
A STUDY OF CERTAIN ASPECTS
of the
MOUNT COKE MISSIONARY INSTITUTION.

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Part II of the Bachelor of Divinity Degree,
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PREFACE.

In searching for information concerning the chain of stations that William Shaw established from the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony towards Natal, I found that I had to consult many books. Many sources of information have recently come to light and this had to be analysed as well.

In this work much had to be included that did not directly refer to Mount Coke, but it is relevant in that it affected the history of the Mission, and the effect of the Mission on the community as a whole. When histories of all the stations are written the incidents should show up in the right perspective.

Before planning the outline of the thesis I visited Dr. H. M. Bennett at Mount Coke Medical Mission, and Dr. A. W. Burton at King William's Town. From them I received background material, and was given an idea where to look for more information. General discussion helped me to make up my mind on what I wanted to investigate. Later I was able to approach them with the problems I had encountered. At Mount Coke I was given access to certain papers that had been kept in the office. From these I obtained most of the information recorded in Chapter IX, and have taken the liberty of reproducing some of them in Appendices 9, 10 and 11. I am grateful for all the

help given at Mount Coke and in King William's Town.

My tutor, Rev. L. A. Hewson M. A., has given me encouragement and help. From him I received a good foundation for this thesis. With his guidance I was able to build up a long bibliography, and, when I was unable to find a particular item of information, he was able to guide me to it, or find it for me.

I was always courteously received in the various libraries I visited. The Gubbins Library of the University of the Witwatersrand and the Johannesburg Africana Library gave me every assistance during my brief stay there. The Government Archives in Cape Town intrigued me. It was a pleasure to be able to see original letters from the Eastern Cape and the Frontier, and to be given a closer glimpse into the past. Those letters seemed to reveal so much more than a report, and gave an atmosphere of acquaintanceship. I was also given access to the library of the Methodist Publishing House and Book Depot in Cape Town, by the Rev. E. W. Grant, the Book Steward, and found there information not available elsewhere.

Most of my research was done in the Cory Library at Rhodes University and in the Methodist Archives in Livingstone House. I am grateful for the books that were made available to me.

I am indebted to Mr. H. R. Kent of the Rhodes University staff for a discussion on the history of Bantu Grammar, the formation of Bantu sentences, and the orthography of Xhosa words. I have attempted to use the modern orthography, except where the new symbols are not on the typewriter. This is explained in Chapter VI on pages 81 and 82.

Xhosa was often spelt Xosa, Often an 'h' appears in modern spelling where it did not do so previously. Phato, and Khama are usually seen as Pato and Kama, but the modern spelling is used in this thesis. Sometimes the use of the 'h' is optional as in Bhaca or Baca, and Tyhali or Tyali.

I have chosen to use Ndlambe in preference to Ndhlambi, Islambi, Tshambi, Slambie, Ilambi, and other spellings. Gqunukhwebe should be Gqunukhwe⁶e, but the '6' symbol has not been used. Similarly I have used the spelling Tamara in place of Tamar⁶a. Kungwa is preferred to Cungwa; Mngeno to Eno; and Ngqika to Gaika.

I do not attempt to lay down a rule, but have tried to be consistent, giving, as far as possible, the correct pronunciation.

The research put into this thesis has aroused an interest in the history of the Border. Place-names now have a meaning for me. I hope that others may find pleasure and enjoyment in similar work.

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CHAPTER I. SOUTH EAST AFRICA. THE TRIBES AND
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It is necessary to give a brief description of the Native tribes of South Africa in order to understand the problems of starting and developing a mission station. When Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape in 1652, the Company post established there traded with the Hottentots, the chief inhabitants of this part of the country. The Hottentots gradually lost their independence because they sold their cattle to the company and then found that the game had largely disappeared. They had to rely on the company for most of their necessities. From then on their status was often below that of a slave in the eyes of the farmers.¹ In 1713 a small-pox epidemic struck the Colony, affecting Europeans, slaves and Hottentots, the hardest hit being the Hottentots.

On the northern frontier the Bushmen were continually at loggerheads with the Colonists. They were nomads, existing on the game they could kill and on the roots and plants they could find. William Taylor described them as "a nation of beings of very low stature, low in intellect, having the character of being a marauding, murderous people."² Bushmen and wild beasts were bracketed together.

1 . MacCrone, Race Attitudes in South Africa. p.100.

2. Taylor, The Story of My Life. p.328.

The invasion of their hunting grounds caused them to retaliate and kill the stock of the Colonists, till they were driven into the mountains or the desert, where they exist now in small numbers.

Towards the east the expanding Colony met with a new group of people. Their general name 'Bantu' means 'the people', but they are also called 'the Kaffirs', derived from the Arabic word meaning 'infidel' or 'unbeliever'.³ They are said to have moved down from the north, coming into the country in the sixteenth century,⁴ either one tribe passing through another, or a new tribe being formed by a part breaking away from a large one. First contacts with them by Europeans were made by Portuguese survivors from shipwreck, who made their way north towards Delagoa Bay.

The Eastern Frontier of the Colony was continually advancing as farmers, moving to get fresh farmlands and sometimes to escape control, drew nearer to the Bantu tribes. In March 1702 a 'marauding' party left Stellenbosch for seven months, on a trip as far as the Fish River, where they came into contact with a band of Xhosa warriors,

3. Taylor, The Story of My life. p.330; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.140.
4. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol V. p.337.

fugitives from their own people.⁵ The Bantu tribes were moving south till by 1750 several chiefs had crossed the Kei River despite resistance by Hottentots.⁶ An expedition sent by Ryk Tulbach in 1752, after passing along the coast from Mossel Bay, and stopping at Algoa Bay, finally met the Bantu on the banks of the Keiskama River, which was the then boundary between the Bantu and Hottentot tribes.⁷ They penetrated further, to interview a chief at the Kei River.⁸

The Colony was still spreading eastward till, in 1778, the Bushman's River and Upper Fish River had been reached. In that year van Plettenberg interviewed some of the chiefs and, by agreement, the Fish River was recognised as the boundary between Bantu and European.⁹ This appears to have been the beginning of hostilities, for the first Kaffir War came in 1779, the Bantu invading the Zuurveld, even as far as Algoa Bay. They were driven out in 1793, but this expedition was not a success, for as soon as the commando was disbanded the country was again entered, causing farmers to abandon their farms.

5. Theal, History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795. Vol II. p.396.
6. Theal, History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795. Vol III. p.802.
7. Theal, History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795. Vol III. pp.82-85.
8. Girdlestone, Europe: Its Influence on South Africa. p.248.
9. Girdlestone, Europe: Its Influence on South Africa. p.251.

In 1811 and 1812 attempts were again made to keep the Bantu out of the Zuurveld, the Addo Bush proving difficult to clear. The Bantu retreated until the attacks ceased, and then came back again; inducing the Governor at the Cape to make an agreement with Ngqika, whom he considered to be the chief of all the tribes, respecting the observance of the Fish River as the boundary.¹⁰

Ndlambi, Ngqika's uncle, did not accept this agreement, which led to a battle between these chiefs. Lord Charles Somerset came to the aid of Ngqika, who had been beaten, and drove Ndlambi back, re-installing Ngqika. Ndlambi retaliated in 1819 by attacking Grahamstown, where he was soundly beaten by a small force of defenders. The Fish River boundary was insisted upon, and further, a neutral zone was established, which was intended to provide a barrier to the raiding parties which caused most of the trouble on the frontier. At this time the old system of non-intercourse was strongly insisted upon, so as to prevent any clashes. Special permission had to be obtained before anyone could cross the frontier in any direction.

To make this frontier more stable the Government attempted to increase the population. The Dutch farmers tended to avoid this part of the country, so emigrants

10. Cory, The Rise of South Africa. Vol I. p.398.

were sought in England. Glowing reports were published there, where there was a rising tide of unemployment after the Napoleonic Wars. A grant of £50,000 was made, and 4,000 emigrants selected. These arrived in the Cape in 1820 and were settled in various areas, mainly between Grahamstown and the sea. The Rev. William Shaw had been appointed as official chaplain to one of the parties of settlers, amongst whom there were a number of Wesleyan families. Shaw widened his sphere of work so as to cater for all the settlers, and set the foundation for the missionary work which began so soon after.

For a number of years there was comparative quiet on the frontier. There were the all-too-frequent cattle raids by the Bantu, and the severe reprisals by the commandos, preventing a real peace, but there was no uprising for a number of years. In this setting we can analyse the tribes of the great Bantu race. They can be divided into several branches, and those into tribes. The relationships and loyalties to one another and to a chief were sometimes easily altered when it suited them, but royal blood was held in high esteem and chiefs not easily removed. The main branches were the Xhosa, Thembu, Pondo, Baca, and Zulu, with the Pandomisi and Xesibe as independent tribes. The Xhosa branch, living nearest the frontier, was divided into many tribes, with three main chiefs and other minor chiefs. Hintsa was chief of the Gcaleka

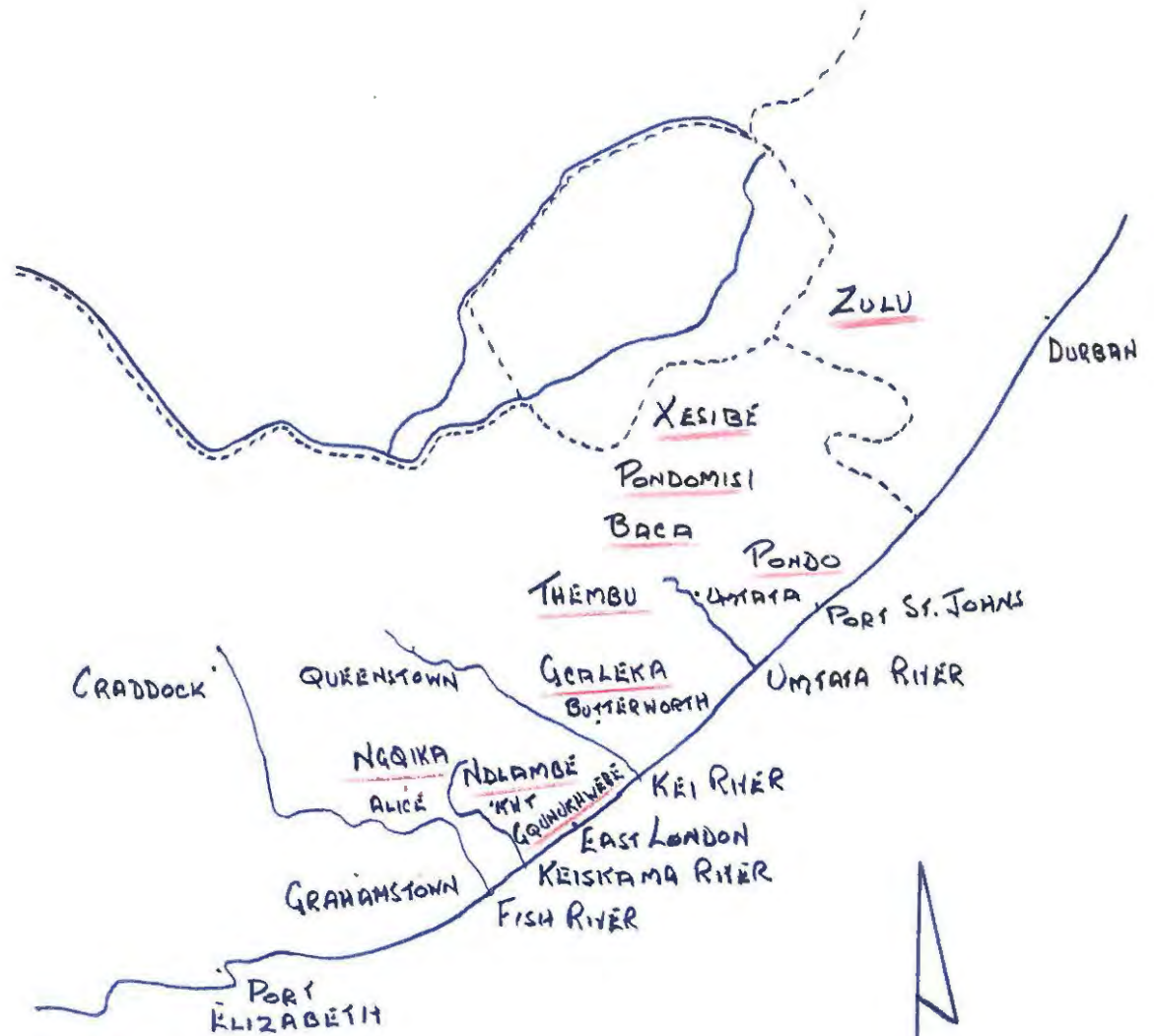
tribe across the Kei River, and was generally regarded as the Great Chief of the Xhosa. Ngqika was chief of the Ngqika tribe, and regarded as great chief on the frontier. Ndlambi has also been mentioned before. He was chief of the Ndlambi tribe.

Ndlambi and Ngqika died within a few months of each other in the years 1828 and 1829, and by this time missionaries had established stations with their tribes. Ngqika left powerful sons in Maqomo, Tyali and the hereditary chief Sandile, but Ndlambi's son Dushani did not survive him long, and the tribe split up.¹¹ Ngqika had also ruled over the tribes of Botuman (Imidanke), Mngeno (Bolu), and Tshatshu (Tinde) as well as other sub-chiefs. Another tribe, the Gqunukhwebe, existed along the coast, the chief of which had been Kungwa (killed in 1812 in the Addo Bush) but was now Phato, assisted by his brothers Khama and Kungwa. Their relative areas can be seen on the map on page 7.

Cory records that these chiefs were related to one another, all except the Gqunukhwebe being adherents of chiefs descended from Rarabe.¹² It was not necessarily the eldest son who became chief, but the son of the chief wife, so that he might be a minor when the chief dies, as happened in the case of Sandile, even though Ngqika was

11. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1832. p.219.

12. Cory, The Rise of South Africa. Vol IV. p.330.



SKETCH MAP

showing the tribes on the Eastern
Frontier of the Cape Colony about
1825.

aged when he died. The other sons would become sub-chiefs, with their own small following, sometimes even breaking away, but usually observing the ties to the appointed chief.

It was at first thought that these people had no religion whatsoever, as recorded in a letter from Mr. Shrewsbury,¹³ and he states that there is "not a single vestige of idolatry".¹⁴ Yet while free from idolatry, they are slaves to the most debasing fears and superstitions. John Bennie, however, reported as early as 1822, that he had found they had a name for the creator of all things.¹⁵ But they worshipped spirits as distinct from God Himself, and above all the Bantu feared the spirits of their ancestors who were able to do harm to the living.¹⁶ Prayers were offered to them, and often sacrifices.

They had a respect for the spirits of the dead, but a fear of touching dead bodies. Many examples are given of their habits of removing dying people from huts before death and of leaving them in the bush where they were devoured by the wild animals.¹⁷ Sometimes these people lingered a long time before dying, but the fear of death

15. Shepherd, Lovedale, South Africa. p.55.

16. Shepherd, Lovedale, South Africa. p.49; Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol V.p.337.

17. Shepherd, Lovedale, South Africa. p.55; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission, pp.170-172.

13. Missionary Notices Vol 5. p.297.

14. Missionary Notices Vol 5. p.314; Shepherd, Lovedale South Africa. p.55.

is so great that no assistance would be given them. On the other hand, chiefs were treated differently, their bodies being buried at the entrance to the cattle kraal and the animals driven over the spot so that it could not be found and parts of the body used as medicine. Those who assisted in the burial had to undergo a cleansing ceremony.

Certain people were supposed to be able to use the spirits of the dead, sometimes for good, but usually for evil. When anyone fell sick the cause was often ascribed either to the spirits of the ancestors, who were displeased with them, or to a spell cast by some enemy. In the latter case a witch-doctor, who could be either male or female, would be called to find out who caused the illness. This smelling-out process was accompanied by the sacrifice of an animal, the best parts of which went to the witch-doctor. The accused was usually tortured in order to prove his guilt or to get him to confess, and all his beasts confiscated, to be shared by the witch-doctor and the chief. In this way influential or rich persons were removed and their possessions taken over. The witch-doctor was also called in for many other ceremonies and was expected to produce many magical results, such as bringing rain. When he failed he would often accuse someone else of working magic or annoying the spirits and so preventing his success.

Many degrading ceremonies are carried on by the Bantu. The boys are recognised as men after a ceremony which includes circumcision, and many other rites, often immoral. The coming of age of a girl is celebrated on a smaller scale, but also with degrading scenes. Marriage ceremonies include a feast and a dance. They accept polygamy, and are encouraged in this by the higher standing in society accorded to the man with more wives. The number of wives reflects his wealth. A custom associated with this emphasizes the need of wealth before marriage, for the prospective bridegroom has to deliver to the father of the girl a number of cattle decided upon by their representatives. Europeans interpret this 'lobola' to be a payment for the girl, as though she was bought, but, to the native, this is a form of insurance for the girl, to ensure her good treatment. The girl has no say in the matter, and age is no barrier.

The position of women in society was apparently very inferior. Heavy labour was performed by them while the men sat at home in the sun. The women went out into the fields and tilled the ground, they prepared the food, they went to fetch the water. Then, when the family moved, the women carried the heavy goods while the men went ahead or at the flanks. But the men were not completely idle. They were the warriors, and went to war, or they went on hunting expeditions to provide meat for the pot. During

the removal from one place to another they were to be ready in case of trouble from enemies or wild animals. The women were, however, the servants, though they possibly exerted the usual influence women do exert on men.

Bantu ideas of ownership of land were not properly understood by the Europeans. The right to use a portion of land was given to an individual, or to a group of individuals, but the land could not be alienated from the tribe. This was not realised by Europeans who acted under the impression that when treaties were made, and land bought, the possession of land was implied, and not use only.

These people were not left untouched by the Europeans. They came into contact with the ever-spreading Colony in many unfortunate ways. The farmer, seeking fresh farmlands or seeking to recover stolen or strayed stock, frequently aroused antagonism. Many of the unpleasant traits in the character of the Colonists were all too evident, especially where the Colonist himself was suspicious. The different attitudes towards everyday affairs and the importance placed on different traits in character made the one a puzzle to the other; the custom of 'lobola'; the conception of ownership of land; the value of truth against lies; the place of women in society. Misunderstandings and resentments led to unpleasant results.

Another group of people attempted to see their point

of view and to work with them. Missionaries came to the heathen, often at great cost to themselves, and sought their welfare in all spheres of life. The first missionary who came to South Africa was the Moravian, George Schmidt, who arrived in 1737, but had to leave again seven years later. The Moravian Mission was resumed in 1792, and for years the work was limited to the western Cape. In 1812 a station was opened at Enon, on a tributary of the Sundays River, but it was only in 1828 that they turned to the Bantu, when they started a station at Shiloh. So that in the early eighteen twenties they had not entered this field.

The first attempt to establish a mission amongst the Bantu was made by the London Missionary Society in the year 1799 by Dr. Johannes Vandérkemp and John Edmond.¹⁸ But this mission was short-lived. Although Ngqika did not himself drive them away, conditions on the frontier were such that Vandérkemp had to withdraw to the Colony where he concentrated on working amongst the Hottentots, eventually forming a settlement near Fort Frederick (now Port Elizabeth) called Bethelsdorp. A station was subsequently started at Theopolis between the Kariega and Kowie Rivers. But this was also started for the benefit of the Hottentots.¹⁹

The next effort to enter Kaffirland was made in 1816

18. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.60

19. Campbell, *British South Africa*. p.84; du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*. p.141.

by Rev. Joseph Williams, also of the London Missionary Society.²⁰ He established a station near the present site of Fort Beaufort, on the Kat River. But the work proved too strenuous for him and he died in 1818.

Owing to further disturbances on the frontier he was not replaced until June 1820, when Rev. John Brownlee was sent there by the Government.²¹ The Government now entered the field as far as mission work was concerned. The missionary appointed acted as Government agent as well. This new station was at Chumie²², on the Tyumie valley²³, on the Gwali River, not far from the present town of Alice. In 1821 Rev. William Ritchie Thomson and Mr. Bennie arrived to assist him,²³ and further help came with the arrival of Rev. John Ross in 1823.²⁴ These last three men were missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society, and were soon busy establishing stations, with the help of others who were later sent out. In November 1824 the beginning of the station that developed into Lovedale was made.²⁵

20. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.62; Eveleigh, *The Settlers and Methodism*. p.53; du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*. p.141.
21. *Missions in Caffraria*. pp.102 and 129; *The Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register for 1832*. pp.79-80.
22. Two different spellings of the same Xhosa name, but appear thus in the sources.
23. *Missions in Caffraria*. pp.132-134.
24. *Missions in Caffraria*. p.140.
25. *Missions in Caffraria*. p.141.

Later Balfour (1827), Burnshill (1830), and Pirie (1830) were established in this vicinity by these men.

Rev. John Brownlee reverted to the London Missionary Society in 1825 and went to the Buffalo River. There he established a station in July 1826 where King William's Town was later built.²⁶

In estimating the work amongst the Bantu, William Shaw wrote in 1820, "I hope the committee will never forget that with the exception of Latakoo, which is far in the interior, there is not a single missionary station between the place of my residence and the northern extremity of the Red Sea; nor any people professedly Christian, with the exception of those of Abyssinia."²⁷ And in 1822 he reported, "There are three missionaries in Caffreland, two under the patronage of the Government, and one under that of the Glasgow Society; but what are these among so many? If I remember right the late Dr. Vanderkemp estimated the population of Caffreland at 80,000 souls; and I have not heard that the late Mr. Williams, who resided among them some time, ever intimated that his estimate was too great."²⁸

William Shaw was always eager to go on to the great mass of heathen that spread from his very doors, so he

26. Missions in Caffraria. p.149.

27. Missionary Notices Vol 3. p.23.

28. Missionary Notices Vol 3. p.341.

continued to plead for more men to be sent to South Africa. He set about performing the task where he was, but always watching for an opportunity to go further.

CHAPTER II. WESLEYAN MISSIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF MOUNT COKE MISSION STATION.

Until the arrival of the 1820 Settlers the Wesleyan Missionary Society had only worked in the west of the Colony, first amongst the troops and then among the Namaquas and the slaves. But, with the arrival of the new population, a new sphere of activity opened. William Shaw did not restrict himself to the party with which he officially arrived, but was soon busy ministering to all who would accept him. There were very few provisions made for religious services in Albany, so William Shaw was kept busy.

"A portion of the people were Episcopalians, and they were pleased to find that at the forenoon service on Sundays I regularly read the liturgical service of the Church of England, as abridged under the direction of the Rev. John Wesley."¹ There was a chaplain appointed to the troops in Grahamstown, but it was said that the Sabbath had reached the Sundays River and found it difficult to cross.² Shaw records that there was no chaplain in 1820³, but in 1821

1. Boyce, Memoir of the Rev. W. Shaw. pp.59-60; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.89.
2. Boyce, Memoir of the Rev. W. Shaw. pp.39-40.
3. Boyce, Memoir of the Rev. W. Shaw. p.65; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.98.

Rev. W. Wright arrived, who had the missionary cause more at heart and investigated the possibilities of establishing a mission across the border, but nothing appears to have come of this.⁴ He was replaced by Mr. Geary in 1822. The only clergyman attached to the Colonists was Rev. James Boardman, who settled at Bathurst. He, however, did not consider it his duty to itinerate, but to remain with his party, so William Shaw did not clash with him.⁵

Amongst the Settlers there were also Baptists who established services for themselves under Mr. William Miller.⁶ The independents also gathered together and formed a small congregation under Mr. Duxbury.⁷ But William Shaw was welcomed wherever he went. He once said, "I belong to what is called a sect; but I never had a sectarian heart."⁸ He avoided religious controversy where he could and encouraged all to come to his services.

William Shaw rightly looked on this as the base from

4. Campbell, British South Africa. p.80.
5. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.95; Boyce, Memoir of the Rev. W. Shaw. p.65; Ayliff, Memorials of the British Settlers. pp.20-21.
6. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.89; Boyce, Memoir of the Rev. W. Shaw. p. 59; Ayliff, Memorials of the British Settlers. p.21.
7. Ayliff, Memorials of the British Settlers. p.21.
8. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.259; See: Boyce, Memoir of the Rev. W. Shaw. p.60; Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.101; Davies, Great South African Christians. p.34.

which to send out troops to conquer fresh territory for Christ. He admitted that he would probably have had a similar attitude towards missions to that of Barnabas Shaw had he not been sent as a minister to settlers⁹, but he was convinced that he had found a better way to establish the work. This has been proved by the manner in which the settlers have provided so many labourers in the mission field.

Work was commenced amongst the non-Europeans of Albany. The London Missionary Society had missions, but nothing was being done for the Hottentot soldiers and their families. This was the first body of natives to which William Shaw ministered when he began regular services in 1821 in Grahamstown, and formed a society among them in 1822.¹⁰

The work amongst the Xhosas, however, was not possible at this stage. Shortly after the arrival of the British Settlers the Government issued a notice prohibiting all intercourse between them and the native tribes. It was to be regarded as a capital crime for any Colonist to cross the boundary, and any Bantu coming into the Colony was liable to be shot, or, if taken into custody, was to be sent to Robben Island.¹¹ William Shaw could only meet

9. Boyce, Memoir of the Rev. W. Shaw. pp.86-87.

10. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp.15-20.

11. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp. 321-322.

those who~~were~~ allowed to visit the colony, or those in prison, so he was more conscious than ever of the large areas untouched by Christian influence and was eager to initiate some missionary work.¹² Mr. Kay came to assist in this aim, but was diverted to Bechuanaland. Rev. William Threlfall was sent in 1822 to assist, but was impatient at the delay in establishing a mission, so that he eventually went to Delagoa Bay in May 1823, where he stayed about a year, eventually being brought away almost dead.¹³

But William Shaw had been slowly working towards the establishment of the 'chain of stations' to Natal that he visualised. He studied all the information he could obtain concerning the Bantu tribes, and what had been accomplished. This convinced him that he should start with the tribes along the coast.¹⁴ But he was not going to be satisfied with that, the vast spaces further on called him. The Government now realised that there must be some contact between the people on either side of the frontier, either legal or illegal, so fairs were established to enable the tribes to trade. The first fair was at Fort Willshire in August 1821, where the trading could be supervised. The

12. See: W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.59; Boyce, *Memoir of the Rev. W. Shaw*. p.94.

13. Boyce, *Memoir of the Rev. W. Shaw*. pp.81-87.

14. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.71.

regulations were at first very restrictive, but were relaxed by degrees.¹⁵ William Shaw had always been in favour of these, and was in correspondence with the Governor through Landdrost Rivers in Grahamstown, earnestly seeking permission for a mission to be established. But the non-intercourse policy was still considered to be the only safe means of preserving peace. The Government mission at Chumie was the only one allowed, being under the immediate instructions and control of the Government.¹⁶

Eventually, in August 1822, William Shaw was allowed to visit Ngqika, whom the Government recognised as king, and went on to see Phato and Kungwe, with whom he hoped to establish the first station.¹⁷ A memorial addressed to the Governor of the Cape¹⁸ brought a favourable reply, permission was granted in June 1823 for the Wesleyan Missionary Society to establish a mission.¹⁹ William Shaw made one further trip in July and August 1823, to see the chiefs concerned,²⁰ and finally left Grahamstown in November 1823 with Mr. J. W. Shepstone and their families,

15. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.232.
16. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.325.
17. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.69; *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. 1824. p.56.
18. Appendix 1. C.6. 184. Letter 105.
19. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.81.
20. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.82.

arriving at the site of the new station, Wesleyville, on December the 5th.²¹ Mrs. Shaw helped him to make up his mind when he began to have doubts as to the moment being right, since she was sure of Divine protection.²²

Wesleyville was the first link in the chain of stations. It was not long before William Shaw met Ndlambi and his son Dushani, and made a favourable impression on them. Ndlambi was now about 80 years old, and still an influential chief. In 1825 Mr. Whitworth came to Wesleyville, and in company with him, William Shaw went on a tour to the country further up the coast, "our object being to ascertain the population and capabilities of the country further up the coast, with the disposition of the different Caffre and Tambookie chiefs, with regard to receiving missionaries for their respective tribes."²³ They left on the 31st of March and Whitworth describes their reception by Dushani on the 3rd of April, and by Ndlambi on the 4th. After four hours of discussion Dushani reported "The country is before you; you must choose a place where you will sit down; our manners are so different from yours, that we cannot choose for you; but you must choose, and fix where you please." Ndlambi

21. Boyce, Memior of the Rev W. Shaw. p.102-106; The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1824.p.203.

22. Boyce, Memoir of the Rev W. Shaw. p.101.

23. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1825. p.850.

answered in a similar vein. "The land is all before you, choose for yourselves where you~~will~~ live, I am old, but my children are young, and they shall learn of you."²⁴ The expedition carried on to visit Hintsa and Vossanie before returning to Wesleyville. As a result of this trip, on the 18th of April William Shaw wrote a memorial to the Governor at the Cape requesting permission to occupy fresh fields, namely, with Ndlambi, who was desirous that a missionary institution should be commenced there; and with the tribes further in the interior.²⁵ A reply soon came, on the 6th of May the Government informed him and Rev. W. R. Thomson, the Government agent at Chumie, that permission had been granted to the Wesleyan Missionaries to increase the number of stations in Kaffraria.²⁶ William Shaw was not long in proceeding with the arrangements.

In June Mr. S. Kay and William Shaw arranged to select a site for the second station, and prepare to occupy it. On the 2nd of July they saw Ndlambi and were allowed to preach. Finally, after a consultation with the councillors, Ndlambi said, "The thing is determined, you have nothing to do but to select a place: the land is before you."²⁷

24. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1825. p.852.

25. Appendix 2. C.O. 230 Letter 54.

26. C.O. 230 Letters 71 and 74.

27. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1825. p.856.

On the 7th of July Dushani and his brother Umkye went with them to select the site, and decided on a spot on the Mkhangiso, a tributary of the Buffalo River. A special District Meeting at Wesleyville soon approved of the site and named it Mount Coke, because of the high hill there and in honour of Dr. Thomas Coke, said to be the father of Wesleyan Missions.

Mr. Richard Tainton was chosen as lay assistant and went to Wesleyville to gain a little experience while Rev. Stephen Kay was making final arrangements in Grahamstown, then moved on to Mount Coke in October 1825 where he was soon joined by Mr. Kay.²⁸ Thus Mount Coke was started.

There has been some question as to where the mission station was originally built, for it was reported that the buildings were twice abandoned and burnt down, during the wars of 1835 and 1846, each time a fresh start having to be made. The site was altered at least once, and conflicting reports have been given concerning these moves. In 1930 Rev. Charles Pettman, a church historian, wrote to Mr. Carr at Mount Coke quoting from page 206 of Boyce's "Memoir of the Revd. William Shaw". He came to the conclusion that the original station was built on the site of the present ruins of Fort Murray on the banks of the Buffalo River, having found no evidence that there were

28. Appendix 3. C.O. 323. Letter 4. First Annual Report.

two Fort Murrays. Historical books do, however, record that this fort was built twice and indicate that the two efforts were not made on the same site.

Fort Murray was first built at the conclusion of the war of 1835, on the 15th of June 1835,²⁹ as one of a chain of forts to control the 'ceded territory'. But withdrawal from this strip of territory was ordered by the Colonial Office, and the fort was dismantled and abandoned in September 1836.³⁰ As a result of the war of 1846 another Fort Murray was built on the site of the then ruins of Mount Coke Station, in 1848, necessitating the move quoted by Charles Pettman, but this was a second Fort Murray. Cory records two sites in his volumes 'The Rise of South Africa'.³¹ A mound of earth next to the present Church at Mount Coke is nowadays pointed out as marking the foundations of the first Fort Murray. So we must look further for evidence.

William Shaw himself gave us the answer when he wrote in his book 'The Story of My Mission' (page 220), "Although the mission village had been twice burnt down, for a time had to be removed to another site on the Buffalo River, yet it was again rebuilt on the original spot, where it still stands." To this is added the report of Mount Coke and

29. The Graham's Town Journal, June 19th. 1835.

30. Cory, The Rise of South Africa. Vol 3. pp. 328-330 and p.348.

31. Cory, The Rise of South Africa. Vol 3. p.184.

King William's Town Circuit for the year 1848 as recorded in the Albany District Minute Book (page 173). The original site was reoccupied in 1848, about three miles distant from Fort Murray on the Buffalo River.

The earliest evidence will be the descriptions of the mission station given by those who visited it before it was first destroyed. Many passages mention a tributary of the Buffalo River, and give the name as 'Mkhangiso'.³² The present ruins of Fort Murray are on the banks of the Buffalo River, indicating that this was a later site for Mount Coke. There is further support~~for~~ for the present site being the original one in the description of the hill when Kay named the station.³³ The present Mount Coke hill is one of the highest points between the Amatola Mountains and the Indian Ocean. Cowper Rose was sorry to see the name of the hill changed from the Xhosa one,³⁴ but his description supports the claim, even though he mistakes the Xhosa word used.³⁵

32. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.218; Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*. p.182; Extracts from the Letters of James Backhouse. Vol II Part VII p.50; East London Dispatch July 4th, 1939.
33. *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. 1825.p.856; Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of S.A.* p.182.
34. Cowper Rose, *Four Years in Southern Africa*. p.160.
35. Mkhangiso = lookout. Mkhanyiso = rays of light. Mkhangiso is the accepted word now.

To confirm this there is a grave at the present site of Mount Coke with a headstone reading:-

" S A C R E D

To the Memory of Mary
daughter of the Rev^d Samu-
el and Elizabeth Young, who
departed this life July 14th
1828, Aged 2 years and 7 weeks
Also Mary Anne Young, who
departed this life December
16th 1828 Aged 4 months

Nipt by the winds unkindly blast,
Parch'd by the Sun's directer ray,
The momentary Glories waste,
The short liv'd beauties die away.

T Elliott." 36

This suggests that the mission station was at the present site at that time, namely, in 1828. William Shaw mentions having gone to Mount Coke to conduct both funerals.³⁷ So the station appears to have been moved away from this site and back again.

When was the station moved from the original site? It is natural to think that the station was moved after it was burnt down in 1835, and that is what Holden suggests, adding that it was subsequently moved back to the original site.³⁸ But the station was not moved immediately. The

36. See the photograph of the headstone at the back.

37. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1829. p.568; Shaw's Journal July 16th 1828 and December 19th 1828.

38. Holden, A Brief History of Methodism and Methodist Missions in South Africa. p.285.

Albany District Minutes record a special meeting that commenced on the 11th of May 1837 at Morley, in which it was arranged that three bretheren were to go to choose a site on which Mount Coke was to be rebuilt. At the District Meeting held in February 1837 it was decided that a station be commenced at Umhala's, about halfway between Butterworth and Wesleyville.³⁹ But in 1838 the station was being rebuilt on the original site. Backhouse described the appearance of the ruins with some huts of wattle and daub and an unfinished chapel. It was still on the tributary of the Buffalo River.⁴⁰ The Albany District Minutes of February 1838 bear this out by recommending that buildings be repaired or rebuilt.

Finally, a change is noted. The report of the Wesleyville and Mount Coke Circuit for the year 1839 mentions the "removal of the station itself to a fresh site", and the report for Mount Coke for the year 1840 reads, "this station was removed to a new site at the commencement of the present year. It is not necessary to state in detail the reasons for this measure. It may however be remarked generally that it was considered as likely to be condusive to the prosperity of the mission, and calculated to advance at once the temporal and spiritual interests of the natives connested with it:- the new station affording facilities

39. District Minutes. May 1837 Q.4; February 1837 Q.7 & 32.

40. Extracts from the Letters of James Backhouse. Vol II, Part VII. pp.50-51.

for irrigation, and being more central as respects the neighbouring population."

The mission was thus originally built on the present site in October 1825; it was burnt down in 1835, and while being rebuilt in 1838, the decision was made to move to a new site on the Buffalo River. In the period when there was no station there the first Fort Murray had been built and then dismantled. The mission buildings on the new site were burnt down during the war of 1846 (the War of the Axe), and in 1848 the station was rebuilt on the original site, since the military had taken over the Buffalo River site for a new Fort Murray. The mission station has survived all subsequent trials and remained on this site ever since.

The second link in the chain of stations that was to stretch to Natal was established and maintained.

CHAPTER III. ORIGINAL PURPOSE AND DEVELOPMENT.

In his memorial to the Governor of the Cape to request permission to establish a mission station across the frontier, William Shaw wrote of the "unhappy state of the Caffre people, resulting from their paganism, with all its attendant cruel customs, and savage habits."¹ When he later requested permission to establish a second mission, Mount Coke, he mentioned that the Governor's policy and the work of the Christian missionaries was already evident in better relationships between the natives and the Colony.² This subject was linked to that of evangelism, as reflected in the first report of Mount Coke Mission to the Government. "The grand design of this establishment is to disseminate the great truths of Christianity, to introduce useful arts amongst the natives, and to establish schools for the education of the rising generation."³ This may be compared with Shaw's "statement of policy" in his memorial to the Government in 1825. "...-and that the promotion of peace with the Colony, - of the arts of civilized life - the education of children, - the extension of the English

1. Appendix 1, C.O. 184 Letter 105.
2. Appendix 2, C.O. 230 Letter 54.
3. Appendix 3, C.O. 323 Letter 4.

language, - and the spread of Christianity, will be the great objects of their steady aim."⁴

In this we can see that the Wesleyan Missionaries tried to work with the secular authorities, indeed they went further and tried to co-operate with all bodies in the same area. The "Instructions to Wesleyan Missionaries" reflects this in section iv, where missionaries are advised to "avoid all appearance of controversy, in your mode of stating and enforcing divine truths."⁵ "Cultivate a catholic spirit towards all your fellow labourers in the work of evangelising the heathen." But all this is to be done consistently with the doctrine and discipline of the Wesleyan Church. Concerning secular activities the Instructions are continued in sections v and vi. Loyalty to the country and to the throne of Great Britain are necessary. "Our motto is, 'Fear God and honour the King'; and we recollect who hath said, 'Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work.'" "...and we trust that your subsequent good behaviour towards Governors, and all who are in authority, will be such as shall secure to you the enjoyment of liberty to instruct and promote the salvation of those to whom you are sent."

4. Appendix 2, C.O. 230. Letter 54.

5. Appendix 5. Instructions to Wesleyan Missionaries.

This reliance upon the civil authorities was further strengthened by the peculiar situation in which William Shaw found himself. He had come as chaplain to a party of 1820 Settlers, and soon found himself ministering to most of those who settled in Albany. But all the time his eyes were turned towards the heathen. He had to remember both. He started preaching to the non-European in the Colony as soon as possible, amongst the Hottentot soldiers first.⁶ The result of his relationship towards the Colonists is reflected even to-day in the close integration between European and non-European work. When missionaries were sent out from England they were based on the European community at Grahamstown, awaking a missionary spirit there and in all Albany, as is evident in the acceptance into the ministry of men such as H. H. Dugmore, J. Ayliff, and J. W. Shepstone.

The usual procedure in setting up a station was first to visit the chief and obtain his permission to preach to them. Usually the chief responded favourably, though this was sometimes construed as a desire to obtain protection and prestige, and a desire to have someone who could speak for him to the Governor. After selecting the site it would often be some time before the station would be occupied, And in the case of the first six stations of the chain

6. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp.15-16.

that was to stretch to Natal, the practice was to send an artisan with the missionary to commence the work. Mr. Richard Tainton and family actually arrived ahead of Rev. S. Kay, and commenced the buildings.⁷ Mr. Tainton later had a hand in building Butterworth and Buntingville, as an artisan assistant.

As soon as the missionary arrived the work would begin in earnest in several spheres of activity. Buildings were always completed as soon as possible, and cultivation commenced; education and evangelism were pursued with all despatch; native customs and language were studied; and personal study was continued. All these spheres of work overlapped, but the various methods used can be described. An example may be seen in the description of his daily work given by W. J. Shrewsbury concerning his activities in 1830.⁸ He also wrote to the Committee in London, "During the last three months my time has been employed as usual in preaching, meeting the class, superintending the school and the general concerns of the station, in itinerating, and in translation."⁹

Work can mainly be divided into Evangelism, Education, and general activities; though it must be remembered that

7. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.219.

8. Shrewsbury, *Memorials of the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury*. pp.342-346.

9. *Missionary Notices*. Vol 7. p.38.

these overlap considerably.

Evangelism was mainly by means of the spoken word. Normal services were soon organised on the station. Sundays were set aside for worship of God, and no work was to be done that day, above the barest necessities. Apparently Mr. Kay soon organised daily services. In November 1825 he wrote that already he had been preaching everyday at noon, so that the herd boys could attend.¹⁰ This would be the time when the whole village would be available, while they were resting in the heat of the day. But this was not maintained, the missionary turned his labours to the country round about and reserved the Sunday service for the mission service.

The insistence on observing the Sabbath was so impressed upon them that examples have been given of the natives themselves taking others to task for breaking the ten commandments. Others who were challenged declared their ignorance concerning the days of the week, and promised readily to obey. This was very irregularly observed, the missionary having to be constantly reminding them. Sometimes ceremonies were stopped on that day, at other times the pleasures of the world continued. It is interesting to read that as early as 1833 Sunday observance was the subject of a proclamation at Wesleyville. Phato, Khama and Kungwe

10. Kay, Travels and Researches in Caffraria. p.86.

issued a declaration which virtually compelled the people to obey. "Be it enacted that on and after October 29th, 1833, our people shall abstain from all work except such as is considered absolutely necessary, and all traffic or trading, on the Sabbath, is also prohibited." A scale of punishments was laid down, even the trader being included in the proclamation.¹¹

The extensive areas around the mission station were also served by the missionary. Opportunities for preaching were taken wherever and whenever possible. It was not unusual for the missionary to be absent from his station the whole week, only arriving back in time to take over on Sunday. Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury gives several reasons for itinerating and refers indirectly to others.¹² These may be summarised thus. First, those living at distant places could not be expected to visit the station often, and so would receive but little good unless it were brought to them; second, all the people of any kraal can never be absent at the same time, the women especially being obliged to stay at home and watch the lands between planting time and the harvest; third, the old men and women, far advanced

11. Crouch, The Life of Rev. H. H. Dugmore. pp.55-56; Graham's Town Journal. November 14th 1833; The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1834. p.394.

12 Missionary Notices Vol 7. pp.256-260; Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1833 pp.292-295; Shrewsbury, Memorials of the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury. pp.349,372.

in years, seem to be the ones to receive the message with joy and to take it to their hearts, and could not receive the message unless it were brought to them; fourth, many sick were encountered during the journeys and were comforted; fifth, there were many whose interest was aroused only when challenged directly, and then they asked relevant questions, showing that they understood, but they were not sufficiently interested or concerned to come to the station to find the answers; sixth, itinerating amongst them inspires them with confidence and promotes a friendly feeling towards the missionary, while they regard him as a friend and spiritual guide when he shares their hut and food. Appleyard agreed wholeheartedly with the last sentiment,¹³ the only way to understand the Bantu and to be accepted by them was to visit them.

Later on, the missionaries trained catechists to assist in this work, and we read in the Report for Mount Coke for the year 1840, that the missionary and catechist itinerate every Saturday, and each one spends three days a fortnight visiting the distant parts of the tribe. The missionaries were not relying on themselves only. We are told that the artisan assistants were also employed in conducting services and leading fellowship groups. They were selected for their piety as well as their usefulness with tools. The missionary's wife also took an active part in evangelising on the

13. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard.
p.33.

station, usually finding her hands full in conducting classes for the girls, and even old women. Men were sent out from the Colony to act as catechists or assistants, but we also find that traders came, and often co-operated by organising their own groups of worshippers.¹⁴

The natives were also used. We must first mention the invaluable assistance they gave in interpreting. This could not have been easy, for they were trying to express something entirely new to the people, and sometimes the translations must have been a little faulty. But this led to their use for other purposes, so that we read that in 1832 the natives kept up preaching and other meetings while Mr. Shrewsbury was away.¹⁵ In this letter to the Committee, Mr. Shrewsbury further mentioned that there had been a meeting at Wesleyville where "The Clergymen of this Colony, and other Europeans, and about six Caffre Chiefs, addressed the meeting." The natives were encouraged to take an active part in the work, both the influential and the lowly native were used, and no difference was made by the missionary on account of birth. By 1866 we read that a band of local preachers had been formed and a preaching plan had been drawn up.¹⁶ The converts felt the urge to

14. Missionary Notices Vol 7. pp.230 and 173;
Wesleyan Missionary Reports. 1834. p.48.

15. Missionary Notices. Vol 7. p.229.

16. Thornley Smith, Memior of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard.
pp.96-98.

pass on the message they had received; the fact that they were able to help others encouraged them more. We read that Mr. Appleyard organised his own local preachers in classes to train them in right methods.

The use of these assistants was only possible and necessary as the Church and circuit developed. Outstations were established. The meetings at the traders' stores were beginnings of this type of work, and we find also that outstations sprang up where the itinerating was most successful. Catechists were soon placed in charge of these places.

One of the most important developments was the use of the vernacular. We will deal later with this part of the work, but it is necessary to note here that the missionaries did not require much encouraging before they turned to learning the language for themselves, and attempted to conduct worship without the aid of an interpreter. The Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer were translated, then the litany and the liturgy, and hymns were added to these. As soon as the use of an interpreter was felt to be unnecessary a new freeness of expression was noted.

The missionaries were not satisfied simply to preach at the services, and to hold class meetings, they usually checked to see that the congregation had been playing attention to what was being said. Sometimes they would be catechised the same day, and sometimes the following

day.¹⁷ The results were not always what were expected, some amazing answers being given, but this provided the preacher with an opportunity to correct mistakes or misunderstandings. It would appear that these special catechetical classes were the basis for class meetings and a stepping stone to Church membership.

Though there is very little mention of the Sunday School, it must have played a large part in the development of the work. Yet these seem to have been merely extensions to the ordinary day schools, which will be dealt with in the next chapter. It is interesting to note that the classes often included a fair number of adults.

At intervals special missions, or special campaigns were held. Just as in these days, they were necessary to arouse the regular Church member and to reach the hitherto untouched. One such mission was held in 1866. Rev. William Taylor of California, who became Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church for Africa,¹⁸ led a mission which continued to influence South Africa for years. Only the larger centres were visited, but the permanence of the influence of the campaign was shown in the continuing results. Mount Coke shared in the general rejoicing, for

17. Missionary Notices Vol 5. p. 231 (April 16th 1826), and p.324 (October 9th 1826); Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.35.

18. See, Taylor, The Story of My Life.

it is recorded that "two native candidates for the ministry and a zealous local preacher from Annshaw" came and conducted a mission which led to assurance and new conversions.¹⁹ This work continued to spread for weeks. At various times other such missions were conducted with varying success.²⁰

What has been the result of all this work? Has it had a lasting effect? As the records are read it is seen that there have been fluctuations; encouragements and discouragements followed one another. The early history records an uphill struggle with occasional advances against heathenism and ignorance of the natives. Results were very slow in appearing, but the missionaries made certain of the conversions of any before accepting them into membership. Thus numbers do not show spectacular results. In five years there were only eight members and five catechumens at Mount Coke.²¹ When the membership returns for each year are examined the picture does not improve, except for occasional years of special mission. The reverse appears to be the case. There are too often sudden drops in the numbers. These can, however, be accounted for in various ways, the main reason being the effects of war. In 1835 and 1846 the station was abandoned, thus membership dropped. Often the tribes moved, or individual members went elsewhere,

19. Report for the Mount Coke Circuit For 1866.

20. See, South African Missionary Reports, 1906. p.14.

21. Wesleyan Missionary Reports 1831. p.54.

where they could receive further instruction, or where they could find work. Thus each time there was a war the work had to be restabted almost from the begining, and when other influences produced changes in the population the numbers dropped.

Poverty was an important factor. During times of drought and locust invasion many members left the area to find more promising localities or, towards the end of the century, they went to the towns to obtain employment in order to exist. Thus there were losses in both adherents and in members.²² This could be considered as a transfer and not a loss, they had been influenced.

However, the numbers are not a true reflection of the success or failure. Many people were being challenged weekly, and showed an interest and a desire to learn more. The atmosphere of the early services improved when held indoors,²³ and from then on there was a reverence for the ast of worship.²⁴ The heathen customs were being overcome, and new habits created. They testified to this in their attempts to behave and be respectable, even when not wearing European clothing.²⁵ It will be noticed that these examples

22. South African Missionary Reports 1898. p.61; See also years 1895 to 1898.

23. Missionary Notices. Vol 5. p.324.

24. Missionary Notices Vol 5. p.137.

25. Missionary Notices. Vol 5. p.356.

are all quoted from the early history of the mission, showing an immediate reaction and desire for the truth.

Congregations grew, though there were variations at certain times of the year, such as at harvest time, and lapses when certain important incidents occurred, especially those requiring celebrations. In 1830 we read that the chapel had to be enlarged,²⁶ and this happened more than once. In 1831 Mr. Shrewsbury remarked upon the small congregation, and an apparent lack of fruit.²⁷ But within six months the congregation had again improved.²⁸ Letters from Mr. Shrewsbury seem to reflect a great struggle to obtain any rewards for the labour, with occasional incidents that encouraged him.

In addition to having to overcome the power of the heathen habits, new difficulties intruded. As early as 1833 we hear of Antinomianism entering through contact with the Colony.²⁹ The effect does not seem to have lasted, as those who fell into error were expelled. In the last decade of the century a more serious break was caused by the separatist movement, or Ethiopians. This was not fought by a show of force, but by ignoring it and continuing as

26. Wesleyan Missionary Reports 1830. p.45; Shrewsbury, Memorials of the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury. p.346.
 27. Shrewsbury, Memorials of Rev. W.J.Shrewsbury. p.346.
 28. Shrewsbury, Memorials of Rev. W.J.Shrewsbury. p.362.
 29. District Minutes. Report of Mount Coke for the year 1833.

normal.³⁰ Preachers of this movement came and won over members, causing division at one of the outstations in 1899.³¹ But this movement lost ground and eventually ceased to concern the circuit.³² Some returned to the Church, while others went right back to heathenism. Other practices caused problems, such as attempts to convert to Islam, some youths being circumcised by Malay priests.³³ Yet the greatest difficulties appear to have been the struggle against heathenism. Centuries of this background had to be overcome, and this has proved a hard struggle.

A final example of the influence of the missionaries is the reaction of the chiefs. They are important in that their wishes are almost law. To obtain the goodwill of the chiefs was important, but more important was to get the chiefs to change their habits and convince their people of the wisdom of this. In this direction the missionaries had amazing success. It was suspected that the chiefs had accepted the missionaries because of the prestige and the possibility that the missionary would present their views to the Governor. This might have been what induced them to listen to the advice given, but some acted in a way that

30. South African Missionary Reports. 1898. p.59.

31. South African Missionary Reports. 1899. p.65.

32. South African Missionary Reports. 1903. p.21.

33. South African Missionary Reports. 1909. p.12.

could have undermined their authority as they obeyed the advice given, seeing that the Gospel is opposed to their pagan practices.³⁴ One example is the way in which chiefs who resided near the Wesleyan Mission Stations did their utmost to prevent all plundering and stealing from the Colonists, even by other tribes that had to pass through their country to rob the farmers. The Wesleyan missionaries at Wesleyville claimed that their influence had entirely removed this crime from their areas, and this was supported by the act of the chiefs in this area capturing and handing over the murderer of two English soldiers.³⁵ We further read that the Wesleyan Missions had so influenced the chiefs that every one with whom there was a mission, had remained in amity with the Colony during the war of 1835, with the exception of Hintsa.³⁶

The evangelical work has thus produced some lasting results, among these the more important were; the message of the Gospel was received; active workers were recruited from the ranks of the Bantu; a desire for worship was aroused and observance of the Lord's Day was practiced; the chiefs were influenced so that some even changed their ways of living. It is true that by 1920 it was questioned whether

34. The Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register for 1832. Vol XIII. p.137.

35. Missionary Notices. Vol 6. p.137.

36. Martin, History of Southern Africa. p.289.

sufficient reward for the work had been evidenced, but the fruits were reaped when the Medical Mission was started.

CHAPTER IV. ORIGINAL PURPOSE AND DEVELOPMENT.

(Continued).

Together with the spiritual development went the advancement in material matters. The advance of civilisation brought new problems and new knowledge, and the missionaries were vitally concerned in this. Criticisms of missionary work have come from all sides. Captain B. Stout commented on what he saw of the colonising of this continent and others. He had been shipwrecked on the coast in 1796 and had to travel overland to Cape Town. He considered that it was wrong for missionaries to be in the forefront of exploration, but rather advocated a materialistic approach - the use of the plough, the teaching of agriculture, the forming of villages, the introduction of useful arts. The training in simple things was preferred to teaching theology.¹ Stephen Kay refuted these arguments, which referred to a period in South Africa when there were very few missionaries. Captain Stout could have seen very little of South Africa in his brief visit.

Lieutenant Moodie, who described the period 1825 to 1835, supported the Captain by recommending the creation of new wants to make the people toil to have these desires

1. S. Kay, Travels and Researches in Caffraria. pp.2-3.

satisfied.² A trader would satisfy these wants better than a missionary. Moody did not approve of the "gloomy and desponding expressions which pervaded the countenances" of the people of mission stations, preferring the "innocent amusements" characteristic of the heathen. The teaching of doctrines of Christianity he considered possible only after they had been converted through the medium of civilisation.³

Lieutenant Moodie could not have known the degrading influence of the customs of the Bantu, and the practices of those who were not influenced by the Europeans. Kay devoted his volume to provide an answer to these views. Having worked among them he claimed to know them better. "A mere traveller, or stranger, visiting these parts, might perhaps be ready, from general appearances, to conclude that little or nothing had been affected; that because he found no villages in complete European style, communities of well dressed persons, and houses furnished according to his own views and taste, no change whatever had been wrought. But a contrast of the present with the past furnishes satisfactory and abundant evidence to the contrary: the simple testimony of the native himself will fully show that much has been done; that the condition of the female

2. Moodie, Ten Years in South Africa. p.268.

3. Moodie, Ten Years in South Africa. pp.280-283.

sex has even already been ameliorated; that the state of society is considerably improved; and that the doctrines of divine truth are gradually expelling, from their darkened understandings, the delusive phantoms of sorcery and witchcraft etc."⁴ The material advancement could not have been so successful without an attack on their mental attitudes and their spiritual lives.

Theal and Whiteside both commented on the failure of the early missions to give a thorough industrial training, thus giving a faulty conception of education, and wasting time and effort. Enthusiasm was misdirected.⁵ The natives turned to secular education when they perceived its value, and the desire for more knowledge began to overshadow the real reason for education. In considering merely the results we might agree with these criticisms, but when we consider the stages through which the work developed, we should be able to see that there was a plan. Though the policy was not outlined in detail there was a purpose, as can be seen in the letter written to the Government by William Shaw in 1825 in applying for permission to establish Mount Coke Mission Station,⁶ and the first annual report of Mount Coke Missionary Institution.⁷

4. S. Kay, Travels and Researches in Caffraria. p.420.
5. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.280; Theal, South Africa. pp.321-322.
6. Appendix 2. C.O. 230. Letter 54.
7. Appendix 3. C.O. 323. Letter 4.

At first the missionaries were most concerned with establishing the station and imparting religious knowledge, but Sunday Schools were soon organised. These were more than Sunday services for young people, they were centres of education. To begin with very little beyond the art of reading was taught that was of a secular nature.⁸ While they were learning to read they began to learn to recite. At first all this was related to the Scriptures. We read that Mr. Shaw visited the school at Wesleyville in June 1828 and heard the children recite "the two first chapters of Genesis, part of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, part of the Conference Catechism, a hymn on the Creation, one on Redemption, and another on the Trinity", in their language.⁹ Up to 1840 we only read of such subjects as alphabet, easy reading and spelling, advanced reading and scripture. Writing is mentioned in 1843,¹⁰ but was probably taken for granted as a subject, and arithmetic was found to be very slowly absorbed.¹¹

All these arose from a desire to enable them to seek

8. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.279.
9. Methodist Magazine 1829, Journal of W. Shaw, June 13th, 1828.
10. District Minutes. Report for Mount Coke. 1840 and 1843.
11. Report of the Watson Institution, Mount Coke. 1859.

for themselves, and to search the Scriptures especially. Then they would be able to go out and spread the message in turn. We read that one of the aims of the London Missionary Society Tiger Kloof Institution was the education of the sons and daughters of comparatively high born and wealthy natives. This being a vital factor, it is encouraging to note that the chiefs were sending their sons to the mission stations for education.¹² It appears, however, that the education received here was only the beginning, for chief's sons were usually sent on into the colony to complete their schooling. During their education at the missions they lived at the mission station, and received food, clothing and daily instruction, with the hope that they might more thoroughly absorb Christian principles and overcome the national superstitions and immoralities if they were completely withdrawn from those influences altogether.

Numbers fluctuated much, due to external circumstances, so that it is difficult to say how many adults were affected. Adults did receive education, especially at Sunday School, but in 1850 an evening school was held for the benefit of the station residents, during the autumn and winter months.¹³

12. District Minutes, Report of Mount Coke and Wesleyville Circuit 1838; Extracts from the letters of James Backhouse Vol II, Part VIII, p.51.

13. District Minutes, Report of the Mount Coke and Wesleyville Circuit, 1850.

This was apparently maintained each year thereafter for several years, for we read again in 1861 and in 1862 that the night school for adults in winter months was still being attended.¹⁴

The girls appear to have been more numerous than boys in reports of the schools in the circuit, and they also received separate training. There are a few brief reports mentioning that they were taught needlework and sewing.¹⁵ Here we see that the education was not solely reading and writing, but useful crafts were being taught. Indeed it would be inferred that the first education was not the usual school lesson, but what could be taught in the open. Latourette remarks that the Moravians first taught agriculture and simple industries and schools were opened.¹⁶ The Wesleyan Missionaries must have produced the same effect, for amongst the first duties performed was that of building a house. Mr. Richard Tainton arrived at Mount Coke ahead of the missionary, Rev. S. Kay, and commenced erecting the buildings.¹⁷ The fact of having artisan

14. District Minutes, Report of the Mount Coke School for the year 1862; Report of the Watson Institution for 1861.
15. District Minutes, Report of Mount Coke Circuit, 1838; Wesleyan Missionary Reports. 1831.
16. Latourette, A History of the expansion of Christianity, Vol V. p.342.
17. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.219.

assistance showed their realisation of the importance of proper buildings and other conveniences. Further buildings such as the chapel, school rooms, carpenter's shop, were soon erected.¹⁸ The first annual report shows that the interpreter had built a house for himself, and other natives were preparing to imitate him.¹⁹

Mr. Shrewsbury described the effect that was sought after when the mission was planned and established. "The term mission village, is often used by us, in reference to our stations in Caffreland; because wherever we fix our abode, we do not allow smoky huts, like those which form the Caffre kraals, to be erected; but any natives wishing to reside near us, must build a neat wattled cottage, which requires nothing more than his labour, so as to unite cleanliness and comfort in their habitations."²⁰

Agriculture was placed on a better footing. William Shaw described their reaction to their first sight of the plough at work. "When we introduced the plough at Wesleyville, there was no small stir among great numbers of the people, who, although they had heard of such an instrument, had never seen it in operation. I well remember the

18. Missionary Notices. Vol 5, p.313.

19. Appendix 3. C.O. 323. Letter 4.

20. Missionary Notices Vol 5, p.298; Wesleyan Methodist Magazine 1828, p.492.



excitement that forenoon. A piece of land had been cleared of all trees and stumps, and some of our steadiest oxen were yoked to the plough. As soon as it began to get fairly at work, the people looked on with great surprise, and followed up and down the field, uttering all manner of exclamations expressive of their astonishment. At last, one young man ran off to call a neighbouring chief, who, when he came to look, seemed very much interested: he said nothing, however, for a while, but watched the plough in silence: at length, he could no longer avoid expressing his gratification, but, clapping his hands, and shouting to a man who was standing at some distance on the hillside, overlooking the valley where the plough was at work, he said, 'This thing that the white people have brought into the country is as good as ten wives.' Of course he meant that it would do as much work in the same time as any ten women could do; one great object which the chiefs and wealthy men among the Kaffirs contemplate when multiplying wives, being to secure a sufficient number of women to supply their establishment with corn and other agricultural produce."²¹

So Kay could confidently write, "On every station the mission plough is busily engaged and bids fair for ultimately putting down the field of labour of the women altogether."²²

21. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. pp.419-420.

22. S. Kay, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*. p.421.

Gardens were laid out neatly and the sowing of the staple crops was organised, so that better crops were possible. Trees were also planted, both fruit and others. The diet of the station natives was thus supplemented; vegetables and fruit were added to their diet of grain with occasional meat.

Through all these changes a neat village soon grew up, as is reflected in early descriptions of Mount Coke.²³ The inhabitants were induced to alter their own appearance as well. On the whole, those residing on the station dressed themselves instead of walking around naked, and European clothing replaced the skins and red clay they had used, when they were obtainable. Shrewsbury commented upon this in 1830, "But of all disgusting practices, none more annoys Europeans than the habit of Caffre men going about in a state of perfect nudity. The kaross is merely a defence from the cold, and not a covering for the body. When not needed for the former purpose it is thrown over the shoulders, or left in the house. But those who have been brought to God act otherwise. They become exceedingly fond of European clothing."²⁴

23. Missionary Notices Vol 5, p.313 (1828); The Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register. 1832, p.77.

24. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1832. p.148.

All these changes were observed early in the history of the mission stations, and present encouraging reading.²⁵ However, these improvements were not intended for the station alone, the benefits were to be taken to all the villages around. The desire was that they should teach others, or encourage others to seek this knowledge. One way in which this was expedited was through the training of teachers, and we have record of an attempt to do this at Mount Coke, in the form of the Watson Institution.

At a special District Meeting of the Preachers of the Albany District held at Morley, commencing May 11th, 1837, it was resolved that a branch of the Watson Institution be opened in the old Mission House in Grahamstown. That this was done is reflected in the District Minutes of 1838. In 1839 plans were formulated to control this work, as several branches had been formed in the District, five schools were visualised for the training of Native teachers.²⁶ Very little appears to have been done to implement these decisions. The branch at Grahamstown was moved to Farmerfield during the year 1838.²⁷ The Institution was still there in 1847,²⁸

25. Missions in Caffraria, published by the Religious Tract and Book Society for Ireland. p.177; Eveleigh, The Settlers and Methodism. p.157.

26. District Minutes of March 7th, 1839; See Appendix 6.

27. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp.35-37.

28. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp.40-42.

but at the District Meeting held in January 1848 a move was visualised to Kaffraria; an appendix to the Minutes proposed that there be two branches, one at D'Urban, Fort Peddie, and one at Mount Coke.²⁹ This move was duly carried out, and in July 1848 the British Kaffraria Branch of the Watson Institution was duly opened at Mount Coke.³⁰ At Mount Coke it continued with varying success until it was closed, for financial reasons, at the end of 1865.³¹

There appear to have been four main purposes in this scheme of the Watson Institution, first, as a school of industry;³² second, for training the sons of chiefs;³³ third, the training of teachers;³⁴ and fourth, training

29. Appendix to District Minutes of 1848; See Appendix 7.
 30. District Minutes. Report of Mount Coke Station. 1849.
 31. District Minutes. Report of the Mount Coke Circuit, 1866.
 32. District Minutes of March 7th, 1839; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.37; Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.215.
 33. Findlay And Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Vol IV. p.295; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.41; District Minutes 1839; See Appendix 6.
 34. District Minutes: January 1848, Q.8; November 1848, Q.7; Appendix 6; Appendix 7; Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.215; Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Vol IV. p.295; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.41.
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of native preachers.³⁵ The school of industry seems to have been related to agricultural pursuits, rather than teaching them new industries, and this had a dual purpose, training them and giving them opportunity to pay for their training.³⁶ The cost of the scheme was no small factor and the produce was an important supplement to their food, what was left over being sold. When the Institution moved to Farmerfield in 1838 it was closely associated with the settlement of natives from Grahamstown, who wanted the privilege of keeping cattle and having lands for cultivation. Mr Roberts, at first, and later Mr. Walker, became manager of the settlement and the school. Even though the agricultural side was of great benefit financially, it also played an important part in training the scholars. The report of Mount Coke for the year 1849 stressed the need for training in a better system of cultivation. The habit had been to use the land only as long as it would easily produce, and then move on, but now there were more settled areas, especially at the mission stations, thus the land had to be protected. The training also applied to the industry and activity of the scholars themselves. They had been used to a very lax control at home, and now were

35. Methodist Magazine 1845. p.514; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp.41-42; District Minutes, January 1848.

36. District Minutes. Report of Mount Coke Station. 1849.

taught to use their time profitably. Many did not like this and left, but others continued, and learned better habits.³⁷

The second aim, that of teaching the sons of chiefs, does not appear to have been specially emphasized. The idea was to influence them to adopt Christian ways and to become members of the Church so that they would, when assuming positions of responsibility, set the correct example to their subjects. Chiefs did send their sons, but there is very little mention made of this fact. Apparently chiefs' sons were not given special treatment in the Watson Institution.

The last two aims were the most important, so much so, that the Government granted a sum of £100 a year for the school at Mount Coke and promised a stipend of £25 a year to each native pupil sent forth to teach at a mission school.³⁸ They must have aimed at secular education, yet it was not possible to separate this from religious education, for they went hand in hand at mission schools. A demand must have sprung up very early, for in addition to the fact that the Government approached the missions, William Shaw wrote in 1853, "We greatly need to train good and efficient Native

37. District Minutes, Report of the Watson Institution for 1858 and for 1861.

38. Cory, The Rise of South Africa. Vol 5. p.290; Correspondence relative to the State of the Kafir Tribes. p.26; Appendix 7.

teachers and preachers. Hitherto the demand has always outrun the supply."³⁹ Even though European preachers and evangelists appear to have been preferred, the Native teachers were acceptable, and zealously brought to their people what they were taught. As early as 1844 pupils from the Watson Institution had begun to teach the Gospel,⁴⁰ and soon after the move to Mount Coke we read of a student being appointed to a mission school.⁴¹ Thus the people of the surrounding areas were able to receive education and the Gospel in a way that was impossible when the missionary had to do all the work himself. In the eighteen sixties there were several day schools and Sabbath schools in the Circuit.⁴² The senior scholars also assisted at the mission, teaching at the night school,⁴³ or even in the day school and the Sunday school.⁴⁴

Thornley Smith saw this Institution as the start to a Native ministry in South Africa, and visualised its

39. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 18~~44~~⁵⁴. p.381.
40. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1845. p.514.
41. District Minutes, Report of the Mount Coke and Wesleyville Circuit for 1850.
42. In 1861 there were 5 day and 4 Sabbath schools.
43. District Minutes, Report of the Mount Coke and Wesleyville Circuit for 1850.
44. District Minutes, Report of Watson Institution, Mount Coke, 1857.

extension.⁴⁵ But in the end the training for the ministry had to wait until it was introduced at Heald Town in 1867. The branch at Mount Coke did not achieve what had been expected. As early as 1850 the admission of youths was under review, and older students were to be sought, and, if possible selected.⁴⁶ Even here the supply seems to have been poor, for we find constant reference to the numbers that failed to return after the break during July.⁴⁷ Many were being lured away by prospects of higher pay. They considered that they were fit for the world after mastering some of the elementary aspects of education. Despite this, the Institution carried on, trying to give the essentials of a good education. The report for the year 1855 gives a good example of what was taught,⁴⁸ apparently arithmetic giving them most trouble.⁴⁹

From papers at Mount Coke it appears that an attempt was made in 1919 and 1920 to start a training establishment for native evangelists at Mount Coke. Mount Coke was still the centre of a large heathen population, where evangelists would immediately be useful. However this scheme never

45. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.42.

46. District Minutes, Watson Institution, Mount Coke.
November 25th. 1850.

47. District Minutes, See Reports for 1858; 1861; 1862; 1864.

48. See Appendix 8.

49. District Minutes, Report For Watson Institution, Mount Coke, 1859.

came into being, even though in 1921 a small beginning was visualised with three or four men in training.

The above seems to indicate that educationally the mission did not attain great heights. All the good achieved was at great cost, and only after much labour. Schools seemed to be popular for a short period, and when the novelty wore off numbers dropped. At first missionaries reported that lack of assistants prevented them from doing more, and when we consider the huge areas each minister covered, we must admire their perseverance.⁵⁰ But the natives themselves presented the greatest discouragement. When harvest time came, all children were kept at home; they were useful in many ways; and some natives even opposed the idea that their children should be educated, for there was a challenge in what was taught about God. Irregularity continued, so that even in the South African Missionary Reports we read that the parents keep the children away for various reasons, or no reason at all.⁵¹ Movements of the people due to wars and other causes also placed serious obstacles in the way of good results, an irregular attendance affecting other students as well.

We do not ignore the criticisms of missions in general when we claim success, despite such apparent failure. As

50. Findlay and Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Vol IV. p.317.

51. South African Missionary Reports. 1901. p.68.

was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Lieutenant Moodie commented on the "gloomy and desponding expressions". They did not have to overcome terrors and superstitions by false joy and artificial enjoyments. Rather were they happy and satisfied with Christianity, and desired that others should find the secret of this real happiness. Lieutenant Moodie is also wrong in assuming that only religion was taught. We have shown that the whole life of the people was influenced. His further suggestion that a trader would influence them, had been proposed earlier by William Shaw, and implemented.⁵² Other traders did exercise a good influence,⁵³ but they relied on the missionaries for help and guidance.

There is also a criticism that the missionaries had not given up much, but had rather found a means of living more comfortably than they otherwise would have.⁵⁴ Here we might suggest that the only way to lift the natives would be to show them the better things, and so the missionary worked hard to present the best way they could. It cannot be said that they were overgenerously supplied. The missionaries' life was full of dangers and shortages.

52. District Minutes, February 11th. 1830.

53. Missionary Notices Vol 7. pp.230 and 173; Wesleyan Missionary Reports. 1834. p.48.

54. Cowper Rose, Four Years in South Africa. p.138.

Can we judge the results by the numbers who have been received into membership? If we do, then we might be discouraged and feel that there has been a waste.⁵⁵ But we must realise the conditions of the natives before the missionaries came, and see that even for those who do not claim to be influenced by them, life has been improved. The missionaries realised that the difference between the heathen and the Christian was so great that they could not expect quick results, and any claims would have to be checked carefully. Thus there was a long period of probation and teaching before they were accepted into membership. This was not always a perfect test, for some fell away, but it did mean that those who were received had been under instruction long enough for their lives to have been permanently influenced. If they left the station they could not leave the influence behind. There are also other signs of changed lives than membership, work had produced results.

Witch doctors were challenged. Their influence on the superstitious was so great that many cruel acts were performed under their direction. But the consistent challenges of the missionaries soon induced them to keep away from the mission stations. "Although numbers of soothsayers, wizards, and sorceresses, dwelt in the immediate

55. Cole, The Cape and the Kafirs. pp.192-193.

neighbourhood of almost every station at its commencement, there is scarcely one of these characters now to be found near any of them. They are confessedly unable to maintain their ground or sustain their reputation, where the people learn to pray, saying, 'Lead us not into temptation...'⁵⁶ William Shaw openly opposed a rain maker, and challenged him on his own ground. He maintained that rain came from God, and to prove his point, called for a day of fasting and prayer. The witch doctor had been unable to provide rain, even for his own crops. "God's rain" fell, and the witch doctor was discredited.⁵⁷ The burden of the people was being lifted.

Women began to take a more important part in the social life. Though they still performed heavy and menial tasks, they were treated with more consideration. Polygamy was not accepted by the missionaries and Christian marriage introduced. Impey recorded in his journal how that in 1843 Chief Umhala desired to take the daughter of the interpreter as one of his wives. But the father declined this honour, and decided that she should marry the Christian man she had chosen. With Impey's help this was achieved.⁵⁸ Women were not goods and chattels, but human. Their lot was improved in many spheres - in the home, in the fields, in relationships with others.

56. Kay, Travels and Researches in Caffraria. pp.420-421.

57. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp.206-210.

58. The Journal of the Rev. William Impey. Nov 22-Dec 20 1843.

The general living conditions were improved. We have mentioned housing, cultivation and clothing. Eveleigh summarises this, "The pick and the hoe gave place to the plough drawn by oxen; the old hut with its common living and sleeping room, was superseded by the neat cottage of two rooms; a new taste for decency and cleanliness led to the disappearance of the red clay and the skin caross and the adoption of European clothing; the men left the sunny corners where they had been in the habit of lounging and smoking to labour in the fields; the women learned to cook and sew, and to act as home-makers."⁵⁹

The missions have indeed produced tangible results, and the work continues on the foundations laid so well.

59. Eveleigh, *The Settlers and Methodism*. pp.157-158.

CHAPTER V. WARS ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER.

THEIR EFFECTS ON THE WESLEYAN MISSIONS.

The first real clash between the eastward moving white people and the southward moving Bantu came in 1779, after an agreement had been reached concerning the frontier. It was natural that there should be friction when the free expansion of both groups was prevented, and there does not seem to have been a ready solution to the problem, for wars were fought for some years, without either side really winning. In Chapter I we saw how that after Ndlambi's attack on Grahamstown the Government enforced stricter observance of the non-intercourse policy, and a neutral zone, later called the 'ceded territory', was established between the Fish and the Keiskama Rivers. For a while this led to apparent peace. The 1820 Settlers were then introduced in order to provide a population that would consolidate this frontier.

The next disturbance occurred in 1828 when the growth of power of the Zulu nation in Natal under Chaka led to the surrounding tribes being exterminated or swept from their lands. This caused agitation in the North of the Eastern Cape, and the Colony was asked for help by the Thembu and the Xhosa, who were being disturbed when the Pondo were

attacked.¹ The Governor sent troops, assisted by Colonists, who were able to drive off the invaders. So this period appeared to be one of quiet and peace to the Wesleyan missionaries.

But this peace was shattered at Christmas 1834, and the natives poured across the frontier, killing and plundering. The war was over within a year, and peace once again restored. However, this peace was broken in 1846. This war lasted twenty-two months before the chiefs sued for peace,² which was proclaimed on December the 23rd. 1847. The peace now achieved was not of long duration, for, again at Christmas, war broke out. In December 1850 the most calamitous of the wars started, lasting until March 1853, and even then the rebel Hottentots did not surrender.

The Bantu had apparently not resigned themselves to the conditions that existed, for an attempt to arouse all the tribes led to a form of nation suicide, the cattle killing delusion of 1857. This broke the power of the tribes for some time and peace settled on the land. Finally war broke out in 1877 between the Gcalekas and the Fingoes, which became another war in which the Colony was implicated. When peace was restored in 1878 the tribes appeared to be convinced of their folly in attacking the Colony.

1. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.266.
2. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.225.

During these wars the Wesleyan missionaries attempted to carry on their work, which was amongst both the Bantu and the Colonists. Sometimes they had to abandon their stations; sometimes they became isolated; sometimes they were transferred to another area. But during this troubled period they were able to exert an influence on many interested parties and prevented more bloodshed.

When war broke out at Christmas 1834 the Xhosas attacked so suddenly that nothing could be done to prevent a border incident becoming a war. Some horses had been stolen from a farmer, and were traced to a kraal in the 'ceded territory', but were not found there. As was the rule, a number of cattle were seized and driven off to the military post. The officer in charge of the detachment found himself hard pressed by natives who tried to recover the cattle, and had to defend himself. During the fight several natives were killed and one soldier wounded. But Xoxo, a brother of Tyali, was also wounded in the forehead. The injury was slight, but Makomo and Tyali felt that this was sufficient reason for war. "The blood of a chief has been shed."³

The natives began massing on the frontier before the Commandant could do anything about it. Reinforcements were

3. Brownlee, *Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History*. p.25; Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*. p.198; *The Graham's Town Journal* Vol IV No. 157. December 23, 1834.

sent from Grahamstown, but the farmers were already being attacked and the country plundered.

A small incident had provided the spark for a major catastrophe. Things had been happening for many years that caused friction, and when the war was over all kinds of reasons for it were given. Plans were then made to prevent this happening again, based on the conclusions reached. People on all sides were accused of being the cause of the war. The Colonists, both Boer farmers and British settlers, were blamed because of their unquenchable thirst for land, and their attitude towards the non-European. The action of people on the frontier were questioned by those living in distant parts. Reports were circulated in England, and unquestioningly accepted. The Government policies were strongly criticized on all sides, they varied so often. The natives were blamed as well. They lived in a society where war and bloodshed were not unusual, and thought very little of life. Their approach to most problems was so different from that of the European that clashes were bound to occur. Their conception of ownership of land; their moral standards; their ideas of truth and falsehood; these were a result of the type of tribal life they lived, and were habits they could not change easily. Even now-a-days they tend to fall back into their old customs after receiving years of education.

The missions too, were said to have contributed towards the causes of the war. Accusations were made by the general public, but the greatest censure was by missionaries themselves. They blamed one another and the policies laid down by other societies. The fiercest controversy of this kind was between Dr. Philip and the Wesleyan Missionaries. The Wesleyans were accused of favouring the commando system and supporting the Colonial Government in all its actions against the natives.⁴ Dr. Philip further denounced them as untrustworthy and prejudiced.⁵ William Shaw responded in a pamphlet, "Defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries of South Africa."

But Dr. Philip was not himself free from criticism. He acted consistently with his claim for equality for all men and demanded this for the native, but, in making himself their champion, he saw only their needs and aspirations. To many of the early missionaries the Bantu were unspoiled and noble, they had not been affected by contact with the evils of civilisation. This idea was taken to extremes and aroused the opposition of the colonists and raised false

4. W. Shaw, Defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries. p.1; Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. p.272; Wirgman, History of the English Church and People in South Africa. p.116.
5. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.207.

hopes amongst the border tribes.

The Wesleyan Missionaries had their work based on the Colony, but also penetrated deeply into the interior. They attempted to be fair to all, and by doing so found opposition from all. However, they continued to attempt to reconcile the different parties and get them to work together, and eventually received some recognition. Their aim was, "Justice to the Kaffers, Security to the Colony."⁶ The methods were not political, as was required of them according to the "Instructions to Wesleyan Missionaries".⁷ They attempted to put the best construction on the actions of the Colonial Authorities, and at the same time see that the rights of all were respected. In this endeavour the moral and spiritual education of the Bantu was an important factor, and changes were slow in coming.

Much has been written in defence of all these parties and in laying the blame at someone else's door. Charges and counter-charges were made, books and pamphlets were published. Though these affected relationships between the public in England and the missions, causing the Wesleyan Missionaries to defend themselves, yet the work continued. The arguments put forward can be read, but are not of vital

6. W. Shaw, Defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries. p.xviii.

7. Appendix 5; See also Boyce, Memoir of the Rev. William Shaw. p.147.

importance. The work that was achieved in these conditions is more relevant, and the task of rebuilding had to be taken up, and damage to the stations repaired.

The Wesleyan Mission Stations on the frontier did not close down immediately war broke out. The extent of the outbreak was not at first apparent, and then, when the seriousness was realised, it was not possible to travel to the Colony straight away. Rev. H. H. Dugmore was in charge of Mount Coke at the time, and was busy keeping the Ndlambi tribe under Umkye quiet. This was not an easy task, for bands of warriors, returning with plunder, passed by Mount Coke, and taunted them. The mission people did not know what really was happening, but could see fires of burning homesteads in Albany. The Ngqikas became more and more hostile, till it was decided to abandon the station and they withdrew to Wesleyville. This was safely done and the party joined Rev. J. W. Shepstone who was under the protection of Phato, Kungwe and Khama.⁸ They had scarcely left Mount Coke before it was in flames.

The position at Wesleyville was little better. Rev. and Mrs. J. Brownlee and family joined them there, and traders and Hottentot wagon drivers were crowded there

8. Eveleigh, *The Settlers and Methodism*. p.106; Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*. p.199; *The Graham's Town Journal*, January 30th, 1835.

with their families. Finally the British authorities ordered them to withdraw completely, and under the care of Phato and Khama they arrived safely in Grahamstown.⁹ Wesleyville shared the fate of Mount Coke, being burnt to the ground.

Phato, Kungwe, Khama and Umkye showed the affection they had for the missionaries, and revealed that they had learned something. These chiefs did all they could to assist the missionaries and traders, and even showed friendliness to the troops that came to their neighbourhood.¹⁰ It is also recorded that the Thembu and the Pondo remained quiet.¹¹ Buntingville, Morley and Clarkebury survived without serious damage, even though the missionaries were ordered into the Colony for safety.¹²

The one mission that had an adverse report was Butterworth. Hintza pretended to be neutral, but was suspected of being at the bottom of the conspiracy. He did not conceal

9. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.200; Missionary Notices Vol 8. August 1835. p.128.
10. Missionary Notices Vol 8. p.177; Wesleyan Methodist Magazine December 1835. p.959; The Graham's Town Journal. January 2nd, 16th, 30th. 1835.
11. Missionary Notices. Vol 8. pp. 128 and 177.
12. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. pp.201-202; Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Vol IV p.271.

the fact that cattle taken from the Colony were driven into his country.¹³ Rev. J. Ayliff seemed to make no headway with him, and eventually had to leave the station, which was destroyed by fire.

The missionary stations had proved their value, but the missionaries were to be of more assistance. When Makomo and Tyali were chased from the Fish River bushes they continued a guerilla war in the Amatola Mountains, and proved to be very difficult to catch. The war looked as though it would last a long time when the Wesleyan Missionaries offered to get a message to these chiefs, recommending that they seek peace. The Revs. W. B. Boyce, J. W. Shepstone and S. Palmer then went to Wesleyville from whence they sent four women to convey the message further. A couple of weeks later the two chiefs had submitted.¹⁴ Peace appeared to reign.

It was not possible to return and take up the threads just where they had been laid down. Missions would have to be rebuilt, and perhaps on new sites. The tribes had moved, those formerly at Wesleyville moved nearer the Colony and

13. Missionary Notices. Vol 8. p.177; The Grakam's Town Journal January 16th, 30th 1835; See Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. pp.200-3.
14. Cory, The Rise of South Africa. Vol 3. pp.202-204; Hewson, An Introduction to South African Methodists. pp.27-28; Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. pp.203-204; Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Vol IV. p.271.

formed settlements in the Peddie area.¹⁵ The Ndlambe tribe also moved at ^{the} Mount Coke. Mount Coke station was moved at about this time to a new site, and the work had to be re-started. Times were very unsettled and the threat of war hung over the country.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban decided that the only policy to adopt was to have friendly tribes on the frontier and to maintain discipline with troops. He therefore expelled the hostile tribes and began to erect forts throughout the country as far as the Kei River.¹⁶ He attempted to make friends among them and get them used to British influence. But this policy was soon altered. Under the influence of the 'Philanthropists' a 'Select Committee on Aborigines' was appointed by the House of Commons in England and enquiries were made in England as to the cause of the war.¹⁷ On these findings the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, recalled Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and instructed the authorities to return the area between the Fish and the Keiskama Rivers to the Xhosa and to enter into treaties with them as independent people.¹⁸

15. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. pp.210-211.

16. Shepherd, Lovedale. South Africa. p.85; Cory, The Rise of South Africa. Vol 3. p.226.

17. Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Vol IV. p.273.

18. Shepherd, Lovedale. South Africa. p.86; Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. pp.204-205.

The results of this were immediate. Boer farmers decided not to remain under British rule, and the Great Trek began. The natives were more protected than ever. They felt so secure that many of them would not obey even their own chiefs.¹⁹ A younger warrior party grew up under the successor to Ngqika, Sandile, who wanted war, and prepared for it by gathering arms, ammunition and horses.²⁰ So it was to be expected that a frontier incident would again start a war, which did take place in 1846.

Again Wesleyville and Mount Coke were abandoned and destroyed. This time Phato joined the enemy and immediately attacked Wesleyville and Peddie.²¹ This was a heavy blow for the Wesleyan Missionaries. After being faithful during one war he had turned. He fought to the end, and only surrendered when he had been truly beaten. He showed that he had learned a lesson, for he remained loyal subsequently. Other chiefs, however, showed their attachment to the missions, more than 4,000 men, drawn mainly from mission

19. Calderwood, Caffres and Caffre Missions. pp.57-59; Fleming, Kaffraria and its Inhabitants. pp.19-20; Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Vol IV. p.274; Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol 3. pp.277-278; Vol 4. pp.208, 330-333.
20. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol 4. pp.328-329, 350, 374 and 409.
21. Crouch, Life of Rev. H. H. Dugmore. p.95; Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.222.

stations, bore arms in defence of the Colony.²² Khama came down from Kamastone and assisted the troops by keeping communications open between East London and Fort Beaufort.²³

Reconstruction began again. Mount Coke was rebuilt on the original site and the village again laid out. The population increased rapidly and the mission flourished. Fingoes and other tribes settled in the area.

But war broke out again, on Christmas Day 1850, the costliest and longest war.²⁴ The Xhosa tribes had apparently only given themselves time to recover and rearm. A prophet, Umlanjeni, claimed to be Makana returned after being taken prisoner in 1819, and promised them protection.²⁵ To make matters worse, many Hottentots, who had always been faithful allies, rose and attacked. At first there were few pitched battles, the troops were kept busy patrolling. Then Kreli, Hintza's successor, threw down the gauntlet,²⁶

22. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.225.

23. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.222.

24. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.226; Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Vol IV. p.278.

25. Cory, The Rise of South Africa. Vol 5. p.294.

26. Cory, The Rise Of South Africa, Vol 5. p.434.

and attempted to induce Umhala, of the Ndlambe teibe, to join. However Kreli had to sue for peace, which was finally proclaimed in February 1853. The Hottentots continued to fight. They went into the bush country of the Kei River and into the Colony, where they formed gangs.²⁷

This costly war left the missionaries depressed. The land of promise was ruined, their staffs depleted, their people scattered, the tribes sullen and resentful. War might break out any time.²⁸ Despite the missionary being told to Mount Coke and remove to Fort Murray, the people remained, and with the assistance of the ever-loyal Fingoes, managed to protect the property. Mount Coke was not destroyed this time, and was a small ray of hope.²⁹

There was still dissatisfaction, but the tribes were going to be careful before rising again. However, in July 1856 rumours of a new prophet arose. In 1857 news was received that all cattle had to be killed, all grain destroyed, and on the promised day the sun would rise blood

27. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, Vol 5. p.468.
28. Findaly and Holdsworth, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*. Vol IV. pp.279& 285.
29. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. 1852. p.821; 1853. p.585. *District Minutes*. Report on Mount Coke, 1952; Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*. p.227.

red in the east, at noon it would return to the east. A whirlwind would sweep away the English. The departed ancestors would then rise from the earth, a mighty army, and with the m fine herds of cattle, and the corn pits would be full again with grain.³⁰ Though some stood aloof, Most Xhosa clans entered wholeheartedly into the movement, and induced many of the followers ~~ka~~ of the careful chiefs to take part. When the promise did not materialise many starved to death, despite help being given by the Colony. The power of the Xhosa was broken.³¹

The war between the Gcalekas and the Fingoes in 1877 was sufficiently far enough to have little direct bearing on Mount Coke. Small parties of these tribes came as far as this mission, but there was no fighting here. The local people remained loyal and quiet, and Rev. E. D. Hepburn reports that one band of warriors came to Mount Coke to surrender. This was achieved to the satisfaction of all.³²

Mount Coke was in the most disturbed area during most of this period, and had to be abandoned twice, but each time it was rebuilt and work resumed. Despite the disordered

30. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. P.234; Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol 6. p.22. See Burton, Sparks from the Border Anvil.

31. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. pp.234-235.

32. District Minutes. Report for Mount Coke, 1878.

state of the country the decision was made to continue to serve these tribes. That is an indication of the importance placed on this station, it was considered to be vital to the witness being made. The loyal support given by these tribes to the missionaries is enough evidence that they responded. No missionary lost his life on this station during any war. Indeed, many missionaries were carefully protected on all the Wesleyan Missions on the Eastern Frontier. The Government went as far as arming some for their protection. The greatest example of loyalty was that of Khama, who became a preacher and pastor as well as chief. The Wesleyans played an important part in seeking the peace and progress of the frontier.

Station were destroyed and rebuilt, tribes moved to new areas, wars created problems, but the work was maintained. Through difficult times the missionaries persevered. In the end the work proved to be worth while.

CHAPTER VI. THE CONTRIBUTION OF WESLEYAN
MISSIONARIES TO LINGUISTIC STUDIES.

One of the most urgent tasks that the missionaries set to work on was to learn the language of the people amongst whom they laboured.¹ Missionaries first obtained the assistance of an interpreter, but determined to secure a closer contact with the people by speaking to them in their own tongue. Thus we find that within a year of arriving at Mount Coke Rev. Stephen Kay read the Ten Commandments in Xhosa and used the Lord's Prayer in their language;² Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury had to take the step as early as 1831 of exhorting in their language, when he was without the services of an interpreter;³ within three months Rev. H. H. Dugmore was preaching directly to the people;⁴ and Rev. J. W. Appleyard showed a like aptitude for languages by learning Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Dutch and Xhosa.⁵

But there were problems to be solved. There was no

1. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.279.
2. *Missionary Notices*. Vol 5.p.247.
3. Shrewsbury, *Memorials of the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury*. p.363.
4. Eveleigh, *The Settlers and Methodism*. p.105.
5. Thornley Smith, *Memior of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard*. pp.6, 12, 13, 25 and 28.

literature or even any writing at all. So, at first, words were collected and written down as accurately as possible. Dr. Vanderkemp had made an attempt to write the language, but did not stay long among the Bantu. However the missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society pursued independent investigations and adopted alphabets, both using the Roman characters.⁶ They met further problems in the slight variations in pronunciation that was possible for certain ~~far~~ consonants. Sometimes words with entirely different meanings would have such slight differences of pronunciation that it would not be noticeable at first. How to show this difference in writing was sometimes a problem.

At a large meeting in January 1830 of the missionaries of various denominations agreement was reached and a scheme of uniform orthography was decided upon.⁷ The sounds are basically the same as in English except for the three 'clicks' for which the letters 'c', 'q' and 'x' are used, and the guttural 'g' (or the Greek Chi) for which the 'r' was used, as the 'r' sound was completely foreign to the Bantu. This orthography continued to be used until 1936 when three

6. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.281; Eveleigh, *The Settlers and Methodism*. p.37.

7. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. pp.283-284; Shepherd, *Lovedale. South Africa*. p.120.

changes were made; the 'r' was now used as in English because this sound had been introduced through borrowed words, so the symbol 'ᠷ' (capital) and 'ᠷ' (small) were taken; the 'b' was used for the normal 'b' sound, but 'ᠪ' (Capital) and 'ᠪ' (small) for the 'implosive b' sound; and the 'ᠰ' (long s) for the 'sh' sound. The very few changes show how thoroughly the work had been done by the missionary pioneers in this field.

The missionaries soon attempted to build up a vocabulary, but the using of these words correctly in sentences presented a difficulty. Here the missionaries used every opportunity to increase their word-power. They were not afraid to make mistakes. Their interpreters proved to be invaluable in this sphere, and showed much patience with the questions that were continually being asked.⁸ Having gained a beginning in this way translations were attempted, each sentence being checked carefully by using it and noting the reactions. By 1830 William Shaw had translated the first part of the Conference Catechism⁹ and Theophilus Shepstone completed the second part with Scripture proofs by February 1833;¹⁰ in August 1831 Rev.

8. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.284.

9. Eveleigh, The Story of a Century. pp.38-39; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.292; District Minutes, February 11, 1830, Question 24.

10. District Minutes. February 5, 1833, Question 24.

J. W. Shrewsbury had completed a translation of the litany and Wesley's abridgment of the liturgy, which he intended should be used regularly;¹¹ Samuel Kay was using a translation of the Lord's Prayer in 1826, and the Ten Commandments;¹² and Rev. H. H. Dugmore was composing Hymns and preparing school lesson books before the end of his first year in the mission field.¹³ These were being done before a clear understanding of the grammar had been obtained. The translations were not materially wrong, and conveyed the truths that were intended, but further knowledge of the language always revealed the imperfections. For ten years after the Wesleyans entered the mission field in Kaffraria no complete grammar of the language had been published. Some missionaries had written their own brief grammars, such as John Bennie, who had published an introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar in 1826;¹⁴ and they had classified materials, but there was a great problem still unexplained. The rules of Bantu grammar were a closed book.¹⁵ The interpreters did not understand that there was a problem, they

11. Missionary Notices Vol 7. pp.39 and 109; Shrewsbury, Memorials of thr Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury.
12. Missionary Notices Vol 5. p.247.
13. Eveleigh, The Settlers and Methodism.
14. Bantu Studies Vol XIV 1940. p.217. Shepherd, Lovedale. South Africa. p.121.
15. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp. 285-286 and 293.

had always spoken in that way, and to them it was simple; but to the missionaries there was a problem because the rules of English grammar could not be used, and any other rules they knew seemed to be inadequate.

In 1830 Rev. William B. Boyce arrived in South Africa when this was the state of affairs. William Shaw soon perceived that he had a natural ability that could be of use, so he interested Boyce in the problem by entering into discussion on the topic as often as he could. By the time Boyce left to start the mission at Buntingville he was determined to find a solution, in which he was encouraged by William Shaw as he was "single and unencumbered with distracting cares."¹⁶ He worked hard trying to find the secret, reporting regularly to William Shaw and reflecting this effort in his letters to the Missionary Committee. An added advantage was given him when Theophilus, the eldest son of Rev. J. W. Shepstone, the missionary at Morley, was sent to act as interpreter. Theophilus would receive education and pursue general studies under Boyce, and in return would assist Boyce in his enquiries into the language. Though he was only about fifteen years old Theophilus was admirably suited to this task since he had

16. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.288; Hewson, *An Introduction to South African Methodists*. p.63; Edmunds, *A Great Adventure*. p.116.

grown up in the country and had learned the language from his early days, speaking it with the fluency of a native.¹⁷ The combination of these two finally led to success.

Exactly how the discovery was made is the subject of conjecture. One suggestion concerns Theophilus Shepstone, for Whiteside records "a tradition that as Mr. Boyce was one day pacing backwards and forwards in front of the mission house, young Shepstone rushed forth, exclaiming, 'I have found it'"¹⁸ Records do not support this, for Boyce made no mention of it in his letters. He paid Shepstone many compliments on the help he had been given,¹⁹ and would hardly have kept it a secret had Shepstone been the discoverer. There is a further story of Boyce himself, that he suddenly discovered the missing key and startled the natives by running out "of the house shouting at the top of his voice 'Eureka! Eureka!'"²⁰ We find a further passage that involves J. C. Warner, who was at that time an assistant at Clarkebury, another Wesleyan Mission station.

17. W. Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*. p.288; *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* 1832. p.664.
18. Whiteside, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*. p.194; Hewson, *An Introduction to South African Methodists*. p.63.
19. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* 1832. p.664.
20. Eveleigh, *The Story of a Century*. p.40; Hewson, *An Introduction to South African Methodists*. p.64.

"Boyce ploughed with Warner's heifer."²¹ This is an expression that the Bantu would use, usually meaning that he has used someone else's material.

These colourful accounts have found very little support. Whiteside preferred to believe that Boyce worked steadily until the law governing the construction of the sentences became evident to him.²² This period of collecting examples, classifying and analysing lasted over two years, and during this period he worked hard, not ignoring any assistance. Eye and ear, order and analysis, induction and deduction, were all used, till the secret was finally out; hard work and long hours were required.²³ This is reflected in his own reports. At one stage he felt that the answer was beyond himself and any other white man,²⁴ and later expressed the belief that William Shaw would be the person to find the secret of the grammar, and would be satisfied to give as much aid as possible.²⁵ However, he persevered and

21. Hewson, An Introduction to South African Methodists p.63; Eveleigh, The Story of a Century. p.39.
22. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.194.
23. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.545; Eveleigh, The Story of a Century. p.39.
24. Hewson, An Introduction to South African Methodists. p.63; Wesleyan Methodist Magazine 1832 p.664.
25. Missionary Notices Vol 7. p.336.

eventually received the praise that was his due.²⁶

Nevertheless, Boyce was right in giving some of the honour to Shaw by dedicating the grammar to him when it was finally published in 1834.

This is not all that can be written on the development of the grammar of the people of this part of Africa, for it was soon found that all Bantu languages were built up on the same principles and thus the writing of a complete grammar of the languages allied to Xhosa was possible. In 1837 Rev. James Archbell published the first Tswana grammar on this foundation. John Bennie had come close to the answer in his analysis and attempts to write a grammar,²⁷ but the real clue had remained hidden. Boyce's discovery gave a new lease of life to the work that was being done in educating and translating.

26. Bantu Studies, Vol XIV 1940. p.218; Edmunds, A Great Adventure. p.116; Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.48; Martin, History of Southern Africa. p.287; Pettman, South African Methodist Place Names. p.25; Eveleigh, The Story of a Century. p.39; Appleyard, The Kafir Language. p.65; Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Vol IV. pp.258-259; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp.288-290 and 546; District Minutes February 4, 1834. Question 24; Shepherd, Lovedale. South Africa. p.121.
27. Shepherd, Lovedale. South Africa. p.121.

Though we acclaim Boyce as the discoverer of the grammatical formation of the Bantu languages, an Italian priest of the Capuchin Order, Giacinto Brusciotto, had discovered the same secret nearly 180 years before, and had written a book in Latin, 'Some rules for the more easy understanding of the most difficult idiom of the people of the Congo brought into the form of a grammar.' This book was published in 1659 and apparently forgotten, for it was only in 1882 that its importance was discovered and the work translated into English.²⁸ This fact detracts in no way from the value of Boyce's discovery, for, as far as his contemporaries knew, no previous discovery had been made. Brusciotto had written of the principiation of nouns, where the declensions and conjugations were formed by prefixes of various kinds, which he called articles. Boyce re-discovered the fact that the prefixes of the verbs and adjectives were governed by the prefixes of the subject noun, this prefix being repeated either exactly or in a modified form throughout the sentence,²⁹ as may be seen in the following sentences:

Ci-garo ci-kuru ci-tema ci-rikupi?

Aba-ntu ba-lendhlu aba-tatu aba-hle aba-gulayo
ba-ti.

28. Bantu Studies Vol 9. 1935. pp.97-102.

29. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. pp.194-195.

This principle of grammar was given the name of the Euphonic Concord or the Alliteral Concord.

By 1844 a second edition of Boyce's grammar had been edited by William J. Davis, with vocabulary and exercises, and again in 1863 a further augmented edition was published.³⁰ Davis had begun to revise the grammar soon after it had been published.³¹ Another name is associated with a revision of Boyce's grammar. This was John Whittle Appleyard, who began to study this work in October 1840³² and had been through it twice by December the 12th of that year, having made such copious notes that he had almost written out a new grammar. Ten years later a new grammar was published by the mission press in King William's Town; Appleyard's biographer describes this as a philosophical treatise on the language as well as a grammar.³³ Dr. Bleek praised this work as an important contribution to the understanding of the native languages.

When Boyce's grammar was published translation took a new lease of life. Previous work was reviewed, revised

30. Bantu Studies Vol XIV 1940. p.219.

31. District Minutes. February 7, 1837.

32. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.33.

33. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. pp.49-51; See, Hewson, An Introduction to South African Methodists. p.64; District Minutes. December 6, 1849.

and corrected, new translations were undertaken. It was also possible to write original work with more confidence. However, other research had begun in the meantime.

William Shaw had commenced to work on a dictionary, and had advanced as far as the letter 'd' by 1830.³⁴ This was continued by J. Ayliff, who completed an 'English-Kaffir' dictionary by 1843.³⁵ W. J. Davis had been busy with the same idēa and had linked this with a revision of Boyce's grammar, eventually publishing a 'Kaffir-English' dictionary in 1872, and an 'English-Kaffir' dictionary in 1877.³⁶

Other work continued with enthusiasm. In 1843 Rev. J. C. Warner was directed to commence collecting materials for a phrase book containing the idioms of the native language.³⁷ But yet much was necessary before mastery could be claimed in translating theological work and the Bible into satisfactory Xhosa. There were many English expressions such as 'ungodly', 'justify', 'righteousness', 'salvation', that had no corresponding words in Xhosa, hence the attempt to introduce these ideas was a slow process of using the old words and ideas and building around them

34. District Minutes. ~~January~~ February 11, 1830. Question 24.

35. District Minutes. January 11, 1843.

36. Eveleigh, The Story of a Century. p.43.

37. District Minutes. January 11, 1843.

new associations.³⁸ Simply introducing new words would not completely satisfy. Understanding was also necessary.

The missionaries had taken on themselves the task of bridging the gap between the European and the Non-European races. From the arrival of Vanderkemp in 1799 attempts were made to understand their languages. As words were learned the problem revealed itself. An orthography was devised to suit the languages and to express new sounds; lists of words were formed and dictionaries were published; the formation of sentences was developed into an art and grammars were written.

Though we mention outstanding contributors such as John Bennie, Boyce, William Shaw, Shepstone, Shrewsbury, Dugmore, it is only right to say that every missionary contributed what he could to this development. Each in his own way sought to use what opportunities came his way, adding to the progress in this sphere. Wesleyan missionaries were well to the fore in this work, and achieved success that comes with hard work.

38. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.195; Shrewsbury, Memorials of the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury. p.349.

CHAPTER VII. THE MOUNT COKE MISSION PRESS.

The missionaries had made education one of their early aims, so that the natives could read for themselves the messages that were being given. The language was also being put into writing and an orthography had been decided upon. Now came the problem of providing books so that all might read, and so that access to the Scriptures might be possible. Vanderkemp used a small press in the Colony to produce simple books as early as 1801, but very little is known about this instrument.

The first printing press that came to be used amongst the Bantu was brought to South Africa by Rev. John Ross in 1823. The small Ruthven printing press travelled from Cape Town by ox-wagon, arriving at Gwali, near the present site of Lovedale, in December of that year, and within three days had commenced printing.¹ This press was destroyed in 1834, but was replaced by a new one in 1839. Lovedale now carries on a greatly enlarged work. In other districts printing was undertaken, sometimes by secular preachers, but more often by the missionary societies. In 1831 Robert Moffat was operating a press at Kuruman, starting a work

1. Shepherd, Literature for the South African. p.2;
Shepherd, Lovedale. South Africa. pp.62-63.

that is carried on at Tiger Kloof. In 1843 the Paris Evangelical Mission had set up a press at Beersheba for their work in Basutoland; this was later transferred to Morija to supplement a small one there, and gave rise to a busy office. At the same time, the Wesleyan Missionary Society had a press in operation at Thaba 'Nchu. In his book 'The Story of a Century' (page 39) William Eveleigh mentions that Barnabas Shaw prepared and published a question book soon after his arrival at the Cape in 1816, calling it the first Methodist publication in South Africa. This probably does not mean that there was a Wesleyan press in Cape Town.

The Wesleyan Missionaries in the Eastern Colony also felt the need for a press. In 1830 translations were required to be printed; these were the first part of the Conference Catechisms translated by William Shaw, and the Rules of Society translated by Stephen Kay.² These had to be sent to Cape Town for printing, but at the same time a decision was made to order a press from England. Rev. Stephen Kay was due to return to England and was charged with the duty of selecting a press and type suitable for printing the Xhosa language. This appears to have been done, for it had arrived by February 1833, although not complete. There was a deficiency of certain letters.

2. District Minutes, February 11, 1830. Question 24.

This time William Shaw was deputed to make enquiries and take to England exactly the size and extent of the deficiency in order that the press be put into working order.³ As Boyce's grammar was printed on this press and published in 1834,⁴ it is assumed that the deficiency had been made good by then.

The press was first used in Grahamstown, and later went to various centres before arriving at Mount Coke, where it stayed for a number of years. In Grahamstown there were two respectable members of society well acquainted with the printing business, who agreed to superintend the press under the direction of the missionary. Further, two youths were indentured to the society for a period of four years.⁵ When he returned from England in 1837, William Shaw attempted to co-ordinate and guide the translating and printing, but found that he could not carry on without detriment to the missionary work. As Chairman of the District he had to visit even the remoter stations and when away could not give the attention constantly required.⁶ In 1840 this was remedied by removing the press to D'Urban, Fort Peddie, where Mr. J. Harvey was engaged as printer

3. District Minutes, February 5, 1833. Question 24.
4. Pettman, ~~the~~ South African Methodist Place Names. p.25; W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. pp.290 and 546.
5. District Minutes, February 1833. Question 33.
6. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.294.

and catechist.⁷

At this time William Shaw rejoiced to welcome Rev. John Whittle Appleyard. For a period he was placed in charge of various stations where his delicate health would not handicap him, but when it was discovered that he was the right man to take charge of the translating and printing he was earmarked for the post.⁸ Appleyard had indeed received the perfect education to fit him for the great work he was to perform until his death, both in translating and in operating the printing press. "After leaving Kingswood, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Joseph Wan, bookseller and printer, of Shepton Mallet, with whom he remained some time. This was another field of preparation for his future work. Neither he nor his parents knew it, but God knew it. He was, in future life, to be the manager of a mission press in South Africa. What apprenticeship could have better fitted him for such a post as this?"⁹

He further prepared himself by his systematic studying, especially languages. The enthusiasm with which he undertook this studying ensured the thoroughness with which he would revise and correct the copy at the press, and the accuracy that would be achieved. When he arrived in the

7. District Minutes, April 1, 1840.

8. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.294.

9. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.4.

Cape in January 1840 he realised the value of Dutch and within a few months he was able to speak it.¹⁰ When he came to the Eastern Province he was appointed to D'Urban, Fort Peddie, to assist W. B. Boyce and to acquire the Xhosa language.¹¹ This language also appears to have been mastered very quickly.

In 1846 we read that Appleyard was given charge of the printing press, which was then at Newton Dale, he being appointed to Beka Mission Station. H. H. Dugmore was sent to D'Urban in order to be able to assist in the work connected with the press.¹² But this had to be changed because of the outbreak of the War of the Axe. The press was immediately removed to Grahamstown, and thus preserved from destruction.¹³ At the conclusion of hostilities the decision was made to remove the press to Wesleyville, still under Appleyard,¹⁴ but by the end of that year arrangements had been made to transfer it to King William's Town, where a suitable building had been purchased.¹⁵ This move was carried out, Appleyard arriving there in January 1849 and

10. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J.W. Appleyard p.25.

11. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J.W. Appleyard p.28.

12. District Minutes, January 14, 1846. Question 6.

13. District Minutes, January 13, 1847. Question 25.

14. District Minutes, January 1848. Question 7.

15. District Minutes, November 22, 1848, Question 12.

the press in March.¹⁶

King William's Town appeared to have been a suitable place, for it had access to Kaffraria, being on the line of communication between that country and the Colony, and also being in the route between East London and Alice. At the same time it was becoming an important military and civilian centre. An apprentice was added to the establishment and then a bookbinder. The work here was, however, disturbed by another war. Supplies were cut off and the work languished. Appleyard did not cease work, but prepared for the resumption of the press.

In August 1853 peace was made with the Ngqika clans, and that year Appleyard was appointed to Mount Coke, the mission press, being moved, took over premises that had housed the Watson Institution.¹⁷ It was some time before accommodation was satisfactory, for Appleyard had to live in part of the building housing the press, and which was intended as the binder's room, the paper room, and the editor's room. A house was being built for him,¹⁸ and

16. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard, pp.41-42; District Minutes p.259, Report of the Printing Establishment for 1849.
17. District Minutes, Report of Mount Coke Circuit for 1853; Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard, p.44; Missionary Notices 1853. pp.91-92.
18. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine 1854. p.381.

when this was completed and the move effected, the press was able to produce more of the many requirements of the District. By this time the press was becoming worn, and parts required replacing. Supplies were slow in coming in, and materials were not of high quality, so that the output was not regular.¹⁹ We hear that in 1856 there was difficulty in obtaining a printer on whom Appleyard could rely.²⁰ But this work was not neglected. Appleyard supervised it as thoroughly as he could, and continued to produce books, pamphlets and forms.

A change came in 1860. Having finished his translation of the Bible into Xhosa, Appleyard was requested by the British and Foreign Bible Society to publish it, and was invited to go to England to see it through the press there. This arrangement proved to be most satisfactory, for he could continue to revise it; but at the same time, the Circuit and mission press were left to his colleague,²¹ Rev. William Holford, who reported eventually that the operations of the press were almost entirely suspended for the year 1864. No suitable printer could be obtained and he could not do both circuit work and supervise the press, especially since the type was in a bad state of

19. District Minutes, Report of the Printing Establishment for 1853.

20. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J.W.Appleyard. p.68.

21. District Minutes, Report of the Mount Coke Circuit for the year 1860.

repair.²²

Appleyard returned to South Africa in February 1865 and recommenced the work. The press was again under his management.²³ He continued to operate the press until shortly before his death in 1874. He worked almost to the last, dying at the age of 59 years, after a short illness, at the home of Rev. Mr. Chubb in King William's Town. Rev. William Holford took over the press, but during the year 1876 it was moved to Grahamstown²⁴ and soon after that it was closed down altogether, when books could be more cheaply and more neatly printed in England. Communication had improved and supplies of books did not take so long to arrive.

The printing press has supplied an important need. Books were printed on the spot, where the work could be checked and corrected without delay. It is perhaps romantic to record that the first important book published and printed by the mission press was the first 'Grammar of the Kaffir Language' written by Boyce.²⁵ This work opened up new fields of service for the press, and for

22. District Minutes, Report of the Mount Coke Printing Establishment for the year 1864.

23. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J.W.Appleyard. pp.82-83.

24. District Minutes, Report of the Printing Press for 1876.

25. W. Shaw, The Story of My Mission. p.546.

the missionaries. But that is not the only grammar book to be published and printed by this press. Equally honoured is the new grammar book by J. W. Appleyard, 'The Kafir Language.' He must have been influenced by the work of Rev. W. J. Davis in editing this work, but his reaction was to write another grammar, arranging things in a new way, so that he could write "December 10th - Finished this evening the second study of the Kaffir Grammar. In fact I have written out almost a new one, having made several alterations both in matter and arrangement." This was in 1840, and ten years later the new grammar was published.²⁶ High praise was given to this work, and the way it was printed and bound was also praised, a work which "cannot fail to reflect credit on that establishment."²⁷

Another work of importance was printed at Mount Coke. The Kafir Hymn Book was a necessary addition to the equipment of a mission, hymns being written to take place of the choruses and ditties used.²⁸ This book was later enlarged and in 1891 a tune book was printed in London. J. W. Appleyard and H. H. Dugmore were the main poets, but Rev.s. E. Gedye, W. Hunter, J. W. Shepstone and others also contributed. A Hymn Book was printed in

26. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J.W.Appleyard, pp.49-51.

27. District Minutes, Report of the Printing Establishment for 1849.

28. Whitesidē, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.260; duPlessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa. p.298.

1853 for the Free Church Mission, so, in this line, the range was widened. "The songs of Zion were often heard on hills and in valleys which had formerly echoed with the war whoop of barbarous hordes."²⁹ Worship was further developed by the printing of the Conference Catechism and a vernacular prayer book. The Liturgy was revised by Rev. E. J. Barrett, who used Appleyard's revision of the Psalms.³⁰ Here as well, work was done to serve other spheres, such as the Dutch Catechisms being printed,³¹ and English Covenant Services.³²

The Bible will be dealt with more full in a later chapter, but it must be referred to here. The greatest achievement was the steady flow of translation that was maintained. At times the stock was low, but this work was given priority. Translating, revising and printing went on with as much dispatch as possible. Individual books of the Bible were published, and groups of books bound together so that they were available as soon as possible after translation. Appleyard appears to have been

29. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J.W.Appleyard. p.72.

30. Whitesidâ, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. p.260.

31. Francis Fleming, South Africa. A Geography and Natural History. p.290.

32. District Minutes, Report of the Printing Establishment for 1853.

dissatisfied all the time in that he constantly refers to revision and reprinting. He wanted better work. There are also copies of translations printed for other Societies, such as in 1869 the New Testament was printed for the Paris Evangelical Mission in Basutoland, and in 1875 a book of excerpts from the New Testament was printed in Sechuana.

Educational books were printed in great numbers and distributed. Thousands of spelling books were printed as the need arose; books in vernacular began to appear as the standard of education increased. In education the appearance of periodicals was of great assistance. The report of the press for the year 1850 records the "commencement of the Kaffir Newspaper, or Monthly Messenger." "A circulation of 700 copies of which 500 are bought and payed (sic) for by the natives themselves is a striking evidence that the mission schools have not been established in vain, since the class of native readers have been entirely formed by the operation of these Institutions." This, and an English monthly magazine, had to be discontinued in 1851 and 1852, but in 1854 they were resumed.³³ The 'Christian Watchman' continued to be published for many years, being discontinued only in 1865, while Appleyard was overseas.³⁴

33. District Minutes, Report of the Printing Establishment for the years 1851, 1852 and 1853.

34. District Minutes, Report of the Mount Coke Printing Establishment for the year 1865.

This press had attempted to produce literature for all and deserves praise for the fact that Christian literature was given to the country, copies being poured forth to a very remarkable extent.³⁵

Finally, the press was invaluable for producing the necessary literature for District Records and development. The forms required for the various returns were printed as required, and society tickets in Dutch and Khosa were regularly produced. In addition such literature as the Society Rules, in English, Dutch and Khosa; the Conference Catechism; and any tract or pamphlet it was desired should be distributed.

Mount Coke will long be remembered as the home of the Wesleyan Mission Press, where much essential work was produced. At a time when the printed word was assuming great importance in South Africa, and new discoveries in the language were being made, books and pamphlets of all kinds were issued. The Scriptures were sent throughout the land, as the various parts were ready; religious literature was supplied; secular publications in several languages were produced; the demand for school books was met as far as possible. Such a task is vital to the community as a whole and to mission work in particular. A solid foundation for future work was laid.

35. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J.W. Appleyard. p.72.

CHAPTER VIII. THE APPELYARD TRANSLATION
 OF THE XHOSA BIBLE.

In the last chapter we recorded the amazing work done by Appleyard during his superintendence of the mission press. The greatest work that came from that press was undoubtedly the first complete translation of the Bible into Xhosa. This was another achievement of Appleyard's, and will be remembered when his other work is forgotten. The translation would have been completed eventually, but to Appleyard must go the praise for the fact that this did not take years longer. As we will see, there was opposition to the completed work, and another translation was issued twenty eight years later, but even this work was supported and encouraged by Appleyard.

Translating the Bible had begun long before Appleyard arrived in South Africa, and even before Boyce came to add his contribution. From the beginning of the work amongst the Bantu, attempts were made to translate all useful literature into the vernacular, and what more useful literature can there be than the Bible. At first only small portions of special interest were translated, especially those that were regularly used in Church services, then other important passages used in instruction were added. Rev. H. Calderwood gives an interesting reason for translating the Bible. "It is of the utmost consequence in

Caffraria and among the Fingoes, that we are able to say that we have a law - a law from God - and that that law is written, and that all may read, and inquire, and understand for themselves. It is curious to observe what stress the Caffres, uncivilised though they be, lay upon the fact that there is or is not a law upon any given subject." We can say "That is from God; that is our law."¹

But there is an added reason for having portions of the Bible translated and printed as more and more natives are educated. Those going out to the distant areas could then carry more messages than they could were they to rely on memory alone, and especially the messages of Jesus Himself, and those of the prophets. Those who were able to read would naturally look for literature. If the correct literature was handy the results would be better than simply trying to teach them. The missionaries would also benefit from reading well written translations. We have no doubt that it was of prime importance to translate the Scriptures.

The early missionaries did not delay long before proceeding with the task. They went ahead even before they understood the grammar, and were satisfied that what they produced was understood. In his "Apology for the Kafir Bible" Appleyard mentioned the work of the missionaries of

1. Calderwood, Caffres and Caffre Missions. p.126.

the other societies, giving lists of books translated and printed, and others that had been translated but not printed. This cannot have been an exhaustive list, for he could not have had access to the studies of all the men, nor would he have known them all personally, for some left the mission field before Appleyard arrived. But it does indicate that much was done, especially when we remember that the years 1830 to 1860 were very disturbed by the wars of this period.

The London Missionary Society, the first in the field, produced men like John Brownlee, F. G. Kayser, and H. Calderwood. These men worked in the most disturbed areas, thus their work was very broken. The Glasgow Missionary Society concentrated its work in a small area, and was able to do something more substantial. Revs. J. Bennie, J. Laing, B. Ross and William Chalmers have left record of their achievements. By 1840 they had translated most of the New Testament, and published a considerable portion. The Berlin Missionary Society did not start a mission among the Xhosa until 1836, but very quickly began translating, co-operating readily with other societies. A. Kropf, J. L. Dohne and W. Posselt worked steadily until the latter two went to Natal as a result of the War of the Axe. A. Kropf continued to interest himself in the work and, with B. Ross, was one of the last of the original committee to revise Appleyard's translation.

But it must be admitted that the Wesleyan Missionary Society have done by far the most work.² Perhaps the fact that they had based their mission work on the Colony assisted them here as well as in evangelising and in gaining European support, for they were able to continue their work when affairs were at their blackest and mission stations had to be abandoned. But probably the greatest factor was the discipline in laying down tasks for each missionary in addition to the normal duties on the mission station. Their enthusiasm was apparently raised to a higher pitch and the work progressed.

We find that William Shaw had translated Genesis, chapter 1, by April 1828,³ and had used it in a service with encouraging results. In the District Minutes of the Albany District for February 11th. 1830, we find that several of the missionaries had been translating, and it is of interest to note that most of the work was in the Old Testament. The reason is possibly as reflected in 1832, "As our Bretheren of the London and Glasgow Missionary Societies are employed on most of the books of the New Testament, we judge that our labours can most usefully be

2. Calderwood. Caffres and Caffre Missions. p.128;
Appleyard. An Apology for the Kafir Bible. p.10;
Thornley Smith. Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.64;
Martin. History of South Africa. p.64; Gorvan. The
Memorials of the Missionary Carreer of the Rev. J.
Laing. p.263.
3. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. 1829. p.200.

directed to the Old Testament, and accordingly we agree to distribute our labours as follows:- Bro^r. Shaw to complete Genesis; and Bro. Boyce to commence Exodus and proceed to the end of the Pentateuch; Bro. Shepstone Joshua; Bro. Ayliff Judges; Bro. Haddy Ruth and 1,2 and last chapters of Job; Bro. Shrewsbury Isaiah; and Bro. Young Jonah and Malachi."⁴ This appears to be a heavy task for men who were establishing mission stations and had all the attendant duties, especially when some of them had not been in the country long. But the District Minutes of 1833 record "considerable progress has been made in translating the Holy Scriptures," reporting that most of the tasks had been completed, and in addition Boyce had translated to the end of the Book of Esther. Each year the position was reviewed and further tasks given. The various portions of the Old Testament were being printed as they were completed and checked, thus putting this work into use.

The work was further organised in that the translations were checked and re-checked. It appears that this revising went on right to the last minute. A committee was appointed in 1835, consisting of Revs. R. Haddy (Superintendent), J. W. Shepstone, W. B. Boyce and H. H. Dugmore. In 1845 the revising committee consisted of Revs. W. Shaw,

4. District Minutes. February 7th. 1832. Question 24.

W. J. Davis and H. H. Dugmore.⁵

Concerning the New Testament, Appleyard listed books that were translated and printed from 1836 onwards,⁶ but many portions must have been translated prior to this. He does not list many printed books of the New Testament translated by other societies, but there must have been many such, for, that was why the Wesleyans had concentrated on the Old Testament. Further, Mr. Shrewsbury wrote to the Missionary Committee in March 1833 remarking that, "The last District Meeting made arrangements for us unitedly to complete the translation of the New Testament into Caffer during the present year. Matthew and Romans have fallen to my share."⁷ William B. Boyce wrote the same year, "The Missionaries of the Glasgow Society and Messrs. Brownlee and Kaiser of the London Society, have finished all the New Testament, except the Gospel of St. Luke, which I have finished, in order that the Wesleyan Missionary Society might have a share in the satisfaction arising from the completion of a Caffer translation of the New Testament."⁸ Whatever the position, it appears that all the societies contributed, and that a translation was

5. District Minutes. ~~February XIXXXXXX~~.

January 15th. 1845.

6. Appleyard. An Apology for the Kafir Bible. pp.7-8.

7. Missionary Notices. Vol 7. p.353.

8. Missionary Notices. Vol 7. p.335.

9. Thornley Smith. Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.64.

complete and published in London by the British and Foreign Bible Society, under the superintendence of Rev. W. Shaw,⁹ who went to England in 1833. But this was not accepted as a final translation. Work continued, for we again read of "the completion of the printing of the New Testament in Kaffir" being acclaimed in 1847.¹⁰ Appleyard must have been referring to this as his New Testament No. 2, which was translated by the Wesleyan and Berlin Missionary Societies. This was further revised as new printings became necessary, in 1853 and in 1854 at King William's Town and Mount Coke, in 1859 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and finally in 1864 by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Attempts were made to co-ordinate this work. In 1831 Brothers Shrewsbury and Young visited the London Missionary Society Station on the Buffalo River, where, in addition to Revs. J. Brownlee and F. G. Kayser, Revs. J. Ross and J. Bennie of the Glasgow Society were gathered to discuss various matters relative to translating. The main subject seems to have been the translation of the Bible.¹¹ Very little appears to have been done about securing more exchange of information, for, in 1845 another attempt

9. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.64.

10. District Minutes. January 13th. 1847. Question 25.

11. Missionary Notices. Vol 7. pp.108-109.

to communicate with the other missionary societies was authorised.¹² This brought immediate results, for as early as April the 16th 1845, a meeting was held at Rev. Birt's Mission Station Umxelo, where a revising committee was chosen in which each society was represented. The orthography was discussed, in order to obtain uniformity, and the idioms were to be checked in order to give greater accuracy. A circular was sent to all missionaries on the Frontier in order to gain their co-operation. Interleaved copies of the Gospel according to St. Matthew were to be forwarded to each missionary with a request that corrections or remarks be made and then sent to Mr. Dugmore, the convener of the committee. After that the remaining portions of the New Testament would be similarly treated, until the whole was completed.¹³ This appeal seems to have received very little response. In some quarters this is interpreted as lack of interest, but the war which broke out soon afterwards so disrupted communications that very little was done.¹⁴ The Wesleyan Mission Press proceeded with the work and printed its own translations in 1846 and 1847.

At this time Appleyard had arrived in South Africa

12. District Minutes. January 15th. 1845. ~~Quaxiixuxxx~~.

13. The Cape of Good Hope Christian Magazine. 1845. p.383.

14. Appleyard, An Apology for the Kafir Bible. p.10.

and ~~had~~ acquired a sound knowledge of the language. His revision of Boyce's grammar and the publication of his own work occupied much of his time till 1850, but in that year he commenced printing translations he had made. In this sphere, as well as that of printing, he had been well prepared. In 1835 he had set his mind to learning languages; Hebrew three days a week; Greek two days a week; and latin one.¹⁵ This prepared the way for when he was a theological student in 1837, for they were among the set courses.¹⁶ Towards the end of this course he began to devote time to studying Syriac and Chaldee,¹⁷ thus giving himself a good background for understanding the Bible. He appears to have been an apt pupil, for a few months were enough for him to acquire enough Dutch to speak it and even preach.¹⁸ Thus he was well qualified to take over the task of translating both the Old and the New Testaments.¹⁹

Appleyard gave himself wholeheartedly to translating and revision. "My plan has been simply this: the original, with English and Dutch authorised versions, has always been before me, and as a general rule each verse has been read

15. ~~Appleyard~~ Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.6.

16. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.12.

17. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard..p.18.

18. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.25.

19. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.64.

in all three. Other English translations have also been consulted, together with what their authors have to say, when they chose to depart from the authorised version. This latter I have followed as my standard or rule of rendering; though occasionally I have preferred the rendering of the Dutch, and in a few more instances that of the later English translations just referred to, so far as the meaning of particular words or phrases are concerned, and when no violence was done to the received text."²⁰ This provides a conclusive answer to the accusation that Appleyard only used the English authorised version, and was "unacquainted with the original text."²¹

Naturally the translation and revision would proceed slowly. Disturbances were frequent, war cut down supplies and diverted interests. Maintaining of sufficient stocks of the New Testament strained their resources, so that it was a relief when, in 1857, this was taken over by the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had always assisted very liberally.²² Circuit work had to be maintained and the many requirements in other directions for work from the printing press could not be ignored. So it was indeed a happy day when Appleyard could announce that the end was

20. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.65.

21. Shepherd, Brownlee J. Ross. pp.18-19.

22. Appleyard, An Apology for the Kafir Bible. p.15.

in view. On June the 25th. 1859 he had still Chronicles to revise, and when this was done and printed the Old Testament would be complete and uniform.²³ Two months later this was finished. The Old Testament was printed in four volumes.²⁴ But he did not relax, for the next task was another revision of the New Testament, which was almost another translation.

The British and Foreign Bible Society continued to take an interest, wishing to have the entire Bible now revised and printed at their cost. Appleyard was therefore removed to England in March 1860, arriving there in May, in order to supervise this work.²⁵ He remained at this task for four years, eventually seeing the work completed in 1864. He returned to South Africa in 1865, taking up his work at the Mission Press at Mount Coke in February.

"But the new volume had not been long in circulation ere the Scotch Missionaries held a meeting at King William's Town, to which they invited some others belonging to the London and German Societies (but neither Mr. Appleyard himself nor any of the Wesleyan Missionaries) for the

23. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.75.

24. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.74; District Minutes. Report of the Printing Establishment 1859.

25. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.79; District Minutes. Report of the Mount Coke Circuit for the year 1860.

purpose of passing the work under their review. 'I happened', says Mr. Appleyard in a letter to the Rev. B. Bergne,' to ride into King William's Town on some other business that day, but as I had received no invitation and not even heard that such a meeting was likely to take place, I did not feel at liberty to attend. From one of the German missionaries whom I met at our mission house, I heard that there was going to be some talk about the present Kafir version during the afternoon sitting. He expressed his surprise that I had not been invited and said that he should inquire on the subject. This, I was afterwards informed, he did, and not receiving any satisfactory reply he left the meeting.' Very little was done that day, but another meeting was held and ultimately these good, but mistaken, bretheren, published a pamphlet containing the severest strictures on the translation, and intimating that another version must be issued with as little delay as possible."²⁶

Another record of the reaction to this translation²⁷ mentions that "this new translation was unanimously received with satisfaction and gratitude." "Such feelings of satisfaction, however, were considerably modified." Some had come to a decision "that this could not be accepted as an authorised version, and that it was indispensable

26. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. pp87-8.

27. Gorvan, Memorials of the Missionary Career of the Rev. J. Laing. pp.263-268.

that without delay, means should be used to have it thoroughly revised." At the next meeting of an annual Conference of missionaries a paper that Mr. Tiyo Soga had prepared on the subject of this translation, was read. Seing this meeting was held in January 1866 at Lovedale they did not waste much time in coming to conclusions. It was agreed that a better translation should be obtained, and in the meantime a communication was addressed "to missionaries of all Protestant denominations, engaged in missionary work among the Kafir-speaking tribes on the frontier of the Cape Colony, who were requested to state in writing their views of Mr. Appleyard's translation, and whether they concurred with the members of the Conference that means should be used for obtaining a more correct version of the Scriptures into Kafir." On the basis of the replies a pamphlet was published, "Rev. J. W. Appleyard's Version judged by Missionaries og Various Denominations and others." This was sent to various missionaries in South Africa and Britain, and to the British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland.

Apparently the Wesleyan Missionaries were not informed of any of these movements until the pamphlet was published and they had obtained information indirectly. An appendix to the Minutes of the Grahamstown District Meeting commencing January the 16th. 1867 reflects surprise that

such discourtesy was shown, and at that meeting they supported Appleyard, agreeing to wait until he had replied to this pamphlet before they did anything more. It is surprising that they did not know what was going on at the United Missionary Conferences, which began in 1863 and were first held half yearly, if this is the Conference referred to above. They were surely members, and they were engaged in missionary work among the Kafir-speaking tribes on the frontier. In any case, the polite thing would have been to allow Appleyard to state his case to them before rushing into print. Thus it was necessary for him to publish his defence as soon as possible, and this was done. "An Apology for the Kafir Bible" appeared in print in 1867.

As an introduction Appleyard quoted a preface used by George Campbell in his translation of the Gospels. He did not feel that his translation was perfect, nor would any translation ever be considered perfect by all. Even the English Bible was not a perfect translation, so it was not right to expect a translation into Xhosa to be perfect. He outlined the history of the translating, showing that the Wesleyan Missionaries had been left to do most of the work, even after sincere efforts to find co-operation. He then analysed the criticisms and came to the conclusion that, though there were weaknesses in the translation, most of the criticisms did not convince him. The methods

of analysing his efforts were suspect. Some preferred to accept suggestions from the first person they met outside, some wanted the Bible passages explained rather than translated, some preferred to ignore the possibility that there were local differences in idiom. The criticisms can be analysed but would serve no useful purpose, the judgment of the succeeding generations is more relevant. Perhaps differences in dialect were a factor in the arguments, seing it was mainly amongsh the Ngqika clans that opposition came, and persisted.²⁸

Before this committee could reply to Appleyard, he approached them again with suggestions that a committee be formed to revise his translation. The committee created by this suggestion consisted of ten members from the seven Missionary Societies working in the area.²⁹ This work went forward slowly. Rev. Tiyo Soga and Rev. J. W. Appleyard, both very active in the work, died before much had been done in revising.³⁰ But the work continued. Others dropped out, mainly through being moved to other areas, but finally

28. Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. p.91.

29. Gorvan, Memorials of the Missionary Career of the Rev. J. Laing. pp.267-268; Thornley Smith, Memoir of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. pp.90-91.

30. Chalmers, Tiyo Soga. A Page of South African Missionary Work. p.366; The South African Methodist No. 27. Vol 3. August 10. 1887. p.337.

the work was completed in 1887 by the Revs. A. Kropf and B. Ross.

At first this translation was hailed as good work, for it ended up by being a new translation. The South African Methodist wrote that 1887 would be remembered in the history of the Xhosa Bible. Another writer praised the translation as a perfect 'gem' and producing a final standard of Xhosa for writers and speakers.³¹ But it has not been accepted completely and raised opposition from the people who would normally use it, the Xhosas and their own ministers. District Synods had reports on the new translation and the Conference in 1895 reported similar criticisms of the translation.³² The Appleyard Version remained a favourite for many tribes, and still is read.

Further translations have been made, mainly to satisfy the latest orthography of 1936. Yet even to-day the Appleyard Version is the one that is produced with pride. It is read and understood. No single translation can satisfy all, several translations read together will give most satisfaction and best understanding. The Appleyard Version will be one of these for many years.

31. Shepherd, Brownlee J. Ross. p.22.

32. The South African Methodist 1893 - No. 228 February 11th. 1893 p.64; No.231. March 4th. 1893 p.101; No. 240. May 6th. 1893 p.214; See also 1892 No.205. September 10th 1892.

CHAPTER IX. THE MEDICAL MISSION.

By 1920 Mount Coke Mission was passing through hard times. Rev. William Baker wrote to the Missionary Secretary, Rev. Samuel Clark, in January 1921, remarking that, while the stations further north had become large centres of evangelism, Mount Coke was still a small circuit. He referred in his letter to the population of twelve to fifteen thousand in the area, of which annual returns show contact with fifteen hundred. Further, in this area there was no competition other than two or three congregations of Ethiopians, and those were more stimulating than hurtful, and one church of another denomination. He did not suggest any reason for this state, nor did he suggest what should be done.

For a few years there had been negotiations concerning the setting up of an establishment for training Native evangelists. Several reasons were put forward showing that Mount Coke Circuit would be ideal for such an institution. In Chapter IV we mentioned that this was visualised as the means of saving the Circuit and building it up. Rev. William Baker was concerned about the standard of education of the evangelists employed, and so was the Conference of 1920.¹ He wanted to unite these two problems and solve

1. Minutes of Conference. 1920. 103 para(b).

them at one stroke. But these plans did not materialise. The idea seemed to have been modified to include only three or four men, and then the schemes were shelved until after the Mission Station Centenary in 1923. That appears to have been the last trace of the scheme.

Mount Coke continued to struggle along. The South African Missionary Reports were not at all encouraging. Continued and increased evangelism was called for in 1921, but in 1923 the position was even worse than before. Harvest failures and poverty were given as excuses, but they could have been a challenge instead. Finally a crisis occurred in 1927. "At the Conference of 1927 Charles Edward Dent was appointed to Mount Coke Circuit, but after a few months' service it became necessary for him to go to East London for medical treatment and nursing. On Sunday, 16th October, 1927, he had a seizure and quietly but triumphantly passed to higher service."² It was decided that if Rev. D. E. Carr could not revive the work at Mount Coke, the missionary would have to be withdrawn.³

Reports soon reflected a new spirit. When he first arrived Mr. Carr was concerned that the 'red' natives were visiting the mission. There was nothing to attract them, except for the trader's store, and no other contact seemed

2. Minutes of Conference. 1928. p.9.

3. Report and Statement for the Year 1952 - Mount Coke Hospital Board. p.20.

to be possible. Having spent eight years in the mission field at Maputaland, where a dispensary had been in operation.⁴ he decided to start a clinic at Mount Coke. The minutes of the first meeting of the Mount Coke Health Centre and Child Welfare report that the work started in November 1928, which was not long after he arrived. A dispensary was fitted up. Donations helped to equip it, and the remains of the medicine chest that had been used in the abandoned mission to East Central Africa were given to him. At first the patients were only Christian people, and there the need was great. Needless suffering and death were combated. Gradually the heathen came, until more heathen than Christian were attending. In a letter Mr. Carr reported a remark made by a 'red' native, "I heard that the Mfundisi is making the people well and I have come for you to save my child."⁵ A little scientific help was producing great changes.

But this was not the kernel of the work. Mr. Carr always turned the conversation to the love of God in Jesus Christ, till they enquired how they might also know Him. Many came from as far as fifteen miles away, and were prepared to wait hours to be treated. With this beginning it was possible to go to the huts and find a welcome. After

4. South African Missionary Reports 1924. p.29.

5. Appendix 9.

that he was able to visit the locations that had been closed to him. There he would always begin any business with a hymn and a prayer. The work grew so rapidly that he had dealt with 5,454 sick people in the first fourteen months.⁶

The aim had been to find an opening to their homes. Now that this had been achieved he had to do something about developing this work. Evangelists were engaged. Mr. Carr frequently arranged to go with leaders of the circuit to meet the chiefs and their councillors at different locations. On March the 27th. 1929 He wrote to Mr. Lea that he had visited the heathen at Dube Location, about eighteen miles away. Twelve of the leading men of the Circuit accompanied him. When they appealed to the chief his head councillor replied. "Why have you been so long in coming? My word is one of thanks and joy for the blessings that have been offered and promised us this day." It was found that this councillor had been treated in the dispensary at Mount Coke. Under his influence it was arranged that a church would be built by the local people and an evangelist sent by the Circuit.

As a result of all this activity the cost of running the Circuit was increasing. Donations were required in addition to the grant given by the Missionary and Extension Fund. Finance was forthcoming. Evangelists and Biblewomen

6. Minute Book of the Mount Coke Health Centre. January 28th. 1930.

were employed. The Bible Woman's Report of June 1931⁷ is interesting because of the faith shown. She preferred to go to the heathen and give them some of her enthusiasm, though her work took her to all parts of the Circuit.

The medical side of the work was growing so fast that it was decided to form a committee to run it, and on the 22nd. of January 1930 the first committee meeting was held. The work was called the Mount Coke Health Centre and Child Welfare, and the following committee was elected: Rev. J.W. Househam, Messrs. E. J. Pike, A. M. Jabavu, L. Ntche, Theo Bongo, J. Quntana and the native ministers at King William's Town and Tamara.

From the first, two problems arose. The relationship with the Medical Council, and the problem of those came from great distances and were seriously ill. It was agreed that they should write to the Medical Association in King William's Town informing them what had been done, and seeking their approval. The association replied that they were sympathetic, but could not officially recognise nor sanction the work because there was no qualified man in charge. It would be a serious offence under their ethical code to cover an unqualified person in the practice of medicine. This problem was realised by the Missionary Executive of the Methodist Church of South Africa who laid down a policy to be adopted.

1. The establishment of Medical Missions

with duly qualified medical practitioners in charge.

2. The establishment of nursing homes or small hospitals, such nursing homes or hospitals to be under the supervision of Doctors residing near, who will be officially engaged and remunerated for their services.

3. The setting up of health centres where the missionaries in charge will supply simple remedies; it being distinctly understood that in all serious cases the services of qualified doctors will be secured.⁸

Mount Coke is thus the pioneer Medical Institution and these points lay down the line for all subsequent development. Mount Coke had stated its policy of giving help and advice to the poor and afflicted, and educating them as regards health and religion. Those able to afford a doctor were advised to go to one. Serious cases were taken to King William's Town for treatment. No charge was made, but thank-offerings were encouraged.

The other problem, that of those who came from great distances and who were seriously ill, was temporarily solved by erecting a shelter. This was to be used by all awaiting treatment. In 1931 £25 was authorised to be spent on a building 20 feet by 12 feet. Further aid was given by visiting the different locations and treating the people there so that they would not have to travel great distances. Conference could not assist the expansion of the work by

8. South African Missionary Reports. 1930. p.50.

giving large grants, but the beginnings here and at Shawbury were regarded as experiments more on the lines of examining and out-patient centres than of residential hospitals.⁹

Mount Coke was investigating the possibility of obtaining trained help. A trained nurse was considered, but the problem was shortage of funds. Then it was reported at a committee meeting on January the 14th. 1932 that Mr. Herbert Bennett, a medical student at Cape Town, had stated that he was willing to come to Mount Coke and take over and develop the medical work, if the Conference would send him. This encouraged the committee to work for the building of a fully equipped hospital. The station had already won the confidence of the people in the area, and they naturally turned there for medical help.

By April 1932 a scheme had already been prepared, ready to be submitted to Conference. Work was increasing. Spiritual and medical influences were taking effect. "The Mount Coke Health Centre has fully justified its existence during the past year..... The success has been out of all proportion to the equipment or to the simple remedies we use, or to the knowledge of the staff." is the gist of the report of 1930.¹⁰ The health centre was recognised by four native councils - Tamara, Middle Drift, Keiskama Hoek and Peddie - representing about 200,000 natives, and grants in aid had been given. Grants had

9. South African Missionary Reports. 1932. p.xviii.

10. South African Missionary Reports. 1930. p.53.

also been received from the Deferred Pay Board, Johannesburg. This money is obtained from local sources. Natives who are recruited to work in the mines, have some of their pay kept for them for when they return to the reserves. This money earns interest which is used in the area from which they come. Together with the offer of Mr. Bennett to be available as from July the 1st. 1933, a strong case was presented. The Missionary Executive unanimously approved of this scheme, and was prepared to give financial assistance.

A foundation stone was laid on March the 4th. 1933 and the hospital formally opened on August the 26th 1933. "There are three wards providing accommodation for 25 beds, and the wide verandah gives further space for the treatment of patients. There are also quarters for the native nursing staff - consisting of nine girls at present - and a European matron. There is a surgery and dispensary, also domestic offices, and provisions have been made for an operating theatre which will be equipped when funds are available.¹¹

Dr. Herbert M. Bennett had arrived in May 1933, and was able to take over straight away. Since then he has not spared himself in the work. His parents have given liberally to ensure the success of the work, his mother having paid for the building of the present mission house.

11. The Cape Mercury. King William's Town. Monday August 28. 1933.

Miss F. I. Gray was appointed as matron of the hospital, and in 1935 married Dr. Bennett, but continued to act as matron in an honorary capacity until 1948. Under their guidance the hospital has grown until now there are two qualified doctors assisting Dr. Bennett.

The buildings have had to be enlarged to keep up with this development and new equipment has been installed. In 1935 more building had already been undertaken, and in 1937 the new extensions were formally opened. Further extensions were reported in 1942 when a modern X-Ray plant was donated by the Deferred Pay Board. This was housed in the old operating theatre and a new theatre block built, to house new equipment. Certain equipment has since been added to make the theatre more complete. A new nurses' home was also erected in two blocks. This enabled the old staff dining room to be used as the out-patients' department and dispensary. A small infectious diseases block with 13 beds was built. To cater for all this development and operate the X-Ray plant a new 220 volt generator was installed. This has continued to function, with a few breakdowns, and will shortly be replaced by current from the electricity power lines to which the hospital is being connected. A small laundry was built in 1942, and has since been enlarged.

1952 was a further year of development. Two buildings were completed. A lecture block comprising lecture room, demonstration room, sluice room and sterilising room, was

donated by Dr. Gordon Mears in memory of his late wife. Staff quarters for the European staff have been completed.

The mission, however, contemplates further development. The out-patients' department requires further quarters. It is hoped that this will be provided in the near future. Tuberculosis is a scourge amongst the natives, and, unfortunately, there are not enough facilities for treatment. It is hoped to open a T. B. Hospital in conjunction with Mount Coke. This scheme visualises a South African National Tuberculosis Association Settlement being opened at the same site.

When the new extensions were opened in 1937 a very pleasing result was that the hospital was recognised as a training school for nurses for the Medical Council's Registered Certificate.¹² This work has brought gratifying results. In 1942 there were 13 African girls in training, three of whom were due to take their final examinations. In 1952 there were 26 student nurses of whom 5 passed their final examinations. This is a great achievement when it is realised that they sit for the same examinations as the European nurses and have to write in English.

The hospital has maintained the contact it had with the surrounding locations. In place of the periodical visiting of these areas, clinics have been set up at

12. South African Missionary Reports. 1938. p.xxxiii.

certain locations. In 1939 the first was set up, and in 1952 there were three. There are now four, and one more is planned. At each of these a full-time qualified nurse/midwife is employed, and each is also visited once a fortnight by a qualified doctor who attends to all those who require his attention. The nurses are kept busy, not only seeing those who come to the clinic, but visiting those who are unable to come, and in attending confinements.

All this was commenced so that access might be gained to the homes of the people and to their hearts; this has not been forgotten. Evangelism goes hand in hand with medicine, healing of soul and body. "Best of all, the Gospel is preached to the heathen. In consequence of the Health Centre, the former indifference shown by the heathen to the Mission station has changed to interest and gratitude. If we can seize the opportunities given to us, Mount Coke may become once more a glory to our Church.¹³ This seems to be the role of Mount Coke at present.

Out-patients receive the Gospel as well as other treatment. None go away unaware that there is a higher power. But every opportunity is used. Not only do the medical staff use their time well, but the Bible Women and one evangelist have, as part of their duties, the spiritual oversight of out-patients and in-patients.¹⁴

13. South African Missionary Reports. 1930. p.53.

14. Mount Coke Health Centre. Report for year ending 30th June 1939.

The in-patients are seen more regularly, thus opportunities are more frequent. There are daily devotions morning and evening in the wards, and individual talks, and on Sundays a short service is held in one of the wards. The children are also catered for, for there is a Sunday School in the orthopaedic ward. It is a real treat to see them as they sing choruses with obvious enjoyment. The amount of good done in this way cannot be calculated, but there is no doubt that many take the joyful knowledge back home with them.

District work lends itself more than any other to evangelism. One person may be examined and treated in a kraal, but all the members gather for the impromptu sermons which are preached there, and the prayers which are offered.¹⁵ The doctors sometimes confess that they themselves have been uplifted spiritually in a hut. "Called to see a patient, only to find after a rough journey at the end of a full day, that consumption is about to claim another victim, he has felt despondent at the sight. The hopelessness of the situation has saddened him and appalled him. The medical attention given, he has turned to the spiritual. On occasions the patient's face has been transformed from a mask of ill-health to a smile of confidence and the air of calm assurance of a soul trusting in Him Who died, has been the answer to the unspoken question which at times

15. South African Missionary Reports. 1938 p.xxxiii.

surged in his mind. 'Is it worth while?' Uplifted he has gone on, thanking God for the privilege of being called to serve."¹⁶

An interesting aspect of the work has been the effects on the witch-doctors. Though they are still far from helpful, and hold a great sway over the mind of the average native, yet they sometimes send their families to Mount Coke, and even come themselves, to receive treatment. In 1940 a powerful witch-doctor came nearly 200 miles from Pondoland with his wife, who was also a member of the 'profession'. They were given treatment. Sometimes, but more rarely, they send their own patients. "There have been cases where a witch-doctor, in the middle of a surgical procedure, has discovered that his knowledge of anatomy and his skill as a surgeon are not sufficiently high standard for the task he has undertaken. Scared by the haemorrhage, he has sent for help from Mount Coke, telling his messenger to say, 'A man has been gored by an ox.' On one occasion at least it looked like it too! Only months later did we hear the true story."¹⁷

All attempts to witness to witch-doctors are taken,

16. Mount Coke Health Centre. Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1939.
17. Mount Coke Health Centre. Annual Report for the Year ending 30th June 1939.

but they continue their practices. Even in enlightened days such as these the native customs are observed, and often the ceremonies are carried on openly. The witch-doctor is still feared, and is consulted on all occasions, even by many who claim to have been released from the old ties. Customs of hundreds of years are not easily forgotten, yet we rely on the power of God to triumph finally and bring complete release from bondage.

Thus the mission is still evangelising. An African minister, five evangelists, two Bible Women and 44 Local Preachers, together witness to their faith, and find sufficient to occupy their time. Other activities of a normally active mission station are carried on. Fourteen churches and twenty schools are maintained. Education is continued in school, church and hospital, and the response is encouraging.

CHAPTER X SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

Mount Coke has had fluctuating fortunes, at times playing an important role in South African Missionary history, and at other times being in danger of closing down altogether. It was opened in 1825 as the second of a chain of stations that was to stretch to Natal, shedding the light of the Gospel in heathen places, carrying salvation to otherwise lost souls. That chain has changed greatly. Several stations closed down, and others had to move to another site, but the work has been maintained from the time when the country was an unknown land till today when one can easily travel through it safely. Despite shifting communities Mount Coke is still in the heart of a large heathen population, spreading light in darkness.

The task was not easy, nor were quick results to be expected. Centuries of savagery and superstition had built up a social structure entirely alien to Christian principles. The power of the witch-doctor and the habits of the old days control much of their life yet, and the hold these have on them is not easily eradicated. The missionaries attacked this problem with patience, not being disappointed when any fell away, but trying again to teach the eternal truths. That results were achieved

by the Wesleyan Missionaries is shown by the loyalty of their people during the wars that tended to destroy all the good done. For about twenty-five years the lusts, cruelty and cunning of the Bantu were given free reign, mission stations were destroyed and people scattered. But the faithful converts held firm to the faith. A good foundation was laid.

Even after the power of the Xhosa was destroyed in the unfortunate cattle killing delusion, Mount Coke remained the centre of a large population. The word was taken to them and attempts were made to wean them from their sins and folly. There were the usual fluctuations of fortune; revivals brought hope, then there were discouragements. So the work continued till 1928, when new life was infused into the mission.

There have been great achievements that will always be to the credit of the missions. Missionaries, including those stationed at Mount Coke, had been entrusted with the task of educating the native. In order to do this they had to put themselves to school so as to master the intricacies of the language. The perfect understanding of the Bantu grammar was a basic requirement, and was an achievement to be acclaimed. The immediate results were of great importance to Mount Coke. Boyce handed his contribution to others to use. Davis and Appleyard carried the work a stage further. The native mind was

being more perfectly understood and the message passed on with greater power.

Education required the development of a literature, both in the vernacular and in other languages. The Mission Press that operated at Mount Coke for twenty years endeavoured to satisfy the hunger for books that came with learning. School books, religious and general literature, periodicals, pamphlets and tracts, official publications and blank forms rolled off the press as fast as the instrument could produce them. New knowledge was made available to all as soon as it could be handed on.

One of the greatest publications was a further development of education and evangelism, the translation of the Bible into Xhosa. Appleyard's labours will be remembered for years to come. The first translation was not accepted by all, but has stood the test of time so far, sometimes being preferred to the later translations. Mount Coke provided the conditions in which Appleyard did his best work. It will be remembered as a translation centre.

As far as teaching is concerned, Mount Coke has started the usual mission schools; the fundamentals of education have been given. An attempt was made to organise an institution for training native teachers and preachers, but this had eventually to be closed down. The Watson Institution had produced some teachers, but lost most of

its students to other occupations. Later Heald Town was chosen for the training of African teachers and ministers. Despite many attempts Mount Coke did not become an educational centre.

In the sphere of evangelism Mount Coke has had average success. Work has been steady. The translation of the Bible furnished a powerful aid to evangelism. The hopes of training preachers in the Watson Institution, and of training evangelists in the twentieth century, were not fulfilled. The achievements were those of a normal mission station. The loyalty of so many mission natives in resisting challenges of many kinds is sufficient tribute to the messages given. Subtle challenges such as that of the 'Ethiopians' or the attractions of the old native customs and the reliance on the witch-doctors were overcome and a new life taken up.

These achievements are in the past, and would not count for much if there were no new advances. Mount Coke has taken a new lease of life and the present prospects dwarf much that was achieved in the past. The medical work was commenced as a means of drawing the heathen, and has grown rapidly, with great prospects of future development. Suffering has been alleviated and prevented, the people are shown how to live in healthy conditions and to fight disease. Doctors and nurses have become their friends.

In itself this is enough to satisfy many critics, but the ultimate aim has not been forgotten. The heathen have been drawn into the life of the mission station. They have come to accept the mission as a friendly place, and listen to the messages given there. Use is made of many opportunities to tell the Gospel message. That message will not be forgotten entirely, but later on they will remember and find their way back to the place where the message was first heard. Those who have spent even a short time in the hospital have had the message told to them often enough to make it a familiar thing, especially to the children. They, in turn, influence the people they meet on their return home.

This work is still expanding. The faith of the pioneers of the Eastern Cape, under the inspiration of Rev. W. Shaw, started a chain of mission stations, the challenge was taken up by those who followed and the present medical mission developed. Plans have been made to extend the work and tackle further problems of the community. Support which comes from public and private sources is an important item in this development. If it continues and increases Mount Coke will take its rightful place in uplifting the heathen in all senses. There is a great future for Mount Coke.

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APPENDIX 1.

Copy of a letter in the Government Archives, Cape Town.
C.O. 184. Ghurches 1823. Letter 105.

To His Excellency the Rt. Honble. Lord Charles H. Somerset, Governor and Commanding in Chief His Majesty's Forces, at the Cape of Good Hope. &c. &c. &c.

The Memorial of the Wesleyan Missionaries now in Albany.

Your Memorialists beg leave to represent, that the unhappy state of the Caffre people, resulting their paganism, with its attendant cruel customs, and savage habits; strongly dispose them, to carry into effect, towards that people, the benevolent intentions of the Society to which they belong. -

Memorialists in accordance with these feelings, have endeavoured to ascertain the practicability of commencing a mission in Cafferland; and the result of their enquiries, induces them to judge, that however difficult such an enterprise may be, it is under all the circumstances, a promising field for missionary labour. -

Memorialists can speak with confidence, as to the willingness of the Caffre Chiefs, and people, to receive them, and therefore as to the impossibility of any bad political consequences arising from the supposed jealousy, on the part of the Natives, at seeing persons from the Colony, taking up their residences near them:- on the contrary, Memorialists have reason to anticipate, that their being allowed to proceed to that country, for the purpose of instructing the Caffres, in the principles of Christianity, would in its consequences, tend to allay any jealousy which the Caffres may, at present be disposed to indulge in reference to the Colonists. -

Memorialists therefore, most respectfully entreat Your Excellency, to give them your sanction, to commence a mission in that country; - should this favour be granted, they trust that their conduct, will always be regulated by that prudence, and caution, which Your Excellency under such circumstances, might with great reason demand from them: and they hope they may be allowed to say, that during their residence in the Colony, no part of their conduct can have given rise, to even a latent suspicion that they will ever act contrary to that peaceableness and loyalty, which have ever characterised the conduct, of that denomination to which they belong. -

Memorialists are confident that Your Excellency will not deny their request, from any indifference to the promotion of civilisation, and religion, among the Caffres, as Your Excellency, is well known throughout the Colony to be interested in this subject: -

Memorialists are however desirous of explaining for the full satisfaction of Your Excellency, that they wish to select a station, on the coast not far from the Colony: among the Caffres who are under the authority of Congo, which situation, they beg leave to observe, would be at such a distance from the Institution at Chumie, formed under Your Excellency's immediate patronage, that it would not in the least interfere with that important station: - the two stations though distant, might assist each other, very materially; but it could not possibly happen, that one would injure the other, in any respect; in this view of the subject, Memorialists know that they have the concurrence of the Missionaries at Chumie. -

Memotialists therefore in conclusion entreat Your ~~Excell~~ Excellency, to display to them, in this instance your

wanted indulgence, and to allow them, to enter upon a work, which while it may secure considerable political advantage to the Colony: - may also prove a blessing to thousands of the human races. -

Waiting with some anxiety a reply.

Memorialists subscribe themselves

Your Excellency's

Most Obedt. & humble

Servants

(Signed). W. Shaw.
 S: Kay.
 W: Threlfall.

(Not Dated).

APPENDIX 2.

Copy of a letter in the Government Archives, Cape Town.
C.O. 230. Churches 1825. Letter 54.

To His Excellency, the Rt. Honble. General Lord Chas.
H. Somerset, Governor, and Commander in Chief of His Majestys
Forces, at the Cape of Good Hope. - &c. &c. &c.

The Memorial of the Revd. W. Shaw, Wesleyan Missionary,
humbly sheweth; -

That Memorialist has very recently returned from
a journey as far as the Tambookie country, and has great
satisfaction, in being able to state to Your Excellency,
that all the most influential Native Chiefs, whom he visited,
are now indulging, the most friendly dispositions, towards
the Colony. -

To this agreeable state of things, the sound policy
pursued by Your Excellency's Government, and the just,
temperate, but vigorous conduct, of the Military stationed
on the frontier, during the last fifteen months, have
mainly contributed; - and Your Lordship, will learn with
satisfaction, that at present, while the Caffre tribes,
dread the power, they also admire, the generosity of the
Colonial Government. -

Your Memorialist, begs leave to submit, to Your
Excellency, that nothing is wanting, to foster these good
feelings, and to render them subservient to the civilization
of this interesting Nation; - but a larger number of
Christian Missionaries, than are at present employed in
this country;- all the Chiefs are disposed to receive and
protect Missionaries, and it would be the greatest act of
benevolence and mercy, to form a Missionary establishment,
in the district of every principal chief. -

The three Missionary Institutions, existing along

the line of frontier, leave one more point in that line, at which it is very desirable to form a station, viz with the tribe of Isambie, at about the distance of thirty miles below Fort Willshire, and nearly the same distance from the station occupied by your Memorialist: - Dushani the son of Isambie, and on whom, now devolves the principal management of that tribe, is very desirous that a Missionary Institution, should be commenced, in that neighbourhood, for the benefit of his people.

Your Memorialist and his bretheren, are anxious to occupy that field immediately, and they trust, that Your Excellency, will be pleased to extend to them in this instance, Your Lordships usual patronage, and encouragement, in allowing one or two, of their Missionaries to commence a Station, with that tribe, and also with any other tribe, farther in the interior, when they may find it convenient. -

Whatever Stations the Wesleyan Missionaries, may occupy in Caffreland; - Your Excellency may rely on their being conducted, in the same manner, as the Station with Congo's tribe, has been, from the beginning¹/₂ - and that the promotion of peace with the Colony; - of the arts of civilized life - the education of children, - the extension of the English language, - and the spread of Christianity, will be the great objects of their steady aim. -

Entreating an early reply;

Your Memorialist,

As in duty bound,

Will ever pray

(No signature here).

Cafferland.

April 18th 1825.

APPENDIX 3.

Copy of a letter in the Government Archives, Cape Town.
C.O. 323. Agents and Missionaries in the Interior 1827.
Letter 4.

(This is the first Annual Report to the Lieutenant Governor through the Government Agent at Chumie - Rev. W. R. Thomson.)

Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Institution at
Mount Coke, Caffraria. January 1827.

This Institution was commenced in the month of October 1825, and is situated amidst the Tribe which is governed by the Chief Slambie. It is about twenty two miles inland and twelve or fourteen miles N.E. of the Keiskama River. The grand design of this Establishment is to disseminate the great Truths of Christianity - to introduce useful arts amongst the Natives, and to establish Schools for the Education of the rising generation. -

An European Mechanic is annually engaged for the purpose of Superintending the building and other public works which may be deemed necessary for the benefit of the establishment, and improvement of the people.

Three commodious buildings have been erected: one of which constitutes the Mission House, another the School Room and place of Worship, and the other is occupied by the Mechanic, as his Workshop. My Interpreter also has built a small cottage for himself; and others of the Natives are preapring to imitate his example.

Various plots of ground have been enclosed and are now in a state of cultivation. In addition to which,

several acres have been ploughed as garden grounds for the people, with the view of encouraging Agricultural pursuits, and promoting Habits of Industry amongst those who settle around us. And I feel happy in being able to state, that this measure has had its desired effect in a considerable degree.

The number of families who reside on the Spot is but comparatively small yet. The population however in the immediate vicinity is gradually increasing. The young Chief Dushani (Slambies most influential son) resides within two miles of the Mission village. The old Chief intended also to have settled in the neighbourhood some time ago; but his removal has hitherto been prevented by sickness and the infirmities of age.

Considerable numbers attend Divine Service on Sabbath Days; and about thirty Children are instructed in the School. Some degree of improvement is already apparent amongst the people which I trust will continue to increase.

(signed) S. Kay,
Wesleyan Missionary.

APPENDIX 4.

COPY OF MOUNT COKE TITLE.

I do hereby grant, in freehold unto Rev. William Impey General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in South Eastern Africa and to his successors in the said office a piece of ground containing Seven Hundred and Forty Nine Morgen and Four Hundred and Eighty Square Roods Cape Measure or one thousand five hundred and eighty six acres and eight hundredths of an acre English measure, being farm No. 360 situated at Mount Coke Division of King William's Town, bounded North and North West by Mount Coke Mission Commonage, South West by the said Commonage and vacant land, South East by vacant land and East by vacant land and Mount Coke Commonage. On condition that this grant shall not be disposed of except with the sanction of the Government, and that whenever the land shall cease to be the property of said Missionary Society it shall become subject to all the conditions of a granted farm in the District.

As will further appear by the Diagram framed by the Surveyor; and with full power and authority henceforth to possess the same in perpetuity, in such manner as he may think proper; subject however to all such duties and Regulations as are either already, or shall in future be established with regard to such lands.

Given under my hand and the public seal of the Settlement at Cape Town this thirteenth day of March, 1868.

P. Wodehouse.

By His Excellency's
Command.

Charles Bell
Surveyor General.

(This is a copy of a copy at present at Mount Coke Mission).

APPENDIX 5.

WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

INSTITUTED FOR THE

SUPPORT OF THE FOREIGN MISSIONS.

First established by the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. the Rev.
Thomas Coke LLD., and others.

And now carried on under the direction of the
Conference of the people called Methodists.

Committee for 1834-5.

Rev. Joseph Taylor, President of the Conference for the
present year.

Rev. Robert Newton, Secretary of the Conference.
(48 Members of the Committee are listed).

Treasurers.

Lancelot Haslope, Esq., London. Rev. Joseph Taylor, London.

Secretaries.

Rev. Jabez Bunting, D.D., London. Rev. John Beecham, London.
Rev. Robert Adler, London.

Assistant Secretary.

Rev. Elijah Hoole, London.

At a meeting of the Committee, held at the Wesleyan Mission-
House, Hatton Garden, London, December 18, 1817, it was
unanimously resolved. -

1. That the substance of various Advices and Directions
which have, from the commencement of the Wesleyan Missions,
been delivered to the Missionaries, shall be forthwith
embodied in the form of printed Instructions, which shall
be considered as standing rules of conduct for the said
Missionaries. 2. That a copy of these Instructions, signed

by the secretaries for the time being, shall be furnished to every Missionary who now is, or hereafter shall be, employed in any of our foreign Stations. 3. That the said Instructions shall be read over annually, at the meeting of every District Committee, by the Chairman; who is to enquire whether they have been observed on the part of the Bretheren; and the same shall be reported in the District Minutes regularly, and with the m transmitted to the Committee in London. Every Superintendent is not only charged with the observance of them himself, but is responsible, as far as may be, for their observance by the Bretheren under his direction, or for an immediate report to the District, or to the Managing Committee in London, in any case in which they may have been violated.

INSTRUCTIONS
to
The Wesleyan Missionaries.

I We recommend to you in the first place and above all things, to pay due attention to your personal piety; which, by prayer, self-denial, holy diligence, and active faith in Him who loved you and gave himself for you, must be kept in a lively, vigorous and growing state. Set before you constantly the axample of the holy Apostle; "This one thing I do; forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." (Phil.iii.13,14.) Amidst all your reading, studies, journeyings, preaching, and other labours, let the prosperity of your souls in the Divine life be carefully cultivated; and then a spirit of piety will dispose you to the proper performance of your ministerial duties; and

by a holy reaction, such a discharge of duty will increase your personal religion.

II We wish to impress on your minds the absolute necessity of using every means of mental improvement with an express view to your great work as Christian Ministers. You are furnished with useful books, the works of men of distinguished learning and piety. We recommend to you to acquire an increase of that general knowledge which, if the handmaid of piety, will increase your qualifications for extensive usefulness. But, more especially, we press upon you the absolute necessity of studying Christian Divinity, the doctrine of salvation by the Cross of Christ, "which things the angels desire to look into." They exercise their minds, which excel in strength, in the contemplation of those precious truths which you are called to explain and illustrate. Let all your reading and studies have a reference to this. You are to teach religion; you must, therefore, understand religion well. You are to disseminate the knowledge of Christianity, in order to the salvation of men; let the Bible, then, be YOUR BOOK: and let all other books be read only in order to obtain a better acquaintance with the holy Scriptures, and a greater facility in explaining, illustrating and applying their important contents. We particularly recommend to you to read and digest the writings of WESLEY and FLETCHER, and the useful commentaries with which you are furnished, which are designed and calculated to increase your knowledge of the Sacred Volume. Like the Baptist, you must be "burning and shining lights;" and, therefore, recollect every day, that, whilst you endeavour by reading, meditation, and conversation, to increase your stock of useful knowledge, it is necessary for you to acquire a proportionate increase of holy fervour.

III We exhort you, bretheren, to unity of affection,

which will not fail to produce unity of action. Let your love be without dissimulation. In honour prefer one another, On this subject we beseech you to pay a practical regard to the advice of the venerable founder of our societies, the Rev. JOHN WESLEY. With his characteristic brevity, he inquires, "What can be done in order to a closer union of our Preachers with each other? - Ans 1. Let them be deeply convinced of the absolute necessity of it. 2. Let them pray for an earnest desire for union. 3. Let them speak freely to each other. 4. When they meet, let them never part without prayer. 5. Let them beware how they despise each other's gifts. 6. Let them never speak slightly of each other in any kind. 7. Let them defend one another's character in everything, to the utmost of their power. And, 8. Let them labour in honour to prefer each other before himself.

IV REMEMBER always, dear bretheren, that you are by choice and conviction, WESLEYAN METHODIST PREACHERS; and, therefore, it is expected and required of you, to act in all things in a way consistent with that character. In your manner of preaching, and of administering the various ordinances of God's house, keep closely to the model exhibited by your bretheren at home. Indeed, you have solemnly pledged yourselves so to do. You have promised to preach, in the most explicit terms, the doctrines held as scriptural, and therefore sacred, in the connection to which you belong. We advise, however, in so doing, that you avoid all appearances of controversy, in your mode of stating and enforcing divine truths. While you firmly maintain that ground which we, as a body, have seen it right to take, cultivate a catholic spirit towards all your fellow labourers in the work of evangelising the heathen; and aid them to the utmost of your power in their benevolent exertions; You have engaged, also, to pay a conscientious regard to our discipline. We need not tell you, that all the parts of that discipline

are of importance; and that, taken together, they form a body of rules and usages, which appear to meet all the wants of individuals who are seeking the salvation of their souls; and, under the divine influence and blessing, to promote the prosperity of every society. We also particularly press upon your constant attention and observance Mr. WESLEY'S Twelve Rules of a Helper.

V. We cannot omit, without neglecting our duty, to warn you against meddling with political parties, or secular disputes. You are teachers of Religion; and that alone should be kept in view. It is, however, a part of your duty, as Ministers, to enforce, by precept and example, a cheerful obedience to lawful authority. You know that the venerable WESLEY was always distinguished by his love to his country, by his conscientious loyalty, and by his attachment to that illustrious family which has so long filled the throne of Great Britain. You know that your bretheren at home are actuated by the same principles, and walk by the same rule; and we have confidence in you that you will preserve the same character of religious regard to good order and submission "to the powers that be" - in which we glory. Our motto is, "FEAR GOD AND HONOUR THE KING;" and we recollect who hath said, "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work."

VI. You will, on a foreign station, find yourselves in circumstances very different from those in which you are at home, with regard to those who are in authority under our gracious Sovereign. It is probable you frequently come under their immediate notice and observation. We are, however, persuaded that, while you demean yourselves as you ought, you will be generally favoured with their protection. On your arrival at your station, you will be instructed what steps to take in order to obtain the

protection of the local Governments: and we trust that your subsequent good behaviour towards Governors, and all who are in authority, will be such as shall secure to you the enjoyment of liberty to instruct and promote the salvation of those to whom you are sent.

VII. Those who are appointed to the West Indian Colonies, being placed in stations of considerable delicacy, and which still require, notwithstanding the great and happy changes which recent legislation had effected in the state of society there, a peculiar circumspection and prudence on the one hand, and much zeal, diligence, and patience perseverance, on the other; you are required to attend to the following directions, as specially applicable to your Mission there:-

1. Your particular designation is to endeavour the religious instruction and conversion of the ignorant, pagan, and neglected black and coloured population of the island, or station, to which you may be appointed, and of all others who may be willing to hear you.

2. Where societies are already formed, you are required to watch over them with the fidelity of those who must give up their account to Him who hath purchased them with his blood, and in whose providence they are placed under your care. Your labours must be constantly directed to improve them in the knowledge of Christianity, and to enforce upon them the experience and practice of its doctrines and duties, without intermingling doubtful controversies in your administrations, being mainly anxious, that those over whom you have pastoral care should clearly understand the principal doctrines of the Scriptures, feel their renovating influence upon their hearts, and become "holy in all manner of conversation and Godliness." And in order to this, we recommend that your sermons should consist chiefly of clear expositions of the most important truths of Holy Writ, enforced with affection and fervour on the consciences and conduct of them that hear you; that you frequently and

familiarly explain portions of the Scriptures; and that as extensively as you possibly can, you introduce the method of teaching children, and the less instructed of the adults, by the excellency Catechisms with which you are furnished.

3. It is enforced upon you, that you continue no person as a member of your societies, "whose conversation is not as becometh the Gospel of Christ." That any member of Society who may relapse into his former habits, and become a polygamist, or an adulterer; who shall be idle and disorderly; disobedient to lawful authority; who shall steal, or be in any other way immoral or irreligious, shall be put away, after due admonition, and proper attempts to reclaim him from "the error of his way."

4. Before you receive any person into society, you shall be satisfied of his desire to become acquainted with the religion of Christ, and to obey it; and if he was not previously under Christian instruction, nor baptised, you are, before his admission as a member, diligently to teach him the Christian faith, and the obligations which he takes upon himself by baptism; so as to be assured of his having obtained such knowledge of the principles of religion, and such belief of them, as to warrant you to administer to him that ordinance. Beside this, no person is to be admitted into Society, without being placed first on trial, for such time as shall be sufficient to prove whether his conduct has been reformed, and that he has wholly renounced all those vices to which he may have been before addicted.

5. You are to consider the children of the negroes and coloured people of your Societies and Congregations as part of your charge; and it is recommended to you, wherever it is practicable and prudent, to establish Sunday Schools, Week-day Schools, and Infant Schools, for their instruction. It is to be considered by you as a very important part of your duty as a Missionary, to catechise

them as often as you conveniently can, at stated periods; and to give your utmost aid to them being brought up in Christian knowledge, and in industrious and moral habits.

6. As in most of the colonies in which you are called to labour, a great proportion of the inhabitants, though happily emancipated from their former state of slavery, are yet placed by law in certain peculiar relations, as apprenticed labourers, the Committee most strongly call to your recollection, what was so fully stated to you when you were accepted as a missionary to the West Indies, that your only business is to promote the moral and religious improvement of the persons to whom you may have access, without, in the least degree, in public or private, interfering with their civil condition. On all persons, in the state of servants, you are diligently and implicitly to enforce the same exhortations which the Apostles of our Lord administered to the servants of ancient nations, when, by their ministry, they embraced Christianity. "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service as to the Lord, and not to men: knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall be received of the Lord, Whether he be bond or free." (Eph. vi.5-6). "Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh: not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God: and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not unto men: knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done: and there is no respect of persons." (Col. iii. 22-25).

7. You are directed to avail yourselves of every opportunity to extend your labours among the Negroes of the islands where you may be stationed, and respectfully to seek, for that purpose, the permission of the Owner, or Manager, to visit the plantations in the country, taking care, however, that the times which you may appoint for their religious services shall not interfere with their proper hours of work; nor are you to suffer any protracted meetings in the evenings, nor even at Negro burials, on any account whatever. In all these cases, you are to meet even unteasonable prejudices, and attempt to disarm suspicion, however groundless, so far as you can do it consistently with your duties as faithful and labourious Ministers of the Gospel.

8. As many of the Negroes live in a state of polygamy or in a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, your particular exertions are to be directed to the discountenancing and correcting of these vices, by pointing out their evil, both in public and in private, and by maintaining the strictest discipline in the Societies. No man, living in a state of polygamy, is to be admitted a member, or even on trial, who will not consent to live with one woman as his wife, to whom you shall join him in matrimony, or ascertain that this rite has been performed by some other minister; and the same rule is to be applied, in the same manner, to a woman proposing to be one a member of Society. No female, living in a state of concubinage with any person, is to be admitted into Society so long as she continues in that sin.

9. The Committee caution you against engaging in any of the merely civil disputes or local politics of the Colony to which you may be appointed, either verbally, or by correspondence with any person at home, or in the Colonies. The whole period of your temporary residence in the West

Indies is to be filled up with the proper work of your mission. You are not to become parties in any civil quarrel; but are "to please all men for their good edification;" intent upon the solemn work of your office, and upon that external state, in the views of which the Committee trust you will ever think and act.

10. In case of opposition to your ministry, which may arise from any quarter, a meek and patient spirit and conduct are recommended to you. ~~You~~ will in particular guard against all angry and resentful speeches, and in no case attempt to influence your Societies and hearers with ~~resentment~~ resentment against persecutors and opposers. Your business, in such cases, after every prudent means of obtaining relief has failed in you own hands, is with the Committee at home; who will immediately take such steps as may secure to you that protection, from a mild and tolerant Government, which they hope your peaceable and pious conduct, your labours and your successes, will ever merit for you.

N.B. The Directions to the West Indian Missionaries are to be considered as strictly obligatory on all others as far as they are applicable to the circumstances of their respective stations.

VIII It is peremptorily required of every Missionary in our Connexion to keep a journal, and to send home frequently such copious extracts of it as may give a full and particular account of his labours, successes and prospects. He is also required to give such details of a religious kind as may be generally interesting to the friends of Missions at home; particularly accounts of conversions. Only, we recommend to you, not to allow yourselves, under the influence of religious joy, to give any high colouring of facts; but always write such accounts as you would not object to see return in print to the place where the facts reported may have occurred.

IX. It is a positive rule among the Wesleyan Methodists, that no travelling preacher shall "follow trade". You are to consider this rule as binding upon you, and all Foreign Missionaries in our Connexion. We wish you to be at the remotest distance from all temptation to a secular or mercenary temper. "No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath called him to be a soldier." Independently of the moral and religious considerations which enforce this principle, we here take occasion to remind you, that all your time and energies should be the more severely devoted to the duties of your mission, because the Committee feel themselves fully pledged to pay an affectionate attention to all your wants, and to afford them every reasonable and necessary supply. And this pledge, they doubt not, the generosity of the friends of Missions will, from time to time, enable them to redeem, so long as you continue to regulate your expenses by as much of conscious regard to economy, as may be found to consist with your health and comfort, and with the real demands of the work of God.

And, now, Bretheren, we commend you to God, and the word of His Grace. We unite with tens of thousands in fervent prayer to God for you. May he open you to a great door and effectual; and make you, immediately or remotely, the instruments of the salvation of myriads! We shall incessantly pray, that "you may go out with joy, and be led forth with peace; that instead of the thorn may come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier the myrtle-tree; and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off." "Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things; and blessed be his glorious name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and Amen."

Signed by order of the Committee.

Jabez Bunting.
 John Beecham. General Secretaries.
 Robert Adler.

Wesleyan Mission-House, 77, Hatton-Garden,
 September 30th, 1834.

To the Rev. Barnabas J. Shaw.

Dear Brother,

As long as you comply with the Instructions contained in the preceding pages of this sheet, the Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, acting in the name and by the appointment of the Conference, will rejoice to acknowledge you as a Methodist Missionary.

Signed, on behalf of the Committee.

(signed) Jabez Bunting.
 John Beecham. Secretaries.
 R. Adler.

Elijah Hoole.

London,
 August 29. 1843.

These Instructions to Wesleyan Missionaries are copied from a sheet in the possession of Miss Killie Campbell, Durban.

APPENDIX 6.

District Minutes - After the 15th Annual Meeting.

March 7th 1839.

WATSON INSTITUTION AND SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY FOR BOYS.

- I. In accordance with the views of the last District Meeting several of the Bretheren of this and the Bechuana District have formed branches of the Watson Institution, whose local designation is "Schools of Industry", and from the advantage likely to arise from such schools we recommend that they become generally adopted on our Stations:- It being however understood that in no case shall the expense to the Society for boarding and educating the boys of these schools exceed £3-0-0 per annum for each boy.
- II. That Schools on this plan for training the Sons of Chiefs, and also for training Native Teachers, may be carried on during the ensuing year on the following stations
1. Newtondale.
 - 2, Beka.
 - 3, Mount Coke.
 4. Morley.
 5. Buntingville.
- But the number of such scholars in the District shall on no account exceed 50.
- III. As it will be necessary that some clothing be provided for the boys connected with this description of School, our Chairman is requested to send to the Secretaries an acnt of the articles which will be requisite for

this purpose and we earnestly hope, that either by the donation from friends of our Society of the various materials required, or otherwise by purchases made for this psecific purpose, we shall without fail be furnished with the supplies required.

APPENDIX 7.

Appendix to the Minutes.

The 23rd. Annual Meeting of the
Albany and Kaffraria District. 1848.

Page 195.

Appendix II.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

The Government having made certain overtures to the Genl. Superintendent relative to the establishment of two Schools or Institutions for the training of Native School Masters, what is the opinion of this meeting upon the Propriety of making arrangements to avail ourselves of the proposals of the Government in this respect.

Ansr. 1. In the altered circumstances of the Country we deem it of the greatest consequence that the present favourable era should be seized for introducing a more efficient for obtaining this important object.

It is therefore resolved.

1. That the Watson Institution hitherto conducted at Farmerfield be divided into two Branches, one to be conducted at D'Urban Ft. Peddie, and the other at Mount Coke. The former to be denominated the Victoria Branch, being designed for the benefit of the very large Native population now located by authority of Government in the new province of Victoria, which is included by recent arrangement as part of the Colony. The School at Mount Coke to be called the British Kaffraria Branch, and to be for the benefit of the numerous Kaffer Tribes residing within and beyond the borders of that territory.

2. It is expected that the Colonial Government will pay not less than £200 per Annum for the Branch of

the Institution in Victoria, and the Local Government of British Kaffraria will also pay £100 per annum for the Branch designed for the benefit of that territory.

3. Should these sums be guaranteed by the Government together with salaries of not less than £12 a year for each of the Native School Masters afterwards appointed to the charge of Native Schools, the Genl. Superintend. in conjunction with Messrs. Dugmore and Impey is requested to make final arrangements for carrying the decision into effect by the erection of suitable but inexpensive buildings at the two stations, so as to commence the Institution with as little delay as possible.

4. Bro. Dugmore will have charge of the Victoria Branch and Bro. Impey of the British Kaffraria Branch. The number of pupils for the Watson Institution in both branches shall be limited for the present year, so as not to involve too large an outlay. The pupils shall be boarded, clothed, and lodged in a manner which while it will secure their comfort and decent appearance is not designed to involve any costly departure from the mode of living which obtains among the Natives.

5. The Genl. Superintd. in correspondence with these two brethren is to draw up a plan and rules and regulations for these schools and is also hereby authorised to enter into final arrangements with the Government functionaries relative to this important matter.

Appendix 8.

Report of the WATSON INSTITUTION for the year 1855.

With moral and spiritual state of this Institution, we are highly pleased. Much good has been done among the youths, and they have paid particular attention to religious duties. During the year seven of them have been baptised into the faith of Christ, and adorn the doctrines of God our Saviour.

The following is a detailed account of their progress in learning.

1. The number of native youths at present under tuition is sixteen.

2. The close of the present term finds them as follows, viz:-

1. All have mastered the first four rules of Arithmetic, as applied to abstract numbers.

2. Four have made good progress in compound rules.

3. Six read the English testament creditably.

4. Ten read the easy lessons in the spelling book.

5. All spell with ease words of two or three syllables.

6. All are perfect in the Kafir Catechism.

7. Eight learn the first Conference Catechisms in English, translating the answers, viva voce, into Kaffir.

8. All write creditably - some with surprising accuracy and neatness.

3. Daily Routine. at 9a.m. the School opens with singing and prayer in English. Lessons assigned on the previous evening are rehearsed, and questions asked thereon: Catechism: English Reading: until 10 $\frac{1}{4}$. Writing until 11 $\frac{1}{4}$. Thence to noon Arithmetic, tables. At 2p.m. Reading the Scriptures or Lesson books alternatively in English and Kaffir: questions on the subject perused: and difficult

words spelt: At 3½ the School closes by singing and prayer, the latter engaged in by the best pupil of the day.

A daily register is kept, in which the attendance, conduct, diligence, and improvement, are faithfully recorded.

4. General Conduct. This may be summarily stated as "good". They seem fully alive to the purposes for which they are placed in the Institution, and perform the duties assigned them with cheerfulness, activity and zeal.

It only remains to add that they are succeeding in a degree calculated to afford the highest satisfaction to those who take an interest in this Establishment, as to reward the hopes and prayers of their Christian benefactors.

Mount Coke.

Signed. P. P. Gladwin.

British Kaffraria.

December 1855.

APPENDIX 9.

Letter at Mount Coke Mission - Carbon Copy, not signed.

Feb. 22nd 1929.

Dear Miss Baker,

Thank you very much for your letter. By the same post I received the cheque for the Evangelists salary. I said in my last letter that Mpendu is not making any real impression on the vast mass of heathenism at Macibi and the man I have in mind will, I am sure, do far better. I am acting in the closest co-operation with all the old leaders in the circuit. Until June Mpendu will carry on; after that I hope to be able to report to you a series of victories won Christ.

The Medical work I am doing will open up the kraals to the Evangelist and Bible Women. It is such a wonderful work. In less than four months I have attended to nearly 500 people. It goes to my heart to see in their sore need the turning to the Mission Station. When I first came here I used to wonder that the heathen never came near the place. I never had a "red" native about. After a hundred years of Missionaries there was no attraction at Mount Coke for the heathen! I cannot tell you how I used to worry about it. Then came the inspiration of God - - - START MEDICAL WORK. At first I only had Christian people and I was glad to save my people from suffering and death. The mortality was appalling. As time went on the heathen began to come and now I have more heathen than Christian. I received a few pounds from a friend in Durban and fitted up a Dispensary. It is the room that Appleyard corrected the proofs of the first translation of the Kaffir Bible in, and I found it tumbling to pieces. This is the kind of thing that goes on. At any time from 6.30 A.M. men women, and women with sick babies start coming to the

Mission Station. At 9.A.M. I go over where my helper - a fine Christian woman the principal teacher's wife, who has some little training in nursing - has already prepared the palce and got powders and other things put up into papers. "Let the first one enter" is called out. A heathen woman comes in with a little child on her back. "And where do you come from?" I ask. "Oh! I come from such and such a place." Very often it is far away. Sometimes 15 miles. "What is the Child's name?" "It has not got a name." is the reply. "And what is the matter?" The illness is detailed. "How many children have you?" This is common reply. I have had nine children and this is the only one left; and all died of this complaint. I am so frightened that I cannot sleep at night and I cover my face with my hands as I think that all have gone and now this one is ill!" "And I heard that the Mfundisi is making the people well and I have come for you to save my child." Then I understand something of the compassion in the heart of the Master when He looked upon the people in their need. I tell her to fear not and all the time I am prescribing to save the life of that little child I am preaching the good news of the love of God in Jesus Christ. And they listen to all I have to say. All the barriers of heathenism are broken down as I work on my knees at the side of her child. And native people respond so wonderfully to a little scientific help so that in over 90% of such cases the children are saved. ~~None say~~ None of these people know their own age and are amused when I ask them. A good number use the name of God. Some say "How may I know Him" "How can I ppay - I have never learned to pray? What must I say?" Some of the people have waited 8 and 9 hours to see me when I have been away. Last Saturday one woman did wait 7 hours and had walked 12 miles with a little baby 13 days old. The mother was ill, so was the child. It went to my heart. After treating them I take her halfway home in the car. But I cannot give you any idea of the owrk that is done.

If only you could spend a couple of days here and see I am sure your heart would be thrilled by the opportunity that is mine. Mr. Lea gave me the medicine chest that was used in East Central Africa. It has been a wonderful help to me but I did sigh when I heard that he had sold something like £200 worth of drugs before evacuating the Mission there.

The work in general is very promising and a wave of repentance is sweeping over the district.

I am very pleased to hear of the little band of workers you have. Some day soon I will write to them of our doings here on this old station. Do ask them to pray for us. We need so much help on every side: More workers in the Evangelists sphere: more Bible women: more supplies in the medical work and over and above all, the power of God drawing the people to himself.

But I must close this rambling letter: we have to be up early in the morning and it is now 11.15 P.M.

Thank you for all your interest and help: work with us for the salvation, body and soul, of this needy people.

Yours very Sincerely

APPENDIX 10.

A Day on the Mission Field at Mount Coke.

It is very early on a Sunday morning and the bell is ringing for morning worship. I do not go but the people are wending their way to the Church. I have other work on to-day: urgent calls have come to me that I should visit the sick before ever I go into the country to visit a distant society. I called Winnie, the devoted native helper I have in the Medical work, and we went to the first home in need.

A woman who had been ill for some little time and who had been stricken down and was lying in great pain and fear. She had been brought from her own kraal to a place near the Mission House where she could get attention. After a short examination we were able to give her hope of life and granted the carrying out of all instructions we were able to say she would live. I cannot paint the picture of this woman as we left the room: a change had taken place; she had given up hope and her thoughts had clouded her face. The light of hope had come and we left her bright and thanking God.

From there we went to No. 2. A little child had been ill some time and had grown rapidly worse. An examination revealed that the child was in the first stages of consumption. I felt as sad as the woman in the first case had looked. But signs and wonders are being wrought in the work by the power of Jesu's name and this tends to make us very audacious. At once instructions were given to the father, who is one of the Society Stewards, that he should make an outside shelter for this child that day and night she may get God's own cure for this sickness. He asked me, when? I replied, At once! It was the Sabbath Day. It is an old question, Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath Day? I told him to get on with the work at once; That it was more pleasing in the sight of God to attend to that little child than to go to Church. WE administered what drugs we thought would help and passed on

to the next case.

Two babies had caught a severe chill and with the ignorance of the parents had developed pneumonia. No time to be lost; they were sent at once to the dispensary in order to get the treatment that had been effective in hundreds of such cases. Both children have been saved and the gratitude of the mothers is beautiful in the extreme.

Next a widow woman who is in great pain and weakness. She had been doing her work; the rain had come on, and she had been thoroughly soaked. She neglected to change and fever coming on top of a defective chest had brought her to death's door. Examination, revealing a terrible state of affairs, is followed by prompt measures and earnest prayer. She has been snatched from the brink of the grave and while very weak is able to sit up and is hopeful of life. God alone knows whether that boon will be granted.

Two other cases of need are attended to and I went to breakfast and to prepare for the services of the day. I had a journey of 15 miles and on arrival found that the services had already commenced. Punctuality among native people is very rare but always pleasing. Sometimes they are the missionary's despair. I had a few baptisms and after the preaching service we had RONA. Not a great number of people but in a very short time something like £16 was promised for the extension of the Kingdom of God. Quite a considerable amount represented the thanksgiving of people who had been saved or received some blessing that came from the medical work.

Following this service was Sacrament and we had a solemn time as we recalled the death of our Lord.

When we were on our way home there came some people asking that we might go and see the daughter of one man: she was very ill. We attended ^{to her} and then went on our way. But the day was not yet over. A cry from a kraal where a young man was in the throes of an epileptic fit. A sad and terrible sight.

All that we could do was to try and give some little relief, more for the sake of his distressed mother than anything else. But there is also some comfort that comes from prayer so we commended them all to the God of all power and comfort. The boy died the following day in peace. It is very touching how native people come to me after they have lost some dear one and express their gratitude for all that I have tried to do for their loved one. Like David, when the child has been taken they wash and go about their duties with a cheerful face. God has taken the child and God doeth all things well.

This brought us actually to the end of the Day's work. We went to Mount Coke feeling that had Jesus been in the district, in the Days of His flesh, He would have been where we had gone; He would have done as we had done - except that He would have healed them all.

No evening service, but a light tea, a few Messiah Records, and particularly this:

"The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light, and to those who dwelt in the shadow of death, to them hath the light shined."

There is infinite variety in our work and it is all so interesting and all so near to the days of long ago that we glory in the ministry that has been given to us.

(Written by Mr. Carr. Date - approximately 1929-1930).

APPENDIX 11.

MOUNT COKE CIRCUIT.

Bible Woman's Report: June 1931.

I have had good health during the past quarter and have been enabled to do the work assigned to me in the various parts of the Circuit.

The first place where I worked was at Tyalumqa, a place about six miles from Mount Coke. Mrs. Ntontela, the second Bible Woman, was with me as I went to those who had drifted away from God. We prayed for these women and they promised amendment. We turned to the heathen women: These are the people to which I feel specially called. We concentrated on two kraals and preached the Gospel to them.

The second district was at Qanata, among the natives who work on the farms. There are more heathen on the farms than Christians. Some of these women have been to school as children and are familiar with the Name and the things of God. These people said to us: If we repent who will teach us, who will care for us? If anyone comes we are always glad to hear the word of God. In the evening we had accompany of 20 heathen women. We sang a hymn and then I prayed and read a portion of scripture to them. We spent four days amongst these people. Afterwards I spoke to Evengelist April who is the nearest to them, asking him to go and give them an occasional service and if possible to form a class. These people are very willing to hear the word of God.

From here we went to the Mtyolo district where the Circuit has been holding revival services. Our first task was among the backsliders: but I like the work amongst the heathen.

We went from kraal to kraal; here we had a congregation of sometimes two and sometimes three people. I told the people that if there was anything that they did not understand about God they must ask. On woman said: "I Want to become a Christian but my husband will not allow me to go to church." I explained to her that she alone was responsible in this matter. Death would one day come to her independent of her husband. She said, "But if I go to church my husband will flog me!" I then told her ~~how~~ that when I was a girl I was flogged by my father because I would not give up Christ. At first she would not believe me but afterwards she wept bitterly.

We visited a sick child and there seemed to be an immediate improvement. While talking to a monan some men came along: Mrs. Ntontela was afraid but we looked to God and offered prayer. Then to this woman and to the men we told them how that:

God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth should not perish but have everlasting Life."

That is all that I have to say.

Sakuza Bongco.



Headstone on Grave near Old Mission House.
See page 26.