seeing in it a tendency to make members of the working class discontented with their lot". (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 7) He further states that they had much to do with changing the moral tone of the upper classes, both by their direct example and their influence upon education. (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 8)

At the end of the eighteenth century the strong relationship between elementary education and the church continued to be a feature of English education. This resulted from the conditions under which mass schooling for the poor was instituted. On the one hand the government was firmly committed to a policy of non-intervention in social matters. On the other hand was the Evangelical movement with its strong missionary zeal "to save the souls of children from 'satan's strongholds' in manufacturing towns". (Wardle, D., 1970, pp. 7 - 8) It was virtually inevitable that in the individualistic climate of the time elementary schooling would remain "as a subject for charity and that it was only late and reluctantly that a national system of education was introduced". (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 18)

Charity schools at the end of the eighteenth century were training poor children for a specific status in society and for specific occupations, but they were only able to make a limited contribution to education in a changed situation. With the decline of the charity schools a new dimension in elementary education of the poor was achieved with the Sunday school movement at the end of the 1780's. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 9) The movement was made possible by the breaking up of home education and the employment of children in factories which was condoned or even welcomed because of the laissez-faire theories and the demand of



manufacturers of child labour and of the parents for their children's earnings. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 9) Robert Raikes, evangelical churchman and newspaper owner, popularized the movement. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 9) According to Sylvester the motives behind the founding of the Sunday schools were various. "Some wanted to preserve the sanctity of the Sabbath, others wanted to protect their property from the vandalism of the young who took the opportunity of a day's freedom from industrial labour to riot in the streets." (Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 258) The children were "taught to read, to say the Church Catechism, and short morning and evening prayers ..., they were instructed in such plain religious truths as they can understand; such as will direct and fix their faith, improve their hearts and regulate their manners". (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 240)

One of the pioneers of the movement, Hannah More, considered the problem of the poverty of the lower classes as mainly a religious one and not as an economic or social problem. "Her solution was to teach them to read the bible as a means of inculcating good morals and, accepting the static society in which she lived, she in no way wanted to educate people above their station." (Cited in Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 263) The Sunday Schools had such rapid success that in 1787 they had 250,000 pupils in Great Britain and in 1801 there were 156,490 in London alone. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 10)

The success of the Sunday Schools, helped to prepare for the next phase of development, namely, the weekday schools run on the monitorial system, a teaching technique devised, independently, by the Quaker, Joseph Lancaster, and an Anglican missionary, Dr. Andrew Bell. The essence of the method was that the teacher did not directly teach the children. He taught only the monitors, who in turn passed on the instruction which they had received. The subject matter was carefully graded, but it was very elementary. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 54) The work consisted of reading, writing and, arithmetic in the boys' schools, plus needlework in the girls' schools. The work was subdivided, and as soon as a group had learned one sub-division, they were tested before passing on to the next section. (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 86) The whole process was regulated by a system of rewards and punishment and was regarded as in itself a course of moral training. (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 242)

The teaching in the Lancastrian schools although based on bible reading, was undenominational and so aroused the fear and jealousy of the Anglicans with the result that in 1811 the Anglicans founded the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. (Jarman, T.L., 1951, p. 259) In 1814, the British and Foreign School Society was formed to manage inter-denominational schools. (Sylvester, D.W., 1970, p. 269) A typical expression of the purpose of a National school was "to confer upon the children of the poor the inestimable benefit of religious instruction, combined with other such requirements as may be suitable to their station in life, and calculated to render them useful and respectable members of society". (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 243)

Under the conditions of early industrial England "this seemed to be an ideal machine, it was not only simple and inexpensive, it was sufficient". (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 243) According to Wardle this system of schooling which included the division of labour and mechanical organization appealed to businessmen and industrialists who saw in it the factory system applied to education (Wardle, D., 1970, p. 18) Barnard points out that the whole technique was mechanical; "there was no opportunity for asking of questions nor, of course, for the development of individuality". (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 54) The central criticism of the system was that pupils "who were little more than infants, without training, without special instruction, with no qualifying test were set to waste their own time and that of their still younger companions under the nominal supervision of the teacher". (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 245)

In an attempt to obtain state support for monitorial schools, Samuel Whithead introduced a Parochial Schools Bill into the House of Commons in 1807. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 54) In the Commons debate on the bill Davies Giddy said:

However specious in theory the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments. Instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them factious and refractory, it would render them insolent to their superiors. (Cited in Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 55)

Barnard comments that this statement was typical of the attitude of the middle classes of the time. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 55) Although the Bill was not passed it is an important sign of the times, for it was the forerunner of a series of proposals which culminated in the Elementary Education Act of 1870. (Barnard, H.C., 1969, p. 56)

A critical supporter of the monitorial school system was Robert Owen, whose infant schools at New Lanark were regarded as an outstanding educational phenomenon of the 19th century. He considered as the main defect of the monitorial schools the lack of a proper number of teachers: "it is impossible, in my opinion, for one master to do justice to children, when they attempt to educate a great number without proper assistance". (Lawson, J., and Silver, H., 1973, p. 246) The infant schools at New Lanark took children from the ages of three to ten. The curriculum of the schools consisted "of reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, natural history, geography, history, religious knowledge, singing and dancing. (Cited by Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 247) Owen's efforts resulted in the formation of an infant school movement. He provided one of his teachers for the first infant school established on the New Lanark model in London. The infant school idea having been taken up by Samuel Wilderspin, was transformed into a nationwide movement. (Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973, p. 248)

It is clear that in England during the late 18th and 19th centuries the curriculum in the schools for the poorer classes was different from that provided for the more privileged classes of society. The curriculum should not under any circumstances disturb the balance of society. The chief aim of education was the perpetuation of religion and the moral development of society. The opponents of the system claimed that moral education would be provided by religious bodies and not educational institutions. They felt that any education would set too high expectations from the people of the "lower social orders". The education for the poor was voluntary and provided out of charity and not provided by the state. All these points will be seen in subsequent chapters to have been developed to a lesser a greater extent in the education provided by the London Missionary Society to the Khoi in the Eastern Cape during the late 18th and 19th centuries.

It must be noted that the missionaries were likely to follow the reasoning of Locke: the possibilities of the mind and character being formed by environment; and unlikely to follow the extreme suspicion of Mandeville. However the rest of the dissertation will attempt to examine the extent to which they advocated limited or completely open educational opportunities to the Khoi.

## CHAPTER THREE

## THE WORK OF VAN DER KEMP TO 1805

In Chapter one the development of the London Missionary Society as a whole was discussed. In the next two chapters the work of the Society at the Cape will be examined. All the themes covered in the subsequent part of the study are present in this early period. They could be described as being present in microcosm.

The themes to be explored are:

- (i) The relationship with the Colonial Governments.
- (ii) The attitude of the Colonists and local authorities.
- (iii) The development of industry and agriculture.
- (iv) Educational development.

These themes are isolated to set a pattern and to give a conceptual understanding of the London Missionary Society's story during the Van der Kemp period. It gives a clearer understanding of Van der Kemp's problems and how he went about solving them under three administrations namely: the first British occupation; the Batavian Republic; and the second British occupation. Van der Kemp, in moving to Bethelsdorp, moved to a frontier situation. The London Missionary Society's link in the Eastern Cape was always, for good or bad, linked to a frontier situation. The significance of this will become clear in subsequent chapters. It is also important to see whether the issues which were significant to this period would continue to be significant for the rest of the period to 1851 and to discover the extent to which Van der Kemp's link set the pattern for the other London Missionary Society's missionaries who followed him in the Eastern Cape. In Chapter three a chronological account of the story will be given up to the end of the rule of the Batavian Republic.

Just as the London Missionary Society was not confined to a particular Christian denomination, so also it broadened its field of influence to many other countries. In order to achieve this objective a circular (which contained information on its origin and aims) was sent to Protes-



tant churches outside England. It was this circular that reached Dr. Van der Kemp, a Hollander, who was to play such a prominent role in the mission work of the London Missionary Society in the Eastern Cape. In response, Dr. Van der Kemp wrote a letter to the Society in 1797 in which he offered himself as a missionary. He proposed to act as its agent in Holland and vowed that he would promote the interests of the Society by every means in his power. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 352)

At this stage Van der Kemp was already fifty years old and together with his offer of support, he gave an extended account of his earlier life. He had been a student of medicine at the University of Leyden, but before completing his degree he left the University and entered the army, where he served sixteen years and rose to the rank of Lieutenant of the Dragoon Guards living as "a slave to vice and ungodliness". As a result of a personal misunderstanding with the Prince of Orange, with whom he was on intimate terms, he resigned from the army and proceeded to the University of Edinburgh where he completed his medical studies. On his return to Holland he practised "as a physician and became publicly a deist, blaspheming the name of Christ, under the full conviction that he was pleasing God". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 352) A sudden and overwhelming calamity which caused the death of his wife and only child brought him to conversion. For a short period he was director of a hospital near Rotterdam but he later withdrew into private life employing his time in the study of oriental literature, and in finishing a commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 353) After the Directors had satisfied themselves regarding the character and ability of Van der Kemp, they invited him to London to confer with them. In the Directors' Report of 1798 Dr Van der Kemp's interview was described:

His presence and conversation among us fully confirmed the favourable impressions which had been made, and on these grounds he was gladly received and solemnly set apart for missionary work, to the great satisfaction of our brethren assembled together. (L.M.S. Reports, 1798, p. 66)

Britain's occupation of the Cape of Good Hope in 1795 lead the Directors of the Society to consider the desirability of commencing a mission in the newly acquired Colony. Van der Kemp was chosen to lead the mission to the Cape. (Du Plessis, J., 1911, p. 100) Three other men were appointed to go with him. One was a fellow Hollander, Johannes Jacobus Kichener, a young minister of the reform church, twenty four years old, who had studied at Utrecht. The other two, John Edmonds and William Edwards, were Englishmen whose qualifications were not stated but who, according to Clinton, were evidently artifices and unordained. (Clinton, C.K., 1937, p. 9) These four men sailed from Portsmouth to the Cape on the S.S. Hilborough, a convict ship on route to Australia, on 23 December 1798. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 10)

A cordial reception from both the colonists and Governor Dundas awaited the four brethren when they landed in Table Bay on 31 March 1799. Dr. Van der Kemp reported on his arrival and early days at the Cape to the Directors in a letter to London:

Since our arrival at the Cape we are blessed from on high with so many marks of divine favour and approbation on our attempts and proceedings, that not only we are convinced, but also the inhabitants of this country universally confess, that the work on which we are engaged, is of God. Everyone strives to co-operate with us and to assist us in the execution of the plans which God Himself seems to have formed, and communicated to us by Your instrumentality. General Dundas, and the Fiscal Ryneveld continue to favour us with their approbation and protection. (Missionary Transactions Vol. I, 1804, pp. 367, 368)

The "attempts and proceedings" alluded to above referred mainly to the organization of the South African Missionary Society, which was to be the representative of the London and Netherlands Societies at the Cape. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 10)

This Society for many years gave valuable service to the London Missionary Society and their missionaries, by serving as a link between them. They received progress reports from the missionaries and in their turn sent these reports to the Directors in London. (Clinton, D.K., 1973, p. 27)

It was always Van der Kemp's desire to "labour" amongst the "Kaffirs" on the Eastern Border of the Colony. Before the four missionaries left Cape Town, it was decided that their forces should be divided, and that Van der Kemp and Edmonds should proceed eastward to the "Kaffirs", while Kichener and Edwards should go Northward to the "Bushmen", two of their Captains having recently come to Cape Town and indicated their desire for instruction. (Du Plessis, J., 1911, p. 102)

According to Clinton the decision to send Edwards to work among the "Bushmen" was taken after a proposal was made by General Dundas and Fiscal van Ryneveld. This was the first attempt to make political use of the London Missionaries, as Van der Kemp recorded that "Edwards is not only to make their spiritual concerns at heart, but also to correspond about their political concerns with Governor Dundas, at the particular request of his Excellency. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 15) The Directors in London thoroughly approved Edwards's undertaking by stating:

We trust that Brother Edwards, by his mission to the Boschemen will be able to forward such information to General Dundas, as may be expected from him, and that such a reciprocity of protection and benefit may be established, as shall lead to the most important and happy consequences. (Clinton, C.K., 1937, p. 15)

On 29 May 1799 Van der Kemp and Edmonds journeyed eastwards to the country of the "Kaffirs". A month after leaving Cape Town they reached Graaff Reinet, to find the country in a disturbed state, with frequent skirmishes between Ngqika's men and the border settlers, and Van der Kemp's first attempt to penetrate to the chief's kraal ended in failure. (Du Plessis, J., 1911, p. 121) After a second attempt Van der Kemp reached Ngqika's kraal on the Chumie River in September 1799. The chief viewed Van der Kemp's arrival with suspicion and only after a prolonged period of hesitation did he agree to allow Van der Kemp to settle near his kraal. For eighteen months Van der Kemp struggled amongst the Xhosa and, with only one convert to show for his labours, he returned to Graaff Reinet in May 1801. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 13)

On reaching Graaff Reinet he found two new arrivals, missionaries James Read and A.A. Van der Lingen, who had been sent to assist him in his mission among the Xhosa. At this time the boundary between European



and Xhosa civilizations was the Great Fish River which flowed about seventy miles eastward from Graaff Reinet. This was an artificial boundary since there were raids and counter raids between the Xhosa and the Boers. This situation was accepted until the Governor forbade any communication between the Xhosa and the Boers. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 14) The Government enlisted "Hottentots" to form a group of "pandours" (as Du Plessis calls them) but the Boers declared that they stood in as much dread of these "Hottentot" mercenaries, who were supposed to protect them, as of their enemies, the Xhosa, themselves. Those "Hottentots" who had been serving on farms in the Graaff Reinet district seized the arms of their masters, and joined the pandour regiment. When the English general wanted to disarm them, they fled eastwards and joined the Xhosa. (Du Plessis, J., 1911, p. 123)

The Xhosa in alliance with the "Hottentots" were causing havoc along the North-Eastern and Eastern frontier, and the British authorities were anxious to conciliate the Xhosa and the "Hottentots" so to defuse what was a serious situation. (Clinton, D.C., 1937, p. 16) Conditions in Graaff Reinet were serious, but the situation became explosive when Major Sherlock arrived with his dragoons and "Hottentot" soldiers to keep order. The Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, Maynier, who was faced with the problem of accommodating these troops, commandeered the church since it was the largest building in the village. This action was considered by the farmers as sacrilege "that a church should be used as barracks was in all conscience bad enough, that it should afterwards be used to house "Hottentots" was unthinkable". (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 14) The farmers rose in arms, marched upon Graaff Reinet and it was only by the recall of Landdrost Maynier and "through the conciliating policy followed by General Dundas, that bloodshed was avoided". (Du Plessis, J., 1911, p. 123)

In the meantime Van der Kemp and Read had commenced to work among the "Hottentots" at Graaff Reinet. Of the work there Van der Kemp wrote "Brother Read began to keep with me a reading and writing school for the instruction of the Hottentots". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 480) He later recorded that "as the children in our school had become numerous Brother Read and I printed four hundred copies of a spelling table, for their instructions, whilst we prepared a more complete spelling book". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 483)

Numerous religious meetings were held, and places were found for them in the Dutch Reformed church of Graaff Reinet, since it never occurred to the missionaries that the "Hottentots" should meet for worship in a church separate from the Boers for worship. The Boers, however, complained about the admission of the "Hottentots" into their church and requested that the walls and seats should be scrubbed before they would use it again. (Missionary Transaction, Vol. I, 1804, p. 483)

The Government now had to consider the question of dealing with the "Hottentots" who were still roaming the country to the disturbance of law and order. To help solve the problem General Dundas wrote to Van der Kemp in a letter which is recorded by Van der Kemp in the Journal of 8 November 1801, "I received a communication from the Governor, informing me that I was at liberty to take any piece of ground that we should approve in the Colony to erect a missionary establishment". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 495) Although Van der Kemp realized that the Governor's anxiety that he should interest himself in the "Hottentots" was inspired by political motives, he, on his own account, "began to feel that their need was more urgent than that of any other section of the population". (Clinton, D.C., 1937, p. 24)

The landdrost, Maynier, granted land for the establishment of a mission station at Graaff Reinet. Although the missionaries initially accepted it, they felt that to keep peace, and secure the freedom of the "Hottentots", the institution would have to be "in a part of the country away from the Christians". (Clinton, K.C., 1837, p. 24) On 11 November 1801 Van der Kemp addressed a lengthy letter to General Dundas in which he outlined the scheme for a "Hottentot" institution. He represented the state of the "Hottentots" in the following ways:

We were witnesses of the deplorable and wretched condition into which the Hottentot nation is sunk for want of food, instruction, liberty, useful employments, and a spot, which they, under the superintendence of the Government, might in some measure call their own home. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 496)

He stated that such a condition was the cause of the "Hottentots" vices and uncivilized state, and to remedy it, he requested to be allowed to establish an institution for "Hottentots" as outlined in the thirteen points which are given verbatim because of their importance:

1st, It appears to us desirable that our missionary settlement should be formed between the Bushman River and Algoa Bay, at a moderate distance from Fort Frederick; and if a proper supply of water be procured there, which for the present is doubtful, on the banks of the Sundry (sic) River.

2nd, The chief object and aim of the missionaries, under whose direction this settlement shall be established, ought to be to promote the knowledge of Christ and the practice of real piety, both by instruction and example, among the Hottentots and other heathen who shall be admitted and formed into a regular Society; and, in the second, place the temporal happiness and usefulness of this Society with respect to the country at large.

3rd, Into this Society those only ought to be admitted who will engage themselves to live according to the rules of its institution.

4th, The actual admission into and expulsion from this Society, shall entirely depend upon the judgement of the missionaries; but it seems necessary, that of those who shall have lived in the families of colonists, none shall be considered admissible but such as shall procure a written declaration of their admissibility, signed by the landdrost of the district where they have lived.

5th, As we by no means wish to counteract, but, on the contrary, to promote as much as possible, the labours of the Moravian brethren, we are resolved not to admit any individual belonging to their institution, unless it be with their express permission, and at their request. We hope to be equally cautious in respect to other missionary institutions which may in future times be formed within the colony.

6th, As we are of the opinion, that the rule laid down by Paul, - 'That if any would not work, neither should he eat,' ought to be strictly observed in every Christian Society, our intention is to discourage idleness, and laziness, and to have the individuals of our institution, as much as circumstances will admit, employed in different useful occupations, 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. These occupations may be referred either to agriculture or farming, the management of cattle, or mechanical arts, and little manufactories, e.g., soap-boiling, candle making, spinning of thread, manufactories of paper, tanning, pot-making, brick-making, turning, &co.

7th, As the introduction of these employments will involve the European missionary societies in considerable expenses, the workmen should be considered as journeymen in the service of the Society, and be paid weekly for their labour; but the products of their labour should be the property of the Society, and sold for its benefit. The fund, however, arising from the sale of these articles, shall be entirely devoted for charitable in-

stitutions of a missionary nature, among the heathen, e.g., the erection of other missionary settlements, an orphan house, in which abandoned and fatherless children may be educated, or the subsistence of the sick, old, or poor. By these measures we intend not to preclude anyone who, by his industry and diligence shall be enabled to elevate himself above the class of journeyman, from becoming a master and proprietor in his own business.

8th, Should the settlement, which is to be put under the direction of two missionaries and a school-master, increase to a greater number than can be directed by three missionaries and two school-masters, it appears better to divide it into two distinct settlements, to be placed in different parts of the country, than to extend it beyond the limits mentioned.

9th, Good order and domestic discipline is to be maintained by the missionaries themselves. The settlers are to be divided as Christians, catechumens, and hearers. By the last we understand heathen, who will flock to us to hear the word of God. By catechumens, heathen who are more particularly under our inspection and care, instructed in the doctrines of the gospel, and submit to ecclesiastical discipline. Christians are those who bring forth fruits of conversion, and be by baptism instituted as members of the church.

10th, We have no severer punishment than excommunication from the Church, and expulsion from the Society. If we shall be compelled to proceed to this last step, we shall think it our duty to acquaint the landdrost of the district with the case. Should any of the settlers be accused of a crime against the laws of the country, we shall think it likewise our duty to inform the landdrost of the fact, that justice may be administered by the court to whose cognizance the crime belongs; and no malefactor shall find a shelter within our walls.

11th, As your excellency cannot be indifferent with respect to the state and progress of the institution, we suppose that it will please your excellency to accept at least once a-year a report as to its state in detail, by a list, pointing out the number, names, qualities, occupations, and other circumstances of the members, according to a model which shall be approved by your excellency.

12th, Our ideas respecting the polygamy of the heathen exactly correspond with those of the Moravian brethren.

13th, As to the protection which we may expect from your excellency, we entirely trust to your excellency's declared resolution to favour our missionary exertions, and request that we may enjoy the same protection and privileges which are granted to the brethren in the Bavian's Kloof. The state of our congregation, formed out of Hottentots, and a few of other nations at Graaff Reinet, is such that it shall be necessary to leave an individual missionary in that village, for the instruction of those who shall, by their circumstances, be constrained to reside at this place. The number



of children in our reading school amounts to one hundred and twelve, of whom, however, seldom more than seventy are present. We have been obliged to print a spelling-book for their use, and we hope that your excellency will permit us to print and sell little school-books, for the benefit of the future establishment, and to educate some of our young men in the art of printing, as a peculiar branch of their employment. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 496 to 498)

The Governor replied to this letter promising all the support possible from the authorities and suggested that "the banks of the Loerie or Van Staaden's river, is the preferable situation for their establishment, thinking it by no means advisable to place them in the vicinity of the Caffres". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, p. 499) He wanted the "Hottentots" at Graaff Reinet, as well as those who had engaged in military service, together with their wives and children, to be accommodated, and he ordered a supply of rice to be sent to them "till by their own industry they shall no longer require assistance". (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 19)

Van der Kemp wrote to General Dundas on 10 December 1801 that Read was sent "to inspect the country above Van Stadens River and Loery River, which Lieut. Campbell has pointed out already, by your Excellency's command, as the most eligible place for the new establishment". (Bannister, S., 1830, p. cxxxiv) Read reported back to Graaff Reinet on 29 January 1802, with the news that there was no suitable land available in the vicinity, except a farm, on the Swartkops River, near present day Port Elizabeth. Due to the unsettled state of the Colony, and the likelihood of it being returned to the Dutch, Dundas advised Van der Kemp to remain at Graaff Reinet. (Clinton, D.C., 1937, p. 27)

Van der Kemp, however, felt "that no time ought to be lost, and that irregularities committed by the Hottentots in general in Graaff Reinet, loudly call for their removal from the place with all possible speed". (Banister, C., 1830, p. cxxxv) Major Sherlock and Landdrost Maynier approved of Van der Kemp's decision and authorized Van der Kemp and his party to make use of Theunis Bota's farm which was situated seven or eight miles west of Fort Frederick at Port Elizabeth. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 21)



Van der Kemp left Graaff Reinet on 20 February 1802 with about 109 "Hottentots", including women and children, 190 more who had expressed their desire to accompany them were discouraged by a false report that a large commando was lying in wait for Van der Kemp and his party. (Bannister, S., 1828, p. cxxxvii) The number of Khoi who accompanied the two missionaries increased during the journey by the addition of others who had taken refuge in kloofs and forests, so that by 25 February there were well over 200 in the party. Their numbers, however, were once again reduced when a rumour that a Boer commando was proposing to attack them, reached them. This resulted in a "Hottentot" Captain, Weidemann, taking his followers away. A meeting with Klaas Stuurman, leader of another group of "Hottentots", gave Van der Kemp "the opportunity to remonstrate with the man, and procure an assurance of his peaceful intentions regarding the colonists". (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 23)

On 5 March 1802 the company arrived at Algoa Bay where the commander at Fort Frederick, Major Lemoyne, treated them with the utmost courtesy. (Bannister, S., 1830, cxxxviii) The Hottentot Institution was begun two days later when they moved to Theunis Bota's farm (called in the records "Bota's Place") with one hundred and sixty Khoi.

On 2 April 1802 a Proclamation was issued from the Castle of Good Hope which authorised Van der Kemp to:

Instruct the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of Zwartkops Bay in the Christian religion, and by exhortation to reclaim them from their present wandering marauding state, to animate them to industry, and to encourage them under every circumstance to act with moral rectitude and humanity. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 23)

On the farm they found an abundance of grass, timber and limestone, a dwelling house of three rooms, another house fit for a church and school, and a third where they placed their printing office. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 82) The size of the place, however, was inadequate to accommodate so many people, and it was thus regarded as temporary until the future of the Colony could be decided.

Van der Kemp, in his journal, reported on their activities at Bota's Place:

Every morning and evening we met together in the school for a private worship, in which I read a chapter out of the scripture and explained it. Twice a day we gave instruction in reading and writing, for which we printed a little spelling book of 3138 monosyllables. I preached once a Sunday and catechised Wednesday and Saturday afternoon and evening. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 82)

Hope of early success was dashed by the absence of an adequate supply of pure water. An epidemic broke out amongst the "Hottentots"; Van der Kemp himself was for several months the victim of severe rheumatic fever; a "Hottentot" band who lived on the banks of the Sunday's River fell upon them and, then through hostile action, obliged the members of the settlement to withdraw for protection to Fort Frederick. (Du Plessis, J., 1911, p. 125)

The interest and support of General Dundas was responsible for the Institution not collapsing. On the assistance of the Governor, Van der Kemp wrote:

He not only took care that we should find a good stock of necessities for our people in Fort Frederick, but he sent us on different times more victuals, corn for sowing, and utensils for building and agriculture, by which we are able to sow wheat and barley, as well for general and industrial support. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 85)

In February 1803 the Dutch took over the Colony after the Peace of Amiens had been concluded, and under the Batavian Government a new site was allotted to the London Missionary Society for an institution. The grant of the land, about 6700 morgen in extent, was made provisionally by Governor Janssens and ratified by Commissary De Mist on 12 January 1804. Van der Kemp, with permission of the Governor, called the place Bethelsdorp which was situated about nine miles north-west of Algoa Bay and ten miles from the village of Uitenhage. (Clinton, D.C., 1937, p. 34)

Governor Janssens outlined the following regulations by which Bethelsdorp should be governed:

1. The institution was to be under the protection of the Commanding Officer of Fort Frederick.
2. The institution should know no other authority or political influence than that of the Batavian Government, and the Hottentots should be acquainted with its views.
3. No one already bound by contract with a local farmer, or able to support himself, should be admitted to the institution.
4. Information of differences between Hottentots and the inhabitants should be passed on to the Commanding Officer of Fort Frederick by the missionaries; he was to be responsible for hearing the case presented by the Field Cornets and both parties involved, and, until a civil authority had been set up, should give a provisional verdict.
5. Van der Kemp was to furnish the Commander of Fort Frederick with a list of inhabitants of the institution, and after Bethelsdorp had been legally established, a list of arrivals and departures should be submitted every three months.
6. It was the wish of the Government that not too many natives should be housed at the one institution; if this became over-crowded, a new station should be provided.
7. No Hottentots, except those engaged in hunting, or who had been given a note of permission, were to possess or be given fire-arms. Van der Kemp himself was allowed a gun.
8. A quantity of inferior powder was always to be kept at Bethelsdorp. This was to be provided to Van der Kemp by the Commander of Fort Frederick, upon proper request, and for payment.
9. Those Hottentots who had been vagrants, or who had been living with the Xhosas, upon arrival at Bethelsdorp were immediately to hand over their guns, which were to be delivered to the Commander of Fort Frederick.
10. Van der Kemp was to take every precaution to see that the Hottentots gave no valid cause for complaint to the farmers.
11. The institution was to work, as were all other loyal subjects, to further peace, order, and safety in the colony.
12. The institution, receiving the protection of the Commander of Fort Frederick, was to reciprocate by being as helpful as possible to his garrison.
13. No service was to be expected from the Hottentots other than under good treatment and equitable payment.
14. It was to be part of Van der Kemp's duties to endeavour to bring the roving Hottentots, such as Stuurman and his clan, to observe law and order. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, pp. 37,38)

There is a close similarity between these regulations and those which Van der Kemp originally submitted to the British Government in 1801.

Unfortunately, the land on which Bethelsdorp was established, was very unsuitable for the purpose of a mission station. The ground was barren, rocky, ill-watered and although Van der Kemp:

found the place, in some respects, preferable to Bota's, much healthier, better pasturage for both sheep and large cattle; excellent pot-clay and lime; but no timber, nor much abundance of firewood and water, as we could wish; for which reasons it was agreed, that we should make a trial for one year, before we incurred any expense of consequence, which might be in vain. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 163)

This is the first indication that the site was possibly only a temporary one.

Immediate attention was directed to the erection of a church-school, dwelling house for the missionaries, and homes for the "Hottentots". The walls and roof of these buildings were built of reed. On the 2nd of July 1802 the church was ready, and they began to use it for divine worship and for the school. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II., 1804, p. 163) In August, Read reported that as a result of heavy rains most of the houses and gardens that had been laid out were heavily damaged. As a result many of the "Hottentots" went to work for the Boer farmers. Repairs to the buildings were made and by the end of 1803, there were about 30 to 40 children attending the school at Bethelsdorp, of whom 20 could read and spell. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 165)

When De Mist visited the Eastern Cape at the end of 1803 he made a point of calling at Behelsdorp. Dr. Lichtenstein who accompanied De Mist to Bethelsdorp, writing early in 1804, gave the following description of Bethelsdorp:

It is scarcely possible to describe the wretched situation in which this establishment appeared to us, especially after having seen that at Baviaanskloof. On a wide plain, without a tree, almost without water fit to drink, are scattered forty or fifty little huts in the form of hemispheres, but so low that a man cannot stand upright in them. In the midst is a small clay hut, thatched with straw, which goes by the name of a church, and close by, some smaller huts of the same materials for the missionaries. All are so wretchedly built, and are kept with so little care and attention, that they have a perfectly ruinous appearance. For a great way round, not a bush is to be seen, for what there might have been originally, have long ago been used for firewood: the



ground all about is perfectly naked, and hard trodden down, no where the least trace of human industry: wherever the eye is cast, nothing is presented but lean, ragged, or naked figures, with indolent sleepy countenances. The support of the missionary institutions in England and Holland, the favour of the government, the chace (sic), and the keeping of a few cattle, the produce of which is scarcely worth mentioning - these are the means to which two hundred and fifty men have to look for their support. (Lichtenstein, H., 1812, p. 294)

Briggs points out that Lichtenstein visited Bethelsdorp after the floods and that the general appearance was not pleasing the eye because the site was only a temporary one. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 43) Lichtenstein went on to criticise the want of industry at the institution: He (Van der Kemp) had never turned his thoughts seriously to instilling habits of industry into his disciples, but all idea of their temporary welfare appears with him to be wholly lost in his anxiety for their eternal salvation ... his total neglect of husbandry and all mechanical employments, though these are the arts in which his disciples must be instructed if he would make them really happy, thence also the perverted view he takes of the conduct which the colonists ought to observe with regard to his institution, since he considers them as bound to assist in its support. (Lichtenstein, H., 1812, pp. 294 - 295)

Lichtenstein apparently had little sympathy for the problems which confronted Van der Kemp and Read. But his criticism does point to the major financial and vocational education problems which were present in all the stations throughout the period under investigation. The relationship between the Batavian Republic and Van der Kemp was not a very cordial one. The local farmers were dissatisfied that a mission institution of a hostile country was allowed in the Colony. This resulted in Van der Kemp negotiating with the London Missionary Society to transfer the control of all its missions in the Colony to the Netherlands. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 46)

Governor Janssens and Commissary De Mist both took an interest in the work of the institution, and they were responsible for the establishment of Bethelsdorp. Clinton remarks, however, that while the Batavian Republic was keen to protect the "Hottentots", it desired no change in their civil condition. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 57) Janssens placed Bethels-



dorp under the command of the landdrost of Uitenhage, Alberti, and as a concession to the hostility of the Boers he forbade the missionaries going beyond the borders of the Colony without the permission of the landdrost. That he was of the opinion that the "Hottentots" by patient and just policies could become a labouring class in the Cape is clear from the following remark he made in 1805:

If the Colony could enjoy peace and the government was able to take the necessary measures to make good and just laws (which the blindness of some consider as harsh) respected, then the Hottentots, by being relieved from ill-treatment, would be more useful to the Colony, to the whites, and to themselves. The enjoyment of indirect civil liberty and property would make them more inclined or less averse to manual occupations, they would rise in their circumstances, and form a poor class of freeman, who in their turn would, as they multiplied supply a labouring population. (Bannister, S., 1830, p. clxxxi)

Van der Kemp disagreed with Janssens that all the "Hottentots" were only good as labourers. Instead he saw them as having the potential to make a variety of contributions to society. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 31) The general disagreement which Van der Kemp had with Janssen with regard to their treatment and his opinion of the Landdrost Alberti is contained in a letter he wrote to Janssens on 19 April 1805:

You acknowledge the great wrong that the colonists perhaps here and there, do to the Hottentots. His expression, Governor, shows that you are still uninformed of the true situation of things in this country, or at least in the Uitenhage district. No perhaps, here and there, but very certainly, and pretty nearly in all parts, does this oppression prevail; nor is it only particular inhabitants, but the landdrosts themselves, from whom the oppressed ought to find protection, who make themselves guilty in this respect. It causes me no little sorrow, to be obliged herein to name Mr. Alberti, for whom I had, till now, cherished an unfeigned respect; but I am necessitated to do so by the impossibility of obtaining justice for the people of this institution in any other way. The landdrost, Alberti, has thought it fit to oblige Hottentots who were free, and settled here with their wives and children, to hire themselves to the inhabitants and with the violence of corporal punishment, by armed inhabitants, to make away out of their houses at Bethelsdorp others who had declared themselves not inclined to devote themselves to the military service. Hottentots, who (according to your own words) are free born, and on the ground which originally belonged to them, should be able to find freedom, security, and the means of subsistence!

This freedom violated in both instances, I reclaim with that confidence which your own hand writing gives me, for those who, without your interference, are in danger of losing it, and whose complaints can in no other way reach your ears. Of other wrongs and cruelties (the account of which, in case I might bring to light a history of my time, would fill a middling book) I will not here speak. With all this, no one, possessing a sound understanding and who is acquainted with the human heart, can expect among the Hottentots, who are yet deaf to the voice of the gospel, that there should be brought about, by the persuasion of missionaries alone, an attachment to the welfare of the government, so long as these Hottentots are deprived of the privileges of citizens, which the colonists enjoy; particularly while the government of the country, by treating them worse than Pharoah did the children of Israel in Egypt, appears to set everything to work which can serve to break this attachment. (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 445,446)

The recruitment of the Khoi as soldiers commenced during this period. According to Clinton, Van der Kemp was willing that, as is the case with other inhabitants, the "Hottentots" should assist in the defence of the Colony against external enemies. But he maintained that they should neither be compelled to serve as soldiers, nor serve in that capacity against their own kind or the "Kaffirs". (Clinton, K.C., 1937, p. 57) In a letter written to Van der Kemp on 3 May 1805 concerning the use of "Hottentots" as soldiers, and the attitude of Van der Kemp himself, Janssens wrote:

I have greatly to complain that you do not co-operate heartily with me: your prejudices are unfounded. If you could see how much better the Hottentots in our service are treated than those in the English ranks. I have the most perfect reliance upon their fidelity and love of our service, if they be not led away, and I know that many of the Boers excite them against becoming soldiers, merely to keep them for themselves. Your own bitter language in their hearing, and the great error into which you have fallen, of claiming rights for them beyond those of the colonists, have equally tended to pervert them. (Bannister, S., 1830, clxxxiv)

When Van der Kemp enquired from Janssens why the wives and families of "Hottentots" whom Janssens had enrolled as soldiers had not received rations he replied:

In regard to the wives of the Hottentots taken into military service, it is incorrect to say they are left in destitute circumstances, when they may be supplied either at Bethelsdorp or Baviaans Kloof. (Bannister, S., 1830, p. clxxxviii)

Despite the fact that Van der Kemp was himself a Dutchman and the missionaries observed obedience and loyalty to the Government, Janssens represented that Bethelsdorp belonged to an English Society and that missionaries sought to enlist the sympathy of the "Hottentots" for the British:

I hear from good authority that your people receive through the missionaries friendly remembrances from English officers formerly known to them. This is not right, much as I should despise invidious control of men's thoughts, such messages can have no other effect than to foster the attachment of the natives to the enemies of Holland. (Bannister, S., 1968, p. clxxxv)

In April 1805 Van der Kemp and Read were summoned to Cape Town by Governor Janssens to answer that the former:

1. had received Hottentots into Bethelsdorp who were in Boer or military service, after having persuaded them to desert to the institution;
2. had disobeyed the landdrost when asked to send four Hottentots to Algoa Bay; and
3. had passed on greetings of the English to the Hottentots. (Quoted in Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 96)

They succeeded in clearing themselves of all the charges but they were detained in Cape Town for more than a year. While in Cape Town they occupied themselves in preaching to the slaves in the vicinity. (L.M.S. Reports; 1814, p. 245)

The period of the Batavian Government 1803 - 1805 was characterized by antagonism between Governor Janssens and Van der Kemp on two basic issues. The first was the rigid control that the Government wanted to have on the mission institution as a source of cheap labour to the neighbouring farmers and the second was the use of the Khoi in military service against

the Xhosa on the Eastern Frontier. These issues were never resolved during the period under consideration. The Batavian Republic besides providing the site for the establishment of the mission station of Bethelsdorp never really made a positive contribution to the socio economic development of the Khoi. The unsuitable nature of the ground at Bethelsdorp militated against it becoming an economically viable station.

## CHAPTER FOUR

THE VAN DER KEMP PERIOD AS A PATTERN  
FOR LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter will continue the account of the significance of Van der Kemp's leadership up to the time of his death in 1811 under the themes mentioned in the previous chapter.

The Relationship with the Colonial Governors and Governments

In January 1806 the Batavian Government came to an end after Janssens was defeated by a British squadron under Major-General Sir David Baird and the Cape passed again into the hands of the British. He enraged the Colonists when he had the ban on the instruction of the Hottentots in writing lifted and allowed Van der Kemp and Read to return to Bethelsdorp on 5 February 1806. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, pp. 96,97) Baird regarded Van der Kemp as a sincere man, who was doing good work but whose complaints should be taken with caution. This is clear from the instructions he issued to the new Landdrost of Uitenhage, Captain Jacob Glen Cuyler in 1806:

The Rev. Mr. Van der Kemp and his society of Christian Hottentots are particularly recommended to your protection, you will upon all occasions give this venerable and good man every assistance in your power. You must however listen to his account of the ill treatment of the Hottentots and of the cruelty of the Boers with caution. An enthusiast in his mission, he occasionally must see things in a stronger point of view than they are in reality. (Cory, C.E., 1930, p. 194)

The Directors' view of the British regaining control of the Cape is given in the annual report of 1807:

The Society will doubtless feel, with the Directors, a warm sense of gratitude to the great Disposer of all events, who was pleased so remarkably to interpose in favour of the African missions, at



a moment when, to all appearance, they were in danger of being totally suppressed, and when the lives of the missionaries at Bethelsdorp were threatened. Then it was, that the colony, submitting to the British arms, returned to a government by which the rights of the conscience are respected, and the shield of power held over good subjects who are sincerely aiming to promote the welfare of their fellow-creatures. To that mild and gentle government the Society is indebted for many favours, which they are desirous of acknowledging with gratitude. (Directors Report, 1807, p. 247)

Although the new landdrost of the District gave every indication that he was prepared to co-operate with the missionaries at Bethelsdorp, Van der Kemp and Cuyler soon had disagreements on the use of "Hottentot" labour and the entrance of the "Hottentots" into military service. During the temporary regime of Lieutenant H.G. Grey, Van der Kemp wrote to him on 20 February 1807 complaining about the institution being directly under the landdrost:

This institution was erected upon a simple plan at the instigation and under the auspices of General Dundas, who condescended to give immediately the orders necessary for its management, in relation to the peace and tranquility of the country, without the intervention of the landroost or commander of Fort Frederick.

Under the government of General Janssens it was gradually more and more oppressed, and subjected first, under the orders of the officer commanding in Algoa Bay, and afterwards under those of the Landroost, which proved a source of many complaints respecting the injuries under which our Hottentots groaned.

At the restoration of the British government, we naturally expected that the restrictions under which the institution was brought, would be removed, the more so as the chief magistrate, Ryneveld, informed me that it was General Baird's wish, that the institution should be reinstated upon the same footing as it has been originally under the government of General Dundas.

Notwithstanding this, the Landroost continues to exercise an almost arbitrary power over the members of the institution, and has even taken steps to put me under the orders of a field-cornet. By a series of acts of injustice towards our Hottentots, of which I am reluctant to complain in detail, (but which have rendered my station in this place extremely disagreeable and disgusting to me,) he has alienated the affections of our people not only from himself, but also from government in general, insomuch that when the obligation they have to government, as their protector, is represented to them, their common reply is, 'They are not the same English which they were under General Dundas'.

The institution ought to remain under the immediate protection of the governor, - the missionary to receive the necessary orders from his Excellency, and the plan of his operations, as far as they may affect the political state of the colony, to be concerted between his Excellency and the missionaries. (Bannister, S., 1830, pp. cxcī, cxcīi)

With regard to the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp in the service of the Boers, Van der Kemp recommended in the same letter:

That no Boer may engage such a member in his service by annual contract, except in presence and consent of the missionary; that no field-cornet or single heemraad had any authority within the institution; and that the inhabitants of the Colony be forbidden to offer brandy or any other intoxicating liquors for sale, or to distribute it among the people without consent of the missionary. (Bannister, S., 1830, p. cxcīii)

In reply to Van der Kemp's request that the institution be placed directly under the Governor, the acting-Governor Grey defined the power of the landdrost. He stated further that Bethelsdorp could not be considered as a special district for it to be placed directly under him. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 59)

In the Earl of Caledon, who became Governor in May 1807, the missionaries believed that they had a friend and a second "Dundas". They made two requests to the Governor; that a new site for the institution be granted and that new institutions for the "Kaffirs" be opened on the Colonial side of the Fish River. Caledon agreed that some government land in the vicinity could be appropriated by Bethelsdorp. Landdrost Cuyler, however, found reasons why it could not be granted. What these reasons were is not stated. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 59)

On the question of missions to the "Kaffirs", the Governor was adamant that he would not permit any intercourse between the missionaries at Bethelsdorp and the Xhosa on the Colonial side of the Fish River. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 59) It was during the regime of Caledon that Major Collins, Commissioner for regulating the affairs of the borders, visited Bethelsdorp. He was not impressed with the progress at the institution and suggested its removal, basically not because of its failure but because:

From a political point of view its proximity to the Country occupied by the Kaffirs was ..., a consistent source of suspicion and anxiety to the authorities. Kaffirs frequented the institution and the mission Hottentots often visited the Kaffirs. It was obvious that no measure could be so conducive to peace between the Colony and the Kaffirs as that of completely preventing the one people from having any dealings, either direct or indirect with the other. (Cory, G.E., 1930, p. 192)

Collins therefore, believed that the institution "by its connections with the Kaffirs might foil his supreme object of entirely separating them from intercourse with the Colony". (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 60) Collins also discussed the question of labour of the "Hottentots" in public work, putting a number of questions to Van der Kemp, which he answered quite frankly:

Will you, agree to send over to Uitenhage Hottentots whose services may be required by the Magistrate, Major Cuyler? To this Van der Kemp replied in the negative. His reasons were "that to apprehend men as prisoners and force them to labour in the manner proposed was no part of his duty". To a question, "whether he did not consider it his duty to compel the Hottentots to labour," he replied, "no, Sir, the Hottentots are recognised to be a free people, and the Colonists have no more right to force them to labour in the way you propose than you have to sell them as slaves". Being asked why he could not obey the order of the landdrost, in calling in the Hottentots who were amongst the farmers when they were required by the landdrost: "Because, Sir," said he "that is the duty of the landdrost himself and he is paid for it." (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 508)

Collins also reported to Lord Caledon on the injustices, as he saw them, that "Hottentot" farmer labourers suffered. He was clearly as little impressed with the local farmers as he was with Bethelsdorp. In 1808 he wrote:

Much evil is occasioned by masters selling liquor to their servants, in part payment of wages and that practice should be strictly prohibited; but the measure which I conceive of first importance to the protection of the Hottentot and the improvement of his situation, is a sacred observance of his annual engagement. A Hottentot can now seldom get away at the expiration of his term. If he should happen not to be in debt to the master, which he must have more caution than is characteristic of his race to prevent, he is not allowed to take his children, or he is detained under some frivolous pretence, such as that of cattle having died through his neglect,

and he is not permitted to satisfy any demands of this nature otherwise than by personal service.

When these pretexts shall be overruled, and a master shall know that he cannot secure the service of his Hottentots otherwise than by attaching them to him, he will feel it his interest to treat them kindly.

Another consequence of being enabled to change their masters annually will be increase of wages. In the distant parts of the colony a male Hottentot receives no more in the year than twelve or fourteen rix-dollars, which may be paid either in money, clothes or cattle. A female obtains much less. A great deal is said by the inhabitants of the expense of maintaining the children of these people: but I think, without foundation, for a child can scarcely crawl before it is turned to some purpose. (Moodie, D., 1841, p. 22)

Caledon reacted to the descriptions of poor conditions which Collins had sent to him and attempted to improve the lot of the "Hottentots" in his Proclamations on vagrancy and labour contracts, set out in 1809. These regulations stipulated that every "Hottentot" should have some fixed abode, that contracts for service between "Hottentot" and farmer should be entered into before the duly instituted civil authority such as a landdrost or field-cornet, and that every "Hottentot" moving from place to place should be provided with a certificate or pass. (Du Plessis, J., 1911, p. 131) The missionaries, however, soon recognized that whatever his original intentions Caledon's Proclamation produced undesirable effects upon the Khoi. In his account of the London Missionary Society, Lovett, writing in 1899 summarized the problem:

The result of the proclamation in its practical working was in the vast majority of the cases, to condemn the Hottentots to a servitude that was really worse than slavery, and from which there was no escape. The Dutch Boer or English Colonist who had purchased his slave, to that extent took care of him, if only because he represented capital. Of the Hottentot, to whom he paid only a nominal wage, whom he constantly defrauded of this, and whose labour he could have for the asking, he took no care whatever. If through either his cruelty, oppression, or neglect, the Hottentot died, his place could speedily be filled by others, doomed to tread the same hopeless path. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 545)

The missionaries also felt that the proclamation placed the "Hottentots" at the disposal of the local authorities who so manipulated their "passes", that they "created a perpetual obligation in the "Hottentots" to enter into service". (Clinton, D.K., 1837, p. 61)



As Collins was complaining about the treatment of the Khoi so Read was writing about cruelties that were inflicted upon them. On 30 August 1808 Read wrote a letter to the Directors, which was to make the Society very unpopular amongst the Colonists. This letter in fact led directly to the institution of the Circuit Court. In it he referred in vivid and piteous terms to the cruelties inflicted upon the Khoi by the Boers. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, pp. 61, 62) This letter was referred to the Colonial Office, to the Governor of the Cape, and the Landdrost of Uitenhage who called in Read. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 53) In subsequent letters he mentioned how difficult it was for the Khoi to secure justice:

Their witnesses were not received in courts, they were afraid of their masters, those masters would never witness against each other in favour of the Hottentots, and would adopt measures to prevent their servants making complaints. Moreover, the treatment received from the officers of Justice, by whom the complainant was sent, at the risk of his life, to summon the person against whom he complained, discouraged the Hottentots from representing their cases (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 61)

Read put his case strongly in a letter to the Earl of Caledon on 19 October 1810:

On the 18 of this month I was summoned to appear before the Landdrost, to give information upon some acts of cruelty and murder, mentioned in a letter of mine written to England, dated August 30, 1808. I have given him information of the persons who had informed me, and shall, with the greatest cheerfulness, give every further information upon the subject in my power, if it should be your Lordship's desire.

I have likewise given to the Landdrost, two papers containing an account of similiar acts of barbarity, which have been brought to my knowledge since I have been in this country, and in which, as far as I know, not only no justice has ever been administered but not the least notice taken of them, which is undoubtedly the course of the continuance of the inhumanity and cruel deeds committed against the poor people. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, pp. 510, 511)

As a result of this letter Lord Caledon requested Van der Kemp and Read's presence in Cape Town for the purpose of granting them an interview. During this visit to Cape Town, Van der Kemp died in December 1811. The serious accusations made by the missionaries impelled Caledon to appoint a Commission of the Court to visit the country districts. In 1812 it examined at



various district centres, the accusations of the missionaries, and as a result of its activities it came to be known as the notorious "Black Circuit". (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 63)

The results of the Circuit Court trials were:

Of the seventeen individuals charged with murder, five were reserved for subsequent trial, one man was found guilty of assault, and the remaining eleven were acquitted. Of the nineteen charged with violence seven were convicted, and several of the actions for the recovery of wages were also successful. (Du Plessis, J., 1911, p. 133)

Although a number of the charges by the "Hottentots" could not be substantiated, the circuit court at least revealed a considerable amount of violence in master and servant relations.

Lieut. Gen. Sir J.F. Cradock took over as Governor on September 6 1811, when Read and Van der Kemp were in Cape Town at the request of Calendon. In the same month the missionaries wrote to Cradock renewing their application for extra land at Bethelsdorp, asking to be allowed to establish institutions among the "Kaffirs" and seeking permission to erect an orphanage at Bethelsdorp. (Bannister, S., 1830, ccxxiv) Cradock granted the first request in 1812 and ordered all Government land at Bethelsdorp to be granted in perpetuity to the London Missionary Society. He refused the second request and to the third he stated that he was not certain whether Bethelsdorp was a suitable site for an orphanage. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 64)

In spite of what Lieut. Collins had previously said about child labour, Governor Cradock promulgated the Apprentice Act law in 1812 which stated:

When ... children as are born in the service of the farmers, have attained the age of eight years and have been maintained by such farmers or inhabitants during that period, the landdrost of the district shall apprentice such Hottentots male or female, to the farmer or inhabitant by whom they have been so maintained, in case he be willing to receive such apprentice, for ten years. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 379)

Sales remarks that the implication of this law was that fair wages for "Hottentots" did not have to be sufficient for their families, since the children had to work off the value of the food they had received in infancy. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 53) The injustices which resulted from the Vagrancy

Act (1809) and the Apprenticeship Act (1812) became further issues of conflict between the Government and missionaries.

#### Attitude of Colonists and Local Authorities

It will be remembered that in 1799 when Van der Kemp and his party arrived at the Cape they were received with great cordiality, and treated with openhanded hospitality by the farmers. In the same year Van der Kemp and Edmonds continually made reference in their reports to the warmth of the welcome extended to them along their journey by the Boers. Van der Kemp was even requested by them to become their minister, as he himself described:

I had a meeting with the elders of the church, who repeated their wishes, which they had expressed by letters when I was in Caffreland, that I should accept the ministry of this church. As I found it inconsistent with my duty, we all turned our eyes to our dear brother Van der Lingen who seemed to be inclined to labour in this part of the Lord's vineyard. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 479)

The attitude of the Boers soon changed when Van der Kemp used the Dutch Reformed Church in Graaff Reinet for instructing the Hottentots. They complained about their presence in the church and demanded that the walls and seats be scrubbed before they would use the church again. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. I, 1804, p. 483) This Van der Kemp refused to do and assembled the "Hottentots" in his own house.

That the missionaries should teach the "Hottentots" to read and write was bitterly resented by some Boers, since it tended to give the Hottentots an advantage over them:

The frontiersmen were far away from schools and other civilizing influences of Cape Town; at very rare intervals a stranger might arrive at the farm with enough knowledge to be able to stay a few months and teach the children the rudiments of letters. But, in the main, there was no education provided for the Dutch children, who were growing up completely illiterate. It is, thus, very easy to understand the jealousy and suspicion in the untutored minds for those who were in every other way their inferiors, who yet had the unquestioned superiority of being able to read and write. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 92)

Briggs suggests an additional reason for their disquiet - "this ability to write placed in the hands of the Hottentots an instrument of co-operation which might help some leader to weld them into a powerful attacking force". (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 93)

A representation was made to Governor Janssens in 1802 to prevent the missionaries from teaching the Khoi to write. Van der Kemp commented on the restriction in the annual report of 1803:

Governor Janssens seemed ..., however prejudiced against our teaching the Hottentots to write, considering them not to be sufficiently civilized to make proper use of it. This prejudice we supposed had been much strengthened by the Christians (boers), who would not have had the face to have mentioned it under the English Government. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 162)

According to Briggs the Government's bending to the wishes of the farmers in the matter is proof that "for all its republican ideals of equality and fraternity, it was bent on pursuing a discriminatory policy in the Colony, in order to maintain peace". (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 93)

The story reached the London Directors who noted that:

The gospel, which proved, in many happy instances, the power of God to the salvation of the poor Hottentots, became a stumbling block and a rock of offence to many of the boers, who notwithstanding the name of Christians, which they undeservedly bear, laboured to keep the Hottentots in total ignorance of the gospel, and were enraged at the missionaries, the diffusion of whose light, discovered and condemned their horrid acts of oppression and murder. Irritated to the highest pitch, they laboured to seduce the people into drunkenness, whoredom, and other vices, and to prejudice their minds by the most injurious falsehoods they would have rejoiced to destroy the lives both of the missionaries and their disciples, and when they could not effect this, they committed depredations on their properties. (L.M.S. Reports; 1805, p. 204)

Clinton, (1937, p. 53) claims that the Boers were greatly angered by the fact that a few Boers were converted by the missionaries and became members of the church at Bethelsdorp. In this way they identified themselves with the policy of the missionaries, allowing on their farms assemblies of Europeans, "Hottentots" and slaves for the purpose of worship. In the annual report of 1806 the missionaries described the conversion of a Boer woman and its consequences:

The wife of a farmer of reputable family, and much respected among her country people, is the first fruits of Christ's Victory over the perverse generation in the district of Algoa Bay. Her conversion was striking, and signalized by her conduct towards our Hottentots; she received them most affectionately in her house, at her table, and sat down at their feet to hear the words of life, from their mouths. She afterwards came to us and assisted in our assemblies, where the gospel she heard, and her conversation with Sister Smith, were blessed to her soul. As she possessed no Bible, Brother Van der Kemp gave her a New Testament, the contents of which were sweeter to her soul than honey ... The change of her heart, and her connexion with us, exposed her to much persecution. Her father, husband, sister, relations, and the whole circle of her former acquaintance, in insulting her in the most excruciating manner, and a plan is formed to remove her to some distant part of the colony, that she may live without danger of being more infected by the contagion of Bethelsdorp. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 148)

It was apparently particularly galling that the conversion of one of their own people was brought about by a slave who had been herself converted by the Bethelsdorp missionaries. (Clinton, D.C., 1937, p. 53) When Read visited the Gamtoos River on 17 August 1810 he repeated the story.

Sapphire, a slave from Mosambique, held daily meetings; that a boer's wife had been convinced of sin under his speaking; that she, with others, had invited him to their home to speak there ...

Read continued:

I found this to be true, and the forementioned woman told me, with many tears, what the Lord had done for her, and begged to be informed by me if there was that difference between them and the heathens, as the Christians had insisted upon, for that she was convinced, from the conversion of Sapphire, that God was no respecter of persons. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1812, p. 393)

As the years passed the number of "Hottentots" at the institution increased, and each brought a fresh account of oppression and ill-treatment by the farmers. Van der Kemp accepted the stories and adopted a hostile attitude towards the Boers. He described their attitude in the annual report of 1803:



The hatred of the Christians (if they may be so called) arises from the two causes. 1st. That we not only discountenanced, but condemned in the highest degree the horrid ideas of oppression, murder etc, and 2ndly, our instructing the Hottentots, whom they wished to keep in total ignorance of the Gospel, and to suffer them to believe nothing but what they chose to inculcate; which, among other things is, that they are of the offspring of Canaan, youngest son of Noah, and are cursed of God to a perpetual servitude to them. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 158)

In the following year Van der Kemp wrote again to the Governor that:

Our conscience would not permit us any longer to observe that hard article of the settlement granted to our institution by which we were recommended to encourage the voluntary engagement of the Hottentots into the services of the Colonists, on account of the cruelty and injustice with which those who entered into their services were treated, without anything being done to them by the magistrates. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1804, p. 241)

In response Janssen ordered the landdrost of Uitenhage to take the necessary action to secure peace and order. This the missionaries later alleged was not done.

Hostility also existed immediately after the Second British Occupation, between the Landdrost of Uitenhage, Major, later Lieutenant Colonel, Cuyler and the missionaries at Bethelsdorp. Cuyler on his arrival in the district was faced with the responsibility of completing the drostdy at Uitenhage which Alberti, the landdrost under the Batavian Republic, had been forced to leave unfinished. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, pp. 98,99) Cuyler ordered each field-cornet to see that six "hottentot" men were sent to the drostdy for public work on the buildings. Van der Kemp was also ordered to send six men from Bethelsdorp. Van der Kemp objected to this because:

Whereas men who are under contract to farmers receive food for their families while they were on public work, the men from Bethelsdorp have no income while they are away doing public work. Furthermore, that Bethelsdorp, roughly the size of one farm, should be equated with a field cornetcy for such exactions was unfair, he felt many of the men sent by the farmers for public work were Bethelsdorp men, anyway so Bethelsdorp was taxed double. (quoted in Sales, J., 1975, p. 54)



According to Du Plessis the principles by which Van der Kemp Governed the "Hottentots" at Bethelsdorp were not, indeed, such as recommended themselves to either the Batavian or the English Governments. The reasons for this were:

Penetrated as he was with the doctrine that the Hottentots were free men, with all the rights and privileges of free citizens, he refused to use compulsion in his dealings with them. The children might attend school or not, as they pleased; truancy was visited with no subsequent punishment. No male Hottentot was obliged to engage in any useful employment; he was discouraged from proceeding to neighbouring farms and entering the service of the burgers ... Views and actions like these were of course, highly repugnant to the Government as well as to the surrounding farmers, and Bethelsdorp was looked upon by them as a hot bed of indolence and vice. (Du Plessis, J., 1911, pp. 126,127)

#### The Development of Industry and Agriculture

From the very first contact with the Hottentots, the missionaries saw the necessity of promoting industry and civilization among the 'heathen'. In the letter to Governor Dundas dated 11 November 1801, where the subject of a "Hottentot" institution was first broached, Van der Kemp stressed the necessity of labour and industry. He repeated his ideas on labour and industry when he wrote in 1802 to Janssens, outlining his plans for Bethelsdorp, but later stated that the most specialized industries should be left until the mission was on a sound financial footing. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 78) This did not indicate that he was giving up the ambitions he had stated for the place, as his remarks in a letter written in 1807 to the Earl of Caledon quite clearly show:

It is not only not inconsistent with the religious nature of the institution, but one of its requisites, that the narrow sphere of activity to which our Hottentots originally are confined, gradually be extended by pointing out to them the various methods, in which man by his industry may co-operate to the welfare of the society, of which he is a member. (Bannister, S., 1830, p. ccvii)

It is clear from the onset that the natural surroundings of Bethelsdorp were against it ever becoming a centre of industry as was envisaged by Van der Kemp. On the ground at Bethelsdorp Van der Kemp writes:

The ground which the Government has assigned for our institution and which we now occupy, is about 10 miles in circumference, but very barren, and seems very unfit for the subsistence of a people, who in the present state of imperfection can live only upon cattle and corn. This prospect contributes much to the dispersion of our people among colonists; and the rest who continue with us, show, not ambiguously, a strong desire that this institution may be transferred to a more convenient spot. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 505)

Macmillan quotes a later missionary, Baker: "on such a spot as Bethelsdorp, even the superior skill and industry of Europeans would effect nothing in agriculture." Baker further states:

Nor were casual visitor critics likely to receive a good impression, since what fraction of garden land there is at Bethelsdorp lies quite concealed from view in a small and narrow kloof above the village. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 151)

Macmillan comments that whoever was responsible for assigning this site as an institution "had the wisdom to calculate that such a barren spot, while sufficing for the needs of the Hottentots, could not relieve too many of them from the necessity of eking out a living by labour on farms". (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 151)

With regard to the progress of industry which Van der Kemp envisaged (as stated in his letters to Dundas and Janssens), he wrote in 1807 to Lord Caledon as follows:

Mrs Smith ... devotes the greater part of her time in teaching about twenty four girls to knit stockings, night caps, etc. with a surprising assiduity, and not a less surprising success. But we have hitherto not been so successful in introducing other manufactures. We have but one shoemaker, ten or twelve employing themselves in coopers' work, carpentering, sawing planks, and some as smiths. Of the women, some are occupied in soap boiling, tanning sheepskins, making candles, strawhats, mats, etc. (Bannister, S., 1830, p. ccvii)

This is not a very impressive picture and on this matter, Lieutenant Colonel Collins after his visit of 7 April 1809 noted:

It appears that out of more than six hundred persons residing at Bethelsdorp, there are only sixty-six baptized and only forty-three exercising any useful employment. I cannot, therefore, perceive that the efforts produced by the zealous and unremitting labours of Dr. Van der Kemp and his brethren during a period of seven years are such as to promise great benefits from a continuance of this institution, even to the members of it.

The annual report of 1810, however, indicated that considerable activity was in progress. A knitting school was in existence that produced mostly stockings. Mats and baskets were made, while some income was derived by lime burning. Soap boiling was an occupation followed by some people, and wood cutting had progressed to such an extent that in 1810 the Hottentots had 6,000 boards for sale, at a value of 1,000 rix dollars. In addition to these activities the missionaries erected a water corn mill. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 49) In the report of 1810 Read mentioned that "a considerable traffic in salt has been carried on this year, which our people fetch from the saltpan, - pile up in heaps and is fetched from hence by the farmers". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 294) The saltpan was situated about two miles from the institution. It appears that the most prosperous of all the "Hottentots" were those who were able to purchase a waggon and team of oxen and do the transport riding for the farmers to the port at Algoa Bay and Cape Town. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 50)

In 1807 when a new Governor, Lord Caledon arrived, Van der Kemp pressed upon him the need for arable land. In a letter to the Governor dated 31st July 1807 Van der Kemp stated that Bethelsdorp was totally unsuitable for agriculture and added:

that the total want of arable ground at Bethelsdorp in a great measure frustrates the benevolent intention with which the institution was erected, viz. to reduce the dispersed and vagabondizing Hottentots into a permanent society of useful and industrious inhabitants. Experience teaches us that the greatest part of those who enter the institution with the best views, leave it again in a few weeks, convinced of the impossibility of providing for themselves and their families in a place where nothing can be sown or reaped. Numbers of them, it is true, retreat to the farmers, but many also emigrate to the Caffres, or form themselves into little kraals in the neighbouring woods - the consequences of which are too obvious to escape your Excellency's penetration. (Bannister, S., 1830, p. cciii)

In the same year, 1807, Lord Caledon anxious to promote the welfare of the "Hottentots" as well as to encourage Van der Kemp, authorized the Landdrost of Swellendam, a Mr Faure, and a Mr. George Rose to confer with Van der Kemp with the view to examine a site near Plettenberg Bay. (Cory, G.E., 1930, p. 191) Van der Kemp found the land around Plettenberg Bay extremely rough and considered it inaccessible to waggons:

Far more serious, however (suggests Briggs), was the fact that the veld in the district was even sourer than that of Bethelsdorp and the Landdrost gave it, as his considered opinion that neither cattle nor sheep could be kept on any land in the Plettenberg Bay area not already owned by farmers, nor corn or vegetables be grown, and the water supply was inadequate. (Briggs, D.R., 1952, p. 85)

Van der Kemp, it seems, merely wanted a tract of good arable land adjacent to Bethelsdorp where there was a good supply of water and made such a request to Lord Caledon. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 294) In answer to this request, Lord Caledon through the medium of the local landdrost, Major Cuyler, granted any suitable uninhabited land in the vicinity to the Institution. Van der Kemp pointed out two possible sites to Major Cuyler who answered "that the first was intended for the oxen of farmers, who might come to fish, and the second for outward places for the cattle of the new town of Uitenhage". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 297) The final result was that the institution remained where it was. Before the year 1808, practically no harvest was gained from the agricultural activity, despite the arduous labour of the missionaries and the inhabitants.

By October 1807, the situation was quite desperate, Read wrote:

Poverty, has been, and still is, so great, that we fear some have died of hunger; we have done as much as we could to help the people, but provisions are so scarce and dear that we could not help them much. I have been without bread for a long time, nor expect to get any for three or four months; nor have we any vegetables, owing to the barrenness of the soil. Our houses, which are merely of reed begin to fall about, our ears as does our church also, and we are reluctant to incur any expenses till we know where we are to settle. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 156)



In 1808 abundant rain fell, a splendid harvest was reaped which was an encouragement to the people. This success gave "vigour to agriculture" so that this year there were planted "40 sacks of wheat ... , barley, rice, Indian corn, beans, peas, pumpkins, etc. "so that the wants of our poor people are more and more likely to be supplied". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 294) From this period, the agriculture in connection with the Institution was established. Clinton points out that most of the arable land was found some distance from Bethelsdorp (about two miles), on the banks of the Zwartkops river. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 48)

#### Education Development up to 1812

Among the "Hottentots" and Xhosa throughout the Eastern Cape Bethelsdorp was regarded as school. The church and school were conducted in one building and were always seen as closely related activities. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 42) Van der Kemp and Read considered it their first priority to prepare the inhabitants of the institution for conversion and salvation. According to Clinton, "Fundamental to all the work of the missionaries at Bethelsdorp was the purpose of conversion". (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 35)

Two services were held every day, one in the morning and one in the evening, in which a great deal of preaching was done with the ethical emphasis strongly represented. "When swearing, drunkenness and lewdness prevailed, it was uncompromisingly asserted that God was Judge, knew the actions and secret thoughts of all, and the choice was between hell and a new heart". (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 37) It can be said that to them a saving knowledge of Christ was of more importance than ploughing or any other form of vocational training.

The school was important for instruction in reading and writing since the people had to be able to read the scriptures and since the "Hottentots" often left the institution for considerable periods "in the absence of books, instruction might have to be committed to writing". (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 38) This resulted in Van der Kemp's dispute with Janssens over the instruction of writing. The value of writing was also seen in terms of literate individuals whose personal growth and leadership in church was important. That Van der Kemp regarded instruction as



important is seen by the fact that as early as 1802 he felt that the labour of one man should be totally devoted to the school, as it was impossible for a missionary to do justice to instruction in school as well as his other duties. He was therefore determined that at Bethelsdorp, if it was at all possible, there should be three missionaries and two schoolmasters. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 39)

The school curriculum consisted mainly of religious teaching and instruction was confined to reading, writing, and singing. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 39) At the end of 1803, there were 30 to 40 children attending the mission school at Bethelsdorp, of whom 20 could read and spell. The reading ability of the children meant the ability to read the bible since no other books were available. In the missionary reports reference is often made to requests for bibles rather than for other kinds of books. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 93)

As already mentioned, the missionaries had a small printing press with them when they arrived at the Cape in 1799. It was used to print a spelling book in Graaff Reinet in 1801 and at Botas' Place they had "drawn up and printed in that language (Khoi) the outlines of the Christian Religion in the form of a catechism". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 239) As a result of the damage to the press at Bota's Place a request was made in 1803 for a new press to be sent to Bethelsdorp. A new press, along with blacksmiths equipment and a "corn mill" were sent from London to Cape Town. Between Cape Town and Algoa Bay, however, the ship carrying these things, along with a new missionary recruit, Mr. Irwin, sank. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. II, 1804, p. 151)

Van der Kemp made many further requests for a printing press and printer but neither of these was sent until many years later. During the period that Van der Kemp and Read were detained by Janssens in Cape Town, a pious lady, Mrs. Matilda Smith, who was resident in Cape Town, indicated her willingness to assist with instructing the "Hottentot" women at Bethelsdorp. A report by her niece who accompanied her to Bethelsdorp in 1805 gives an idea of her labours among the women at the institution:

Only two of the missionary brethren were present when we arrived at Bethelsdorp. Having taken some short time for rest and refreshment, and being settled in our new abode, my aunt informed the Hottentots that we intended, with the Divine permission and assistance, to commence a school in order to teach knitting, etc., to

every female who was willing to receive regular daily instruction. Four children almost immediately applied for tuition, and she began upon the plan proposed; the number of scholars soon increased to sixteen, several women attending of their own accord. These scholars were at first placed under my guidance. When they had learned the stitch, my aunt took great pains to advance them in the art of knitting, shaping stockings, night-caps, gloves, etc. For the first twelve months she purchased the requisite cotton and thread from her own purse. Meanwhile she found that the labour of instruction was much increased by the unsettled habits and occupations of the Hottentots. No sooner, for instance, were the girls under her charge beginning to improve, than their parents would probably engage themselves in the service of some distant farmer; in which case their children must either accompany them, or remain wholly destitute. To remedy this evil and to prevent its further recurrence, my aunt procured at her own expense corn, meat, peas, beans, pumpkins, - in a word, every kind of necessary food for the maintenance of the scholars; until by the sale of their various pieces of work to farmers, military men and others, sufficient money was collected to purchase a few cows; and thus, after the first year had elapsed, they began to support themselves. (Philip, J., 1824, pp. 122 - 123)

As the school progressed, not only did the number of cattle increase, but a stock of cotton, provisions and clothing was laid in, so that in a short while the wants of the needy members of the institution were met, and all expenses were defrayed. As proof of the success of the school, when Mrs Smith left Bethelsdorp, each child received either a cow or its equivalent value. (Philip, J., 1924, p. 123) The niece continues her report:

As to the adult females who were to attend, the profits arising from their industry were always at their own disposal, but she never failed to advise them with respect to the purchase of fresh working materials, as well as decent clothing; and in consequence of this care and attention, the knitting-school was more remarkable for neatness and cleanliness than any other branch of the institutions. (Philip, J., 1924, p. 123)

Van der Kemp on his return from Cape Town:

found, to our joy, the work of converting grace going on prosperously; and we admire the success with which that exemplary Sister Smith, had set up a school in which the Hottentot children were instructed to knit stockings etc. She is universally respected and beloved by all our people. Besides her conversation with the females, who

seem to be concerned about their soul, she keeps a weekly meeting with our baptized sisters, and instructs them by way of catechising in the practical as well as the doctrinal truths of the religion of Christ. (L.M.S. Reports, 1814, p. 246)

After two years at Bethelsdorp Mrs. Smith left for Cape Town. The missionaries requested that the Society should send out a 'pious woman' to carry on Mrs. Smith's work, but there was no response to this request. (L.M.S. Reports, 1814, p. 279) For a short time Mrs. Read carried on the Knitting school but whether the work was of the same quality as under Mrs. Smith is not clear.

In a letter Van der Kemp wrote to the Directors in 1807 he mentioned the possibility of Bethelsdorp turning out to be a permanent settlement and requested contribution for a library which he hoped to establish. The books he requested indicated that he had a higher educational programme for the institution in mind. He asked for:

Theological and Ecclesiastical Works; Geographical Travels, especially through Asia and Africa, Descriptions of Arts and manufactures, Grammars and Dictionaries, for instruction in the Latin, Greek and Oriental Languages, Classic Authors, Greek and Latin. We want especially a good general Map of the World, particular maps, a celestial Plamisphere, and a pair of globes. We will, however, not despise any writings on other branches, as Natural History, Chemistry, Anatomy, Surgery, Midwifery, Philosophy, etc. The least acceptable would be Medical and Poetical Books. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 202)

His request was made to well-wishers rather than directly to the L.M.S. and he mentioned the aims of the library as laying "the foundation of a future academy of young Hottentots in the place". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 202)

There is no evidence in the literature consulted that anyone responded to the appeal for these books. It does not seem possible that the "Hottentots" would have reached the intellectual feats which Van der Kemp seemed to have in mind for them. Apparently most of Van der Kemp's time during 1807 was spent writing. Read reported that "Brother Van der Kemp has finished his work on the Epistle to St. Paul, entitled "The Odyssey of Paul", and sent the last number to Holland some time ago. He has lately finished a considerable work upon midwifery, for use at Bethelsdorp". (Missionary Transaction, Vol. III, 1813, p. 154)

In 1807 the missionaries made another request to the Directors for a person who understood weaving and a millwright. Read also erected a blacksmith shop, in which he worked when his other commitments allowed and "by this means, is enabled to relieve, in some degree, the distresses of the poor". He also reported that "I have taken two lads to give them instruction in the smith's business, as much as I am able, but find a want of files and many other articles". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 146) Mr. Ullbrecht who joined the mission in 1805 constructed a carpenters shop and also took it upon himself to build a windmill "which if he shall be able to accomplish, will be an article of great utility to the Institution". (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 146) The school met one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon for children and adults "though the missionaries were not of one opinion as to whether the adults should be expected to attend". (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 38) Van der Kemp refused to compel attendance since "the people were unused to civilized life, and he did not wish to impose too wearisome burdens upon them". (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 3) In 1810 Van der Kemp wrote about the irregular attendance of children at school:

Indeed it is grievous to see most of the younger part of our community so much given to the vanities and vices of the world, which we are not able to suppress: and what we never witnessed before, an aversion for instruction, so that the school begins to be greatly neglected. This, however, as well as the other, is greatly owing to the careless conduct of the parents. The indifference of the Hottentot to the welfare of his children is almost inhuman, indeed he has little to stimulate him to due attention. A slave and a drudge to a farmer, is the highest pitch of eminence which a Hottentot has ever been suffered to arise, and daily steps are taken to continue this vile practice. (Missionary Transactions, Vol. III, 1813, p. 289)

He had referred to it in an earlier letter to Lord Caledon in 1807:

Our school is in a state of continual fluctuation, and instruction, by repeated absence of the scholars, frequently interrupted, or entirely stopped. From this the teachers' time and patience are exhausted without end, and with little benefit to many of his scholars. (Bannister, S., 1830, p. ccix)



Van der Kemp was also concerned by another problem at Bethelsdorp:

A multitude of children, partly orphans, partly abandoned by their unfeeling parents or more distant relations to the pity of others, who take them up like foundlings, as they are. The conditions of these is for the greatest part lamentable, and the prospect of their usefulness to humanize society unfavourable. They are little better treated than slaves; their education is neglected; and being considered as burdens to the family in which they are adopted, their case requires a more efficacious remedy than hitherto could be administered. (Banister, S., 1830, p. ccix)

As a solution to this problem Van der Kemp described his aims to Lord Caledon in 1810 as follows:

For a more regular education of the children at the institution, a kind of orphan or work charity house seems to be necessary, in which not only orphans and abandoned children are to be taken in, but also others whose parents shall be willing to have them educated in this way gratis. As very little of conjugal or parental love is felt amongst Hottentots in general, parents would readily part with their children; and for this reason I conjecture that there will be no difficulty in obtaining some for this house, although it may not turn out so easy to keep them there constantly at work for a certain length of time, and to prevent their running away, or being reclaimed by their parents. This may, however, be effected by the evident advantage of such an education, by their being better clothed, nourished, etc. and some little privileges, which by your Excellency's benevolence may be attached to it. The example of Mrs. Smith's knitting-school shows that such an undertaking, though arduous, may turn out successful. One great obstacle to carrying this plan into effect is the difficulty of raising a fund sufficient to afford the unavoidable expense of it. The difficulty of finding persons properly qualified for the direction of the intended orphan house, with the necessary assistants, seems another obstacle of no less importance than the former. It wants a married couple, acting from mere love of the welfare of the natives, in subordination to the love of God, prepared to persevere in this work under every disappointment and opposition from different quarters. (Bannister, S., 1830, p. ciii)

Sales mentions that although neither the government nor the missionary society saw fit to provide either funds or personnel for this venture, education at Bethelsdorp continued with the missionaries teaching whatever skills they had to the children when the children were present. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 45)



One of the most important tasks of the rest of this dissertation is to see the extent to which the problems which faced Van der Kemp and the solutions he tentatively proposed were being repeated up to 1851 and the abandonment of the Kat River Settlement.

## MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, TO 1848



Taken from the Kitchingham Papers

## CHAPTER FIVE

## CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF MISSION STATIONS

Apart from the work of the London Missionary Society during the Van der Kemp era, the work of the Society at the four mission stations of Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, Hankey and the Kat River will be examined. If however the thematic approach which has already been used in the Van der Kemp story is continued it will be confusing to try and follow the story in its chronological setting. For this reason the chronological story is tackled in this chapter.

Bethelsdorp

A very important decision was taken by the Board of Directors in London on December 16, 1811 the day after Van der Kemp had died. The need had become urgent for a strong, capable, general superintendent for all the scattered missions and missionary work in South Africa. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 516) The directors adopted the following resolution:

That the Rev. Dr. Van der Kemp be appointed superintendent or inspector to the Society, or in the event of his decease or departure from the Colony, that Mr. James Read shall be appointed to that office, and that he be empowered to take a general oversight of the affairs of every station, and to exercise, as a Director of the Society and its representative at the Cape such powers of control and influence as may appear requisite for the great object in view. (quoted in Lovett, R., 1899, p. 517)

There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the other missionaries concerning the idea of a Directing Missionary because they were spread over such a wide area. It was virtually impossible for one man to co-ordinate the missionary activities and to see to the needs of the various missions. The missionaries were also dissatisfied with the meagre allowance they had been receiving from the Society and with the policy that the missions should

later become self-supporting. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 83) The Directors on the other hand were dissatisfied with the high expenditure which the South African mission was causing to the mother society. This had amounted to £4,000 by 1811 which, according to the Directors, "was considerably more than half our receipts for this year". (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 83)

Rumours concerning idleness, drunkenness and disease at Bethelsdorp had also reached the Directors and the charge of Van der Kemp and Read, which gave rise to the "Black Circuit", made the Directors in England concerned at what was really happening in South Africa.

Rev. John Campbell was, therefore, sent out in 1812 as a deputation "to visit the stations in South Africa, to select sites for new centres of work, and to report to the Board of Directors on the state of the missions generally". (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 533) Campbell left Cape Town on 31 February 1813 with the blessings of the Governor Sir John Cra-dock to the first mission station he was to visit, Bethelsdorp, which he reached on 20 March 1813. (L.M.S. Reports, 1814, p. 497)

The Directors noted in 1814 Campbell's impressions of Bethelsdorp:

He witnessed a greater degree of civilization than he was led to expect, from the reports in circulation on his arrival in South Africa. He found at Bethelsdorp natives exercising the businesses of Smiths, Carpenters, Sawyers, Basket-makers, Turners etc. He saw cultivated fields extending two miles in length, on both sides of a river, their cattle had increased from two hundred and eighteen to two thousand two hundred and six, from three hundred to four hundred calves were produced in a year, not more than fifty of which were in that space of time allowed to be slaughtered. The blessed effects of religion were displayed in benevolent institutions formed among them; they had a fund for the support of the poor and sick, which amounted to two hundred and fifty rix-dollars; they proposed to build a house for the reception of part of their poor. They had also a common fund for the purpose of improving the settlement, amounting to one hundred and thirty dollars and about thirty head of cattle; and they contributed, during the last twelve months, seventy rix-dollars in aid of this Society. (L.M.S. Reports, 1814, pp. 497,498)

Campbell found, however, that the attendance of the pupils at the school was very irregular. He recommended the introduction of the monitorial system (Lancastrian method) in the schools, the method which was utilized with great success in England at the time and which was described in an earlier chapter. (Campbell, J., 1822, p. 85)

Campbell made little attempt to change the situation at Bethelsdorp. He did suggest that Bethelsdorp should be divided into as many districts as there happened at any time to be missionaries and that each missionary should be allocated a district. Every evening the missionary should visit as many families in his district as possible, discussing and explaining to them portions of the scripture. He also suggested that all the missionaries arriving in South Africa should pass through Bethelsdorp before journeying to their allocated stations. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 88)

In the Directors report for 1815 improved school conditions were noted:

The school also prospers greatly, so that there is a good attendance without any compulsion; and we are glad to hear, that the new British System of education is introduced with good effect. (L.M.S. Reports, 1815, p. 17)

In 1816 it was reported that the Khoi belonging to the settlement paid £800 to the Government in taxes; they had contributed £120 to the funds of the Society and were building a schoolroom and a printing office at their own expense. There were 1200 inhabitants at the settlement and nearly 50 children were able to read the Bible, write and count. (L.M.S. Reports, 1816, pp. 20,21) Through the intervention of the landdrost, the resident missionary Mr Messer was able to obtain for the settlement a regulation which was of great importance to the welfare and prosperity of the institution:

By this order, no Boer is allowed to hire any Hottentot belonging to it, without a special licence from the senior missionary for the time being; and, in case this order is violated, the farmer, as well as the Hottentot, will be deemed criminal. This regulation also restrains the farmer from keeping the Hottentot in his service a single day longer than the term for which he was engaged. Before the publication of this order, the farmers frequently detained the Hottentots several months, sometimes a full year, after their engagement had expired. (L.M.S. Reports; 1819, p. 69)

An important development took place in 1819 when Khoi boys were apprenticed to artisans who were capable of teaching them useful handicraft trades. Mr Messer succeeded in having seven young lads belonging to the institution apprenticed for five years to persons residing at Uitenhage,



Grahamstown and other surrounding places. (L.M.S. Reports, 1819, p. 70)

When Dr Philip arrived as superintendent of the Society's mission in South Africa in 1820 he felt very strongly that the Khoi should by their sobriety, their industry, cleanliness and general good conduct silence their critics. (Clinton, D.K., 1937, p. 12) James Kitchingham was appointed missionary at Bethelsdorp to bring about the required changes. In 1823 Philip could report that a striking improvement has taken place in the external appearance of Bethelsdorp. "The former reed houses have been removed and streets are forming, the houses of which are arranged in regular rows". (L.M.S. Reports, 1823, p. 98) In the same year a public store was also established by the efforts of Philip who felt that the people could "procure at the station the articles they want of as good quality, and at least at as moderate a price as at any other place". (L.M.S. Reports, 1823, p. 99)

Under Philip's administration education had improved to the extent that Rev. Foster (who was sent out by the directors to establish a seminary) could report in 1826 that "in the schools the British system may be seen to be in a state of perfection equal to almost anything that can be witnessed in England and the no's under instruction and their proficiency are truly admirable". (Philip, J., 1828, p. 230)

In the same year, Philip reported to the Directors on the growth and organization of the Sunday School:

On the morning and afternoon of every Sabbath, nearly the whole adult population of the place assembles, arranged in different classes, according to their proficiency, and including all ages from 15 to 80. A considerable proportion of the people, who during the week are engaged on the neighbouring farms, attend for instruction on those occasions. The several classes are placed under 20 teachers. 10 for the males and 10 for the females. (L.M.S. Reports, 1826, p. 78)

It seemed that a more regular settlement led to a growing commitment to the broader society when the Directors were informed of the involvement of the Bethelsdorp Khoi in the Frontier War of 1835:

During the late Caffir war, 100 Hottentots formed the contingent of national defence, which was contributed by Bethelsdorp; and the patriotic feeling and subordination manifested by the Hottentots to their commanders, were acknowledged in gratifying terms". (L.M.S. Reports, 1835, p. 84)

From Bethelsdorp mission work was also undertaken at Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, first as outstations but later they also received their own missionaries. Rev. Atkinson became the first resident missionary in Port Elizabeth and Rev. Sass later became the resident missionary at Uitenhage. (L.M.S. Reports, 1831, p. 84)

In 1839 a decline in the general activity at the settlement began due to long-continued droughts, worsening the infertility of the soil. The only commercial activity that is mentioned in the report is that of salt collecting. The salt was sold in great quantities at Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth and neighbouring areas. A number of the inhabitants had moved to seek a livelihood in other areas and "among those who remain there appears but little spirit of exertion to make better dwellings, or improve the external appearance of the institution in general". (L.M.S. reports, 1839, p. 82)

By 1846 some progress in secular activities could be reported by Rev. Kitchingham:

Something has been done in building better cottages, and repairing those that were in a delayed state, though not so much as we could wish. In many instances this cannot be ascribed to want of industry, for I believe that industrious habits are increasing among the people. A desire to acquire property, by purchasing cattle, wagons, and other things, and a state for being better clad than formerly are things which any one acquainted with them may observe. (L.M.S. Reports, 1846, p. 99)

In 1848 it is stated that the men who had defended the Colony against the Xhosa received their discharge from the army, which indicates that the mission station had made its contribution to the Colonial army as it had in 1835. (L.M.S. Reports, 1848, p. 99)

In 1849 the resident missionary Mr Kitchingham died and the settlement was now taken over by his son Mr Joseph Kitchingham. The year 1850 presented a decline both in the number and activity of the people at Bethelsdorp. There now followed a period in which the London Missionary Society gradually withdrew their financial support so as to grant the mission station an opportunity to become self-supporting.

### Theopolis

As mentioned earlier in this Chapter one of Rev. Campbell's reasons for coming to South Africa was to look for new sites for mission stations. In his selection of new sites, he was influenced by four main considerations. The first was the need of people for a missionary; the second, the need of providing "overflow institutions" such as Bethelsdorp in the Colony; third, the establishment of a chain of mission stations which would make communication between the missionaries and Cape Town more effective; the fourth was the need to occupy the most strategic areas in the colony which could offer access to the interior (hinterland). (Clinton, D.K., 1937, pp. 93,94)

The establishment of Theopolis as a mission station was brought about in the following way. The Colonial Government directed their attention to the security of the eastern frontier; and in order to achieve this they had to expel the Xhosa from a tract of land termed the Zuurveld (later known as the district of Albany). It was only in 1812 that the Xhosa were successfully expelled from this area by a force that included Khoi from the settlement of Bethelsdorp who from the knowledge of the country contributed much to the success of the enterprise. (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 253,254)

In 1813, the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp needed more arable land and because the settlement itself was over populated requested Rev. Campbell to write to Governor Cradock in January 1814 for a site for a new mission settlement. Campbell received the following reply from the Governor:

To relieve Bethelsdorp, and give the best chance of improvement to a place never designed by nature for a creditable or useful institution, I have granted, as far as the circumstance is practicable, the beautiful tract in Albany, to which we have given the name Theopolis, and I will cherish the hope, that in this situation all the prospects of united Christianity and utility to the world in which we now indulge, will be realized. Such is the fertility and abundance of the place in every necessity of life, together with wood, water, and every material for building at hand, that the very view of it will take away all excuse. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 382)

What Cradock did not mention was that Theopolis was situated on the path of the usual Xhosa route to Algoa Bay, thus the Khoi would now be in an area of land that would serve as a buffer against future attacks against the Colony.

It was decided in January 1814 that Brother Ullbricht one of the missionaries at Bethelsdorp would be the resident missionary of the new settlement. He invited all the Bethelsdorp inhabitants who wanted to move to Theopolis to go with him. The grant of land made by Cradock for the use of the settlement of Theopolis was about 6000 acres in size and according to Philip the Khoi who moved from Bethelsdorp to settle there, "found themselves in possession of extensive pasturage; while, by the opportunity of fishing at the mouth of the Kasouga river, and by the burning of lime from shells collected on the sea-beach, they were enabled to carry on a trade in those articles, and thus at once to benefit themselves and the other inhabitants, and promote the general welfare of the district". (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 255,256)

The Xhosa soon realized that Theopolis represented a barrier to their incursions into the Colony and soon singled it out for their vengeance. According to Philip "the Hottentots, notwithstanding the losses and inconveniences to which they were thus subjected, endured them with fortitude, and continued to advance in industry and civilization, and contributed much to the security of the district. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 256)

The Xhosa repeated their depredations, from which the Khoi at Theopolis appeared to have suffered much greater losses than the colonists, although they were not proportionally compensated by the government. The fruits of their labour was lost, their harvests destroyed and their cattle stolen. As a result the Khoi were reduced to the most deplorable condition, but Philip mentions "notwithstanding these distresses and injuries, their spirit still remained unbroken, and expectations were indulged that they would, at length, surmount their numerous and complicated troubles". (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 259,260)

Despite the setbacks, Ullbricht soon had a church built and a day and evening school were started. He was also busy "in forming ploughs and other implements of agriculture". (L.M.S. Reports, 1817, p. 25) In the field of agriculture much progress was made and in 1817 there were already 80 gardens of one acre each under cultivation. Activities such as wood cutting, sawing planks, lime burning and the making of mats were undertaken. These articles were later sold in Grahamstown and other nearby towns. (L.M.S. Reports, 1818, p. 28)



According to the report of 1820 there were 511 inhabitants on the settlement of whom 106 were members of the church. In the school there were 240 children who were taught according to the British system. (L.M.S. Reports, 1820, p. 86)

In 1820, when the emigrants from Great Britain arrived in the district of Albany each family received an allotment of a hundred acres of land. This resulted in the inhabitants of Theopolis making an application to the acting governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, for additional land which could assist them in their subsistence. They were granted only part of the land they had applied for, but they were pleased that the settlers were provided for in other places while they were left in undisturbed possession of those portions of land which they had cultivated. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 260)

Ullbricht died in 1821, and the settlement passed into the care of George Barker. The methods of labour and the conditions of life were similar to those at Bethelsdorp. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 563) In October 1823 as a result of excessive rain the settlement was nearly destroyed, including the church, school house, and about 100,000 bricks in an unburnt state, which the Khoi had prepared for building a new village in a convenient spot. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 261)

In a letter written by Rev. J. Brownlee a government missionary in "Cafferland" on March 28, 1825 to Philip, the following information regarding Theopolis was conveyed:

I was lately on a visit to Theopolis, and was not a little gratified in beholding the greatly improved state of the Hottentots there, compared to what I have witnessed at former periods ... I was delighted at the progress made by the children, and the particular earnestness of the adults, in the Sunday schools. I was not a little grieved to hear that the most valuable part of the lands possessed by the Hottentots of this institution had been given away to persons whose claims for such allotments are nowise great; and, I am sorry to mention what I believe to be true, that some of the British settlers appear to have been the principal agents in effecting this momentary triumph over the temporal interests of the institution, - or what they call its 'ruin'. The ground given away includes all the best land, and the two fountains of water, namely, Long Fountain and that at the mouth of the river. All the good ground towards the coast, and to the eastward of the institution, and what is now under cultivation, is thus lost. Another great inconvenience to the institution, resulting from this curtailment, is its depriving the people of a free communication with the coast, where many of them have formerly found the means of supporting their families, by burning lime. (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 261 - 263)



On the same subject a letter was written round about the same time, by Mr. Pringle one of the leaders of the British emigrants to Dr. Philip. Mr. Pringle wrote as follows:

Four years have elapsed since my former visit to Theopolis, and at that time it had not recovered from the injury and severe harassment the people had suffered in the war with the Caffirs. The village is now removed to a favourable situation; commodious houses for the missionaries, excellent schoolrooms, both for children and adults, and some very superior houses, belonging to the Hottentot families, have been erected. Some good gardens, and a considerable extent of cultivation, embellish the prospect, which is also as you are aware, naturally of a much more rich and pleasing character than that of Bethelsdorp. The day school for children appeared to be conducted with ability and success, and was very numerously attended. The governor and colonial secretary visited this institution very recently. Since that time I hear his Lordship has deprived the inhabitants of access to the sea, by granting away the land hitherto occupied by them at the mouth of the Kasonga. Their boundaries have also, it is understood, been curtailed on every side by grants to the settlers. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 269, pp. 263 - 265)

The inhabitants were forced to continue their existence on the remaining land. The activities of the settlement continued, a needlework class was started by Mrs Barker and an evening school for adults was started where they were instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic. (L.M.S. Report, 1831, p. 85) Rev. Sass became Mr Barker's colleague in 1830 and in 1839 the latter moved to Paarl.

In July 1832, Barker's youngest daughter made a start to an infant school which was attended by a number of children of a very tender age. (L.M.S. Reports, 1833, p. 83) It is reported that in the "Kaffir" war of 1835 the losses of the institution was considerable". Twelve men were killed, and 552 head of cattle, 41 the property of Mr Sass, were taken away". (L.M.S. Reports, 1836, p. 89) Mr and Mrs Sass remained at Theopolis until his death in 1849. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 563) The station had been in decline for many years and it was totally destroyed during the rebellion of 1851. (Marais, J.S., 1957, p. 151)

### Hankey

The institution of Hankey consisted of a tract of land which stretched along both sides of the Gamtoos River, and was situated about sixty miles from Bethelsdorp. It was purchased for £1,500 in 1822 by the London Mission Society and by contributions of the inhabitants at Bethelsdorp. It was obtained as an outlet for the surplus population at Bethelsdorp and consisted of good pasture land and land which could be made fertile and productive by irrigation. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 564)

The first missionary was J.G. Messer, who superintended the station from 1823 to 1831. He was assisted for a time by Rev. Foster who had been sent by the Directors of the L.M.S. to establish a seminary "in which it is intended to instruct the children of missionaries, and to prepare Hottentot youth of good character and abilities for the office of school masters". (L.M.S. Reports, 1825, p. 122) He found Hankey unsuitable for such a venture and he returned to Bethelsdorp where he continued educational work.

The development of schools at Hankey followed fairly closely that of other mission stations during the early years. In 1829 Messer reported that there were 74 children in school almost half of whom could read both Dutch and English. He also mentioned the Sunday school for adults which was attended by 40 persons who were making progress in their learning. (L.M.S. Reports, 1830, p. 79) In 1831 a water course was completed which was able to irrigate all the land that belonged to the institution. This induced many of the inhabitants to farm on the land allocated to them. (L.M.S. Reports, 1831, p. 82)

Mr Messer was succeeded by Mr John Melvill who laboured as superintendent at the station until 1838. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 564) An infant school was established in 1833 and carried on with great success. A positive attitude with regard to their children's education by the parents is clear from the following: "The desire manifested by the people in the neighbourhood for the education of their children is so great, that if the parents cannot reside upon the station themselves, they will incur considerable expense, rather than keep their children from school." (L.M.S. Reports, 1833, p. 79)

In 1833 the institution experienced severe losses from heavy rains which caused the overflowing of the Gamtoos River and "destroyed the houses, and gardens, the village and also the water course, on which the Hottentots had bestowed great labour and expense". (L.M.S. Reports; 1833, pp. 79,80) Although very dispirited the Khoi undertook the task of rebuilding the water course and the village.

In 1835 the Colonial Government granted the Khoi at Hankey a tract of land measuring about 800 acres which was irrigated and cultivated by the inhabitants as gardens. (L.M.S. Reports, 1835, pp. 79,80) It is reported in 1836 that Hankey made a contribution of eighty male inhabitants to the Colonial force which was involved in the Frontier War of 1835. This had a detrimental effect on the religious and secular activities of the settlement and valuable work which was being done on the water course had to be suspended. (L.M.S. Reports, 1836, p. 84)

The missionary station was administered by Mr Edward Williams from 1838 who soon introduced the art of spinning and weaving. (L.M.S. Reports, 1839, p. 80) Mr. Williams established a school on a neighbouring farm for the children of emancipated apprentices and in December 1838 he was contemplating the formation of a similar school on another farm in the vicinity. (L.M.S. Reports, 1839, p. 80)

Mr. Williams carried on the work until 1842 when he was succeeded by William Philip, son of Dr Philip, who took charge of the station. In his first year William Philip reported that the school was well conducted though there were only about 30 or 40 children enrolled. (L.M.S. Reports, 1842, p. 72) In 1843, however, it was reported that "the past year has been very trying to the people at the station. Severe drought has deprived them of any produce from their corn fields and gardens, so that they have been obliged to go to the farmers for food". (L.M.S. Reports, 1843, p. 87) William Philip greatly improved this condition in 1844 by carrying out the great engineering feat of cutting a tunnel through a mountain, thus using the water of the Gamtoos to irrigate part of the land of the mission station. The cost of this project was £2,500 of which the society contributed £500, and the remaining amount was raised from the rental of the land. (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 564) This contributed immensely to the social advancement of the people.

William Philip was drowned in the Gamtoos River in July 1845 and was succeeded by his brother, T. Durant Philip who remained in charge of the station until 1876.

### Kat River Settlement

The Kat River was in 1820 the western boundary of "Kaffirland". It is situated about 300 kilometres north-east of Bethelsdorp. Joseph Williams, an earnest and devoted missionary who in 1816 attempted to establish a mission station in this region, died in 1818 and for the time venture ended in failure. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 565)

In the 1820's many Khoi were wandering around the colony living precariously on whatever they could obtain, and something had to be done about them. In 1829, the Colonial Government authorized Captain A. Stockenstrom who had just been appointed Commissioner-General of the Eastern Province, to carry out a plan which he himself had proposed. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 216) The plan was to form a strong Khoi settlement in the ceded Territory, a tract of country on the Colony's Eastern frontier from which the Xhosa chief Makomo was expelled. The ceded Territory extended from the Fish River to the Keiskama and the hills west of the Tyumie. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 216, footnote)

Sales mentions that Stockenstrom's plan was a carefully organized scheme of settlement which would not only serve as a buffer against the Xhosa, but would also give the Khoi an opportunity to prove their own abilities. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 101) The Commissioner-General invited from the several mission stations, and from other areas where "Hottentots" congregated, a limited number of sound character for the new settlement, giving preference to those who had property and who had served in the Cape Corps. (Pringle, J., 1966, p. 256) But so great was the response of the Khoi as soon as the project became known, that the proposed principle of selection could not be adhered to.

The first location consisted of 250 able-bodied men capable of self defence - a precautionary measure against a possible Xhosa attack. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 565) In 1829, 100 Khoi families came from Theopolis and 40 from Bethelsdorp, bringing with them their cattle and farming implements. The following plan for the settlement was followed:



The plan adopted in the distribution of land was to divide the whole tract into locations of from 4,000 to 6,000 acres each, to plant in each location one, two, or more villages, as eligible situations were found for irrigation, to divide the arable land into allotments of from four to six acres, of which every family capable of cultivating it received one, while additional lots were reserved for such as should distinguish themselves by industry, or by their exertions in maintaining good order, or who after probation should be able to show that they possessed ample means for the profitable occupation of more land. The pasture-land was reserved for commonage to each location. The condition to grantees were, to build a cottage, to enclose the arable ground, and to bring it under proper cultivation within five years; at the expiration of which, the conditions being fulfilled, the property was to be granted in freehold; but if these conditions were neglected the allotment to revert to the government. Each holder to have a right to keep live stock in proportion to extent of arable land and capabilities of pasturage. (Pringle, J., 1835, p. 256)

Freeman described the new settlers to Kat River in the following way:

The emigrants who came from the towns, villages, and missionary Institutions, possessed the same kind of property, but to a less extent. They had, however considerably the advantage of their companions in general knowledge. Many of them, too, had made considerable attainments in the industrial arts, and were good carpenters, masons, wheelwrights, and smiths. From their frequent intercourse with European Missionaries and their families, their manners had improved, and they were, to a large extent people of religious habits. The people from the institutions had largely acquired the habit of self-government, while those among the farmers, having been under constant control, and strict, if not even severe surveillance, were so far less independent. But all were strictly loyal men, and they united with much harmony in this new community. (Freeman, J., 1851, pp. 147,148)

Freeman explains further:

The sufferings which the people had to endure in the first years of the settlement, were very great; but where European settlers would have utterly failed, the native emigrant, by his knowledge of the natural products of the country leeks, berries etc., technically called 'veld kos', field provisions, remained buoyant, and succeeded. (Freeman, J., 1851, pp. 149,150)



The settlers were also required to protect their lands against the Xhosa "who with their young chief Macomo, the Kaffir Achilles, had been driven out of these their patrimonial lands by the Commissioner-General and Colonel Somerset". (Freeman, J., 1951, p. 150)

According to Freeman although the settlers were subjected to many difficulties "the knowledge that their new station was a great moral and political experiment, and that they were a spectacle to the world infused new life into them, - an enthusiasm that acted with electric force on every fibre of mind, and muscle of body". (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 150)

The Commissioner-General appointed native functionaries: a commandant, with several field-cornets and heads of parties. Their duties, which were civil as well as military, were to settle or arbitrate petty cases, and to lead the men on patrol, commandoes or war. In more serious legal matters, they were subject to the courts in Fort Beaufort and Grahams-town. (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 150)

According to Sales the Kat River community was in many ways a non-missionary institution since it was government sponsored, but as soon as the people were settled, they reproduced the institutions they had known as mission stations. The Khoi from the missionary institutions requested James Read from Bethelsdorp to become their minister. This request was granted by Dr Philip. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 102)

The village which formed the centre of mission work was called Philipton, where the congregation at public worship on Sunday amounted to about 1 000 people. (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 151) From Philipton the inhabitants as local preachers visited the surrounding locations. The fact that the locations were widely spread made educational and religious work difficult. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 566) At Philipton, Mr Read's son - Mr James Read junior - served as superintendent of the schools, and the infant school was under the care of one of Read's daughters. In the various other locations the best educated of the "Hottentots" were appointed as teachers. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 566)

The Director's Report of 1836 described the educational development of the Kat River just prior to the outbreak of the 1835 Frontier War:

Education was making rapid progress especially among the children. There were 12 schools superintended by Mr Read Junior scattered over the district, containing nearly 700 scholars; and the people were becoming more anxious for the instruction of their children. The infant schools were in a delightfully prosperous state. School rooms had been in the course of erection at Buxton, and other places, and several applications were received for additional ones. (L.M.S. Reports, 1836, p. 92)

Sales describes how the war of 1835 (known as the Sixth Frontier War) caused great suffering to the people of the Kat River, whose homes, irrigation works, churches and schools were all destroyed. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 113) In the same year, by order of Colonel Smith, Mr. Read and his son were sent to Grahamstown, and were not allowed to return to Philipton until 1837. (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 566)

When Barker from Theopolis visited the Kat River after the war he found the schools in a state of ruin and all the school apparatus destroyed. Yet the work of education was not entirely neglected. Some of the native teachers had occasionally collected a number of children in the open air for instruction. Considerable effort had been made to repair and rebuild the school rooms and re-establish the schools. (L.M.S. Reports, 1837, p. 101)

By 1838 the inhabitants had recovered and in that same year a local school committee was established to co-operate with the missionaries in extending the work of education in the settlement and watching over the instruction of the children. (L.M.S. Reports, 1838, pp. 87,88) Freeman, on behalf of the Directors, toured the L.M.S. mission stations in South Africa in 1849 and reported that before the war of 1846, there were 12 day schools and several infant schools in operation with daily attendance of 700 to 1 000 children. In 1849 there were only eight schools in operation due to the disruption of the war and the lack of finance necessary to carry on the educational work. (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 151)

He found a Juvenile Missionary Society established whose object was to send teachers to the neighbouring tribes. There was a good printing press at Philipton, but it was not used due to the lack of funds. (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 153) He described a public examination of the schools which was held at the time of his visit in 1849:

About 300 children were present. They met in an open space of ground. The school from each settlement carried a flag, having some appropriate motto. After singing a few verses of an English hymn, all marched in regular order into the chapel, where they passed through the examination in a very creditable manner. Many of the children were absent for the want of suitable clothing. It has been a drawback for some time past, that the salaries of the teachers have been too low to secure efficiency. Competent teachers have resigned, and their places have been occupied by young women, who though indefatigable and most praiseworthy, have not been fully equal to the task assigned. Considering the great difficulties under which the people generally have laboured since the last war, and the consequent disadvantages of the children in relation to education, I should pronounce the examination satisfactory. (Freeman, J., 1851, pp. 159,160)

After the war of 1846 the Kat River settlers received poor treatment from the Governor Pottinger and the local magistrate. At the beginning many of their wagons were requisitioned for military use, a large number of which were captured by the Xhosa for which the owners were not compensated. A total of 1 100 Kat River men had been in the army and received inadequate compensation for their losses.

As a result of their poor treatment resentment began to build up in the people's mind during 1849 and 1850. Finally there was a rebellion against the Government and many of the Kat River Settlers joined in. By May 1852, the rebellion was crushed. The Kat River settlement was completely demolished. Though a strong effort was made by Stockenstrom and Fairbairn to have a commission of inquiry into the cause of the rebellion, this was not done. What was much more serious was the ruin of the whole character of the place as an exclusively black Settlement. In 1853 the government yielded to the clamour of the British Settlers to break up the Kat River Settlement. Land allocations were made to Europeans and a few Khoi. Partly as a result of the Kat River Rebellion the London Missionary Society strongly considered allowing their mission stations to become self supporting and independent. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 245)

It is perfectly clear that the London Missionary Society saw their mission stations as an important agent to transform and improve society. Even in this short chronological account of their four mission stations in the Eastern Cape it is clear that their relationship with the Colonial

Governors and Government could make or mar not only a single station but the entire mission activity in the Eastern Cape. It is therefore necessary to discuss this relationship in greater detail.

# KATRIVIERNEDERSETTING 1829-1850

- GRENS VAN NEDERSETTING
- OOSGRENS VAN KOLONIE BY FORT BEAUFORT 1829-1847
- ▲ BAKENS EN BERGSPITSE
- ⊕ KERKE EN SENDINGSSTASIES
- ✕ FORTE EN MILITÊRE POSTE
- GEBIED SO 1220m





## CHAPTER SIX

## THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

The relationship between the Colonial Government and the missionaries and the Khoi at Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, Hankey and the Kat River Settlement influenced the social, economic and educational development of the mission stations. A sound relationship would enhance development while an unfavourable relationship would be detrimental to the general welfare of the stations.

During the Van der Kemp period the relationship between the missionaries and the Colonial Government was characterized mainly by conflict. The relationship was highlighted by the Proclamation of 1809 (promulgated by Lord Caledon to control Khoi labour) and the Apprenticeship Act of 1812 (Promulgated by Governor Cradock to apprentice Khoi children who were born in the service of farmers. (See Chapter Four.)

In this chapter the following aspects will be covered: Opgaaf; Ordinance 50; Vagrancy law; 1834/5 War; 7th Frontier War; Collapse of Kat River Settlement.

The Opgaaf

One area of conflict between the missionaries and Colonial Government was brought about by the introduction of a tax (opgaaf). This tax is significant because of the limiting effect it had on the development of the mission institutions. Opgaaf was introduced by a proclamation promulgated by Governor Gradock on 1 April 1814. "The opgaaf was the declaration of assets by a property-owner, which was used for the assessment of his tax; but in the course of time the name had come to be used for the tax it self". (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 72)

The missionaries at Bethelsdorp were informed in a letter dated September 1814 from the landdrost of the district of Uitenhage, Colonel Cuyler, to James Read that all the Khoi who were registered at the mission

institutions for the first time in 1814 whether they were resident there at the time or not, were to be taxed on the same principles and rates as the colonial inhabitants. (Philip, J., 1828, Vol. 1, P. 189)

Philip was uncertain on what criteria it could be affirmed that people without any land or moveable property excepting the common ground of the mission institution could be compared with the landowning colonists in the district and taxed at the same rate, since moveable property, land ownership and wages were acceptable norms of taxation. He could not agree "that people not possessing one eightieth part of the land of the district, even according to the land of the institution as their own property, should be compelled to pay one twelfth or one fourteenth, of the taxes collected in the district". (Philip, J., 1828, p. 192) Philip pointed out that the injustice of the tax was more evident when the wages received by the Khoi were compared with the sum that they had to pay as tax. In 1815 a male Khoi received no more than twelve to fourteen rix-dollars a year in wages, which could be paid in money, clothes or cattle.

Philip's argument continued:

By the roll of the opgaaf, now lying before me for 1815 I find that the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp, who paid the opgaaf that year, amounted to four hundred and twenty six souls, and that the whole sum collected by the opgaaf amounted to three thousand four hundred and fifteen rix-dollars ..., making the (amount) paid by each individual eight rix-dollars and a fraction. Is there any proportion between twelve or fourteen rix-dollars yearly which is the common wages of a Hottentot, and the burden borne by the individual, when he had to pay two thirds of that sum to government in direct tax. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 193)

Because the Khoi working on the farms were exempt from this tax, the missionaries, regarded it as a direct attack upon the missions and an attempt to force the Khoi settled at the institution into the service of the colonists. (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 72) This assumption was confirmed, "when the people are called to the drostdy, and cannot pay their taxes, there are always a number of colonists present, who are ready to pay their taxes for them, on condition of them being bound to them for a year's service. The Hottentots, having no alternative but to go to prison or enter into the service of the boers generally prefer the latter". (Philip, J., 1828, p. 196)

Read (the missionary at Bethelsdorp) stated his objections to the tax in a letter (1815) to Cuyler in the following way:

The scarcity of the times is well known in this part of the country. The failure of our last harvest, and the loss of five hundred head of cattle towards the end of last year and the commencement of this owing to the want of grass, render the people quite unprepared for such an opgaaf. The scattered state of the people is likewise a very unfavourable circumstance, insomuch that we fear, before the present opgaaf could terminate the one for 1815 would commence; so that, in about six or seven months, nearly seven thousand rix-dollars will have to be paid by the Hottentots of this institution - a thing, we believe, impossible.  
(Philip, J., 1828, p. 191)

Read reminded Cuyler of the limited resources of Bethelsdorp and that it was a place for the helpless and old:

Another circumstance we hope government will take into consideration is, that Bethelsdorp has always been a receptacle for worn out and helpless people from the different parts of the country. These people have been in part, supported by collections made on Sundays by our people.

He then made the following request to Cuyler:

We hope government will exempt such individuals from the required opgaaf. In the account of cattle which we had the honour to transmit to you, we made a return including the cattle belonging to the missionary society, as likewise the cattle belonging to the missionaries allowed by the society for their support. We humbly hope government will exempt the missionaries from the expenses of the above opgaaf, otherwise they would have to apply to the society for additional support. (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 191, 192)

There were continuous complaints during the years 1814/15 to 1825 from the missionaries to the colonial authorities concerning opgaaf. Matters came to a head in 1825 when the missionaries were required to collect the opgaaf from the people at Bethelsdorp. Mr Kitchingham, the missionary at Bethelsdorp, was required to make out:

Namelists of all the Hottentots liable to pay this tax; to issue notices requiring such as were residing among the farmers to attend and pay the same; to collect the taxes himself; to appear before the landdrost of Uitenhage in person, to bring with him those documents the landdrost deemed necessary; and in addition to all this, he was called to pay out of his own pocket the tax for absentees and defaulters. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 336)

In 1825 Kitchingham objected to these requirements by the Colonial Government stating that in addition to his responsibilities as a missionary he could not afford the time which the new responsibility now required from him. He mentioned these tasks were responsibilities which the field cornets and other local authorities had never been required to perform. He also pointed out that a great number of the Khoi belonging to the institution were in the service of the Boers who were widely scattered over a thinly populated country, a factor which would make his task of collecting taxes very difficult. (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 336,337)

In reply to his objections Mr Kitchingham received an official communication from Cuyler dated 26th February 1825, which took no cognisance of his objections and merely informed him to be at the court house in Uitenhage on the 5th, 6th, 7th of April so that the local magistrate might receive from him in person the opgaaf of the people at Bethelsdorp. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 338,339) There was further interchange of correspondence between the landdrost and the missionaries at Bethelsdorp, but Cuyler was insistent, and Kitchingham wrote to Philip asking him to protest to the Governor. (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 73) Philip, who had already raised the matter with the colonial authorities in Cape Town, explained that "while it appeared to be the intention of the Colonial Government to push Mr Kitchingham on the only alternative now left him, namely that of resigning his situation at Bethelsdorp, I wrote to him, at his own request a letter giving him my opinion on the subject". (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 73)

Philip in his letter outlined the duties of missionaries and said that it did not include collecting tax since this was a duty of a landdrost. He continued:

The local authorities are paid by government for their services. The missionaries at Bethelsdorp have always had more secular work to do for the government than any field-cornet in the district has

upon his hands, and they have never had any remuneration for their trouble. The government has no more claim upon your time than it has upon your property, and it has no more right to command you to collect the opgaaf at Bethelsdorp than it has the right to command the Reverend A. Smith, the Dutch Colonial minister at Uitenhage, to collect the opgaaf from the farmers and other colonists. (Kitchingham papers, 1976, pp. 74,75)

Philip who had made representation on the matter to Colonial Secretary, Sir Richard Plasket, received the reply that Mr Kitchingham could not be compelled to collect the opgaaf and he could not be made responsible for it. Finally it was decided:

That it should be considered entirely as a voluntary thing on the part of the missionary; that his collecting the tax for the year was not to be pleaded as a precedent in the future to compel him, or any other of our missionaries to collect the opgaaf and that he was not to be annoyed by the landdrost while engaged upon this service. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 344)

The matter seemed partly to have been resolved by this decision, since no mention is made of it in subsequent London Missionary Reports and missionary correspondence. But there was no doubt that the issue disturbed the development of a cordial relationship between the missionaries and the colonial government and it indirectly disturbed the educational development on the mission stations.

#### Ordinance 50

After years of conflict between the Colonial Government and the missionaries as seen from the Van der Kemp era (chapter four) and with the implementation of opgaaf, the introduction of Ordinance 50 heralded in a period of a cordial relationship between the two parties.

Ordinance 50 which was promulgated by Lieutenant-Governor General Bourke on 17 July 1828 was primarily "for improving the condition of the Hottentots and other free persons of colour" at the Cape of Good Hope, and for consolidating and amending the laws affecting those persons. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 21) The Ordinance repealed the existing Khoi legislation



like the Proclamations of 1809 and 1812 and made "Hottentots and other free people of colour" equal before the law with the colonists. This legal equality was brought about by the first three clauses of the ordinance. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 156) The succeeding clauses normalized the relations between the "master" and his "servant" and established that oral contracts (which were in the vast majority) should hold only for the duration of one month while written contracts were limited to twelve months and had to be registered by both parties before a competent authority. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 212)

The automatic apprenticeship of Khoi children which was provided for by Cradock's proclamation of 1812, was done away with and all children could only be apprenticed with their parents' consent. (Marais, J.S., 1957, p. 156) There was no claim to the services of children:

Under colour of (their) having been fed or clothed by their employer ..., or under any pretence whatever; moreover, it shall and may be lawful for any contracting Hottentot to keep his or her children on the premises of the employer without contracting them; and, particularly it shall not be lawful for the employer to claim the labour or services of such uncontracted children, by reason of their residence thereon. (Quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 212)

Macmillan stated that the Ordinance did not give the Khoi absolute equality with the white colonists since the very wording of the law gives it special applicability to "Hottentots and other free persons of colour"; "it was expressly a class legislation and even the reformed system of 'apprenticeship' would have been a shock to the colonists who had complained of equality had it been in any way applied to their children". (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 213)

That Bourke was sympathetic to the lot of the Khoi is indicated in a letter he wrote to the Directors of the London Missionary Society in 1825 before he came out to the Cape to relieve Lord Charles Somerset:

Though not member of the Society, I am extremely anxious for the improvement of the Hottentots, and without inquiry into the particular notions of Christianity inculcated, I shall, wherever it may be in my power, afford assistance to those missionaries who labour to raise the unhappy natives in the scale of civilized beings. (Quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 214)

Philip who was in London when the Ordinance was promulgated, brought pressure on the colonial authorities in England, to such extent that on 15 January 1829 when the Ordinance was ratified an additional clause was included which placed it beyond the power of the Governor and Council of the Cape to amend or repeal the ordinance without the express sanction of H.M. Government. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 219)

One serious deficiency of Ordinance 50 was that apart from the land given to the Khoi by the establishment of the Kat River Settlement in 1829 (see Chapter 5), it was not accompanied by granting of any land to the landless Khoi; nor were the Khoi who were scattered throughout the colony provided with extra means of subsistence. The poverty of the Khoi left them economically helpless, and many abused their newly found freedom to revert to "roaming". (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 129) The strict control exercised by the white farmers was considerably weakened, but the burden of control was now placed in the hands of the already overworked and ill equipped local authorities. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 221) Kotze mentions that the 50th ordinance increased vagrancy and theft, and aggravated the labour problem, however it did enable Hottentots to obtain better conditions of service. (Kotze, C.R. 1975, p. 138)

The Colonial Government was faced with two conflicting and irreconcilable motives for action. On the one hand the farmers were clamouring for more labour and complained that the removal of restraints by Ordinance 50 resulted in vagrancy; on the other hand the Governor was committed by Ordinance 50 to better the conditions of the Khoi so that they could become something more than servants. The second point of view was held by the missionaries. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 233)

Up to 1833 no further positive action on the part of the Colonial Government with regard to improving the conditions of the Khoi was reported. The farmers, however, who were experiencing a shortage of labour, clamoured for the re-introduction of a vagrancy law. The Governor Sir Lowry Cole and Colonel Wade who acted as Governor for some months in 1833 had no ready solution to the problem. Cole stated his point of view on 10 May 1833:

Unhappily the very act which rescued the Hottentots from oppression made no provision for that wholesome degree of restraint by which a great proportion of them can alone be induced or made to labour for their maintenance and cease to be a scourge upon their neighbours. (Quoted by Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 234)

The Emancipation Act of 1833 (which brought about the setting free of the slaves who had been an important source of cheap labour for the farmers) made the Governor, Colonel Wade, write in December 1833 of the scarcity of labour and advocate the need for a vagrancy act. In January 1834 he reported to the Secretary of State that:

The Proprietors (owners of slaves) may further rest satisfied that long before the period of the expiration of the Apprenticeship arrives, other laws will be enacted having in like manner for their objects the prevention or punishment of Vagrancy after that period, and for securing a sufficiency of labourers to the Colony by compelling not only the liberated apprentices to earn an honest livelihood, but all others who, being capable of doing so, may be inclined to lead an idle and vagabondizing life. (quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 234)

In the spirit of Wade's report in January 1834, on 7th May 1834 the draft of an Ordinance on vagrancy was put before the legislative council, and presided over by Sir Benjamin D'Urban. The first clause of the draft provided that:

Every Field Commandant, Field cornet or Provisional Field Cornet may, and is hereby required to apprehend all (such) persons found within his jurisdiction, (as) he may reasonably suspect of having no honest means of subsistence or who cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves - and bring them before any magistrate or Justice of the Peace for examination, who could force them into any type of employment. (quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 234)

The characteristic definition of "persons wilfully idle" (as used in the proposed vagrancy act) was expressly laid down:

That the searching for and digging for roots or fruits the natural produce of the earth, or wild honey; or the searching for, taking and killing any game, or any other wild animal ..., or any ground not being the property of the person so doing, (or) ..., not having previously obtained permission ..., shall not be deemed to be in lawful employment by which any person can honestly earn the means of subsistence. (quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 235)

Any Khoi who failed to fulfill these rigid provisions or to accept employment on as poor terms as they could get were liable at the discretion of the magistrate to be employed on the public roads until some responsible person would take them into employment, or until they themselves entered into "suitable" employment. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 235)

This draft led to vehement protests from the London Missionary Society's missionaries and evidence and letters poured in from various institutions. One missionary stressed that the wages of the Khoi were very low on the farms and this made them unprepared to remain there; they would rather enjoy freedom because they then could provide better for their families. Mr Kitchingham of Bethelsdorp and Mr Melville at Hankey, men of considerable experience, mentioned the Khoi's fear of being forced back into a 'contract for life'. Rather than being at the mercy of farmers and field cornets, the Khoi sought out the shelter of the institutions. On 13 June 1834 Mr Kitchingham reported that the number on the roll at Bethelsdorp which was 1 204 in 1833 had increased in October of that year to 2 300. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 238) Mr Kitchingham suggested a solution to the problem:

Therefore let these people have but some remnants of the land still in the hands of the Government and there will be no need for such laws. (Quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 239)

Mr Barker of Theopolis said that the threatened law had the effect of driving the Khoi out of the labour market onto the institutions. From Bethelsdorp, Theopolis and Kat River Settlement petitions were submitted to the Colonial Government in opposition to the proposed vagrancy law. (See Appendix one.) The petition against the proposed vagrancy act which was drawn up at the Kat River Settlement and submitted to the Colonial Government expressed the fears of the inhabitants in the following way:

That in no country whatever would such a vagrant law as that proposed press so heavily as upon the coloured population of this colony, from the condition and disposition of most of those to whom its execution must be entrusted, to the remoteness of many parts of the districts from the seats of magistracy, the prejudice and animosity of most of the white inhabitants in the interior against memorialists, and the uncontrolled authority which they have been so long accustomed to exercise over a slave population, and a people formerly in a more wretched condition than even the slaves. (Report on British Settlements, 1836, p. 748)

They felt that the proposed act would seal the degradation of the people and ....



deprive those who are accumulating property of the little they possess, present such a barrier to their improvement as will for ever prevent their rising in the scale of society, and drive the most respectable of them to despair. (Report on British Settlements, 1836, p. 748)

The opinion was expressed that the good which the missionaries had done among them would be defeated:

That this Act, proposed for the suppression of vagrancy, will to a great extent defeat the end of labours of missionaries among memorialists, reviving those bad feelings which were generated in their breasts by the oppressions memorialists formerly suffered, and which under the ministrations of their teachers, who have taught them to forgive as they would hope to be forgiven, were rapidly subsiding, and giving way to a state of kindly feeling to all mankind. (Report on British Settlements, 1836, p. 748)

The settlers were concerned that many of their countrymen would be forced by the act to take refuge at the Kat River Settlement. This state of affairs would have caused overcrowding because the land allocated to them was limited. Despair would have resulted since common humanity would not have allowed them to turn away their fellow countrymen. They were apprehensive about the act:

which shall empower every field-commandant, field cornet and provisional field-cornet, to apprehend all persons found within his jurisdiction, whom he may suppose to have no honest means of subsistence, or who cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves, and to bring them before any magistrate or justice of the peace within the district, and give power to the said justice to commit such persons to prison, to hire them out to any individual, or otherwise to deprive them of liberty or punish them. (Reprint on British Settlements, 1836, p. 746)

The settlers testified to the poor treatment they had experienced from farmers in the colony:

That many of (them) ...; residing from infancy in the district of Graaff-Reinet and Somerset, testify that they had no food from the farmers but the offal of their cattle and sheep; no houses except miserable sheds of straw and turf, that were open to every blast of wind and showers of rain; no medicine when sick; no



covering but the sheepskin kaross, and no wages but one cow or an heifer, or from two to four or six sheep per annum, and frequently on leaving service of the farmers, even these were detained, and wages when paid in money did not exceed 12 rix-dollars per annum ... (Report on British Settlement, 1836, p. 749). (See Appendix One for full petition.)

This petition showed how strongly the people felt about a vagrant law. The three petitions from Bethelsdorp, Theopolis and Kat River Settlement were submitted as evidence to the Select Committee on aborigines. (British Settlements which was convened in England in 1836.) The Vagrant Act was ultimately vetoed by the Colonial office in England. This was the end for a number of years of any attempt to prevent the spread of vagrancy by "local enactment". (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 182)

#### 1834 War

In December 1834 the frontier war of 1834-5 broke out when the Colony was invaded by the Xhosa tribes, an occurrence which to Read was "altogether unexpected and sudden". The Kat River settlement, Theopolis and Bethelsdorp were required to provide men to fight on the Colonial side and those from the Kat River who remained behind were gathered at military posts. (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 146)

The fact that the Kat River Settlement was not the first area of the frontier to be attacked seemed to enhance the belief among some colonial officials that there had been collusion between the Xhosa and the settlers of the settlement. However on 19 February 1835 there was a major attack on the main military post in the settlement. Read described to Kitchingham on 6 February 1835 the attack:

The Caffers for some time did not molest us, but at last they began to attack us, at least the cattle in the field, and have succeeded in getting many of them away, perhaps 1 000, and 60 to 70 horses, and since we left they have killed 2 of our men, one woman and several Fingoes. We have just heard that they had attacked them as a body by night but were not able to do anything against them. All our labours and prospects are at present at an end, and a black cloud stands before us. (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 149)

By the order of Colonel Smith, Mr Read and his son were summoned from the Kat River to Grahamstown since the colonial authorities believed Read had played a subversive role in the Xhosa war on the Colony. On the other hand Marais claims the Khoi at the Kat River settlement protected their part of the frontier to a better extent than the scattered European settlers to the South who later abandoned their farms. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 227)

The Khoi concentrated in groups in the settlement had sworn to die on the land so lately bestowed on them before they should cede an inch, and kept their ground throughout the war. They also contributed men to reinforce the army in the field of battle in September 1836. (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 369) They complained of unfair treatment from the Governor because they were kept on military duty after the European burghers had been allowed to return to their homes. The latter "had comfortable homes to return to, whilst their wives and children (were) cooped up in camps, crawling in ashes, and wasting with fever" and when Stockenstrom reached the frontier in the spring of 1836, he found "numbers of them still guarding military posts". (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 369) But what angered the Kat River people most was that they had suffered tremendous damage during the war, "it was estimated that the inhabitants of the settlement had lost 557 horses, 3 992 head of cattle and 5 460 sheep and goats. Forty four houses had been destroyed and many of the allotments ravaged". (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 146) As a result about 2 673 of the inhabitants of the settlement had to receive support from the Board of Relief which was established by the government. (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 421)

At the end of the war, the people set about the task of rebuilding the settlement. They had to rely entirely on their own resources since the government, because of the lack of funds, was not in a position to help them, although they had been promised assistance. Cottages were rebuilt, seed - corn purchased, draught and milch cattle were procured. Rapid improvement was made in the settlement and by 1839 they had extensive crops and a large number of houses had been rebuilt. (Marais, J.S., 1962, pp. 227,228) The Governor Sir George Napier visited the settlement in 1839 and:

From the cordial interest manifested by him (Napier) in the general welfare of the mission, the Messrs Read and the people of their charge have derived fresh encouragement to augmented exertion in acquiring a higher point of improvement than has yet been attained by the natives in South Africa. (L.M.S. Reports, 1839, p. 87)

Rose Innes who visited the settlement reported that in 1845 the people had livestock which consisted of 550 horses, 9,100 cattle and 9,500 sheep and goats. He noted that "the produce of their cultivated lands consisted of 7,560 muids (22,680 bushels) of grain and 50,00 lb of oat hay, with a proportionate quantity of pumpkins, potatoes, fruit and vegetables". Some of the men occupied themselves with wood cutting and transport riding which provided an adequate income. (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 424) From 1840 to 1846, "that section of the settlement in connection with the London Missionary Society contributed in money, excluding of repairs to buildings, £1,000 towards the support of their religious and educational institutions". (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, pp. 424,425)

#### War of the Axe

The seventh frontier war began when in March 1846 an African was caught stealing an axe from a store in Fort Beaufort, a town on the banks of the Kat River, south of the settlement. On 16 March 1846, a party of soldiers that was escorting the prisoner to Grahamstown was attacked and the prisoner was released. After the incident Colonel Hare, the lieutenant Governor, decided that the tribes immediately east of the colonial boundary had shown evidence of aggressive intentions and that action should be taken against them. (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 228)

Since the Kat River Settlement was on the "immediate border of Caffre-land" it was thrown into confusion. All males between sixteen and sixty years of age who were able to carry arms were asked to enlist. This resulted in nine hundred Khoi and two hundred Mfengu settlers serving in the forces as burghers on a voluntary basis. (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 259) Stockenstrom, Commandant General of the burgher forces mentions

that, just as in 1835 "the loyalty, zeal, obedience and the bravery of the settlers were most exemplary. Colonel Sutton was loud in their praise, and so strongly recommended me Andries Botha (field-cornet of the settlement), that I appoint him second commandant of the Kat River contingent in the field". (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 374)

On the war, James Read junior, stated that Captain Sutton who succeeded Stockenstrom as Commandant General of the burgher forces, organized the settlement into a "military community" and sent 400 men who were required to assist in an attack on the Xhosa in the Amatolas.

While (these were) in the field, their families had to draw together to places of concentration in a most precipitate manner; and on the return of the men from the field they found that much of their property had been left and consequently destroyed by the enemy or was otherwise lost. After this, three places - Elands Post, Fort Armstrong, and Blinkwaterpos - were fixed by the Government as places to which the people should repair. The people were in favour of a greater number of places of rendezvous being appointed, as being more favourable for saving property, and for depasturing cattle and live-stock of all kinds, as well as for preserving health, but the views of the Government prevailed ...., the result was that nearly all the cattle, sheep and goats died for the want of grass, whilst the rest were taken by the enemy. (Read, J., 1851, pp. xi, xii)

According to Marais this state of affairs continued throughout the war of 1846-7. The men who were concentrated at the three posts, besides defending themselves against the enemy, did duties such as escorting wagons or riding post. In addition, groups of men from the Kat River went out to fight the enemy in the field. On no fewer than four occasions, they stayed away on the campaign for longer or shorter periods. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 229)

In March 1846 the General in command of the forces, G.H. Berkeley made the following request to the Governor:

The population consists of 3,700 women and children and 1,000 adults, 900 of whom are effective and doing duty, 400 at present in the field, and 500 garrisoning the important posts in that district. Under the general rule, the wives and families of the 400 men in the field only would receive rations; but from the nature of the duties of the remaining 500, although not actually with me in the field, they are wholly prevented from attending their agricultural pursuits, or in any other way providing



for their families, as I conceive the posts they hold too important to be abandoned at the present crises, I beg to submit to the favourable consideration of your Excellency the recommendation of Colonel Somerset, that, for the present, the wives and families of those men also should be allowed rations, furnished through the commissariat at the expense of the Colonial Government. (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 377)

Whether these rations were provided for these men by the Colonial Government is not stated.

Read described the Settlement's losses in a letter to Kitchingham on 30 December 1846:

The whole settlement has been ruined. Several places have been burnt to the ground - all the cattle dead, few comparatively taken by the Caffres, for our people were determined to protect them, but we were all brought together here, so we had from 6 to 7,000 head of cattle together which for the want of grass and this melted away to nothing. We had about 8 waggons standing and not a span of oxen to span in one ...., for months we have not a drop of milk to drink, no butter to eat, not a sheep to kill, meal 50 rix-dollars per muid, meat 6 pence, coffee 18d, sugar 12d, rice 10d to 12d per pound.

On the effect on the church he wrote:

But the greatest trial we have been called to is the bad state of our church. Our people were all enrolled at the very commencement of the war to do regular duty and soldiers (were) all taken from their place to concentrate at the (military) posts. Thus all means to provide for themselves or take care of their own property was at the end. Our people were vexed with the government and more so (with) the Caffres who were the cause of their ruin (by) the last war, and now nothing but ruin stares them in the face .... (Kitchingham papers, 1976, pp. 263,264)  
(Kitchingham papers)

Rose Innes, who visited the settlement again in 1847 (his earlier visit had been in 1845), estimated the damage and losses of the inhabitants at £30,00 "and to complete their misery, the floods of 1848 carried away dams, water courses, and the apparatus they had constructed for the purpose of irrigation". (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, pp. 425,426)



### Kat River Rebellion

According to Marais, the loyalty of the vast majority of the settlers in the Kat River area had, up to March 1847, been "beyond suspicion". After that date, however, a number of events took place which gradually estranged the people of the Kat River Settlement from the government. The Governor Sir Henry Pottinger who took over later in 1847 "acting under the erroneous impression that the "Hottentots" held their land and military tenure, order 400 of the men to join the Europeans who had assembled at Fort Peddie". (Cory, C.E., 1930, p. 12)

Colonel Somerset who was sent with this request to the settlers was answered by them showing him their title deeds. He then asked for volunteers and received the following reply. "We are ready to serve the Queen to the last, but you see us naked and hungry, ruined by two wars twice in eleven years". The colonel then promised them rations and blankets and Andries Botha started out once more with a strong army; each man receiving a blanket. (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 376)

When Botha and his men had accomplished the service they were called out to perform, they were allowed to return to the settlement without being rewarded:

The very blankets which had been issued to them when they took the field - then threadbare - were stripped off their backs and returned into the Queen of England's store, whilst they went home shivering. (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 377)

Those who had remained in the settlement were dissatisfied that the clothes which had been promised to them against the bitter cold of the winter in that area were not issued. "Colonel Somerset, who was a persona grata with these people, promised them a supply of warm clothing in view of the coming winter, which can be extremely cold in these parts. But it had not arrived ....". (Cory, C.E., 1930, p. 14) According to Marais there was up to this point nothing more than a certain amount of dissatisfaction, which might have been cleared up by a little sympathetic treatment. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 231)

Pottinger ordered the immediate stoppage of all rations to the settlement and spoke of it as "this ill-conditioned and hitherto worse than useless settlement". Read in a letter to James Kitchingham on 9 May 1847 wrote the following about Pottinger: "The great Sir H. Pottinger has not done much for us as yet. To us things appear to be getting worse and worse and we find that Sir Henry is much prejudiced against this settlement, so that we have not much to expect but opposition and difficulties." (Kitchingham papers, 1976, p. 268)

In May 1847, Pottinger sent T.J. Biddulph to the settlement as its first Civil superintendent or magistrate, with the instructions to stop the supply of rations immediately. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p.231) The people did not get sympathetic treatment from him. "He wished to see the settlement destroyed partly because it lay at the heart of the finest sheep country on the frontier, but also because, like many other whites, he believed that black men should not possess property in the soil, but rather become the slaves of, or disappear before, the white man." (Kitchingham papers: 1976, p. 260) The men had had a promise from Captain Sutton, on behalf of the government that in lieu of their services during the war "they should be assisted with seed, oxen, clothes and food after the war was over". (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 231) Instead of material assistance the inhabitants got abuse:

He (Biddulph) proceeded at once to disperse the people from the military posts, (where the Government had ordered them to remain) heaping upon them the most harsh language and insulting epithets, telling them that they were a set of lazy paupers, who had been living on Government rations for such a long time, that if they had nothing to live upon they might go and hire themselves to the Boers and British Settlers. He sold the oxen, seed and clothes which had been brought into the settlement, in fulfilment of (Governor) Maitland's arrangements. (Read, J., 1851, pp. xiv,xv)

Biddulph did distribute small quantities of seed on loan amongst the settlers since he discovered that it was difficult to obtain it in the neighbourhood. "Further than this", he wrote to the Governor, "I would not recommend the smallest assistance to any of the people, and I would not actually have recommended this much, had it not happened to be actively in hand, and likely to perish if not used at once." (Green, J., 1851,

pp. 39,40). In order to uplift themselves by buying livestock and to resume their agriculture activities many of the settlers "took to the hardest work that this country knows, timber felling and sawing".

(Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 378) When James Rose Innes visited the settlement in 1848 he found upwards of ninety saw-pits in active operation, whilst boys of nine years of age and upwards were withdrawn from school to aid their parents in the work. (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 426)

In November 1847 Biddulph under orders of the governor ordered that the tax paid for each waggon load of timber should be raised from 1s6d to 6s. Stockenstrom commented:

The forests had originally been given to the Settlement generally, but the Government reserved its right in order to prevent the villages bordering on them from monopolising the timber; but nothing more than eighteen pence, for the benefit of the school fund, had ever been exacted, per load, and in no part of the colony had, in the most prosperous time, so high a tax been imposed as here fell upon the Hottentots in their misery! This was indeed a knock-down blow, for the naked wretches found that, after toiling on spare diet to get a load ready for market, and struggling through miserable roads for eighty or a hundred miles to Cradock, Somerset, or Grahams Town, they often hardly cleared, sufficient to meet the tax; whilst Mr. Biddulph's libels against them, their wives and their daughters. (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 378)

In October 1847 Biddulph sent a very unfavourable report to the Governor on the settlement. In his conclusion he stated that it was nothing but "the most transparent bit of humbug which had ever been practised upon the public, a large assemblage of able-bodied paupers living partly on the credulity of the public". (Cory, C.E., 1930, p. 238) Cory mentions that Biddulph overlooked a very important matter in his report, namely that the settlement was situated along the most dangerous and vulnerable part of the frontier. Added to this the accumulation of cattle and agricultural produce by the settlers as well as the fine grazing land tempted the Xhosa to invade it. (Cory, C.E., 1887, p. 238)

When Sir Harry Smith, who took over as Governor from Pottinger, visited the settlement early in 1848, he was very surprised that Biddulph had expressed such an unfavourable opinion of the place. He expressed his sentiments in the following words. "Call this a failure? it is the wisest thing Stockenstrom ever did; if this is a failure then the world is a failure." (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 379)

The Governor removed Biddulph as magistrate, and appointed Mr Bowker who belonged to one of the best known settler families to succeed him. Mr Bowker, not long before his appointment, had written a letter to the Grahamstown Journal in which he supported Biddulph's opinions of the Kat River Settlement. According to Marais the letter implied quite unmistakably that Europeans could make much better use of the Kat River land than its "Hottentot" occupants and would ultimately possess it. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 234) A few months after Bowker was appointed, the government decided to remove the Xhosa squatters who had moved into the settlement since 1846. The manner in which this was done was later to cause great hardship to the settlers of the Kat River Settlement.

Freeman who visited the Kat River Valley on behalf of the London Missionary Society in 1849 mentioned an incident which occurred at the village of Buxton and which the complainants had brought under his personal attention. He sent a memorial dated 5 October 1849 on the matter to the Governor:

That, while your Memorialist has anxiously wished not to interfere in matters that might seem out of his province, or not directly connected with the objects of his mission, some cases of such flagrant injustice, cruelty, and oppression have forced themselves on his observation that he can no longer refrain from soliciting your Excellency's attention to them, persuaded that, were they known, they would be checked, and that, if left unchecked, they will so multiply that the whole of the Native Border Tribes will be provoked into a state of dangerous exasperation. (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 169)

He focused the attention of the Governor on a case which had occurred in Buxton, in the Kat River Settlement, under the magistracy of Mr Bowker. He described it as follows:

- About one hundred head of cattle, belonging to the people here, trespassed on some corn lands, - the lands being uninclosed. The damage done was assessed at 6d. per head of cattle, say £2 10s. The people paid the amount in cattle (a cow in calf, and two young oxen fit for inspanning) and were told they might drive home the cattle. While doing so, the cattle were all seized and impounded, under pretence that they had not paid sufficient fine for damages; and being brought to court, a false charge was made that the people had attempted to prevent the cattle being seized. They were then fined eight head of cattle for the damages, and £50 under this false charge, being £10 for each of five men. (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 169)



He continued that two of the men because they had no cattle were imprisoned and thirty head of cattle had been taken and sold to pay the £30 penalty demanded from the other men. He ended by stating:

Your Memorialist is certain that the charge of rescue or resistance on the part of the people is false, vexatious, and oppressive. (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 169)

Mr Freeman also informed the magistrate Mr Bowker that he had written to the governor concerning the matter. He wrote a letter dated 10 October 1846 to Bowker:

The case of the people at Buxton appears to me, after investigation, so thoroughly to require revision, that I have felt it my duty to bring it under the notice of his excellency the Governor, and as I am doing so, it seems but fair also to convey to you this early intimation of it. (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 170)

The governor appointed a special commission of inquiry into the matter and its findings were conveyed in a letter to Mr Freeman dated 1 June 1850:

His Excellency cannot but however impute to Mr Bowker an undue severity in the sentence he pronounced on the Gonas, for what if strictly and in law was, by the evidence before him, a rescue was yet committed in ignorance and without violence, and is of opinion that the fines of £10 each on three of the parties, and the imprisonment for two months with hard labour of the other two, were clearly excessive. It appears, however, that Mr Bowker erred in this respect, not from severity of disposition, but from a mistaken apprehension that, under the Pound Ordinance, he had no discretion as to the sentence. This mitigation involves the existence of a carelessness on the part of a magistrate in not ascertaining precisely the bearing of his penal jurisdiction, for which Mr Bowker cannot be excused by His Excellency. His Excellency has been pleased to decide that the fines of £10 each, levied be returned and has caused Mr Bowker to be instructed to that effect: and as it appears further that the levy of such fines by way of warrant of distress was irregular and illegal, Mr Bowker has been also desired to pay from his own funds the sum of £1 19s 6d., charged as expenses of sale by the messenger of the court.

I am to acquaint you that His Excellency has caused Mr Bowker to be distinctly apprized of the serious errors of judgement he has committed, and very seriously cautioned for the future, as well as severely reprimanded in respect of the case now in question.



His Excellency has also strongly recommended Mr Bowker to endeavour to render amends to the parties who suffered the imprisonment. (Freeman, J.J., 1851, pp. 172,173)

Another incident involving the driving away from Blinkwater (a location in the Kat River Settlement) a number of people who had been living there peacefully for twenty years and setting fire to the huts of Mjengu who were recognized servants on the settlement, was reported to Freeman. The two complainants S. Hanse and Hans Jager wrote a letter to Freeman on 24 September 1849:

Since your departure we have been much disturbed. On Tuesday, Mr Borchers, the First Commissioner came with a troop of Kaffir police, and set fire to the huts of our Fingo herdsmen on the other side of the river, from 212 to 228 paces from our erven (allotments), and banished to Kaffirland other men from Kat River who have already lived here twenty years. We must inform you, Sir, that we heard, about four months ago, that it was the intention of Government to make some Kaffir squatters living on our ground, in Fuller's Hoek, pay one pound sterling a year. We therefore, petitioned Government to disallow it. Now comes Mr Borchers, and instead of driving the Kaffirs away, he fires the huts of our Fingo herdsmen, apprehends our men, and banishes two to Kaffirland, and says that it is the intention of the Government to have the land of Kat River measured over again, and its limits contracted. These matters grieve us, and we are of the same mind with the Griquas and Moshesh, that we cannot confide in Sir Harry Smith, and that under his government there have been held out more provoking measures since the emancipation of the Hottentots, and this, notwithstanding all his protestations that he is our friend. We shall determine not to improve our ground too much, nor to build new houses thereupon until we are sure of our land. We desire your return to speak with you about these matters. (Freeman, J.J., 1851, pp. 174,175)

The Khoi settlers of Blinkwater had applied to the Governor to have certain squatting Xhosa removed from the settlement. The governor ordered the "Gaika Commissioner" Mr C. Brownlee to investigate the matter. The following report dated 6 May 1850 was made by Mr Brownlee to Colonel Mackinnon on the matter:

I have the honour to report for your information that according to your direction, I proceeded last week to the Blinkwater to make some inquiry respecting the Kaffirs at present there.

There are about 300 (three hundred) Kaffirs in the Blinkwater, exclusive of women and children. These people may be divided into three classes, namely:

1st. Those who came into the colony previous to the war of 1835, and who did burgher duty in the colony during that war.

2nd. Those who came into the colony before the war of 1846, and who served in the colony during this war.

3rd. Those who came into the colony after the late war, of which there are nearly one hundred men in the Blinkwater.

The first two classes having served against their countrymen, the same as any other colonists, I consider them to be entitled to be treated in the same way as the Fingoes are, and I think they should be located either in the Blinkwater, or in any other locality which may be considered more eligible.

Among these people there are some who are members of Mr Read's congregation, and who have made some advancement in civilization. It is supposed that they would advance still farther, if their residence in the Blinkwater was placed upon some defined and understood footing.

The third class should at once be removed, at least as soon as they gather their crops, which are at present in a state of forwardness.

Those persons of the first and second classes who practise heathenish customs, and who do not bear good characters, should likewise be removed.

Lists might be furnished by the field cornets, showing the periods of residence in the colony, the service and characters of such persons are at present in the Blinkwater. With such a list for a guide, it would be easy to determine who were to be sent to Kaffirland, and who should be otherwise treated.

Without remarking upon the bad effects which would result from summarily sending into Kaffirland men who have been with us during war, I may merely say that these men are entitled to different treatment, and their services, from whatever motive performed, cannot be overlooked. (Freeman, J.J., 1851, pp. 180,181)

The following instructions regarding the matter were sent by the Colonial Secretary to the Civil Commissioner at Fort Beaufort:

In forwarding to you the accompanying copy of a letter addressed by the Gaika Commissioner to Colonel Mackinnon, respecting the Kaffirs at the Blinkwater, I am directed by His Excellency the Governor to instruct you how to proceed with each of those three classes referred to by Mr Brownlee. The Governor desires that such Kaffirs as fall within the first and second classes are to be located on the Blinkwater, at such places as you select, to be treated similarly to the Fingoes located in your division, and to pay the said amount of rent. They will be allowed to continue on these terms so long as they are properly conducted, and punctual in the payment of the rent. Those who came within the third class are to be removed immediately after they gathered their present crops, and to be allowed to return to their own people, but by no means to re-enter the Blinkwater.

If any difficulties are thrown in your way, when attempting to remove them, you are requested to apply to Colonel Mackinnon for such aid as you may require, and it will be forwarded to you. (Freeman, J.J., 1851, pp. 181,182)

The instructions for expelling the third group of Kaffirs from the settlement were carried out by David Davies, Superintendent of the Kaffir Police, which was a force raised for service among the Xhosa in the newly annexed Province of British Kaffraria. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 236)

Davies made a full report of his activities to Colonel Mackinnon. He seemed to have collected any person who in any way could be called a "Kaffir" or "Fingo" together with their livestock. He reported "I .... commenced operations .... burning and destroying kraals belonging to the Kaffir squatters around this place, taking the men, women, children, goats and cattle, with us". (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 178) The next day he commenced destroying kraals belonging to both "Kaffir" and "Fingo" squatters. All these people were marched on to Fort Hare which was 20 miles from Blinkwater. Davies reported further that "the party proceeded but slowly, owing to the great number of women and children; night coming on when within five miles of the Mankazana, I was compelled to sleep at his place. The night was cold and frosty; I was fortunate in getting shelter for the women and children in the huts about the place". (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 178)

When the group reached Fort Hare they were sorted, those Xhosa who were in the Colony before 1846 and Mfengu were permitted to return to Blinkwater and other locations although they now no longer had homes to return to. Those who stated that they belonged to "Kaffirland" were sent to the locations of these chiefs. Davies proudly ended his report in the following way: "the Police destroyed during the operations upwards of 300 huts between Fullers Hoek and Buxton, the whole of which was conducted without the slightest resistance on part of either the Kaffir or Fingo squatters". (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 179) In a letter to the High Commissioner; Colonel Mackinnon expressed his appreciation for the effective way in which Davies and his men performed their duty "without occasioning the slightest collision with the Kaffir squatters". (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 176)

Immediately after these various incidents and expulsions had taken place, the field cornet of the settlement Andries Botha (first Khoi to be appointed as a field cornet in the Kat River Settlement) wrote a lengthy letter to the Governor on 23 June 1850. In the letter he pointed out the past loyalty of those who had been expelled from settlement, to the Colonial Government. He described how the people were forcibly removed from their homes in the heart of winter by police acting under instructions from the magistrate Bowker. He continues that:

Among those driven away there were upwards of thirty families who have been with us twenty years; have conducted themselves well, and nothing was laid to their charge. If previous warning had been given, they might quietly have withdrawn from the settlement; but not a moment's warning was given; the way in which these people have been burnt out has created some sensation in the settlement, as even their servants have been driven away. I beg leave to enclose a list of the names of the erf-holders who made a declaration that they did not ask for the removal of those people. It was not my intention to have troubled your Excellency, painful as the case is; but as Mr Bowker has dismissed me without giving any reason, I have thought it my duty to give your Excellency a plain statement of facts, and beg humbly and respectfully to repeat my requests made to the honourable Secretary to Government, that I may have an impartial investigation of my case. I am not a perfect man; I have faults, and liable to err like any other man, but I have always tried to serve Government faithfully both in war and peace. (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 184)

On this matter Stockenström wrote:

The Kat River people, so lately and so justly considered one of the most loyal communities in the Colony, after having been twice mainly instrumental in saving the Colony, and being rewarded by malicious calumny and the denial of justice, have from later events, taken it into their heads that a plot exists somewhere to goad them on to some excess, and furnish the plea for their expulsion from the only nook in the land of their fathers which remains to them, and in which they hoped to rest the last ashes of their expiring race. Of the present feelings of these men, Botha is a specimen. (Stockenström, A., 1887, p. 431)



The case of the expulsion of the "Gona Khoi" and Mfengu was one of the cases concerning the conduct of the authorities which two commissions of inquiry reported on in May and August 1850. Another case concerned Mr Cobb, the Superintendent of the Mfengu and Xhosa in the settlement. He had been assigned a portion of the commonage of one of the Khoi locations and without taking the trouble to fence it, had impounded the cattle of the settlers and charged high fines for their return. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 236) The commissions found that in most of the cases the magistrate Mr Bowker had imposed excessive punishments without thoroughly investigating the evidence: in one case "18 men were apprehended and imprisoned on the 9th July, 1850, on the representation of Davies . . . , without any investigation in the presence of the accused. Some were lodged in the goal at Hertzog and all forced to find bail, even in the absence of accusers and witnesses, and without having committed a wrong". (Freeman, J.J., 1851, p. 191)

Bowker was informed by the Colonial Secretary in August 1850 that "possibly from the different character" of his "previous pursuits" he was "in every way unfitted for the responsible duties belonging to a magistrate". But he was treated lightly by the fact that he was allowed to resign so escaping the disgrace of dismissal. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 237)

When the "Eighth Kaffir War" broke out on the Eastern Frontier on December 1850, there lived at Blinkwater a petty chief, Hermanus Matroos, who played an important role in the rebellion. He was the son of an absconded slave and a Xhosa mother and was acquainted with the ways of Xhosa because he lived at the Kraal of Gaika and acted as interpreter and spy for the Colonial government. (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, pp. 369,370) In 1828 he was dismissed from the service of the Colonial Government and it was proposed that he should be sent across the frontier into "Kaffirland". However the military commandant, Colonel Somerset, felt that since Hermanus had served the country so well, land should be allocated to him among the Khoi at Blinkwater. This action received the disapproval of Khoi since they were suspicious of Hermanus Matroos.



When the Xhosa began their attack on the colony on 24 December, 1850, Hermanus Matroos was prepared to begin hostilities in the Kat River Settlement. At that time it was reported that he had about 900 men under his command - many of them Xhosa servants - who had deserted their masters' farms. According to Marais "there is no evidence that the "Hottentots" had premeditated rebellion, still less that there had been any collusion between them and Hermanus Matroos on their traditional enemies beyond the frontier". (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 241) If the inhabitants of the settlement were not rebellious they were, however, full of resentment for the way they had been treated by the government after the war of 1846. They were still prepared to defend the settlement against the Xhosa but they were not prepared to leave it as happened during the two previous wars. (Read, J., 1851, p. 6)

It was not possible for them in any case to offer much assistance because many of them were unarmed. Magistrate Bowker had ordered the settlers to return 300 "stand" of arms to the government stores. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 241) The authorities had been informed that Hermanus's followers were increasing in number and that they were acting suspiciously. The government still however supplied him with ammunition as late as 26 December 1850, the day on which he started hostilities. (Read, J., 1851, pp. xx,xxi) Hermanus started by coercing the Khoi living in the Southern part of the settlement, and because few of them had any means of resisting him, they joined forces with him. After this the rebelliousness spread gradually among the settlers of the Kat River until it reaches most of the locations of the settlement.

Mr Wienand, the magistrate of the Kat River Settlement on 31 December 1850 reported that the settlers of Mancazana and upper Blinkwater had joined Hermanus, and that the loyal people in the other parts of the settlement having no guns or ammunition were leaving their homes and crops to seek protection at Fort Armstrong. (Cory, C.E., 1930, p. 232) Hermanus was killed when he attacked a European village at Fort Beaufort. The rebels soon had a new leader, a Khoi named Willem Uithaalder, an old pensioner of the Cape Corps. The number of Khoi and Xhosa who had joined Uithaalder at his camp at lower Blinkwater increased at a rapid rate. With the whole of the available military force being required in Kaffrarria

or to defend the widely separated forts and as the burgher forces had duties on other parts of the frontier the Kat River rebels were free to do as they pleased. The situation of the few English settlers and loyal Khoi was very difficult because no one knew who was to be trusted. (Cory, C.E., 1930, p. 335)

Under these circumstances, the missionaries, the Reads senior and junior, A. Van Rooyen together with the field-cornet Andries Botha visited the camps of the rebels and tried to use their influence to subdue the uprising. (Cory, C.E., 1930, p. 335) However they were unsuccessful. When the government forces at last arrived in the settlement, furious fighting had become necessary to quell the rebellion. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 242) Rev. W.R. Thompson and J. Read senior and a considerable number of loyal Khoi collected at Philipton where they awaited with great anxiety the arrival of General Somerset with his commando of burghers and Mfengu. He finally arrived and immediately requested all the people to assemble, stating that any who were absent would be regarded as rebels. In his address to them he made no discrimination between loyal and disloyal inhabitants. He told them what he thought of their conduct and stated that under the circumstances he could pursue no other course than that of "breaking up such a nest of traitors". (Cory, C.E., 1930, p. 354)

As was feared, the commando took matters into its own hands. Houses and waggons were searched and patrols were sent out to outlying locations where they destroyed chapels, mission and school houses and a printing press with all its types and papers. General Somerset went about putting an end to Philipton which he regarded "as the focus of all the disturbances caused in the settlement". Everyone (including the missionaries) was ordered to pack what was left of their belongings and moved to Elands-post (now the town of Seymour) which was about five miles away. Mr Read said: "of all the valuable mission and private property, my father and myself only got each one and a half loads away and had to leave most furniture and crockery and a great portion of my fathers' library behind". In addition to the people from Philipton many families from other locations flocked into Elandspost, scared and panic-stricken. They were given the option of either remaining at Elandspost or going on to Fort Hare. General Somerset and his commando together with 370 prisoners and about four to five hundred woman and children moved to Fort Hare. (Cory, CE., 1930, pp. 355,356)

The settlement as Stockenstrom envisaged was effectively destroyed. "There now lies the work of half a century, like the wreck of a great ship on the strand", wrote the Reads in 1852. (L.M.S. Reports, 1852, p. 61) According to Marais it was very difficult to determine how many of the Kat River Settlers had rebelled against the government. A government commission reported in May 1853, that of the 509 erf holders, 83 had left their erven before December 1850, while 159 had been proved to have taken part in the rebellion and the rest were found not to have been involved in the rebellion. The commission did not attempt to establish how many non-erf holders had revolted. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 243)

When the news of the Kat River Rebellion reached England the Secretary of state advocated that a "rigid inquire" be conducted into the causes of the rebellion. A commission of inquiry was appointed by Governor Sir Harry Smith by a proclamation dated 31 May, 1851 but he cancelled it on the 30 July 1851. This caused considerable alarm in England and resulted in a letter being written by the Directors of the London Missionary Society to Colonial Minister on 20 December, in which the following passage is found:

The Directors are fully aware that your Lordship has, in a degree, anticipated these inquiries but the appointment of Major Hogge and Mr Owen as Commissioners to investigate the case; but they must respectfully submit, that far greater satisfaction and real advantage would result from an inquiry conducted by the Civil Commissioners nominated by His Excellency the Governor previously to the receipt of your Lordship's Depatch appointing the afore-said gentlemen. The Commissioner consisted as your Lordship is aware of Messrs Porter, Rutherford, Surtees, and Major Hope. These gentlemen being all members or friends of the Government, afforded to its interests and rights, while the fact of their being civilians, long resident in the Colony, acquainted with the native population, and held in high respect by all classes of society, invested them with an influence which could not but have proved highly beneficial. (quoted in Stockenstrom, A., 1964, p. 389)

This letter was sent to Sir H. Smith with the following dispatch from Lord Grey:

I transmit to you a copy of a letter addressed to me by the Secretary to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, requesting that the Commission of Inquiry which you had nominated to investigate the case of the Kat River Settlement on the frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, but which you revoked upon the arrival in the Colony of the Assistant Frontier Commissioners appointed from this country, may be again nominated for that special object, and I have to request, that you will report to me your opinion on the subject and the steps you may have found it advisable to adopt. (quoted in Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 390)

According to Stockenstrom "the intention, determination, and positive orders, to inquire into the causes were therefore explicit. All parties here and in the mother country had made up their minds on the subject, and were backed by a positive law, dated 16 December, 1851, appointing a commission to inquire into the "origin, objects, nature, and extent of the rebellion". (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 390)

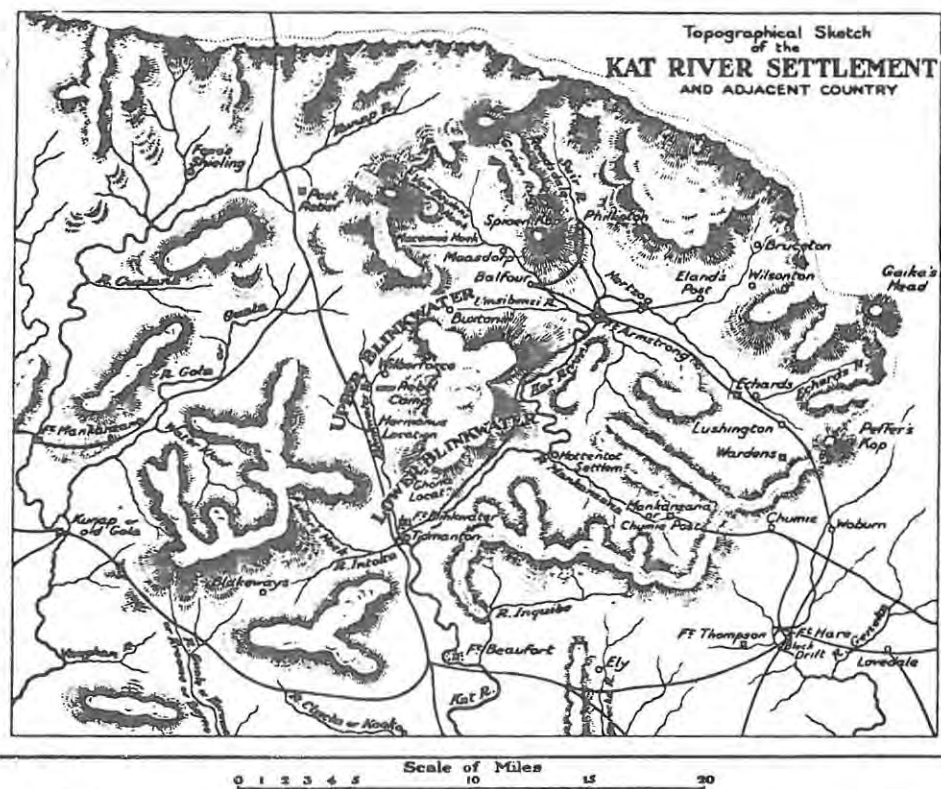
Smith's successor, Sir G. Cathcart, appointed a new commission of inquiry whose terms of reference differed from that which was required since it stated the "object of this investigation is not as to the origin of the rebellion, or any retrospective enquiries, further than may be conducive to the present practicable settlement of that district". (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 390) Thus the rigid inquiry as desired by the Secretary of State therefore, never materialized.

Although the government failed to discover by a commission of inquiry the causes of the rebellion, they did find a scapegoat to still the clamour of the colonists along the Eastern Frontier who had suffered as a result of the rebellion namely Andries Botha who was found guilty of high treason at Cape Town in May 1852. Marais asked the question. "How came it that a man like Botha, who had grown grey in the service of the state, would at the end of his life have laid himself open to the charge of treason?" (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 243) Of Botha, Stockenstrom said: "Among the leaders whom I appointed as heads of parties", at the commencement of the Kat River Settlement, was a certain Andries Botha ... he brought to me the strongest recommendations as an honest man, a brave soldier, and a zealous public servant". (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 359) "He had proved himself in every way worthy of trust which had been placed upon him. Not only had he exercised a good influence among his people during peace, but in war he had been distinguished by his bravery and

power of leadership". (Cory, C.E., Vol. V, 1930, p. 343) In this man "Her Majesty has not in her dominions a more loyal subject, nor braver soldier; and by his services during the Kaffir wars of 1835 and 1846, he has conferred a lasting obligation on the Colony and its Government". (Stockenstrom, A., 1887, p. 427)

The rebellion of the Kat River settlers ruined the settlement in a two-fold sense. In the first instance there was a repetition of the havoc caused by the wars of 1834 and 1846, only this time the damage was done not by the Xhosa, but by the rebel Khoi at first, and later on a larger scale by the commando of European burghers and "Fingoes" who in anger against the Khoi in general and their missionaries made no distinction between the possessions of rebels and those loyal to the Colonial Government. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 244) But what was most calamitous was that it ravaged an already deprived people.





From the map compiled from the best authorities by M. Woodfield, C.E., Sworn Government Surveyor, May, 1852.

Taken from Cory's History of South Africa

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE COLONISTS

The attitude of the colonists and their relationship with the missionaries and the Khoi influenced the social, economic and educational development of the mission institutions. It has already been shown that during the Van der Kemp period, the attitude of the colonists towards the mission institution at Bethelsdorp was very hostile. The main danger they saw in the mission institution was that it deprived them of a supply of cheap labour. Some evidence was also represented in chapter three that the educational and religious role of the missionaries was regarded with suspicion by the colonists particularly when it was realized that they (the colonists) were far away from the civilizing influence of Cape Town and their own children did not receive any form of education. The colonial attitude was characterized by a deep prejudice towards the Khoi whom they regarded as their inferiors in all respects. It can be argued that a turning point occurred with the campaign for the passing of Ordinance 50 and its immediate effects.

In this chapter attention will be focussed on:

- (i) the attitude of the colonists to Ordinance 50 and the vagrancy question, which affected their response to all the mission stations;
- (ii) the new dimension to colonial attitudes which were brought about by the introduction of British Settlers;
- (iii) the hostility towards the Kat River Settlement which existed up to 1851, as the end of the period being studied drew to a close;
- (iv) the attitude of the colonists when they were appointed as local authorities such as magistrates.

The attitude of the colonists was characterized by their reaction to a proposed change of location of the mission institution at Bethelsdorp. As shown in chapter three Van der Kemp had already suggested a change of location in 1807.

It has been shown that, from Van der Kemp's own statements, he regarded Bethelsdorp as a temporary site and made continuous requests to the Colonial Government for a more suitable tract of land for the institution. Theopolis had been granted to the London Missionary Society in 1814 by the Governor Cradock, as a new mission station and not as a replacement for Bethelsdorp. From the time that Philip arrived in South Africa, as a member of the deputation from the London Missionary Society in 1819 to January 1822, he had been negotiating with the Directors and the Colonial Government to have the mission institution at Bethelsdorp moved to a more favourable site. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 180)

The site he chose as suitable was in a remote part of the country (Hankey) but it had a definite advantage over Bethelsdorp in that it had an abundant supply of water. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 318) After having visited Bethelsdorp in 1821, he intended to purchase this new site on behalf of the Society and to ensure that the people of Bethelsdorp moved to it. His suspicions, however, were soon aroused:

On my arrival at Uitenhage, (he wrote in 1821) I found the colonists expressing more satisfaction at the proposed removal of the institution than I considered consistent with the loss they would sustain in being deprived of so many useful labourers in the district; and the surprise excited in my mind by this circumstance led to inquiries which obliged me to change my plans.

He reported further that:

The joy expressed on this occasion appears to have arisen from an impression, that I was to be allowed to sell the place; to remove the institution; and to take with us the sick, and aged, and infirm people; but that the great body of them were to be detained in the district, and not to be permitted to accompany us. (Philip, J., Vol. I, 1828, p. 318)

In these circumstances Philip decided that the institution must remain. He felt that the Colonists in the district were entirely dependent on Bethelsdorp for labour, and the institution was the only protection available for the Khoi. Clearly, his proposed new mission station would not be viable if its population consisted only of those who could not work. He moreover was convinced that Bethelsdorp offered some kind of protection for the able-bodied who sought work under the white colonists. Bethelsdorp in these

circumstances remained near Uitenhage, so did the dilemma. The mission station was on poor land, and so could not become an economic success. Men had to sell their labour off the mission lands. Their freedom to do this was restricted by earlier legislation of 1809 and 1812 (see chapter four). Some restraint on the exploitation of labour was provided by Bethelsdorp, but Bethelsdorp by itself could not prevent the exploitation.

The colonists were suspicious of the possible effects on the Khoi of the freedoms promised by Ordinance 50. These suspicions were confirmed by stories of contract breaking and erratic work of some Khoi. The antagonism of the colonists towards Philip's plans were easily transferred to the Khoi themselves.

In considering the relationship with the colonists it is important to take cognisance of the British Settlers who arrived at the Cape in 1820. Many of them were settled along the eastern frontier in close proximity to the already established mission station of Theopolis.

According to Sales the arrival of the new settlers was of great importance to the Khoi on the mission stations. From an economic point of view the arrival of the settlers created a new market for Khoi labour. Transport riding and building construction which could be provided by Khoi was in great demand by the settlers. The prosperity of the 1820's which prevailed at the mission stations was brought about by the arrival of the settlers and the work they could offer. This prosperity, for instance, enabled Philip to undertake improvement programmes at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis. (Sales, J., 1975, p. 82)

Two settlers, Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn, did much to meet the educational needs of the settlers. They were instrumental "in the first importation of fully equipped teachers; the project of a magazine in English and Dutch, to reach the distant farmhouses; the effective demand for a newspaper, and, not long afterwards, the founding of the South African College in 1829". (quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 110) Whether these facilities were used to improve the lot of the Khoi at the mission station is not clear, although Philip in a letter to the Directors in March 1824, "argued the need for a college in South Africa to serve both to train a 'native agency' and for the religious and educational needs of the new white settlers". (quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 112)

An attempt will now be made to describe how the passing of Ordinance 50 and the proposed vagrancy law affected the relationship between the colonists and mission institutions.

In his journal of 6 October 1828, the missionary Kitchingham noted his concern at the violent reaction of the colonists to the passing of Ordinance 50. Miles, who was acting superintendent of L.M.S. in South Africa while Philip was away in England, sent Kitchingham 50 copies of the Ordinance to distribute amongst the colonists. 'This Ordinance', Kitchingham reflected, "demands the unfeigned thanksgiving of all who wish well to the aborigines of the colony, 'But', he continued, .... "the prejudices of the inhabitants run so high against it that perhaps it may injure my usefulness among them if I become the distributor of them. It grieves them to the heart to see their old system of oppression shaken". (Kitchingham Papers; 1976, p. 100)

When Philip returned to the Cape from England in September 1829 he, too, discovered that Ordinance 50 was strongly resented. By October 1829 Kitchingham noted the resentment shown towards Philip, and at the beginning of 1830 while travelling through the area with him was shocked at the depth of the hostility shown by the farmers. He wrote:

Dr Philip, to my grief, was treated with much coolness where we came, which he bore with Christian fortitude. Some of the enemies had spread many erroneous reports about what he had said of this country. The Devil is a jealous prince, and will always exert all his influence in opposing those who seek most the destruction of his kingdom. Mr Du Toit, who was much enraged against him, was unwilling to hear anything in explanation, and assured me Dr Philip would be killed before he returned. Another old lady, Mrs De Wit, said to me, "Is Philip, the old liar, here? He dare not come to the village! With (her) I talked (a) good deal, and I believed made her ashamed of her prejudices". (Kitchingham Papers; 1976, p. 100)

At the end of April 1830 Kitchingham again recorded in his journal that "there was a 'violent paper' in circulation, the whole design of which seems to be to slander him (Philip) and the missionaries of our Society". (Kitchingham Papers; 1976, p. 100)

There is considerable evidence that some disruption occurred in the years immediately after the passing of Ordinance 50. In 1830 a frontiersman from Grahamstown wrote about Ordinance 50:



The ordinance was too sudden. It led the Hottentot astray. He did not know his bounds and he could not legally be checked because the ordinance contained a clause contradictory to the Vagrant law .... and he ran riot .... (quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 222)

According to Cory the Khoi:

Finding themselves, on the promulgation of the 50th ordinance all at once released from the disabilities to which they had been subjected, a large portion, from a not unnatural impulse, left the service of the colonists as soon as their contract terms had expired, while some even felt themselves authorised by the new law to break short their indentured terms and at once to take their freedom. (Cory, C.E., Vol. 2, 1965, pp. 372,373)

Marais mentions that some of the Khoi worked for short periods and lapsed into longer periods of vagrancy. Governor Napier, who was not prepared to accept the complaints of the colonists at their face value, reported on the situation in June 1838. He discovered that the Khoi with monthly contracts "frequently quit their service without any warning, and often, when brought to account for the offence, are unable to assign any other reason than that they were tired of the place". The courts were in most cases so far away from the farmers that they could not appeal to them for redress. The Governor felt certain that vagrancy existed "in an alarming degree", and he considered that some action had to be taken on the matter. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 181)

Macmillan maintains that Philip sensed that the desire of the colonist to control the labour of the Khoi was the dominant idea behind his agitation against 'vagrancy'. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 223) This interpretation was shared by other missionaries. By 1834 many felt that the narrow self-interest of the colonists and "their physical dread of the immediate dangers of "Hottentot" 'vagrancy' made any constructive policy hopeless". (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 229) The missionaries were in agreement that the vagrancy law had greater implications than the "disease" of which the colonists were complaining and that the Khoi who had now a short period of freedom, would, as Mr Kitchingham put it, 'take to the mountains', rather than return to their 'former servitude'. (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 239)

It appears that the missionaries, in comparison with the colonists, had some vision of a better state of society for the Khoi, and attempted to view the problems of the country as a whole. Dr Philip in a memorandum against the vagrant law, in November 1834 emphasized how disastrous it was:

That the present state of things among the farmers should remain stationary, that their kitchens should swarm with men, women and children in a state of Nature, that their children should grow up without any other companions than naked children brought up in ignorance and slavery, that they would have no work done but by people they are obliged to superintend with a sjambok in their hands, and that the cultivation of their ground should never extend beyond what is barely sufficient to feed their wives and daughters and their wretched dependants .... Would it not (he asks) be more desirable to see an estate cultivated by a respectable peasantry, paying rent for every acre of it, than to see it in its present unproductive condition. (quoted in Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 242)

According to Macmillan the vagrant law was an attempt on the part of reactionary, or merely ignorant colonists, to get "state sanction for a policy that would secure a plentiful supply of cheap, subservient and exploitable labour". (Macmillan, W.M., 1927, p. 243) As was shown in chapter six the weight of legal argument against the draft law of 1834 was decisive and the state took its stand against the wishes of a colonial majority.

The colonists as well as the Khoi on the Eastern Frontier were deeply affected by the sixth frontier war of 1834-5. Hockly described the start of the war and the resulting devastations on the English colonists as follows:

On the 21st December, 1834, and without any prior warning, at least twenty thousand Natives swarmed across the colonial boundary and in ten short days utterly destroyed what had been laboriously built up in the previous fifteen long and difficult years. The regular military forces on the frontier, numbering only about seven hundred, and scattered in small groups along the two hundred mile frontier, were quite inadequate to repel the sudden invasion of hordes of Natives who overran and laid waste the districts of Albany and Somerset East, and penetrated almost as far as Uitenhage. (Hockly, H.E., 1966, p. 120)

The Khoi of the mission stations of Hankey, Theopolis, Bethelsdorp and the Kat River Settlement fought with the colonists to the South and North of the Kat River Settlement against the Xhosa invaders. James Read wrote to Kitchingham on 31st December 1834 describing the first weeks of the war:

The Boors to the north and south have been plundered almost to a beast. Thousands of cattle, sheep and horses have been taken - in fact they pass almost in front of our place but no one durst touch them as we at present act only on the defensive. The Boors will be left in entire destitution and want. Our people will be great sufferers, although compared with the circumstances of the poor Boors they may consider themselves as well off. Great many families have been murdered. It is strange that no Hottentots have in any part of the colony fallen victims to their jury. I cannot consider this as a favourable omen either way. They either wish to bribe the Hottentots, or pull them into a state of security and then fall on them on their way homewards. (Kitchingham Papers, 1976, p. 147)

This was only a temporary lull because on 6 February 1835 the Kat River Settlement was attacked. After much devastation the war ended at the end of 1835.

As did the Khoi of the mission stations, the colonists had to undertake the tedious task of reconstruction and rehabilitation. "Houses, barns, and kraals were rebuilt, fencing was repaired, ploughing was resumed, and gradually the vacant grazing were restocked with cattle, sheep and horses". (Hockly, H.E., 1966, p. 125)

To the English colonists the most disturbing feature of the war was the unsympathetic attitude towards them in their hour of peril. Hockly describes it as follows:

In addition to bearing the full impact of the Native invasion, the defenders of the Colony found themselves the victims of slanderous attacks launched against them by a small but very vocal and influential section of their own countrymen in Cape Town .... This group, led by a Dr Philip the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society at the Cape ...., accused the farmers and traders on the frontier of being the real cause of the war; the mild and peace-loving Nature, they maintained, had been provoked to attack the colonists; everything the European colonists had done was wrong, and he richly deserved the sufferings he had brought upon himself by his oppressive conduct towards the noble savage. Violent and slanderous allegations such as these were not allowed to pass unnoticed by the people on the frontier. (Hockly, H.E., 1966, p. 127)

The hostility of the colonists against Philip was transferred to the Khoi and the mission stations. By the 1840's settler antipathy towards the missionaries, their stations and the Khoi had hardened considerably.

During the 1840's the colonists on the Eastern Frontier were concerned that the devastation of the "Sixth Kafir" war would be repeated on the outbreak of another war. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society were extremely unpopular amongst the English colonists who believed that the missionaries and the influence they exerted in England were the cause of many of their hardships. One of them, John Mitford Bowker, gives his attitude towards the Xhosa in a speech he addressed to a group of farmers on 12 August 1844:

My feelings towards the kafir are not of that stamp. I know he has disregarded the zealous missionary for years. I know he has once over-run and destroyed these districts, and I fear him, knowing him to be ready and willing to do it again. I know him to be the great bar to all improvement among us. I know that rapine and murder are in all his thoughts, and I see them in his looks and hate him accordingly. If I am wrong, then it proves England has begun at the wrong end of her work, for I ought to have been taught better before she began to teach the Kafir, for there is more 'thought, heart', yea, 'desperation in me than in the whole gang of Quashees; and I begin to think that he too, as well as the springbok, must give place, and why not? Is it just that a few thousands of ruthless, worthless savages are to sit like a nightmare upon a land that would support millions of civilized men happily? Nay; Heaven forbids it; and those dreamers who have been legislating for the protection of the oborigines, have unwittingly been aiding in their downfall. (Bowker, J.M., 1864, p. 125)

Bowker also had similiar views with regard to the Khoi as is apparent from a letter he wrote to the Colonial Secreatry of the Government November 25, 1844:

A vagrant law is much wanted in this colony .... Vagrancy has strangely been mistaken for liberty. The forbidding a man to live in sloth and idleness, who has no apparent means, is no retrenchment of true liberty. The Devil finds work for the idle. The present system which has induced the monthly hirings and knock-about lives of the Hottentots, alike interferes with their health, morals and civil improvement. The here-today-and-gone-tomorrow system of Hottentot service, begets a carelessness of their master's property on the one part, and a carelessness of the health, morals and comfort of the servant on the other. Can



nothing be done to induce a more permanent system of labour? .... The liberty to live from the hand to mouth under a bush, houseless, and homeless, and comfortless, is a sort of liberty that ought to be repressed, not encouraged. Yet it had been encouraged, and brought about by Government submitting to the dictation of ignorant missionaries, ignorant on that head, however well-meaning, and the framing of Ordinances in conformity to the fashionable cant of the day ....

He had very strong views on civilization in the so called "savage" nations (Khoi and Xhosa) whom he regarded as his inferiors:

The cant of the present day is leading well-intentioned people far astray from the promotion of true civilisation in Africa. Niger expeditions, Aborigines' protection societies, Anti-slavery Societies, Mission institutions, as at present conducted, are things of naught. Savage nations must be taught to fear and respect, to stand in awe of a nation whose manners and customs, whose religion it is beneficial and desirable for them to adopt. Mankind are ever prone to imitate the manners of their superiors all over the world; and we must prove to these people that we are their superiors before we can ever hope for much good to be done among them, by conquering them if no milder means are effectual. Their haughty, arrogant spirit, buoyed up with pride and ignorance, must be brought low.

He was very critical of the role of the missionaries in civilizing the "savages" :

Could the missionaries persuade the Kafirs to become a nation of cotton growers, instead of - as they allow themselves to be - 'a nation of thieves' conquering them, perhaps, would be necessary. But I maintain that many missionaries have hitherto done much to continue them as a nation of thieves, by holding up all the attempts of the colony and its Government to repress their thievish disposition, and recover stolen colonial property, as cruel aggressions and booty commandos, whilst they continue fruitlessly to preach Christianity to a nation of thieves!.....

Colonial colonisation, he stated:

has been fettered with the wild theories of pseudo-philantropists, whose cant and folly has been foisted into the very laws of the colonies; and turn which way you will, you meet it in some shape, and its offsprings are - slave piracy - Kafir depredation - Hottentot vagrancy - a dead weight thrown on all colonial im-



provement, with their horrid and inevitable consequences. The colonists are civilised men .... Let us alone; their persevering ignorant cant is alike a curse to both civilised and savage. (Bowker, J.M., 1864, pp. 128 - 133)

In his speech he moves uncertainly from Khoi to Xhosa and back again.

In 1846 the War of the Axe broke out. The Khoi of the Kat River Settlement and the other mission stations in the Eastern Districts of the Colony were once again enlisted in the colonial forces. They fought side by side with the European burghers. Cory points out that the Kat River Settlers were doing more than their share in the colonial army in that the European burgher population furnished only three per cent of its men while the settlement furnished a quota of ninety per cent. (Cory, C.E., Vol. V, 1930, p. 14)

In May 1847, the new Governor Pottinger appointed Thomas Jervis Biddulph as resident magistrate, a man who is mentioned in the Kitchingham papers as a bankrupt farmer. (Kitchingham Papers, 1976, p. 269) As shown in the previous chapter he was sympathetic to the interests of the European farmers in the Eastern Cape. Read mentions that Biddulph "came greatly prejudiced against the inhabitants (of the Kat River Settlement) speaking of the scheme of giving land to the "Hottentots" as a piece of philanthropic nonsense, which had proved a failure". (Read, J. (junior), 1851, p. XIV) His colonial sentiments were further illustrated when he raised the tax for timber by 500 per cent. He mentioned that one of the reasons why he had raised the tax on timber so drastically was "to compel the Hottentots ... , to take service with European farmers who needed labourers". (Marais, J.S., 1962, pp. 232,233)

Biddulph in 1847 submitted a report of the Kat River Settlement which placed the settlers in a very poor light with the Governor. The Governor had his unfavourable report published in the Government Gazette. The newspaper of the British Settlers, supported the report which clearly stated that the Kat River Settlers did not utilize "the best watered and most fertile district on the frontier". (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 234)

When Sir Harry Smith took over as Governor from Pottinger he displaced Biddulph as magistrate, and appointed J.H. Bowker, (brother of J.M. Bowker, referred to earlier in the chapter) who soon proved as ill-equipped for the position as his predecessor. Bowker belonged to one of the best known settler families on the Eastern frontier and had fought side by side

with the Kat River Settlers in the sixth "Kafir" war; (Hockly, H.E., 1966, p. 125) Marais mentions that in addition to the dissatisfaction of the settlers to the treatment meted out to them by Bowker there were also a number of other incidents that affected the Khoi of the Kat River Settlement such as "the loud complaints of the colonists against the "Coloured" institutions". (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 238)

As described in the previous chapter the Eighth "Kafir" war which broke out on the Eastern Frontier in December 1850 was accompanied by a rebellion in which some of the Khoi of the Kat River Settlement were involved. The following return which indicates that only part of the Khoi was involved in the rebellion was submitted by Read to the Governor in June 1851:

Total number of erf holders in the Settlement, of which a nominal list has been made .....	461	
Of whom the number joining the rebellion is .....	102	or 22.13 %
Total number of non erf holders .....	357	
Of whom the number joining in the rebellion is .....	161	or 45.1 %
The number per cent who remained loyal was .....	67.85	
The number per cent who became rebels .....	32.15	

The return is entirely confined to the Khoi portion of the population of the settlement. (Read, J., (junior), 1851, Appendix p. 3) The rebellion was crushed and a commando consisting of Dutch and English colonists, and Fingoes entered Philipton where the Khoi with missionaries gathered. The commander Gen. Somerset, who addressed the people who assembled there, made no distinction between the Khoi who rebelled and those who remained loyal to the government.

As pointed out in the previous chapter extensive damage was caused in the Kat River Settlement by a commando which consisted of Dutch and English colonists. According to Read several of the articles of the missionaries and settlers of the Kat River Settlement were found in possession of the burghers belonging to General Somerset's commando. "Several of the shops at Alice contained bibles, testaments, printing paper, .... which had been stolen from Philipton". (Read, J., (junior), 1851, p. 89)

The English Colonists, notwithstanding the fact that the Governor had promised to inquire into the unfortunate happenings at the Kat River Settlement, were clamorous for an investigation. According to Cory their attitude

was such that: "Not only holding themselves guiltless of any of the injustice and oppression of the natives of which they were accused, but feeling that they themselves were the oppressed and sufferers, they gave expression to their views and demands at public meetings. (Cory, C.E., 1930, p. 359)

At Somerset East on 10 March 1851 a resolution was passed congratulating the Governor upon the victory over the Kat River Rebels; "requiring that the native locations in the latter district should be broken up, and not permitted to re-assemble, but that as a punishment the property of the rebels should be confiscated". (Godlonton, R., and Irving, E., 1851, p. 277) The meeting not only demanded an inquiry into the cause of the rebellion but resolved that "searching investigation is necessary into the conduct of the ministers and others of influence at the Kat River and adjacent native locations, as to influence their being aware of the disloyalty existing amongst the inhabitants thereof, and if cognizant of the same why due intimation was not made to the proper authorities": (Godlonton, R., and Irving, E., 1851, p. 278)

At Beaufort West on 12 March 1851 the colonists asked for an inquiry on the grounds that "endeavours have already been made by partial and false representations to prejudice their case with that proportion of the public who, being remote from the scene of action, are extremely liable to be misled by erroneous but plausible statements, professedly founded upon principles of justice and humanity". (Godlonton, R., and Irving, E., 1851, p. 278) At Grahamstown on 19 March 1851 the meeting deemed "it essential to the inquiry now prayed for, as well as for the character and reputation of the missionaries themselves, that they be detained in the Colony until the important evidence which they are in a position to give respecting the Hottentot rebellion can be obtained". (Godlonton, R., and Irving, E., 1851, p. 280) As noted in the previous chapter an impartial commission of inquiry was never held into the causes of the rebellion.

In 1853 the government yielded to the clamour of the English Colonists to break up the Kat River Settlement. Taking into consideration the advice of the Commission of 1853 the government confiscated 160 allotments belonging to the rebels as well as 83 which it declared to be vacant. Ac-

According to Marais it was subsequently brought to the Government's notice that Roman Dutch Law, did not permit the confiscation of land as a punishment for rebellion. It was accordingly forced to compensate rebels for the loss of their erven. (Marais, J.S., 1962, p. 245)

The names of the Europeans who were recommended as suitable persons to receive allotments in the settlement was published. These crowded to the settlement where government officials distributed the allotments to them. A surveyor was sent to the settlement at the end of 1853 in order to resurvey the entire area. It took him two years to complete the task and after this title deeds were granted to all erf holders, both Europeans and a few Khoi.

A more meaningful relationship between the colonists and mission stations could have given tremendous impetus to the education of the Khoi. But as discussed in this chapter this was not to be so.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

## THE GROWTH OF EDUCATION UNDER THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Education

The educational provision for the poor in England during the late 18th and 19th centuries is discussed in broad outline in chapter two. It is assumed that, initially, since most of the missionaries and school-teachers at the mission stations of Bethelsdorp, Hankey, Theopolis and the Kat River came from England, they would have taken with them some of the educational ideas referred to in chapter two. Any educational programme they would initiate in South Africa would most likely have elements in common with the educational trends which existed in England at the time. The key elements of the educational system in England for the poor during the period under consideration could easily be transferred to a missionary situation existing in South Africa during the late 18th and early 19th centuries because the society which existed in South Africa at the time lacked industry (vocational skills) and tribal mores were still very prevalent.

In this chapter reference will be made to points of similarity which existed between the education trends for the poor in England and at the mission stations of Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, Hankey and the Kat River Settlement.

In the early years of the London Missionary Society's mission work in South Africa, the Society had no clear educational objectives. (see chapter one). The missionaries were left on their own to formulate ideas on education and ways of implementing educational policy. The London Missionary Society's lack of a clear educational policy in the early years of their mission work in South Africa is revealed in the Van der Kemp story (chapter four) in which education is considered as a theme of the mission endeavour in the Eastern Cape during 1800 - 1811. Although Van der Kemp and Read had sent annual reports and letters to the Directors in London on their missionary work which included their educational programme, the Directors did not make it clear what they expected from the missionaries in



in the field. With no clear directive it was difficult for the missionaries to decide on effective educational policy.

It was educational shortsightedness on the part of Van der Kemp that he was too pre-occupied with making the Khoi literate so that they could read the bible and be converted, without any attempt at making them proficient in agricultural and other vocational skills.

In order to put the mission stations on a sound footing and to overcome the problems which confronted its missionary institutions in South Africa, Rev. John Campbell was sent out as a "deputation" of the L.M.S. in 1812 (see chapter five). Campbell who visited Bethelsdorp on the 20 March 1813 found the attendance of the pupils very irregular and complained about the poor methods in use in the school. He recommended the introduction of the monitorial system (the Lancastrian method which was also called the British System) into all mission schools, a method which was being utilized with great success in England at the time. (Campbell, J., 1822, p. 85) Since the monitorial method was an example of a specific method used in the mission schools, it could be reasonably easily learned by teachers and because it introduced "organization" into the school day, it is important that a more detailed account of it be given than in the earlier chapter on English Education. (Chapter two.)

After a detailed discussion of the monitorial system the following aspects will be covered in this chapter:

- (a) Philip-Campbell Memorial
- (b) Day and infant schools (Education during the early development of the child).

### Monitorial System

Monitorial teaching was introduced in England in the very late 18th and early 19th centuries as a result of the efforts of a Quaker, Joseph Lancaster, and an Anglican missionary, Dr Andrew Bell. (See chapter two.) Much controversy over the origin of the system existed at the time but for our purposes we will confine the discussion to the principles set out by Lancaster since the system, when introduced in the mission schools, was referred to as the Lancastrian method (monitorial system or at times the British system), because the L.M.S. was non-conformist and the British

System was supported by all non-Anglican sects. The term "monitorial" is derived from the practice of using the older or more intelligent children to teach small groups of other children. Lancaster saw in the method a means of teaching vast number of poor children through a rudimentary curriculum. (Cordasco, F., 1973, p. 10)

Lancaster in his book on the Improvements of Education used the running of a school, which he opened in 1798, for the instruction of 100 poor children in reading, ruling, arithmetic and knowledge of the Holy Scripture as the basis for explaining the main principles on which his system of teaching was based. (Lancaster, J., 1805, pp. 1,2) He contended that the influence of the schoolmaster over his scholars was very great and stated further that:

the veneration wherewith they regard him almost equal to idolatry, and that simply by his conduct in his station, so much so, that they are all his willing servants, and doubly proud to be his ambassadors on trivial occasions : his smiles are precious, and even bitter things are sweet when bestowed by his hand. (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 29)

An important feature in the disposition of the youth is his irresistible tendency to action; "this, if properly controlled by suitable employment, will become a valuable auxiliary to the master; but, if neglected, will be apt to degenerate into rebellion". An active child when merely being treated as a number will generally show his disapproval by exercising himself in mischief. He was convinced that it is possible for a teacher to acquire a proper domination over the minds of the children under his care, by directing those active spirits to useful purposes: "and I have ever found, the surest way to cure a mischievous boy was to make him a monitor. I never knew anything succeed much better, if so well". (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 31)

Lancaster regarded the economy of time as an important facet of his system of education. He found it particularly necessary in primary schools and in the instruction of the poor:

cases wherein the pupil seldom has too much on his hands, and very often a fine genius or noble talents are lost to the state, and to mankind, from the want of it. If we wish to do the best for the

welfare of the youth, and to promote their interest through life, it will be well for us to study economy of their precious time. (Lancaster, J., 1805, pp. 31,32)

In solving problems such as truancy, he found that a little praise and reward, showing interest in what the children were doing produced that improvement in their conduct, and delight in learning "which neither the log or the horsewip, or any other severe treatment he receive .... could produce". (Lancaster, J., 1805, pp. 33,34) Lancaster felt that the application of the immense influence the schoolmaster had over the child, and the controlling and directing of the influence the children had over each other, to meaningful purposes, had been utilized with such success in his own school that anyone who wished to establish similar institutions should fashion them in the same manner. "The passions of the human heart must be their study; and they will find the system itself answer to the effects, as face to face in a glass" (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 34), and that ".... it is most happily succeeded in proving, that a very large number of children may be superintended by one master; and that they can be self educated by their own exertions, under his care". (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 37)

His more detailed description of the organization of the school showed that it was arranged in classes; a monitor took charge of each class and was responsible for the cleanliness, order, and improvement of every child in it. He was assisted by other boys, from his own class or from another class who performed most of his duties for him, when the number was more than he was able to manage. (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 37) The proportion of monitors to pupils either in reading, writing or arithmetic was about one to ten. In the management of such a large school there were duties to be performed which related to discipline and had no connection with learning; for these extra duties different monitors were used. In this institution the word monitor meant any boy that had "a charge either in some department of tuition or order", and was not merely confined to those boys who taught:

The boy who takes care that the writing books are ruled, by machines made for that purpose, is the monitor of ruling.  
The boy who superintends the enquiries after the absentees, is called the monitor of absentees. The monitor who inspects the

improvement of the classes in reading, writing and arithmetic, are called inspecting monitors; and their offices are indeed essentially different from that of the teaching monitors. A boy whose business it is to give to the other monitors such books, etc. as may be wanted or appointed for the daily use of their classes, and to gather them up when done with; to see all the boys do read, and that none leave school without reading is called the monitor general. Another is called the monitor of slates, because he has a general charge of all the slates in the school. (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 38)

He mentioned that a class consisted of any number of boys whose proficiency was on the same level: "these may all be classed and taught together". When the number of children in a class was small, one monitor may teach it, but if it was large, it may continue as the same class but with the required number of assistant monitors, who under the supervision of the principal monitor, were to teach the subdivisions of the class. (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 40)

On admission of children into the school they were grouped according to their ability, for example:

Class	Reading and Spelling lessons
1	ABC
2	Two letters a, ab and c
3	Three letters
4	Four letters
5	Five and six letters,

The three succeeding classes were for boys who could read for instruction:

6	Testament
7	Bible
8	A selection of the best readers

(Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 41)

The children who did not know their letters were placed in the ABC class; while those who knew their letters but did not know how to combine them, were placed in the two letter class. Those who could spell in two letters but not in three, were in the three letter class; "the four and five letter classes were organized and received additions on the same principle". (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 86) Following on this the boys who should now be reading for the improvement of their minds were classed



accordingly in the Testament or Bible class. The classes for arithmetic were constructed in a similiar manner. (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 86)  
Every boy had to be examined before he was classified:

The lessons for every class being determined on, and the name of each class, descriptive of the lessons, learnt by it; no other lessons can be taught to each class than those appointed in it. Boys should be removed from one class to another, as soon as they are proficient in that to which they belong. Thus a boy, in the ABC, having learnt to distinguish all his letters, should be removed to the next, or mono-syllable class of two letters; and, when he is proficient in that he should be removed higher, and so on: (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 86)

A system of inspection was utilized to facilitate the removal of the boys from one class to another. For example:

A monitor is appointed as inspector general of reading: he keeps a list of every class of reading at the school. Whenever a new scholar enters, another monitor, whose business it is examines what progress in learning the pupil has made, and appoints him to a class accordingly. The first duty of the inspector of reading, is to see, that each scholar's name is duly entered on the list of the class to which he is sent on commencing school. (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 87)

When a boy had been promoted from one class to another, he could win a prize for himself as a reward for his progress; and the monitor was entitled to one of the same value as a reward for his diligence in "improving his scholars". (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 88)

As an illustration, the methodology of teaching spelling and reading to a large number of children using only one book, and the extempore method of spelling will briefly be described. Lancaster wrote that the method of teaching spelling by writing was entirely an addition to the regular course of studies, without interfering with or deranging them in the least. He explained it as follows:

It is as simple an operation as can be conceived. Thus supply twenty boys with slates and pencil, and pronounce any word for them to write, suppose it is the word "-ab-so-lu-ti-on", they are obliged to listen with attention, to catch the sound of every letter as it falls from the teacher's lips; again they have to retrace the idea of every letter, and the pronunciation of the word, as they write it on the slates. (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 50)



Lancaster made the point "that the usual mode of teaching requires every boy to have a book: yet, each boy can only read or spell one lesson at a time in that book". (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 55) He mentioned that "if a spelling book contains twenty or thirty different lessons, and it were possible for thirty scholars to read the thirty lessons in that book, it would be equivalent to thirty books for its utility". (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 55) The book should be printed three times larger than the common size type and should be printed with only one page to a leaf. The different parts of the book should:

then be pasted on a pasteboard, and suspended by a string to a nail in the wall, or other convenient place: one paste board should contain the alphabet; others words and syllables of from two to six letters. The reading lessons gradually rising from the words of one syllable, in the same manner, till they came to words of five or six letters, or more, preparatory to the Testament lessons. (Lancaster, J., 1805, reprint 1973, p. 56)

In the "Extempore" method of teaching spelling, a card was used instead of a book:

the monitor assembles his whole class, by successive circles, or rather semicircles, of twelve or twenties; calling each scholar by numbers; so as to begin at number 1, and go regularly through the whole class. This prevents a regularity in their reading, and prevents any one scholar omitting a lesson. (Lancaster, J., 1805, p. 59)

The Lancastrian method for instruction, was criticized as being among other things a method too mechanistic (see chapter two) and too dependent upon children who were too young and unqualified. Nevertheless, it was extensively applied in the day schools of the mission schools of Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, Hankey and the Kat River. This will become clear from the discussion of the day schools later in this chapter.

### The Philip-Campbell Memorial

In the year 1818 the Directors of the London Missionary Society felt the necessity of sending a deputation of their society to South Africa "to investigate into the real situation of their missions, and into the nature of the allegations urged against them by the Colonial Government; as the grounds of the opposition made to them". (Lovett, R.H., 1899, p. 539) An earlier deputation was sent to the Cape in 1812 (see chapter four). Philip recorded in his Researches that:

Mr Campbell and myself were nominated and appointed as a deputation from the society for this purpose. He was to make a visit and return to England; and I agreed to remain five years in the country, that I might be able to gain a more thorough knowledge of the actual state of the missions, set them in order, and, if possible secure the cordial co-operation of the Colonial government in their favour. (Philip, J., 1828, Vol. 1, p. 200)

Philip and Campbell made a journey into the interior in 1819 and visited all the mission stations including Bethelsdorp which they found to be in a deplorable condition. As a result of their investigations they drew up in 1820 a document termed the Campbell-Philip Memorial which made a number of recommendations to the Directors. It included a description of the type of men who should be placed at the head of institutions in Africa.: "They should be men of talent, address, and well acquainted with human nature" and be able to "sustain the character of Magistrate, Father, Master and Minister". The L.M.S. mission stations in South Africa:

are large families exhibiting every variety of temper and disposition, and the man who has not much discernment of character, and who does not love the people under him as his own children, and who is incapable of suiting his manners to the different dispositions he has to govern, will never gain the confidence nor love of the people, nor be useful among them as a missionary.

It suggested that the government should encourage the establishment of schools for the natives on the basis of the parochial schools in England and Scotland but schools upon a somewhat superior plan would be desirable for the children of farmers who have suffered many disadvantages for the want of education.

To place the schools at Institutions on a respectable footing:

A young men bred up in a school where the British System has been successfully cultivated, and whose whole business must be the organization of the schools must be sent out. He must not be a missionary or be allowed to preach - for the humble duties of a schoolmaster are generally merged in those of a missionary. He should be a young man whose soul is in teaching, who is something of an enthusiast for his profession.

Parents should be obliged to send their children to school as a condition of residing at the institutions, and:

as it is evident that to make a people industrious, habits of industry must be formed in early life, in addition to the hours in which the children are in school, it is agreed by the people at the station that the children are to be employed two hours a day under the superintendence of the Schoolmaster in some public work - such as in carrying stones or turf for any particular work ....

It was urged that there should be fewer ordained missionaries, and more mechanics, the latter being:

men of approved character, who after serving for seven years might become missionaries, but they must not come to South Africa with any such expectation. These mechanics were to superintend building operations at the stations and were to teach the more promising Hottentot lads trades.

To the "deputation" this was necessary since the system of apprenticing Khoi boys to European tradesmen had been a failure since "the young men assured (them) that instead of acquiring the knowledge of the trades it was intended they should acquire, they were employed in running messages, and in working in the gardens of their respective masters, or in field work".

It was suggested that "a school for the children of missionaries, should be established at the station where the mechanics chiefly reside .... boys could be apprenticed .... proper buildings must be erected since this could prove most beneficial in the end".

A boarding school is also mentioned "which could be connected to the school of the institution. A number of boarders could be obtained from Cape Town to defray expenses". As the Khoi had no idea of the virtue of money or of the saving of it, and "the idle among them frequently live on the labour of the industrious, the establishment of a savings bank, which they thought would be of great use to the Khoi .... and of a considerable instrument in promoting the improvement in civilization". (Campbell, J. and Philip, J., 1820, pp. 1 - 7)

On the basis of the Campbell-Philip Memorial, the Directors of the London Missionary Society on 24 July 1820 took resolutions on the future arrangement of their missions in Africa. They resolved:

that in selecting missionaries for Africa in future special care be taken that they possess such qualifications for the important work in which they are to be engaged as stated in Messrs Campbell and Philip's Memorial to be a special pre-requisite and necessary with a view to a beneficial change to the management of missions in Africa;

that each station be established with an ordained missionary and schoolmaster and with a mechanic or more than one if expedient and subject to the regulations proposed in the abovementioned Memorial;

when these stations are thus arranged, encouragement be given to attempt the .... improvement of one station on a large scale as proposed by the Deputation to Africa at which mechanics in addition to an ordained minister and schoolmaster may be established and such measures be carried into effect as may promote the cause of education in every way that may be connected with the furtherance of missionary purposes and objects in South Africa;

that to organize the schools at the several stations and to promote their usefulness, a young man be selected as soon as possible, instructed in the knowledge of the British System and sent to Africa. (Resolutions of the Directors of London Missionary Society with regard to the future arrangements of the missions in Africa, 24.7.1820)

The extent to which these resolutions were put into effect will be considered in later discussions in chapters nine and ten.

In 1820 Dr Philip was appointed as superintendent of the Society's missions in South Africa and upon him rested the responsibility of "much needed work of consolidation, improvement of methods, reform of abuses, and the task of welding the various missions into a harmonious and effective whole". (Lovett, R., 1899, p. 541) Since Philip was connected with



the Society as superintendent for 30 years, his ideas on education would have had a great impact on the direction it would take at the missions in South Africa. Hence it will be important to consider some of his views on education and how he went about implementing them in his early years as superintendent. On this important matter he made the following remarks: (circa 1825)

We had by this time been long enough in Africa to remark the great importance of early education, to give an efficient and permanent character to our missionary labours: a suitable teacher was, therefore, to be provided, and an efficient system of education was to be introduced. By much labour, and attention, this desideratum has been at least supplied, and the beneficial effects of the operation of our schools have already exceeded our most sanguine expectations. The influence of the system of education adopted at our mission stations diffuses itself over the whole mass of the population: the parents see and acknowledge the improvement of the children; and the progress made by the young is pushing forward their seniors, from those but one step in years above them to the grandfathers and grey-headed matrons. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 203)

As an example, he mentions improvements that were made at Theopolis:

When I was at Theopolis, in 1821, education was neglected, the children would not attend school and the parents justified the children in their idle habits. In 1823 on my late visit to that station, on a proposal being made to the parents that the children should be employed two hours in the day, when they were not in the school, in manual labour under the eye of the schoolmaster, the people replied with one consent, - "We assume no control over our children, when under the care of the teacher; we know that what you propose will prove in benefit to them, and our authority shall be employed to support the influence of the schoolmaster. (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 203,204)

Philip comments in his Researches on the advisability of sending out mechanics from England since they seldom fulfilled the purpose intended:

Whatever their professions may be when they appear as candidates for admission into the service of the Society, many of them go abroad with the secret hope of rising to have the name and office of missionaries; and if they are disappointed in their expectation, they are generally the last people in the world to whom you would think of apprenticing a people emerging from barbarism to acquire industrious habits. Talking from the pulpit is generally everything with a great proportion of that class of men; and



everything connected with the industry of the people, and their civilization, are considered carnal things, altogether foreign, and even alien to the propagation of the gospel. (Philip, J., 1828, p. 207)

Philip suggested that the problem could be overcome by finding mechanics in South Africa "who would labour at the station on their own account, unconnected with the Society, and who agree to teach "Hottentot" apprentices, and be satisfied with their labours as a remuneration for the expense of their board, and for the trouble of teaching them". (Philip, J., 1828, p. 208)

On this principal he employed a blacksmith, masons, and carpenters to teach the people their respective trades; concerning the mechanics he employed at the stations he mentioned that, "I always looked for the fear of God as an essential qualification; and I engaged and retained none who did not observe the sabbath in a religious manner, and whose moral conduct would not bear the strictest examination". (Philip, J., 1828, p. 208) He regarded these mechanics as having one great advantage over the mechanics who were sent from England: "In my agreement with them, when they were to be employed in working for the society, I never failed to inform them that I expected the same work from them, and the same number of hours in the day which they should feel themselves bound to render for the same wages in any other service and that if they failed in that particular task, I should instantly dismiss them". (Philip, J., 1828, p. 208) With regard to religious and moral education, he mentions that: "one of the first steps in attempting the elevation of a savage people, in connection with religious and moral instruction, is, to endeavour to impart to them a relish for the decencies and comforts of life. Little can be done towards their general improvement, till you can get them to exchange their straw cabins for decent houses. Their miserable reed-huts are unfavourable to health and morals". (Philip, J., 1828, p. 208)

Apart from his concern of the morals of the Khoi, Philip mentioned the possibility of study:

When a Hottentot is taught to read, and obtains a house where he can lay up his books upon shelves, where they will be preserved from damp, from filth, from vermin, or the children, and the dogs, he is likely to have his taste improved; but if he has no means

for preserving them from such enemies, he will seldom addict himself to reading. He may attend schools, he may acquire an ability to read, but the talent will soon be neglected, if books are wanting, if he has not the means of preserving them (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 211,212)

From these quotations it is apparent that Philip's plan for progress and improvement of the mission stations would in the long term depend to a large extent on a sound educational programme.

### Day School

The day school was a central feature of the educational programme of the London Missionary Society in the Eastern Cape. In order to get an idea of the number of day schools and number of pupils from year to year, the following table is given. This information was obtained from annual reports of the Directors of the L.M.S. and published under the auspices of the Society. The information was abstracted for publication from annual returns which were received from the mission stations. A copy of an annual return is included in Appendix two.

YEAR	BETHELSDORP		HANKEY		KAT RIVER		THEOPOLIS		NOTES
	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	
1819	1	140					1	210 <sup>a)</sup>	a) The attendance, however, was very irregular apparently due to the lack of interest of the parents.
1820	no return						1	240	
1821	no return						1	240	
1822	no return						no return <sup>a)</sup>		a) No return was submitted for this year because the station had suffered severely as a result of the failure of the harvest. Reasons are not normally given why no returns were submitted from a particular station.
1823	1	250					no return		
1824	no return						no return		
1825	1	250					1	230	
1826	no return		no return				no return		
1827	1	165	1	80					
1828	1	109 <sup>a)</sup>	no return				1	50-180 <sup>b)</sup>	a) There was a drop in the number of pupils because a number of parents moved to Port Elizabeth and Grahams-town which became outstations of Bethelsdorp in 1829. b) The attendance was very irregular apparently due to the lack of interest of the parents.
1829	no return		no return				1	300	

YEAR	BETHELSDORP		HANKEY		KAT RIVER		THEOPOLIS		NOTES
	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	
1830	1	122	1	74			no return		
1831	1	107	1	67			1	150 <sup>a)</sup>	a) A drop in number of pupils since many parents were given locations at the Kat River Settlement.
1832	no return		1	110 <sup>a)</sup>	1	100 <sup>b)</sup>	1	162	a) The number of pupils increased at Hankey with the arrival of mr Melvil as schoolmaster. In 1831 the teaching had been done by a Catechist of the station. b) The day school started at Philipton in this year but the numbers were relatively small since James Read jun. only arrived at the end of the year to administer the schools.
1833	1	120	1	150 <sup>a)</sup>	11	500-600 <sup>b)</sup>	1	144	a) The number showed an increase on the total of the previous year because it included pupils who were not resident at the institution. b) Indicated the expansion of the number of schools and pupils due to effective organization by James Read junior and his use of the "native" teachers.
1834	1	100	1	116 <sup>a)</sup>	11	500-600	1	142	a) The total number of pupils is less than the previous year because of the scarcity of food which forced many children to leave the institution with their parents who obtained work some distance from the institution.
1835	1	105	1	110	11	600-700	1	70 <sup>a)</sup>	a) Decreased attendance due to the disruption caused by the frontier war. It was the mission station nearest the scene of fighting.
1836	no return but diminished numbers reported <sup>a)</sup>		1	80 <sup>b)</sup>	no return <sup>c)</sup>		1	40 <sup>d)</sup>	a) b) d) Decreased attendance due to the frontier war - many men were called out on commando. c) No return. James Read Senior and junior were asked to leave the Kat River by military authorities.

YEAR	BETHELSDORP		HANKEY		KAT RIVER		THEOPOLIS		NOTES
	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	
1837	1	95	no return		9	400 <sup>a)</sup>	1	62	a) Not much of an increase. James Read junior the Superintendent had not yet returned to the Kat River Settlement.
1838	1	70	no return		15	1120 <sup>a)</sup>	1	57	a) Rapid recovery - James Read junior had returned to the Settlement.
1839	1	40 <sup>a)</sup>	1	120	17	1140	1	29 <sup>b)</sup>	a) b) Decrease due to many families moving to new locations at the Kat River Settlement.
1840	1	50	1	120	16	1000+	no return		
1841	1	60	2 include the out- station of Kruis- fontein	225	16	1000+	no return		
1842	1	50	no return		16	1000+	1	35	
1843	1	60	no return <sup>a)</sup>		18	750+	1	30	a) No return due to drought.
1844	1	82	1	60 <sup>a)</sup>	18	750+	1	43	a) Decrease in numbers because the schoolrooms was burnt down and all the books were destroyed.
1845	1	92	1	50	17	750+	1	54	
1846	1	92	1	50	no return <sup>a)</sup>		1	9 <sup>b)</sup>	a) No return - outbreak of frontier war. b) Big decrease due to the outbreak of war.
1847	1	76 <sup>a)</sup>	no return		no return <sup>b)</sup>		1	34	a) Effect of the war many men were on commando with the result that children had to help their mothers. b) No return because many schools were destroyed as a result of the war.



YEAR	BETHELSDORP		HANKEY		KAT RIVER		THEOPOLIS		NOTES
	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Day Schools	No. of Pupils	
1848	no return <sup>a)</sup>		1	70	no return <sup>b)</sup>		no return <sup>b)</sup>		a) No return due to the death of resident missionary Joseph Kitchingham b) Still recovering from the war.
1849	1	72	1	70	8	600 <sup>a)</sup>	no return <sup>b)</sup>		a) Increased sign of recovery. b) No return due to the death of missionary Mr Sass.
1850	1	70	2	270	8	600	no return		Theopolis became an outstation of Grahamstown.
1851	no return <sup>a)</sup>		no return <sup>b)</sup>		no return <sup>c)</sup>		no return <sup>d)</sup>		a) b) No returns because of the outbreak of the rebellion. Upheaval since all residents of L.M.S. mission stations were under suspicion. c) d) No return due to the fact that both mission stations were broken up and abandoned as sphere of missionary labour.

In analysing the table it is apparent that the number of pupils during the years 1819 - 1828 remained more or less constant at the mission stations of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis. The small fluctuations that occurred were due to the lack of interest of the parents and the failure of harvests which forced children to move with their parents some distance from the mission stations.

In 1828 there was a significant drop in the number of pupils at Bethelsdorp due to many parents moving to the towns of Port Elizabeth and Grahams-town.

In the early 1830's there was a dramatic drop in numbers at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis since many families had moved to the Kat River Settlement. The establishment of the Kat River Settlement saw a remarkable increase in the number of pupils and schools. This development was only disrupted by the frontier wars and the rebellion of 1851.

This chapter has been concerned with the English model upon which the day schools of the L.M.S. was expected to be based and on the actual growth of schools and their pupils on the four stations included in this study.

## CHAPTER NINE

## THE ORGANIZATION OF L.M.S. EDUCATION

In this chapter several aspects of day school work will be described. An account of the organization of the schools, their curriculum, conflicting evidence of parental support and the adverse effects of extraneous factors on the progress of schools will form the bulk of the chapter. A short section will be devoted to the creation of Infants' Schools, which the mission stations always regarded as separate from the day schools. Then the attempts to set up a system of vocational education and Sunday Schools will be described.

It was left to the missionary or, if available, a schoolmaster to organize and manage the school. Dr Philip, who was superintendent of the L.M.S. missions in South Africa from 1820, did much to bring about organizational and material improvements in the schools. For example, since Philip felt that the educational programme would play a major role in the success of the mission stations, he persuaded the people at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis to bring about an improvement in the school buildings.

In further discussion on the management and organization of the day school cognisance must be taken of the fact that when the Khoi were allocated the Kat River settlement in 1829, those most advanced both educationally and economically in Bethelsdorp and Theopolis moved there. From the very early stages of the Kat River Settlement, an educational programme played a major role in the development and progress of the settlement.

There was some form of management by virtue of the fact that it was reported in 1833 that James Read junior, son of the missionary James Read, had the general superintendence of all the schools, which he occasionally visited and inspected, and gave regular instruction to those that served as teachers in the other schools. (Directors Report, 1834, p. 9) When J. Freeman visited the Kat River Settlement on behalf of the Directors of the L.M.S. in 1849 he found that the schools were managed by a committee which was comprised of the senior missionary as chairman, and two members from each of the 11 outstations. (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 152)

With regard to the curriculum of the day school it was reported in 1823 that an English class was started at the school in Bethelsdorp "and it is intended that English should be taught in future at all the Society's Schools within the Colony". (Directors Report, 1831, p. 81) This was done for many years but it was discovered that the children parroted the work in English without really understanding it. Dutch was reintroduced with English so that Philip could report on the 5 July 1825 that in addition to their other exertions, a spacious school-room, valued at five thousand rix-dollars, in which the youth are taught to read, both in English and Dutch language, and many of them are also instructed in writing and arithmetic, has been erected at expense, and by the hands, of the "Hottentots". (Philip, J., 1828, p. 223)

Furthermore it was reported in 1828 that in 1827 Mr Munro left Bethelsdorp to take the post of missionary at Grahamstown. The school was now under the care of the son of Dr Van der Kemp, Cornelius Van der Kemp who instructed the children in reading, writing and arithmetic and "Dr Watts's First and Second Catechisms and Divine Songs are introduced into the school, and a translation of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism has been (translated) into Dutch for the same purpose". (Directors Report, 1828, p. 64)

An addition to the curriculum of reading, writing, and arithmetic was recorded in 1836 with the introduction of geography "in which science the children have made pleasing progress". (Directors Report, 1836, p. 85)

In 1844 it was reported that "in the day school there were 16 pupils who could read well and 26 had learnt Geography. At an examination, some showed great readiness in ciphering, and in their exercises on the maps of the Holy land, pointing out the places where remarkable events took place as recorded in the scriptures". (Directors Report, 1844, p. 88)

Of the day school curriculum at Philipton in the Kat River Settlement James Read junior wrote to Dr Philip in Bethelsdorp:

In day school we have from 60 to 70 children in attendance. Geography, English grammar, reading, writing, arithmetic and English History are taught. Forty five can read and write, besides committing to memory scripture texts and scripture history ...  
(letter from James Read Junior to John Philip, November 1835)

This curriculum was gradually introduced at all the day schools of the Kat River Settlement.

At times, however, the extent of the curriculum was exaggerated, sometimes by senior L.M.S. officials. Visagie writing in 1978 states that Read and his son in their reports on and correspondence with the London Missionary Society in London, concerning their school, although optimistic, did not consciously distort. But Dr Philip in his evidence in front of the select committee on Aborigines in British settlement in London during 1836-1837 made biased statements on the schools in the Kat River settlement. (Visagie, J., 1978, p. 169) The following statement is mentioned as a typical example of his evidence to the Committee on Aborigines:

Mr Read had a request from the boys in the normal school that they would wish to be taught in Greek; he kept them for some months in the Greek Testament, and they made very considerable proficiency during the time that they had been under instruction; and then the young girls petitioned that they might also be allowed to learn Greek as well as the boys. The boys presented a petition to the master, saying that they had a strong objection to the girls being allowed to be taught Greek, for they had excelled them in all other classes, and if they excelled them in Greek they would get before them in everything. (Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines - British Settlements, 1836, p. 645)

According to Visagie the British newspaper THE PARIOT of 15 May 1837 greeted this story of Philip with great enthusiasm. The Grahamstown Journal took up this story of the British newspaper and published a letter from a correspondent in which it was reported that James Read was asked about these "Greek Scholars" and who with great embarrassment answered "there is nothing in this school of this nature". (Visagie, J., 1978, p. 169) John Green, an 1820 Settler who resided at the Kat River Settlement in 1851, wrote that a Khoi school pupil was asked by a visitor about the Greek lessons. She gave the following reply:

"that she was learning the Greek characters. 'Indeed!' said the gentleman, 'and of what use will it be for you to be taught a language which is not spoken?' 'Oh, yes, sir,' rejoined the poor girl, with infinite simplicity, 'it is spoken by the Griquas over the Orange River!'" (Green, J., 1851, p. xlx)



There is no indication given for how long the course in the day school was conducted. As already explained in chapter eight the Lancastrian or monitorial method was the predominant one applied in all mission schools from 1813. By 1822 it could be reported that "a new and commodious school house" had been erected at Bethelsdorp which was suitable for the monitorial system of teaching, which had originated at the mission stations when Campbell visited South Africa as a deputation of the L.M.S. in 1812. (Directors Report, 1822, p. 112)

The introduction of the monitorial system was not without its problems. Early in 1824 Munro, the schoolmaster at Bethelsdorp, wrote to the Directors expressing his dissatisfaction at the suitability of the school room for this method of teaching:

The School room being opened soon after my return from Gamtoos River, I found the superintendence thereof devolved upon me. I therefore as far as a narrow building permitted got it seated according to the British System of Education (Lancastrian). Being destitute of every requisite necessary for the full organization of a School in union with the said system, I laboured under every disadvantage, the want of elementary books, cards, paper, slates, etc. you may easily judge are no small obstacles to the advancement of the children. The plan pursued by me with a view to obviate these difficulties, was, I collected the leaves of the worn out Bibles, etc., formerly used in the school and pasted (them) on boards, using them in place of Systematic cards, and the effect produced in this way, more than compensated for all the trouble and difficulty encountered, proving to a demonstration that mutual instruction is preferable in many respects to what is termed the old plan (namely one teacher teaching the whole class) of instruction and if the attendance of the children had been regular (which I am sorry to say is not the case) their advance both in reading and writing should go far to prove that the Hottentots are in point of ability, very little inferior to European children .... (Letter from J. Munro to Directors, 24 January 1824)

There were many references, however, to the growing success of the method. In 1824, for instance, it was reported from Theopolis by Barker the resident missionary that although there was an obvious lack of equipment, he was enthusiastic about the monitorial system and made a request for "some of Dr Watts's catechism and Hymns for children as reward books". (Letter from Barker to Directors, 10 September 1824)

A report on the school at Theopolis was submitted to the Directors by the schoolmaster P. Wright who was responsible for introducing the monitorial system at the school. He wrote:

With respect to our school, the regular attendance of all the children belonging to the station is established, there is a great alteration in their outward appearance, every child attends cleanly and with a few exceptions clothed. The system is introduced as far as circumstances will allow, the school is now in order, every child has commenced writing, and when the school is supplied with the necessities .... prosperity can be expected. (Letter P. Wright to the Directors, 30 October 1824)

On 22 May 1826 Foster wrote on the state of the schools at Bethelsdorp:

... In the schools, the British system may be seen in a state of perfection, equal to almost anything that can be witnessed in England, and the number under instruction, and their proficiency, are truly admirable ....

There was much evidence of positive achievements by the pupils and a healthy attitude on the part of the parents to the education of their children. Foster wrote to the Directors in 1826 on the progress of the Khoi at Bethelsdorp:

The circumstances in which the Hottentot have hitherto been placed as a nation, render the advancement of them, in any respect, most interesting, particularly the qualifying of them, by knowledge, for the publication of the gospel. Their progress has never been so rapid as within the last few years .... The piety of the Colony is chiefly, though not exclusively, to be found amongst them; and as the rising generation is, for the greatest part, under the influence of a religious education, and the means of religious instruction are to all of them much more abundant than ever they were before, we may hope that the interests of pure and undefiled religion will yet more extensively prosper among them. (Letter from William Foster to Directors, 19 June 1826)

From the Kat River Settlement it was reported that the parents from the commencement of the settlement showed an interest in the education of the children. This is indicated by the following statement by Stockenström in 1833:

The settlers at the Kat River now display the utmost anxiety to have schools established among them, and several that have been opened are in a very flourishing state. So eager are they for instruction, that, when better teachers cannot be obtained, if they find any person of their own class who can merely spell, they get him to teach the little that he knows. (Pringle, T., 1835, p. 260)

According to the table in chapter eight the number of pupils jumped from 100 to 500-600 in one year. The attitude of the parents at Hankey towards the education of their children is indicated by the following report in 1833:

The desire manifested by the people in the neighbourhood for the education of their children is so great, that if the parents cannot reside upon the station themselves, they will incur considerable expense, rather than keep their children from the school. (Directors Report, 1833, p. 79)

Progress in the development of the schools at the various locations at the Kat River settlement is indicated in a letter written by James Read junior to John Philip on 16 November 1835:

Readsdale, .... infant school, attendance 45 about 10 read and write, the teacher very assiduous in her attention to the school. (The) next school is at Bruceton .... here is stationed a native teacher paid by the Society who attends to the duties of the church and school. We had recently established two schools on the two branches of the Makozona. As they were but recently begun we cannot judge of their general state. The school at Buxton was in a very prosperous state. It must be borne in mind that we speak of the schools before the Caffre war (1834 - 1835) .... A school room of 40 by 18 was finished at the time the eruption took place. Mr Clark, artisan to the mission, was stationed here to superintend the building and to conduct the catechetical meetings of the people. In point of intelligence and general improvement the people of this place were second to none. We have also schools at the following places: at David Jantje's on the Balfour River, at Maasdorp north of Balfour. Besides these, several applications have been made for schools, and buildings for that purpose were in progress at several places. Such is the outline of education at the Kat River. That we have many defects in these schools, is a want of efficiency in the persons employed, cannot be denied, yet it must be that the principle upon which the work is based would lead to ultimate and general improvement.

Read goes on to describe the attitude of the people towards the education of their children:

There is one thing which speaks in favour of the people: the interest they take in the education of their children. In a state such as the Hottentots are, the whole constitution of society becomes disorganized, there are no classes, no degrees, the whole is thrown into one confused mass. This does away with every kind of enterprise, emulation, either bodily or mental, and it is not till the different classes in society take their stations that this is happily restored, and from that period might be reckoned the improvement of a people. Such was the case at Kat River. The people expressed the greatest anxiety to have their children well educated. Every time they return from the market, every time they come home from taking out contracts to supply the troops with barley and oats, they would come into the school room and say, Mr Read, you must teach our children .... well ...., nothing can raise the Hottentots but raising their minds. (Letter from James Read junior to John Philip, 16 November 1835, from Bethelsdorp.)

In 1838 it could be reported that the people of the Kat River Settlement had recovered from the effects of the frontier war of 1835 to the extent that James Read junior could state that the parents:

evinced great concern for the education of their children. The teachers and pupils appear to have imbibed a spirit of general emulation. In short education is advancing amongst the people, and by the blessing of God resting on our labours, I hope Good will be done. (Directors Report, 1838, p. 93)

In 1845 Kitchingham mentions that "there is evidence that the school has been a blessing to many children, who, but for this source of instruction would have given up in ignorance and vice. In the day-school, the children manifest a pleasing spirit of subordination and desire for improvement". (Directors Report, 1845, p. 104)

Freeman who visited the Kat River settlement on behalf of the London Missionary Society in 1849 at a time when it was in an impoverished state due to drought and locusts mentioned that a lack of progress was not due to the lack of initiative shown by the people of the settlement since the houses and schoolmasters' rooms at the out stations, and offices for the printing press, had been built at the people's expense. (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 152) However it must be noted that there was a comparatively



minor drop in attendance of pupils at schools from 750 (1845) to 600 (1849), but there were no returns for the intermediate years.

Some schoolmasters and missionaries on the other hand, were critical of the behaviour of the children and the attitude of the parents as illustrated by the schoolmaster at Theopolis, Roger Edwards, who in 1828 had written:

We naturally look for much improvement to the Hottentot nation from the education which is given the rising generation. On this subject I will honestly state what appears to be the truth. The morals of the children are awfully depraved from scenes which they witness and conversation they hear. That system of a whole family and sometimes more old and young still continues too general of living and sleeping in one small hut or apartment. I have been shocked and grieved to hear the language which was common among the children .... During the time I was schoolmaster I set my face against it. .... whatever language the children make use of in private they are careful not to betray themselves in public. Much might be effected if the parents would follow up the endeavours of the schoolmaster, who is not unfrequently discouraged when called to account by them for beating children who are in general a very rude stubborn set. (Roger Edwards to Directors, 1 May 1828)

One major problem which confronted the progress of the day schools was irregular attendance. This was a factor that would influence the child's progress. For example the number of children on the role at Bethelsdorp was 250, but the average attendance was about 120. (Directors Report, 1823, p. 101) The main reason for this was the fact that parents had to move some distance from the mission station in order to obtain employment and because they were away for such long periods they were forced to take their children with them. At times, even when the parents were resident at the mission station, the children were sent to dig for roots which served as a source of food. Attendance at that day school dropped from 150 in 1833 to 116 in 1834 "owing to the scarcity of food during the season, which had compelled many children to seek employment among the farmers". (Directors Report, 1834, p. 95)

In 1846 it was reported from Bethelsdorp that:

The progress of the children in both schools (the infant and day) is much impeded by that irregular attendance. Some parents frequently require the services of their children, and others indulge them in staying at home when there is no sufficient reason. It is



found needful frequently to teach parents the duties they owe to their off-spring and to point out how they discourage the teacher and injure their children by detaining them from school. Notwithstanding these drawbacks the schools are instrumental in doing much good to the rising generation. (Report of Cape Town Auxiliary to the L.M.S. Directors for 1845, 1846, p. 23)

The lack of finance greatly retarded educational advancement at the mission institutions. Freeman who visited the Kat River Settlement in 1849 points out that the lack of progress in educational work was "in consequence of the people not having been able to raise the £300 which they guaranteed (to whom is not clear) for the carrying on of the work". He continues that "... it is much to be lamented that such institutions should languish for want of pecuniary aid", and he feels that "without good schools the people will assuredly retrograde in civilization and Christianity". (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 151,152)

How the lack of finance due to the Society's expansion in other parts of Africa and the world affected education in the Eastern Cape will be discussed under higher education in chapter ten.

The introduction of the Lancastrian method in the schools made it essential that much educational material such as slates, cards, and paper had to be provided. Owing to lack of equipment the schoolwork of necessity had to suffer. The missionaries were continually making requests for school equipment. Early in 1824 Munro, the schoolmaster at Bethelsdorp, wrote to the Directors making a request for school materials for a rather rigid implementation of the Lancastrian method, as was described earlier in this chapter.

The school at Theopolis also suffered as a result of the lack of books and other school equipment. The resident missionary Barker reported to the Directors of the new school built and made an urgent request for school materials. (Letter from Barker to Directors, 24 July 1824) In another letter written on 10 September 1824 Barker acknowledged the receipt of 110 slates but he made a further request for school equipment.

The first indication that the children at Theopolis and Bethelsdorp had to pay for their school materials is indicated in a letter that J. Munro wrote to the Directors in 1825 in which he stated that he had sold slates to the children at the following prices:

- Small - at 2 shillings each
- Medium - at 3 shillings each
- Large - at 4 shillings each.

He reported further more that very few of the slates had been purchased. (Letter from J. Munro to Directors, 1 February 1825) It is questionable whether the parents of the children were in a position to pay for the slates.

In 1845 new impetus was given to the educational programme at the Kat River settlement when "the printing press, which had so long stood still for want of a printer has been employed, and the scholars began to be well supplied with books for the instruction of the pupils, so that new life has been infused into them, especially among the adults". (Directors Report, 1846, p. 103) Freeman reported in 1851 that in 1849 he had found a good press at Philipton, but it was not used due to the lack of funds. Freeman felt that "an active press, with a weekly paper and monthly periodical, with a good central or normal school at Philipton and other good schools at outstations are things greatly desired". (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 152)

Equally difficult situations were created by external factors such as drought, war or locusts. The problems were in fact often greater because they were unexpected and could not easily be planned for. The year after the sixth frontier war of 1834-5, for instance, was very depressing at Bethelsdorp, Theopolis and Hankey:

Building, agriculture, and other works (such as education) have been in a great measure neglected, owing to the absence of nearly 300 of the able men, not many of whom had returned from Kafferland though nearly two years had elapsed since they were required to leave their homes. The effects of military life on many has been prejudiced. (Directors Report, 1837, p. 96)

The war of 1834-5 had also an effect on the education at the Kat River Settlement. In 1836 it was reported that Barker, the resident missionary at Theopolis who visited the Kat River Settlement had found:

the school houses in a state of ruin and not a particle of school apparatus remaining, yet the work of education had not entirely been neglected. Some of the Native Teachers had occasionally collected a number of children in the open air. Considerable ef-

forts have been made to repair or rebuild the schoolrooms and re-establish the schools. A supply of bibles and testaments and some of the most necessary materials have been furnished; and when Mr Barker last worked them he had the satisfaction of seeing 9 schools in active operation; attended by 400 children. (Directors Report, 1837, p. 101)

What made the years 1835, 1836 particularly unfavourable for educational advancement was the fact that James Read and his son were banished from the settlement by the colonial authorities during the period of the war. They returned only in 1837 and resumed their work at the settlement.

Mr Kitchingham the resident missionary at Bethelsdorp reported in 1838 that he regretted the frequency with which the Khoi changed their place of residence, as this tended to interrupt the work of education, but he was of the opinion that the extended means of instruction through the District of Uitenhage, prevented in point of fact any material injury being occasioned by this circumstance. Thirteen bibles, Testaments and 180 religious and elementary books were distributed. (Directors Report for 1838, p. 87) In the next year he reported that "owing to long continued droughts added to the natural infertility of the soil, the people at Bethelsdorp have greatly been depressed in their temporal circumstances during the past year." (Directors Report 1839, p. 82)

Of the mission stations, Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, in particular, seemed to be nothing less than a labour reservoir for the farmers with the result that very few of the Khoi could progress above the lowest level of economic development. This in turn had a detrimental effect on the educational progress of the members of the institutions, particularly the children. In 1842 it was reported from Hankey:

The last year has been a very trying one to the people on this station. Severe drought has deprived them of any produce from their corn-fields and gardens, so that the people have been obliged to go among the farmers for food; most of the men have been out at work, and have often taken their wives and children. Such as have remained, have been under the necessity, for several months before the harvest of subsisting upon roots, wild beans and berries, which they employed their children to collect, thus preventing their attendance upon the school. (Report of the Cape Town Auxiliary to London Missionary Society for 1841, 1842, p. 17)

The educational programme at the mission stations was severely affected by the seventh frontier war of 1846-7. From Bethelsdorp in 1848 Kitchingham wrote to the Directors:

The war has been a great drawback to all improvements in the secular concerns of the institution: the absence of the men from home has been to them a great loss, and since their return, almost every article of food has been high in price. Very little has been done to improve the station .... and the heavy rains have of late done much damage to the buildings, so that the institution, with the exception of the fine grass occasioned by rain exhibits a less favourable impression than before. (Directors Report, 1848, p. 99)

The effect of the war of 1846 - 1847 on education at the Kat River is described as follows:

The juvenile school has lost during the year a number of its best pupils, their services having been required to assist in supporting their mothers during the absence of their farmers, who were called away to serve on commando. (Report of the Cape Town Auxiliary to L.M.S. for 1846, 1847, p. 6)

Freeman, on behalf of the Directors of the London Missionary Society, toured their mission stations in South Africa in 1849. He reported that before the war of 1846 there were 12 day schools and several infant schools in operation with a daily attendance of 700 to 1,000 children. In 1849 there were only eight in operation owing to the disruption of the war and the lack of finance necessary to carry on the educational work. (Freeman, J., 1851, p. 151) In 1848 floods severely affected the schools at Hankey:

the attendance at the schools has been much interrupted by the inundation, which has sent the river between most of our children and the Juvenile school room, and destroyed our infant school. (Report of the Cape Town Auxiliary to the L.M.S. for 1848, p. 15)

In the 1850's a further decline in the educational progress at Bethelsdorp was reported. (Directors Report, 1851, p. 82)

The settlers of the Kat River Settlement seemed never to have recovered from the detrimental effects of the successive frontier wars, poor harvests, and lack of funds. In 1850 it was reported that only 600 children were attending schools. (Directors Report, 1851, p. 86)



The settlers also received very unsympathetic treatment from the government and colonists. (This is discussed in chapter six) As a result of this treatment, resentment built up in the minds of the people. Finally some of the Kat River Settlers took part in a rebellion against the Government but this was crushed by the military in May 1852 and the settlement was completely demolished. Within a short period what had been a fertile educational preformed field was destroyed.

It is evident, therefore, that there were many reasons besides the lack of interest of some parents which impeded the progress of the school programme at the different mission stations.

Basically, because most of the settlers at the mission stations of Hankey, Theopolis and the Kat River settlement came from Bethelsdorp they brought with them the basic pattern of that mission station. This included the manner in which the day school was run. In the discussion of the day school it was indicated that the organization, curriculum, method of teaching, responses of parents and pupils, and the problems which confronted the school were very similiar at all the mission stations under consideration.

The infant school system based on the model which was introduced in England during the early years of the century (see chapter two), was started at the L.M.S. mission schools during the same period.

In the Directors' report for 1830 it is mentioned that "an infant school has been formed, in which 30 children of very tender age are taught to read". (Directors Report 1830, p. 76)

The development of the infant school system was given impetus by Dr Philip. On this system he wrote to the Directors:

You are aware of the exertions which have been made since my return to the Colony to extend the infant school system as widely as possible, to give efficiency to the few schools which had been established after my first journey into the interior (1830) and to establish schools at those stations where they were still wanted. In 1832 I represented a request to the infant school committee in Cape Town to allow (Mr Buchannan) (an Englishman well acquainted with the infant school system) to leave his school in Cape Town to tour over the Colony to which the committee readily complied. (Mr Buchannan) was absent six or seven months .... he established an infant school at the mission stations .... including Hankey, re-established the school at Bethelsdorp which had been



discontinued due to the removal of Mrs Atkinson (wife of the resident missionary) to Madagascar, visited the infant school at (Theopolis) under the superintendence of Miss Barker (daughter of the resident missionary), introduced some improvements into the school of Miss Read at the Kat River Settlement and organized new schools in other parts of the same district. (Letter from Dr Philip to Directors, 4 July 1833)

The infant schools soon proved to be very beneficial in that they served as a very valuable auxiliary to the day school "as those who are removed from it to the day school are able to commence school at an earlier period of life than that at which, previous to the introduction of the infant school system". (L.M.S. Reports, 1837, p. 37)

Mr Backhouse an Englishman who visited the mission stations of the L.M.S. in South Africa in 1837 wrote on the value of the infant school:

One great object of these institutions is to teach the children to think systematically and correctly. Now we, who have grown up without that sort of early mental discipline, hardly know what we have lost by not acquiring in our youth this power of systematic thought, and it is impossible to say how the young brought up in infant schools may outstrip the present generation in knowlege. (Report of Mission Stations in South Africa, 1841, appendix pp. 9,10)

From the Directors' report for 1846 an idea of the curriculum of the infant school is obtained:

Besides instructing them in the act of reading, care is taken to teach them suitable parts of scripture history, and the fundamental truths of the Gospel, in simple language which they can comprehend; and many show they not only remember what they learn, but they understand it. (Directors Reports, 1846, p. 99)

The emphasis on religious instruction in the infant school is illustrated in J. Kitchingham's annual report on Bethelsdorp for 1841:

The infant school has an average attendance from 60 to 70, they remain there until they are able to spell and read easy lessons on the New Testament and are then removed to the day school. It is pleasing to observe their knowledge of many of the interesting historical points of scripture, of their fallen state as sinners and the way in which salvation is to be obtained through Jesus

Christ, and also of the moral and relative duties required of them. It is to be hoped that of some it will be said that from childhood they have known the Holy Scriptures which are able to make them wise into salvation. (Annual Report of J. Kitchingham to Directors 1841, p. 2)

From this description of the infant school system as it was organized at the mission stations in the Eastern Cape, a very poor imitation of the model which existed in England is revealed. (See chapter three.) While the curriculum of the infant school in England was much more varied, the one at the mission schools laid a strong, almost exclusive emphasis on religious instruction.

### Vocational Education

Dr Philip, commenting on early attempts at getting Khoi boys as apprentices to some colonists in the vicinity of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, stated that the colonists kept the boys for their term of years but when they returned to the mission stations they did not have sufficient knowledge of their trade to work on their own, or even to be employed by a master as a journeyman. He continued:

Those apprenticed to a blacksmith had never been allowed to take anything into their hands in the workshop but the large hammer; and the tailors and shoemakers had never been allowed to lay their hands upon a pair of scissors or a cutting knife. Two boys who were apprenticed to a saddler had been employed during the whole of their apprenticeship in doing nothing but delivering messages, etc. and in taking care of their masters' horses and cattle, etc. Those who have seen the aversion with which the improvement of our people at the missionary stations has been regarded by the colonists, will not be at a loss to account for the motives of the masters in their conduct in those instances. (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 207,208)

In 1824 excellent blacksmith and brazier shops were built at Bethelsdorp and several Khoi boys were engaged as apprentices. (Directors Report, 1824, pp. 108,109) By 1826, Mr Arnot who superintended the smiths' shop had seven Khoi apprentices under him and one of his former apprentices was employed as a journeyman at Grahamstown, and had several Europeans working under his directions. (Directors Reports, 1826, pp. 78 - 79) Furthermore there were a number of Khoi youth who were trained as good masons,

carpenters, smiths, and other tradesmen, who worked "in the rising village of Port Elizabeth, as well as the various improvements in progress at Bethelsdorp". (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 227,228) From Bethelsdorp it was reported in 1831 that "the people are diligent in endeavouring to obtain the means of subsistence of their labour, carrying goods, salt boiling, word cutting, and tapping of aloes, etc., furnish employment to many of them. There are six masons, besides shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths and thatchers. Many of the women earn nearly as much as the men by sewing, washing, and making the ropes used in thatching with rushes". (Directors Report, 1831, p. 84) There were no reports of vocational education conducted at any of the other mission stations during this period. However soon after the arrival of Edward Williams as resident missionary at Hankey in 1837, he introduced the art of spinning and weaving. On the first of January 1839 Williams wrote to the Directors:

You will probably have learnt through our report that we have been endeavouring to introduce spinning and weaving among the inhabitants of this institution. It has taken well and the interest in it is increasing. Several of the young are working regularly. They spin enough for anything but owing to our having no other needles than what we make ourselves out of wood they have so far only been able to make night caps and such things as yet. (Letter from Edward Williams at Hankey to Directors, 1 January 1839)

In the same letter he made requests for materials such as knitting needles, looms, spools, reels, and other necessities for the spinning and weaving trade.

Two years later, Williams could claim:

We have succeeded so far in our attempt to introduce spinning (that) about 75 yards of blankets have been taken from the loom. There is about 55 yards of duffel in the loom which will soon be ready .... Though the work is quite in its infancy it gives employment to a good many .... the people particularly the young women feel the benefit of it. Mr Clark (the schoolmaster) gives instruction in this department .... Though the remuneration will not be so great we hope that additional employment may be provided for the females of the station. (Annual Report of Hankey for 1839 submitted to the Directors)

Due to ill-health Mr Williams was forced to return to England. Just before his departure he wrote:

I resigned my charge to Mr W. Philip in August and left Hankey the beginning of September. Since my failure in health the weaving has been given up, it being argued by those who recommended it to Dr Philip that articles could not be made cheap enough to compete with the English market. This, however, I never expected. It was introduced simply to occupy time which the young people spent in gossiping and sleeping .... One of the principal evils of the stations is their not affording a sufficient employment to all classes. To remedy this evil among the young women was the object of introducing spinning and weaving in Hankey and in this way I was not disappointed. If I had remained in Hankey I should have continued it even at pecuniary loss for the sake of its moral effects. (Letter from E. Williams at Algoa Bay to Directors, November 1843)

The new missionary William Philip, the eldest son of Dr Philip, took a different view of vocational training and the direction of economic advancement:

The manufacturing of woollen articles which was attempted and given up long before I took charge of the station, was a vain attempt to alter the course of man's civilization and to run counter to his first sympathies. It failed because the people could not endure the confinement, became spiritless in work, and could not compete with a European market. If instead of its heavy machinery and complicated labour, a smith's and wagon-maker's business had been carried on the place, and the most promising boys apprenticed to these trades; while women and children had been encouraged to make straw hats, bonnets, etc., or engage in needlework it would in my opinion have proved a greater source of profit and more adapted to the circumstances of the people. But to undertake any of these things requires a little outlay at first and this is the true reason why your missionaries have hitherto done as little to the introduction of those arts among this people, which are the grand preservative against that barbarism and brutality which ever attend the indolent and inactive stupidity. (William Philip's Annual report of Hankey 1842, submitted to the Directors in London.)

We can deduce from the latter part of William Philip's report to the Directors in 1842 that funds were essential for any form of vocational training. From early discussions the lack of funds had been the cause of many educational projects being unable to be implemented or being a failure. This was the chief reason why vocational education received so little attention at Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, Hankey and the Kat River Valley.



The reasons why Williams introduced spinning and weaving at Hankey were very similar to the reasons why workhouse schools were introduced in England during the 18th century. The main purpose was to inculcate morals and social discipline and to provide semi-skilled industrial training for the poor. It had an overseer who engaged a schoolmaster "to teach the children reading, perhaps, some writing but mainly spinning and weaving". (Lawson, J., and Silver, H., 1973, p. 188) There was a sincere hope that:

the children of the poor instead of being bred up in ignorance and vice to an idle, beggarly and vagabond life, be inured to labour and thus become useful to the country. (Lawson, J., and Silver, H., 1973, p. 188)

In both cases the industrial training was not economically viable.

William Philip who took over as missionary from Williams at Hankey in 1842, commenting on the spinning and weaving introduced by Williams, stated that the vocation (of spinning and weaving) was not economically viable because they could not compete with the European market in the Colony. They would buy the articles they made, much more cheaply from the market in the large centres of the Colony. However there was a demand for their needlework and the strawhats and bonnets they made.

The arrival of the 1820 settlers did much to alter the demand for Khoi artisans in the districts where the mission stations were found. The sons of the settlers soon left the small farms that they had been allocated and went to large centres such as Grahamstown to train as artisans. They were soon working in competition with the artisans who were trained at the mission station. The economic development of the colony at that stage had not reached a level which made it possible to accommodate artisans from the mission stations as well as settlers. The only way the artisans could survive was to work for a much lower wage. This did much to impede the development of vocational training at the mission stations.

### Sunday Schools

Further extension to the educational programme at the mission stations was made at Bethelsdorp in 1823 with the establishment of a Sunday School which was meant mainly for adults from the neighbourhood and those of the



station who could not attend the day school. (Directors Report, 1824, p. 110) With regard to the organization of the Sunday School at Bethelsdorp Philip wrote:

The people meet at eight o'clock in the morning, and in the afternoon. This school exhibits a pleasing spectacle. Here all is active ; the wives of the missionaries, and the daughters of others, belonging to the Institution, with the Messers Kemp, the merchants, are all engaged; and it is a delightful sight to see all ages, from childhood to grey hairs, under such superintendence, conning over their lessons, from the A B C to the most advanced classes, reading the most difficult parts of the sacred Scriptures without the aid of spelling. There is scarcely anything at Bethelsdorp I take more pleasure in than this school. Here we see all the energies of the Institution, all the talents of the station, in full exercise; and it is truly affecting to see children of seven and ten years of age, (which is frequently the case) acting as monitors to classes of aged people, from forty to seventy years of age. (Directors Reports, 1824, p. 110)

Sunday Schools were established at the other mission stations of Theopolis, Hankey and the Kat River Settlement. The programme was basically the same, being geared mainly to adults and serving the primary purpose of teaching them to become literate to enable them to read the Scriptures which hopefully would in some instances lend to conversion.

A visitor to Bethelsdorp, W.T. Blair of the East Indian Company civil service, wrote in a letter dated December 1824:

The Sunday School for adults is efficient and interesting in a high degree. The unaffected earnestness and ardour evinced by the whole adult population to learn to read their bibles, was far beyond anything I would have anticipated, and is, I believe, quite unprecedented in any institution except Theopolis. The Hottentots at these Sunday Schools have forgot their constitutional apathy, and appear to have at once acquired the earnestness and vivacity of the natures of Southern Europe. (Philip, J., 1828, pp. 228,229)

On 2 September 1827 James Read made this observation about the Sunday School at Bethelsdorp:

Our .... Sunday School I am happy to say, continues, thanks be to God, to flourish, its numbers have of late been increasing and the promotions from different classes are pretty rapid and the general progress is far beyond what anyone would have anti-

icipated .... the bible and testament classes and the number of parts and whole chapters committed to memory and repeated it at our quarterly examination is most gratifying and astonishes not only the spectators but the people themselves. (James Read to Directors dated 2 September 1827)

From Bethelsdorp in 1832 it was reported that the Sunday School was managed by a committee and Secretary chosen from among the people, the members who alternately preside over the school. (Directors report, 1832, p. 85)

The progress and the attendance at the Sunday Schools were affected by the same factors which influenced the day schools and infant schools such as employment of parents some distance from the mission stations, scarcity of food, drought and the frontier wars.

The London Missionary Society thus used with apparent success the Sunday School System which played such an important role in the education of the poor in England in the late 18th and 19th centuries (see chapter two).

In this chapter it becomes clear that the missionaries tried to organize the education of the Khoi on the mission stations on the same basis as it existed in England during the period under discussion. This approach did not always prove successful.

## CHAPTER TEN

## "HIGHER" EDUCATION

From the discussion on the day schools and infant schools in the previous chapter it is evident that a number of schoolmasters and preachers were necessary for the extension of the educational programme and the religious work at the mission stations. It is clear that the London Missionary Society could not afford to provide all the missionaries and schoolmasters in England nor could sufficient be drawn from the "white" population in South Africa. It meant that the missions of the Society had to develop their own system of "Higher Education" to provide the required teachers and preachers. In order to fulfill this need they also paid attention to the education of the children of missionaries.

In the Philip and Campbell memorial no specific reference was made to "Higher Education" of the Khoi although it was suggested that a school should be established for the children of missionaries. The first attempt at some form of higher education was made in 1828. Philip on his visit to Theopolis, in that year, eager to introduce the English Language at that station for the benefit of the emigrants in Albany and the Khoi at the mission institution, selected 4 Khoi boys from the mission school and placed them under Mr Matthews at Salem a village of 1820 Settlers. Mr Matthews who had at that time the most respectable school in the district under his care, was required to give the boys an advanced education, especially a sufficient knowledge in the English language to equip them to be assistant school masters (Philip, J., 1828, p. 173) A temporary house was erected adjoining the house of Mr Matthews by the Khoi boys from Theopolis, for their accommodation. After a trial period Mr Matthews reported "very favourably of the dispositions, the talents and the progress of his pupils; and the master and the scholars were mutually pleased with each other". (Philip, J., 1828, Vol. I, p. 173)

Eventually two local government officials visited them at the school and demanded their passes and on discovering that they had none, seized them as vagabonds. (Ordinance 50 which was to free the "Hottentots" from

this demand was not passed until five years later.) Intervention on behalf of the boys by Mr Matthews could not prevent them from being imprisoned at Grahamstown. They were released only after Mr Matthews and a missionary from Theopolis appeared for them in court. After the trial they were not permitted to return to Salem. No mention is made of how long they were kept in prison.

According to Philip "Captain Hope was, at this time, acting land-drost at Grahamstown, and on being asked by a clergyman of the Church of England how he could permit such treatment of the children at school, his reply was, "THE PRISON IS THE ONLY SCHOOL FOR HOTTENTOTS". (Capitals used in original document)(Philip, J., 1823, p. 174)

Philip's plans for the progress and development of the mission stations in the long term depended to a large extent on a sound educational programme. It was due to his instigation that the next attempt at "Higher Education" was undertaken. Mr William Foster "a gentleman of a cultivated mind" from England was appointed by the Directors to take charge of a seminary, for the "education of the children of the missionaries in Africa, and the preparation of Christian natives for instructing their own countrymen". (Directors Report, 1826, p. 77)

Hankey was suggested as a site by Philip who felt that the station could provide the students of the seminary with food free of charge and also because it provided a sheltered environment as a site for an institution for "higher learning". Early in 1826 Foster visited Hankey to see whether it was suitable as a site for the proposed seminary.

In a letter to the Directors dated 19 June 1826 Foster wrote that he found Hankey geographically and climatically unsuitable as a site for a seminary. He felt that it was away from the dense population of the Colony and to him it was imperative that the seminary should be in close contact with the "civilized" areas of the Colony. In the same letter he went on to state that:

it cannot be questioned that as far as the civilization of the (Hottentot children) is concerned, intercourse with Europeans, especially the English, will promote it as much, if not more than anything else, tho' at first as is the case now, it may in some respects prove prejudicial .... I think it deserves seriously to be weighed whether the seminary should be situated where only the lowest state of native society could be observed". (Letter from William Foster to Directors dated 12 June 1826)

With regard to the educability of the Khoi Foster wrote in 1826:

I have no hesitation whatever in affirming that the capacity of the Hottentots for the acquisition of knowledge is equal to that of Europeans. I speak of what I have seen in our schools and in those of maturer years under my care. The latter just laboured under the difficulties of having discontinued for some years those habits of recollection, more especially exercised at schools. But they are rapidly acquiring a greater facility in this respect, and prove themselves capable of any degree of advancement. (Letter to Directors dated 12 June 1826)

He does not make it clear whether the Khoi were only suitable for elementary education or higher and vocational education as well.

In a letter to the Directors on 8 August 1828 he stated that although there had been a visible improvement in the character of the Khoi: "to my mind .... the operation of more favourable circumstances than they have lately been under (must prevail) before they reach the standard of European intelligence and activity". (Letter W. Foster to Directors on 8 August 1828)

It seems as if Foster implied that the Khoi were only suitable for elementary education or a low level of so called "Higher Education". He rejects the Khoi as being completely unsuitable as full missionaries for the following reasons:

From the views and prejudices, and temper of the Colonists, it will be a considerable time before we can expect to see Hottentots qualified and possessed of sufficient weight of character to fit them to take charge of our missionary institutions, they must, for a time, require protectors as well as teachers. As schoolmasters, however, and assistants in preaching, they would prove exceptionally useful, particularly in the latter employment.

He suggests that the society could obtain missionaries among either the English or Dutch in the country; "The extent of the population is such, that a sufficient number might now be obtained for all the funds the society could devote to this part of the world". (Letter from W. Foster to Directors dated 12 June 1826)

In a letter to the Directors on 8 August 1828 he reiterates his views on the unsuitability of the Khoi for mission work:



When I wrote to the Directors I intimated the doubtfulness of success in educating natives for the service of the society and proposed a few as schoolmasters by way of trial .... Since I have seen more of their character I have been led to form a decided opinion of their unsuitableness at present. Though there are many whose piety is unquestionable and whose general conduct in the present stations is most pleasing yet they have not generally that judgement and that stability of character which would enable them to acquit themselves, as instructors, wholly to the satisfaction of the society .... such a want of perseverance that after the individual had received his education the society would not with certainty calculate upon the continuance of his services. (Letter from W. Forster to Directors, 8 August 1828)

After his visit to Hankey early in 1826 Foster returned to Bethelsdorp, a station he preferred as a site for the proposed seminary. While he waited for clarity on the matter of the seminary from the Directors he made a start with an educational programme for the Khoi, "in which they are proceeding in the more important branches of knowledge". (Philip, J., 1828, p. 231) He gives no further information on the content or suitability of the educational programme.

From a letter he wrote to the Directors on 14 February 1828 it is clear that he had by that date received no clear directive from them concerning the seminary. He states further ".... since the native youths whom I mentioned in my last letter had been compelled to discontinue their attendance for the want of means of support. I took under my care the sons of missionaries on the station who at the time amounted to seven". (Letter of W. Foster to Directors, 14 February 1828) He seems disappointed that the directors could not consider the matter of the seminary as being urgent since he had already waited for two years for a reply from the directors on this matter.

Foster's wife's health deteriorated and he returned to England late in 1828. With his departure the plan for the proposed seminary was completely dropped. This failure of the seminary prevented the society from providing the churches and schools with the required leaders, and providing the Khoi with some form of higher education.

The next attempt at "Higher Education" was at the Kat River Settlement. As already pointed out in chapter four the best of the settlers from the mission institutions of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis were selected to settle in the Kat River settlement in 1829. They quickly organized them-

selves on the same basis as that established on the mission stations they came from. The parents were very keen to have their children educated and soon schools were started. But due to the lack of trained school masters they had to depend on Khoi men who were educated at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis to serve as schoolmasters and preachers.

Philip who visited the Kat River Settlement in 1832, described the settlement in glowing terms and mentioned the educational programme which he saw as central to the development of the settlement. He wrote:

I never till I came on this occasion to the Kat River, saw the full value of our mission institutions. The attainments which were undervalued at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis are of inestimable value scattered over the different locations of this district. Their talents, their knowledge, and their religious character, give them great influence among their more barbarous countrymen, and to their zeal and piety we owe the progress that religion is making among the people.

Concerning the schools and schoolmasters he wrote:

At a location entirely composed of Bushmen, who, eighteen months ago, were perfectly rude and indifferent to anything connected with religion, I found a Bethelsdorp Hottentot, to whom they give food, having nothing else to give him. He has their children well advanced, and instructs the adults in religion, except on the first sabbath in the month, when all who travel so far go to Philipton to public worship. On our arrival, the schoolmaster was in the midst of his pupils; the old people soon assembled and we had as serious and attentive a congregation as many people I ever witnessed. At another location, we met a boy, with scarcely clothes to cover him, who had been brought up at Theopolis, and who was much prized by the people as a teacher. At a third, we found a school of sixty taught by a Theopolis Hottentot, who only requires a little assistance to enable him to devote more time to his vocation. At a fourth, a school of eighty-four children taught by a lad of seventeen, without a shirt on his back, and clad in the meanest manner.

He reported further that "there are 14 persons who labour among the people as catechists. I have engaged six teachers at four rix-dollars a month, and one at five rix-dollars, to act as schoolmasters. The people are to find them in food". (Letter quoted in Directors Report, 1833, p. 85)

It must be emphasized that at this stage none of the schoolmasters or catechists had special training above that given at the mission day-schools at Theopolis and Bethelsdorp. This arrangement of schoolmasters and preachers was the forerunner of a much more organized system of training schoolmasters

and preachers which was called the Native Agency or Aboriginal Teachers. It was placed on a firm footing with the appointment of James Read junior, the eldest son of James Read, as superintendent of the schools of the Kat River settlement at the end of 1832. Such a system of training schoolmasters was necessary since the whole settlement which consisted of about 4,000 inhabitants was spread over a number of locations and could not effectively be served by James Read and his family alone. It appears that the most promising scholars at the day school at Philipton were selected as pupil teachers.

James Read junior, received his own primary school education under Foster at Bethelsdorp. He taught at Bethelsdorp for a short period, and for two years he received a high school education at the South African College which was considered as the most advanced school in the country at the time. (Visagie, J., 1876, pp. 165,166)

From James Read junior's report of the Kat River Settlement in 1839 an idea of the content of the course for schoolmasters is obtained. He states that previous to the appointment as schoolmaster, the pupil goes through the following course:

English - reading, writing, arithmetic  
 Geography - Roman and English  
 History - use of the globe, Natural history.  
 After their appointment they are expected to go on with their studies by coming to Philipton once a week to study with us, and I am glad to say that their improvement is very encouraging.  
 (The Report of the Kat River Settlement by James Read Junior, 1839)

Writing to the Directors on 3 November 1840 Read Junior elaborated further on the course of study:

I have given them simple but systematic lessons on the Evidences of Christianity which influence them greatly. For this purpose I have taken as a text book ...., "The Spirit of Divine Truth" by the editors of the Comprehensive Bible a great part of which I have translated into Dutch in order to render the assignments much more easy and interesting to them. I have placed two or three of the furthest advanced of them under the following course of reading .... "Evidences of Christianity stated in a popular and formative manner by Daniel Wilson"; Communications for the young designed for promoting the profitable reading of the

holy scripture. Many other young people avail themselves of the excellent publications of the tract Society which is in both Dutch and English. (Letters to the Directors from James Read, junior, 3 November 1840)

From this list of lessons it seems that they would also be qualified to be effective preachers.

There is no indication what the duration of the course would be or whether the schoolmaster and perhaps preacher would be required to attend classes at Philipton for a limited period only. With regard to the numbers of pupils who completed the course it was reported from the Kat River Settlement in 1839 that:

Within the last eight months six of our pupils from the Philip-ton day school passed through the examination for the office of schoolmaster and have been appointed to their several spheres of labour .... it is both pleasing and encouraging to see the aptitude they (have) in imparting instruction and the pleasure they take in communicating knowledge to their little countrymen. (Report of Kat River, 1839)

The success and progress of the Native Agency is indicated by the fact that in August there were eight schools with about 500 children. By the end of 1834, 12 schools had been opened with a role of 700 children. (G. Christie letter to Directors, 16.8.33) Most of these schools were taught by Schoolmasters who were products of the Native Agency. Of the functioning of the Native Agency, Read wrote in 1839:

The more I see the working of the system of native agency, the growing intelligence and developing of our young men the more confirmed I become in the belief that to it we should ultimately look (for a solution to our shortage of schoolmasters) .... and (we should) again impress upon the mind of the Directors to have a steady eye to it and to impress upon the minds of all their agents in this country to throw all the weight of their influence and talents towards the education of the rising generation and secondly towards educating young men to the office of schoolmaster among their countrymen.

He also claimed that the Khoi were ideal for service as schoolmasters of their own young countrymen since they knew the climate of the place and are acquainted with the habits- emotions and language of the people. Consequently they would obtain a much more effective avenue to the minds



of the people. He mentioned further that a comprehensive and well organized system of native agencies would meet with great success:

The appointment of native schoolmasters has a (significant) effect .... upon our schoolchildren. The education that our children receive in our schools .... is by no means (confined) .... to what they got at our mission institutions, but the difference lies in this that at the mission stations there was no prospect held out to the pupils as an (incitement) to apply themselves ...., whereas here there is a constant demand for youngsters to fill the office of teacher and such is the effect of this market for what they acquire at school .... that if you ask a boy what are you going to become when you grow up the answer is invariably a schoolmaster. It would of course be preposterous to suppose that every hottentot youth (should) qualify to be a teacher or that the services of so many would be in requisition. But the beneficial influence upon the minds of the youth .... shows how it acts in conjunction with other changes in the condition of the Hottentot nations (such as being proprietors of land, eligible for appointment of mission office, and acting as field cornets and the national character of the people. (The Report of the Kat River Settlement for 1839)

It is pleasing and encouraging observes Mr Read, junior:

to see the aptitude they evince in imparting instruction, and the pleasure they take in communicating knowledge to their little countrymen.

Mr Read strongly advocates the importance of promoting the system of native agency, as the instrumentality best calculated in his opinion for the instruction and evangelisation of the African tribes. (Directors Report, 1839, p. 87)

This is an indication that they could be used as preachers as well as schoolmasters. A further indication of the good work done by the Aboriginal teachers (Native Agency) is indicated by Rose Innes, the Superintendent General of Education in the Colony, who visited the Kat River on 9 January 1840 and described the native teachers who conducted the numerous schools:

.... I have seldom met with a more interesting body of young men .... but it may be misunderstood. It is neither from their attainments nor experience that I thus spoke of them, for high expectations cannot be reasonably formed of either, but it is for this .... that they possess, in an eminent degree the spirit and zeal of the teacher. Their .... activity, directed by the judicious superintendence of the younger Mr Read, is the soul of the system. And I cannot but admire the efforts they have made for personal



improvement under considerable difficulties. Most of these youths have been, from necessity, placed at a very early age in charge of schools, after which their own personal improvement has been caused on wholly by meeting Mr Read twice a week at Philipton, to receive instruction, after riding, or more frequently walking a distance of from 3 to 8 miles. (Report of Stations of L.M.S. in South Africa 1839, pp. 20,21)

Backhouse, an Englishman who visited the Kat River Settlement in 1839, wrote:

One peculiar feature of the institution is the very extensive use which is made of native teachers. If my memory serves me right, there are here more than ten places where the gospel is preached in connection with the London Missionary Society and it may be known to most persons .... that James Read senior and James Read junior are the only two missionaries. The others are individuals who feel deeply the value of the Gospel, endeavour to communicate the blessings of which they have been made partakers, and many of these energetic and very interesting labourers are of Hottentot or Fingo nations. .... While at the Kat River we were present at one of the church meetings, at which there were five applications made from different places in the interior for Hottentot missionaries; and I recollect one of the messengers from a Bushman's kraal enquired with great simplicity how it was they could understand the Hottentot missionaries better than the missionaries at Klip Plaats. These were excellent and laborious men, but the reason of their not being so well understood is obvious. The Hottentot speak a dialect of the same language, while, although the German missionaries at Klip Plaats speak Caffre well, they have failed, like all other Europeans, to acquire the Hottentot language; and the Bushmen were consequently not so likely to understand the Gospel at Klip Plaats as when they hear it in their own mother tongue. This circumstance I regarded as very interesting, in as much as it shows the great benefit likely to vault from the employment of such teachers, both in extending knowledge of the truths of the Gospel among the native tribes, and in showing them what that in extending knowledge of the Truths of the Gospel among the native tribes, and in showing them what the Gospel has done for men like themselves. (Report of Stations of L.M.S. in South Africa, 1841, Appendix pp. 6,7)

The schoolmasters or native agency functioned as efficiently as circumstances at the Kat River Settlement allowed. In the early 1840's there was such good progress made that it could be reported in the Directors' report for 1845; 17 day and infant schools existed with an average pupil attendance of 750. (Directors Report, 1845, p. 109)

There were, however, problems of salaries and maintaining them in mission work. In 1840 Read wrote a letter to the Directors of the L.M.S. in which he also emphasized the need for the salaries of the schoolmasters to be brought to the level of the government rates. (Letter from James Read, Jun., to the Directors, 18 May 1840) It appears that the Directors took no heed of James Read's (junior) requests for increased salary for schoolmasters because, writing on 7 May 1844, he stated "the schools have suffered considerably in consequence of the resignation of several of the schoolmasters on account of their (low) salaries .... but pupils are well served under the new teachers". He mentioned, in addition:

Instead therefore of being staggered at the resignation of so many of the young men who were usefully employed .... the Directors will while they (debate) the circumstances look on it as the common progress of events .... I cannot philosophise on the subject but will out of many state one fact which may throw some light on the subject. In the absence of such equals as we desired to have as pious schoolmasters .... we had to be satisfied with those of such a moral character we could get. We did not then make piety a sine quo non to the office of schoolmaster (though highly desirable) nor do I think will be possible to do it in time to come. (Letter from James Read, junior, to the Directors 7th May 1844)

The war of 1846 started a decline in the general educational progress, in the Kat River Settlement from which the people never fully recovered. In 1848 it was reported ".... we have our schools in 13 out stations to attend to; and for nearly the whole of these we must look out for new native schoolmasters: two of the former teachers died during the war; two of the former teachers have accepted situations elsewhere". (Directors Report, 1848, p. 105)

The rebellion of 1851 and subsequent events (which are discussed in chapter five) caused tremendous devastation of the Kat Settlement and its schools. It was reported in 1852 that no schools were in operation in the settlement or at Elands' Post where the missionaries were sent with those of their flock that remained. (Report of the Missions in South Africa, 1852, p. 60)

Thus was brought to an end, a system of education in which the Khoi was involved to a much greater extent than at any time on the mission stations of the L.M.S.

Without any doubt, it was a system which in no way was perfect, but it did meet with a fair amount of success in the sense that Khoi could realize that they had potentialities which given the opportunity could be developed and cultivated.

We next read about a form of higher education in the Directors' report of 1841 for Hankey when it was reported "that Mr Williams (the resident missionary) has a number of talented youths under his instruction, with a view to them being employed as native teachers". (Directors' Report, 1841, p. 79) With regard to this programme it is mentioned that "the boys whom Mr Williams is training for native teachers, 3 of them appear to be youths of superior talents: and all of them will .... with proper training make respectable characters. They, of course, occupy much of the missionary's time. They have made pretty fair advances in grammar, history and geography; their knowledge of scripture is very excellent". (Report of Cape Town Auxiliary to London Missionary Society, 1840, p. 15) Before Williams in 1841 returned to England as a result of ill health he wrote of his students "three are engaged in preaching .... one at Kruisfontein .... paid by the Society .... one on a farm paid by the parents of the children and the other at Port Elizabeth under Mr Robson. I have sent two of the (youths) to the Kat River to be further instructed by Mr Read and one accompanies us to England. Of the remaining two, I dismissed one as being unsuitable and the other was taken away by his parents who had moved to Uitenhage. This is a branch of missionary work in which I feel a particular interest and which I trust will be more attended by missionaries generally". (Letter from C. Williams to Directors in November 1843) The work of C. Williams was not continued after he had returned to England.

There is one further development of higher education at Hankey which deserves consideration. In this, Durant Philip, the son of Dr Philip, played a major role. Durant Philip passed through Cape Town on his way to do mission work in India when he felt the desire to do educational and mission work in South Africa. Writing to the Directors on 16 January 1845 he indicated his willingness to consider training native teachers and the children of missionaries. "It seems highly desirable that the sons of missionaries so many of whom do succeed their fathers in missionary work should receive better education than they at present enjoy and of course with

them might be joined suitable natives". (Letter from D. Philip to the Directors, 16 January 1845) From a letter Durant Philip wrote to the Directors on 8 October 1846 it is apparent that the Directors proposed that he start a seminary at Hankey. He explains his indecision in taking up the task since he was approached by the Council of the South African College to become a Professor at the College. However, he decided in favour of the seminary. He saw the advantage of having the seminary at Cape Town, but after due consideration:

All my personal feelings and affections could lead me to prefer Hankey as the scene of my labours and I am resolved to do my utmost to carry your proposal into effect but at the same time there is one thing very (clear) that the success of the seminary at Hankey will depend much more upon me individually than it would in Cape Town. Upon the energy of my character will depend its effectiveness ....

In the same letter he outlines his plans for the seminary:

I need hardly point out .... how necessary I deem profound piety as well as correct and extensive Biblical knowledge, as qualifications for this work. I should aim accordingly to lead them to the study of scripture itself as well as to direct them to the Theological writings which bear most directly upon it. My aim, however, would not be to give them a course exclusively theological, but to form them to such general habits of study as well enable them to pursue various branches of knowledge in after life. Books should be to a missionary the Society which maintains the love of his mind and heart and the counsellors which help him in his difficulties.

In the same letter he continues:

The studies of History, Philosophy, Physics and the Strict Sciences, I should at present deem of next importance, accompanied by as much knowledge of medicine as I can myself out of my ignorance impart to them .... I confess myself to feel some hesitation respecting my favourite studies, the languages, but I shall use my judgement whether they are to be taught for unless there is time to teach them well it seems hardly desirable to begin them at all. This will be a matter to be determined when the Seminary is really commenced.

I am quite alive to the importance of imparting to the minds of young men, fixed principles and correct views upon many points which do not come within the scope of regular studies, and I hope to derive assistance from my father's experience in accomplishing this. I very much fear that time will be lost in the drudgery of the elements, which will of course prove much more



difficult to one mature in years than to a boy. The most profitable education in such cases demands my careful investigation and study. I feel unwilling therefore to lay down more definitely a plan of study till I have seen the young men themselves. Any such statement in this place would therefore be immature.

Referring to the accommodation of his prospective students, he writes:

With regard to the board of each young man I have not yet made estimates from the want of sufficient data. By the cultivation of land .... or the pursuit of some trade the young men could be able to earn enough for their clothes, books .... but this will not be required to pay their board but to meet their own personal expenses .... the expense of the board will be defrayed by the society until we can find some means of defraying their expenses. The sum allowed for the building programme is small. The rooms required are dining room, reading room and dormitories. They will be erected at as small an expense as possible. (Durant Philip - letter to Directors, 8 October 1846)

On 26 April 1848, Durant Philip wrote to the Directors requesting the following books for the seminary:

Journals  
Works connected with missionary fields  
Evangelical magazines  
Mathematics and Physical Sciences  
Classics  
Grammar Books  
(Letter Durant Philip to Directors, 26 April 1848)

Durant Philip threw further light on the curriculum followed at the seminary when he wrote in 1849 that the following was the course of study open to the students:

In Classics: Ceasar, Virgil, Horace, Livy as well as Old and New Testament.  
In Mathematics: Geometry, Ordinary and Logarithmic, Arithmetic and Algebra.  
History and Composition: Grecian and Roman History accompanied by numerous essays and the histories of Scotland, America and Mexico.  
(Annual Report of Hankey, 1849)

It appears that the sons of missionaries were selected to follow this course of study at the seminary. On the number of pupils and their progress he wrote : "I have only five pupils, 3 of whom were with me at the expense of the Society". He mentioned Frederic Kayster as "having good ability .... knows, the Caffre language.... and is likely to prove a good missionary". In 1849 it was mentioned that Frederic Kayster had left the seminary to join his father (Henry Kayster senior, L.M.S. missionary) in active missionary operations in Caffreland. Frederic's brother Henry Kayster junior "has exceptional ability and will take up an important position in Society". John Read, he writes "has not got the ability of the Kayster brothers and his stay has been shorter than the others at the seminary". The other two pupils were Wilberforce Philip and George Wilson but Philip mentions nothing of their progress in this particular letter. (Letter, Durant Philip to Directors, 24 January 1848)

The proposal to have the seminary train Khoi youth does not seem to have been put into full effect, although a short account of the proposed education was placed in the annual report of the Cape Town auxilliary: "in the course of the year 1850 it was expected a number of native youths will be placed under efficient instruction". (Report of the Cape Town auxilliary, 1849, p. 11) Durant Philip writing on 8 June 1850 to Rev. Freeman (deputation of L.M.S.) mentions the education of a Fingo youth:

Malgaas Kunene the Fingo teacher from Uitenhage is now with me and I am pleased with him. He seems modest and (has) humble qualities too rare in those who are similarly (endowed). As his time (with me) is short I shall confine myself principally to Scriptural instruction, and translation into English and Caffre .... I have (prepared) a course of instruction between a smattering and a thorough education". (Letter from T.D. Philip to I. Freeman, 6 August 1850)

Among his problems running the seminary he mentions:

the lack of a proper library for his pupils and states that he will send a list of required books to the society. He also emphasizes that it will be many years before the seminary can supply missionaries for the mission stations. He asked for assistance since at that time he was "tutor, physician, lawyer, superintendent of public improvements and pastor of a parish of 1,000 souls". (Letter, Durant Philip to Directors, 24 January 1848)

Sales mentions that in the 1850's there was a lack of candidates for the ministry with the result that Durant Philip took a class of young men who wanted to become schoolmasters. It seems that the programme for higher education was exclusively directed at the sons of missionaries and other "whites" attached to the mission stations and not to the aboriginal people at all. It is apparent from the curriculum of the day school of the mission station (see chapter nine) and the curriculum of the seminary that the students at the seminary had to receive a more advanced preparatory education than the Khoi pupils who attended the day school.

It is not clear how the candidates for higher education at the seminary at Hankey were recruited and no indication is given of the length of the course of study.

From the onset of their mission work in South Africa the London Missionary Society intended that the mission stations they had established should become self supporting as soon as possible so that it could use its resources in other areas of Africa and the world where the Gospel was needed. (Briggs, D.R. and Wing, J., 1870, p. 102) According to Briggs and Wing the Directors' attitude was over optimistic and unrealistic in the sense that they expected results far too soon. (Briggs, D.R. and Wing, J., 1970, p. 102)

J.J. Freeman who was sent by the Society in 1849 to investigate the position at the mission station in South Africa barely returned to England to report that the mission work (including education) should be continued when the news of the Kat River Rebellion was conveyed to the Directors. For those individuals who had high hopes for the future this was a disastrous event and what made the position even worse was the antagonistic attitude towards the missionaries, and particularly the L.M.S., which existed in the Colony at the time. This resulted in the L.M.S. losing many friends and monetary support at the time when they were most needed. (Briggs, D.R. and Wing, J., 1970, p. 103)

Robert Moffat and David Livingstone two of the missionaries of the Society felt that the mission work should be expanded in other parts of Africa. They stated bluntly: "We believe that the Colony has ceased to present the temporal and spiritual destitution which are understood to entitle a country to be treated as a missionary field by our Society." (quoted in Briggs, D.R. and Wing, J., 1970, p. 104) The views of these

two missionaries found a ready following in England among those of the Directors who wanted to be relieved of the work in the Colony. Under these circumstances in 1855 William Ellis was sent by the Directors as a deputation, one of whose duties it was "to stimulate the mission churches to accept the responsibility of self support". He expressed his dissatisfaction with the Theological programme at Hankey. He also stated that the Society could not spend its limited funds on training schoolmasters.

In a private report (to the directors) he expanded on his views on theological education in South Africa:

I deem it right to state that it does not appear to me that the important objects contemplated by the Directors, in commencing the Seminary are likely to be realized without a cost of time and money greater than they will feel justified in appropriating to the same, especially if the uncertainty of the issue be taken into consideration. The native churches have not hitherto and do not now contain young men of piety and talent or attainments to render them suitable for becoming students for the Christian ministry. Few young men become pious before they are either married or too far advanced in life to commence a course of mental and moral training; and the education obtained in the mission schools has rarely extended beyond the first elements of instruction, viz. reading and writing in Dutch not English. The want of materials out of which to train a native ministry is not confined to the Colony, but extends to the stations beyond it .... close mental application is so alien to native habits, and the amount of knowledge which they seem capable of imbibing and retaining, even after long and laborious teaching, is so small that we would not feel sanguine as to their becoming efficient teachers at the end of another year's teaching. (William Ellis, Private Report, 1855)

At a time when the L.M.S. was trying to cut its expenditure in their missions in South Africa in order to spread its missionary enterprises in other parts of Africa and the world, Ellis felt that the L.M.S. could not afford the expense of running a seminary for the training of black ministers. He states further ".... It appears to me, on reviewing the whole subject, that Christian Society among the coloured people of the Colony is not sufficiently advanced to require a permanent Seminary organized after the European model". (Ellis Private Report, 1855) His report was one of the factors which was responsible for putting an end to the educational programme of Philip at Hankey. As a result, most of the mission



stations, after 1855, became self supporting in so far as the greater part of the expenses for maintaining the work was borne locally, only the stipends of the missionaries were provided by the L.M.S. from London. (Briggs, D.R. and Wing, J., 1970, p. 231) In the latter years Hankey remained the only mission station left in their care but every attempt to make it a centre of education and agriculture ended in dismal failure. The last attempt to start a boarding school at Hankey succeeded in 1900, when I.A. Walton was appointed to open a teacher training school which started with ten pupils. This training institution grew rapidly, and was eventually transferred to Uitenhage and renamed Dower College. (Briggs, D.R. and Wing, J., 1970, p. 231)

#### The Problem of the Education of the Children of Missionaries

A matter which appears very often in the correspondence of the missionaries is the question of the education of their children. One of the cases was that of the widow of Mr Williams, the missionary who started a mission station at the Kat River but which was later abandoned after his death in 1819. Mrs Williams wrote to the Directors in 1824 that her boys were receiving instruction from Mr Elliot, the superintendent of the sabbath school of the London Missionary Society at Cape Town. But since Elliot was leaving the Cape, she was at a loss as to what to do about the education of her children. She considered the possibility of sending them to England but Dr Philip informed her that the Directors had taken a resolution that no children of missionaries should be sent home to be educated. She informed the Directors that "for the present I have put them in one of the best schools in the Cape. The terms are very high but I hope that if my health and life is spared to be able to meet the expense by my own industry". To further the education of her boys she requested the Directors to send her among others the following books:

Bible and Gospel History  
 Geography  
 History of England, Natural History, Modern History  
 History of Scotland, France, Rome, Greece  
 Arithmetic.  
 (Letter from Mrs Williams to the Directors from Cape Town,  
 8 March 1824)

There is no letter among the correspondence from the Directors to indicate how the matter was resolved. What is certain is that Mrs Williams was not prepared to let her boys be educated at the schools for Khoi children at the mission station.

In 1825 Barker, the resident missionary at Theopolis, who had 4 children, 2 girls and 2 boys, the eldest turning 10 in September of that year, wrote to the Directors concerning the education of his children, since Dr Philip could not help him to his satisfaction:

In 1822, the two elder children were at a school at (Salem) where they improved much in learning and manners but I could not afford to continue them there, the expense being 50 rix-dollars per quarter .... Our school at the mission is not a proper school for the children of missionaries, there is a mixing of sexes and the number is too large for Mr Edwards (the teacher at the school of Theopolis) to pay the attention to my children which they ought to receive, that his object being to forward the native children. I mentioned these things to Dr Philip and he not only acquiesced, but said "I sent my own son to England to be educated on account of the state of Society in Cape Town" and added "I know that these schools are not proper for your children, but I cannot do anything for you".

Dr Philip suggested that Barker send his children to the Government School at Grahamstown. Barker continues in his letter ....:

As things now stand your missionaries are employed in civilizing the natives and making barbarians of their own children. Dr Philip says a school will be established for our children, but he cannot say when, this was promised in 1819. What will happen to my children if they grow up in their present state? I must beg the Directors to furnish me and my family with a passage home that my children can enjoy the privilege of British Education and be trained in a British Society .... There is however a school at Salem, and I confess I should be perfectly satisfied were my 2 girls afforded the privilege to attend it. (Letter from Barker to the Directors, 4 August 1825)

Again it is not clear how the matter was resolved. Barker's views regarding the education of his children with the Khoi children are like Mrs Williams quite clear from his letter.

In 1826 the Directors, apparently on the advice of Philip, sent William Foster to South Africa to start a seminary primarily for educating the children of missionaries. On Philip's advice Hankey was suggested as a site. Foster, however, found it unsuitable for reasons already mentioned. While he waited for a directive from the Directors of the L.M.S. on the proposed seminary, he served as temporary superintendent of the mission institutions in South Africa while Philip was in England. His stay in Cape Town made him suggest in a letter written to the Directors on 8 August 1828 that:

"the children of the missionaries could be educated at a regular school at the Cape more economically than could be done by the Society".

He mentions the expense of building a special seminary; "from what I have seen 10,000 - 12,000 rix-dollars would be required". He mentions further that another aspect of not being able to start the seminary is the fact that the Directors promised that he would only be required to stay in South Africa for 4 years. He also writes about his wife's illness and his eagerness for wanting to return home. (Letter from W. Foster to Directors, 8 August 1828)

This proposed seminary never got started. Instead, Durant Philip started a seminary at Hankey in 1848 whose progress has just been described. G. Bennet, a director of the L.M.S. wrote from London on 23 July 1830 that "the missionaries' children should be educated in a proposed school .... the children of the natives must not be mixed with them on any account". (G. Bennet to Dr Philip in Cape Town, 23 July 1830) Sales shows that in 1831 Dr Philip, after his stay in England, complained about the fact that missionaries would not send their children to the mission schools. "If they had, he thought, they would have had more interest in how the schools were run". (Sales, J., 1971, p. 92) It must be remembered (see Barker's letter to Directors, 4.8.1825) that Dr Philip sent his own son to be educated in England. The exclusive education of the sons of missionaries under the tuition of Durant Philip at Hankey in the 1840's as well as the failure of Foster's attempts to educate the most advanced of the Khoi youth and the sons of the missionaries at the same institution

has already been described. The impression gained, it seems, was that the general trend was to educate the children of the missionaries separately from that of the Khoi children.

The first indication of the existence of a policy of segregation affecting the education of the Khoi as distinct from that of the European inhabitants is obtained in the Philip Campbell Memorial of 1820. In this memorial it is suggested that an exclusive school has been erected for the children of the missionaries. It also suggests that the government provided segregated schools on the basis of the parochial schools in England for the Khoi children and a more superior type of school for the children of the farmers (chapter eight).

In the discussion of the problem of the education of the children of the missions, the account of Mrs Williams and Mr Barker's pleas for the education of their children which they submitted to Philip and the Directors gives a clear indication that they were not prepared to let their children be educated with the Khoi. As Barker put it "by unlying the natives we are making barbarians of our own children". Although Philip criticized the missionaries for wanting segregated schools he sent his own children to England to be educated. From the discussion of the attempt at starting a seminary at Hankey, the impression gained is that the children of the missionaries had to get an exclusive education separate from that of the Khoi children. The attitude of some of the colonists and colonial authorities also suggests that they were in favour of segregated education. Under vocational education, Khoi boys who were supposed to be apprenticed to European tradesmen reported that instead they were employed in carrying messages, working in the gardens, and harvesting the crops of their masters.

When the 4 Khoi boys who were sent by Philip to be educated at Mr Matthews's school at Salem were evicted from the school for not having passes, a clear indication is obtained that the acting Landrost of Grahamstown did not agree with the integration of education of the Khoi with the "whites". When asked why he imprisoned the boys, it will be remembered that he said that the prison was the only school for the Khoi. G. Bennett a director of the L.M.S. writing to Philip from London in 1830 stated that the education of the children of the missionaries must be completely segregated from the Khoi children "the children must not be mixed with them on any account".



## CHAPTER ELEVEN

## CONCLUSION

In the preface it was suggested that three factors were likely to have a major influence on the educational work of the L.M.S. in the Eastern Cape. In this final chapter each of the factors will be explained in an attempt to assess their importance in the L.M.S. story. This concluding chapter, however, mirrors the earlier chapters by summarizing these factors as they emerged in the period of Van der Kemp's work in the Eastern Cape.

The Van der Kemp era

From his letter to Gen. Dundas regarding the terms on which the admission to an institution was set out, it is clear that Van der Kemp did not find the utopia at Bethelsdorp he had envisaged when he drew up the regulations. He received all the necessary co-operation from Dundas because the governor was very keen to separate the Khoi from the Xhosas. (This was to apply the principle of divide and rule.)

The Government under the Batavian Republic, although they were responsible for establishing Bethelsdorp, merely saw the Khoi at the institution as a source of cheap labour for the farmers, and did nothing to further the educational work of the missionaries. They decreed that writing should not be taught at the mission school while the missionaries saw writing as an integral part of the school programme. This would be seen as one of the reasons why there was not much progress in the school programme during this period.

One of the conditions on which Van der Kemp was accepted at Bethelsdorp was that the Khoi should serve as soldiers in the Cape Regiment. Although Van der Kemp was willing that they should serve as soldiers he could not willingly see them serve against their fellow Khoi or Xhosa but it seems that Van der Kemp had no control over this matter since power was invested in the governor. Janssens clashed with Van der Kemp over the

latter's unwillingness to co-operate with him over the use of Khoi as soldiers and as labourers for the farmers.

Although the Khoi of the institution served loyally as soldiers their wives did not receive any rations while their husbands were serving in the army. Janssens expected the rations to come from the already impoverished mission station. Such a situation was unacceptable as a normal code of conduct.

The British Government recaptured the Cape in 1806, and the new Governor, Baird was sympathetic to the work of Van der Kemp but did not have complete confidence in him as seen by Baird's instructions to the landdrost Cuyler that he should not take Van der Kemp's accusations of cruelty of the Boers seriously. During the period that Lord Caledon was governor, action was taken to control the labour of the Khoi. Because the Khoi had to move from place to place with a pass from the landdrost or field cornet, it was inconvenient because they had to travel at least a day before they could obtain the pass. The Proclamation of Caledon also made it possible for the pass system to be abused by the local authorities because the passes could be so manipulated that the Khoi remained under perpetual obligation to remain in the service of the Colonists. It was also unfair to demand from the Khoi a fixed place of abode since the farmers for whom they were most important source of labour were perpetually on the move.

We get the first indication that the Boers regarded the Khoi as inferiors and only worthy of being their servants when Van der Kemp requested the use of their church in Graaff Reinet for the instruction of the Khoi. The Boers complained and said that it could only be used if the walls and seats were scrubbed before they would use it again.

It was clear that the Boers were going to have a hostile attitude towards the missionaries when the institution was established at Bethelsdorp because they regarded Van der Kemp as being responsible for taking their servants away from them. The situation became worse when the missionaries offered some form of education to the Khoi. The Boers made representation to the Batavian Government to prevent the school from teaching the children to write, since they felt that they did not even have education facilities for themselves or for their own children. One wonders if the same antagonism would have existed if Van der Kemp had made the educational facilities available to the children of the Boers.

The Khoi related to Van der Kemp the cruelties they suffered at the hands of the Boers and Van der Kemp, instead of easing the situation, incensed the Boers with anger by reporting them to the governor. Although Van der Kemp had this antagonistic attitude towards the colonists, he himself could not ease the lot of the Khoi from the institution because they had no alternative but to labour for the farmers as industry and other forms of employment were lacking at Bethelsdorp.

The fact that Van der Kemp believed all the stories of oppression, cruelty and ill treatment brought to him by the Khoi at the institution without any investigation was also an issue which caused a hostile response from the Boers. If Van der Kemp, where possible, under the circumstances had investigated some of the stories to establish how valid they were, the situation might have been more favourable. However, that oppression, cruelty and ill treatment existed between the master (Colonist) and servant (Khoi) was established by the outcome of the Circuit Commission of 1812.

From an educational point of view the religious aspect was over emphasized since the missionaries regarded it as their first priority to prepare the inhabitants for conversion and salvation. The preaching had an ethical basis emphasizing morality and two services were held everyday. It was unfortunate that at this early stage Van der Kemp regarded "a saving knowledge of Christ", as more important than ploughing or any other form of vocational training. They seemed to have lost sight of the fact that they intended to uplift the Khoi who had been used to a life that revolved around a pastoral mode of existence. Had the religious upliftment they had in mind for the Khoi contained a sound balance between spiritual enrichment and vocational training, the divine and Khoi-reality, they might have been more successful.

In the school the curriculum consisted mainly of religious teaching and the instruction in the school was confined to reading, writing and singing. It is significant that instructing them to read, was to read the Bible since no other books were available. Literary training had once again a religious emphasis because it was done mainly to prepare members for leadership in the church.

At Bethelsdorp a lot of time was spent in making the Khoi literate, without any attempt being made to make them proficient in agriculture or manual skills. When instruction in writing was abolished by the Batavian Government, there was no indication that the missionaries were now prepared to instruct the Khoi in other directions, such as the mechanical arts.

That Van der Kemp had grandiose ideas for formal education for the institution is clear from the list of books he requested from overseas for the proposed library at Bethelsdorp. Of what practical value Van der Kemp thought the instruction in Latin, Greek and Oriental languages would be to the Khoi is not clear. There was a lack of finance as well as suitably qualified teachers. From the way Van der Kemp and Read went about organizing the school it is quite clear that neither party had any training as teachers.

Very little is said of Van der Kemp's own activity in the existing school and other educational activities. What is known is that most of his time in 1807 was spent in writing.

Van der Kemp complained to Caledon in 1807 about the poor attendance of the children at school. What he failed to mention was that the nature of the subject matter taught was in no way one to stimulate activity in the children and also that many of the children had to accompany their parents when they were engaged by a farmer who lived some distance from the institution.

As the Khoi had been migrants, absolutely acclimatized to the wandering life of a group whose livelihood rested on hunting, it certainly was unreasonable to expect to captivate the interest of such a people by an unstimulating educational programme. Van der Kemp did not make it clear what criteria he was going to use, to select the children he wanted to educate.

One of Van der Kemp's more laudable intentions was his desire to establish an orphanage or charity workhouse for the many children who were left destitute at the institution. This idea of his never came to fruition because there were neither the funds nor the personnel to run such an establishment.

The only vocational educational programme began when Read built a blacksmith shop in 1805. He was hindered in this venture as he lacked essential equipment such as files and he only worked in the workshop when his



other commitments such as religious instruction allowed him. During the period under discussion formal education continued at Bethelsdorp with the missionaries teaching the children whatever skills they could when the children were present.

With regard to the secular activities at the institution, Van der Kemp had very noble intentions about making Bethelsdorp a hive of industry. It is clear from the outset that the natural surroundings of Bethelsdorp militated against it ever becoming the centre of industry as was envisaged by Van der Kemp. Colonel Collins who visited Bethelsdorp in 1809 reported that only 43 persons were in employment out of a total population of 600.

From this it is clear that very few of the total number of adults at the institution were in any useful employment and it was contrary to the intention which Van der Kemp had envisaged. This was an injustice to the Khoi who had forsaken their old life-style (pastoral) and who had placed themselves under the responsibility and care of Van der Kemp. Later progress was made, but in minor industries such as the making of mats and baskets, soap-boiling and wood-cutting.

It has already been mentioned that the land in the immediate environment of the institution was unsuitable for agriculture. Macmillian comments that whoever had chosen the barren site had wisdom to realize that it would not be sufficient to fulfil the needs of the Khoi and they would then be faced to labour on the farms of the Boers.

It is difficult to understand how Van der Kemp could have agreed to accept the site even if he had understood it to be a temporary one. Van der Kemp did however make repeated requests to the different governors for more arable land.

The situation with regard to agriculture was so critical that in 1807 it was reported that a few people actually died of hunger and the institution was without bread for a period of three to four months! It was only from 1808 that the people began to reap a suitable harvest which again served to encourage a dispirited people, but it must be realized that the fertile ground was situated about two miles from the actual site of Bethelsdorp along the little Swartkops River. However agriculture which was to form the main means of employment for the male members of the institution never really reached the required expectation.

### Relationship with Colonial Governments

The work at Bethelsdorp was severely hamstrung by the fact that the residents of the institution had to pay tax. Since it was largely the responsibility of the inhabitants of the institution to maintain their buildings, schools etc., it meant that if there was a drain on their finances by paying taxes, it would have had an unfavourable effect on the religious and educational development of the institution.

The colonial government was in conflict with regard to their policy towards the Khoi because they were under pressure from the Government in England to be of assistance to the missionaries and it was also required of the Khoi of the institution to serve in the colonial army. They also had to keep the colonists happy by seeing that they had adequate supply of labourers many of whom had to be obtained from the Bethelsdorp institution.

The colonial government was made more oppressive by the lack of co-operation between the local authorities and the mission station. Cuyler, the landdrost of the Uitenhage district, only looked after the interests of the colonists and saw the institution as a supply of cheap labour. Thus it was correct for the missionaries to assume that the introduction of the tax and the way it had to be collected was one way to force the Khoi from the mission institution into the service of the farmers.

Ordinance 50 had not brought an end to the landlessness and poverty of the Khoi since no additional land was allocated to them besides the Kat River Valley, which was a military buffer zone. The colonial government seemed to follow a policy favouring the colonists since it was not prepared to grant land to the landless Khoi although it was now made possible by Ordinance 50. Because the Khoi were not given land on which they could subsist they now moved to the already crowded mission stations, where the missionaries tried with their limited resources to cater for their religious and educational needs.

The failure of the Colonial government to provide a policy of socio-economic upliftment for the Khoi, resulted in what was called a vagrancy problem. Since the Khoi as a result of Ordinance 50 could now bargain with their labour and were no longer forced to work for a mere pittance, the government again came under pressure from the colonists who were now experiencing a shortage of cheap labour.

Much of the old legislative approach of rigid control of the Khoi labour was now to be reintroduced in the form of a vagrancy law. This represented a retrogressive step for the welfare of the Khoi because it was not accompanied by any socio-economic and educational upliftment. The Khoi at all the isolated mission stations reacted vehemently against the proposed legislation as they could see only one solution to their problem, land allocation.

The only land which was allocated to the Khoi as a result of Ordinance 50 was the Kat River Settlement which was chosen partially to serve as a buffer zone between the Colonists and the Xhosa. They were also to experience the antagonism of the Xhosa because these people were driven from the very land that was now allocated to the Khoi.

Since the Khoi were land hungry and because this was the first land allocation from the government on such a large scale, they flocked to the area. Here was an example of a military missionary settlement, created by the government and utilized partially by the missionaries. The sincerity of the government towards the Khoi was wanting during and after the "Frontier" wars. It appears that the Khoi were settled near the frontier not only to serve as a buffer but also to assist in defending the colony as part of the colonial forces. In return they received inhuman treatment from the colonial government such as lack of adequate rations and inadequate compensation for the damages they suffered as a result of the wars.

The treatment the Khoi at the Kat River settlement received from successive colonial governors and local authorities has been described. It could have been regarded by an impartial commission of inquiry as extenuating circumstances for the discontent and disloyalty shown by some of the inhabitants, during the rebellion of 1851. But the colonial government who had now defeated the Xhosa in the war of 1850 now saw them as dispensable. The result of the Kat River Rebellion on the Khoi was that they were completely stripped of their land, crushed in spirit and left completely destitute.

The colonial government never intended to uplift the Khoi socially, economically or educationally. If they intended to uplift the Khoi they failed miserably because they left the Khoi completely destitute after the Rebellion of 1851.

### Relationship with the Colonists

It must be emphasised that the Boers regarded the Khoi as inferiors and that they were only worthy of being their servants. The Colonists had the land and on the mission stations were the Khoi who could supply the labour. Although a conflict situation existed between the missionaries and the colonists; the mission stations could not provide the economic needs of the Khoi - so that the Khoi had to go out and work for the colonists.

In a certain sense the mission station became nothing else than a reservoir of labour for the Colonists. One of the reasons for this was the undirected policy of the Directors of the London Missionary Society.

It was to have been expected that the Colonists would react so vehemently against Ordinance 50 because they were now deprived of their cheap labour force. The Khoi who for the first time were set free from the harsh terms of previous labour contracts were now in a position to bargain with their labour. A vagrant problem might have resulted because besides the Kat River Settlement, the landless Khoi received no additional allotments of land. In a practical sense, Ordinance 50 did not bring about any improvement in the economic needs of the Khoi. This had an effect on the financial contributions they could make to the mission institutions and in this way affected the educational programme of the missionaries.

With the arrival of the British Settlers who were settled along the Eastern Frontier, it would have been expected that a meaningful relationship would exist between them and the mission institutions. The London Missionary Society in the person of Dr Philip was instrumental in offering as much assistance to the settlers as possible. Dr Philip was appointed chairman of the 'Distressed Settlers Fund' which was an indication that the Society was eager to have a cordial relationship with the colonists.

It would have been expected that the colonists who fought side by side with the Khoi from the mission institutions and suffered the same depredations during the frontier wars, would have built up a more meaningful relationship with the Khoi. This was not to be as it is apparent that the English colonists were very keen to possess the fertile land of the Kat River Settlement. Also, because they regarded Dr Philip's attitude towards them as hostile, they became antagonistic to the Khoi who belonged to the mission institutions of the London Missionary Society.



It soon became apparent that the English settlers adopted the same view of the Khoi as the Boers had. The hostile and antagonistic attitude of English Colonists continued and reached its climax during the rebellion of some of the Khoi of the Kat River Settlement. After the rebellion the English Colonists were keen to share the spoils of war, - only it was no war but a series of rapacious acts to grab greedily what never legally, morally or otherwise belonged to them.

### Education

Of particular importance in commenting on the educational contribution of the L.M.S. are the factors which limited the development of vocational education. Among these factors were:

- a) The lack of financial support from the London Missionary Society in England.
- b) The missionaries could not see the relevance of vocational education since they were more concerned with evangelization.
- c) The uncertainty of employment opportunities due to the slow economic development in the Colony up to 1855.
- d) The arrival of the 1820 settlers in the Eastern Cape. Among the settlers were well qualified artisans with whom the Khoi had to compete for the limited job opportunities which existed at the time.

Under these circumstances and from a purely economic point of view an emphasis on agriculture and trades such as wool-spinning, carpentry, elementary metalwork could have been of benefit to the Khoi who were a pastoral people. During the same period which was just before the industrial revolution in England advanced agricultural methods were used in England which the missionaries could have modified to suit the agricultural needs of the Khoi.

The most advanced educational methods in operation in England were elementary and infant educational methods. As they were the most systematic and had the best structure, it was therefore not surprising that teachers who were concerned with the education of the poor would have used

these methods. The educational work of the missionaries of the L.M.S. was mainly at an elementary level which meant that they had to import the elementary educational methods from England and adapt these to the conditions existing at the Cape. However they had so few qualified teachers that they had to depend on a blue print approach. The educational expertise and experience were lacking. An example of the rigid approach is illustrated with the introduction of the monitorial method in the mission schools. Unless the school looked like and had the exact size of an English monitorial school, the teachers felt they could not apply the monitorial method.

The Directors of the L.M.S. had taken a resolution in the 1820's that there should be a separation of teacher and preacher, each one having his own role in mission work. This was, however, never put into effect with the result that the missionary in many cases had to play the role of preacher and teacher and in most cases he paid more attention to preaching. The Directors also resolved to appoint a well qualified teacher from England to supervise the schools at their mission stations. This resolution was never implemented. The value of proper supervision is clearly seen by the good work done by James Read junior at the Kat River Settlement.

Important to note are the factors which influenced the educational development of the L.M.S. These were:

- a) The strength of the personality of the missionary - e.g. Read junior at the Kat River Settlement. His organizing ability is clear by the fact that the number of schools and pupils dropped tremendously when he was forced to leave the settlement to go to Grahamstown.
- b) Extraneous factors such as war and drought.
- c) The interest shown by the parents.
- d) The problems of finance. Monitorial schools in England depended upon subscriptions by the middle classes (often £1 a year). Although the system was cheap, the parents of the pupils were not expected to provide the bulk of the outlay. In South Africa, as the chapter on the Relationship with the Colonists showed, the colonists were suspicious of the educational work of missions, so they were unlikely to contribute financially. Because of the low wages paid to the Khoi much could not have been expected

from them. The comparative failure of agriculture and industrial development meant that the likelihood of an emerging middle class to support monitorial schools through cash and interest could not be expected.

Although some of these factors to a great extent hampered the educational work of the L.M.S., it did not prevent them from carrying out a limited educational programme at their mission stations in the Eastern Cape.

It was regretful that the L.M.S. began to withdraw its support for mission work in the Eastern Cape after the Kat River Rebellion in 1851 by allowing the mission stations to become independent. It could be argued that the mission stations at that time still required financial support and educational expertise from the L.M.S. The Khoi had proved at the Kat River Settlement that with the necessary support they could make a success of an educational venture. Cognisance must also be taken of the fact that during the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries blacks were to a large extent still dependent upon missionary societies and churches for some form of education before the government realized its responsibility.

An interesting feature of the L.M.S. period in the Eastern Cape was that it brought to light the difficulties which were characteristic of the Blacks in the Colony especially the land and educational problems, and the lack of employment opportunities.

APPENDIX ONE

To his Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban, K.C.B., &c., &c., &c., and the Honourable Members of the Legislative Council.

The Memorial of the Hottentots residing at the Missionary Institution of Bethelsdorp, Humbly sheweth,  
That memorialists have heard with grief of the draft of an ordinance, denominated "An Ordinance for the better Suppression of Vagrancy in this Colony," which shall empower every field-commandant, field-cornet and provisional field-cornet, to apprehend all persons found within his jurisdiction, whom he may suppose to have no honest means of subsistence, or who cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves, and to bring them before any magistrate or justice of the peace within the district, and which shall give power to the said justice to commit such persons to prison, to hire them out to any individual, or otherwise to deprive them of liberty or punish them.

That memorialists, knowing in what an oppressed condition they were before the passing of the 50th ordinance, and knowing that there are many persons who long to see them again in the same state, fear for the consequences of the proposed law, and have observed that since it was printed in the Government Gazette, many of their brethren have been thrown into a state of great agitation; so that more than 600 have come hither, requesting to have their names written down, as a means of protecting themselves and their children from the prejudicial consequences of this law.

That from an affair which lately happened at our cattle-place, Gorah, with respect to the field-cornet Buchner, his Excellency and the honourable council may see what prejudicial consequences memorialists, and their children, and the whole nation have to look for if the proposed ordinance be passed into a law.

That the field-cornet Buchner went to Gorah, and therupon wrote a letter to the civil commissioner, stating that he found there a great number of people whose conduct was not as it ought to be; that all wandering vagabonds would in future go and remain there, and so much the more as there was no one to teach them a civilized life; and because they having given up their names to Mr. Kitchingman, refused to give them a second to him, he said they were vagabonds, he knew not whence they had their subsistence, and that he would give the place an ill name.

That if this affair had happened at a greater distance from Uitenhage, or at a place that stood in no connexion with a missionary institution, and under the Vagrant Law where the people had no one to speak for them, it is clear the complaint of the field-cornet would have been received, and consequently the people would have been seized as vagabonds, committed to prison, punished and compelled into a state of servitude.

That the expression of the field-cornet, that he knew not from whence the people lived (though he might have there seen above 400 head of cattle, some of which belonged to the people, and others to our institution), shows memorialists, that if the visible means of subsistence must be the rule by which the crime of vagabondizing must be proved against the Hottentots and other coloured inhabitants, and if field-commandants, field-cornets, provisional field-cornets and justices of the peace must be complainants witnesses and judges in such cases, then no one who is not hired in the service of some inhabitants will escape from the slavery to which this law will consign him.



That possibly a stranger coming to such a barren place as this institution, and seeing here some hundreds of Hottentots, would not be able to say whence they had their subsistence, and yet there are many honest means of obtaining money; and memorialists feel assured that the number of criminal offences committed by the inhabitants of this place, and brought before the judges, has been small.

That memorialists know that evil must be punished by the judges, and are not opposed to disturbers of the peace, thieves and other criminals being apprehended and brought before the magistrates, as under the present laws; but they fear, and not without reason, a law like that proposed, which will give them over into the hands of field-cornets, and others who formerly oppressed them, and make them subject to punishment whenever such men choose to declare that they do not know from whence they live; this would consign them and their posterity to a slavery still worse than that from which the slaves will shortly be delivered; which would be to them most intolerable, and the more since they have tasted the sweetness of the liberty which the Government has been pleased to grant them. That memorialists suppose that there are more free persons of colour in this than in any other district, except Graaf Reinet, and that, since the passing of the 50th ordinance, the number has increased, as many from other districts have come to reside here, and that nevertheless, our magistrate acknowledges that crimes have decreased in this district, and our civil commissioner has declared that he does not see that the proposed law is necessary. Memorialists very humbly submit whether an inquiry should not be made, to know on sure grounds whether there is indeed an increase of crimes in other districts, and what the cause of the difference is, before this be given as a reason for the passing of this law.

That should such an inquiry be less favourable than memorialists expect, they hope that the honourable council will then devise other means to instruct the poor labourers of this colony in their duties, than to make a law which would expose all the coloured inhabitants to a series of grievous oppressions.

That memorialists were made acquainted, in a letter from the colonial secreatry in 1829, that the government was not less inclined to take into consideration the requests of industrious Hottentots of good character, for land, than those of others of His Majesty's subjects; that hereupon several inhabitants of this institution sent in petitions for some portions of land that were not yet granted or measured off, but to this time none of these have been granted, though they believe that some of them are not yet given out. That this being the case, memorialists have no land to cultivate, except what is upon the institution; they are a poor people, and possess no places like other inhabitants, though this is the land of their fathers, and therefore they, more than other inhabitants, are compelled to go from one place to another to seek for work and the necessaries of life. And memorialists feel, that according to the proposed law, they should in seeking an honest maintenance be in danger of being taken up and punished as vagrants.

That they have already proof that one consequence of this law will be to bring a greater number of people to this place, and similar institutions, than they can bear or support.

That memorialists feel themselves bound to testify their gratitude to the government for the 50th ordinance, and trust that no infringement will be made upon it; that they have always been faithful and peaceable subjects, and whenever their services were required in commandoes, in times

of danger, they have never refused to serve the government; many of them have served the King in the Cape regiments; they are willing, like all other inhabitants, to pay their taxes, and in other respects to conduct themselves as obedient subjects.

On these grounds memorialists pray that the proposed ordinance may not be passed into a law in this colony; and memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Bethelsdorp, 19 August 1834.

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To his Excellency the Governor and the Legislative Council of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Memorial of the undersigned Inhabitants and Residents at the Missionary Station of Theopolis,

Humbly sheweth,

That your memorialists are fully convinced that there is nothing in the existing circumstances of this colony to call for a new Vagrant Law, or for any enactment of that kind, in addition to the laws already in force for the protection of the lives and property of all classes of the colonists.

That it is well known to memorialists, that in this district no Hottentot or Bechuana, or people of any other tribe, can sit down with impunity upon any farmer's ground without his permission; and that if such is an evil that requires a remedy in his own hands, which he can use with effect if he pleases, without the aid of an Act that would consign to slavery all the coloured inhabitants of the colony.

That it is well known that about 10,000 Bechuanas were brought into this colony in 1824 and 1825; that these people have invariably maintained an excellent character for industry and honesty, and have rendered essential service to the colonists as herdsman; that having obtained a few cattle, or sheep and goats, by a faithful servitude of eight or ten years, their desire to enjoy each other's society has led several of them to seek out places where they can congregate together for a longer or shorter period, and at which they can leave their cattle in charge of some of their friends while the rest go out to earn more; that memorialists have never known one instance in which they have attempted a settlement without permission from the owners of the land, or, if on government ground, without permission from the proper authorities; and it shows a melancholy state of feeling on the part of the white inhabitants, that a few of these poor people cannot come together for the better protection of their hard earnings, while the major part are still earning more, without being accused of stealing what no one around them has lost.

That cattle may have been stolen or slaughtered, and the Hottentots and Bechuanas may nevertheless have been as innocent of the deed as if they had all been a thousand miles distant, so many and so varied are the casualties to which cattle are exposed; and this fact the Graham's Town people know as well as memorialists do, although they said nothing about it at their public meeting convened to petition for the passing of the said Vagrant Act.

That the Albany farmers obtained their grants of land from government on the express condition of keeping armed men to watch their flocks, and of having all their cattle properly marked, and they would now have a Vagrant Act to save them trouble; but even in this, if they could have their wills, they would be disappointed, for they would still be obliged to have

look after their flocks, if it were only an old woman, to keep them from the wolves and tigers, whose sins have often been laid upon the backs of Hottentots and Caffres, memorialists not excepted.

That memorialists have seen with much satisfaction the following statement, made at a public meeting held at Graham's Town: "The formation of the Kat River Settlement, and the energy afterwards displayed by a portion of the magistracy in dislodging vagrants, caused an immediate effect in diminishing the number of depredations;" and memorialists are of opinion that, if another settlement like Kat River were formed and the magistracy obliged to do their duty, there would remain no need whatever for this new vagrant law.

That as far as the Hottentots are concerned, whatever may be the sentiments of his Excellency the Governor and the honourable council, it is impossible for memorialists to look at the spirit of the letters published in favour of the new law, the arguments used at public meetings convened to petition in favour of it, and to recollect how often some of us have already been taunted by being told we have been long enough our won masters, that in a little time we shall find ourselves in other hands, and not to feel that it is for cheap servants, "the compulsory service," the compulsory service of memorialists, that the whole of this clamour about a Vagrant Act has been raised. "It is a law in place of the old law" that is wanted; a law that will tame the "restlessness" of the Hottentots; a law to punish the Hottentots as felons before a felony has been committed; a law for the "prevention of crime;" a law that will encourage proprietors and capitalists to engage in extensive "improvements and speculations." Hottentots are to be obliged to enter into contract for more than one month, and their "restlessness" is to be subdued for the sole benefit of their masters.

That memorialists are fully satisfied that the disorders of which any of the lower orders of society in this district are guilty, arise from the canteens; and if your Excellency and the honourable council cannot at present convert all our vagrants into honest and steady men, by giving them a settlement like that at the Kat River, or should find it impossible to get the magistracy to do their duty as a portion of it did with so much effect in 1829, and if the canteens cannot be shut up, memorialists will most cordially unite in approving of an Act that will subject every Hottentot found in a canteen to 12 months' hard labour; an Act that will be found to have a more direct effect in curing the evils of vagrancy than the one proposed, without having in a particle of evil of which any friend of the Hottentots would have a right to complain, and without plunging the whole of the coloured classes into a state of slavery.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

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Kat River, 12 August 1834.

His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban, K.C.B., &c, &c, and the Honourable Council.

The Memorial of the Coloured Inhabitants residing on the Establishment of the Kat River.

Humbly sheweth,

That in no country whatever would such a vagrant law as the proposed press so heavily as upon the coloured population of this colony, from the condition and disposition of most of those to whom its execution must be entrusted, to the remoteness of many parts of the districts from the seats



of magistracy, the prejudice and animosity of most of the white inhabitants in the interior against memorialists, and the uncontrolled authority which they have been so long accustomed to exercise over a slave population, and a people formerly in a more wretched condition than even the slaves.

That the proposed law for the suppression of vagrancy would seal the degradation of the coloured population, deprive those who are accumulating property of the little they possess, present such a barrier to their improvements as will for ever present their rising in the scale of society, and drive the most respectable of them to despair. That the white colonists were in this colony more than 100 years before the missionaries came, and memorialists came to the missionary institutions without morals, without Bibles, without any knowledge of the white man's God, without property, and without any clothing, except the sheepskin kaross, but now have schools and Bibles, a knowledge of the Supreme Being, houses of their own, and can appear in public and at church clothed in British manufactures.

That this Act, proposed for the suppression of vagrancy, will to a great extent defeat the end of the labours of missionaries among memorialists, reviving those bad feelings which were generated in their breasts by the oppressions memorialists formerly suffered, and which under the ministrations of their teachers, who have taught them to forgive as they would hope to be forgiven, were rapidly subsiding, and giving way to a state of kindly feeling to all mankind.

That memorialists cannot contemplate without deep concern the immediate effects that this Act will have on the prosperity of this settlement, in driving multitudes of their more unfortunate countrymen to this place for refuge, as it has done to the missionary institutions, by whom memorialists may be eaten up and oppressed, and from whom common humanity will not allow them to turn away.

That the 23rd ordinance, by which all magistrates in the colony are invested with power to commit to prison or hold to bail all vagrants, rioters or other notorious offenders, found within their several jurisdictions, that such offenders may be brought to trial, and to call in the assistance of all field-cornets, peace officers, military officers, and others His Majesty's subjects, to quell all rioters, brawlers, vagrants and other disturbers of the peace, and to bring them to any prison in their respective jurisdictions to be dealt with according to law, invests magistrates, justices of the peace and others with all the authority necessary in his colony for the maintenance of social order, and the protection of the lives and property of His Majesty's liege subjects: that in consequence of the seat of magistracy being far distant from many parts of the district, the coloured people are subject to grievous oppressions, as many of your memorialists can testify, being driven from place to place, suffering the most cruel treatment, having been often obliged, when resolved to go to a magistrate for redress, to travel in the night and to conceal themselves by day; that, by the power of the ordinance for the suppression of vagrancy put into the hands of the commandants, field-cornets and deputy field-cornets, the seat of magistracy will afford memorialists no refuge; the magistrates will throw them back into the hands of their local authorities, to be treated as their caprice may dictate, for having lodged complaints against them; and the last ray of hope for them or for their children will be for ever extinguished.

That many of your memorialists, residing from infancy in the district of Graaf Reinet and Somerset, testify that they had no food from the farmers but the offal of their cattle and sheep; no houses except miserable sheds



of straw and turf, that were open to every blast of wind and showers of rain; no medicine when sick; no covering but the sheepskin kaross, and no wages but one cow or an heifer, or from two to four or six sheep per annum; and, frequently on leaving service of the farmers, even these were detained, and wages when paid in money did not exceed 12 rix dollars per annum: that the proposed Act for the suppression of vagrancy is more unjust in principle, and will be more cruel in its operation, than any Vagrant Act in any other country, and memorialists consider it as more to be dreaded than a law that would punish vagrancy with hanging, &c., because such cruelties would be exercised on a few only, whereas this law will subject almost the whole race, man, woman and children, not residing at a missionary institution or on the Kat River, to a condition compared with which extermination would be mercy.

Upon these grounds memorialists pray that the proposed ordinance may not pass into a law; and memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Signed by 401 of the Inhabitants of the Kat River Settlement.

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## APPENDIX TWO

Whisper 25<sup>th</sup> November 1825.

# LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

## QUERIES PROPOSED BY THE DIRECTORS, TO THE MISSIONARIES LABOURING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Part of the following Queries will be found inapplicable to some of the Stations; when this is the case, the Missionary is requested to write opposite to the Query, the words—Does not apply to this Station.

### SCHOOLS.

1. How many Schools are there in connection with your Mission? and by whom, and in what manner, are they superintended?

Two schools, one at the station and one at the school-house. The school-house is a separate building for the day school. The school-house is a separate building for the day school. The school-house is a separate building for the day school.

2. How many Schoolmasters and Teachers are employed? what are their names, stating whether Christian or Heathen? and how are they supported?

One Schoolmaster is employed for the school. He is a Christian and is supported by the Missionary Society. He is a Christian and is supported by the Missionary Society.

3. What is the number of Children in each School? and what is the average attendance?

The number of children in the school is 100. The average attendance is 80.

4. Of what description are the Children as to Nation, Religion and Language?

The children are of the Xhosa Nation. They are Christians and speak the Xhosa Language.

5. What is the kind of instruction imparted, and in what language?

The instruction is in the Xhosa Language. It is in the Xhosa Language.

6. What books are used, and whence are they procured?

The books used are the Bible and the Xhosa Grammar. They are procured from the Missionary Society.

7. What has been the general progress of the Children? and what is their present state of knowledge?

The progress of the children is very good. They are now able to read and write in the Xhosa Language.

8. State any interesting circumstances which attended the formation of the Schools.

The formation of the school was attended by the Missionary Society. It was attended by the Missionary Society.

9. State any facts illustrative of the progress of the Schools.

The progress of the school is very good. It is very good.

10. State any facts illustrative of the progress of the Schools.

The progress of the school is very good. It is very good.

11. How far is the system of Mutual Instruction introduced in the Schools? and if partially introduced, what are the obstacles to its complete introduction?

The system of Mutual Instruction is nearly complete in the day school. It is nearly complete in the day school.

12. How far is the system of Mutual Instruction introduced in the Schools? and if partially introduced, what are the obstacles to its complete introduction?

The system of Mutual Instruction is nearly complete in the day school. It is nearly complete in the day school.

13. How far is the system of Mutual Instruction introduced in the Schools? and if partially introduced, what are the obstacles to its complete introduction?

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14. How far is the system of Mutual Instruction introduced in the Schools? and if partially introduced, what are the obstacles to its complete introduction?

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15. How far is the system of Mutual Instruction introduced in the Schools? and if partially introduced, what are the obstacles to its complete introduction?

The system of Mutual Instruction is nearly complete in the day school. It is nearly complete in the day school.

16. How far is the system of Mutual Instruction introduced in the Schools? and if partially introduced, what are the obstacles to its complete introduction?

The system of Mutual Instruction is nearly complete in the day school. It is nearly complete in the day school.

APPENDIX THREE

## ATKINSON, Theophilus

He was born 25 October 1825 in England and studied at Gosport (the seminary of the London Missionary Society). He arrived in Cape Town on 7 October 1829 and at Bethelsdorp on 14 November 1829. He took charge of the mission institution at Port Elizabeth but on 21 June 1831 he left to tour Madagascar and Mauritius where the L.M.S. had mission stations. In 1832 he returned to Cape Town and served at the mission institutions at Bethelsdorp, Phillopolis, Colesberg, Zuurbraak and Pacaltsdorp. He retired in 1882 and died at George in 1890.

## BARKER, George : 1789 - 1861

He was born in Cambridge, England in 1789. Appointed as a missionary of the L.M.S. in South Africa in 1815. In the same year he arrived at Bethelsdorp and moved to Theopolis. He returned to Bethelsdorp in 1819 where he remained until January 1821. On the death of Mr Ullbricht the resident missionary at Theopolis, Barker returned there in 1824 where he worked until 1836. He moved from Theopolis to Paarl in 1839. On account of loss of his sight he gave up his charge of Paarl in 1856. He died in 1861.

## CAMPBELL, John

In 1813-14 he was sent by L.M.S. on an inspection tour of their mission institutions at the Cape. In 1819-20 he undertook his second tour of inspection of the mission institutions at the Cape.

## CORNER, William Forgler

He was a negro born in Demerara. He studied in Scotland and was appointed as a missionary of L.M.S. in South Africa in 1811. He worked at Bethelsdorp from 1812 to 1816. He then moved to the mission institution of Hephzibah but in 1817 he was forced by an order of the Cape Government to return to Bethelsdorp. (No reason was given for this decision.) In 1821 he severed his connection with the L.M.S. as a result of a report submitted by the deputation of 1820 to the Directors.

## EDMONDS, John

Appointed as missionary of L.M.S. to South Africa with Van der Kemp and Kicherer. Accompanied Van der Kemp on his mission to "Kaffreland". However he left Kaffreland on 1 January 1800 to return to Cape Town. His connection with the L.M.S. ceased on 8 July 1800.

## EDWARDS, William

Appointed as a missionary of the L.M.S. to South Africa in 1797. Accompanied Van der Kemp, Edmonds and Kicherer to the Cape in 1799. Accompanied Kicherer on his mission to the "Bushmen" at the Oranje River. He left that mission and returned to Cape Town in March 1800. His connection with the L.M.S. ceased on 11 September 1800.

## ELLIS, William : 1784 - 1872

In 1855 he was deputed by the L.M.S. to visit the mission stations of the Society in South Africa and to submit a report to the Directors on his findings.

FOSTER, William

Born in Guilford, England in 1801. On 18 May 1825 he was appointed by the Directors of the L.M.S. to start a seminary for the children of missionaries in South Africa and for the training of "Native Agents". In 1826 he visited Hankey which he found unsuitable for a site for the seminary. He then returned to Bethelsdorp where he served as a schoolmaster. On account of the ill health of his wife he returned to England in October 1829.

FREEMAN, J.J. : 1794 - 1851

In 1836, he deputised for Dr Philip as superintendent of the South African missions, en route from Madagascar. In 1849 - 50 he was appointed by the L.M.S. to visit the Society's stations in South Africa.

HELM, Henry : 1780 - 1848

He was appointed as a missionary of the L.M.S. in South Africa in 1811. After working at different mission institutions of the Society at the Cape, he arrived at Bethelsdorp in 1824 where he remained until 1827. He then moved to the Caledon Institution. He died at Pacaltsdorp on 20 March 1848.

HOOVER, Frederick G.W.

Was appointed to South Africa by the L.M.S. in 1816. He was stationed at Bethelsdorp for a few years. He relieved Mr Barker at Theopolis in 1818. He eventually severed his relationship with the Society.

IRWIN, John

Appointed as a missionary to South Africa by the L.M.S. in 1802. He was stationed in Cape Town while waiting for an opportunity to proceed to Bethelsdorp. In 1803 while on his way to Algoa Bay from Cape Town, the ship he travelled in was wrecked and he was drowned.

KAYSER, Frederick G.G.

He was born on 28 January 1828. He was the son of Rev. F.G. Kayser, missionary of the L.M.S. in "Kaffreland". He studied at Hankey under Rev. T.D. Philip. He was later engaged as a schoolmaster at Knapp's Hope in 1849.

KICHENER, Johannes Jacobus

He was born, educated and ordained in Holland. Accompanied Van der Kemp to the Cape in 1799. He started mission work at the Orange River among the "Bushmen" in 1799 where he worked until his death in 1824.

KITCHINGHAM, James : 1791 - 1848

Arrived as a missionary of the L.M.S. in South Africa in 1817. After working at a number of mission stations he proceeded to Bethelsdorp in 1832 where he remained until his death in 1848.



## KITCHINGHAM, Joseph

Born on 30 September 1823 at Bethelsdorp. He was the son of the resident missionary at the time, James Kitchingham. He took charge of Bethelsdorp mission institution after the death of his father in 1848.

## MILES, Richard

He was appointed in 1825 by the Society to serve in Dr Philip's place as superintendent of their missions in South Africa during the latter's absence in England. On 7 October 1829 when Dr Philip returned to Cape Town, he left South Africa for England where he severed his relationship with the Society.

## MELVILL, John

He was born on 6 June 1787 in London. He served as an agent of the Colonial Government at the Cape until 1827, when he was accepted by the Directors of a missionary for the L.M.S. in South Africa. During his period as missionary he served at many mission institutions. For a time during 1831 he served as schoolmaster of the mission institution at Hankey. Failing eye-sight forced him to retire from mission work in 1850.

## MERRINGTON, Thomas Samuel

He was born in England on 10 September 1809. He was appointed by the Directors of the L.M.S. as a schoolmaster at Bethelsdorp in 1837. He moved to Theopolis in 1840 and in 1842 to Somerset East to commence a mission there. After serving at Grahamstown in 1844 and Graaff Reinet in 1849, he returned in 1852 to take charge of Bethelsdorp. In 1879 he retired from active mission work and died in Port Elizabeth on 8 July 1890.

## MESSER, John George : 1773 - 1845

He was born in Hesse, Germany in 1773. He was appointed to South Africa by the L.M.S. in 1811. He moved to Bethelsdorp from Swellendam in 1813 where he remained until January 1819. In 1823 moved to Hankey, after a period of suspension. He continued to work at Hankey until 1 September 1831. In 1831 he moved to Uitenhage. He retired from active mission work on 30 April 1843.

## MONRO, John

Arrived in Cape Town on 21 July 1821 after being appointed by the L.M.S. as an assistant missionary. He proceeded immediately to Bethelsdorp where he served as superintendent of schools from 1823 to 1826. He then served at a number of different mission institutions until he retired from active mission service in 1846.

## PHILIP, John D.D.

Born in 1775. He studied at Hoxton Academy, a well-known Dissenting Academy. In 1829 he arrived in Cape Town as the deputation of the L.M.S. with John Campbell to visit and report on the mission stations of the Society. He visited the Society's mission stations and returned to Cape Town. In 1820, Mr Philip received from Princeton College, New Jersey,

United States, the degree of Doctor of Divinity. When the deputation completed its work he was appointed permanent superintendent of the Society's mission in South Africa. He made repeated visits to the stations in and beyond the Colony. He visited England in 1826 and during his stay he had published his "Researches in South Africa". Shortly after his return to Cape Town in 1829 he was called to defend an action for libel in the Supreme Court. Action was decided against him and he was involved in damages and costs amounting to £1,200 which was paid by his friends in England. In 1832 he again visited stations in and beyond the Colony. In 1836 he visited England with James Read junior, Tsatsu, a Xhosa chief, and Andries Stoffles, a Khoikhoi, to give evidence before a Parliamentary Committee on the "Conditions of the Aborigines in South Africa and the causes of the Kafir war". In 1838 he returned to Cape Town and in 1846 he retired to Hankey where he died in 1851.

PHILIP, Thomas Durant

He was born on 25 November 1819 in Cape Town. (Son of Dr Philip.) He studied at Howard College and Edinburgh University. He returned to South Africa in 1844 to work as a missionary at Hankey. In 1847 he undertook the task of training young men for missionary work. In 1852 he was in sole charge of Hankey.

PHILIP, William

He was born on 31 July 1824 in Aberdeen. (Son of Dr Philip.) He studied at the Theological Academy in Glasgow. He was appointed as a missionary to South Africa by the L.M.S. in 1840. He proceeded to Hankey in August 1842 as the resident missionary. On 1 July 1845 he was drowned in the Gamtoos River near Hankey.

READ, James : 1777 - 1852

He was born in Abridge, Essex on 3 December 1777. He was single but later married a Khoikhoi woman at the Cape. Was appointed as a missionary of the L.M.S. in 1800. In the same year he arrived at Cape Town and immediately joined Van der Kemp at Graaff Reinet. He travelled with Van der Kemp and a group of Khoi on 20 February 1802 for Algoa Bay. They started the mission institution Bethelsdorp in 1802. He moved to Philipton, a Kat River Settlement on 26 July 1829 as missionary in charge. In 1836 he visited England with Dr Philip to give evidence before a Parliamentary Committee concerning the Aborigines in South Africa and the courses of the recent frontier war. In 1838 he returned to South Africa and again joined his congregation at the Kat River Settlement. In 1851 with the destruction and abandonment of the Kat River Settlement, he retired to Alice. He died at Eland's Post in 1852.

READ, James (junior)

Born on 31 July 1811 at Bethelsdorp (son of James Read missionary at Bethelsdorp at the time). He was appointed by the L.M.S. as missionary and superintendent of schools at the Kat River Settlement. In 1842 he married Ann Barker (the daughter of Rev. G. Barker, the resident missionary at Theopolis). In 1851 as a result of the destruction of the Kat

River Settlement, he returned to Alice. In the next year he returned to the Kat River Settlement to reorganize what little was left of the mission. He moved to Philipton and made it the centre of the mission.

ROBSON, Adam : 1784 - 1870

Born on 7 July 1794 at Newcastle, in England. He studied at the seminary of the Society at Gosport. He arrived in Cape Town on 30 December 1823 as a missionary of the L.M.S. He proceeded to Bethelsdorp in 1825 where he served as missionary until 1832 when he moved to Port Elizabeth. He died in Port Elizabeth on 25 August 1870. His wife continued to reside and work in Port Elizabeth where she died on 16 January 1879 at the age of 90.

SASS, Christopher

He was born in Prussia in 1772. He studied in Berlin and was appointed as a missionary of the L.M.S. to South Africa in 1811. After working at different mission institutions of the L.M.S. he moved to Bethelsdorp in 1827. He remained there a short while before moving to Uitenhage in 1828. In 1830 he moved to Theopolis where he remained until his death in 1849.

ULLBRICHT, John Gottfried

Although he was born in Germany he was appointed by the L.M.S. to work in South Africa as a missionary. He worked at Bethelsdorp from 4 March 1805 to 1814. He then left to start the mission station of Theopolis in 1814 where he died on 4 January 1821.

VAN DER KEMP, John Theodorus

He was born in Rotterdam, Holland in 1747. Studied medicine at Leyden and Edinburgh where he obtained his degree. He was accepted as a missionary of the L.M.S. to South Africa in 1797. On his arrival in Cape Town in 1799 he immediately proceeded on his first mission, to Kaffraria. In 1801 he moved to Graaff Reinet. In 1802 at "Bota's" farm with his first KhoiKhoi congregation. He married a native convert whom he had redeemed from slavery. In 1803 he founded the mission institution at Bethelsdorp. He died in Cape Town while arranging a new mission to Madagascar. By a resolution of Directors on 16 December 1811 (the day after his death) he was appointed superintendent of the Society's South African Missions.

WILLIAM, Edward

Was born on 8 August 1814 in Flintshire, Scotland. He was appointed as a missionary to Hankey by the L.M.S. in 1836. He worked there until 10 April 1843 when ill-health forced him to return to England.

WILLIAMS, Joseph

He was born in England in 1780. He studied at the seminary at Gosport. He was appointed as a missionary of the L.M.S. to South Africa in 1815. He reached Bethelsdorp on 14 September 1815, from whence he proceeded to Kaffraria in July 1816. He began in the same year at a spot on the Kat River, today called King Williams Town, where he died on 24 August 1818.

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