

GENADENDAL AND ITS SATELLITES

A history of the Moravian Mission Stations at the Cape

1737 - 1869

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ABBREVIATIONS.

L. M . S.	London Missionary Society
U. A. C.	Unitäts-Aeltesten-Konferenz
H. C.	Helferkonferenz ins Ganze

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

J.F.W. Kühn, a member of the Moravian Mission Board, wrote in 1871 to the Superintendent at Genadendal that the closed settlements in South Africa were a precious and unique feature of mission work for which the brethren should be grateful. While he had been at the Cape, he had suffered under the difficulties of their management, but from the distance, and in comparison with mission work elsewhere, he had learnt to appreciate them as a great blessing. (1)

The questions arise: How did they originate, develop and survive for so long? What were their characteristics, advantages and limitations? What factors contributed to their development? How did they fit into their milieu and influence it?

The following thesis is an effort to give a detailed history of their development and an appraisal. I have endeavoured to give a vivid picture of personalities and events within the limits of historical correctness, because I consider it the noblest aim of historical research to confront us with the past in such a way that personal understanding becomes possible. In as much as we meet those who have made history, or have been part of it, in person, we can arrive at a deeper appreciation of their achievements, problems and failures.

For various reasons, I have confined my research to the earlier period from the beginning in 1737 until 1869. From 1869 onward, the Moravian Mission was divided into two provinces; Genadendal was no longer the centre of the whole and each province developed along its own lines. Two

(1) Le. U.A.C. 1.6.1871

separate studies of a further multitude of sources are required for the later period. Moreover, after 1869 the emphasis was no longer on the development and the preservation of the settlements, but on the formation of self-dependent indigenous churches and on expansion, in the west to the cities and in the east to the dispersed Bantu kraals. For our purpose, therefore, the focus of attention has to be on the earlier period. Finally, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Moravians assimilated their principles and methods to those of the other Protestant societies. The specific character of their work can best be studied in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century.

A wealth of material for my subject is to be found in the archives of Genadendal, and, to a lesser extent, of some other mission stations, still more or less unexplored. It became part of my task to open it up for further research by means of the references and the bibliography of my thesis. I have not been able to do research work in the archives of Herrnhut, which is in the eastern part of Germany. Only a few photostatic copies of important documents and a complete list of the documents referring to South Africa have been obtained. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the Board in Herrnhut gave the missionaries free reins to a remarkable extent in the earlier period. The General Synod laid down the overall policy for the world-wide mission work every ten years. The Board gave general instructions, leaving it to the missionary conferences on the spot to adapt them to the local conditions. The correspondence between Europe and the Cape took many months and was interrupted in war time. Thus, the superintendents and their advisers guided the work responsibly from Genadendal. It is, at least for the earlier period, feasible to get a clear

picture of the developments, based on the sources in South Africa. The diaries of the mission stations, the minutes of the missionary conferences, the correspondence of the superintendents and many other documents tell the story. For the first parts of my thesis, I have told it in detail. But as the range of the work increased, I had to concentrate on the main personalities and events.

Part of the period under review has already been covered by research. For the first part, from 1737 until 1744, we have the excellent booklet of K. Müller, Georg Schmidt. For the second beginning, from 1792 until 1800, H.G. Schneider has given an ample account in Gnadenthal, Part I. For Hallbeck's time, from 1817 until 1840, C. Anshelm's biography, Hans Peter Hallbeck, is useful. Surveys of the whole period are given in the works on the history of the Moravian Mission by A. Schulze and K. Müller. All these books have in common that they are based on research in the archives of Herrnhut and that they present the events as seen from Europe. My second task was, therefore, to place them into the context of South African general history, in giving special attention to the relations of the missionaries to their contemporaries at the Cape. In this respect, valuable preliminary work has been done by J. Du Flessis in A History of Christian Missions in South Africa and by L. R. Schmidt in a great number of essays. A few treatises on the history of single stations, notably the Geschichte der Brüder-Missionsstation Silo by G. Th. Reichelt and Entstehung, Fortgang und Zukunft der Missionsstation Goedverwacht by B. Marx, and a few unpublished theses are also helpful.

In order to understand the mission stations properly, we have to take into account all aspects, such as the missionary, economic, political, educational and cultural aspect. To single out the first one for study without

relating it to the others would deprive the picture of its life. But as we have to deal with a missionary enterprise, the missionary aspect has to be the central one for our account. It is also the main basis for our evaluation. The mission stations have to be measured by their own intentions. Any criticism, based on principles foreign to their own purpose, misses the mark.

It is not the purpose of this study to make a critical analysis of the presuppositions of the Moravian missionaries. As Christians and as Moravians they would assume that the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as reflected in the Scriptures, is the criterion of ecclesiastical history, and that the missionary action of the Moravians, inspired by Zinzendorf, is an apposite interpretation of the Gospel. But the critical question arises: How far did the work of the Moravian missionaries serve their original purpose? The answer lies in the history which I have expounded.

I. GEORG SCHMIDT,
THE PIONEER.

1. The missionary movement in the eighteenth century,
especially from Herrnhut, and the despatch of Georg Schmidt.

The movement in Europe, which caused the first missionary to be sent to the Cape, was the Pietism. As indicated by their name, the Pietists emphasised personal piety. They felt that the teaching of the church must be accepted by the heart and translated into the life of the individual believer. The movement was a reaction against the rigidity of the contemporary church, especially the Orthodox Lutheran Church.

A German Lutheran pastor, Philipp Jakob Spener, gave the first stimulus by means of his book Pia desideria. Those who were moved by his ideas, formed conventicles within the existing congregations for private mutual edification and pious undertakings. These little churches within the church gave offence to many pastors, while others welcomed and encouraged them. Certain devotional writings, which were eagerly read by the Pietists, helped to form a spiritual fellowship between them.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the centre of the movement was Halle in Germany with its university. There, August Hermann Francke, a disciple of Spener, worked as pastor and professor. Many students, attracted by him and his fellow lecturers, accepted the new ideas. His lectures were not dry scientific expositions but edifying sermons. He knew the hour of his conversion and urged that everyone must pass once through a struggle of penitence to a definite conversion, and must henceforth avoid the world and strive after holiness. He was a great organiser as well.

Under his leadership, a number of institutions grew up in Halle, such as a school for poor children, a hospital, an orphanage, a boarding-school, a pharmacy, a printing-office, where a new hymn-book and other devotional literature were published and a society for the dissemination of inexpensive bibles. Noblemen, princes and even royalty corresponded with him, sent their sons to his boarding-school, supported his institutions or started similar undertakings. (2)

One of his supporters was King Frederick IV of Denmark, whose country had, like Holland, trading-colonies overseas. In spite of opposition from the state church and the trading-company, he permitted two young theologians, trained in Halle, to go to the Colony of Trankebar in Southern India as missionaries. Their names were Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau. Others followed and mission work gradually developed at Trankebar. The reports of the missionaries were disseminated from Halle among the Pietists and financial support arrived. The Protestant Church had awakened to its missionary task. (3)

For South Africa, it is of importance that the two messengers touched at the Cape on their way to and from India. Here, they witnessed the miserable state of the Hottentots and summoned the faithful in Europe to their aid. Ziegenbalg visited the Cape on his first journey to Trankebar in 1706 and again in 1715 on his return. (4)

The Cape was at that time a small dependency of the Dutch East Indian Company, supplying the passing ships with provisions on their way between Europe and East India. It was ruled by the Council of Seventeen from Middelburg in Holland. The local Government consisted of the Governor and

(2) Berkhof, pp. 242-245.

(3) Oehler I, pp. 27-42.

(4) Gerdener, pp. 12, 13.

his Council. The propagation of the Reformed faith was part of the Company's principles. There were Dutch Reformed congregations at Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein under the control of the Classis of Amsterdam. Their ministers were well paid by the Company. Even the slaves of the Company could send their children to school, where they received religious instruction, and a few Colonists instructed their slaves privately. But the Hottentots were outside the jurisdiction of the Company and practically outside the interest of the local church. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, one of the ministers had taken an interest in their conversion, but the general opinion was that it was impossible to christianise them. The Company wanted them to supply the Cape with meat. A few military posts had been established in their areas, which exchanged their cattle for tobacco, brandy and beads and prevented the Colonists from doing the same. (5)

Now there was a boy of noble descent at the boarding-school in Halle, who was destined to inspire mission work on a large scale, Nikolaus Ludwig, Count of Zinzendorf. Born in 1700, he had a fervent love for the Saviour from his childhood. His grandmother desired him to be educated at Halle, where he attended the boarding-school from 1710 until 1716. Being an Imperial Count, he had his meals at Francke's table. There, he met Flütschau with a convert from Trankebar and, later, Ziegenbalg, who must have mentioned the plight of the Hottentots in their conversation. Full of missionary zeal, he agreed with a friend to bring the rest of the heathen to the Saviour, after they had grown up. Shortly afterwards, he founded an order which was later called the Order of the Mustard Seed, with the motto: None of us lives to himself, and with the purpose to

(5) Walker, pp. 76-100 ; Du Plessis, pp. 19-49.

expand the kingdom of Christ among Christians, Jews and heathen. (6)

When some German speaking fugitives of the Moravian Church came under his protection, the men and women, who could be sent, were given to him. The last remnants of this old Protestant church still existed underground in Moravia, persecuted by the ruling Roman Church. In 1722, some of them took refuge on the estate of Zinzendorf in Saxony. The new settlement, called Herrnhut, grew quickly. People from various churches and sects, many Moravians among them, arrived, looking for freedom of worship. When considerable strife concerning matters of faith arose amongst them, Zinzendorf gave up his government service at Dresden. Moving to Herrnhut, he devoted his energy to the task of creating order as their landlord, and fellowship as their brother. On 12th May 1727, he put statutes before them, which aimed at an orderly local government as well as a brotherly agreement. All the inhabitants accepted them spontaneously by handshake. Thus, Herrnhut became a village community under the local authority and at the same time a brotherly fellowship under the Saviour. The regulations of the settlement served to promote the spiritual brotherhood, as stated in the statutes:

In Herrnhut soll zu ewigen Zeiten nicht vergessen werden, dass es auf den lebendigen Gott erbauet und ein Werk seiner allmächtigen Hand, auch eigentlich kein neuer Ort, sondern nur eine für Brüder und um der Brüder willen errichtete Anstalt sei. (7)

The Ortsgemeine had come into being, outwardly as a place, where Christian fellowship was practised and spiritually as a local realisation of the ekklesia, the body of Christ, which has its members amongst all peoples

(6) Reichel, *passim*.

(7) Quoted in Beyreuther II, p.185.

and churches. The brethren used the term Gemeine, to indicate both, the body of Christ and its local realisation amongst them. (8) On 13th August 1727, the inhabitants were united unto a living congregation and a people of witnesses for the Saviour on occasion of a communion service.

Zinzendorf's intention was neither to found a new church, nor to renew the old Unitas Fratrum. He wanted to promote the unity of the church by forming a fellowship of believers among Christians of all denominations. But in the course of time, Herrnhut and its branches received recognition as the Renewed Moravian Church in spite of his opposition, because Herrnhut had a character of its own. The traditions of the old Unity of the Bretheren, reshaped by him to a new form, distinguished it. (9)

The settlement soon became the second centre of the Pietistic movement alongside Halle. It was not an institution, like Halle, but a congregation. And it had another atmosphere. The piety at Halle was stern, the emphasis was on self-examination, penitence, conversion and sanctification. The piety at Herrnhut was joyful and childlike, because the emphasis was on the love of the Saviour for sinners. The attention at Halle was fixed on the inner life of the faithful, but in Herrnhut, the focus was on the crucified Saviour himself and the reality of our atonement. Therefore, Berkhof considers that Zinzendorf was not a Pietist but revived the faith and the spirit of Luther. (10)

Herrnhut was a Christocracy, as Zinzendorf put it:

Gemeinen sind nicht auf die Vernunft gegründet, und bilden sich nicht ein, dass sie vor sich selbst subsistiren können, sondern sie hangen von der Gnade ab, und werden von einem unsichtbahren Haupte geleitet ... (11)

(8) Bettermann, p. 124, 125

(9) Becker, pp. 423 ff.

(10) Berkhof, p. 246.

(11) Bedencken, p. 176.

As indicated by its name, it was "under the care of the Lord", a place of refuge for his followers, and on the other hand "on guard for the Lord", a place, where the Saviour reveals himself to the world. (12) Herrnhut was the model "eines auf den Heiland gewagten Dörfleins . . . nach Speneri, Lutheri und des Heilands Idee, eines Volkes, in dessen Mitte Jesus ist". (13) The whole life of the community served only one purpose: To be at the disposal of the Saviour for his plan in the world under the leadership of the Holy Spirit. In order to ascertain his guidance, the lot was used. Zinzendorf himself introduced it, according to Numbers 27.21 and Acts 1.26. By this means, he wanted to check his inspirations and to give way to the lead of the Saviour. He applied it, however, with great care and restraint. (14) Another specific usage were the watch-words, issued by Zinzendorf for each day from 1728 onward. They were daily paroles for the warriors on guard for the Lord, which put them by means of biblical or similar texts in a concrete manner under the command and the promise of their general. (15) The congregation was divided into groups (Chöre) according to age and sex for mutual edification. The members called each other brother and sister. Numerous offices were introduced, so that most of the members had some function. The twenty-four hours of the day were divided among them for intercession. The singing-service had a prominent place among the devotional gatherings. Messengers were sent, either to the oppressed members of the Unity of the Brethren in Moravia or to fellow Christians in other countries. Zinzendorf wrote about them:

(12) Reichel, p. 190.

(13) Quoted in Becker, p. 445.

(14) 200 Jahre I, pp. 293-296.

(15) Beyreuther II, pp. 208-215.

Bothschafften sind solche Commissionen, da man einen und den andern nach der nächsten Stadt, Dorff, Land, Gegend, auch wohl in die Ferne, auch wohl über die See, in die andern Welt-Theile, in die Insuln, u.s.f. abschicket, etwas vor den Heyland zu bestellen/ es sey viel oder wenig/ auch zuweilen wohl etwas vor den Heyland zu probiren, abzuwarten, sich darzustellen, ob man nöthig und gebräuchlich seyn möchte: das nennt man so lange Bothschafften/ als es eine blosser Bestellung einzeler Personen ist. Sind ihrer mehr, und lassen sich nieder, so nennt mans Colonien: sind's denn eingerichtete, und in das gantze Apostolische Fach gebrachte Versammlungen, so höret die Boten-Idée wieder auf, und es sind Gemeinen. (16)

The young men at Herrnhut went to live together in one dwelling, the Brüderhaus, in order to prepare themselves for service. Nothing but an opportunity was needed for messengers to go to the heathen as well. (17)

The opportunity came when Zinzendorf and two brethren attended the coronation of King Frederick VI of Denmark. There, they met a negro slave from the West Indies, who told them about the misery of his people, and a solitary Danish missionary from Greenland with two Eskimos. When Zinzendorf, back in Herrnhut, gave his report to the congregation, two young brethren volunteered to go to the slaves. On 21st August 1732, Leonhard Dober and David Nitschmann, both simple tradesmen, left with the mandate and the blessing of the Gemeine. It was the beginning of a world-wide missionary movement. (18)

The following year, two brethren went to the Danish dependency of Greenland and eighteen brothers and sisters were sent to the West Indies, in order to build up a self-supporting settlement as a basis for mission work. In 1734, another group left for North America with similar instructions, for the benefit of the Red Indians. In 1735,

(16) Bedencken, pp. 177, 178.

(17) Hutton, pp. 212-226.

(18) 200 Jahre I, pp. 11-19.

three brethren arrived in Suriname in South America on an invitation from the Dutch Company, which had an outlet there. All the time, the errands to many places in Europe continued. (19)

The vocation of the Saviour, as indicated by the lot, authorised those first missionaries for their apostolic task. Zinzendorf or another leader consecrated them in the name of the Gemeine by the imposition of the hands in a spontaneous way. By virtue of this authority, Matthäus Stach baptised his first Eskimos in 1839. Meanwhile, Zinzendorf foresaw that it would become necessary to ordain missionaries, in order to avoid offence. Therefore, the old episcopate of the Unitas Fratrum was transferred to the Brethren in 1735, and, two years later, a missionary in the Danish West Indies was ordained by letter: It was not advisable to have the negro slaves baptised by one of the Danish Lutheran pastors, who served the colonists, because the colonists were bitterly opposed to the mission work. The local pastor objected against the ordination, not because it was by letter, but because the King of Denmark had not countersigned it. Two years later, the endorsement of the king was obtained. In any case, the vocation by the Saviour was essential for the brethren, while the recognised ordination was a concession to the organised church. (20)

Zinzendorf was the soul of the movement, and his ideas shaped it to a great extent. According to him, the unity of the dispersed members of the body of Christ must be promoted and demonstrated. Groups must be gathered among all nations and churches, which were united by their common faith in the crucified Saviour. He had the whole world in mind, and at the same time the salvation of the individual

(19) 200 Jahre I, passim.

(20) 200 Jahre I, pp. 18, 36, 38, 44, 340; Beyreuther III, pp. 90-93, 153, 156, 157; Slack, pp. 22, 50.

soul. Among the heathen, first fruits must be gathered into small but living cells, serving as power-stations for their environment. The messengers to the heathen must not aim at the superficial christianisation of masses. If they succeeded in winning a single soul, they had won a great treasure. They must not seek out the rich and respected people, but the poor and despised ones. They must not expand their own brand of Christianity, but proclaim the lordship of the crucified Saviour alone, at first by their manner of living, and, as soon as the heathen paid attention, by their words. It was not their task to lift up the heathen to a higher level, but to deliver the message of salvation. At the same time, they must remember that the heathen were not good in their natural state, but poor sinners, like all men. In all things, great or small, they must heed the hints of the Holy Spirit. (21) Such were the instructions, which Zinzendorf gave to the messengers. He remained in constant touch with them by correspondence and intercession.

The Moravians became known throughout Europe soon. The Pietists were enthusiastic, while others took offence and regarded them as a new sect. This was also the case in Holland. In 1734, August Gottlieb Spangenberg, an important co-worker of Zinzendorf, visited that country for negotiations concerning the mission work in Suriname. He met a learned Dutchman, Isaac Le Long, who was much impressed and published, shortly afterwards, a collection of documents, Godts Wonderen met Zyne Kerke, in Dutch, which spread the news about the Moravians. Influential people began to correspond with Zinzendorf, amongst them the Princess Widow Maria Louise, who was of German descent and had met Zinzendorf as a young man in 1719, and Hieronymus van Alphen,

(21) 200 Jahre I, pp. 263-274.

formerly Chaplain of the Dutch Court, now a minister at Amsterdam. Many offered their support for the mission work, and, in the beginning of 1736, van Alphen with another minister of Amsterdam, Franco de Bruin, requested Zinzendorf to send missionaries to the Hottentots, the Classis of Amsterdam being responsible for the spiritual work at the Cape. (22) Their request arrived on 6th February 1736 and was answered at once: A few days later, one of the young Moravian brethren was on his way to Holland.

His name was Georg Schmidt. He was born on 30th September 1709 at the small village of Kunewalde in the German speaking part of Moravia. Many families in that region still kept the traditions of the old Moravian Church. There was a revival amongst them, fomented by Christian David, the bush-preacher, who came over from time to time, addressing secret gatherings and inviting them to emigrate to Herrnhut. In Kunewalde, a young man, Melchior Nitschmann by name, was the first one to be awakened to a living faith. After he had been put into prison and tormented, he escaped to Herrnhut. Schmidt was at that time a butcher's apprentice. On 29th October 1725, he also surrendered to Christ and left shortly afterwards for Herrnhut. There, he shared the experience of 13th August 1727 with the congregation and became one of those young messengers and warriors for the Saviour. He was sent into Moravia with two others, but their meetings were detected and they were imprisoned. Back in Herrnhut, he lived in the Brüderhaus and became the cook of the young men. Again, he agreed with his mate, Melchior Nitschmann, to go through Moravia to Salzburg, but they did not get far. A few weeks after their departure, they were in prison, each one in a cell by himself. They encouraged each other by the singing of

(22) Lütjeharms, pp. 45-47, 102.

hymns, and Schmidt made a few simple hymns himself, which show that the sufferings of the Saviour at the cross were his consolation. Every night, his feet were put into the stocks, which injured them for the rest of his life. (23) Time and again, a Jesuit tried to persuade him to submit to the Roman Church. Another brother was brought into his cell, where he died. Nine months after their capture, Melchior Nitschmann also died. He had developed consumption during his first imprisonment. Schmidt was allowed to nurse him during his last few days. Thereafter, he remained in prison for two years and in penal servitude at Prague for another three years. Finally, he was released, after he had signed a revocation. Proud of having endured so much, he returned to Herrnhut, but the brethren received him coolly because of his revocation, and he left again for Roman Catholic countries in order to make amends. He was inclined to stress the moral side of his message and, occasionally, became disheartened, turning to sectarian circles, where he was appreciated. But he persevered, going as far as Italy, and returned safely to Herrnhut. Zinzendorf's idea had been to send him to Suriname, but at that stage, the request from Amsterdam arrived and he left, again on foot, for Holland. (24)

While he waited for the next meeting of the Council of Seventeen, earning his living as a handyman, Zinzendorf himself visited Amsterdam. His sermons, preached daily to crowded gatherings, evoked much controversy. (25) Among his sympathisers were Gillis van den Bempen, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and Samuel Rademacher, Magistrate of Middelburg, both members of the Council of Seventeen. (26)

(23) G.S.Dl. pp. 64, 65, 83, 194, 208.

(24) Müller G.S. pp. 7-20; G.N. 1836, pp. 467 ff; G.N. 1840, pp. 79 ff.

(25) Lütjeharms, p. 48.

(26) Lütjeharms, pp. 49, 101.

The Princess Widow gave him leave to found a Moravian settlement on her estate, called 's Heerendijk, which served as a resting place for the passing missionaries, but was later abandoned in favour of another settlement, Zeist.

Schmidt moved in September to Middelburg, where he lodged with a former servant of Zinzendorf, Johann Adam Hendel (27), and submitted Zinzendorf's application on his behalf to the Council of Seventeen. In his letter, the Count introduced him, asking permission for him to travel to the Cape for the purpose of winning a few souls for the Saviour, if possible, and assuring the Council that the Moravians did not interfere in worldly matters such as making the slaves rebellious. While Schmidt waited for the answer, some predikants interrogated him, pointing out to him the difficulties of the language and the manner of living of the Hottentots. But when he remained steadfast, they wished him good luck for his undertaking. (28) On 11th September, the Council gave him leave to travel free of charge to the Cape in the pursuit of his mission, and Zinzendorf sent him a last letter of instruction: He should once more ask the forgiveness of the Saviour for his revocation and submit to his discipline; part of it was that he had to go alone on his errand. The Saviour would surely use him, either as a scout, to reconnoitre the country for the Gemeine, or as a messenger of the gospel. He should prefer criticism to flattery, because there was more truth in it. He should not accept presents and honours, but work for his living. He should begin with those heathen, who understood Dutch. For the rest, he should follow the guidance of the Saviour in all things. The promise of

(27) Lütjeharms, p. 61.

(28) Nachtigal, p. 87.

Isaiah that the Lord shall make a great path in the wilderness was about to be fulfilled. (29)

The two predikants, who had made the request to Herrnhut, and others gave Schmidt letters of recommendation. On 4th December, he boarded the ship with the box of his personal belongings, but had to wait another three months for favourable wind. At last, the fleet left. His ship was "'t Huis te Rensburg", an armed East Indiaman with two hundred soldiers and sailors aboard. The Captain, Johannes de Bruin, was a courteous man, who talked occasionally to him. He did not expect Schmidt to succeed in his mission. The officers used to drink, to swear and to play cards together. Schmidt tried in vain to dissuade them, then avoided their company. He made contact with a predikant, who, however, preferred the parties of the officers, whereupon Schmidt turned to the soldiers and sailors, winning four of them for the Saviour. They would come to his cabin in the evenings for mutual edification. At last, the Cape coast appeared in view, but because of unfavourable wind, they had to wait in Saldanha Bay for two weeks. Here, Schmidt saw his first Hottentots and his heart rejoiced. On 9th July, the fleet cast anchor in Table Bay, where, less than two months before, eight ships had gone down during a heavy storm with the loss of more than two hundred lives. It was this disaster, which caused the Company to open a second harbour in False Bay for the winter months. The town was still full of talk about it and the travellers were grateful to have landed safely. (30)

(29) Müller C.S. pp. 30-32.

(30) G.S.Di. pp. 1-4 and appendix pp. 1,2; Theal 2, p.518.

2. The beginning of mission work among the Hottentots,
1737 - 1741.

The Governor of the Cape, J. de la Fontaine, was at that time about to hand his office over to the Vice-Governor, A. van Kervel. (1) Schmidt visited both and delivered his letters of recommendation. Following the instructions from Middelburg, the Governing Council resolved on 11th July to assist him in his purpose of converting the Hottentots, if possible. (2)

In the meantime, Schmidt had taken lodgings in one of the many inns of the town. Listening to the talk of the customers in the canteen, he heard them scoff at the fool, who had come to convert the Hottentots without a salary from the Company, until he told them that he himself was that man. (3)

But at least one of the members of the Governing Council was glad that something was being done for the Hottentots, Captain Johannes Tobias Rhenius. Coming from Lübeck in Northern Germany, he had been in the service of the Company for about fifty years. (4) His wife Engela, born Bergh, was from a Cape family. (5) He had secured positions in the Company's service for his three brothers and his two sons.

Mijn heer Rhenius was an excellent officer, small in person but great in understanding; steady and courageous, agreeable in society, loving his neighbours like a Christian, and as careful as a father for men under his command. (6)

This is how a contemporary described him. Moreover, he was an admirer of Francke and his mission work (7), and we may

(1) V.R. II, p. 105.
(2) Theal 2, p. 518.
(3) Müller G.S. p. 41.
(4) G.S.Di. pp. 5,223.
(5) V.R. XXVIII, p. XII.
(6) V.R. II, p. 121.
(7) G.S.Di. p. 5.

guess that Ziegenbalg talked with him about the Hottentots, when he touched at the Cape. Rejoicing in the arrival of Schmidt, he invited him to stay at his home in the Castle. Schmidt hesitated, remembering the instructions of Zinzendorf, but, wanting to get away from the ungodliness of the inn and unable to find other lodgings, he accepted, eight days after his arrival. (8)

The Governor informed him on the same day that a farmer was about to leave for the interior, who could take him to the Hottentots. But Rhenius advised against it, because there were only a few Hottentots in that region, who, moreover, could not speak Dutch. Besides, his box was still on the ship. Therefore, he had to miss the opportunity. Rhenius counselled him to wait for the arrival of soldiers from one of the Company's posts, who would come to fetch provisions, and told him that it was impossible in this country to travel great distances on foot. Schmidt explains all these difficulties at length in a letter to Zinzendorf, evidently in order to justify his long stay with Rhenius at the Cape in spite of his instructions. (9) While he waited, he tried to earn his living as a handyman, but found it impossible to do so, because all the manual work at the Cape was done by slaves. He passed his time with reading, writing and singing, being fond of singing and having a fine voice. (10) Sometimes, he prayed on the flat roof of the Castle. What the soldiers and the servants of the Company thought about him, we hear from an eye-witness:

He was definitely a hypocrite and a sham; sometimes climbing on the low roof of the house of Captain Rhenius with whom he lived for a while after his arrival; there he knelt so that all the inhabitants of the Castle could see him, and

(8) Müller G.S. p. 41; G.S.Di. p. 5.

(9) G.S.Di. pp. 5,6.

(10) Müller G.S. p. 19.

pretended to pray. Whether he did actually pray only God and he knew. Since I knew him very well, but saw no Christian expression on his countenance, I was even at that time surprised that Captain Rhenius was so eager to take care of him from the very start. (11)

Schmidt in turn wrote to Zinzendorf about the people of Cape Town:

Die Gottlosigkeit ist hier in diesem Lande sehr gross, es regiert ein rechter Saufteufel, die meisten Menschen sind zum Trunk geneigt ... Viele Menschen spotten mit mir, ich achte es aber nicht, sie wissen nicht was sie thun Ich habe hie und da Besuche gemacht an der Kaap, aber wenig Eingang gefunden, Kinder Gottes habe ich hier noch keine erkannt. (12)

His opinion of the predikants, whom he visited, was not much better. They did not believe in the conversion of the Hottentots and expected that nothing would come from his efforts. (13) The attitude of the local Church Council was similar, as is evident from its contemporary letter to the Classis, which reads at the end:

Voor het overige, wijl niets saekelijks te melden hebben, ook niet van de bekeering der Hottentotten, waarvan ons nogh niets gebleeken is, zoo bidden wij God, dat die UWelEerwaardens met zijnen krachtdaedigen Geest wil bestraelen, en, meer en meer, met eenen gehijligden eiver voor zijne Kerke wil vervullen. (14)

This ironical remark was at that stage the only official reaction of the church to his arrival.

In a short report, which Schmidt gave seven years later, he mentions particulars of his first conversation with one of the ministers, Franciscus le Sueur. According to it, Le Sueur told him that one must begin with the Christians at the Cape and asked him, who would baptise the Hottentots. Schmidt's answer was that he had not come

(11) V.R. XXV, pp. 83, 84.

(12) G.S.Di. p. 6.

(13) G.S.Di. p. 6.

(14) Spoelstra I, p. 184.

to baptise, but to preach the gospel, which is a quotation from St. Paul (I Cor.1.17). Further, Le Sueur advised him to enter the service of the Company, in order to gain the respect of the Hottentots, to which Schmidt replied that he must remain independent. (15) This report is referred to by Theal and Du Plessis. (16) If it is a reliable reproduction of that conversation, Schmidt still did not derive from it that he was not permitted to baptise, because in 1742 he complained to the Governor that the predikants had not warned him from the start against baptising his converts. (17) In his first exhaustive report to Zinzendorf, he made no mention of the question of baptism. In any case, the predikants did not expect him to succeed, and Schmidt, relying solely on his vocation, expected the Saviour to guide him in his apostolic mission. (18)

Meanwhile, De la Fontaine had resigned and Van Kervel had taken over. Both men held the respect and the loyalty of their inferiors. (19) When the corporal of one of the military posts came to the town, the governor instructed him to take Schmidt with him, to assist him in building a dwelling and to supply him with provisions for the beginning. On 4th September, they left for de verre over 't gebergte geleegene districten on the other side of the Hottentots Hollands mountains. (20) An ox-wagon carried the provisions for the post, and two Hottentots, Africo and Kibido, drove the oxen. (21) After nine days, they arrived at the lonely post of Zoetemelks-vlei in the valley of the Zondereind river. It was a simple dwelling, which housed a few soldiers. A number of Hottentots dwelled in the neighbourhood and,

(15) Ph.G.S. Specification; Berichten 1798, p. 94;
Cyclopaedie 1833/34, p. 2.

(16) Theal 2, p. 518; Du Plessis, pp. 52, 53.

(17) G.S.Di. p. 222.

(18) Müller G.S. pp. 105, 126, 127.

(19) Theal 2, pp. 500, 501.

(20) G.S.Di. p. 7.

(21) G.S.Di. Appendix, p. 3.

in the mountains to the north, Bushmen as well. (22) Buck, ostriches and other game were in abundance, and here and there was a lonely farm. Twenty miles to the south was a hot spring, where the colonists sought relief for gout and other complaints. (23) But the greatest part of the district was still empty bush veld.

Schmidt visited Africo at once. He was the only Hottentot in the neighbourhood, who had a proper dwelling, about half an hour to the west, and had a measure of authority over the others. On the following day, Schmidt moved thither and, borrowing a tent from the corporal, began to live among the Hottentots. (24) He helped Africo to work his garden and sowed a plot with beans, peas, onions, salad and parsley for himself. The Hottentots thought at first that he had come to trade cattle, but then began to visit him and to help him in his garden against small gifts of tobacco. As soon as the seed was in the ground, he built a simple hut. Africo, who understood Dutch, served as interpreter. Schmidt tried at first to learn the language of the Hottentots, but, finding one of the three clicks too difficult, resolved to teach them in Dutch. (25) On 27th October, he started lessons with Africo and, within a short time, six adults and four children attended them daily. He taught them reading with the aid of a few Dutch ABC books procured from Cape Town. On Sundays, he read and explained the story of the Saviour. The Hottentots used to rub fat into their skins, but when they came to his hut, they avoided doing it, because he told them that it was useless. (26)

(22) G.S.Di. pp. 36, 38.

(23) G.S.Di. pp. 24, 87.

(24) G.S.Di. p. 7. - The present name of the spot is Oaks, the earlier name Hartebeestkraal. Sketse, p. 4.

(25) Ph. G.S. Specification.

(26) Ph. G.S. Letter to Le Long, 23.12.1737; G.S.Di. pp.8,9.

Full of courage and hope, he asked the lot whether he could apply to the Council of Seventeen for a helper, but the lot refused. He longed to go to the Bantu, whom Zinzendorf had mentioned to him in Holland (27), but was told that they lived very far inland. Still, he resolved to move farther away from the post, its proximity being detrimental to his work, and the lot directed him to the ending of the Baviaanskloof, three hours westward along the river. Rhenius secured the permission of the Governor and on 23rd April 1738, he moved with eighteen Hottentots to the new spot, where three soldiers helped him to erect a hut. It was the beginning of Genadendal. (28)

Schmidt found the guidance of the Saviour not only in the lot but also in the daily watch-words. He quotes them many times in his records. On the day of his arrival at the post, it read: "Der Herr hat offenbart seinen heiligen Arm, vor den Augen aller Heiden" (Is.52.10). When he put up his tent near Africo's hut, it read: "Rühme du unfruchtbare, die du nicht gebierest, freue dich mit Ruhm und jauchze" (Is.54.1.). When he started his lessons with the Hottentots, it read: "Mache dich auf werde Licht, denn dein Licht kommt" (Is.60.1.). And when he moved to Baviaanskloof, it read: "Darum will ich ihm grosse Menge zur Beute geben" (Is.53.12). (29)

Near his new dwelling, he made another garden and a water furrow (30), and continued his daily lessons. Every evening, he read and explained a text from the Scriptures closing with prayer. (31) To his joy, some of them began to pray for themselves. (32) His most eager pupils were Africo,

(27) Müller G.S. p. 31.

(28) Müller G.S. pp. 47-49; Ph.G.S. Letter to Council, 27.11.1737; G.S.D1. p. 9.

(29) Ph.G.S. Letters to Zinzendorf, 23.12.1737 and 23.4.1738.

(30) Müller G.S. p. 49; Sketse, p. 6.

(31) G.S.D1. Appendix, p. 4.

(32) Müller G.S. p. 49.

another married man, Kibido by name, a married woman, called Vehettge, and a young man, Wilhelm, who was Africo's brother-in-law, (33) and even assisted him with the lessons for the children. (34) When some parents brought him their children, because they could not manage them, he took them into his cottage for a few nights, but when he asked the lot, whether he should take them permanently under his care, the answer was: Not yet. (35) Other Hottentots from the surrounding country moved to Baviaanskloof and in the end of 1738, his flock consisted of 28 people. (36) They were used to moving around after their cattle, collecting roots, visiting neighbours or begging tobacco from the colonists. Thus, the number of his pupils changed from day to day. Therefore, he encouraged them to make gardens, allotting plots to them and assisting them. (37) But time and again, some would run away to other kraals or to the post, in order to drink and to dance. He would then take their books back and banish them from the place, as instructed by the lot. Only after they had repented and the lot had approved, were they allowed to return. (38) His connection with the civilisation was the post. The corporal, Carl Campen, (39) became his friend and accepted the Saviour. Through him, Schmidt sent and received his letters.

Meanwhile, the brethren at Herrnhut, who had heard with joy of his initial success, decided to send him assistance. On 18th September 1838, Paul Schneider left for Holland with his wife. (40) But there, a storm was brewing against the Moravians. As mentioned above, Zinzendorf wanted to

(33) G.S.Di. pp. 11, 21, and appendix p. 5.

(34) Müller G.S. p. 49.

(35) Ph.G.S. Letters to Zinzendorf, 23.4.1738 and 16.1.1739.

(36) Müller G.S. p. 49.

(37) G.S.Di. p.12; Ph.G.S. Letter to Zinzendorf, 16.1.1739.

(38) G.S.Di. p. 12.

(39) G.S.Di. p. 16 and appendix p. 4.

(40) Müller G.S. pp. 69, 70.

form a fellowship of all, who accepted the salvation through Christ as the main point of their faith. The special teachings of the various confessions were of less importance to him. Moreover, he was a Lutheran, and had made a few critical remarks concerning the Reformed doctrine of reprobation in Holland:

... ik ben zoo verre van de Praedestinations Leer (God wil niet, dat alle menschen zalig worden), als de Hemel is van de Aarde. Ik weet, dat Jesus voor de zonden van de gehele Waereld gestorven is; dat de gantsche zonde met zyn dood is verdoemd geworden. (41)

The free attitude of the Moravians towards the confessions gave offence to those who were proud of the pure doctrine of the Reformed Church, and the suspicion arose that the people from Herrnhut were a new sect. In July 1738, a commission of the Synod of Southern Holland collected heretic utterances of Zinzendorf's adherents and recommended that a confession of faith be demanded from them. A friend of Zinzendorf, F. von Watterville, wrote an apology, explaining that the Moravians were at one with both, the Lutheran and the Reformed confession on the foundation of the Scripture, which was, however, not considered satisfactory. At the same time, the Church Council of Amsterdam, which was very much on its guard against any sectarian movements, resolved to keep a watchful eye on the Moravians. A commission investigated their writings with reference to the purity of their doctrine, and recommended that the congregations should be warned against them. This was accepted and, on 30th October 1738, The Church Council resolved against the votes of Zinzendorf's supporters to publish a pastoral letter, drawn up by one of the predikants, A. Kulenkamp. (42)

(41) Lütjeharms, p. 151.

(42) Herderlyke en Vaderlyke Brief, Houdende aan de Bloeyende Hervormde Gemeente, Binnen deze Stad vergadert, tot Ontdekkinge van, en Waarschouwinge tegen de gevaarlyke Dwalingen Van die Liederen, dewelke onder den Naam van Herrnhuthers Bekend zyn. Geschreven van De Predikanten en Ouderlingen des Kerken-Raads van Amsteldam. Lütjeharms, p. 226.

It branded the Moravians as a mystical society, spreading dangerous opinions detrimental to the pure doctrine under the cover of evangelical simplicity. Their errors were quoted and refuted over 30 pages. They were called false prophets, covered with sheepskins but within, full of guile, and foxes which creep into the vineyard of the Lord.

De Bruin and three other predikants, who sympathised with the Brethren, published a protest and Zinzendorf, who was just passing through Holland on his way to America, wrote several declarations in defence. The sympathetic burgomasters of Amsterdam tried to prevent the dissemination of the letter, but in vain. It was spread, causing incalculable damage to the mission work of the Moravians in the Dutch dependencies overseas. (43) Nevertheless, Paul Schneider applied for permission to travel to the Cape, but died in Holland on 30th March 1739. (44)

At the Cape, too, clerical opposition against Schmidt began to make itself felt. Even before the pastoral letter arrived, Rhenius sent him a confidential message: He should proceed cautiously; the predikants were against him and the Acting Governor, D. van Heughel, wanted him to leave the country. (45) Van Heughel, who held the office since the death of the former Governor, waiting for the confirmation of his appointment, was an ambitious and headstrong man. During the short time of his reign, considerable unrest arose in the Colony. (46) There were frictions with the Bushmen and the Hottentots to the north about plundered cattle and even a rebellion of the Colonists in the settlements, led by an escaped soldier, Etienne Barbier. The farmers were embittered, because the governor forbade them to take cattle from the Hottentots. (47)

(43) Lütjeharms, pp. 150 ff.

(44) Müller G.S. pp. 69, 70.

(45) Müller G.S. p. 67.

(46) Theal 2, pp. 502 ff.

(47) Walker, pp. 93, 94.

The rebellion was quickly suppressed, but it showed the dissatisfaction of the settlers with the Company's policy and the sensitivity of the Government against any intercourse between settlers and Hottentots. No wonder that Schmidt was suspected by both sides: Both had an interest in the exploitation of the Hottentots and resented any interference in their dealings with these people. The fact that the predikants began to doubt the purity of his doctrine, supplied people with additional arguments against him. On his arrival, he had been a subject of ridicule. But now, he seemed to have some success: The Hottentots actually learnt reading. (48) Therefore, ridicule changed into enmity.

On receiving the warning from Rhenius, Schmidt asked the lot, whether he should retard the work or speed it up. The answer was: Speed up! (49) From his diary, which he began writing at this stage, we learn that he had only one purpose: To win souls for the Saviour. Even his lessons were only meant to teach them reading the gospel. In March, an epidemic amongst the Hottentots caused him to close the school, but, a few weeks later, the lot instructed him to reopen it. (50)

From the Brethren overseas, he received letters of encouragement. Bishop David Nitschmann wrote:

Mein lieber Bruder, stehe .. auf der Hut und sage den Hottentotten nichts anders als dass ein Heiland sei, der aus Liebe vor alle Menschen gestorben, dass sie nur an den selbigen glauben sollen und durch ihn selig werden. Denn auf seinen Kreuzestod und blutigen Wunden haben wir und alle Gläubigen Ruhe gefunden Zeiget sich was an den Hottentotten, dass sie an Jesus gläuben, so können sie auf Christi Tod getauft werden im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des heiligen Geistes (51)

(48) V.R.XXV, 303.-Five Colonists from Stellenbosch inspected Schmidt's work on 9th November 1738.

Ph.G.S. Letter to Zinzendorf, 16.1.1739.

(49) Müller G.S. p. 67.

(50) G.S.Di. p. 11.

(51) Quoted in Müller G.S. p. 74.

Zinzendorf, in a letter from Holland, mentioned the wave of prosecution, which had arisen in that country, making the sending of helpers difficult, and added:

Ueberzeuge die Hottentotten, dass sie Sünder sind; und wenn sie das glauben, so mache, dass sie zu Fusse fallen und Gnade suchen.

He closed with a hymn, made for the occasion. It is a prayer that the Saviour may protect and use Schmidt, whom he had called as a repentant sinner, like Peter, to feed his sheep (John 21). (52)

Schmidt learnt in July from Rhenius that two brethren were expected to pass through the Cape on their way to Ceylon. (53) The Council of Seventeen had granted David Nitschmann, the Syndic, (not the Bishop) and a physician, Dr. (?) Eller, permission to begin mission work on that island. (54) Schmidt left at once for the Cape, accompanied by Kibido, on a horse, borrowed from Africo. As was his custom, he preached the Saviour on his journey, here to a slave, there to a Colonist. An eclipse of the sun gave him the opportunity to talk to Kibido about the end of the world. (55) In the town, they found that important changes had taken place. The Acting Governor had resigned and the Vice-Governor, H. Swellengrebel, had taken over. He was of Russian descent, without much education, but just, fatherly and benevolent, one who had grown up in the country. One of his sisters was married to Le Sueur, the other one to the new Vice-Governor, Ryk Tulbagh. His installation in April had been a great festival. The Parade was decorated with hundreds of silver-trees, cut for the purpose. There had been much drinking, dancing and rejoicing. (56)

(52) Müller G.S. pp. 75-77.

(53) G.S.Di. p. 13.

(54) 200 Jahre I, p. 252.

(55) G.S.Di. p. 13.

(56) Theal 2, pp. 507, 508. V.R.II, pp. 111, 128.

After Schmidt had taken his lodgings with Rhenius, he called on the governor, congratulating him to his appointment. But when he visited Le Sueur, the change in the attitude of the predikants became apparent. Le Sueur wanted to know, whether he taught the Hottentots according to the Reformed Catechism. When Schmidt answered that the Hottentots could not yet understand it and had first to make the acquaintance of the Saviour, Le Sueur showed him the pastoral letter, which had arrived in the meantime. It was a great shock for Schmidt. He refused to enter into arguments, but offered to give an account of his faith. The other predikant, H. Kock, was more friendly, but also prejudiced by the letter. (57)

Fortunately, the two brethren arrived at this stage with two apologetic writings, a declaration by Watteville and the protestation of the four predikants of Amsterdam. (58) They visited the predikants together, who became friendlier, after they had studied the documents. Among the town folk, they found many sympathisers. People told them that Schmidt had achieved more with the Hottentots than anybody else for the last thirty years and Nitschmann thought that the work could be extended to the Bantu, if only Schmidt received helpers. After a few weeks, the fleet left and Schmidt returned to Baviaanskloof, greatly encouraged. (59)

He found that six of his men, Africo and Wilhelm among them, had been called up to fight the Hottentots and the Bushmen in the north. A commando had been sent by the governor under Jan Kruywagen against the Namaquas. (60)

Schmidt writes about it:

Vor einem Jahr haben die Freileute, welche im Lande wohnen, einen Zug gethan zu den Hottentotten, um Vieh einzutauschen vor Taback und ander Gut mehr, aber die gottlosen Leute haben den armen Hottentotten viele Rinder mit Gewalt weggenommen, und NB. die Menschen auf eine

(57) G.S.Dl. p. 14.

(58) Lütjeharms, pp. 154-156.

(59) G.S.Dl. pp. 14, 15; G.N. 1836, p. 465.

(60) Theal 2, p. 508.

gottlose Weise todtgeschlagen, darauf haben sich die andern Hottentotten zusammen gemacht, ein Haufen in klein Namaqua, bei 100 Stunden von der Kaap, und sein Landwärts hereingekommen, u. haben angefangen von den Bauer-Plätzen wiederum das Vieh wegzunehmen. Auf dieses Volk ist eigentlich das Landstreifen angestellt, um sie wiederum aus dem Land zu treiben; dazu werden von den sogenannten Christen commandirt, mit Wehr und Waffen gegen das Volk zu streiten... (61)

Volunteers had been called up for the purpose, but Schmidt comments:

Das Commando ist..verkehrt an die Hottentotten angebracht worden, und gesagt: dass jeder, der nicht kommt, und aufgeschrieben, solle gegeißelt und gebrandmerkt werden.. (62)

The absence of the men created difficulties. Lessons could not be held, because the women and the children went collecting roots in the veld for their living. The cattle did damage to the crops, because there was nobody to watch it. Schmidt built a wall around his field. One day, he shot a calf, which fed on his wheat, another day a goat. Another day, he found twenty-four oxen inside, and, finally, gave up, leaving the rest to the cattle. At the same time, he assisted the women by sowing carrots for them, and explained the gospel to them in a manner, which they could understand. One evening, for instance, he commented on the parable of the marriage feast, explaining that the wedding-garment was the righteousness of Christ, and that everyone had to experience the power of the blood of Christ in his heart. His persistent admonishments touched them. They became aggrieved about their sins, but were too weak to overcome them. One day, three women, who had run away to a dance, came to him, hopelessly discouraged and complaining bitterly of their own wickedness, whereupon he urged them to persevere in seeking the grace of the Saviour. (63)

(61) G.S.Di. p. 16.

(62) G.S.Di. p. 16.

(63) G.S.Di. pp. 17-21.

He heard in November that the Ensign J. T. Rhenius, the brother of the Captain, was at the hot springs. He found him together with another Colonist in a tent near the pool. They appreciated his gift of carrots and conversed with him about the pastoral letter and the Brethren. On enquiring about the Bantu, Schmidt learnt that they were a hard-working agricultural people and had no clicks in their language. Presumably, he considered moving into the interior, if conditions under the eye of the Company became too difficult. Of course, he did not neglect to preach the Saviour to the Colonists at the springs. (64)

At last, the men returned from the war. Only one of them, Kobus, had died. The others reported that not one of the commando, except him, had been killed and that about one hundred of the enemy had perished. The men from Baviaanskloof had continued to pray together and had not taken part in the killing, except Kobus. Schmidt seized the opportunity to emphasise the sixth commandment. Shortly afterwards, he had to repeat the lesson: Hottentots from a neighbouring kraal called for assistance against the Bushmen, who had stolen cattle, and Africo and Kibido went to their aid. The cattle was recaptured and some of the other Hottentots were killed. While they were away, Schmidt noticed two of his folk teaching their children how to use bows and arrows, and reproved them for inducing the children to sinning. (65)

The return of the men enabled him to improve his little farm. A threshing floor was made, a loft, and a kraal for the cattle. The harvest yielded half a muid of wheat and thirteen muid of barley. (66) Like the other Moravian missionaries, Schmidt did not receive financial support

(64) G.S.D1. pp. 24, 25, 35.

(65) G.S.D1. pp. 24, 25, 34.

(66) G.S.D1. pp. 29-35, 44.

from Herrnhut, but worked for his living after the example of St. Paul, except for occasional gifts from friends at the Cape. For the most part, he drank only water. His garden produced vegetables and his field barley, wheat and oats. At one stage, he sent barley to the post in exchange for the bread, which he had received from the provisions of the Company, and later built an oven to bake the bread himself. He bought six oxen, possibly from his savings. Occasionally, he earned a day's living by butchering live stock on neighbouring farms. One day, he sold skins to a tanner. At some time, he owned a horse and two dogs, which were useful for hunting. In short, he made his living like his neighbours on the loan farms. (67)

The daily work gave him the opportunity to preach the gospel in a practical way. When the wheat was threshed, he conversed with the men about the corn, which must fall into the ground and die. (68) When he pruned peach-trees for Africo, he explained that man is like a tree, which must be pruned. (69) When a wall for the cattle-kraal was built, he pointed out that anyone, who did not accept the words of the Saviour, was like a man, who built his house on sand. (70) The attendance at the gatherings remained irregular, but the population of Baviaanskloof continued to increase. (71)

Neighbouring farmers visited him occasionally. Two of them, a cartwright and another Colonist, became good friends. (72) One day, he had a long conversation with a wandering teacher about matters of doctrine. (73) Even the

(67) G.S.Di. 18, 48, 49, 52, 96, 110, 113, 138; V, p. 333;
Müller G.S. p. 48.

(68) G.S.Di. p. 33.

(69) G.S.Di. p. 32.

(70) G.S.Di. p. 44.

(71) G.S.Di. pp. 31, 36.

(72) G.S.Di. pp. 30, 41, 43.

(73) G.S.Di. p. 37.

Vice-Landdrost of Stellenbosch visited him, and marvelled at the reading of the Hottentots. (74)

His friend, the Corporal, died peacefully on 15th February 1740, while Schmidt sang a hymn for him. Schmidt had visited him many times during his last illness, and had assisted him to make his last will. (75) He held the funeral at the post, many people attending. (76) Apparently, he had become the evangelist of the people Over Berg. The new Captain, Rudolf Siegfried Allemann, who was about to take over from Rhenius, requested him by letter to take charge of the post until the arrival of the successor. Schmidt complied by taking stock of the Company's cattle and appointing a soldier as his substitute. (77) A few days later, two commanders from the Cape arrived for the installation of the new Corporal. When, after the ceremony, they amused themselves by causing the Hottentots to drink and to dance, Schmidt protested in vain. (78) Only the new Corporal, Dan Christof Martinsen, (79) was impressed. He was a German Lutheran, interested in spiritual matters, (80) and became a friend of Schmidt, like his predecessor. Schmidt bought the bed out of Campen's estate and took it to Baviaanskloof. (81)

The commanders had also told him that a well-wisher at the Cape, Marthinus Bergh, made him a present of 76 goats. (82) It appears that Schmidt had a number of influential friends, especially among the Lutherans (83) of German descent, like the Rhenius and the Bergh family, Captain Allemann (84) and the Secretary of Justice, Daniel Gottfried Carnspeck. (85)

(74) G.S.Di. p. 50.

(75) G.S.Di. pp. 43, 44.

(76) G.S.Di. pp. 47-49.

(77) G.S.Di. p. 50.

(78) G.S.Di. pp. 52, 53.

(79) Sketse, p. 7.

(80) G.S.Di. p. 59.

(81) G.S.Di. p. 53.

(82) G.S.Di. pp. 52, 115; Leibbrandt, pp. 66, 73.

(83) Leibbrandt, pp. 673-675.

(84) V.R.II, pp. 28, 36, 45, 46.

(85) Leibbrandt, pp. 246, 247; G.S.Di. p. 87.

The winter of 1740 was a difficult time for him. Tooth trouble, pain in the feet, colds and a fever with red pustules on the skin, plagued him. On rainy days, outside work was impossible and nobody came to attend the meetings. Sometimes, he felt so ill that Wilhelm had to teach the children in his place. But mostly, he carried on in spite of his ailments. He made a shelter for his plough and a harrow, planted oaks and collected firewood. (86)

He heard the news that a ship, „De Vis“, had foundered with the loss of the mail. (87) Receiving no letters, he was not aware that the Brethren had tried to send a theologian, Johann Jakob Schweickhardt, to his assistance, but that the Council of Seventeen had refused his application. (88)

The food being scarce, the people suffered from hunger, but the shooting of a hippopotamus brought some relief. The body of the heavy animal was towed out of the river, cut into pieces and transported to the kloof. (89)

The teaching, carefully recorded in the diary, remained the backbone of his work. He writes about it:

Welche [sc. früh morgens] zum vorlesen kommen, das sein die Viehhirten, und auch wer des Morgens arbeiten will. Die Schul wird auch nicht lang gehalten, denn das Volk ist nicht voor 's lang lehren, ich lasse nur ein jedes einmal aufsagen, u. lese wieder vor, denn lass ich sie fragen kommen. Die Meisten lehren schwer, zuweilen muss ich wohl 2.3 mal vorlesen, ehe sie 's aufsagen können, es ist aber nicht zu verwundern, denn die Meisten können nicht viel Deutsch [sc. Holländisch], es ist mir aber daran gelegen, dass sie lehren, anders können sie in der Versammlung nicht was verstehen.

Die Versammlung alle Abend wird auch nicht lang gehalten, eine halbe Stunde, dreiviertelstund, eine Stund, gar selten über eine Stund. Des Morgens, ehe sie zu mir in 's Gebet kommen, so geh'n sie vor hin und fallen auf ihre Kniee u. beten so gut sie können aus dem Herzen. (90)

(86) G.S.Di. pp. 60-65, 78.

(87) G.S.Di. p. 64; V.R.II, pp. 124, 125.

(88) Müller G.S., p. 70.

(89) G.S.Di. p. 68.

(90) G.S.Di. pp. 85, 86.

He divided his flock of twenty-eight into seven prayer circles according to age and sex after the example of the Chöre in Herrnhut, and distributed Dutch New Testaments among the fifteen, who had learnt to read. (91) The education of the children gave him much trouble. He admonished the parents to discipline them and sometimes applied the cane himself. (92) The seed was not sown in vain. Especially Wilhelm showed a sincere affection to the Saviour. (93)

Spring came at last. The barley and the wheat were in the ground and two herdsmen tended the cattle. (94) He planted vegetables, tobacco and even vines. (95) Two pigs, which a neighbour had sent, grew nicely. (96) When the roads became passable, he received more visitors. The Vice-Landdrost came for the second time, staying overnight. (97) This summer, he gained not less than thirty muid of wheat. (98)

Since Captain Rhenius was about to leave the country for his retirement, he visited the Cape after an interval of eighteen months in February 1741. On his arrival, he received the surprising news that the two brethren from Ceylon were on the ship "Marquetta", which was expected shortly. (99) In fact, they had been expelled from Ceylon. The beginning had been promising. The Governor, G. W. van Imhoff, the ablest official of the Company, had supported them. Even the local predikant had at first ignored the pastoral letter. But when the brethren did not confine themselves to the Sengalese, but began to gather Europeans in Colombo, and when a new Governor took over, the Church

(91) G.S.Dl. p. 86.

(92) G.S.Dl. pp. 72, 75.

(93) G.S.Dl. pp. 62, 63.

(94) G.S.Dl. p. 73.

(95) G.S.Dl. pp. 70, 73, 79, 80, 81, 85.

(96) G.S.Dl. p. 59.

(97) G.S.Dl. p. 87.

(98) G.S.Dl. p. 80.

(99) G.S.Dl. p. 89.

authorities objected and they had to leave the country. (100)
For Schmidt, the encounter with the brethren was another encouragement. Their friends at the Cape received them cordially and Allemann declared with reference to the pastoral letter in the presence of many witnesses that, as far as he could judge, the brethren had the right doctrine. But the predikants made reservations. Le Sueur and Kock wanted Schmidt to make a public confession of faith. He replied that he was quite willing to do so on the basis that the bible was the word of God. When they pointed out that in spiritual matters, one must build on the right foundation, he agreed, adding that he knew of no other foundation than the reality of our salvation through the blood of Christ. On this, they became more favourably inclined.

When the fleet left for Europe, Schmidt bade farewell to his brethren as well as to Captain Rhenius. In him, he had lost his supporter in the Governing Council. It is true that Allemann, his successor, was a well-wishing Lutheran. But he was not such a warm friend of the Pietists and their mission work as Rhenius had been. His brother, the Ensign, invited Schmidt to his home, which was henceforth his abode, when he visited the town. (101)

Back in the kloof, he carried on with his work. From a conversation with Martinsen, who had meanwhile become Sergeant, we learn that he was resolved to persist in it. (102)
Still, he had his depressions. His loneliness and the instability of his flock made him despondent. (103) Time and again, he enquired at the post, whether there were any letters for him. The weak and irregular attendance at the evening meetings depressed him. The Hottentots were more

(100) 200 Jahre I, pp. 252, 253.

(101) G.S.Di. pp. 90, 91. V.R.II, p. 121.

(102) G.S.Di. p. 102.

(103) G.S.Di. p. 103.

eager to learn reading than to believe in the Saviour. Thus, he told them that he would teach only the children, but the evening meetings were for everyone; the Saviour was not found through reading but through believing. (104) One evening, nobody attended and he found them in Africo's hut, drinking gin. Wilhelm only was absent. When he scolded them, Africo accused him of intending to leave them and to sell the place which they had built up together. It is evident that Africo in his drunkenness saw in him at that moment only one of those Europeans, who had come to exploit them. At the next meeting, Schmidt insisted that the drunkenness must stop. Whosoever wanted to go on drinking, must leave the place. A few days later, the men expressed their regret and he forgave them. (105)

But against the Company, he was powerless. One day, the Sergeant came in order to buy cattle. Dissatisfied with their offers, he threatened to complain to the Governor, whereupon they exchanged many oxen for arrac, tobacco and beads. On the following day, all were drunk. (106)

The farm work required much forbearance, too. When the men came to work for him, they wanted food, coffee and tobacco for the start, then, some went away and at noon, they demanded tea. (107) Again, their cattle broke into his field and he stopped the lessons, until two new herdsmen had been appointed. (108)

The sergeant was not what the former corporal had been. He and his neighbour, Carl Titus, used to drink together. (109) One day, Schmidt had a heated argument with him, but then made peace, complaining in his diary: "...ich rede gar zu viel". (110)

(104) G.S.Di. p. 101.

(105) Müller G.S. pp. 56-59.

(106) G.S.Di. pp. 108, 109.

(107) G.S.Di. p. 113.

(108) Müller G.S. pp. 59-61.

(109) G.S.Di. pp. 95, 98.

(110) G.S.Di. p. 106.

We can easily understand that his unceasing struggle against drunkenness, dancing, card-playing and immorality were annoying to the Colonists. Only one of his neighbours, Jan Böhnicke, became his intimate friend. They met many times, talking about the condition of their hearts. (111)

Still, his flock increased and became used to an ordered life and acquainted with the Saviour. One day, the wife of Moses, who had run away, returned and was readmitted. (112) Wilhelm had taken a wife and put up his own hut. (113) The enmity against the Moravians did not disturb him much. He heard that a new pamphlet against them had arrived at the Cape and that people expected him to be banished like the brethren from Ceylon. (114) The farmers slandered that he lived with Hottentot women or that he was a spy or the secretary of the rebel Barbier. (115) But he was used from his home country to living in such an atmosphere. He wrote:

Ich sagte.., wenn sie mich wegjagten, so
ginge ich, denn der Heiland hat gesagt: So sie
euch verfolgen in einer Stadt, so fliehet etc. (116)

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- (111) G.S.Di. pp. 91, 92, 99, 101, 102, 104-106.
(112) G.S.Di. pp. 100, 101.
(113) G.S.Di. pp. 70, 72.
(114) G.S.Di. pp. 111, 112, 114.
(115) G.S.Di. pp. 103, 196.
(116) G.S.Di. p. 114.

3. The year of decision, 1742.

The perseverance of Schmidt on the one side and the growing opposition against his work on the other side led to a decision in 1742.

In the beginning of that year, his despondency seemed to gain the upper hand. He wrote to Zinzendorf that he intended to return to Europe, partly because of the indolence of his folk, partly because he did not receive helpers and partly because the perversity of the Hottentots had damaged his own heart, (1) and instructed Africo to take care of the place until his return. (2) On hearing that Schweickhardt was coming to his assistance, he wrote to him:

Wenn du nicht bald zu mir kommst, so werde ich euch besuchen kommen auf eine zeitlang. (3)

He complained that there was no trace of faith to be seen among the Hottentots, except for Wilhelm. (4)

He asked the permission of the Saviour to visit the Cape as early as in January (5), but only on 13th March, the lot approved. Two days later, he was on his way, accompanied by Wilhelm. Leaving him with the horses at the Groote Schuur, he went to Rhenius. (6)

It was a period of commotion for the Cape. A short time before, the former Governor-General of the Company, W. Valckenier, who had been blamed for a massacre of thousands of Chinese in Batavia, had been arrested on his journey home and was now a prisoner in the Castle. (7)

(1) Müller G.S. pp. 71, 72.

(2) G.S.Di. pp. 118, 119.

(3) Quoted in Müller G.S. p. 71. See p. 33.

(4) G.S.Di. pp. 117, 118.

(5) G.S.Di. p. 118.

(6) G.S.Di. pp. 128, 129.

(7) Theal 2, p. 511; G.S.Di. pp. 88, 126, 127.

The Vice-Governor, the Captain and the predikants received Schmidt kindly. Georg Schuster, who used to attend to his mail, handed him his letters. (8) One of them was from Zinzendorf. The count wrote:

Warum tauffst du die Kinder der Hottentotten nicht, die zur Zeit hinausgehen? Der da kommt mit Wasser und Blut, ist auch für sie gestorben. Ich ordiniere dich auf den Fall einer Taufe oder einer Communion als einen ohnedem mir hierunter weit vorgehenden Lammesapostel zum Diener unsrer Kirche im Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des h. Geistes, amen. Im übrigen, l. Br., freue ich mich herzlich über dich, und seit dem letzten Diario habe ich kein gross Mitleiden mehr mit dir, du bist ja so selig und mit allen deinen Nachbarn in solchem Frieden, Stille und Ruhe. Der Herr Jesus schenke dir alle die Seelen, bitte zuweilen um Gehilfen beim Lamm. Können wir dir durchsetzen, so wollens gerne tun. Zufrieden bin ich sehr wohl mit dir. Aber, mein Herz, den Hottentotten gehst du zu sehr auf den Pelz und zu wenig aufs Herz. Was betest du mit ihnen? Erzähl dich satt am Lamm. Wie ich ein kleiner Junge war, so liess ich mir immer von der Jungfer Cathrine erzählen: Es war einmal ein Mann p. ; und so musst du den Hottentotten, sonderlich ihren Kindern, die Historie von Gottes Sohn erzählen; und wenn sie was fühlen, so bete mit ihnen, fühlen sie nichts, so bete für sie. Hält das Fühlen an, so taufe sie, wo du deine Seekuh geschossen hast. Das Lamm sei mit dir ewiglich. (9)

Added to the letter was a certificate, stating that Georg Schmidt, messenger of the Moravian Church among the Hottentots and the Caffres at the Cape, has been ordained a minister by Zinzendorf. (10) The letter, dated 27th August 1741 in Holland, was in response to the reports, which Schmidt had written more than a year ago. Zinzendorf had gathered from them that first fruits from among the Hottentots might be baptised. In order to encourage him to do so and to qualify him in the eye of the established church, he ordained him by letter, as he had done in another case. It is true that his vocation enabled Schmidt

(8) G.S.D1. pp. 129-133, 137.

(9) Quoted in Müller G.S. p. 81.

(10) Müller G.S. p. 82.

to baptise converted heathen even without an ordination, and he had in fact considered doing so (11), but in deference to public opinion, a solemn act of ordination was advisable. (12)

It was a great encouragement to him. He kept it to himself, feeling, perhaps, that his authorisation was only for the Hottentots Over Berg, for whom nobody cared, or, perhaps, being reluctant to reveal it in front of so much enmity against the Moravians. When, on the following Sunday, Holy Communion was administered in the local church, he received it by himself in his room, for the first time after many years. (13)

He left with Wilhelm two days later. At the farm of the hospitable widow Morkel in Hottentots Holland, he conversed at length with Meinhardt Kammerts, the wandering teacher, (14) about the pastoral letter, the end of the mission work in Ceylon and the doctrine of predestination. The teacher considered that only some people were destined to salvation, to which Schmidt replied that he did not wish to argue about it, but had to proclaim to everyone the gospel, that it was Gods will that all men be saved. It was not only on this occasion that he had to give his views on the predestination at the Cape. (15)

While they rode to the kloof in the afternoon, Schmidt asked Wilhelm, whether he wanted to be baptised, explaining the meaning of the sacrament. Coming to a stream, they knelt down and, after a prayer, Schmidt asked him:

Glaubt ihr, dass der Sohn Gottes gestorben ist
am Kreuz für aller Menschen Sünden?

(11) Schmidt had asked the lot for permission to baptise Wilhelm in August 1741. Müller G.S. p. 104.

(12) See pp. 12, 27.

(13) G.S.Di. p. 136.

(14) G.S.Di. pp. 37, 139, 140, 198.

(15) G.S.Di. pp. 98, 134, 185.

Glaubt ihr, dass ihr von Natur ein verdammwürdiger Mensch seid?

Wollt ihr dem Teufel u. allem Bösen entsagen?

Seid ihr willig durch die Bluts-Gnade des Heilands keine Schmach noch Verfolgung zu scheuen u. den Heiland zu bekennen vor aller Welt, u. Ihm treu zu bleiben bis an den Tod?

Wollt ihr getauft werden? (16)

Then and there, he baptised him by the name of Josua.

Presumably, he chose that name, because Josua was the first Israelite to enter the land of promise. It was the 2nd of April.

That evening and on the following days, his services at Baviaanskloof were well attended. Within two weeks, he baptised another four of his flock, one by one, in running water, after enquiring from each one, whether he desired it. Thus, Africo became "Christian", Vehettge "Magdalena", Kibido "Jonas" and the sister of Moses "Christina". (17) Henceforth, he held special daily meetings with the five converts, calling them brothers and sisters, (18) and proposing to teach them writing and singing. He asked Le Long in Holland to translate a few simple hymns into Dutch for them. (19) In short, his work had received a new impetus. On the next occasion, the converts sent greetings to the Brethren in Herrnhut. (20)

Among his neighbours, too, he worked with renewed zeal. He visited Böhnicke, sometimes riding through the river, sometimes climbing over a tree trunk, sometimes shouting across the swollen stream. He assisted him in butchering his pigs, preached to his slaves and scolded him for drinking or immorality. (21) Sometimes, another

(16) G.S.Di. p. 140.

(17) G.S.Di. pp. 141-144.

(18) G.S.Di. p. 141.

(19) G.N. 1836, p. 488.

(20) G.S.Di. p. 152.

(21) G.S.Di. pp. 147, 153, 154, 158, 170, 213.

neighbour joined them. He had been converted by Schmidt and intended, on his return to Europe, to join the Brethren. (22) Perhaps, he was the Johann Martin Schwebler, who did, in fact, turn up at Herrnhut later. (23) Sometimes, both the neighbours visited him on Sundays for mutual edification. (24) The Sergeant, too, seemed to accept the Saviour (25), and Schmidt preached to the soldiers of the two newly established posts of Ziekenhuis and Tygerhoek further eastward. (26) When people visited him, one of the sisters would cook the meal, while he conversed with his visitors. (27)

The news that he had baptised Hottentots spread to the Cape. He himself mentioned the fact casually to the Sergeant one day. Talking about Africo, he said that his name was now Christian, explaining what he had done and that he was authorised to do so. (28) In June, the Sergeant went to town, as usual, taking Christian and Josua with him. On their return, they reported that they had been interrogated by the Fiscal, Pietter van Reede van Oudtshoorn (29), who was a member of the Governing Council and responsible for law and order in the country. Christian had to read a bit and to answer a few questions in front of witnesses, whereupon the Fiscal had admonished him to live up to his learning. At the same time, the steward of the Governor had told the Sergeant that Schmidt had no right to baptise Hottentots. (30) Perhaps, the predikants had voiced objections. They were at that time protesting to the Classis against an application of the Lutherans for a

(22) G.S.Di. pp. 140-142, 158.

(23) Müller G.S. pp. 111-113.

(24) G.S.Di. pp. 216, 217.

(25) G.S.Di. p. 151.

(26) G.S.Di. pp. 158, 159.

(27) For instance Magdalena. G.S.Di. p. 198.

(28) G.S.Di. p. 145.

(29) Leibbrandt, p. 860.

(30) G.S.Di. pp. 157-159.

church and a minister of their own (31), which was consequently refused by the Governing Council as very untimely. (32) The baptism of Hottentots by Schmidt was just as inadmissible for the predikants as a Lutheran church. Nevertheless, the authorities took no steps against him for the time being, having more important matters to deal with, than events at far away Baviaanskloof. It was Schmidt himself, who brought matters to a head. The lot advised him to visit the Cape, and he left on 9th August, accompanied by brother Josua. The Sergeant, who sympathised with him and had openly spoken in his favour at the Cape, warned him that he would have a fight on his hands. (33)

He found his friends worried about the baptism, but reassured them: The predikants could not object, because his task was among the Hottentots, for whom they did not care. Neither could the Governor object, because his task was to punish wrong-doers, but he had done nothing wrong. (34)

He stayed at the Cape for three weeks. But only during the last few days, did his case receive official attention. It seems as if nobody wanted to touch it: The Governor waited for an official approach, the predikants for a report and Schmidt felt not obliged to submit one. He visited Swellengrebel and Allemann at once. Both received him kindly but were very busy. With the Vice-Governor, he had a cordial talk and a pipe-smoke. (35) Talking with Le Sueur about the conversion of the Hottentots, he mentioned the baptism, but Le Sueur seemed not to have understood him. (36) When he met his prominent Lutheran friends, the baptism was occasionally mentioned, Schmidt taking the opportunity to make his attitude clear. (37)

(31) Spoelstra I, pp. 192, 193.

(32) Leibbrandt, pp. 673, 674.

(33) G.S.Di. pp. 169, 171, 172.

(34) G.S.Di. p. 174.

(35) G.S.Di. p. 174.

(36) G.S.Di. pp. 179, 180.

(37) G.S.Di. pp. 173, 176.

Preferably, he called on a number of simple Pietistic tradesmen, who accepted him as a brother. He mentions a barber from Sweden, a coxswain, a book-binder, a shoe-maker from Saxony, a silversmith, a tinsmith (38), a baker's attendant, called Stolz (39), a brick-maker, Florus Brand(40), and a tavern-attendant, Christiaan Gunter (41). They held house meetings and he urged them to have more fellowship with one another. (42) He also tried to reason them out of sectarian errors: Some of them had read the writings of the German shoe-maker and mystic, Jakob Böhme, who had developed a fantastic theosophical system, and Schmidt endeavoured to replace their interest in book-learning by simple faith in the crucified Saviour. (43) In short, there was a growing community of Pietists at the Cape, who received him with open arms.

Only when he went to take his leave of the Governor, and Swellengrebel enquired into his work, did he tell him about his baptism and his ordination. The news were evidently unpleasant to the Governor. He wanted to know, whether Schmidt had mentioned them to the predikant, which Schmidt affirmed. Thereupon, Swellengrebel requested him not to baptise until further notice. Thereafter, Schmidt had a long talk with Le Sueur, who objected to the ordination by letter and referred to the doubtful character of the Moravian Church. Schmidt showed him his certificate of ordination and defended the Brethren as well as he could, adding that his mandate was for the Hottentots Over Berg only, and that he was quite willing to wait for the time

(38) G.S.Di. pp. 176, 177, 181.

(39) G.S.Di. pp. 132, 133, 240.

(40) G.S.Di. p. 134; Leibbrandt, pp. 82, 107.

(41) G.S.Di. pp. 109, 131, 135; Leibbrandt, pp. 472, 483.

(42) G.S.Di. pp. 176, 177, 224, 225, 231, 233, 234.

(43) G.S.Di. pp. 177, 182, 231.

being, as instructed by the Governor. Again, Le Sueur explained that the Zondereind river did not belong to his parish but to Stellenbosch. He would refer the matter to the predikant of that settlement, who could write to the Classis, if he so wished. (44)

On the following day - a Sunday - the authorities seem to have agreed that the case must come before the Governing Council, for on Monday, the Governor requested Schmidt to appear before that body and even the kind Mr. Tulbagh told him that he should have brought the Hottentots to the predikants for baptism. (45) Both, Le Sueur and Tulbagh, were brothers-in-law of the Governor. (46)

The important gathering took place on 4th September at 9 a.m. Only Allemann was absent, possibly on purpose, because he was a Lutheran and a fellow-countryman of Schmidt. We have two records of that meeting: The Resolutions in the Cape Archives and Schmidt's lengthy report in his diary. According to the Resolutions, the certificate of ordination was submitted and Schmidt was instructed not to baptise until further orders but otherwise to continue with his work. The council understood (possibly from the Fiscal) that some of the Hottentots had accepted his teaching. The predikants would be requested to refer the case to the Classis. (47) According to Schmidt's diary, the Governor explained to him that the Moravians had no right to ordain ministers for the Cape. When Schmidt pointed out that he was ordained for the Hottentots in the interior, the Governor replied that the Hottentots were part of the responsibility of the predikants and forbade him to administer the sacraments, whereupon Schmidt asked leave to return to Europe.

(44) G.S.Di. pp. 186, 187.

(45) G.S.Di. p. 188.

(46) See p. 28.

(47) C. 34, 4.9.1742.

This seemed to embarrass the members of the Council. The Governor asked Schmidt to wait outside for a while. When he returned, Swellengrebel spoke more kindly: Schmidt had misunderstood him; he only wanted him to wait until instructions were received from Holland. Schmidt agreed and the Governor wished him Gods blessing for his efforts.⁽⁴⁸⁾ On the same day, he returned to Baviaanskloof.

The remark of the Governor that the Hottentots fell under the responsibility of the predikants, is significant. Although they were outside the jurisdiction of the Company, it was part of its calling to spread the gospel among them. But in fact, nothing was done for their salvation at the Cape. Still, it must be admitted that the Governor acted kindly and moderately in the matter.

But when the combined Church Council of the three Cape congregations met shortly afterwards ⁽⁴⁹⁾, the predikants submitted a resolution, protesting to the Classis against Schmidt's work. According to the rules of the Church, only members of the Reformed confession, who had been properly examined, were permitted to give religious instruction. Besides, they had to use the prescribed catechism. Therefore, the so-called Hottentot-convector, who belonged to the sect of the Moravians and did not co-operate with the predikants, was not qualified to teach. Much less could a letter from the Count of Zinzendorf authorise him to baptise. Moreover, the baptism of adults required the presence of a congregation. Therefore, his five converts must be regarded as unbaptised. Incidentally, their baptism was of no use to them, since they had not been instructed in the fundamentals of the doctrine and could not give the least account of their faith. Nor could they receive Holy Communion, since Schmidt had not

(48) G.S.Di. pp. 189, 190.

(49) G.S.Di. p. 205.

been ordained in the prescribed manner.

The three predikants added a personal request that Schmidt be recalled. He might otherwise proceed to baptise the children of the simple Colonists Over Berg. They themselves could not prevent it, the journey to that part of the country being difficult and dangerous; besides, they could not leave their parishes for lengthy periods. If the Company granted one or two Catechists for those parts, they would nominate suitable persons. (50)

Thus, the church authorities objected not only to Schmidt's ordination but to his presence in the country as well. It is understandable that they were against another church working in their sphere of influence, for in those times, the government determined the confession of a country. But they must take the blame for asserting their authority over the Hottentots, without making any missionary effort on their behalf. Their negative attitude in this respect reflects the feelings of the Colonists at the Cape.

Schmidt also wrote to Holland, informing Le Long of the latest developments as follows:

Die hiesigen Herren haben sich eingebildet, dass ich die Hottentotten zu ihren Predikanten werde bringen und sie da taufen lassen. Nun sie sehen, dass es ihnen darin fehlet, so sein sie gegen mich. Sie werden an die Klassen nach Amsterdam schreiben wegen meinem Taufen und Abendmahl. Ich werde solange warten, bis dass die Antwort aus Amsterdam von den Klassen wieder ankommt. Behalte ich dann meine Freiheit nicht, so werde ich zu euch kommen. Dem reformierten Papst will ich unter seinen Mantel nicht kriechen. Ich will lieber als ein Verführer und doch wahrhaftig bleiben. Die hiesigen Predikanten bekümmern sich um ihren Bauch und um Geld und Gut, und sie wollen die Ehre von meiner Arbeit haben. Die werden sie aber nicht kriegen, und sie gehört ihnen auch nicht, sondern dem Heiland. (51)

In this way, he defended the freedom of his vocation.

In the Colony, the opposition against his work increased.

(50) Spoelstra I, pp. 195-199.

(51) Quoted in Müller G.S. p. 95.-See also G.S.D1. p. 192.

He felt that the outward friendliness of visitors was not genuine, ⁽⁵²⁾ and heard that somebody had accused him in the Church Council of making slanderous remarks to Rhenius about one of the farmers. Some contended that in baptising he had sinned against the Holy Spirit. ⁽⁵³⁾ Even his flock became restless, the attendance at the lessons decreasing. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ They were disturbed because a foreman on a farm had threatened that the Company would make them slaves, if they became literate. Besides, the fact, that no helpers arrived, although Schmidt had promised it, made them suspicious. ⁽⁵⁵⁾ Their restlessness upset him greatly, making him impatient in his dealings with them. Thus, we read on 11th October:

Wir machten Damm, u. der Christian sollte die Rasen ansetzen, u. er that's nicht, sondern er warf alles über einander, es fehlte nicht viel, oder ich hätte ihm Schläge gegeben, sie sein überhaupt sehr ungeschliffene Leute. Ich bezahle ihnen so gut ich's hab', u. sie wollen doch nach ihrem eigenen Kopf arbeiten. Es war sehr warm. Abends in der Stunde war der Christian nicht. Die andern klagten über ihren Unglauben. Ich redete mit ihnen von ihrer Verkehrtheit. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

The Governor instructed the Sergeant in October to bring two of the Hottentots to the Cape for interrogation, and there was a rumour that a commission of enquiry would come to Baviaanskloof. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ What was the reason for this new activity? Had not the Church Council informed the Classis already that the Hottentots could not give the least account of their faith? Perhaps the authorities wanted to give first hand impressions to the new Governor-General of the Company, who was expected to visit the Cape on his way to Batavia. ⁽⁵⁸⁾

(52) G.S.Di. p. 195.

(53) G.S.Di. pp. 205, 206.

(54) G.S.Di. pp. 210, 213, 217-219.

(55) Müller G.S. p. 125.

(56) G.S.Di. p. 202.

(57) G.S.Di. p. 205.

(58) Theal 2, p. 511; V.R. I, p. 128; G.S.Di. p. 214.

After Josua and Christian had left, Schmidt, finding it hard to wait, received the permission of the lot to go to the Cape as well. He met the other party on their return. The Governor had sent them to Le Sueur, to whom they had to answer a few simple questions about their faith and to read from the New Testament. He had been kind, admonishing them to abide in their learning and sending greetings to their teacher. (59)

Visiting the Governor, Schmidt objected against the Hottentots being disturbed by the talk of the Colonists. The Governor promised to make investigations and told him that the predikant had been surprised at the good answers of his two converts. (60) Thereafter, he went to Le Sueur, who confirmed his good impressions of their answers but doubted, whether they had understood them, to which Schmidt replied that they felt the truth of the gospel in their hearts. When he repeated his objections to the talk of the Colonists, Le Sueur seems to have replied:

.. wenn ich manchmal bei Gelegenheit von Euch habe hören sprechen, so hab ich gesagt, der Mann mag so besudelt sein, als er immer will, er wird die Hottentotten doch nicht schlechter machen, als sie vorher sein. (61)

The Governor informed Schmidt a few days later, that he would call two of his Hottentots again, and the predikant would tell them in Schmidt's presence not to listen to rumours. They would also be allowed to attend church at the Cape. (62) It was evident that he wanted to assist Schmidt in his work, as instructed by the Council of Seventeen.

While Schmidt waited for the Hottentots to arrive, he visited his acquaintances, distributing apologetic and

(59) G.S.D1. pp. 219, 220.

(60) G.S.D1. p. 222.

(61) G.S.D1. p. 223.

(62) G.S.D1. p. 227.

devotional writings of the Moravians, and defending his cause. (63) His most difficult visit was to a retired predikant and his sister, who abused him and would not listen to arguments. (64) But his main purpose was to win souls for the Saviour. Untiringly, he urged people to convert. Whenever a visit passed without an opportunity to do so, he was disappointed. (65)

When Josua and Christian arrived at last, he took them at once to Le Sueur, who enquired about those rumours. On their reply that they had heard a few things, not directly but through other Hottentots, he gave them a glass of wine and let them go. Schmidt remained behind and they had a long talk about the apologetic writings, which Le Sueur had studied in the meantime. He objected to Zinzendorf's contention that the Moravians were not given the opportunity to state their faith publicly. Schmidt retorted that he had offered long ago to answer to his convictions, but had not been invited to do so. (66)

He left the town on 6th January 1743. (67) His visit had proved unsatisfactory. Le Sueur's talk to the Hottentots had been disappointing and perhaps less helpful than the Governor had intended it to be. Clearly, the predikants were against him. Even Allemann stood aloof from the dispute. No answer had been received from Holland. Only the Governor had encouraged him to continue with his work. He would wait a bit longer, to see, whether he would be permitted to do it properly.

(63) G.S.Di. pp. 225-232.

(64) G.S.Di. p. 229.

(65) G.S.Di. pp. 225, 231.

(66) G.S.Di. pp. 239, 240.

(67) G.S.Di. p. 241.



4. The end of Schmidt's work.

Shortly after his departure, the Governor-General, G. W. van Imhoff, arrived, his predecessor Valckenier having been sent to Holland a prisoner. He stayed about a month, inspecting everything and visiting the settlements to the north. (1) His report bears witness to his farsightedness and his sound judgement. According to him, the basic evil at the Cape was the introduction of slaves, which tended to wean the Colonists from hard work. In order to fight the existing corruption, he recommended that all the trade had to be handled by the Company. In order to encourage the Colonists, he advised that they should be permitted to buy the centre of their loan farms. As for the Hottentots, he affirmed the existing policy that they should be left in peace and the Colonists should not trade with them. (2) The Colony was extended: In Swellendam, named after the Governor, a Burgher Council was established and, two years later, a Landdrost. (3) But Baviaanskloof remained in the district of Stellenbosch. A predikant, Arnoldus Mauritz Meiring, arrived for the new parish of Roodezand. (4) A second petition of the Lutherans was discussed in Van Imhoff's presence by the Governing Council and, this time, forwarded to the Council of Seventeen. (5) Later, however, it was turned down again, the predikants objecting. (6) It is a pity that Van Imhoff did not inspect the district Over Berg nor meet Georg Schmidt. Under him, the brethren had made their promising beginning in Ceylon. (7) But his time was too short.

(1) Theal 2, p. 511; G.S.Di. p. 247.

(2) V.R.I., passim.

(3) Walker, p. 94.

(4) Theal 2, p. 513.

(5) Leibbrandt, pp. 674, 675.

(6) Spoelstra I, pp. 204-206.

(7) See p. 35.

Schmidt continued with his work, feeling lonely and depressed. He wrote to Le Long:

Mein Herz denkt manchmal noch an die viel tausend Kaffers in diesem Lande. Wenn ich nur Gehilfen kriegte, mein mütter Geist würde wieder aufleben, und mein Glaube würde sich noch über alle Berge hinüberschwingen bis zu den Kaffern und meine gebrochne Hütte nachziehen. Aber in diesen muss ich nur warten und sehen, was der Heiland machen wird. (8)

To the brethren in Herrnhut he reported that he had intended to return but the lot had refused; His flock was like reed, swinging to and fro in the wind; the baptised members being in no way better, he had not yet held Communion with them. He was still hoping that they would succeed in breaking through the barriers on the road to Africa. (9)

An answer of David Nitschmann, the Syndic, shows the reaction of the brethren at home: Schmidt must not think that they had forgotten him; they were doing their best to send him helpers and might still succeed. They would like to recall him for a visit, but hesitated to leave the post at the Cape vacant. He should not complain so much about his Hottentots. If they were perfect, they would not have need of salvation. It was good that they came openly forward with their shortcomings, while many people in Europe used to conceal them. Perhaps Schmidt moralised too much. He should rather endear the Saviour to them and imprint his cross on their hearts. May the Lord give him patience and a motherly heart towards them. It was regrettable that even the baptised members showed no progress. But certainly, their baptism would not be in vain. The brethren rejoiced that even some Europeans had been won for the Saviour. Schmidt could be sure of their love and intercession. At home, they had persecutions as well, but the Saviour was helping them through. (10) In this manner, the brethren tried

(8) Quoted in Müller G.S. pp. 84, 85.

(9) G.N. 1836, pp. 491-494.

(10) Müller G.S. pp. 86-91.

to encourage him, but the letter did no longer reach him at the Cape.

We do not know in detail, how Schmidt spent his last winter at Baviaanskloof, because the diary is lacking. His flock did not disperse, as asserted by Theal ⁽¹¹⁾, for when he left, he listed 26 remaining Hottentots and mentioned that the wife of Moses, who used to quarrel with her husband, was about to return to him. ⁽¹²⁾ But he waited in vain for helpers and for a decision from Holland. On 25th August, he received a letter from Le Long, informing him that the brethren would not object to his return. ⁽¹³⁾ On the other hand, the letter from Nitschmann shows that they still preferred him to remain. Le Long's remark was, therefore, a permission, not an instruction. The brethren left the door open for a decision of the Saviour, and in view of Schmidt's habits, we may take it that he asked and received that permission from the lot.

After the Governor had given his leave, he instructed Christian, on 6th October, to look after his estate, until he or another brother returned and bade farewell to his flock. Some entreated him under tears to come back. In fact, he left them for the purpose of removing the obstacles in Holland, and subsequently made strenuous efforts to return.

He stayed for a few weeks at the post, preaching to the soldiers and visiting the Colonists. In a later report, he mentions that there were 39 Europeans, among them five converts, under his care. He paid occasional visits to Baviaanskloof, for the last time on 30th October. Shortly afterwards, he moved to the town, where he stayed for the last few months, waiting for the fleet to arrive. ⁽¹⁴⁾

(11) Theal 2, p. 520.

(12) G.S.Di. p. 249.

(13) G.S.Di. p. 249; Müller G.S. p. 125.

(14) G.S.Di. p. 249, and appendix, p. 8; Müller G.S. p. 98.

An event, which occurred at the Cape in 1743, reveals the attitude of the church authorities against him. A Gatechist, Louis van Dijk, had arrived from Holland early that year for the rural settlements with a recommendation from the Classis. He was evidently a Pietist. Members complained that he did not read his sermons and prayers, as prescribed, but preached and prayed freely and extravagantly, and that he did not use the Our Father, contending that people not born again could not call God their father. Summoned to the Cape and cautioned to confine himself to his calling, he did not mend his ways but addressed crowded house gatherings, to which the predikants and the elders went to listen. Thereupon, he was called before the Church Council. The predikant asked him whether he sympathised with the heretic Moravians, because people had seen him embracing the Hottentot convertor. He replied that he did not care what people said, but admired that man, who loved Jesus. The Church Council, finding that he was a follower of the heretic Zinzendorf, forbade him to teach and referred the case to the Governing Council, which resolved on 8th October to deport him to Batavia. (15) Schmidt does not mention him in his records and he was certainly not a Moravian. Still, the case shows the concern of the church authorities for the purity of the doctrine and for their sole privilege, and their opinion of Georg Schmidt. Evidently, they considered him a danger to their parishes.

While Van Dijk was waiting for his deportation, Schmidt visited his acquaintances and the house meetings of the Pietists. When he asked the Governor to protect his folk at Bavisanskloof against expulsion, Swellengrebel reassured him: "...wer wird sie vertreiben.." (16) On 3rd March 1744,

(15) Leibbrandt, pp. 527, 528; Spoelstra I, p. 201.

(16) G.S.Di. p. 250.

he went aboard his ship and, two days later, the fleet left for Holland. The Governor gave him a testimonial, stating that this simple countryman had done more for the native population than any other inhabitant of the colony. (17) His friends regretted his departure, as witnessed by two poems, one by the Ensign Rhenius (18), the other one by Carnspek. (19) Some prayed for a spiritual renewal and for the resumption of mission work. (20) But the leaders of the church were relieved and among the Colonists he became a story.

The answer of the Classis arrived shortly afterwards: it had not yet been able to negotiate with the Council of Seventeen, but promised to apply for the appointment of a Catechist in the interest of the Europeans Over Berg. Further, it confirmed that the baptism by the Moravians was invalid, but was not in favour of Schmidt's deportation. The predikants should see to it that the people in that district were properly instructed by inspecting Schmidt's work and reporting on it. (21) If this letter had arrived in time, Schmidt could have continued his work under the supervision of the Cape predikants without administering the sacraments. However, it came too late and was, furthermore, not placed before the Church Council but seems to have gone astray. (22) Only Le Sueur replied to it, stating that the Hottentot convertor had left meanwhile on his own accord without having accomplished anything good. Le Sueur could not say, why he had left his disciples, but thought that the conversion of the Hottentots was only a pretext to cover other plans. Because they had miscarried, he had lost courage. The

(17) Sketse, p. 11.

(18) Müller G.S. p. 99.

(19) Le. I, 27.2.1744.

(20) Nachtigal, pp. 101-106. Cf. G.S.D1. pp. 233-237.

(21) Spoelstra I, pp. 76, 77.

(22) Spoelstra I, pp. 217-221.

Hottentots were still as ignorant and uncivilised as before. Admittedly, their teacher had asserted that they had a feeling in their heart, but had agreed in the end that nothing could be done for them and even the baptised members failed him. Le Sueur had invited them to come under his supervision to the Cape. He would then see what could be done with them. (23)

The Hottentots, however, did not feel inclined to come under his care and, in the same year, he bought a rich farm out of the estate of his late father-in-law for his retirement. (24) As far as he was concerned, the incident was closed.

Not so for Schmidt. Shortly after his return he attended the Synod of the Brethren at Marienborn, where various ways were considered for the resumption of the work. A plan to send messengers to the Hottentots through Egypt and the interior of Africa or through Saldanha-Bay, avoiding Cape Town, was rejected: The permission of the Company was inescapable. But the brethren regretted not to have sent five missionaries from the start. (25)

Early in 1747, Schmidt was in Holland for negotiations. Zinzendorf's idea was to have him ordained by De Bruin, a minister of the Reformed Church. But the predikants in Amsterdam refused. (26) The more the Moravian movement spread, the more the enmity of the ruling church increased, although Zinzendorf had still a few supporters among the predikants. The Synod of South Holland had declared the administration of sacraments by Moravians illegal as far back as 1740. (27) Many pamphlets were published against them. Between 1740

(23) Spcelstra I, pp. 204-206.

(24) Leibbrandt, p. 676.

(25) Müller G.S. pp. 106, 107.

(26) Müller G.S. p. 108.

(27) Lütjeharms, p. 107.

and 1742 most of the Reformed Synods had listed them officially as a sect. (28) No wonder that the predikants of Amsterdam were unfriendly. He could only reiterate his intentions:

Es ist mir noch niemals in den Sinn gekommen, was apartes zu machen, sondern meine Sache sei, die Hottentotten zum wahren Glauben an Jesum zu bringen, ohne ihnen was von einem Namen der Religion zu sagen. Denn man müsse mit den Heiden nach der apostolischen Weise handeln und sie mit vielen Fragen und langen Glaubensbekenntnissen verschonen. (29)

That the Brethren did not want to found a separate church, but only wished to win souls for the Saviour, is also evidenced by Zinzendorf's efforts to have Schmidt ordained a Reformed minister. Therefore, Schmidt's refusal to work under the supervision of the Cape predikants had other motives: It was caused by their negative attitude towards the conversion of Hottentots; he refused to have the work of the Saviour muzzled by people who did not believe in it. (30) The suspicions of Le Sueur that he had secret ulterior motives (31) were unfounded.

The Council of Seventeen met in September, but even among these officials, the wind had changed. There was now a fear that the growth of independent congregations of Hottentots at the Cape would be dangerous to its authority. Thus, the application was finally turned down. (32)

Meanwhile, Zinzendorf made another effort. A Reformed candidate of Theology, L. W. Weiss, who had joined the Moravians, offered to serve in South Africa and started negotiations with the Classis. He also tried to organise a Reformed branch of the Moravian movement in Holland as a basis for the mission work in the Dutch dependencies. But his efforts failed. (33)

A servant of the Company, converted by Schmidt, visited

(28) Lütjeharms, p. 163.

(29) Quoted in Müller G.S. p. 108.

(30) See p. 48.

(31) See pp. 56, 57.

(32) Müller G.S. pp. 108, 109.

(33) Müller G.S. pp. 109-111; Lütjeharms, pp. 163-165.

the Brethren two years later on his return to Europe and offered to go back, either as a free burgher or in the Company's service and to take care of the Hottentots in Baviaanskloof privately. His name was Johann Martin Schwebler. His plan succeeded. Arriving at the Cape, he found the Hottentots in Baviaanskloof. Unfortunately, we do not know what happened to him afterwards except that he died in 1755, when an epidemic of small-pox raged through the Colony. (34)

It was the last effort for a long time. The Moravians passed through a spiritual crisis from 1746 until 1750, the so-called sifting-time. Their childlike piety turned for a few years into childish playfulness and their picturesque religious language exceeded the good taste, until they returned to sobriety. (35) This, of course, brought the enmity against them to a peak. (36) The road to South Africa was now firmly shut.

Schmidt served the Brethren for a few years at various places. He married, but both his children died at an early age. Finally, he moved to the Moravian settlement of Niesky, where he earned his living as a labourer and assisted in the activities of the congregation. On 1st August 1785, he died there at the age of nearly seventy-six. According to a later report, he died during the time allotted to him for intercession, praying for his flock at the Cape. (37)

The question may be asked: Why did his effort fail? Was it because of his character? It is true that he had his peculiarities. His stubbornness and single-mindedness and his inclination to moralise and to talk much, made him a difficult man to deal with. On the other hand, these same

(34) Müller G.S. pp. 111-114. - See p. 43.

(35) Berkhof, p. 246; Bettermann, pp. 110-121.

(36) Lütjeharms, p. 185.

(37) Müller G.S. pp. 114-119, 128.

peculiarities enabled him to persist in his work for years unaided, until a congregation of Hottentots with Christian habits and a measure of civilisation had been formed under the Saviour, remaining together as long as he was in their midst and even longer; a result which the Colonists had considered impossible to achieve and to which their own manner of living compared badly.

Or did he fail because of his lack of education? (38) Admittedly, with a theological training he could have appreciated and answered the arguments of the predikants better. On the other hand, for his dealings with the Hottentots, his simple, practical approach was an advantage. In other countries, untrained Moravian missionaries laid the foundation of permanent mission work in those very days.

One reason was rather the growing enmity against the Moravians in Holland and against himself at the Cape, making it impossible for the brethren to send him assistants and causing the steps taken against him after his ordination. It paralysed his work to such a degree that he returned to Europe in an effort to remove the obstacles.

It might be said that he should have awaited the answer of the authorities in Holland and accepted their decision. But it would not have given him the freedom to do what he felt called to do, which points to the second reason for the failure: Schmidt was not prepared to sacrifice what he regarded as his vocation from the Saviour by becoming an assistant of the predikants. (39)

Fundamentally, two streams of thought collided in his case: The organised church which defended its traditional authority and the new-born, spontaneous and still unshaped missionary movement, which proclaimed the Saviour to the world under his sovereign control. (40)

(38) Thus Du Plessis, p. 59.

(39) See p. 58.

(40) Müller G.S. pp. 102, 103.

What became of the Hottentots, whom he left behind? We are informed that two of them, Christian and Josua, were still living in the Baviaanskloof in 1756, but that both of them died about that time, possibly from the small-pox epidemic mentioned above. Henceforth, the place remained uninhabited. (41) Jonas and his big family remained in the neighbourhood and Magdalena moved to the Sergeantsriver half an hour to the south. Even after 1756, she gathered the others occasionally under the pear tree in Schmidt's garden, reading from the New Testament and praying with them. (42) From later records, we learn that many of his flock taught their children to read and to pray in a simple way and continued to live in the neighbourhood, waiting for Schmidt's return. (43) Evidently, he had laid a lasting foundation. His work was not an episode but the small beginning of a new era for the indigenous population, which makes him the pioneer of mission work in South Africa.

The Colonists took no notice of them. Only wild rumours remained. In 1775 and 1776, a learned man from Europe, Andreas Sparrman, toured the country. At Tygerhoek near the Zondereind river, he was told that some time ago, the gospel was preached to the Hottentots thereabout. Some remembered an old woman, one of his converts, who used to pray near a fountain and possessed a bible, in which she would read and which she treated with great respect. The man who had converted her, had tried to make himself a chief of the Hottentots and to enrich himself by their labour and their cattle. Therefore, he was banished from the country, because the Colonists were forbidden to trade cattle from the Hottentots. (44) This is what the local farmers told about

(41) Müller G.S. p. 114.

(42) Magdalena, pp. 4, 5.

(43) See part II, chapter 2.

(44) Sparrman I, pp. 247, 248.

Schmidt thirty years after his departure, at a time when he himself still lived quietly in Niesky. It seemed as if his labours had been in vain.

II. THE RENEWAL OF THE
MISSIONARY WORK IN
BAVIAANSKLOOF / GENADENDAL.

1. The door reopens.

During the fifty years, which followed Schmidt's departure, the Colony expanded further eastward, two new districts, Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet, being added. The first clashes with the Bantu occurred along the Fish river. The Company, weakened by British competition in world trade, was unable to control and support the Colonists, who cherished ideas of independence, especially in the far eastern parts. The Church had only in Swellendam an official, and, towards the end of the period, another in Graaff-Reinet. In Cape Town, the Lutherans were granted a church and a minister of their own, which spelt the end of the old rule of Cuius regio eius religio. The slaves continued to do most of the manual work in the western parts. The impoverished Hottentots became dependents of the farmers. In the east, they were the main source of labour. (1)

The story of the renewal of the missionary work begins with an encounter. Bishop Johann Friedrich Reichel, a member of the Board of the Moravian Church, returning from a visit to India in 1787 (2), met Helperus Ritzema van Lier, one of the three predikants of Cape Town, who was an ardent supporter of missions. He had grown up in Holland, and had been ordained in Cape Town, when only twenty-two years old, in 1786. The salvation of the Hottentots and the slaves was no less important to him, than the care of his congregation.(3)

(1) Walker, pp. 76-106; Nachtigal, p. 111.

(2) 200 Jahre I, p. 183.

(3) Du Plessis, pp. 61-69; Nachtigal, p. 115.

Reichel heard from him and from other like-minded people that some of Schmidt's converts were still alive (4), preserving the New Testaments, which he had distributed. (5) Both, the young minister and the worthy bishop, agreed that a new beginning should be made.

At the Cape, Van Lier continued to work for missionary action, forming a circle of supporters, pleading for the establishment of a Dutch missionary society and for the admission of missionaries to the Colony, and urging the Moravians to re-enter the field. According to him, three enterprises were called for: One among the Hottentots in the Colony, one among the Bantu to the east, and one among the indigenous peoples to the north. (6)

Back in Europe, Reichel proposed to the Synod at Herrnhut in 1789 that a new effort on behalf of the Hottentots be made. The leaders of the Church, Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg and Reichel himself, who had both seen Zinzendorf's time, had been waiting and praying for such a renewal. The proposal was accepted, the lot approving. (7)

While the Synod was in session, the French Revolution broke out. A great change was taking place in Europe about that time: The autonomy of the human reason was established; ecclesiastical prejudice was objected to; the existence of God became a matter of doubt; the Bible was criticised. The new mode of thought influenced even the churches, where God was referred to as the Supreme Being, and the doctrine of the church was defended as reasonable and useful, and the wisdom of the Creator received more attention than the cross of Christ. During this difficult period, the Moravian Church, under the leadership of Spangenberg, became the vessel,

(4) Sketse, p. 16.

(5) Cröger III, p. 411.

(6) Du Plessis, pp. 63, 64; Sketse, pp. 17, 18.

(7) Cröger III, p. 411.

wherein the leaven of the gospel and the heritage of Pietism was conserved for the church as a whole.

Within the national churches, the Moravians maintained their Diaspora, i.e. societies of pious supporters, serviced by a Moravian minister, but retaining their membership in the established church. They took care not to have their meetings at the time of the public worship and to co-operate with the regional pastor. Spener's little churches within the church supplied the pattern. Many pastors appreciated their unselfish service. The writings of the Moravians were read in these circles, providing an antidote against modern ideas. The Idea Fidei Fratrum by Spangenberg, wherein the Christian faith is put in a simple and biblical manner, held a prominent place among them. (8)

The Moravian missions in Greenland, Labrador, North America, Suriname, the East Indies and India enjoyed the special interest and support of the faithful. The Moravians were still the only Protestant body doing mission work. It was supported by branch-societies in England and North America. Reports were given by means of various books, pamphlets and, from 1789, by a periodical in English. In this way, the Brethren acted as representatives of the whole church in carrying out the missionary command of Christ. Those who felt that they had a call to the service, offered themselves to the Unitäts-Aeltesten-Gonferenz of the Brethren. They received no special training, but their motives and spiritual condition were carefully weighed. If the lot approved, they were ordained and sent out. In 1784, Spangenberg published his Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern, welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen, which served as a guide to the missionaries for a long time. (9)

(8) Hutton, pp. 411-426.

(9) 200 Jahre I, passim.

After the Synod, the Board instructed two brethren at Zeist in Holland to approach the Council of Seventeen, Erick baron von Rantzau, the archivist of the Unity, and C.D. Rothe, the minister of Zeist. Public opinion in Holland had undergone a change. The sifting-time was past history and Zeist was regarded as the model of a pious settlement. The reports from the mission fields were read with interest. The work in the Dutch colony of Suriname spoke for itself. Thus, prejudice had changed into appreciation. (10)

Still, there was enough enmity left for friends in Holland to advise the brethren not to approach the Council of Seventeen, but to send a few messengers to the Cape as explorers. Once in the country, they could easily make contact with the Hottentots. The brethren, however, rejected the idea, and when M. Temminck, one of the directors of the Company, visited Zeist in 1791, they took the opportunity to discuss the project, and submitted an application. (11) It was granted at once, but not without conditions: They were advised not to settle on a spot, where a Christian congregation already existed. Rantzau and Rothe raised objections, but Temminck reassured them. (12) In fact, the question whether Baviaanskloof was outside or inside the congregation of Stellenbosch, caused serious difficulties later. For the time being, however, the road seemed clear, and in 1792, three brethren were called to serve in South Africa.

The year 1792 was a memorable one in more than one respect. In Holland, a society for the support of the Moravian missions was formed. (13) In England, William Carey founded the Baptist Missionary Society, the first Protestant

(10) Lütjeharms, pp. 113-116.

(11) Lütjeharms, p. 116.

(12) Du Plessis, p. 72; Nachtigal, p. 126.

(13) Lütjeharms, p. 117.

body to join the Moravians. (14) In Herrnhut, Spangenberg died after making a last appeal to the Brethren not to forget Africa. (15)

The three messengers left Herrnhut on 3rd May after their ordination. Hendrik Marsveld, forty-seven years of age, a Dutch tailor from Gouda, was the worthy leader of the group. The other two were Germans: Daniel Schwinn from Ehrbach in the Odenwald, aged forty-two, a cobbler, who had lived in Zeist for the last three years, and Christian Kühnel, aged thirty, a cutler, who had been employed in the famous cutlery of the Neissers at Herrnhut. (16) All were unmarried. Schwinn played the violin, the other two the flute. (17)

It is evident from the minutes of their conferences, from their correspondence and from their diary that they acted as one body with one voice in all matters. There must have been differences of attitude and character between them, but they cannot be deduced from the available sources, except for a few details. However, an expert analysis of their handwriting permits us to characterise their personalities.

Kühnel must have been the most versatile of the three. Sensitive and impressible, he was quick to adapt himself to circumstances, and eager to oblige people. He was a pleasant companion and enjoyed conversation. Compensating his lack of vital power by exertion and persevering industry, he was an assiduous worker. Strong ethical convictions guided him and imposed a certain strain on his otherwise amiable personality. They caused him to control himself untiringly, to overcome occasional dependency and to resist his inclination to yield to the opinion of others. All in all, he was a balanced and even-tempered element.

(14) Oehler I, p. 114.

(15) G. Schmidt 1937, p. 22.

(16) Hamilton, pp. 70, 74, 75.

(17) I, passim.

Schwinn, on the other hand, was a wilful personality with a choleric temperament. The close daily contact with the other two must not have been easy for him, because he was solitary by nature. He worked off his repressed emotions by bodily exercise or by forceful speeches, in which he urged his hearers to repent. Art and beauty moved him deeply, and he was a shrewd observer with a quaint sense of humour. He used his energy sparingly, but did his work with concentration. Although he controlled his temperament by self-discipline, his arbitrariness made him a difficult person to live with.

Marsveld had the most uncomplicated character of the three. He was of good health and enjoyed his meals. Vigorous and attached to the soil, he went his way slowly and ponderously and did his work with steadfastness and pedantry. His companions could rely on him at all times, but he was reserved and obstinate, and could make blunt remarks. He was conscious of being a bit dense and would try to cover it by an appearance of cleverness. At the bottom, he was very good-natured and had a warm and childlike heart.

Marsveld and Kühnel harmonised with one another, and Kühnel mediated between Marsveld and Schwinn. But the strong sense of duty towards the Saviour, which animated all three, overruled their differences and granted on the whole a fruitful co-operation. (18)

They arrived in Table Bay on the 21st November and went ashore two days later. (19) An adherent of the Moravians, Martinus Schmidt, and his wife received them in their home and took the three bachelors henceforth under their parental care. Van Lier was absent on sick leave but had instructed a friend to assist them. On his return, he bade them a

(18) Van Lennep.

(19) Gnadenthal I, p. 41.

hearty welcome, inviting them to his table. He had contracted consumption and his days were numbered. During his short period of office, he had done much to make the resumption of mission work possible. He knew that Schmidt's work had borne fruit, having witnessed one of Schmidt's converts dying peacefully, assured of his salvation. (20)

The brethren found also a society of pietists in Cape Town, who were inspired by Van Lier and gathered twice weekly, reading the Idea fidei fratrum and praying for the missions. They had expected the Moravians to establish a congregation among them, but the missionaries pointed out that their calling was with regard to the Hottentots. (21)

The rich owner of Groot Constantia, Hendrik Cloete, invited them one day to his farm, telling them that he had attended some of Schmidt's lessons at Baviaanskloof in 1738 as a boy. (22) Evidently, Schmidt had occasionally admitted children of Colonists in the beginning. In Cape Town, too, the Reformed predikants and the Lutheran pastor received them well. Undoubtedly, the times had changed.

On the other hand, they were told that the Colonists in the interior were opposed to the venture, their grievance being that the Company provided church and school for the Hottentots, but not for the farmers. (23) Reichel's idea had been to serve the Colonists as well (24), but the conditions imposed by the Council of Seventeen pointed against it. Still, the task of the three missionaries was much easier than Schmidt's had been: They were a group, had been ordained and Marsveld was a Dutchman.

The Government, too, was favourably disposed. It

(20) Sketse, p. 16.

(21) I, pp. 23, 25.

(22) I, p. 25; II, p. 31; Leibbrandt, p. 320.

(23) I, pp. 25, 26.

(24) Cröger III, p. 411.

included the Acting Governor, Johan Isaac Rhenius, a descendant of Schmidt's protector, Captain Robert Jacob Gordon, a Scotsman, the Fiscal, Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld, and Jacobus Johannes le Sueur (25), presumably a descendant of the former predikant, but sympathetic towards the renewal of the mission. Two Commissioners of the Company were in Cape Town at that time, investigating the precarious condition of the Colony. (26)

The Commissioners, Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh and Simon Hendrik Frykenius, were responsible for the resolutions taken by the Governing Council during 1792 and 1793, one of which was the permission granted to the three brethren to settle at Baviaanskloof in the pursuit of their mission, it being a spot where no Christian congregation already existed. A copy of the resolution was handed to them (27), but not a letter of conveyance; Rhenius explained that it was quite sufficient, besides, having no conveyance, they would not be liable to pay taxes. (28)

The representative of the Company around Baviaanskloof was Marthinus Theunissen of the old Company's Post of Zoetemelksvlei. He was a farmer, who held the office of a Sergeant in the service of the Company, having a few soldiers under his command. He supplied the Cape with cattle and controlled the Hottentots in the area, many of whom still lived there on land belonging to nobody except the Company. (29) On the occasion of one of his visits to Cape Town, the missionaries were entrusted to his care.

After their arrival in Zoetemelksvlei, he took them for an inspection of Baviaanskloof on 24th December. Passing

(25) Theal 3, p. 247.

(26) Walker, pp. 106-108.

(27) Gen.Doc. 18.12.1792.

(28) I, p. 59.

(29) I, passim.

Hartebeestkraal, they saw what was left of Schmidt's first dwelling. In the Baviaanskloof, a Hottentot took them to the ruins of his house, to the side of which they noted a few fruit- and oak-trees and, farther away, the remains of the kraals of his folk. A talk with a number of Hottentots, who had gathered, revealed that the farmers had told them of the coming of the missionaries, but had warned them against going to school; if they became literate, the Company would sell them to Batavia. Theunissen exhorted them not to be influenced by stories but to come to the missionaries, who had been sent by the Government. If they did so, the Government would protect them, if not, the missionaries would leave and the farmers would expel them. Let them remember how he had stopped the farmers from destroying them a few years ago.

He explained his last remark afterwards: Some time ago, a rumour had spread among the Hottentots that the end of the world was at hand, causing them to cease working for the farmers and to butcher their cattle. The enraged farmers had pretended that the Hottentots were about to rise against the Colonists. In reality, they had intended to make use of the opportunity by depriving them of their land and their cattle. A commando of fifty farmers had gathered but he, Theunissen, had turned them back. Since that day, the farmers called him the god of the Hottentots. The incident indicates that the authorities still protected the Hottentots in conformity with the promise given by Swellengrebel to Schmidt.

Turning to the kraals near the Sergeantsriver, the visitors found the old Lena, the last survivor of Schmidt's baptised first-fruits. Rejoicing in their long awaited arrival, she produced her New Testament, carefully wrapped in a sheepskin and a leather-bag. Her eyes had become

weak, but a young woman of about thirty (30), who had learnt reading from one of the other baptised converts, read the story of the wise men from the east aloud, and all those present promised to come to the teaching. It was a memorable Christmas Eve for the brethren. (31)

Back in the kloof after New Year, they delivered their first sermon under a pear-tree planted by Schmidt and proceeded to build a house with the aid of a Dutch mason and assisted by Hottentots. Stones from Schmidt's dwelling were found useful. A small building of 15 by 36 feet arose a few yards to the south of the ruins, containing a sleeping-room, a sitting-room and a kitchen. When they started lessons in their sitting-room on 4th March 1793, eight kraals of Hottentots had moved to the kloof and twenty-five adults attended the class. The Government had notified its officials that Hottentots, who wished to go to Baviaanskloof, must not be held back. Thus, a new and hopeful beginning had been made. (32)

(30) Magdalena Fredericks, V, pp. 131, 132.

(31) I, pp. 30-32.

(32) I, pp. 36-47.

2. A Christian congregation is gathered, 1793-1794.

The diary of the brethren, mostly written by Kühnel, shows in detail how they made themselves at home full of interest in their new environment. The country around was still uncultivated veld. Useful firewood grew near the Zondereind river. The bedding of the Baviaansriver was full of reed. Putting fire to it, the brethren narrowly saved their new dwelling. (1) Back in the kloof stood many trees, but it was impossible to bring the trunks out. (2) There were no more Bushmen in the mountains, but escaped slaves made an occasional appearance. One day, the brethren visited the farms across the mountains and enjoyed the beautiful view from the ridge. (3) The Zondereind being still unbridged, crossing was dangerous and sometimes impossible. (4) The veld abounded with game, bontebuck, ostriches, elands and quagga. At night, leopards broke into the cattle-kraals. One day, a group of elands ran past the dwelling chased by two Hottentots on horseback. One of the animals stuck in a swamp and was captured. (5)

The Hottentots lived in the same manner as they had done fifty years earlier, but had become poorer, having lost much of their cattle. (6) Many wore only a small apron and the kaross and carried a little bag containing pipe, tobacco and flint. The women, wearing chains of beads around their neck, carried their babies on their backs underneath the kaross. (7) Some, having received clothing from the farmers, dressed in the European manner. (8) Most of them still lived in movable, unfurnished, round huts made of poles and skins,⁽⁹⁾ wherein they slept between sheepskins with the tobacco-bag

(1) I, pp. 231, 232.

(2) I, pp. 69, 70.

(3) II, p. 52.

(4) II, p. 38.

(5) I, pp. 127, 128.

(6) I, p. 38.

(7) I, pp. 39, 101.

(8) I, p. 74.

(9) I, p. 51.

as a pillow. (10) The karosses were breeding-places for fleas and lice. (11) Wild almonds, Hottentot-figs and sweet roots from the veld served as food. (12) A grove of wild peaches a few hours from Baviaanskloof, where the farmers collected wagon-loads of fruit, provided ample provisions of peaches in summer. (13) The Hottentots were at home in the veld and excellent path-finders. (14) When they had shot a buck or slaughtered a sheep or an ox, all would enjoy the meat together. They ate at once whatever they collected, not caring for the future. When the brethren came to the explanation of Matthew 6: Take no thought of the morrow, they decided to pass it over, as being an inappropriate reminder.⁽¹⁵⁾ At the same time, they were very open-handed, sharing everything with one another. Thus, Old Lena went from kraal to kraal living on charity. (16) They kept bringing small presents, mostly food, to the brethren and, on the other hand, begged bread from them, whenever they suffered want.⁽¹⁷⁾ They were a kind-hearted people, taking a pleasure in conversation but not in hard work, and very honest. They would not steal the least thing from the brethren but return to them, whatever had been lost. (18)

When one of them died, a solemn funeral was held. After all present had given the deceased a last kiss, the body was wrapped into a sheepskin and carried to the grave, where it was placed into a little chamber at the side of the bottom and shielded with branches. The mound was covered with stones as a protection against the wild animals and creepers were planted thereon. Finally, the head of the family thanked all present, inviting them to the kraal,

(10) I, p. 183.

(11) II, p. 263.

(12) I, pp. 49, 121; II, p. 65.

(13) II, p. 13.

(14) I, p. 106.

(15) I, p. 287.

(16) I, p. 94.

(17) I, p. 266.

(18) I, p. 53.

where an ox had been slaughtered and drinking and dancing kept them together, sometimes for three days. (19) They were fond of dancing to the accompaniment of a kind of drum or a simple guitar. (20)

In case of illness, they used herbs, of which some of them had special knowledge. (21) Certain men had immunised themselves against snake-bite, taking small doses of the poison over a period. People believed that they had an antidote in their bodies, which could save others and of which even the snakes were afraid. (22) From certain slaves, who enjoyed the reputation of witchdoctors, they obtained charms against illness, but had to make annual payments in order to prevent the reoccurrence of the disease. (23) One of them believed that he had contracted his ailment by walking over a spot, where a charm was hidden. (24) Another one, who had lived near the Bantu homelands, told the brethren of his former idols, namely two rocks, one representing a man and one a woman. Whenever he went hunting, he would ask them to plead with the great heavenly father on his behalf. If the hunting had been unsuccessful, he would beat the male rock with a stick, which sometimes made a ringing sound, indicating that he would be luckier next time. (25) They also believed in dreams and kept telling them to the brethren. (26)

East of Baviaanskloof dwelled the Hottentot-Captain Stoffel Cookson, defending the property rights to his inherited kraal against the encroachment of the farmers.

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- (19) I, pp. 48, 49, 124, 125.
(20) I, pp. 98, 125.
(21) I, pp. 232, 233; II, p. 159.
(22) IV, 24.11.1800.
(23) I, p. 331.
(24) I, pp. 330, 331.
(25) IV, 28.5.1802.
(26) I, pp. 195, 237.

Georg Schmidt was still being remembered in his family. (27)

To the west, in Voorstekraal, lived two Bastards, their fathers being Europeans, their mothers Hottentots. They had proper houses, much cattle and arable land, but were illiterate and unbaptised. They held a prominent place among the Hottentots, assisting them in various ways. (28)

Other Bastards came to live in Baviaanskloof, one of whom was a woman who had lived with a slave. (29) Kühnel wrote:

Was dieses bedrift betrifft, kan wohl in keinen Land, mehr vermengt sein als hir. Wen man fragt, wer Ihr Mann ist, Ant Antwort: das Kind ist von den u und den Christen mensch, dieses von einen Slaven, dieses von den, dieses von den u den Hott: Hottentot oder Paster Bastard, mange haben vühl Kinder, u keinen Mann, den denn, wen Sie auch einen haben, so bald eins den andern nicht gefelt gefällt, so verlassen Sie einander u sugen suchen sich wieder ander. Was sollen wir sagen, Gott muss helfen... (30)

The news of the arrival of the brethren spread quickly and the rush to Baviaanskloof exceeded all expectations. People came from the neighbourhood, from the Breede river, (31) from the Slang river east of Swellendam (32) and even from the district of Graaf-Reinet. (33) Individuals, families and whole groups, arriving with their cattle, set up their kraals in the kloof. At the end of March 1793, forty-one adults attended the devotional gatherings, (34) on Christmas 100 adults, (35) and eight months later an average of 200

(27) IV, 25.7.1803, 19.1.1804.

(28) I, pp. 83, 105, 121, 215, 239.

(29) I, pp. 71, 111, 114, 115.

(30) I, p. 115. In order to render the text of the oldest diaries more intelligible, I have occasionally altered the punctuation, the respective use of capitals and small letters, and the connection or disconnection of compound words. The spelling and the abbreviations have not been altered, and occasional explanations have been added in brackets.

(31) I, pp. 274, 275.

(32) I, p. 199.

(33) II, p. 93.

(34) I, p. 61.

(35) I, p. 165.

gathered for the regular singing-service (36), although many of the men were absent on military service at that time and the farmers did their utmost to hold them back.

Many of those, who moved to the brethren, cherished the memory of Georg Schmidt, in the first place Old Lena with her grand-daughter (37), and the descendants of his other converts: A grand-child of Christian (38) and four daughters, two sons and two grand-children of Jonas. (39) Others were probably children of unbaptised Hottentots listed by Schmidt. (40) Others, who told the brethren that they remembered Schmidt or had heard of him from their parents, cannot be traced in his diary. (41) Some remembered the names of his horse and his two dogs (42) and pointed out the water-course which he had made. (43) One had lived as a child on the same spot, where Old Lena spent her last days and where the memorial for the first-fruits stands to-day (44), which proves that some of his folk had in fact lived there. Lena remembered that she had cooked for him and had been baptised in the Baviaans river, fifty trees from his dwelling, where the remains of his oven still stood, and that he had promised to send other brethren. (45) They had been waiting for them to arrive, staying in the neighbourhood, reading their New Testaments and teaching

(36) I, p. 285.

(37) Beata Linnert, V, p. 99.

(38) Christian Fredericks, V, p. 143.

(39) Anna Maria Mauritz, V, pp. 128, 129. Magdalena Fredericks, V, pp. 131, 132. Eva Witbooi and Rachel Pitt, I, p. 102; VII, p. 35. Hans and Simon Jonas, VI, pp. 137, 189. Petrus Mauritz and David Jonas, V, pp. 143, 144; V, pp. 216, 217.

(40) Daniel and Sara Koopman, V, p. 133; VI, pp. 251, 252. Saul Stompjes, XI, p. 156. Carl Stompjes, Sketse, p. 100. Lena Stompjes, IV, 17.8.1802. - G.S.Di. p. 250.

(41) Josef Valentyn, VI, p. 126. Maria Magdalena Kleff, VIII, pp. 61, 62. Christiane Waalie, XI, p. 180. Magdalena Kleinbooi, IV, 19.1.1804.

(42) V, p. 333.

(43) I, p. 55.

(44) IV, 17.8.1802; Sketse, pp. 21, 22.

(45) I, pp. 38, 92, 126.

their children to read and to pray. (46) Most of these facts emerged only at a later stage, when the brethren made special efforts to trace his memory. A few years earlier, somebody had told them that three teachers would come (47) and one of them had dreamt about it, (48) perhaps as a result of Reichel's visit. Now, they marvelled at the fulfilment of the prophecy. Surely, it was high time; the faith, which Schmidt had sown, was in danger of being distorted. A young woman, for instance, read by preference in the Revelation of St. John, dreaming about it and confusing the others. The brethren advised her to read rather in the Gospels. (49) In any case, Old Lena was not the only surviving fruit of Schmidt's work. On the contrary, a whole group of people had been deeply and permanently influenced by his teaching, abiding in it unaided over a period of fifty years.

The sitting-room being too small for the number of pupils, the brethren divided the day-school into three classes, one early in the morning for the men, one in the forenoon for the children and one in the afternoon for the women. Every evening, biblical texts were explained to the adults. (50) The brethren were surprised at the zeal of the people for learning, because Schmidt had complained time and again about negligent attendance. (51) Old Lena was one of the first to come to school, encouraging even the old people to join her (52), until the brethren pointed out that

(46) Le. drafts I, 28.2.1898; V, pp. 99, 128, 129, 131-133, 143, 144; VI, pp. 251, 252; VIII, pp. 61, 62; XI, pp. 156, 180.

(47) I, p. 126.

(48) I, p. 97.

(49) I, p. 172.

(50) I, p. 65.

(51) I, p. 174.

(52) I, p. 51.

the Saviour would not reject people on the grounds of illiteracy. (53) The discipline of the children was also much better than in Schmidt's time. None of them would leave the class-room without permission. (54) The parents pleaded with the brethren to punish unruly children, promising to do likewise at home. (55) After the close of the school, numbers of children would stay behind, eager to repeat the lessons. (56) Temporary exclusion from the instruction was the most severe punishment for all. (57) In the evenings, the adults would listen with great attention to the exposition of the Scripture. (58) Singing held a prominent place. The brethren started at once to teach the children a few hymns. They were so fond of music that certain evenings of the week had to be set aside for this purpose. (59) After a few months, they knew twenty-two verses and ten melodies. (60) The adults joined in. News of the beautiful singing of the Hottentots spread, attracting visitors from as far as Cape Town. After the singing-service, everyone wanted to shake hands with the brethren, until they abolished the practice. (61) Even at the kraals, people could be heard singing hymns till late at night. (62)

Towards the end of the second year, the attendance of each class was about seventy. Lessons were held under Schmidt's pear-tree, when the weather was favourable. On rainy days, the pupils crowded into the sitting-room and the kitchen. Two helpers were appointed, a girl for the children's class and a woman for the women's class. (63) Sunday services were also held under the pear-tree, if

(53) I, p. 87.
(54) I, p. 68.
(55) I, p. 160.
(56) I, p. 84.
(57) I, p. 306.
(58) I, p. 61.
(59) I, p. 97.
(60) I, p. 148.
(61) II, p. 68.
(62) I, p. 278.
(63) I, p. 285.

possible. (64) Weather forbidding, as many as possible sat on benches made by Schwinn, in the dwelling, the rest outside.

It was a time of spiritual commotion for the new settlement. Kühnel wrote about it in 1793:

Was die täglichen Versammlung bedrift [betrifft], so missen wir sagen, das der Geist Gottes kräftig in den Herzen geschäftigt ist, Jesu Marter u Tod zu verklären. Das Gefühl, u die vühlen Thränen, giebt Zeigniss davon. Den es ligt Ihnen wie sich verschiedene erklärt haben, von Herzen an, seelig zu werden. (65)

And in 1794:

Es ist seid Kurzen eine besonder Bewähgung [Bewegung] unter den Menschen. Sie kommen von ferne, unser Haus will Sie in der Woche oft nicht fassen, u meist lauter Weuber. Die Männer sind auf der Caap. Es vergeth kein Tag, das nicht welge kommen, u Ihr Verlangen ums Selig werden sagen. (66)

Time and again, they came to tell the brethren how sad they were that the Saviour had suffered so much for the sins of men. (67) Even the children were affected by the general commotion. (68)

Under such circumstances, the brethren considered the first baptisms at an early date in their regular conferences. They submitted the names of two women for the preparatory instruction to the lot on 20th April 1793 (69), but only on 1st June, one of them was approved (70) and shortly afterwards, another five. (71) To their surprise, four daughters of Jonas were found to be among them. (72) Instruction was given twice weekly, and, on 19th July, Hanna Mauritz, one of the four, was baptised, the lot approving. She received

(64) I, pp. 118, 119, 164.

(65) I, pp. 92, 93 (slightly amended; see p. 76.)

(66) I, p. 175 (slightly amended; see p. 76.)

(67) I, p. 271.

(68) I, p. 156.

(69) Mi.ko. 20.4.1793.

(70) Mi.ko. 1.6.1793.

(71) Mi.ko. 14.6.1793, 6.7.1793.

(72) I, p. 102.

her new name, Anna Maria, from Mrs. Theunissen, who consented to be her godmother. Her husband, Jakob, who served in the Pandour-Corps, arrived unexpectedly on furlough to take part in the proceedings. (73) Three more were baptised on 13th August, while Schmidt's almond-tree was covered with flowers. Among them was Sara Pfeiffer, a former servant of Mrs. Theunissen (74), and her daughter Martha, who had been a servant of Van Lier before the arrival of the brethren and had lived with a Colonist, until she left him in order to come to Baviaanskloof. (75) In accord with her name, she was a good worker and used to cook for the brethren. On the same memorable thirteenth August, the brethren held a first love-feast with the baptised members including Lena. (76) It is a Moravian custom: With reference to Jude verse 12, the congregation joins in a simple but solemn meal; tea and buns are served under the singing of hymns.

The new members were instructed to call the missionaries brothers (77) and regular special meetings were held for them, in which the Idea Fidei Fratrum and a book about the Moravian Mission in Greenland were read. (78) In accordance with the general Moravian practice, they were summoned to the so-called speaking every month, during which each one was asked separately about her relation to the Saviour. The brethren decided that two of them should always be present at these talks, the members being females. (79) One by one, they were admitted to the confirmation-class, as indicated by the lot, and, on 8th March 1794, the first one was confirmed and admitted to the Lord's Supper. (80) The

(73) I, pp. 100-102.
(74) I, p. 128.
(75) I, p. 154.
(76) I, p. 114.
(77) I, p. 119.
(78) I, pp. 147, 297.
(79) I, p. 122.
(80) I, p. 194.

congregation consisted of four communicants, six confirmands, nine baptised members and seventeen candidates for baptism at the end of 1794 (81), and one year later, the numbers had doubled. (82) Thus, the brethren refrained from christianising the residents on a large scale, selecting them individually after careful consideration and submitting each promotion to the lot. In this way, the Saviour Himself gathered his people, who in turn considered it a great privilege to be promoted. They would come spontaneously to the brethren to express their gratitude and in 1794, wrote to the Gemeine in Herrnhut in the same terms. (83)

The inhabitants in general were eager to change their habits. Dancing ceased in Baviaanskloof, although the brethren had not expressly forbidden it. (84) Instead, people would sing hymns on social occasions. The candidates for baptism removed their beads and pearls as attributes of vanity. (85) One of the members ceased smoking, feeling that it might grieve the Saviour. (86) A herb-doctor wanted to know whether his profession was sinful; he was advised that God had given the herbs; if applied with prayer, they were a blessing. (87) The people paid less attention to their dreams, because the brethren had warned them against it. (88) A woman enquired whether she would grieve the Saviour, if she married another inhabitant. The brethren explained that there was no harm in it, if they lived honourably and peacefully together. (89) Several women severed their ties to a Colonist or a slave in order to live in Baviaanskloof. (90)

(81) I, p. 337.

(82) II, p. 170.

(83) I, pp. 247-253.

(84) I, pp. 63, 98.

(85) I, p. 101.

(86) I, p. 228.

(87) I, p. 233.

(88) I, p. 300.

(89) I, p. 300.

(90) I, pp. 136, 204, 299.

The inhabitants changed their manner of dressing. They would come to church, not in their karosses, but dressed in the European manner. (91) Most of the baptised sisters had obtained white garments from the farms, where they had been working. (92) The men built proper houses and made gardens, and the place gradually changed into a little village. (93) And when one of the baptised members died, a solemn Christian funeral was held. (94)

A strict discipline was applied to the members. They were expected to desist even from those habits, which were not expressly forbidden to the inhabitants in general, because they had denounced the old life. A sister, who had danced a bit by herself in the veld, was excluded from the meetings of her class, until she repented and asked forgiveness. (95) Another sister, Martha, had gone to the shore with Marthinus Theunissen, who had bought a wrecked slave-ship by auction. There she had become drunk and had boasted that she was at least an equal of the Colonists because of her baptism. She, too, was excluded. (96) Others came under discipline for drunkenness, dancing or immorality on the farms. The exclusion from the lessons and the meetings had always the desired result. (97)

The daily work kept the three brethren busy from early morning through the hot hours at noon until late in the evening. After nine o'clock, Kühnel wrote his diary. (98) It covers three-hundred pages for the first two years. The Hottentots came forward to do voluntary labour, whenever the common interest demanded it. (99) For their own living,

(91) I, p. 112.

(92) II, p. 74.

(93) II, p. 113.

(94) II, p. 129.

(95) I, pp. 242, 243.

(96) I, pp. 228, 229, 262.

(97) I, pp. 302-304.

(98) I, p. 168.

(99) I, p. 109.

the brethren did the work themselves or paid wages, making great efforts to avoid expenses for the Mission. Schmidt's water-course and the dam were repaired.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ A quince-hedge was planted around the garden in order to keep the cattle out.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The Bastards of Voorstekraal ploughed a cornfield on their behalf on the other side of the Zondereind.⁽¹⁰²⁾ A two-wheel cart⁽¹⁰³⁾, small live-stock and a few cows were bought.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Lacking experience, they suffered many losses. Of a hundred goats, only thirty-six were left in 1795.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Nevertheless, they tried new avenues. Linseed, presented by the wife of Captain R.J. Gordon, came up nicely to the astonishment of the neighbours.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Rice and cotton followed.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ But none of these experiments seem to have been successful. A loft was built on the residence⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and a small out-building, which served as a class-room for the men.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ A deep water-hole was dug and surrounded by a circle of stones.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Being extremely busy, they found the many visitors rather a nuisance. Whenever strangers arrived, they had to stop working and to treat them at least with a glass of wine or a cup of coffee.⁽¹¹¹⁾ One day, Mrs. Theunissen brought a party of eight people.⁽¹¹²⁾ Another day, Kühnel was alone at the station, when the widow Morkel from Hottentots-Holland arrived with six guests. He closed the school, refusing to reopen it or to conduct an ad hoc service for their benefit,

(100) I, p. 81.
(101) I, p. 107.
(102) I, pp. 95, 121.
(103) I, p. 89.
(104) I, pp. 135, 144, 145, 261.
(105) II, p. 70.
(106) I, pp. 184, 185.
(107) II, p. 134.
(108) I, p. 144.
(109) I, pp. 157, 182.
(110) II, p. 33.
(111) I, p. 171.
(112) I, p. 127.

because, in his opinion, they had only come out of curiosity. The visitors left after a few hours. (113) The difficulty was, of course, that Baviaanskloof had become a place of public interest, and the brethren were bachelors and had not the funds to treat their guests.

However, not all the visitors came out of curiosity. Some took a sincere interest or longed for spiritual food. Neighbouring farmers attended the worship nearly every Sunday. (114) One of them, the Field-Cornet Andreas Otto, who lived three hours to the south of Baviaanskloof, became a steadfast friend of the brethren. (115) Many Colonists attended on festival days, because there was no other church far and wide. One Sunday, the sister of J.J. le Sueur and his two daughters, who belonged to the society of mission-friends in Cape Town, attended and were afterwards full of praise. (116) Martinus Schmidt visited them with his wife for a few days. One night, he went to the kraals of the Hottentots to hear them singing and rejoiced in the blessing bestowed on the work. (117)

Among their friends was the Company's caretaker at the Warm Bath, J.B. Negrini. He was the son of a pastor in Saxony and knew the Moravians well. He had been forced into the service of the Company as a student and sent to the Cape. His wife was a Bastard. The brethren were reluctant to yield to his request for the baptism of his family; they thought it might be interpreted as an interference with the rights of the national Church, Negrini being an employee of the Company. (118)

The Government was sympathetic towards the new venture. It had an interest in supporting and protecting the Hottentots,

(113) I, p. 222.

(114) I, p. 183.

(115) I, p. 154.

(116) I, p. 301.

(117) I, pp. 277, 278.

(118) I, pp. 76, 165, 220, 224; II, p. 96.

because they were needed as soldiers. The Bantu threatened the eastern frontiers, the Colonists talked of sedition and shortly after the arrival of the brethren, France declared war on Holland. (119) An attack by a French fleet could be expected at any time. The two Commissioners set up the Pandour-Corps in order to strengthen the defences. Theunissen sent a Hottentot-Captain to call up the men of Baviaanskloof. All joined except a cripple; they all knew how to handle a gun, although they were forbidden to own one. (120) The Commissioners left on 2nd September 1793, after handing the Government over to Abraham Josias Sluysken, an able official of the Company, instructing him, among other things, to protect the indigenous population. But his power to keep peace and order in the interior was very limited. (121)

The women and children, left in Baviaanskloof, suffered want. The Bastards of Voorstekraal sowed wheat for their benefit on Government's order. (122) Still, the distress being great, Schwinn approached the Governor, who granted seventy-five thaler for food. Visiting the military camp on this occasion, Schwinn was well received by Gordon, who was a fervent supporter of the Prince of Orange like the other high officials of the Company and regarded the French revolution as a rebellion against God and the divinely instituted authorities. (123)

The brethren shared his opinion, the more because two of the Moravian settlements overseas, Zeist in Holland and Neuwied on the Rhine, were threatened by French troops. (124) On the other hand, many farmers sympathised with Revolutionary France.

(119) Theal 3, p. 234.

(120) I, p. 73.

(121) Theal 3, p. 235; V.R. III, p. 116.

(122) I, p. 121.

(123) I, pp. 117, 131-135.

(124) I, pp. 146, 311, 313; II, p. 8.

On top of it, an epidemic of gall-fever befell the settlement in January 1794, from which twenty-two people died in one week alone. The medicine-chest of the brethren proved useless, because they did not know how to use it. Marsveld and Kühnel fell ill, too, but recovered. After four months, the epidemic subsided. (125)

(125) I, pp. 188, 189, 196, 223.

3. Trouble with church officials and neighbours.

What was the attitude of the Church at the Cape towards the new beginning? The efforts of Van Lier and others had borne fruit. The prejudice against mission work had been replaced by appreciation. Van Lier died as early as 1793. When Marsveld visited him at his home near the brewery on 20th March, he could only shake his hand for the last time. On the following day, Marsveld heard the news that he had died. (1)

The Reformed predikants in Cape Town and, more especially, the Lutheran pastor, A.L. Kolver, were sympathetic. The Catechist, J.J. van Zulch, took care of the Hottentots from Baviaanskloof at the military camp, distributing catechisms and visiting them once a week. (2) The Catechist of Swellendam made their acquaintance, too. (3)

An outstanding supporter of missions was Michael Christiaan Vos at Roodezand. Born at the Cape, he had, even in his youth, resolved to serve the Lord among Christians and heathen, including the slaves. After absolving his studies in Holland, he returned in 1794, bringing letters for Marsveld and interested in Baviaanskloof. (4) That same year, Marsveld paid a visit to Roodezand. Vos received him kindly, taking him to his Bible lessons for the slaves and enquiring about the work of the brethren. But the different standard of education and differences between the Reformed and the Moravian forms of spiritual expression caused Marsveld to feel less intimate than he had wished. The long prayers of Vos and the emphasis on the doctrine were foreign to him. (5) Still, a lasting bond of fellowship was established.

(1) I, p. 60.

(2) I, p. 102; Nachtigal, p. 122.

(3) I, p. 67.

(4) Nachtigal, pp. 107-110; Du Plessis, pp. 67, 68; I, pp. 200, 203.

(5) I, pp. 322, 323.

Difficulties arose, however, from the side of the Predikant and the Church-Council of Stellenbosch. The Reverend Meent Borchers enquired as early as September 1793, under which conditions the brethren had been admitted to the country. (6) At the same time, it became known that a church-bell had been hung up at Baviaanskloof. In the beginning, the Hottentots had been called together by means of a piece of metal, adapted for the purpose by Kühnel. (7) But after some months, Theunissen bought a proper farm-bell in Hottentots-Holland by auction, friends in Cape Town paid for it and the brethren hung it between two poles, fourteen feet high. (8) It gave offence at once. It was said that the brethren had no right to ring a church-bell without the permission from the Government; even the Lutherans were not permitted to do so. (9) A sympathetic member of the Government, who visited Baviaanskloof, intimated that the Predikant of Stellenbosch had raised objections (10) and, two weeks later, sent them word that the bell may not be rung, because there were many complaints; it was even said, he wrote, that the ringing could be heard in Stellenbosch. (11) Thus, the brethren put the bell away in the hope for better times.

The Church-Council of Stellenbosch took the next step shortly afterwards by requesting the Governing Council to remove the Moravians from its parish and to send them to a place where no Christian congregation existed. Two members, the elder J. Groenewald and the deacon J.N. Desch, took exception for the following reasons: The two Commissioners and the Governing Council themselves had directed the brethren to Baviaanskloof; they were peaceful people,

(6) Spoelstra II, p. 410.

(7) I, p. 68.

(8) I, pp. 139-141.

(9) I, p. 155.

(10) I, p. 159.

(11) I, p. 181.

limiting their efforts to the Hottentots; if they had to move to a district, where no Christian congregation existed, they would have to go to the Bantu outside the Colony. However, the majority carried the resolution. It was rejected by Sluysken, who advised the members to be tolerant. (12)

But he put the brethren under some restraint as well. When Schwinn paid him a visit, he told him that he would abide by the decision of the Commissioners, until they returned from Batavia, although Baviaanskloof was in fact within the boundaries of a Christian congregation. But he could not permit them to build larger accommodation, because it would be said at once: They are building a church contrary to the conditions imposed by the Council of Seventeen. When Schwinn, on the advice of Rhenius, asked permission to erect at least a wattle-and-daub-structure, even that was refused. (13) Therefore, the brethren remained insecure of their tenure for the duration of the rule of the Company, gathering the Hottentots in the open air or crowding them into their sitting-room.

Du Plessis states that we do not know why Sluysken prohibited the erection of a church-building. (14) However, his interview with Schwinn, recorded in the diary, makes it clear that he did so because of the objections from the church authorities in Stellenbosch, deferring the final decision about the fate of Baviaanskloof until the return of the Commissioners. When Vos, on his arrival from Holland, pleaded with him to support the brethren, he replied:

If I had acted according to the desire of those who are persecuting them, I would long ago have sent those men out of the country, though they harm no one, but set others a good example. (15)

(12) Spoelstra II, pp. 410, 411; I, pp. 205, 243.

(13) I, pp. 292, 293.

(14) Du Plessis, p. 74.

(15) Quoted in Du Plessis, p. 76.

The objections of the church officials were not directed against mission work as such. On the contrary, there was a revival of missionary concern in the Reformed Church. The religious instruction for slaves, given by Vos, has already been mentioned. The efforts of Van Lier in Cape Town bore fruit, too, although on a small scale: In 1791, 324 Christian children, six slave-children and eight adults were baptised in Cape Town (16), and a few slaves in Stellenbosch as well. (17) It was emphasised that baptised slaves must not necessarily gain their freedom, as had been the case in earlier times. (18) Within these limits, the Church made efforts to christianise slaves and Hottentots and objected against the intrusion of outside bodies.

Most of the opposition against the work in Baviaanskloof came, however, from neighbouring farmers. They were much poorer than those to the north of Cape Town. Some of them were employees of the leaseholders, who lived in Cape Town. Only a few could afford numbers of slaves and a tutor for their children. (19) Farming and hunting occupied their interest. Marsveld wrote about it:

...meenigmaal weeten de boere niets te
Prate als van osse Bontebokke en hartebeeste
want sij leere niets.. (20)

Their connection with the Church was loose. A young Colonist, who visited Baviaanskloof, not knowing that it was the day of Pentecost, explained that many of them could not read and write nor knew anything about church festivals. His father, a German, had been in the country for more than thirty years. (21) They were in general very hospitable. The brethren felt that they were very friendly in their presence, but slandered behind their back (22), which is

(16) Spoelstra I, p. 576.

(17) Du Flessis, p. 65.

(18) Du Flessis, pp. 32, 65.

(19) I, pp. 236, 237.

(20) I, p. 207.

(21) I, p. 230.

(22) I, p. 77.

an understandable behaviour among men, who were forced to evade regulations in order to make a living, because the Company treated them as stepchildren and regarded the interior of the country mainly as a source of meat supply. One day, a German passed Baviaanskloof, driving thousands of sheep to the Cape with the aid of Hottentots and slaves. He was periodically on his way to and fro bringing slaughter-stock to the harbour. (23) The farther the Colonists lived from Cape Town, the more primitive were their lives. Mixed marriages occurred. The brethren mention a Jew, whose former wife had been the slave of a predikant, (24) a farmer, who attended the Sunday-service with his Hottentot wife, (25) and another one, who lived in the same manner. (26) Their lives being very monotonous, the farmers enjoyed occasions for social gatherings. One day, Kühnel visited an auction on a farm, to which people had come as far as two or three days' journey. The guests, dressed not like peasants in Europe but like gentlemen and ladies, were regally entertained. Some of them beseeched him to admit their children to the school in Baviaanskloof against adequate remuneration and were very disappointed about his refusal. (27)

The farm labour around Baviaanskloof was mostly done by Hottentots, which was less expensive. Slaves had to be maintained throughout the year, but Hottentots could be hired for limited periods. (28) They were still regarded as an independent nation, free from the jurisdiction and the taxation of the Company, but were, in fact, dependents of the farmers. Some still wandered about, doing occasional work, while others lived permanently on the farms of their masters. (29) The land passed more and more into the

(23) II, p. 65.

(24) I, p. 203.

(25) II, p. 23.

(26) II, p. 64.

(27) I, pp. 149-151.

(28) I, p. 41.

(29) Walker, pp. 128, 129.

possession of the Colonists. When new farms were given out, existing rights of Hottentots were generally disregarded.⁽³⁰⁾ The treatment, which they received, was the worst in the remote parts of the Colony. One day, a Hottentot captain passed through Baviaanskloof on his way back from Cape Town, where he had complained about the treatment of his people in the District of Graaf-Reinet. He had been given a letter from the Governor, addressed to the Landdrost, but did not expect it to help much.⁽³¹⁾

The farmers, intent upon preserving their hold on the Hottentots, tried in various ways to keep them from moving to Baviaanskloof. One, for instance, kept the baby of a woman back in order to enforce her return. The brethren sent her with a note to Theunissen, who caused the release of the child.⁽³²⁾ Another woman reported that her master had threatened to fetch her back, if she went to Baviaanskloof. The brethren relieved her: He had no right to do so.⁽³³⁾ A young girl, meeting her former master on a farm, was taken back by force. The brethren sent her mother with a note to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, who gave her another note to the Field-Cornet. The farmer refused to return the girl and the Field-Cornet sent her again to Stellenbosch. But the Landdrost, having left for a visit to the interior, the mother made the long journey for the second time in vain.⁽³⁴⁾ One day, two farmers from Tygerhoek came to fetch two young girls back, who had escaped. One of the girls had a slave as father and a Hottentot as mother. According to former regulations, such children were apprenticed to the farmers until their twenty-fifth year. The brethren refused to let her be taken, because the regulation was no longer

(30) Theal 3, p. 117.

(31) I, pp. 66, 67.

(32) I, pp. 53, 54.

(33) I, p. 53.

(34) I, pp. 140, 145, 146.

valid, and Theunissen declared that no farmer had the right to fetch Hottentots out of their kraals by force.⁽³⁵⁾ But the power of the authorities did not reach far. A certain Hottentot, whose period of contract had expired, left his master's farm with his cattle, but the farmer forced him back, to which Kühnel commented:

So leben die Bauern mit den armen Hott:
Diejenigen die auch noch ein paar Stücks in
Vüh haben, wen Sie von den Bauern fort wollen,
so missen Sie fort laufen, u Ihr Vüh u Lohn
lassen fahren wen Sie nicht wollen noch einen
Pack Schläge darzu haben, welges schon mehr dan
eines vorgekommen ist, da Sie nach Ihren Lohn
fragten, an stadt Lohn, den Buckel voll Schläge
bekamen, u ein Hott: darf nicht gegen einen
Christenmenschen sprechen. (36)

Still, many succeeded in coming to Baviaanskloof. A Hottentot, whose master urged him to remain on his farm beyond the period of his contract, retorted that the farmer would then have to answer for his soul, whereupon he let him go. (37)

A woman, whose master offered to teach her reading, if she remained, refused, saying that he could have done so long ago; now, however, she wanted to be taught in Baviaanskloof.⁽³⁸⁾

The inhabitants continued to work at times on the farms. The neighbours came to hire labourers for the season every summer. They received food and, four times a day, wine.⁽³⁹⁾ The wages of the men were three to four shillings and of the women one shilling a day.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Being heavily indebted to the farmers, they received no cash.

Als die Ernte all ist, u Sie fort wollen,
da sagt der Bauer nun sind wir fertig, nun
kommt u drinckt, (wovon Sie durchgenig grosse
Liebhaber sein) u gibt Ihn so vühl Wein, u
Brandewein, als Sie wollen, als Sie bedruncken
sein, den mitet Er Sie wieder auf das künftige
Jahr, das versprechen Sie Ihn, weil Sie druncken
sein, die komte [kommende] Ernte wieder zu helfen,

(35) I, pp. 192, 193.

(36) I, pp. 283, 284 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(37) II, p. 32.

(38) I, p. 318.

(39) I, p. 162.

(40) I, pp. 157, 283.

u auf diese Loss, gibt Ihn der Bauer Wein,
u Brandewein, auf Borg. Als Sie nüchtern
sein, gereut es gar Vühle, Sie habens aber
versprochen, da missen Sie es auch halten. (41)

The son of a baptised member had been hired by a neighbour as a cattle-herd. The cattle having damaged the wheat crop, he had to serve for another year. Again, one of the horses having died, the period was extended for a third year. In this way, Kühnel commented, they could be kept in service for ever. (42) The brethren did not like them to go to the farms because of the temptation to drunkenness and immorality connected with the farm work. (43)

The opposition of the farmers against Baviaanskloof was considerable. Theunissen told the brethren at once that they had few friends in these parts. (44) One day, Kühnel and Schwinn met a number of Colonists on a farm, who told them that they were against the Hottentots being taught reading and writing, without explaining why. According to Kühnel, the reason was their fear that they would find it more difficult to victimise literate people. (45) Likewise, Sluysken suggested in a talk with Marsveld, that they were afraid that the Hottentots would find out their tricks. (46) On another occasion, a Colonist explained that the farmers themselves had no educational facilities for themselves. (47) A third argument was offered by a woman in Baviaanskloof: The farmers were against the brethren, because they dissuaded the Hottentots from drinking, dancing and immorality. (48) Finally, there were still traces of ecclesiastical prejudice against the Moravians. (49) Thus, the enmity of the neighbours

(41) I, pp. 157, 158 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(42) II, pp. 39, 40.

(43) I, pp. 161, 162.

(44) I, p. 41.

(45) I, p. 77.

(46) II, p. 10.

(47) I, p. 225.

(48) I, p. 281.

(49) I, p. 226.

had a variety of reasons.

The brethren were at pains to act correctly and justly without neglecting compassion. Evildoers were handed over to the authorities.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The settlement was no place for blackguards.⁽⁵¹⁾ Doubtful cases were referred to the Government. The assertion of Du Flessis that Baviaanskloof became in fact a place of refuge for many thieves and even murderers⁽⁵²⁾, is at least an exaggeration. Only one man was one day found to have killed a Bastard on a farm. He had done so on the instruction of his master.⁽⁵³⁾

A serious problem, however, was that the brethren had no security of tenure and no fixed boundaries. This, in connection with the rush of people to Baviaanskloof and the enmity of the farmers, led to incessant difficulties from the beginning.

A rumour of conspiracy amongst the Hottentots went through the country in September 1793. It was said that a French attack on the Colony would be the sign for them to massacre all Europeans. There was only a small, if any, grain of truth in it, but the farmers were nervous. A Hottentot captain, Kees by name, who had his kraal in the neighbourhood of Baviaanskloof⁽⁵⁴⁾, was arrested. Hottentots were imprisoned at various places, but a general conspiracy could not be proved.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Still, Theunissen declared that all Hottentots desirous of settling in Baviaanskloof must report to him first.⁽⁵⁶⁾ It was the beginning of his efforts to check the growth of the settlement.

Early in the following year, a prominent burgher of Stellenbosch tried to secure possession of the place

(50) I, p. 169.

(51) II, p. 40.

(52) Du Flessis, p. 78.

(53) II, p. 32.

(54) IV, 25.7.1803, 28.9.1803.

(55) I, pp. 137, 138; Theal 3, p. 227.

(56) I, p. 139.

Sergeantsriver to the south of Baviaanskloof. It was at the time when the Church-Council of Stellenbosch took steps against the brethren. When the Field-Cornet came to establish the boundaries of the new farm, it emerged that it would include the dwellings of the brethren. They objected at once, with reference to the fact that the Government had reserved Baviaanskloof and Sergeantsriver for the Hottentots. Marsveld went to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, who expressed his astonishment. But Marsveld had the definite impression that he knew about the case. He suggested that the brethren and the applicant should divide the land among themselves, and, when Marsveld pointed out that the Hottentots would then be forced to leave, he suggested that the brethren should move to the Bushmen, where they would be useful, and referred the case to the Government. Sluysken assured Marsveld that he would put matters right but refused to grant the place as a loan-farm to the brethren in the usual way. An official came to Baviaanskloof for investigations and the project was withdrawn. (57)

At one stage, the brethren considered in fact moving farther inland. On hearing that many Hottentots lived near the Slang river east of Swellendam, longing for teachers and less impoverished than the people along the Zondereind, Marsveld and Kühnel went to explore the region. The Landdrost of Swellendam, A.A. Faure, promised his whole-hearted support, but the country to the east was arid and the soil bad, all the fertile spots being occupied by Colonists. Therefore, the plan was dropped. (58)

When the question of building a hall was discussed, Theunissen opposed it. If the rush to Baviaanskloof continued, he said, the place would become much too small,

(57) I, pp. 163, 169, 170, 175-181.

(58) I, pp. 199, 207-215.

and the brethren would have to move to a larger tract of land somewhere else; he had just advised a large group of Hottentots, who were on their way to the settlement, to turn back, because they would starve or perish from infectious diseases. (59)

He had a personal interest in halting the migration to Baviaanskloof. His son had acquired the adjoining farm of Weltevreeden, where he had married and built a house a short time ago. He impounded the cattle of the Hottentots, which strayed into his fields and warned the brethren against trespassing. (60) The fact was that the farmers were just about to take possession of the land along the Zondereind, when the brethren arrived. Weltevreeden to the east had been given out in 1791, De Oude Bakoven to the south in 1788 and Phil Morkel's farm to the west in 1793. The leases make it a condition that the rights of the Hottentots north of the Zondereind must be respected. (61) It is doubtful, whether such conditions would have been inserted, if Georg Schmidt's work had not established a claim of the Hottentots to that tract of country.

On a Sunday in December 1794, Marthinus Theunissen came to Baviaanskloof and announced after the service in the name of the Government that all the newcomers must bring their cattle back to the places, from where they had come, and instructed the brethren not to admit any people without a note from their former masters. (62) General consternation followed. The Hottentots remonstrated that they could not guard their cattle two or three days away and at the same time attend the school in Baviaanskloof. Moreover, some of their places had been occupied by farmers in the meantime.

(59) I, pp. 278, 279.

(60) I, pp. 314, 315, 324.

(61) Copies of leases in Le. I.

(62) I, pp. 326-328.

On the other hand, Theunissen indicated that the Landdrost of Swellendam would complain about the emigration of Hottentots from his district. (63)

Both, Theunissen and Marsveld, independent of each other, went to Cape Town on 6th January 1795 to approach the Government. (64) Theunissen induced the Hottentot-Captain Stoffel, whose kraal was between Baviaanskloof and Weltevreeden, by means of a glass of wine, to testify that the cattle of the people of Baviaanskloof became a nuisance to their neighbours. There was a talk among the Hottentots that Theunissen's son had obtained Weltevreeden, which had formerly been part of their home-lands, only after having prevailed upon Stoffel to support his application. (65)

Sluysken, acceding to Theunissen's expostulations, confirmed his measures. He had good reasons to appease the farmers: They were badly needed to defend the Cape against an attack from overseas. In vain, Marsveld and a delegation of Hottentots pleaded for a cancellation of the demand. (66)

Theunissen, turning up in Baviaanskloof in his Sergeant's uniform, delivered Sluysken's order (67), which states that the rights of the Hottentots and the farmers, residing in the area, must be protected against immigrants from Swellendam and other districts; newcomers must leave their cattle behind; those who had moved in already, must bring it back; trespassers would be persecuted; Hottentots on contract must not move to Baviaanskloof without a consent of their masters; the work of the brethren would be protected, but they must confine their efforts to the Hottentots. (68) The brethren had no choice but to advise the inhabitants to obey the authorities (69) and people began to move away.

(63) II, pp. 7, 8.

(64) II, pp. 3, 8.

(65) II, p. 17.

(66) II, pp. 10-13, 16, 17.

(67) II, pp. 14, 15.

(68) B.D. 33, 10.1.1795; Copy in Le. I.

(69) II, p. 18.

A woman complained that Theunissen himself had urged her to come to Baviaanskloof, but now, he wanted her to move back. A man returned, reporting that his former place had meanwhile been occupied by a predikant, whose servant had chased him away.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Thus, the people were driven from place to place.

One day, Mrs. Theunissen called Kühnel to Weltevreeden and pointed at cattle from Baviaanskloof, which was about to enter the vegetable garden of her son. She ordered it to be driven to the pound at Zoetemelksvlei, from where the Hottentots could recover it against two shillings a head. Coming to Baviaanskloof, she scolded Martha in the kitchen for repeating talk, which she had overheard in Zoetemelksvlei, to the brethren.⁽⁷¹⁾ In short, the relations between the brethren and Theunissen became strained. There was even a rumour that the Landdrost of Stellenbosch would come to expel them. ⁽⁷²⁾

Salvation came from an unexpected quarter. Hendrik Cloete from Groot Constantia appeared with two other burghers. When the difficulties were explained to him, he made a careful investigation, then left for Weltevreeden. A few weeks later, the brethren heard that he had bought the farm and that the cattle of the Hottentots could be brought back to Baviaanskloof. He had told Sluysken that the place was big enough for five-hundred cattle and that, according to the conditions for Weltevreeden, the rights of the Hottentots in the neighbourhood must be respected. ⁽⁷³⁾ This solved the difficulty for the time being. The relations with Theunissen improved. He continued to send newcomers back, but left the inhabitants in peace.

(70) II, pp. 23-25.

(71) II, pp. 38-41.

(72) II, p. 37.

(73) II, pp. 50, 51, 82.

4. The last months under the Company, 1795.

Meanwhile, France occupied Holland and the Prince of Orange fled to England. Consequently, both the big powers claimed the Cape. As stated above, the high officials of the Company were loyal to the House of Orange and on the side of authoritarian England, but the ordinary citizens sympathised with Revolutionary France and strove for freedom from the yoke of the Company. In the remote District of Graaf-Reinet, the Colonists had expelled the Landdrost, H.C.D. Maynier, and assumed self-government. They were dissatisfied with him for his leniency towards the Bantu and the Hottentots. In the District of Swellendam, too, the discontent of the farmers reached breaking-point. One of their grievances was the school for the Hottentots in Baviaanskloof.⁽¹⁾ The events of the winter months of 1795 have to be understood against this background. Kühnel's diary provides the story. It is written with emotion and rumours are sometimes quoted. But enough facts remain to indicate the danger, to which the settlement was subjected.

The dramatic events began on 13th June, when in the afternoon, four cannon-shots were heard. There was a chain of cannons into the interior for the transmission of important news. The shots were the alarm-sign that all able-bodied men must report to the Cape at once. The brethren, thinking that a French fleet had turned up, called on the inhabitants to obey the Government, and the men left for Cape Town.⁽²⁾ But in the imagination of the farmers, the shots were also a sign for the Hottentots to rise. Old Lena, coming back from a farm, was held up by a farmer, who demanded to see her pass, explaining that all the Hottentots, going overland, must carry passes; if caught without one,

(1) Walker, pp. 106-120; Maynier, p. 70.

(2) II, p. 84.

they could be shot. The brethren told her:

... wo solten wir das Papier här krigen, u wen wir das thun solten, so missen wir von der Obrigkeit es gesagt krigen, u nicht von einen Bauer. (3)

It appeared that nine British men-of-war had arrived in Simonstown in the name of the Prince of Orange. But Sluysken, who had been informed that Holland was turning Republican, temporised, strengthening his defences. Theunissen came to Baviaanskloof for the enlistment of the last eighteen men.⁽⁴⁾ He also told the latest news: A few days ago, on 17th June, the farmers of Swellendam had followed the example of Graaf-Reinet by deposing the Landdrost and his Secretary. As mentioned above, the Landdrost had shown himself favourable to the brethren. Perhaps, the alarm-shots had bestirred them to action. As many as six-hundred had signed their proclamation. Those who refused, were threatened. About seventy Colonists, who remained loyal to the Company, had gone to Cape Town.⁽⁵⁾ Thus, the weak Company was threatened by the British fleet from the sea and by the seditious farmers from the interior, and the brethren in Baviaanskloof were between the two fronts.

They heard rumours that the farmers would seize the opportunity to make an end of Baviaanskloof on their way to Cape Town.⁽⁶⁾ When Marsveld and Kühnel went to see the Field-Cornet Andreas Otto about it, he confirmed that, if the farmers would move further westward into the District of Stellenbosch, they would certainly destroy the settlement. He had it out of their own mouth. They were full of anger, because so many Hottentots had left them. They would take them back and vent their wrath on them, especially on Martha.⁽⁷⁾

(3) II, p. 86.

(4) II, pp. 86, 87; Walker, p. 120.

(5) II, pp. 87, 88; Theal 3, p. 258.

(6) II, p. 88.

(7) II, pp. 90, 91.

It will be remembered that Martha had boasted once that she had become an equal of the Colonists because of her baptism, and that she had repeated the talks of the farmers to the brethren. (8)

Meanwhile, Schwinn, left alone in the kloof, went through a period of anxiety. Having heard that the farmers were approaching, he wanted to flee, but, on seeing the attachment of the inhabitants, decided against it. At night, a number of armed men appeared in front of his window. Fortunately, they were Hottentots from the Slang river on their way to the Pandour-Corps, carrying sticks, not arms.⁽⁹⁾ A few days later, a real commando of farmers appeared. But again, it was only Otto with his men, who came to investigate a rumour that a Hottentot from Graaf-Reinet, armed with a gun, was hiding in Baviaanskloof. It emerged that Theunissen had kept him back and confiscated his gun. There was a big group of Hottentots from Graaf-Reinet at Zoetemelksvlei, wishing to come to Baviaanskloof and held back by Theunissen. Their men-folk had been sent by him to the Pandour-Corps.⁽¹⁰⁾

The people in Baviaanskloof were frightened by many stories. For instance, a Hottentot had been stopped on his way to the settlement by a farmer in Swellendam, who had told him that the school would be destroyed shortly. (11) It was also said of the farmers of Graaf-Reinet, that they shoot a Hottentot like a buck. (12) Kühnel commented:

... die armen Menschen sind sehr bange, u die Bauern machen ihn auch 10 mahl mehr weiss, als wahr ist. (13)

In fact, the fear was on both sides.

News from the Cape were that Holland had been conquered by France and had turned Republican, that the Colonists had

(8) See pp. 83, 100.

(9) II, pp. 89, 90.

(10) II, pp. 90-93.

(11) II, p. 98.

(12) II, p. 101.

(13) II, p. 96 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

vowed to defend the Cape against England until the last drop of blood, that the British fleet had taken three Dutch ships and that the women and children of Cape Town were fleeing into the interior. Sluysken continued to negotiate with the Colonists of Swellendam, the messengers passing to and fro. He promised them every possible freedom, if only they helped to defend the Cape first. (14)

In Swellendam, the Colonists waited for reinforcements from the interior, calling themselves the Nationals and inscribing "Vivat Vryheid" on their banners. A Hottentot-Corps of three-hundred men was among their forces. They informed Sluysken that, if their conditions were granted, they would come to fight the British, not in the interest of the Prince of Orange nor of the Company, but for their own benefit. They expected the District of Stellenbosch to join them. (15)

The fear of the people in Baviaanskloof, mostly women, children and sick people, mounted by the day. Many hid in the mountain at night, although it was very cold and the swollen streams were covered with ice. The women and children, coming out of the bushes every morning, presented a pitiful sight. Theunissen, who was well informed, expected a commando against Baviaanskloof at any time. He advised the brethren to send all the Hottentots, who had ever come from other parts, back to their original residences. This alone might avert the danger to the settlement. With a heavy heart, the brethren followed his advice, because he represented the Government. Many left under tears, others, having small children or being ill, found it impossible to do so. The service on the following Sunday was overcrowded, which means that well over a hundred women and children remained under the protection of the brethren. (16)

(14) II, pp. 91, 94.

(15) II, pp. 100, 104, 105.

(16) II, pp. 104-108.

Meanwhile, a National Council had been formed in Swellendam, consisting of five members. One of them was an Italian, Louis Almore Pisani, who had been a soldier of the Company, had deserted, then served again, and was now a farmer. Alongside Pieter J. Delport, he was one of the leaders of the Nationals from the beginning.⁽¹⁷⁾ After the Council had decided on plans for action, the commandos moved westward.

One group of twenty-five rode against Baviaanskloof. The Messenger of the Company, Holtz Heuser, who was Theunissen's son-in-law, met them on the way and tried in vain to stop them. They turned back, however, after receiving fresh orders. The brethren heard about it later from Theunissen. ⁽¹⁸⁾

Another group of forty-one went via the Warm Bath to Cape Town with a declaration of their conditions, demanding the signatures of every farmer on the way. On hearing that one of their articles concerned Baviaanskloof, Kühnel went to the farm of Jakobus Linde, east of Zoetemelksvlei, after the commando had passed through. The people received him kindly, telling him that the Commandant had read part of the articles to them, one of which stated that the Moravians must no longer be allowed to teach the Hottentots, while so many Christian children grew up without schooling. The Hottentots must work on the farms until their twenty-fifth year without remuneration, and thereafter, for wages. The Commandant had added that the Moravians should go to tame the Bushmen. The resident farmer had been forced to add his signature. He expressed his bitter regret and anxiety: Who could tell what was stated in the articles, which had not been read and which he had signed for fear of his life?⁽¹⁹⁾

A third group of forty to forty-five men moved under

(17) Theal 3, pp. 258, 259; Wieringa, p. 106.

(18) II, p. 110.

(19) II, pp. 108-110.

Pisani north of the Zondereind mountains towards Tulbagh (20) in order to enlist the support of the Colonists around Stellenbosch. Each commandant followed his own initiative to a considerable extent, as was the custom. So it happened that Pisani sent eight of his men to Holtz Heuser with the order that the brethren must leave Baviaanskloof within three days. The night after Heuser had delivered the message, Kühnel rode to Theunissen, who advised him to obey it. (21) The brethren dissolved their household in a hurry. Theunissen stored their furniture in Zoetemelksvlei, although, as an official of the Company, he was uncertain of his own future. Another friendly farmer, Pieter Du Toit, took care of their livestock. The rest of their belongings was packed onto an ox-wagon, borrowed from the inhabitants. The distress of the people was overwhelming, but the watch-words of the day served as an encouragement: "I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away" (Ezekiel 34.16) and: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool" (Matthew 22.44). (22) They spent the first night of their journey on Pieter Du Toit's farm. Crowds of women and children had followed them and had to be comforted once more on the following morning. After a troublesome journey through swollen rivers, they arrived in Cape Town on 3rd August. (23)

Lodgings were hard to find, because many Colonists, including a number of Nationals, had come to the town. Many citizens of Cape Town sympathised with the Nationals, but were at the same time more sympathetic towards the missionaries. The officials and the predikants were full of

(20) Theal 3, p. 259.

(21) II, pp. 114, 115.

(22) II, p. 117.

(23) II, pp. 118-120.

indignation that the brethren had been expelled and that Pisani wielded so much authority.⁽²⁴⁾ Two days after their arrival, they were called by a slave to a commandant of the Nationals, T. van der Walt, who apologised for their expulsion, explaining that it was Pisani's doing, whom they did not recognise as a Commandant; they had conferred about the matter; he and Commandant P.J. Delpont would leave for Swellendam shortly in order to fetch reinforcements and with orders on their behalf. They could safely return to Baviaanskloof and would be left in peace.⁽²⁵⁾ Evidently, the Nationals had come under public pressure in Cape Town because of their attitude towards the missionaries and had decided to shelve the issue.

Greatly relieved, the brethren returned at once, after Sluysken had added his consent in writing.⁽²⁶⁾ On the same day, the British troops attacked and conquered Muizenberg, coming from Simonstown. The brethren were just leaving, when the alarm-shots came. Trumpeters galloped through the streets, drums droned, the blood-flag flew out on the Castle, ladies fled on carriages, windows were fortified with beams, the Commissioner, on horse-back, led the soldiers and the burghers against the enemy. Through the midst of the general turmoil, the brethren rode peacefully on their ox-wagon towards the Cape Flats.⁽²⁷⁾

On their arrival in Baviaanskloof, after an absence of only nine days, the women and children came out of their hiding-places in the bushes to welcome their teachers. It was the eve of the thirteenth August, on which day the Lord's Supper and a love-feast used to be solemnised in memory of

(24) II, pp. 120, 121.

(25) II, p. 122; Maynier, p. 111; Theal 3, p. 259.

(26) Copy in Le. I.

(27) II, pp. 123, 124.

the thirteenth August 1727.⁽²⁸⁾ In view of the unsettled state of affairs, the brethren decided to pass it over quietly.⁽²⁹⁾

At the Cape, Sluysken had made use of the differences among the Nationals by putting a price on Pisani's head. He was taken prisoner on 13th August.⁽³⁰⁾ After the British troops had occupied Muizenberg, many of the farmers left for their homes in order to attend to their farming and to safeguard their property against uprisings of Hottentots and slaves. A group of Hottentot soldiers went to the Castle to hand their arms back. One of their grievances was the distress of their families at home. But when Sluysken promised to grant relief, they agreed to stay on.⁽³¹⁾

Jakob Mauritz, coming home on furlough, told the brethren that all the men from Baviaanskloof were well, and that they used to sing and to pray together and to warn their comrades against drunkenness and discontent. They had gone through many skirmishes against the British forces. Another fifteen men-of-war had arrived, whereupon many Colonists had left the army. On the other hand, the Commissioner continued his efforts to reinforce the Pandour-Corps. People believed that the war would soon be over.⁽³²⁾

Sluysken granted fifty thaler for the feeding of the women and children of the soldiers. But what was it among so many? In Baviaanskloof alone were 116 dependents of soldiers and, in addition, many other Hottentots. A similar number of people were encamped in Zoetemelksvlei. Nevertheless, the support was very welcome. A wagon-load of meal arrived and was distributed.⁽³³⁾

(28) See p. 9.

(29) II, p. 125.

(30) Theal 3, p. 259.

(31) Theal 3, pp. 268, 269.

(32) II, p. 133.

(33) II, pp. 133-135.

At the Cape, the British mounted their final attack. Theunissen came in haste to recruit men. He still found twelve and set them on the move.⁽³⁴⁾ But they arrived too late. Sluysken surrendered, signing the treaty of Rustenburg. The Company ceased to rule the country and the British Commander, J.H. Craig, took over in the name of King George. The Colonists were promised freedom of trade, freedom of religion and less taxation. Stellenbosch and Swellendam recognised the new authorities. Only in Graaf-Reinet, the Nationals held out for another year.⁽³⁵⁾ Pisani was set free and turned up at Zeist in Holland, two years later, claiming to be a friend of the brethren. Although the Moravians in Zeist knew about him, they received him well.⁽³⁶⁾

All the men returned to Baviaanskloof, each one with a thaler of paper-money as pay. None of them had perished. The Colonists praised them for having fought valiantly. In fact, they had remained loyal to the Company until the end, while many of those, who had promised to defend the country until the last drop of blood, had left prematurely.⁽³⁷⁾

The war being over, the National farmers, and even Theunissen, began to renew their threats against Baviaanskloof, demanding that all the Hottentots from other parts move back to their old residences now. Therefore, Marsveld and a group of men from Baviaanskloof went to see Craig. He put them at ease, declaring that he would protect the settlement to the full, having instructed the Landdrost of Swellendam and Theunissen accordingly.⁽³⁸⁾ At last, the brethren could think of building the much needed chapel. Craig granted their request, permitting them to take timber

(34) II, pp. 136, 137.

(35) Walker, p. 122.

(36) Le. V, 30.4.1797.

(37) II, pp. 138, 139.

(38) II, pp. 144-152.

out of the Government's forest and added a permission to contract marriages. (39) No wonder, Schwinn wrote to the Board in Herrnhut on 16th September:

Es wird Euch 1. Er: [liebe Brüder] schon bekönt sein das wir eine neue Obrigkeit haben namlich den König von England wovor wir Gott von Herzen dancken das ers so gemacht hat den als das nicht geschehen wehr [wäre] so solte es in disem Lande betribt ausgesehen haben. (40)

There was an aftermath to the crisis. In February 1796, while the chapel was in the process of erection, the farmers from the Strandveld formed a commando against Baviaanskloof in order to fetch the Hottentots back to the farms by force. Even Theunissen was on their side. But the men of Baviaanskloof were quick to report the matter to Cape Town. Craig sent at once letters to the Landdrost and to Theunissen and British troops to Stellenbosch. Baviaanskloof was to be left in peace, but the Hottentots should repay any debts to the farmers by working on their farms. Upon this, the commando dispersed. (41)

In considering this event, Du Plessis reached the conclusion that the threat was an unfounded rumour, which frightened the brethren unnecessarily, Theunissen himself having told them that it was only a fabrication of the Hottentots. (42) However, the relevant part of the diary reads as follows:

Er sagte, ich habe den Report Reuter mit einen Brif an den Land-Trost diese Nacht zurückgeschickt, u geschrieben das alles Ligen sein [namely that a commando would come to make an end of Baviaanskloof]. Dan sagte Er Wohl ist wahr, das ein Commando von 100 Bauern will bey euch kommen, u ich erwarte Sie auch noch heute. Diese wollen Euch aber nichts thun, u Ihr habt nichts zu firchten, Sie wollen nur die Hott: welge Ihn schuldig sein, oder versprochen, bei Ihn zu arbeuten, holen, u diese mit sich nehmen, Sie vor sich här treuben.

(39) II, pp. 168, 169.

(40) Le. drafts I, 16.10.1795 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(41) II, pp. 187-201.

(42) Du Plessis, pp. 423-425.

Wir gaben Ihn zur Antw: das ist ja doch also die Wahrheit, das Sie kommen wollen, u ob das dan nicht Gewalt sey, als Sie die Hott: nehmen, u Sie vor den Pferden vorausjagten. Er versprach Er wolle Sein möglichstes thun, Sie von uns abzuhalten. (43)

The extract makes it clear that the farmers conspired not against the missionaries, but against the inhabitants of Baviaanskloof, which may have made a difference to Theunissen, but not to the brethren. The whole episode is told in the diary over fourteen pages, and was remembered by them for a long time. (44)

Craig's reasons for protecting the Hottentots were, of course, not purely humanitarian. He wrote in 1796 to his superiors in England:

Amongst the measures which I have been anxious to carry into effect for some time past has been that of collecting and arming a body of Hottentots. Nothing I know would intimidate the Boors of the Country more, and in case of an attack on the Colony, they might be of very great use, but exclusive of these objects, I have been much inclined to the measure as being the means of commencing a connection with these people, and of attaching them to His Majesty's Government. (45)

In Theal's description of the whole period, the plans and actions of the Nationals against Baviaanskloof are not mentioned. (46) Likewise, Du Plessis treats the episode with Pisani only in a foot-note. (47) However, it was an important part of the programme of the Nationals to debar the migration of the Hottentots to Baviaanskloof and to keep them on their farms, illiterate and dependent. (48) In their opinion, their own existence in the country was at stake. The preferential treatment of the Hottentots offended them. Their accumulation on one spot and their arming seemed dangerous to them. This is also evident from

(43) II, p. 191 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(44) See also Marais, p. 136.

(45) Records I, p. 354.

(46) Theal 3, pp. 258, 259.

(47) Du Plessis, p. 74.

(48) Compare Records I, p. 172.

a letter, in which the Nationals of Graaf-Reinet wrote to the National-minded burghers in Cape Town:

Broeders wij verzoeken Uliedens een wakend oog te houden over de herrenhuters en over de bandoeren, die aan de Caap de exercitie geleerd word. (49)

With regard to the brethren, it may be said that they should have disobeyed Pisani's order to vacate Baviaanskloof for the sake of the women and children against Theunissen's advice. Admittedly, the idea of resistance against the powers that be did not enter their minds, because of their innate respect for authority, founded on the Bible, as they understood it. They had resisted various threats from private sources, but when Theunissen advised them to yield to a written order by an insurgent commander, they obeyed at once. In any case, they endeavoured in a time of political strife and emotions to follow the narrow path indicated by the Bible.

(49) Quoted in Wieringa, p. 107.

5. External growth under the British occupation, 1795-1800.

During the following years, Britain held the Cape as occupied territory. The highest officials in the Colony spoke a language, which none of the three missionaries understood. Because England was cut off from the continent by Napoleon, their connection with the Board in Herrnhut became extremely difficult. Their mail went via the Moravians in England or in neutral Denmark and was sometimes intercepted by the French.⁽¹⁾ The three brethren would receive letters, which were three years old⁽²⁾, or would be without any news for a whole year⁽³⁾, or part of the diary would be lost and had to be rewritten.⁽⁴⁾ Once, a consignment of badly needed clothing and other supplies arrived, but most of it had been eaten by moths and fifty pounds of tobacco and a cask of brandy were missing.⁽⁵⁾ The captain informed them that the tobacco had been damaged and the brandy spilt during a gale, but Schwinn wrote sadly: "... ob er in seine Gorgel oder ins Schiff gelaufen wesen wir nicht .."⁽⁶⁾. A German missionary, travelling to India, brought a consignment in 1797, but because his ship did not call at the Cape, everything went first to Calcutta.⁽⁷⁾ Under these circumstances, the brethren had to act on their own, and expensive undertakings, such as the establishment of more mission stations, were impossible. Leopold Heuser in Cape Town, the son-in-law of Martinus Schmidt, gave them credit for current expenses.⁽⁸⁾

(1) II, p. 229.

(2) III, 25.2.1798.

(3) Le. drafts I, 1.1.1798.

(4) Le. drafts I, 10.9.1796.

(5) III, 1.3.1798.

(6) Le. drafts I, 1.3.1798 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(7) Le. drafts I, 1.3.1798.

(8) Le. drafts I, 10.9.1796; Leibbrandt, p. 599.

Fortunately, the Moravians in England filled the gap to some extent, petitioning the British Government to protect Baviaanskloof (9) and sending money and provisions. The young and eager Christian Ignatius La Trobe had just become their Secretary in the footsteps of his father Benjamin. (10) When the new British Governor, Lord Macartney, went to the Cape in 1797, to relieve Craig, La Trobe provided the missionaries with an address of welcome in English. (11) Henceforth, Macartney protected Baviaanskloof like his predecessor. He was an authoritarian aristocrat and an able governor, just and unbribable and set against the French Revolution like all the senior officials. (12) General F. Dundas served under him as military commander and later succeeded him.

Peace and order reigned in the Western Cape, and many Hottentots moved unhindered to Baviaanskloof, which became, next to Cape Town, the largest settlement in the Colony during this period. (13) Kühnel wrote in the end of 1796:

Wir wünschen oft, das die Zahl nicht so gross mechte sein, weil wir die Menge nicht übersehn können, den wir kennen den virten Theil nicht, was sollen wir aber thun, als Sie von ferne kommen u um Erlaubnis bitten, das Sie auch mögen hir wohnen, um Gottes Wort zu hören, u (14) sagen, das Sie auch gerne wollen selig werden.

In the end of 1798, the estimated number of inhabitants was 705 (15), and when the brethren made a survey of the settlement in 1799, they found 1234 people in 228 dwellings within an hour's distance around the institution. (16)

Farmers came occasionally to look for Hottentots, who had left them. (17) A neighbour demanded the return of two

(9) II, p. 240.

(10) Cröger III, pp. 361, 459.

(11) Le. II, 1797; Le. V, 20.1. 1797; III, pp. 33, 37.

(12) Theal I, p. 40.

(13) Theal I, p. 110.

(14) II, p. 279 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(15) III, 31.12.1798.

(16) III, 12.1.1800.

(17) For instance III, p. 71.

girls under twenty-five years; their father was a farm-hand, their mother a Hottentot. When the brethren refused, he complained to the Landdrost, who, however, decided in their favour.⁽¹⁸⁾ They resolved in 1798 not to accept people, who were under contract, without a note from their master⁽¹⁹⁾, and to supply inhabitants going overland with passes ⁽²⁰⁾, because the Hottentots were strictly bidden to remain on the farms for the duration of their contracts. Nevertheless, Baviaanskloof grew quickly into a large village.

The permission to erect more dwellings was another blessing of the British occupation.⁽²¹⁾ They built first the chapel, which became the dining-room of the middle-house later, with the aid of hired artisans. Two of them were slaves, who became attached to Baviaanskloof, but could of course not remain in the settlement.⁽²²⁾ The building was consecrated on Maundy Thursday of 1796, but proved too small from the start.⁽²³⁾ It measured 60 by 19 feet.⁽²⁴⁾ The foundation was made of stone, the walls of clay, the roof of straw, the floor smeared with cow-dung.⁽²⁵⁾ A few steps led to the platform, which was on the long side and on which a pulpit and the Bible and three chairs were placed. There were two entrances at the back, one for the men and one for the women. The male audience sat on the right, the females on the left of the minister, on raw benches. Mats, made by the Hottentots, covered the floor and the lower part of the walls.⁽²⁶⁾ Two annexes served as lodgments for visitors.⁽²⁷⁾

(18) III, pp. 75-78; III, 17.1.1798.

(19) Mi.ko. 8.9.1798.

(20) Mi.ko. 9.6.1798.

(21) See p. 109.

(22) II, pp. 183, 249.

(23) II, p. 203.

(24) Le. drafts I, 15.4.1796.

(25) II, pp. 171, 184; III, 11.8.1798.

(26) Lady Anne, p. 184.

(27) II, pp. 216, 264.

Jakob Mauritz, Martha Valentyn and two more members were appointed chapel-servants. (28)

The following building was a smithy. It was ready for use in March 1797. (29) Kühnel handed the writing of the diary over to Schwinn and started making knives on a large scale, which sold exceedingly well. The demand was much greater than the supply, although he took four Hottentots as apprentices and worked from morning till night, except when he held school for the children. (30) One day, a Colonist from Paarl bought as many as he could get for eight shillings a piece and resold them at home for twenty shillings. (31) The knives became the main source of income of the brethren for a long time and made Baviaanskloof known throughout the Colony.

That same year, they erected a mill. It had been in their minds for some time. Many a visiting farmer told them that he would have done so long ago on his farm, if only he had such a fine stream at his disposal. (32) Besides, it was in the interest of the inhabitants to have one on the spot: They had to take their corn to a farmer, who would make them work on his farm, while it was ground and afterwards charge them with the costs against further farm labour, to which Schwinn commented: " .. so bleiben Sie immer dene Bauern ihre Schläfe [Sklaven].." (33). The building of the mill gave them much trouble. They had the impression that the farmers wanted to prevent it, by placing difficulties in their way. (34) Fortunately, Negrini agreed to build the wheel, and a German wagon-maker from Paarl gave them advice. (35) On 22nd December 1797, they announced

(28) Mi.ko. 23.3.1796, 2.4.1796.

(29) III, p. 11.

(30) III, p. 41; III, 5.5.1798; Lady Anne, p. 189; V.R.X, p. 191.

(31) III, p. 92.

(32) Le. drafts I, 1.1.1798.

(33) III, p. 70 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(34) III, pp. 69, 70.

(35) III, pp. 70, 81, 86.

proudly that the mill had started working.⁽³⁶⁾ In the opinion of Barrow, who visited Baviaanskloof shortly afterwards, it was the finest mill in the Colony.⁽³⁷⁾ Marsveld acted henceforth as a miller.

The British occupation had its disadvantages as well. The joy of the men of being released from the Pandour-Corps was of short duration. Craig founded the Cape Corps in February 1796 in order to fight the Nationals of Graaf-Reinet.⁽³⁸⁾ The British officer in Stellenbosch sent one messenger after another to call the Hottentots up for voluntary military service. The brethren were instructed to inform him of any farmer, who refused to let them go.⁽³⁹⁾ At the same time, he told the Hottentots in the military camp that those who declined to serve, should not expect him to befriend and to protect them any more.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The result was that most of the men of Baviaanskloof signed on. In May 1796, more than a hundred had moved to Wynberg⁽⁴¹⁾, some with their families.⁽⁴²⁾ They were under contract for one year.⁽⁴³⁾ The brethren were of course disappointed, because the women and children would suffer again, and the spiritual work among the men would be interrupted. The atmosphere of the camp was bound to be demoralising.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The farmers complained of the shortage of farm labourers.⁽⁴⁵⁾ As it happened, the campaign against Graaf-Reinet was delayed and finally became unnecessary.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Still, General Dundas was disinclined to let the Hottentots go. A second year of service was added, and only, when the men insisted on their release, those who did not choose to serve a third

(36) III, p. 87.

(37) Barrow, p. 352.

(38) Theal I, p. 9; II, pp. 198, 199, 212; Le. II, 27.2.1796.

(39) II, pp. 212, 213.

(40) II, p. 224.

(41) II, p. 222.

(42) II, p. 234; III, p. 96.

(43) Theal I, p. 9.

(44) II, pp. 202, 220.

(45) II, p. 213; III, p. 93.

(46) Theal I, pp. 9-16; II, pp. 231, 235, 238, 245.

year, were allowed to return. (47)

The British soldiers were another source of trouble. Macartney kept peace and order by forcing dragoons on republican-minded farmers. (48) Eighty of them were stationed at Zoetemelksvlei under a Major, partly for the protection of Baviaanskloof (49), and others on farms in the neighbourhood. The Major and his wife paid friendly visits to the brethren, but the soldiers made the country insecure for the women and the young girls of Baviaanskloof, who were driven to the farms by hunger. Many complaints of abuse by soldiers or of misbehaviour by young girls reached the brethren. (50) After some time, the discipline of the soldiers seemed to have improved.

The attitude of the Colonists towards the missionaries changed for the better, not without the influence of the Reformed mission-friends. The Reverend Meent Borchers of Stellenbosch apologised to a visiting brother for his former behaviour, after studying the Idea Fidei Fratrum. (51) The distribution of suitable writings helped to fight the prejudice against the Moravians. A marked change of public opinion was brought about by a visit of Vos to Baviaanskloof. He arrived in January 1797 with Mathilda Smith, J.J. van Zulch and other mission-friends for a few days, making a thorough inspection of the settlement and holding a service for the Colonists at Zoetemelksvlei. (52) A few weeks later, farmers from the Strandveld told the brethren of a revival among them, caused by the visit of Vos, and asked permission to attend the worship at Baviaanskloof. As will be remembered, the last commando of farmers against the institution had come from that region (53), but now, expressed even the wish

(47) III, 14.4.1798.

(48) Theol I, p. 28; III, 17.1.1798.

(49) III, pp. 39, 45-47; Marais, p. 139.

(50) III, pp. 80, 94, 95; III, 31.1.1798, 17.2.1798, 17.3.1798.

(51) II, pp. 211, 253, 254.

(52) II, p. 272; III, pp. 2-4; Du Flessis, p. 77.

(53) See p. 110.

that one of the brethren should come to dwell among them. (54) It was fulfilled twenty-five years later by the establishment of Elim. (55) One of them, Wessel Wessels, became a special friend of the brethren. Another one came to sell a wagon-load of meal at a reduced price. He was one of the Nationals, who had declared that Baviaanskloof should be starved. (56)

The farmers began to realise the advantages of having a mission station in their midst. Two of them praised the conduct and the industry of the men from Baviaanskloof, stating that they preferred them to all others. (57) Some came to sell salt or to buy or to sharpen knives, although they had formerly threatened to boycott the smithy. (58) One came to look for a wife. Avoiding the brethren, he told an inhabitant that he wanted a baptised one and was informed that the brethren allowed baptised sisters to be married, but only to baptised men. (59) Some, such as Hendrik Cloete and Pieter du Toit, introduced family prayers for the whole community on their farms, which caused the Hottentots to prefer them to other masters. (60)

Many Colonists attended the worship on Sundays, especially on festival days. At Christmas and New Year, the yard became a camping ground. The brethren reserved the seats in the chapel for the Hottentots. The British officers alone shared the platform with them, the rest of the visitors crowded into the two annexes. Guests were not allowed to stay the night in the chapel. (61)

Only with the immediate neighbours, difficulties about the boundary persisted. The Hottentots, on the one hand, remembered that the neighbouring farms were their former grazing land. The farmers, on the other hand, would have

(54) III, pp. 6, 7.

(55) See Part III, Chapter 3.

(56) III, p. 84.

(57) II, p. 180.

(58) III, p. 92; III, 15.1.1798, 13.4.1798.

(59) III, p. 13.

(60) IV, 24.1.1801, 28.6.1801.

(61) III, pp. 48, 49, 88, 89.

preferred to deal with the Hottentots in their own way without interference from the brethren and the authorities. The rush to Baviaanskloof during the British occupation made matters worse. Baviaanskloof was only half the size of an ordinary loan-farm.⁽⁶²⁾ Time and again, the brethren had to turn to the authorities in Stellenbosch and Cape Town about boundary questions. The Landdrost of Stellenbosch, Ryno Johannes van der Riet, was one of the anti-revolutionary officials of the Company, who had entered the service of the new rulers out of conviction.⁽⁶³⁾

He informed the brethren in 1796 that Hendrik Gloete, the owner of Weltevreden, had decided to cede a strip of land to Baviaanskloof on the understanding that the new boundary must be strictly adhered to. It was a reasonable effort to arrive at a neighbourly agreement.⁽⁶⁴⁾

On the other hand, Barend Geldenhuys of Oude Bakoven summarily drove a family from the Sergeants river, who, in his opinion, encroached on his farm.⁽⁶⁵⁾ After the brethren had complained to Craig⁽⁶⁶⁾, the Landdrost himself came to settle the dispute. He reproached Geldenhuys in public for his high-handed action and fixed the boundary of Baviaanskloof to the east, south and west.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Geldenhuys, not satisfied with the decision, made another effort to improve on his rights. The Field-Cornet requested the men of Baviaanskloof in the name of the Landdrost one day in 1798 to meet him at the disputed boundary. When Marsveld with twenty-three men came to the spot, a number of farmers with their wives and wagons confronted them. An ugly dispute followed, in which even the ladies joined. According to the farmers, the boundary, which the Landdrost had fixed,

(62) Marsais, p. 140.

(63) Theal I, p. 3.

(64) II, pp. 232-234; B.O. 33, 9.6.1796; Le. II, 17.6.1796.

(65) II, pp. 242, 243.

(66) II, pp. 252-255.

(67) II, pp. 256-258; Le. II, 22.9.1796.

was less than thirty minutes from the premises of Geldenhuys, which was contrary to the regulations. According to the Hottentots, Geldenhuys had not set up his buildings on the old site but nearer to Baviaanskloof.⁽⁶⁸⁾ On appeal, the Landdrost made a second inspection and altered the boundary in favour of Geldenhuys.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Meanwhile, Baviaanskloof developed into a flourishing settlement. We have two vivid descriptions of it, one by Macartney's private Secretary, John Barrow⁽⁷⁰⁾, and one by Lady Ann Barnard, the wife of the Colonial Secretary⁽⁷¹⁾, who both visited the institution in 1798. The garden of the missionaries supplied vegetables throughout the year. Schwinn, who was in control of it, wrote proudly: "... Jederman der hir komt sagte, das sie hir so einen Garten noch nicht gesehen haben."⁽⁷²⁾ A vineyard with two-thousand vines had been planted.⁽⁷³⁾ Two-hundred sheep had been acquired and a kraal built.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Every inhabitant had a vegetable garden adjoining his dwelling. The houses in the village were built of clay, some still in the shape of a bee-hive with an opening on the top for the smoke, others square with a thatched roof. The interior was mostly unfurnished, with a kettle on the fire and hides for the night. In an effort to increase the earnings of the people, Schwinn had taught them to plait mats, which sold well on the farms. Most of the unbaptised inhabitants still wore the kaross, but the baptised ones dressed in the European manner and the sisters came to church in clean white garments. The brethren encouraged thrift and simplicity among all, urging them to spend their meagre earnings rather on proper clothing than

(68) III, 3.7.1798; Le.II, 3.7.1798 (in "Klagten").

(69) III, 16.8.1798; Le.II, 7.8.1798.

(70) III, 13/14.1.1798.

(71) III, 10/11.5.1798.

(72) III, p. 91 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(73) III, pp. 43, 54.

(74) III, pp. 51, 52, 54.

on wine and tobacco. When Lady Ann started to distribute presents of beads, they requested her to give something useful.

Both visitors gave also a picture of the missionaries themselves. Their room was clean and tidy, their manner simple and natural, their conversation intelligent. They received their guests without exaggerated cordiality, humbly but frankly.

Most of all, both were impressed by the devotional gatherings. Early on Sunday mornings, the women gathered in front of the chapel and sat on the ground, singing hymns with lovely voices. During the service, about three-hundred people, all neatly dressed, listened with the greatest attention to the sermon, in which one of the brethren explained a text in a natural voice and a simple but practical manner, moving many of the hearers to tears. Every week-day closed in a similar manner with an exposition of a biblical text. The school was held by Marsveld for the men, by Schwinn for the women and by Kühnel for the children. (75)

When visiting Baviaanskloof, Barrow was on his way back from Graaf-Reinet, accompanied by the Landdrost of that district. Both asked the brethren to establish a similar institution in the turbulent Eastern Cape. (76) Shortly afterwards, the former minister of Graaf-Reinet, J.H. von Manger, repeated the request, when Marsveld met him in Cape Town. (77) But the brethren found it impossible to comply without permission and reinforcements from Herrahut. Consequently, Dr J.T. van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society became the pioneer of that region.

However, Barrow's visit had another favourable result. When he noticed the bell stored in one of the visitors'

(75) Barrow, pp. 351-355; Lady Anne, pp. 181-190.

(76) III, 13/14.1.1798.

(77) III, 21-26.3.1798; Theal I, p. 37.

rooms, he advised the brethren to apply to the Governor for permission to ring it. After it had been granted, two pillars were erected, the Hottentots hastened to the shore to collect shells for the whitewashing of the buildings, and, at Easter 1798, the bell was rung for the first time. (78)

A few months later, the brethren had the even greater joy of welcoming a brother and a sister from overseas. They were greatly needed. Schwinn wrote as far back as 1794:

... wir 3 arme Brüder sind nicht im stande diese arme Mänschen gehörig zu bedinen, sonder eine Schwester und es würde auch dardurch, wen ein Pahr Eheleite hir wehren, vielem Argwohn u Schwezery geholfen werden, die Bauern schwezen hir überal das der seelige Br: Schmidt mehr als eine Hottentottin zur Frau gehabt hat u so geht es uns jetzt auch ... (79)

It is true that the Moravian Church regarded the work of the three bachelors proudly as evidence that the old spirit still rested on its young men. (80) Nevertheless, the Board resolved to send a married couple, and the lot confirmed that Johann Philipp Kohrhammer, a hatter from Württemberg, fifty-two years of age, should become the Head of the mission at the Cape (81), and that Eva Dorothea Lundberg, born Lehmann, should be married to him. She was a widow of forty, who had worked in the West Indies for ten years, until her first husband died. Now, the Lord called her into the missions for the second time. Her son remained in Germany. She served at the Cape without interruption for fourteen years at the side of her husband and for another twenty-eight years as a widow. (82)

After a long and difficult journey, the couple arrived on 21st May 1798 in Baviaanskloof. Sister Kohrhammer wrote about her reception:

(78) III, 19/20.3.1798, 7.4.1798; Le. I, 16.3.1798, 19.3.1798; B. O. 33, 25.2.1798.
(79) Le. drafts, 27.9.1794 (slightly amended; see p. 76).
(80) Syn. 1801, 6.6.1801.
(81) Ph. Kohrhammer, pp. 650, 653.
(82) G. N. 1841, pp. 783-795.

Eine grosse Menge Hottentotten beiderlei Geschlechts kam uns eine deutsche Meile weit entgegen, und je näher wir dem Ort kamen, um so mehr vergrösserte sich die Schaar, wobei die alte vom seligen Georg Schmidt getaufte Magdalena, die bei ihrem hohen Alter nicht mehr gehen konnte, sich tragen liess. Wie mir dabei zu Muthe war, bin ich unvermögend zu beschreiben; ich konnte mich der Thränen nicht enthalten, und seufzte zum Heiland, dass Er mir aus Gnaden beistehen wolle, damit ich in Seiner Sache doch nichts verderben möchte. (83)

The five workers began their fellowship with a love-feast.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Kohrhammer moved with his wife into one of the two annexes of the chapel, and the three bachelors into the other one.⁽⁸⁵⁾

There was much work waiting for a sister, such as the pastoral "speaking" of the females and house-visits to sick women.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Her husband was fond of gardening and their room was full of seeds and tools. (87)

The most important decision of the conference, taken shortly after Kohrhammer's arrival, was to build a church and to convert the chapel into a residence.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The Governor granted permission and twenty wagon-loads of timber. (89)

The inhabitants responded to the call for voluntary labour by going to the Government's forest near Zoetemelksvlei to fell trees.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Every available man was needed. When J.H. von Manger, who had become the first Minister of Swellendam, requested twenty labourers for the building of a church, nobody could be spared.⁽⁹¹⁾ The expenses mounted. The timber ran up to thirty-two loads, which caused the farmers to object and even to refuse the right of way from the forest to Baviaanskloof.⁽⁹²⁾ Moreover, the brethren had no security of possession for the site. Therefore, they asked themselves time and again, whether they should build and, if so, on what scale. Finally, submitting the

(83) G. N. 1841, pp. 792, 793.

(84) III, 21.5.1798. See p. 81.

(85) III, 21.5.1798, 4.7.1798.

(86) III, 6.6.1798, 14.6.1798.

(87) III, 8.1.1800.

(88) Mi.ko. 16.6.1798, 22.6.1798.

(89) Le. II, 10.8.1798.

(90) III, 2.10.1798.

(91) III, 7.10.1798; Theal I, p. 37.

(92) III, 7/8.10.1798; Mi.ko. 2.12.1798.

matter to the lot, they were instructed to build a large church of 60 by 40 feet.⁽⁹³⁾ The corner-stone was laid on the 8th January 1799, the watch-word being: My help cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth (Psalm 121.2). It was the text of the preceding year, because the text-book for 1799 had not yet reached Baviaanskloof. After the ceremony, all feasted on an ox, which had been slaughtered for the occasion.⁽⁹⁴⁾

While the building operations were in progress, some important events occurred in the country, which require our attention. General Dundas, who had taken over the reins of the Government, made an effort to appease the Bushmen to the north of the Colony.⁽⁹⁵⁾ When they expressed the wish to have a mission station like Baviaanskloof in their midst, he requested that one of the brethren should go to Namaqualand for negotiations at Government's expense.⁽⁹⁶⁾ While Schwinn waited in Cape Town for an opportunity to travel to the northern border, he was offered a passage to Europe.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Perhaps he received at that moment the letter, in which the Board asked one of them to return for a visit.⁽⁹⁸⁾ In any case, he left for Herrnhut instead of going to the Bushmen to the surprise and disappointment of the others.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Consequently, it fell to the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, to become the pioneers in the north.

The first four missionaries of this Society arrived a few months after his departure. It had been founded in 1795 on an interdenominational basis, but became practically a Congregational undertaking.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ La Trobe had supplied its directors with information about the Moravian missions

(93) Mi.ko. 2.12.1798.

(94) III, 10.1.1799.

(95) Theal I, p. 59.

(96) III, 19.12.1798.

(97) Le. II, 13.1.1799.

(98) Le. V, 8.8.1798.

(99) III, 23.1.1799.

(100) Du Plessis, pp. 99-102.

as to how missionaries were selected, appointed and sent out and what qualities were required of them. On the question, whether learning was desirable for a missionary, he had replied that tradesmen with a sound judgement and used to manual work had been found most suitable. (101) After sending messengers to the South Sea Islands, the Society turned to the Cape. It had the backing of the newly founded Dutch Missionary Society. The most important personality among the four arrivals was the learned Dr Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp. He had letters from La Trobe and from the congregation in Zeist (102), and visited Baviaanskloof at once. The brethren, who rejoiced in the coming of more workers, promised their whole-hearted co-operation. Van der Kemp made a thorough inspection of the settlement. (103) He and J. Edmond were going to the Xhosas in the east, while the other two, J.J. Kicherer and W. Edwards, left for the Bushmen to the north, after they, too, had inspected Baviaanskloof. (104) Dundas promised his support and protection. Thus, Van Lier's vision of missionary action in three directions was being fulfilled. (105)

Before he left Cape Town, Van der Kemp, supported by Vos, founded the Zuid Afrikaansche Genootschap ter bevordering van de Uitbreiding van Christus Koninkrijk. (106) The new Society sent a fraternal letter to Baviaanskloof, to which the brethren replied in the same spirit. (107) A group of members visited the Moravian institution, staying for seven days. Kohnhammer reported:

Sie wohnten allen Versamlungen bey, nennen sich Brüder und Schwestern. Wir hab (haben) unss lieb ... (108)

(101) Miss. Societät, pp. 351-374.

(102) Le. V, 2.6.1798.

(103) III, 8.4.1799.

(104) III, 11.6.1799.

(105) See p. 64.

(106) Du Plessis, pp. 91-93.

(107) III, July 1799.

(108) III, 25.2.1800 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

He added that they differed only with regard to the doctrine of predestination. In his opinion, the belief that Christ has not died for all men, belonged to the dark ages of the past. However, he crossed the remark out, perhaps because he considered it unbrotherly. Another day, Vos paid a second visit, accompanied by two of his elders.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The Society limited its efforts at first to the promotion of religious instruction of slaves and Hottentot servants. A missionary was appointed, who resided at Cape Town, and a church was built in Long Street.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Van der Kemp and his co-worker journeyed to the Eastern Cape with an ox-wagon and three reliable Hottentots from Baviaanskloof.⁽¹¹¹⁾ The arrival of the L.M.S. missionaries marks the beginning of a new era. The brethren were no longer alone in the field and other mission stations were founded after the pattern of Baviaanskloof.

New disturbances broke out in Graaf-Reinet during the same year. After the departure of Macartney, the farmers of that District had risen, and after their subjection, the Xhosas and the Hottentots in the east combined against the Colony. Dundas led British troops and burgher commandos from Stellenbosch and Swellendam against the enemy.⁽¹¹²⁾ The men of Baviaanskloof were suddenly called up to join him.⁽¹¹³⁾ The former Landdrost of Graaf-Reinet, Maynier, accompanied him, because he could be useful as a mediator. Dundas felt that the farmers were partly to blame for the insurrection because of the manner, in which they treated the indigenous peoples. Passing Baviaanskloof, he decided that Kühnel and four Hottentots should also join him to assist in the negotiations.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ However, he took them

(109) III, pp. 20-22.

(110) Du Plessis, Chapter XI, passim.

(111) Le. II, 3.10.1799.

(112) Theal I, pp. 42-55.

(113) III, 22.8. - 26.8.1799.

(114) Records II, p. 463; III, 9/10.8.1799.

only as far as Swellendam, because news had come that the situation at the front had deteriorated and Kühnel refused to shoot at people. Kühnel returned from there after five weeks, while Dundas established Fort Frederick on Algoa Bay. (115)

At last, the church was ready to be consecrated. Two-thousand bricks had been formed by the Hottentots (116), a hired mason had built the walls (117) and a thatched roof had completed the building. Old Lena died five days before the ceremony. Her contentedness and gratitude had been edifying to the many people, who had visited her hut to the last. Her greatest sorrow had been that her only son, whom she had borne, when Schmidt baptised her, was a good-for-nothing, and her greatest joy that she had witnessed the arrival of a sister from Europe. (118) The 8th of January 1800 was chosen for the dedication. The brethren announced the event only in the early morning of the day in order to prevent crowds of Colonists from coming. In their place, about one-thousand Hottentots gathered quickly for the ceremony, after which seven adults were baptised. (119) A visitor, who saw the building three years later, described it as follows:

It is a simple, neat quadrangular edifice, but the roof is too steep, and carried up to too sharp a ridge: this was done to give height to the building, and render it more conspicuous. Within are two rows of benches, and a simple pulpit; the utmost simplicity is, indeed, observable in every part of the building, but at the same time the due proportions are exceedingly well observed, and the workmanship is extremely neat. (120)

The chapel could now be converted into a residence.

At the same time, Negrini moved to Baviaanskloof and opened

(115) Kü. rep.; III, 15/16.9.1799.

(116) Gnadenhal I, p. 161.

(117) Mi.ko. 20.4.1799.

(118) III, 3.1.1800; IV, 7.9.1800.

(119) III, 8.1.1800.

(120) V.R. X, pp. 190, 191.

a guest-house for visitors near the church. He and his family became members of the congregation. After his death, the brethren took the guest-house into their own management.⁽¹²¹⁾ The inhabitants were bidden to contribute one shilling per annum or tallow for one candle to the illumination of the church. Fourteen thaler and seventy-four candles were collected within three days.⁽¹²²⁾ It was the beginning of regular church contributions. Two years later, an additional fee of one shilling per annum was introduced for the communicants in order to cover the expenses for Holy Communion.⁽¹²³⁾ The expenditure for the church-building, which amounted to 10579 thaler ⁽¹²⁴⁾ and was met by loans from Cape Town, caused consternation overseas.⁽¹²⁵⁾ The brethren, disappointed of receiving reproaches in place of gratitude, resolved to stop further building operations for the time being. ⁽¹²⁶⁾

On the whole, the first five years of British rule were a period of astonishing external growth for Baviaans-kloof. At the same time, the spiritual task was not neglected. The congregation grew from 65 to 304 members.⁽¹²⁷⁾ It consisted of five classes: Candidates for baptism, baptised children, baptised adults, confirmands and communicants. Marriages were concluded between members through the mediation of the conference. The brethren tried at first to find suitable wives for those who wished to marry, but left it to them to make definite proposals later.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Whenever a member died, the whole settlement took part in the funeral. One-thousand or more people walked in proper order to the grave-yard, where they stood respectfully around the grave,

(121) III, 8.1.1800; Le.drafts II, 1.6.1803; Hau.ko.25.5.1804; IV, 21.9.1804.

(122) III, 1.2.1800.

(123) IV, 18.8.1802.

(124) Church exp.

(125) Le. II, 27.7.1799.

(126) Mi.ko. 14.2.1800.

(127) II, p. 179; III, 12.1.1800.

(128) Mi.ko. 1798, passim.

while the liturgy was read. (129) Church discipline was applied not only to individual members but occasionally to a whole group. When the behaviour of a class caused serious dissatisfaction, the brethren stopped the instruction for a while. (130) This measure produced always the desired result, because all were eager to learn.

(129) III, 3.5.1800.

(130) III, p. 32; III, 8.4.1799.

6. Epidemics, famine, war and spiritual blessings

under Christian Ludwig Rose, 1800 - 1805.

The news came to Baviaanskloof on the 10th of May 1800, that a group of six Moravian missionaries had arrived in Simonstown.⁽¹⁾ Among them was Schwinn, who returned with his newly-wedded wife and two brides for Marsveld and Kühnel. The leader of the group was Christian Ludwig Rose, also married, who had been appointed Head of the Mission at the Cape. He was an experienced missionary, having presided over the work in Labrador, on the other side of the globe, for eight years. The Board had instructed him, among other things, to reorganise the financial affairs of Baviaanskloof.⁽²⁾

They needed attention badly. The Hottentots were not yet able to contribute much. It is true that the smithy was a good source of income. In 1801, for instance, the profit was 670 thaler.⁽³⁾ A mission-friend sold the knives in Cape Town and advertised them in the recently published Gazette.⁽⁴⁾ The mill produced profits, too, especially in times of draught, when all other mills in the neighbourhood came to a standstill.⁽⁵⁾ In 1801, it contributed 116 thaler to the general fund.⁽⁶⁾ Gifts were received from mission-friends in the country. Mathilda Smith, a well-known member of the South African Missionary Society, sent a considerable amount together with a cordial letter from time to time.⁽⁷⁾ But the main burden had to be shouldered by the Board. The deficit for the first six years had been 2910 thaler; under Kohrhammer, another 2500 thaler had been added in consequence of the unauthorised erection of the church.⁽⁸⁾

(1) III, 10.5.1800.

(2) Schulze, p. 113; 200 Jahre I, p. 157.

(3) Hau.ko. 3.2.1802.

(4) Le. II, 2.2.1801.

(5) IV, 22.9.1804.

(6) Hau.ko. 3.2.1802.

(7) Le. II, 6.3.1801.

(8) Hau.ko. 28.4.1801; Le. II, 28.3.1802.

This could not go on unchecked.

Marsveld and Kühnel, although in a bad state of health, set out to meet their brides and to register their marriages in Cape Town. (9) When the whole company returned to Baviaanskloof, hundreds of inhabitants bade them an overwhelming welcome. (10) Kühnel moved into a room near the smithy, Marsveld into another one near the mill, Schwinn took lodgings in one of the houses purchased from the inhabitants, Kohrhammer and Rose divided the two annexes of the middle-house among themselves. (11) Rose opened the first conference of the ten missionaries in the former chapel with a moving prayer for the effective presence of the Saviour in their midst. (12)

He left no doubt that the spiritual work was their main concern. The following work-plan was put into operation:

Montag	Schul; sodan Unterricht, 1) für die Kinder, 2) für die Männer, 3) für die Frauen; jede Abtheilung einzeln. Des Abends für alle Getaufte, eine Lection aus der Idea Fid. Fratrum, Bald darnach darauf Liturgii für die Abhmls.-genossen [Abendmahlsgenossen]. Im Hausgeml.: [Hausgemeinlein] Nachrichten Lection.
Dinstag	Schul für Kinder, und des Mittags für die Weiber, nach dem Thee trincken, Der getauften Kinder ihre Viertelstunde wird auf den Donerstag nach der Schul verlegt. Abends wird eine Rede gehalten; und dan Singstunde. Im Hausgeml: Nachrichten Lection.
Mittwochen	Früh vor die Tauf Candidaten. 9 Uhr allgemeine Kinderstunde. 3 Uhr vor die Abendmahlsgenossen. Abends Bibel Lect: Vor alle. Hernach Abendsegen vor die Communicanten oder Viertelstunde vor die Eheleute, welches abwechselt.
Donerstag	Schul. Nach der Kinderschul, vormittags der getauften Kinder ihre Viertelstunde. Abends eine Rede; und Singstunde vor alle. Da in der Woche

(9) III, 19.5.1800.

(10) III, 30.5.1800.

(11) Hau.ko. 2.6.1800.

(12) Mi.ko. 2.6.1800.

die Eheleute Viertelstunde haben,
so haben die Wittwen heute Viertel-
stunde. Im Hausgeml: Nachrichten.

- Freitag Schul. 3 maal: Unterricht, wie Montag.
Abends Bibel Lection. Dann Freytags
Liturgii für Tauf Candl: und Getauf-
ten. Im Hausgemeinlein Nachrichten.
- Sonabend Früh vor die Tauf Candidaten wie
Mittwochen. 9 Uhr allgemeine Kinder-
stunde. Nachmittag vor die Getauften
eine Rede. Im Hausgemeinlein Beter-
versammlung.
- Sontag Litanij vor Getaufte und Tauf
Candidaten. Dann Predigt. Abends im
Hausgemeinlein Rede Lection. (13)

A short service for the confirmands and one for the un-
married sisters were added later.⁽¹⁴⁾ During December and
January, most of the classes closed down, because the
inhabitants were busy with the harvest on the farms. The
communicants were individually spoken to before the monthly
celebration of the Lord's Supper. A similar "speaking"
was held for the other groups at fixed times. The results
were reported to the monthly missionary conference, in which
the lot played the decisive role. Thus, the emphasis was
on the spiritual care for the individuals and the rule of
the Saviour by means of the lot, in accordance with the
general Moravian praxis.

A growing number of male and female church-servants
assisted the missionaries. They were held in high esteem
by the inhabitants, most of all Jakob Mauritz, the first
baptised man, who led an exemplary life. Whenever a church-
servant went through the village in order to call those,
to whom the brethren wanted to speak, the population watched
his course with great attention and awe.⁽¹⁵⁾ Through them,
the missionaries ruled the settlement patriarchally, like
stern but beloved house-fathers. They even chose the names
for those who were baptised, mostly from the Bible.

(13) Mi.ko. 26.7.1800 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(14) IV, 31.5.1802, 2.5.1803.

(15) IV, 9.8.1801.

The intensification of the spiritual work resulted in a considerable growth of the congregation. While the number of inhabitants decreased from 1234 to 1093 between 1800 and 1805, the congregation increased from 304 to 469 during the same period. Thus, nearly every second inhabitant became a member. (16)

The economy of the Mission was henceforth dealt with in separate weekly conferences. (17) The victuals, the dressing material and all other supplies were placed under the control of Schwinn, who apportioned them to the missionaries, as the conference decided. (18) A chest was made for the archives; the documents had so far been hung on a roof-beam in bundles. (19) Each brother had his allotted task: Kehrhammer assisted with the correspondence, Schwinn worked the garden and repaired shoes, Marsveld looked after the mill and tailored clothing, Kühnel made knives, and Rose did the office work and supervised the whole. (20)

The manner of the missionaries was not gloomy and ascetic but cheerful and childlike. The meals were held in common in the dining-room of the middle-house. A visitor described them as follows:

After we had rested a short time in the house, we were carried to a table extremely well set out, and all prepared by the good wives themselves, every one in her different department. Instead of a prayer before the meal, the five couple sang a verse of a hymn, and then with the utmost cheerfulness and in a style equally removed from studied seriousness and from frivolity, entered into conversation with us. This was carried on in a manner which shewed so much correctness of thinking, and soundness of understanding, that our good opinion of them was increased at every moment: we were so well entertained that we did not break up the party till near midnight. (21)

(16) III, 12.1.1800; IV, 31.12.1805.

(17) Hau.ko. 2.6.1800.

(18) Hau.ko. 18.8.1800.

(19) Hau.ko. 17.2.1801.

(20) Hau.ko. 1.2.1803.

(21) V.R. X, p. 190.

The garden was a place of relaxation. Benches were placed underneath the pear-tree, from which Rose enjoyed the view on the tobacco plantation. (22) Fast the tree a path led to the grave-yard. Rose laid it out shortly after his arrival, dividing it into nine squares, one for each choir, with paths along the lines, similar to the grave-yard at Herrnhut. A board with a number was placed on each grave, and the whole surrounded by a hedge of roses. It was reserved for the members of the congregation, twenty of whom had already been buried. (23) Rose did not know that he would be the first missionary to find his last resting-place there. Nor did he know of the difficult times ahead.

The first calamity was already beginning. An epidemic of bilious fever swept through the settlement. Within a short time, only few families were unaffected. Two to five people were ill in some houses. Ten to twelve deaths occurred weekly. (24) If contracted for the second time, the disease proved fatal in most cases. (25) The brethren distributed vomitives on a large scale, until their stock was exhausted. If taken in the beginning of the illness, the measure proved sometimes helpful. (26) The doctor of the Warm Bath, J.F. Hassner, advised that the patients should be fed well. (27) But the people had not the means to do so. The settlement was overcrowded and the inhabitants underfed. Moreover, the farmers ceased to hire labourers for fear of contamination and sent their own labourers to Baviaanskloof, when they fell ill. Many of them died on the road. (28) The brethren could only go from house to house,

(22) Le. V, 23.3.1802.

(23) IV, 27.7.1800.

(24) IV, 15.11.1800, 22.11.1800.

(25) IV, 24.8.1800.

(26) IV, 9.7.1800.

(27) IV, 17.11.1800.

(28) Mi.ko. 25.10.1800.

comforting the sick and the dying. Every day, one of the couples visited forty to fifty houses. (29) Some families lost eight members (30), of one family only a child survived. (31) Among those who died, was Jakob Mauritz, the church-servant. (32) The statistics show that 162 people died during 1800, that is every eighth inhabitant. (33)

Another disaster followed in 1801. The crop being a failure, food became very scarce throughout the Colony. (34) The Government reacted by controlling the sale of wheat. After the farmers had handed in their stocks, they had scarcely enough for themselves. (35) The result was a catastrophic famine in Baviaanskloof throughout the year. People kept themselves alive by collecting roots and berries in the veld. (36) Others left the settlement and adopted their old habit of roaming about the country to the regret of the brethren. (37) Sixty-seven people died in the course of the year. At the end of 1801, Rose listed only about one-thousand residents, which is three-hundred less than the previous year. (38) Moreover, a horse-sickness raged through the district, of which many horses in Baviaanskloof died. The missionaries themselves remained in good health throughout, but each one of the three pioneers had to bury a still-born child of his in the grave-yard. (39)

The disasters produced spiritual blessings. Many became concerned about their salvation. (40) The doors of the missionaries were beleaguered by people, who wanted to

(29) Mi.ko. 1.10.1800.

(30) Mi.ko. 25.10.1800.

(31) IV, 15.1.1801.

(32) IV, 11.11.1800.

(33) IV, 31.12.1800.

(34) Theal I, p. 68.

(35) IV, 4.3.1801, 30.3.1801.

(36) IV, 12.7.1801.

(37) IV, 20.7.1801.

(38) IV, 31.12.1801.

(39) IV, 11.4.1801, 25.5.1801, 7.10.1801.

(40) IV, 18.9.1800.

talk about their relation to the Saviour.⁽⁴¹⁾ On Sundays, three large processions of members went singing into the veld, each class for itself, for mutual encouragement.⁽⁴²⁾ Many departed this life in faith. An old, unbaptised Hottentot woman, for instance, who could only talk to the visiting sister with the aid of an interpreter, had nevertheless become convinced of her salvation.⁽⁴³⁾ A number of the elder people understood only the Hottentot language. They, too, were admitted to the congregation.⁽⁴⁴⁾ One of the members repeated the sermon after each Sunday service in that language for their benefit.⁽⁴⁵⁾

A family of Hottentots arrived from the District of Graaf-Reinet early in 1800. It was at the time, when Maynier endeavoured once more to keep peace and order in those parts,⁽⁴⁶⁾ and when Van der Kemp started mission work among the Xhosa.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The newcomers reported that a great desire had arisen among their fellow-men to come to Baviaanskloof. A group of Xhosa, who had passed through the settlement in 1799, had spread its fame, and had added that the people should cease to call each other Kaffirs and Hottentots, because they were brothers. Those who wanted to come, had to do so in secret, and to abandon their cattle.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Nevertheless, another group of twenty-three Hottentots arrived from the Eastern Cape.⁽⁴⁹⁾

A growing number of inhabitants were Coloured People. Lichtenstein, who visited the settlement during this period, wrote about them:

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- (41) IV, 12.8.1800.
(42) IV, 15.8.1800.
(43) IV, 29.1.1801.
(44) IV, 2.12.1800.
(45) Mi.ko. 7.5.1802.
(46) Theal I, p. 76.
(47) Du Plessis, pp. 121, 122.
(48) IV, 15.1.1801.
(49) IV, 3.6.1801.

Those who are baptized are all Bastards, since among the pure Hottentots exhortation alone cannot produce a sufficient effect to induce them to throw aside their careless and indolent ways. (50)

It may be true that the Coloured inhabitants had better houses and gardens and a more civilised appearance. But his statement that the Christian congregation consisted of Coloureds only, is not correct, but based on prejudice.

The brethren continued to keep a strict discipline over all inhabitants. Newcomers were thoroughly examined. A family, who had been expelled from a farm because of theft, was refused admission. (51) A man who travelled to Cape Town and wanted to leave his wagon and his wife in the settlement pending his return, the wagon for repairs, and the wife to learn obedience, was turned away. (52) The old regulation that no intoxicating liquor may be brought into the settlement for resale on pain of expulsion, was re-affirmed. (53) Negrini, who had sinned against it, was cautioned. (54) A young girl, who had trespassed the sixth commandment on a farm, was returned to the responsible farmer. (55) Another girl, who had stolen shoes on a farm unnoticed, had to bring them back and to ask forgiveness to the great astonishment of the farmer. (56) Three men, who had stolen a sheep from Geldenhuys, were handed over to him for a hiding. (57) But when a farmer accused an inhabitant wrongly of theft, the brethren insisted on a written apology. He refused at first, because the man was a Hottentot, not a Christian. Only when the brethren threatened to refer the matter to the authorities, he complied. (58) Thus, they demanded respect for the ten commandments from both sides.

(50) V.R. X, pp. 193, 194.

(51) IV, 25.7.1801.

(52) IV, 7.2.1801.

(53) IV, 18.7.1801.

(54) Mi.ko. 17.9.1802.

(55) IV, 27.4.1801.

(56) IV, 4.8.1801.

(57) IV, 14.9.1801.

(58) IV, 18.8.1803.

The disputes about the boundary led to a climax and a settlement. The struggle between the Hottentots and Geldenhuys about the southern boundary continued (59), and the eastern neighbour, Phil Morkel, had put beacons to the north of the Zondereind with the consent of the Landdrost, but counter to the old rights of the Hottentots. (60) Now, word came that Dundas himself would come to Baviaanskloof to make new arrangements. (61) It was at the time, when he instructed the Landdrost of Graaf-Reinet to give Van der Kemp land for his converts near the Algoa Bay under the protection of Fort Frederick. He wished to settle Hottentots on suitable spots in order to diminish the frictions between farmers and vagrants. (62)

Consequently, Rose and Kühnel went to Cape Town to put the case for Baviaanskloof. Their friend, the Fiscal W.S. van Ryneveld, accompanied them to the General and pointed out that more than one-thousand people had been living under the care of the brethren in peace and order for years. No complaints had been submitted to him and no fiscal was required, while other settlements of only three-hundred people had to have one. In times of famine and epidemics, the brethren had borne the burden without assistance from the Government. Therefore, they should not be oppressed by their neighbours. The General promised to send a commission. He was unable to come himself. His time was running short. A treaty had already been drafted, according to which the Cape would be handed back to Holland. He wanted to put the country in order for the transfer, including satisfactory arrangements for the Hottentots. (63)

The Colonial Secretary, the Landdrost and a surveyor

(59) IV, 8.7.1800, 21.8.1800, 29/30.10.1800.

(60) B.O. 34, 12.1.1799.

(61) IV, 24.10.1801.

(62) Theal I, p. 81; Walker, p. 133.

(63) IV, 23.1.1802; Theal I, pp. 82, 83; B.O. 34, 17.2.1802.

made a careful investigation on the spot.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The result was that Morkel was ordered to remove his beacons⁽⁶⁵⁾; when he made no move to do so, the Vice-Landdrost, the Field-Cornet and two of the brethren threw the beacons into the river to the great satisfaction of many Hottentots, who had come to witness the event.⁽⁶⁶⁾ But nothing could be done to the southern boundary except for a minor alteration, because it was according to the conveyance granted to Geldenhuys in 1788. A beacon was put on the spot.⁽⁶⁷⁾

In order to compensate the Hottentots for their loss, the Government offered to pay three-hundred to five-hundred thaler for the reclamation of the marsh-land below the mission-buildings. The idea had first been mentioned by Lady Ann on the occasion of her visit⁽⁶⁸⁾ and was put to the boundary commission again by her husband. After making a survey, the brethren estimated the costs at two-thousand thaler, which were granted by the General on condition that a beginning was made at once. Half the amount was paid forthwith, the other half was promised on receipt of proof that the work progressed satisfactorily.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The big enterprise started immediately.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The second half of the grant was paid out shortly before the British authorities left, after Van Ryneveld had interceded again on behalf of the brethren.⁽⁷¹⁾ The reclamation took several years, and was interrupted many times, but was finally completed.⁽⁷²⁾

Meanwhile, the frictions between the farmers in the Eastern Cape and the Hottentots and Xhosas increased. A commando under T. van der Walt was defeated by the insurgent

(64) IV, 4-6.2.1802; Le. II, 5.2.1802.

(65) IV, 19.3.1802; Le. II, 13.3.1802.

(66) IV, 14.4.1802.

(67) IV, 21.6.1802. - Compare pp. 98, 119, 120, 121.

(68) Lady Anne, p. 188.

(69) IV, 19.3.1802, 8.4.1802; Hau.ko. 20.4.1802.

(70) IV, 21/22.4.1802.

(71) Hau.ko. 18.10.1802.

(72) Compare V.R. X, p. 192.

Hottentots under Klaas Stuurman. The son of the Commandant was killed on the occasion. The farmers were afraid that the Cape Corps would desert to the enemy (73), and rumours of a pending rebellion of all Hottentots revived. (74)

A commando, returning from the front through the District of Swellendam under the Hottentot-Captain Benedict Reuter from Baviaanskloof, increased their apprehension. British troops, sent to meet them on the way, caused a panic at Roodezand on occasion of the farewell-service of Vos. People jumped out of the church-windows, thinking that the village was being invaded by the rebels. (75)

The unrest spread even to Baviaanskloof. The Field-Cornet, Pieter Du Toit, warned the brethren that armed Hottentots had been seen near French Hoek and that no Hottentots were allowed to have a gun without permission. The brethren reassured him: The old regulation that all the guns had to be in the keeping of the brethren at night, was still in force. (76) When another Field-Cornet came for an inspection, he found the eight guns of the settlement controlled in this manner. (77) Word came that a commando of farmers had gathered once more against Baviaanskloof, but that a field-cornet had turned them back. Rose wrote:

... man hörte dass neml: [nämlich] Commandos von Bauren kommen, und alle Hottentotten tod-schüssen wolten. Dahingegen waren die Bauren voll Furcht, dass die Hottentotten Sie überfallen und ermorden würden ... (78)

It was under these conditions that the reclamation of the marsh-land began.

The public mood changed for the better for a few months. The Secretary of the Government, Hercules Ross, inspected

(73) Theal I, pp. 81, 82.

(74) IV, 25.4.1802.

(75) IV, 25.4.1802; Theal I, p. 82. - According to Theal, the Cape Corps itself caused the trouble in Roodezand.

(76) IV, 14.4.1802.

(77) IV, 25.4.1802.

(78) IV, 25.4.1802 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

the progress of the drainage and promised to send a present of spades and pickaxes for the Hottentots.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Benedict Reuter, returning on furlough, brought a letter from Van der Kemp from Graaf-Reinet, who informed the brethren that the conduct of Benedict had been good and that he had been admitted to the Lord's Supper. The congregation had consisted of two Hottentots and a slave on this occasion. The brethren were rather astonished, because Benedict was not yet a communicant and his conduct was not according to the ten commandments. They had heard that Van der Kemp gave the Holy Communion even to unbaptised people. His spontaneous and sometimes disorderly actions compared unfavourably with the strict order of Baviaanskloof.⁽⁸⁰⁾

As the transfer of the Cape to Holland approached, the unrest increased, especially in the Eastern Cape, from where Dundas was withdrawing the British troops. Van der Kemp, who had moved to the Algoa Bay with his Hottentots, made an unsuccessful effort at mediation between the Government and the insurgents. Another commando of Swellendam farmers moved against Klaas Stuurman but suffered defeat. The Commandant, T. van der Walt, was killed. Theal presents the story of the two commandos in quite another light than Rose in his diary. According to Theal, the farmers fought valiantly against the cruel hordes of the savages.⁽⁸¹⁾ Rose, on the other hand, stresses that the commandos incited the Hottentots to retaliation by their cruelty against men, women and children.⁽⁸²⁾ In any case, the insurgents moved farther westward as far as four days' journey east of Swellendam..

The Government instructed Jakobus Linde of Lindeshof to form a new commando and sent him powder and guns for the

(79) IV, 14.10.1802.

(80) IV, 2.10.1802; Le. II, 16.2.1802.

(81) Theal I, pp. 81-85.

(82) IV, 19.10.1802.

purpose. He turned at once to Baviaanskloof for recruits to the embarrassment of the brethren, who were busy with the draining of the marsh. (83) On appeal to the Government, they were informed that only volunteers were called up and that the Government would do completely without men from Baviaanskloof in consideration of the reclamation work. Thus, Linde did not obtain even a single man, which caused embitterment among the farmers against the brethren. (84)

The Hottentot-Captain Christlieb Booda, who returned to Baviaanskloof with three wagons, was held up by farmers, who searched his freight for powder and guns. It appeared, however, that he conveyed only the spades and pickaxes presented by Ross. (85) Thus, the people of Baviaanskloof continued their work of peace in the midst of the disturbances. And when about two-hundred visitors attended the worship on New Year (86), they could see for themselves that the settlement was not a nest of rebels, as suspected.

The new Government arrived on 23rd December 1802 and Dundas left the country with the last British troops. (87) The Batavian Republic had sent two remarkable men to govern the Cape, Jacob Abraham de Mist as Commissioner-General for the beginning, and Jan Willem Janssens as Governor for the duration. They were inspired by ideals of humanity and freedom, derived from the French Revolution. De Mist had prepared himself for his task by drawing up a detailed programme of action, which had been approved in Holland. One of its points was that the Mission of the Moravians and similar efforts would be encouraged and protected. (88) After he had become personally acquainted with the problems

(83) IV, 19.10.1802; Le. II, 20.10.1802.

(84) IV, 29.10.1802, 8.11.1802.

(85) IV, 20.12.1802.

(86) IV, 31.12.1802.

(87) Theal I, pp. 95-100.

(88) V.R. III, p. 49.

of the country, his attitude towards the L.M.S. and the S.A. Missionary Society changed, because, in his opinion, they set about their task in the wrong way. He considered that the L.M.S. estranged their wards from the economic set-up of the country, encouraged them to lead a lazy life, and placed them under a foreign authority, and that the S.A.M.S. worked only in the villages of the Western Cape, where predikants were stationed already, in place of moving into the interior to the heathen. But he always excepted the Moravians from his criticism. (89) Both, De Mist and Janssens, had visited Zeist before leaving Holland. The brethren in Zeist had feared that the oppression of Baviaanskloof would revive under a Dutch Government, but both had convinced them to the contrary. (90)

Rose and Marsveld went to Cape Town with their wives to bid them welcome. The Governor invited them to dinner. He and his wife were full of amiable reminiscences of Zeist. The Commissioner-General, after receiving them cordially, turned to business: He intended to close the camp at Rietvlei near Cape Town, where a great number of Hottentots, partly families of soldiers, partly refugees from Graaf-Reinet, were maintained by the Government. Would the brethren admit these people to Baviaanskloof? In reply, Rose pointed out that their space was too limited. Besides, only people, who earnestly desired to become Christians, were admitted. He would only ask for the return of the soldiers and their families, who belonged to Baviaanskloof. De Mist left the matter for the time being and called Christlieb Booda. He instructed him in forceful terms to convey his wishes to the inhabitants: He wanted them to appreciate their missionaries and to accept the gospel. If they respected and obeyed their spiritual fathers, the Government would vigorously protect

(89) Van der Merwe, pp. 252-271; Du Plessis, pp. 64, 65.

(90) Le. V, June 1802.

the settlement. (91)

The brethren had a narrow escape on the road back. Three runaway slaves attacked them in the Hottentots Holland Mountains, capturing two oxen and one of the servants. Only when Marsveld charged at them with a loaded gun, did they relinquish their booty. (92) At home, all were relieved on hearing that the new Government intended to protect them. They had feared that they would be sent back to the farms, and that the brethren would be expelled. (93)

Janssens himself turned up in Baviaanskloof three weeks later quite unexpectedly. He had not notified the brethren of his visit in order to save them trouble and expense. Nevertheless, many inhabitants gathered quickly and the children sang a few verses. He inspected everything full of interest. (94)

Among his retinue was a renowned burgher of Cape Town, Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, who owned the brewery at Newlands and controlled several farms. (95) He told the Governor privately that, in his view, the Hottentots would be of more value to the country, if they lived dispersed on the farms. Quite a number of farmers had sunk into poverty because of a shortage of these creatures. According to him, many thousands of Hottentots had left the farms. Moreover, the neighbours of Baviaanskloof were complaining that the wages for labourers had risen from two shillings to six or even eight shillings. The inhabitants spent the earnings from the harvest for the rest of the year in idleness. Most of their cattle had perished through sickness under the crowded conditions of Baviaanskloof. This, then, was the problem of the Hottentots from a farmer's point of view.

The Governor considered together with Van Reenen and

(91) IV, 7-15.3.1803; Van der Merwe, pp. 240-247.

(92) IV, 7-15.3.1803.

(93) IV, 16.3.1803.

(94) IV, 5.4.1803; Bel. Hist. Dok. p. 207.

(95) V.R. XVIII, pp. 2, 3.

Rose the chances of introducing some industry into the settlement, such as the growing and spinning of flax. Rose pointed out that the missionaries had no experience and had come for another purpose, to which Van Reenen retorted that other people with the necessary experience should then take charge of the Hottentots. The Governor expressed the view that it would be a good thing to train the Hottentots in agriculture or some trade, but only under conditions which were consistent with their freedom. It is evident that he wanted to safeguard the free development of all the sections of the population. (96)

In the course of his visit, the Governor had a long, confidential talk with Rose, which was recorded by the latter. After expressing his admiration for the mission work, he put the question:

Wie geht es mit Ihren Hottentotten und den Bauren, haben Sie da nicht immer zu richten und zu schlichten? Antw: Es komt darinnen mancherley vor; allein diese Beschwerden suche ich so viel als möglich, in der Liebe zu richten, den es ist immer besser etwas Unrecht leiden, als Unrecht thun. Den oft liegt die Schuld am Bauer, der gewohnt ist, dass der Hottentott ihm vor nichts arbeiten soll, ja der Bauer behandelt den Hottl: viel schlechter als seinen Slaven in der Absicht, stirbt der Hottl: so hab ich doch keinen Verlust, allein stirbt mein Slave so verlihr ich so viel 100 Rch: [Reichstaler] Dahero haben die armen Hottl: welche doch freye Menschen seid - oft des Bauers Wuth und Bosheit zu unterfinden, die da öfters bis zum Abschaum geht. Auf der andern Seite ist es auch nicht zu leugnen, dass die mehersten Hottl: ein nach ihrer Art träges und faules Volck ist, und nur durch die Annehmung des Wortes Gottes zu ordentlichen Menschen gebildet werden; da sie alsdan auch fleissig arbeiten, welches der Herr Gouverneur an ihren Gärten sehen kan. Fr: Wie kommen Sie aber zurechte wen der Bauer über den Hottl: oder der Hottl: übern Bauer klagt? Antw: Der Hottl: ist ein freyer Mensch, wird er nun von den Bauer nicht ordentl. behandelt, und wie es öfters vorkomt, wen die Arbeit gethan ist, an statt der Bezahlung so jagt der Bauer mit Bedrohung eines Buckel voll Schläge den Hottl: fort, wan alsdan der Hottl: klagt, so sage ich ihm: Du kennst nun den Bauer, ein andermal geh nicht wider zu ihm, und lass ihn seine Arbeit selbst thun. Aus der Ursach können viele Bauren kein Volck zur Arbeit bekommen. Beschwert sich nun der Bauer dass

er kein Volck kriegen kan, so sage ich ihm: Freund Ihr müst mit dem Volcke besser umgehen und ihnen dassjenige was sie verdient haben, mit Geld oder Kost geben aber nicht mit den Schambock bezahlen wollen. Dann stehen sie verstimmt da. Uebrigens muss man freilich suchen so viel als möglich Gedult zu haben. DH.G: (Der Herr Gouverneur) sagte: Dass ist mir sehr lieb, ich bitte Sie, fahren Sie ferner so fort. Doch sagte Er ferner: Geben Sie mir einen guten Rath: Was soll ich als Richter thun, wen Bauer und Hottl: zu mir komt, wie es kurz vor meiner Abreise geschehen ist. Der Hottentott brachte die bitterste Klage an, wegen seiner erlitenen Ungerechtigkeit, Misshandlung und allen schändlichen Betragen. Der Bauer stand wie ein Stock und sagte endlich ganz kaltblütig: Dass ist nicht wahr, der Hottl: lügt. Wir als Richter haben alles gründlich nachgeforscht, waren von der gerechten Klage des Hottl: völlig überzeugt. Allein der Hottl: hatte keine Zeugen, und der Bauer konte nicht gehörig überführt werden, leugnete alles weg. Was soll ich als Richter thun? Ich will doch gerne jeden Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen: Rathen Sie mir? Mein l. Mner Janson, ich bin kein Rechts-gelehrter und kan dises nicht entscheiden; allein beÿ solchen Umständen, da der Richter doch von der gerechtsamen Beklagte des Hottl: in seinen Herzen überzeugt ist, dahingegen der Bauer durch Zeugen nicht überführt werden kann, da muss man fragen: Was sollen dass vor Zeugen seÿn. Dass muss wider ein Bauer seÿn oder sogenenter Christ. Da wird sehr selten ein Hottl: Zeugen aufstellen können. Ich sage, wen der Richter von der Wahrheit so überzeugt ist: Da ist es vor den Bauer am besten, wen er beÿ Wasser und Brodt eine Zeit lang in Ruhe gesezt wird, dass er darüber reiflich nachdencken kan, und wen auch weiter nichts herauskommen solte, so ist es doch für andere ein Exempel. (97)

The Governor discussed further the resettlement of the Hottentots of Rietvlei and Rose expressed his wish to establish a second mission station. He then spoke of his peace-making journey to the Eastern Cape and, finally, mentioned his plan to put up a deeds office in Cape Town, to which Rose remarked that the farms should be surveyed properly and that the rich should be prevented from taking the land of the poor. (98) The whole conversation shows how Rose felt about the treatment of the Hottentots and how he defended their interests, when given the opportunity to do so.

(97) IV, 5.4.1803, zweite Beilage (slightly amended; see p. 76).
(98) IV, 5.10.1803, zweite Beilage.

It will be noted that he also expressed the wish to establish another settlement. The overcrowded conditions of Baviaanskloof called for such a move and the new Government would certainly have given its full support. La Trobe had raised the matter with the British Government as far back as 1801,⁽⁹⁹⁾ and the Synod at Herrnhut had discussed it in his presence in the same year. The Synod felt, however, that no urgent request had come from the brethren on the spot and that the political situation in South Africa made it desirable to postpone the matter. The postponement was confirmed by the lot.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The brethren in Baviaanskloof had their eyes on the Eastern Cape but wanted to wait for peace and order to return to that part of the country.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Janssens considered the matter of the Hottentots further. He wrote from Swellendam to De Mist:

De zaak der Hottentotten is belangrijk: ik tracht er zoo veels kennis van te bekomen alsende voor mij te doen is, en hoop er UwE. als wij verder gevorderd zullen zijn een verslag van te doen, dat UwE. tot het maken van goede arrangementen eenigzins dienstbaar kan zijn. Ondertusschen geloove ik dat ten hunnen opzigten niets uyt zijn geheel moet gebragt worden. Zoo verre er van mij tot heden aan geoordeeld kan worden, is uw idee het beste: dezelve krachtadig te beschermen, maar in kleÿne craalen op verschillende punten te verdeelen en hiertoe zullen wel plaatsen en gelegenheden zijn, als Van der Kemp en andere zulks willen bevorderen, en hun dit smaakelyk te maken in steede van te ontraaden. (102)

He thought of settling a number of Hottentots for instance at Zoetemelksvlei under the supervision of Theunissen.

Consequently, the Government took various measures on their behalf. The men returned from the Cape Corps to Baviaanskloof and many foreign Hottentot soldiers were admitted with them on the urgent request of their commander.⁽¹⁰³⁾

(99) Le. V, 5.1.1801.

(100) Syn. 1801, 3.7.1801; Le. V, 25.10.1801.

(101) Hau.ko. 13.9.1802.

(102) Bel. Hist. Dok. pp. 207, 208.

(103) IV, 14.4.1803, 20.4.1803, 23.5.1803, 23.6.1803.

A new regulation stipulated that farmers, who wished to hire labourers for longer than three months, must do so by means of a written contract, officially endorsed. (104) Another regulation, which caused much extra work for the brethren, was that a detailed annual return must be made for each farm. (105) The vision of the Government was to transform the country into a colony of settlers, to integrate the Hottentots, to eliminate the slaves and to keep the Bantu out. (106) But the reign of the Batavian Republic was too short for the realisation of the plan.

De Mist visited Baviaanskloof later in the year, accompanied by the tutor of his son, the German physician Heinrich Lichtenstein, who gave an exhaustive description of the visit in his journal. The Commissioner-General stayed overnight, assured the brethren of his goodwill and left a gift of five-hundred guilders on his departure to the Eastern Cape. (107) There, Janssens had meanwhile carried out the plan of Dundas to settle Van der Kemp near Algoa Bay by granting him the site of Bethelsdorp for his Hottentots. De Mist found the new mission station in its initial stage, and Lichtenstein compared the gloomy appearance of the settlement with the flourishing picture of Baviaanskloof. (108) Later travellers have repeated this comparison to the disadvantage of Bethelsdorp.

Various reasons can be given for the difference in the reputation of the two settlements: The natural conditions of Baviaanskloof are much better. The Hottentots of the western parts were more susceptible to an ordered Christian life by their longer contact with the civilisation; Schmidt's work, too, had left its traces. The Moravian brethren were

(104) Van der Merwe, pp. 248, 249; IV, 23.5.1803.

(105) Van der Merwe, p. 130; IV, 29.12.1802, 5.2.1804.

(106) Walker, p. 136.

(107) V.R. X, pp.186-195; Bel.Hist.Dok. p.146; IV, 3.12.1803.

(108) V.R. X, p. 294.

tradesmen and aimed at a community, in which the daily work was part of the common worship; Van der Kemp, on the other hand, was a scholarly but unpractical theologian. A strict, patriarchal discipline was maintained at Baviaanskloof, while Van der Kemp and his co-worker, James Read, regarded it as their calling to treat the Hottentots as equals; both married indigenous wives. Finally, the brethren, who were Lutherans except Marsveld, showed a great respect for the God-given authorities; public political action was foreign to them; The L.M.S. missionaries, on the other hand, inconvenienced the authorities by fighting publicly for the political rights of the Hottentots. (109)

In any case, De Mist received a less favourable impression of his old school-mate, Van der Kemp, than of the brethren, although he left him five-hundred guilders, too.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ In the following year, the Government formed the new District of Uitenhage. Before the new Landdrost, Captain Lodewyk Alberti, took up his appointment, he met Rose and Kühnel at the dinner-table of De Mist in Cape Town. The Commissioner-General asked them to become friends and requested Alberti to visit Baviaanskloof on his way to the Eastern Cape, evidently because he considered Baviaanskloof exemplary for the further development of Bethelsdorp. Alberti and his new Secretary, J. Knobel, consequently paid a visit to the brethren. ⁽¹¹¹⁾ Still, Van der Kemp continued in his own manner, but his correspondence with the brethren shows that they were nevertheless basically of one mind. When the Government called him to Cape Town with reference to many complaints, which had been levelled against him, he wrote from Swellendam that he hoped to visit them on his return and to talk many things over. However, he was kept in

(109) Marais, pp. 141-150; Theal I, pp. 110-112;
Du Flessis, pp. 125-128.

(110) Van der Merwe, p. 257.

(111) IV, 24.5.1804, 12.6.1804, 14.10.1804; Theal I, p. 113.

Cape Town, until the Colony became British once more. (112)

The rule of the Batavian Republic was of short duration. The war between Britain and France was resumed. (113) Shortly after the men of Baviaanskloof had returned from military service, they were called up again. (114) The Captain of the Cape Corps, F.W. Le Sueur, assisted by Jakobus Linde, came to Baviaanskloof to enlist volunteers. He intended to use them as corporals over the others and had a letter from the Governor, who assured the brethren that the soldiers would receive pastoral care and their families would be supported. When the men were called one by one to make their decision, Rose was present in order to prevent them from being pressed into the service. Twenty-two agreed to re-enter the army. (115) After a few weeks, Linde returned to enlist all the unmarried men as volunteers. They declared their willingness to defend the Colony, if the alarm-shots called on all inhabitants of the country to do so. But as long as the service was voluntary, they preferred to remain at home. After making a list of the able-bodied men, Linde departed. (116)

Two of the brethren visited the camp at Wynberg some months later. When they were about to return to Baviaanskloof, they were suddenly called to the Commissioner-General and the Governor, who requested them in cordial but emphatic terms to send one of their number to the camp for the spiritual care of the soldiers. A dwelling would be erected for the missionary couple and a chapel, and the Government would pay their salary. After the war, the rest of the women and children could join the men and a permanent institution could develop. The other missionaries would have to leave the country, but in the Moravians, the Government had confidence.

(112) IV, 6.4.1804, 27.5.1805; Du Plessis, pp. 126, 127.

(113) Walker, p. 134.

(114) Theal I, p. 109.

(115) IV, 25-27.9.1803, 27.12.1803.

(116) IV, 16.10.1803.

Rose objected: They were too few workers in Baviaanskloof and some of them were in bad health. He would put the matter before the Board at home and ask for an additional brother. But De Mist would not accept a delay: The Government had approved of the plan already. After his return to Holland, he himself would apologise to the brethren in Zeist for their unauthorised action. The conference in Baviaanskloof should consider the request and give an immediate answer.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

After talking the matter over at home, the brethren accepted the proposal. The watchword of the day was: "Thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak" (Jeremiah 1.7). Their conditions were that the brother was not considered an army-chaplain but a missionary, that the Government granted his boarding and his maintenance, that his salary was paid to Baviaanskloof and that he could work under the supervision and according to the regulations of the Brethren. ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ They were granted, and Kohrhammer moved with his wife on 23rd August 1804 to Wynberg. ⁽¹¹⁹⁾

A small residence was put at their disposal and a plot for gardening. The first service was held in the open air. In place of a bell, drums announced the occasion. The soldiers marched behind Kohrhammer to the chosen spot, where three drums under a tent served as a pulpit. Many people from Cape Town joined the audience. On week-days, Kohrhammer held house-meetings, started a school for children and worked his garden in his spare-time. De Mist, who stayed on a farm close by pending his return to Europe, took a special interest in the venture. It lasted only a month. On the news that a British fleet was in the neighbourhood, the Corps

(117) IV, 24.5.1804.

(118) IV, 25.5.1804; Hau.ko. 25.5.1804, 6.7.1804.

(119) IV, 23.8.1804.

left the camp and the wives and children were sent on foot to Baviaanskloof under two Hottentot-captains. Many burghers prepared to flee inland and Kohrhammer returned home. (120)

The women and children, 187 people, arrived in three groups in a desperate state. After feeding them, the brethren allotted them to the inhabitants. Weekly rations, granted by the Government, were distributed. (121)

The Government had installed a gunpowder-chamber in Zoetemelksvlei (122) and a granary was planned for Ziekenhuis. Another magazine was in Swellendam, part of which exploded, killing thirteen people and damaging the church. (123) The idea of the authorities was to defend the country in the Hottentots Holland mountains, backed by the provisions and the men of the interior, if the British occupied the Peninsula. (124) Thus, Baviaanskloof was part of the hinterland of the proposed line of defence.

The British attack did not materialise at this stage, but the Cape Corps became a strong mobile unit of six-hundred men on the occasion (125), and the dependants of the soldiers were sent to the brethren in spite of Rose's objections. The sudden turn of events and the additional burden caused Rose to contract a heart-disease (126), of which he died twelve months later. Thus, the Batavian Republic did not only highly appreciate the Moravians but also vigorously used them for its purposes.

The harvest of 1805 was even worse than the preceding one. The Hottentots searched for roots in the veld up to a distance of six hours from the institution, but the farmers

(120) IV, 31.12.1804, appendix; Van der Merwe, pp.373,374.

(121) IV, 11-23.10.1804.

(122) IV, 5.9.1804, 12.10.1804.

(123) IV, 5/6.11.1804, 25.12.1804.

(124) Theal I, p. 136.

(125) Theal I, p. 136.

(126) IV, 27.10.1804.

had dug them out for themselves.⁽¹²⁷⁾ Others went in vain to the farms, trying to exchange firewood or baskets for food.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Only the families of the soldiers received regular rations.⁽¹²⁹⁾ The bilious fever reappeared and a cold winter descended on the country.⁽¹³⁰⁾

The Cape Corps having returned to Wynberg, Kohrhammer moved back to the camp, followed by many women and children of the soldiers. A grave task was allotted to him shortly after his arrival. The Governor requested him to prepare three deserters, who had been condemned to death, for their execution. They were from Bethelsdorp, and one of them was the brother of Read's Hottentot wife. Kohrhammer spent the whole day with them in their cell at the Castle, leaving them late in the evening and returning early on the following morning to accompany them to their place of execution through the streets of Cape Town. They died trusting in the Saviour, but Kohrhammer fell ill in consequence of the strain, staying in bed for five weeks.⁽¹³¹⁾

His ordinary duties at the camp were not much easier. The small group of Christians was ridiculed by the others. Drunkenness, swearing and other evils prevailed. Still, the men of Baviaanskloof, especially the Corporal Aaron Norman, gave a good example by winning others for Christ.⁽¹³²⁾

The sad news came that Rose had died on 12th October 1805 in Baviaanskloof.⁽¹³³⁾ Aged fifty-nine, he had been the father of all for the short time of his office. Under him, the paternal order and the intensive spiritual ministrations had been properly installed, which remained

(127) IV, 17.6.1805, 30.9.1805.

(128) IV, 17.9.1804.

(129) IV, 27.3.1805.

(130) IV, 9.6.1805, 21.6.1805, 22.7.1805.

(131) Kohr.rep. (IV, appendix), 19/20.7.1805; IV, 28.7.1805.

(132) Kohr.rep., passim.

(133) IV, 12.10.1805.

the distinctive feature of the settlement for a long time to come. He had enjoyed the respect and the friendship of Hottentots, Colonists and the Government alike. The other brethren asked Kohrhammer to take his place, but he considered it his duty to return to the camp after a short break. (134) Therefore, the three pioneers were left alone. In summing up the events of the year 1805, Kühnel observed that it had been exceptionally difficult, but full of spiritual blessings, because many had turned to the Saviour in the time of need. (135)

The British fleet appeared at last, and Janssens called on all ministers to offer public prayers for victory. (136) The alarm-shots came through on 5th January early in the morning, upon which ten men went in haste to the powder-chamber at Zoetemelksvlei, the rest to Cape Town. (137)

Kohrhammer and his wife were in the midst of the turmoil. The battallion marched away, leaving them in the camp with the sick and a few guards. Word came that the British troops had been victorious at Blaauwberg and that Janssens with the rest of his forces had withdrawn to the Hottentots Holland mountains. Many of his soldiers deserted, some of whom took possession of the camp. The night after the battle, British soldiers swarmed down on them, searching the huts and taking the men prisoners after some fighting. Kohrhammer, lighting a candle, opened the door of his cottage wide. When he explained in English, who he was, he was left in peace. After he had distributed bread and meat, the soldiers left with their prisoners and Kohrhammer buried the body of a deserter, who had fallen right in front of his residence. A few anxious days followed. Escaped slaves plundered the camp, threatening to burn it. Kohrhammer

(134) Mi.ko. 17.10.1805, 31.10.1805, 1.11.1805, 8.11.1805.

(135) IV, 31.12.1805.

(136) Mi.ko. 19.12.1805.

(137) IV, 5.1.1806.

appealed to the British Commander to protect the Moravian Mission. The Secretary of the General, Charles Grant, assured him of the goodwill of the new Government by letter. What a relief it must have been to Kohrhammer, when he read the foot-note from the Secretary: "My friend is La Trobe." Once again, it proved a blessing that the Moravians were an international fellowship. (138)

Meanwhile, Janssens had realised that further resistance was useless. Many of the soldiers had deserted, the farmers had been sent home (139), the last men from Baviaanskloof had arrived too late for the battle. (140) The strongest contingent left to him was the Cape Corps. It had fought valiantly at Blaauwberg and remained loyal until the end, rewarding the care which he had bestowed on it. He signed his capitulation on 18th January. One of his conditions was that the Hottentots should be allowed to choose between resignation and further military service. (141) Consequently, all the men from Baviaanskloof returned, as did Kohrhammer after eight months of camp life.

Before taking leave of Janssens, we must put one of his last acts of Government on record. At a dinner-party in December, he mentioned to Kohrhammer that, in his opinion, Baviaanskloof should have another name; every farmer called his child Bobbejaantjie. He suggested Nieuw Genadendal, Nieuw Genadenau or Zinzendorf. The brethren welcomed the idea, which had been in the mind of the Board for some time. Some visitors suggested that they should make use of the Governor's goodwill, as long as he was still in office, by applying for a proper title for the settlement at the same time. In

(138) Kohr. rep. 4-28.1.1806.

(139) Theal I, p. 149.

(140) IV, 10.1.1806.

(141) Theal I, p. 149.

answer, the Governor confirmed the new name of Genadendal and announced it in the Gazette. As regards the title, he had to leave the problem to his successors. (142)

(142) IV, 17.12.1805, 19.12.1805, 5.1.1806, 7.1.1806;
Mi.ko. 19.12.1805; Gen. Doc. 1.1.1806.

7. Genadendal during the Napoleonic wars and
the beginning in Groenekloof, 1806 - 1815.

Henceforth, the Cape remained under British rule. Aristocratic Governors from London, such as the Earl of Caledon, Sir John Francis Cradock and Lord Charles Somerset, ruled the country. Britain, cut off from the Continent by Napoleon, dominated on the oceans. Trade flourished and British contingents were stationed in the Colony. The administration penetrated into the interior. (1)

The fact that the brethren were cut off from Herrnhut once more, partly explains, why no new stations were established during this period, except Groenekloof, although several opportunities offered themselves. While the L.M.S. founded seven stations (2), the Moravians concentrated their full energy on Genadendal. The number of inhabitants increased from 1093 in 1805 to 1276 in 1815, and the number of members from 469 to 1096. (3) Thus, most of the residents became members, one by one. What had been a conglomeration of people, became a Christian congregation.

There was no shortage of workers. Eight months after Rose's death, Johann Gottlieb Bonatz, a German purse-maker and glover of thirty-three years, arrived with his wife. (4) And in 1807, two more married brethren followed: The learned Johann Adolph Küster as Rose's successor (5), and the cartwright Johann Heinrich Schmitt, for whose profession the Board foresaw good chances at the Cape. (6) Thus, the number of missionaries increased to fourteen, and more arrived in 1810 and 1811.

(1) Walker, pp. 138-142.

(2) Du Plessis, p. 141.

(3) IV, 31.12.1805; VI, p. 359; VII, p. 51.

(4) IV, 8.6.1806; G.N. 1830, vol.4 (curriculum vitae of Bonatz).

(5) V, pp. 5, 39; G.N. 1836, vol.4 (curriculum vitae of J.A. Küster).

(6) Hau.ko. 11.11.1807.

The British Commander, Major-General D. Baird, reinforced the Cape Corps again in view of its usefulness.⁽⁷⁾ Many men from Genadendal re-entered the service, moving to Wynberg and Rietvlei with their families. This, and the return of a number of families to the Eastern Cape because of the famine, diminished the number of inhabitants by three-hundred in 1806.⁽⁸⁾ The new Commandant of Wynberg, Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, asked Kehrhammer immediately to return to the camp.⁽⁹⁾ The brethren delayed the answer for quite a time, because Kehrhammer was in bad health and his past experiences had not been encouraging. Only when Van Ryneveld urged them on, they offered to send Schwinn, on condition that he was not under obligation to join the Corps, when it was on move.⁽¹⁰⁾ The General had meanwhile appointed the L.M.S. missionary A.A. van der Lingen to the post, but indicated that the Government considered establishing an institution for the families of the Hottentot soldiers at Groenekloof or near Cape Town. If the plan matured, the brethren would be asked to take care of the establishment.⁽¹¹⁾ The same project had been mentioned earlier by Van Ryneveld, but the brethren had declined to undertake it, because the proximity to Cape Town and the connection with the Cape Corps was in their opinion detrimental to the development of a mission station.⁽¹²⁾

After the arrival of Caledon, Van Ryneveld came forward with a new proposal. The Government offered the farm Groenekloof, thirty miles to the north of Cape Town, for the establishment of a second Moravian institution, with reference to the fact that Genadendal was overcrowded and that many Hottentots roamed about the country without religious

(7) IV, 25.2.1806.

(8) IV, 31.12.1806.

(9) Le. IV, 21.4.1806.

(10) Mi.ko. 9.9.1806.

(11) Le. IV, 16.9.1806.

(12) Mi.ko. 8.1.1808, 25.11.1808.

instruction, fixed abodes and employment. He pointed out that Groenekloof had fertile land, water and wood, and offered opportunities for employment because of its proximity to Cape Town and the rich farms of the west.⁽¹³⁾ He omitted to connect the project with the Cape Corps this time. Groenekloof was an old farm of the Dutch East Indian Company, which had been in use for more than a hundred years and was occupied by a lessee at this stage. It had a fine residence with outbuildings and a grove of oaks and poplars. Caledon, who was a member of a Missionary Society himself ⁽¹⁴⁾, had been instructed by the British Government to promote the work of the Moravians.⁽¹⁵⁾ The intention of him and of Van Ryneveld was to gather the vagrant Hottentots into settlements, where they could be taught to work for their living and where even the prospective soldiers would learn to understand the importance of an oath. Moreover, Caledon was concerned about the spread of Islam at the Cape. Many of the slaves, receiving no Christian education, and having no access to the Christian worship, took the Moslem faith over from the Malay population. About 1820, 1326 Moslem slaves were counted, which is probably ten times the number of the Christian slaves. ⁽¹⁶⁾

The brethren considered the offer carefully. On the one hand, it was very profitable. A site farther inland without dwellings would cause twice the expenses. On the other hand, the spot was less suitable for their missionary purpose. They suspected that the Government intended to harness them before its own carriage after all. Schwinn and Kühnel were in favour of accepting it in simple faith, but others emphasised that the permission of the Board must

(13) Ma. Doc. 22.12.1807.

(14) Mi.ko. 1.2.1808.

(15) Records VI, p. 83.

(16) Records VI, pp. 270, 271; Records XI, p. 387; Records XII, p. 56; Marais, p. 172.

be obtained first. They resolved to inspect the farm and to discuss the proposition with Van Ryneveld, because, in Küster's opinion, Caledon decided nothing without Van Ryneveld in the matter. (17)

When he and Bonatz visited Groenekloof, they were encouraged by the fact that the Hottentots, living in the neighbourhood, expressed the desire to be instructed in the Christian faith. Two old places of Hottentots were near, Louw's Kloof, where Captain Klapmuts dwelled with sixty to seventy people, and Cruywagens Kraal. In Cape Town, they were informed that the L.M.S. had applied for the farm meanwhile, but that the Government would prefer the Moravians. Van Ryneveld mentioned the idea of even a third Moravian institution near Rodezand. He prevailed upon them to make an ad interim beginning pending the decision of their Board. (18)

The conference in Genadendal submitted a number of conditions, which showed their reservations once more. It asked for a formal grant, freedom of worship, the right to eject people, who were unwilling to submit to the church discipline, an assurance that they would not be ordered to admit the dependants of soldiers, and the right of the Board to replace or withdraw the missionaries and to add any other conditions. (19) But Van Ryneveld reassured them in general terms and the Secretary, C.C. Bird, wrote on 23rd March 1808 that the Government would give the brethren possession of Groenekloof, Louw's Kloof and Cruywagens Kraal for the use of their wards. The boundaries would be determined as soon as possible. Freedom of worship and of church discipline would be granted. Their rights would be the same as at Genadendal. (20)

(17) Ma. Doc. 4.1.1808, 6.1.1808, 7.1.1808;
Mi.ko. 3.1.1808, 8.1.1808, 19.2.1808.

(18) Mi.ko. 1.2.1808, 23.11.1808.

(19) Mi.ko. 1.2.1808, 19.2.1808.

(20) Ma. Doc. 8.2.1808, 23.3.1808.

Thereupon, the brethren ventured to make a provisional beginning. The consent of the Board took a long time to come. The brethren in England issued a warning: Nothing should be done in the matter without the lot.⁽²¹⁾ La Trobe added, however, that he personally would have accepted the offer without hesitation, if he had been in their place. He regretted that the Board had not given Küster full authority. The expansion of the world-wide mission work should not be retarded by the interruption of communications.⁽²²⁾ Again, in 1809, an out-of-date letter from the Board advised them to establish a second mission station far inland.⁽²³⁾ The full consent arrived only in 1810 to their great relief.⁽²⁴⁾

At the time, when Bird issued the concession, Kohrhammer and Schmitt, instructed by the lot to make the new beginning, were already on their way to Groenekloof together with Küster⁽²⁵⁾, because the lessee wanted to hand the farm over. Contrary to Van Ryneveld's intentions, they did not take any families from Genadendal with them, but preferred to begin with new people on the spot. Kohrhammer carried a copy of the Act of the British Parliament of 1749, wherein the Moravians were described as an Ancient Protestant Episcopal Church and encouraged to found settlements in North America.⁽²⁶⁾

They preached the gospel for the first time on Sunday, 27th March, in Louw's Kloof under a poplar-tree, and Küster invited the listeners to move to Groenekloof. On the following day, eighteen plots were marked off, one row on each side of the river below the farm-house.⁽²⁷⁾ After Küster and the tenant with his slaves had left, the two

(21) Mi.ko. 25.11.1808.

(22) Le. IV, 8.6.1808.

(23) Mi.ko. 20.9.1809.

(24) Mi.ko. 19.1.1810.

(25) Ma. Di. I, 27.3.1808.

(26) Copy of Act in Ma. Div.

(27) Ma. Di. I, 28.3.1808.

couples moved into the residence and began to give lessons and to hold religious services in the lounge. The Hottentots were quick to draw near. Twelve months later, only Klapmuts with his family was left in Louw's Kloof. The inclusion of his place into the concession caused him to remain an adversary of the Mission and a heathen for a long time. (28)

People from various places came and were admitted. Among them was an old Hottentot-captain from the Eastern Cape (29), dismissed soldiers, a woman, who had been taught by Vos in Roodezand (30), a man who had attended the school in Bethelsdorp (31), the son of a freed slave-woman, who had been baptised (32), and two Damara, who had married Hottentots. (33) It was a more mixed population than at Genadendal.

The road to Saldanha Bay went right through the yard. This and the neighbourhood of the rich wheat- and wine-farms with their numerous slaves made an impact on the community. Kohrhammer wrote:

Es ist zu merken das wir hier auf diesen Posten mit Heÿden zu thun haben, die in der Beredsamkeit, Lügen, betrügen, stehlen, anderer Ausschweifungen nicht zu gedenccken, einen grossen Vorzug haben. (34)

One of the prevailing evils was the smoking of dagga. (35) People would dance late at night in their kraals, until the brethren put a stop to it. (36) Some, however, were already touched by the Gospel.

Caledon presented a bell and medicines (37), and Van Ryneveld garden-tools for the inhabitants. (38) Both inspected their dwellings and gardens repeatedly and exhorted

(28) Ma. Di. I, 5.12.1809, 12.2.1812, 11.7.1812.

(29) Ma. Di. I, 30.9.1809.

(30) Ma. Di. I, 12.5.1808.

(31) Ma. Di. I, 3.1.1810.

(32) Ma. Di. I, 15.5.1810.

(33) Ma. Di. I, 10.3.1811.

(34) Ma. Di. I, 31.5.1808 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(35) Ma. Di. I, 22.11.1810.

(36) Ma. Di. I, 10.6.1809.

(37) Ma. Di. I, 23.7.1808.

(38) Ma. Di. I, 10.6.1809.

them to industry.⁽³⁹⁾ Evidently, they took a special pride in the venture. One day, Van Ryneveld bought a roll of home-grown tobacco from Jakob Adams, in order to present it to the Governor. ⁽⁴⁰⁾

Groenekloof had formerly been a cherished hunting-box for the Governors. Since the establishment of the mission station, the adjoining farm of Groote Pos served the purpose.⁽⁴¹⁾ There was plenty of game in the neighbourhood. One day, when the brethren and some inhabitants were hunting wolves, which had endangered the live-stock, a leopard jumped on one of the Hottentots. Schmitt went to his aid, wrestling with the beast on the ground, until a bystander killed it by putting his gun through the missionary's armpit.⁽⁴²⁾ Schmitt has been known as the Tiger-Schmitt forever after.

The Landdrost of the Cape District, J. Zorn, gave his warm support.⁽⁴³⁾ The conference at Genadendal remained in full control. Kohrhammer had to give account of his income and expenditure every three months and permission from Genadendal was needed for extraordinary expenses. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ The deterioration of his health and lack of co-operation between him and Schmitt caused the conference to replace him in 1810 by Bonatz ⁽⁴⁵⁾, who filled the post for many years.

Kohrhammer died shortly afterwards at the age of sixty-five from pneumonia in Genadendal.⁽⁴⁶⁾ He was a peculiar character, very frank against himself and others, conscious of his coleric temperament and fond of strong language. He declared shortly before his death:

(39) Ma. Di. I, passim.
(40) Ma. Di. I, 23.4.1809.
(41) Ma. Di. I, 22.3.1810.
(42) Ma. Di. I, 9.8.1811.
(43) Ma. Di. I, passim.
(44) Hau.ko. 12.3.1808.
(45) Mi.ko. 30.3.1810.
(46) VI, pp. 93-95.

Ich weiss es, ich bin ein grosser Sünder der viele Versehen begangen hat, aber mein Hld. [Heiland] hat mir alles, alles vergeben u. mich reichlich getröstet. Habt um mich keinen Kummer, Kohrhammer geht als ein ver-söhnter Sünder zum Hld. Ich habe gegen Niemand irgend ein Misvergnügen. Es stöhrt mich nichts um mit Freudigkeit zu meinem lieben Hld. gehen zu können. Ich bin Sein und Er ist mein. (47)

He was the first Head of the Cape Mission, erected the church in Genadendal, which served its purpose for a hundred years, and made the beginning in Groenekloof.

A special feature of the new settlement was the attendance of many slaves on Sundays. (48) They did most of the farm-work in this part of the country and the farmers were afraid of a rebellion of slaves. They did, in fact, rise in 1808, led by two slaves and two Irishmen from Cape Town. The brethren were in the midst of it, the more since one of the leaders, a certain Abraham, belonged to the former tenant of Groenekloof. The insurgents overpowered many farmers and plundered their possessions. The neighbour of Groenekloof fled with his family to the brethren, who had distributed guns to the inhabitants for the defence of the settlement. British troops quelled the rebellion quickly. Abraham was caught by two men from Groenekloof and hanged in Cape Town, but the fear for a repetition of such a crisis remained among the Colonists. (49)

The British Government began at that time to take measures against slavery. The slave-trade was prohibited in 1807. People, liberated by the capture of slave-ships, were apprenticed to tradesmen at the Cape for fourteen years. (50) Two of them were offered to Schmitt for his workshop. He welcomed the idea from a practical point of view, because they were good labourers. (51) But the conference

(47) VI, p. 94.

(48) Ma. Di. I, passim; Le. IV, 22.4.1809, 24.5.1809.

(49) Theal I, pp. 164-166; Ma. Di. I, 28-30.10.1808, 8.12.1810, 30.12.1811.

(50) Walker, p. 147.

(51) Le. IV, 17.3.1809.

in Genadendal decided against it, because they did not want to bind themselves to keep a man, who might be unwilling to become a Christian or might give offence by his behaviour, for fourteen years. (52) Their aim was to gather a congregation of voluntary followers of the Saviour, not to make a profit out of slaves. They limited their efforts, as far as the slaves were concerned, to the proclamation of the gospel to them on Sundays at both mission stations.

It was not in vain. A certain slave from the south of India, who lived a day's journey from Genadendal, came time and again to church with the permission of his owner. When he could not come himself, he sent a thaler for the poor-box. (53) Another one declared:

Wen ich von einen Heiland höre, dass Er so viel ausgestanden, und nun die Menschen sein gehören, so dencke ich - und frage mich immer, ob ich auch seyn gehör; ich dencke ferner an die Zeit, wo die Bauren ihre Thüren geschlossen vor uns arme Slaven, wen sie in den Gottes Buch gelessen haben; und nun haben wir Slaven die Freyheit, nicht allein in die Kirche zu gehen, sondern auch Worte aus den Grossen Buch zu hören, die uns sagen dass ein Hld. ist; darüber ist mein Herz erfreut, und mein Baas lässt mich gerne zur Kirche nach Genaden-Dal gehen, davor ich Gott nicht genug dancken kan. (54)

It appears that the brethren had caused their neighbours to respect the religious needs of their slaves. A special problem were the women of Genadendal, who became the wives of slaves. The conference decided to let them reside in the settlement, if their husbands allowed it. (55) A slave from Morkel's farm, whose wife lived in Genadendal, kept applying for baptism. At last, the brethren asked the permission of the Government to baptise slaves from neighbouring farms. (56) Unfortunately, the result was not recorded. Possibly, the owner refused to give his consent.

(52) Mi.ko. 21.4.1809.

(53) IV, 1.4.1806; V, p. 287; VI, p. 169.

(54) IV, 14.9.1806 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(55) Mi.ko. 17.7.1812.

(56) Mi.ko. 6.9.1813.

Another group of people, however, became inhabitants of Genadendal during this period, namely Bantus from the Eastern Cape. Only two Bantus are on record up to 1808: Daniel Kaffer, who was baptised on 24th July 1808 as the first-fruit of his nation (57), and a Tembu, who had been in the service of the brethren for some time. (58) Early in 1809, the Governor sent a British officer, Richard Collins, to the Eastern Cape for investigation and report, and with authority to take appropriate measures. In the course of his journey, he formed the opinion that the Bantu should be pushed back to the other side of the Fish river; Berthelsdorp, where Hottentots and Bantus lived together, should be abolished; Bantus, who wished to remain in the Colony, should be directed to a Moravian settlement; mission work in the country should be entrusted to the Moravians alone; and more Colonists should be settled along the eastern border. (59) Proceeding to act accordingly, he ordered the farmers to dismiss their Bantu labourers. Thereupon, groups of Bantus and Gonaquas arrived at Genadendal with letters from Collins, directing them to the brethren and prohibiting them to return to the eastern districts. (60) Most of them understood Dutch. The Gonaquas were Hottentots, who had mixed with the Bantu and had accepted their language and habits. (61) All were admitted to the settlement.

The brethren heard that the Government intended to settle a group of about one-hundred Bantus at Houtbay and expected a request to establish a mission station for them on that spot. (62) It was probably this group, which camped near the Slang river and refused to leave the Colony. Their Captain arrived with a few armed men in Genadendal one day

(57) V, pp. 129, 136.

(58) IV, 16.5.1803; Mi.ko.25.1.1805, 9.4.1811; V, pp. 267, 268, 306.

(59) Theal I, pp. 172-174; D. Moodie V, pp. 1 ff.

(60) V, pp. 247, 267, 268, 279, 292; Le. IV
(in "Rechnungen der Schlootarbeit 1807").

(61) Marais, pp. 110, 111.

(62) Mi.ko. 3.3.1809.

on his way to Cape Town for negotiations. But on the following day, a British officer and a farmer turned up with an order from Collins to fetch them back. They were disarmed to their consternation, the Captain calling aloud, that he would never trust a Christian again. A few Hottentots from Genadendal were ordered to escort them back to the Slang river. The incident disturbed the brethren greatly, the more because it happened before the eyes of the other Bantus. To their relief, the Hottentot guards reported on their return that they and their prisoners had become good friends in the course of the journey. (63)

The outcome of the actions of Collins was that a number of Bantus became inhabitants of Genadendal. Their kraals were not among the other dwellings in the valley, but after their custom on a hill to the east of the settlement. The place was called the Kafferkraal. But in all other respects, they became an integrated part of the community. (64)

Among them was a woman from the tribe of Gaika, who had lived on various farms in the east, finally on the farm of Coenraad Buis. This colonist had formerly been a rebel against the British and an associate of the Bantu. At this stage, he lived with his three Bantu wives in the Longkloof, teaching his folk reading and writing and the Christian faith. The woman lived on his farm, married to one of his stepchildren, until Collins ordered the Bantu out of the Colony, whereupon she moved to Genadendal. After her husband had left her, she was baptised, received the name of Wilhelmina, and became the nurse-maid of the missionaries. She fervently desired the brethren to proclaim the gospel to her people and taught their children the fundamentals of her language. (65) One of them, Johann Adolph Bonatz,

(63) V, pp. 249-251, 268.

(64) La Trobe, p. 68; Campbell, p. 20; Burchell, p. 111.

(65) G.N. 1868, vol. 1 (curriculum vitae of Wilhelmina); Theal I, pp. 45, 49, 108; Mazwi, p. 6.

became, in fact, a pioneer among the Bantu later. Meanwhile, the newcomers became Christians, one by one. When the Reverend John Campbell visited the settlement, he envisaged that some of them would carry the light of the gospel to their own people. (66)

On the other hand, the Government prepared to drive the Bantu out of the Colony. Once again, a group of men from Genadendal joined the Colonial forces. (67) After the enemy had been pushed beyond the Fish river, most of the troops were withdrawn, but the Cape Corps was kept back to guard the frontier (68) and more men were commandeered from Genadendal to reinforce it. Some were even pulled out of the harvest on the farms. (69) The brethren considered a pastoral visit to the Corps at Swartkops or Grahamstown (70), but the plan did not materialise.

The population of Genadendal increased steadily from 1808 onward. The diary, kept by Küster, shows that he took a special interest in the old customs and traditions of the inhabitants. (71) He was a child of his times, in which the primitive peoples were regarded as good in their natural state. It is this view, which coloured his descriptions of the Hottentots. There was also a lone Bushman in Genadendal, Jakob Adams, the son of a Captain, who told him much of the habits of his people. He was a faithful Christian and a blessing to many in the settlement, until he died in 1808 at the age of about one-hundred years. (72)

Küster's notes on those, who knew something about Georg Schmidt, are of greater value. They have been referred to in an earlier chapter. (73) He also noted:

(66) Campbell, p. 20.

(67) VI, p. 141.

(68) Theal I, pp. 192-197.

(69) VI, p. 202.

(70) Hau.ko. 11.1.1813.

(71) V, pp. 148, 149, 235, 343-348.

(72) V, pp. 119, 120, 136-140, 146, 147.

(73) See p. 77.

Es muss hiebey bemerckt werden, dass es noch viele giebt die nur in der Nacht alleine ihre Anliegen den Hld. im Gebet vortragen u. sich dazu ein bestimmtes Plätzchen ausersehen, wo sie es jedesmal thun. Dieser Gebrauch rührt noch vom sel. [seligen] Er. George Schmidt her u. weil sie so von ihren Grossvätern u. Vätern unterrichtet worden sind. (74)

The brethren tried to convince them that the Saviour may be invoked everywhere, not only at certain spots. In general, the descendants of Schmidt's flock represented the most advanced part of the congregation. Some of them were greatly respected church-servants.

Next to them, the Hottentot-captains held some authority. The Government used them to capture deserters or escaped slaves, to transport prisoners and to assemble men for the army or for public works. They received a remuneration and a Captain's baton in recognition of their office. The oldest of them was Stoffel Cookson in Bushmanskloof. The brethren treated his kraal as an outstation by paying occasional pastoral visits. (75) Two other captains, Christlieb Booda and Paulus Haas, lived in Genadendal itself. (76) When Stoffel died, a quarrel arose about his succession. Petrus Mauritz seized the baton, but the brethren objected because of his character. (77) On their advice, the Government granted the office to Leopold Koopman, whose father had been a Captain in his time. (78) The two other captains became his assistants. Thereupon, Petrus Mauritz incited the Hessequa Hottentots of the settlement to claim him as their own captain alongside the captains of the Koopmans. But the brethren warned them against conserving their old tribal differences in a Christian settlement and pointed out that, in any case, the Koopmans had the historical right to the

(74) VI, p. 116.

(75) V, p. 96.

(76) V, p. 217.

(77) Mi.ko. 7.1.1812.

(78) Mi.ko. 21.5.1813, 22.10.1813; Le. IV, 25.5.1813.

captainship in these parts. (79) According to Hallbeck, the Koopman-Hottentots were driven by the Dutch East Indian Company from Hottentots Holland to the Zondereind, where Schmidt found them. (80) The name of Koopman occurs in the list of his people (81), who lived at the entrance of what is to-day known as Kornlandskloof (82), but was formerly called Cornmanskloof, which is possibly a corruption of Koopmanskloof. Petrus Mauritz, dissatisfied with the decision, appealed to the Governor, but in vain. (83)

Such little disputes did, however, not hinder the development of one closely united community through the power of the Gospel. Genadendal presented the picture of a live congregation, in which every member endeavoured to keep in personal contact with the Saviour and under the discipline of the Holy Spirit. It consisted at this stage mostly of members, who had been baptised as adults on the strength of a personal decision. A farmer asked an inhabitant one day, why he had been baptised. He himself could not tell, because he had been an infant on that occasion. The Hottentot replied that he had been baptised, because he had accepted the grace of the Saviour as a poor sinner. (84)

Since all the applications were subject to the lot, every promotion was regarded as a great privilege, granted by the Saviour himself. When a farmer's wife wanted to know how the people in Genadendal were selected for baptism, a member replied:

Unsere Taufe ist keine äusserliche Taufe.
Wir suchen diese Gnade bey Jesu auf unsern
verfluchten Knien mit vielen Thränen. Wil uns
den Jesus diese Gnade geben, so lässt Er es
unsern Lehrern denn so werden, dass sie uns
rufen lassen und uns taufen. Kāme es nun blos

(79) La Trobe, pp. 110-112.

(80) Anshelm I, p. 88.

(81) G.S. Di. p. 250.

(82) See p. 77.

(83) Le. IV, 11.3.1816; La Trobe, pp. 284, 285.

(84) V, p. 213.

aufs Bitten um die Hl. Taufe an, so würden wir Menschen in Genadenthal schon alle getauft sein, denn ein jedes wünscht diese Gnade zu empfangen. (85)

A Bantu confessed one day that he had at first suspected the brethren of making the selections at their pleasure, but after it had been explained to him that he must ask the baptism from the Saviour, he had learnt to pray. (86) Thus, the lot served to point the people to Christ himself, away from the teachers.

Another reason for the spiritual life in Genadenthal was the intensive pastoral work of the missionaries, especially the "speaking". Even the baptised children were spoken to at fixed times. This practice could of course lead to hypocrisy. A boy declared on entering the office at once that his mother had instructed him to answer with Yes, when the missionary asked him, whether he wanted to live for the Saviour. (87) A man blamed himself for telling the brethren only what they wanted to hear. (88) On the other hand, the "speaking", if conducted in the right manner, supplied the opportunity of fighting against such abuses.

Every class had its separate meetings, which lasted only fifteen to thirty minutes. Even those, who were under church discipline, were granted one, for which they were especially grateful. (89) It was the short duration of the gatherings, which impressed J. Campbell greatly on occasion of his visit to Genadenthal. (90)

The congregation was not only divided into classes or steps on the road to full membership, but also into "choirs" after the Herrnhut pattern. (91) Every "choir" had its own

(85) V, p. 218.

(86) VI, p. 21A.

(87) VI, p. 21C.

(88) V, p. 279.

(89) Mi.ko. 14.1.1808.

(90) Campbell, p. 21.

(91) See p. 10.

annual festival at fixed dates, preceded by a "speaking" of its members. The children's festival and the festival for the married couples were of special importance. After two unmarried missionaries, Johannes Fritsch and Johann Gottlieb Schulz, had arrived in 1811 (92), the first festival for the baptised bachelors was held, on which the twelve participants vowed to live henceforth for the Saviour only. (93)

There had been a spiritual retrogression in the beginning of this period in consequence of the preceding war-time. The first love had been replaced by indifference and disobedience, as a communicant put it. (94) In order to overcome it, the brethren decided after Küster's arrival to reintroduce the so-called societies (95), in which the participants encouraged each other by means of mutual confessions and exhortations in the presence of a missionary. The practice was highly appreciated and went far to restore the old spirit. (96) Incidentally, the inhabitants told many events from their former lives on these occasions and the missionaries recorded them. These records are a source of first hand information on the fate of the Hottentots in those days. Stories of maltreatment by farmers are not wanting. (97) But unlike James Read in Bethelsdorp (98), the brethren did not raise a public protest against the oppression of the Hottentots, their only purpose being the promotion of the spiritual life in Genadendal.

All their efforts centred around the impression of the cross of the Saviour on the hearts of their flock. Küster had a liking for the realistic forms of expression of Zinzen-dorf, which imparted itself to the congregation. A little boy,

(92) VI, pp. 63, 67.

(93) VI, pp. 121, 122; Le. IV (in "Rechnungen der Schloot-arbeit ... 1807").

(94) IV, 28.7.1806.

(95) MI. ko. 19.2.1808.

(96) V, pp. 122, 123.

(97) For instance VI, pp. 324, 325.

(98) Du Plessis, pp. 131, 132.

when asked to state his faith, took off his kaross and pointing to his side, head and feet, said: „Da hat der Hld. für mich gelitten.“ (99) The moon, being rather red one evening, reminded another child at once of the side-wound of the Saviour, (100) and a man dreamt that he saw a stream of blood springing out of the moon. (101) The moon had been a subject of special attention and perhaps adoration among the heathen Hottentots. The sufferings of the Saviour on the cross were represented in this manner in order to stress the reality of our salvation. It resulted in a humble but firm trust in his grace.

There was an earthquake at the Cape in December 1809. Many houses in Cape Town were damaged. The terrified people fled to the open spaces, full of fear that the end of the world had come. In Genadendal, too, the earth trembled during the night. But there was no panic. People looked longingly out for the re-appearance of the Saviour. A woman, realising that the Lord was at work, fell asleep again, while the earth rocked her like a mother her child in the cradle. (102) Thus, the faith of the people of Genadendal was cheerful, childlike and centred on the cross.

Singing and music played a great role. On festival days, the participants would sing a few verses in front of the residence, (103) and the brethren would brighten the services by the playing of instruments. In the Old Year's Night service, the hymn "Now thank we all our God" was sung to the accompaniment of cornet, clarinet, flute and violin. (104) On Palm-Sunday, the missionaries sang the Hosanna, a

(99) VI, p. 20.

(100) VI, p. 120.

(101) VIII, p. 21.

(102) Theal I, p. 186; V, pp. 318-322, 326.

(103) VI, pp. 181, 267.

(104) V, p. 53.

beautiful alternate choral-song, assisted by a piano. (105)
Some of the inhabitants played the violin. One of them is
on record for playing tunes in two voices most purely. (106)

All of it contributed to the charm, which Genadendal
had for all. It became the home of the inhabitants. Every-
where else, they were despised vagrants, longing to return
thither. (107) A woman of Bethelsdorp took a soldier from
Genadendal in marriage for the sole purpose of becoming an
inhabitant. (108) A dying woman let herself be carried back
from Zoetemelksvlei by her son. On her arrival in Genaden-
dal, she died. (109) Even a European widow applied for
admission but was refused. (110)

The crowds on festival days were ever increasing. Three-
hundred Colonists and three-hundred non-whites, some from a
distance of three days, attended on New Year's Day 1814. (111)
The brethren were not so happy about the visitors. On one
occasion, the behaviour of many was such that the better part
of them was ashamed and the brethren felt obliged to issue
a warning from the pulpit. The yard and the lodging-house
being overcrowded, many lodged with the inhabitants, tempting
them to drunkenness. (112)

The use of intoxicating liquor was not completely for-
bidden. The brethren cultivated their own wine and their
apprentices were entitled to a drink, if they wanted it. (113)
But people, who made themselves or others drunk, were put
under church discipline. (114)

Another evil, which appeared occasionally on the surface,
was witchcraft. One day, a widow threatened a communicant

(105) VI, p. 157.

(106) VI, pp. 245, 267.

(107) V, p. 86.

(108) V, p. 186.

(109) V, pp. 172, 173.

(110) Le. IV, 11.12.1811; Hau.ko. 16.3.1812.

(111) VI, pp. 295, 296.

(112) V, pp. 191, 192; Hau.ko. 20.5.1807.

(113) Hau.ko. 20.5.1807.

(114) Mi.ko. 17.4.1807.

that she would let her be bitten by a yellow cobra. A dangerous swelling appeared in fact on the forehead of the victim, which vanished only after the widow had asked forgiveness. The matter was at first concealed from the missionaries. When they heard about it, they expelled the widow from the settlement. (115) On visiting a sick woman in Voorstekraal one day, the brethren found a Moslem, calling on Allah, Mohammed and Jesus in turn to drive the evil out. (116) No other examples of witchcraft were recorded in the diary, from which we can deduce that the superstition died gradually out by itself under the impact of the gospel and that the remnants were concealed from the missionaries. They took steps against them only, when they found that mischief was done by such means. In general, social evils were fought by means of the word of God, patient exhortations, church discipline and, finally, expulsion.

The discipline and order in the settlement, the industry and neatness of the inhabitants and the worship in the church made a deep impression on the many visitors. We find among them General D. Baird (117), the Governors Caledon (118), Cradock (119) and Somerset (120), Van Ryneveld (121), the Lutheran Pastor C.H.F. Hesse (122), the Secretary Henry Alexander (123), the new Fiscal Jan Andries Truter (124), General Henry George Grey (125), Colonel Richard Collins (126), the first Anglican Minister Robert Jones (127), the Landdrost

(115) V, pp. 140, 141, 184.

(116) VI, p. 161.

(117) IV, 29.6.1806.

(118) V, pp. 67-69.

(119) VI, pp. 223, 224.

(120) VI, p. 360.

(121) VI, pp. 131, 168.

(122) VI, p. 133.

(123) V, pp. 306, 307.

(124) V, pp. 306, 307.

(125) V, p. 171.

(126) D. Moodie V, p. 35.

(127) VI, pp. 154, 155.

of Swellendam Petrus Stephanus Buissinne (128), the Landdrost of Uitenhage Jacob Guyler (129), the traveller W.J. Burchell (130), British officials on their way between London and India (131) and burghers of Cape Town, who used the Warm Bath. Evidently, nobody of repute omitted to see the sight of Genadendal. The brethren distributed copies of the Periodical Accounts of the Moravian Missions to English speaking visitors, because conversation in that language was rather difficult for them. (132)

The settlement became exemplary as a mission station. The missionaries of the L.M.S., more especially those of German descent, came to make personal contact. Karl Pascalt, who had been trained in Berlin, paid a visit in 1810. Two years later, he founded Hoogekraal near George, which developed very well and was called Pacaltsdorp later. (133) Johannes Seldenfaden turned up in 1812 on his way to the Slang river. (134) The abortive visit of the brethren to the many Hottentots in that region in 1793 has been mentioned. (135) The local Hottentot-Captain Moses and some of his people had stayed in Genadendal for some time. His brother Philip was an inhabitant of Groenekloof. (136) A woman, who had learnt reading and writing in Genadendal, instructed the children on the Slang river with the aid of twelve spelling-books supplied by the brethren. The Captain had expressed his desire for a missionary for quite a time, but the brethren had found it impossible to come to his aid. (137) Therefore, the L.M.S. stepped in by sending Seldenfaden. It was the beginning of Zuurbraak. (138) The L.M.S. missionaries, who

(128) VI, p. 95.

(129) VI, p. 308.

(130) VII, p. 4; Burchell, pp. 103-115.

(131) For instance VI, p. 308; VII, p. 25.

(132) IV, 5.9.1806, 28.9.1806; V, p. 163.

(133) V, p. 334; Du Plessis, p. 246.

(134) VI, p. 152.

(135) See pp. 97.

(136) Ma. Di. I, 3.6.1812.

(137) VI, pp. 125, 126, 152.

(138) Du Plessis, p. 245.

worked in the northern parts, used to stop in Groenekloof on their way. (139) Michael Wimmer visited Genadendal twice from Bethelsdorp before he was transferred to Namaqualand. (140) Another German missionary, J.G. Messer, who arrived in 1813, travelled from Genadendal with three local transport-riders to Bethelsdorp, from where he wrote to Küster:

Mir und meiner lieben Frau gefällt es ganz und gar nicht. Mit einem Worte: Bethelsdorp ist nicht Gnadenhal. Es kommt mir vor, als ob das Wort Gottes hier umsonst verkündigt wird. Das Volk ist sehr ungesittet, u haben wenig oder gar kein Ehrgefühl gegen ihre Lehrer. Wenn ich 1000 Rds. wollte geben, dass mir ein Hottentot nur einen Tag dafür sollte arbeiten, so sollte ich noch keinen können bekommen. (141)

He became the founder of Hankey later. (142) George Thom of the L.M.S. paid repeated and cordial visits to the two Moravian settlements (143), and John Campbell began his visitation of the mission stations of the L.M.S. with an inspection of the two Moravian institutions, of which he wrote full of appreciation in his journal. (144) Only James Read did not call at Genadendal before thirteen years after his arrival in the Colony. (145) Afterwards, he, too, wrote to the brethren asking their advice. (146) Thus, a bond of friendship developed between the missionaries of both societies and the indirect influence of Genadendal on the foundation and development of the other institutions was considerable.

The Chaplain of the camp at Wynberg, A.A. van der Lingen, who had the men from Genadendal under his care, did his best to co-operate with the brethren by asking their advice and visiting Genadendal. They, however, were reluctant. They preferred to baptise their adherents in Genadendal and noted the difference of methods: Van der Lingen admitted the

(139) Ma. Di. I, passim.

(140) VI, pp. 297, 298; Du Plessis, pp. 130, 204.

(141) Le. IV, 23.11.1813.

(142) Du Plessis, p. 247.

(143) VI, pp. 226, 227, 285, 286; Ma. Di. I, 26.1.1813, 8.6.1814.

(144) Campbell, pp. 6-21.

(145) VI, p. 307.

(146) Le. IV, 8.10.1814.

baptised members at once to the Holy Communion like Van der Kemp, while the people of Genadendal obtained their privileges only step by step. Nevertheless, the brethren admitted those, who had been baptised in Wynberg, to the congregation. (147)

Friends from all over the world supported the work. The British and Foreign Bible Society sent a consignment of Dutch New Testaments. (148) Hymnbooks were printed in Zeist but could only be dispatched after Napoleon's downfall. (149) Even the Moravians in New York promised a present of Bibles. (150) Friends in England and Robert Jones in Cape Town gave cloth and dresses, which were distributed among the poor. (151)

Küster continued to exhort the brethren to be thrifty. (152) The result was an annual surplus at Genadendal, derived from the various trades, the agriculture and the lodgment. It amounted to 800 thaler in 1807 and to 1800 thaler in 1812. (153) On the other hand, Groenekloof, being a new establishment, produced annual deficits (154), which were partly covered by Genadendal, partly by financial support from England. In 1815, a burgher of Cape Town bequeathed 3500 thaler to the Moravian Mission, as well as his slave Apollis, on condition that the brethren took care of him for the rest of his life. (155)

The economy of Genadendal was further expanded. Pines, oaks and keurboom were planted west of the grave-yard. (156) New branches were established. J. Michael Peterleitner, who arrived in 1810, started a joinery (157) and Schulz a forge. (158)

(147) VI, pp. 75, 177; VII, p. 13; Le. IV, 29.3.1810; Mi.ko. 28.12.1809, 5.4.1810.

(148) Mi.ko. 19.1.1810; V, p. 372; Ma. Di. I, 3.5.1810.

(149) Le. IV, 8.12.1812; VII, pp. 3, 47, 48.

(150) Le. IV, 8.8.1815.

(151) V, p. 51; VII, pp. 153, 154, 220.

(152) For instance Hau.ko. 12.3.1808.

(153) Hau.ko. 12.1.1808, 15.2.1813.

(154) Hau.ko. 1.2.1810, 3.3.1811.

(155) Hau.ko. 12.10.1815, 29.7.1816.

(156) V, p. 214; La Trobe, pp. 107, 108.

(157) VI, pp. 14, 63; Hau.ko. 12.11.1811.

(158) Hau.ko. 3.3.1811.

Bonatz, who had made gloves in Germany, became a tinsmith.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Schmitt in Groenekloof made wagons.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ They all had apprentices under contract for five years.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Other inhabitants worked in the agriculture of the Mission. Every weekday, the bell on the yard rung eight or nine times, for work, school, meals and meetings, starting at 5.30 in the morning. ⁽¹⁶²⁾

Two of the brethren had wives of English descent, who were selected by the Board, probably because an interpreter was required for each station. Both started sewing-classes for girls, Sister Peterleitner in Genadendal and Sister Schmitt in Groenekloof. ⁽¹⁶³⁾

Some inhabitants of Genadendal practised their own trade and were quite well-to-do. Christoph April, a cartwright and blacksmith, had not less than two workshops.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Petrus Harden had a good income as a cooper.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Philip Norman made his living out of his ox-wagon and by selling medicines.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Another inhabitant had a hand-mill for the grinding of corn.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ Others were competent masons. Sixteen full-time and thirty-two part-time tradesmen are on record for 1823.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ Midwives from both stations had a good reputation, and were called by the wives of the farmers.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ When Baird improved the postal service in 1806, the Government appointed two men from Genadendal to carry the mail across the country. ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

Still, the majority were farm-labourers. Some were hired by the week, some by the month and some by the year. Their families remained in Genadendal, because their wages covered

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- (159) Hau.ko. 5.1.1810.
(160) Hau.ko. 3.12.1810.
(161) Hau.ko. 31.10.1808, 10.1.1812, 1.6.1812, 16.5.1814.
(162) La Trobe, pp. 65, 66.
(163) Le.IV, 24.5.1809; Mi.ko.9.6.1810; Hau.ko.12.7.1814; Ma. Doc. 8.9.1814.
(164) VII, p. 32.
(165) VIII, p. 24.
(166) V, pp. 12, 13.
(167) Burchell, p. 112.
(168) Anshelm I, p. 97; La Trobe, p. 65.
(169) IV, 14.4.1803; V, p. 147; Ma. Di. 1, 14.6.1809.
(170) Theal I, p. 157; IV, 5.12.1806.

hardly more than their own daily requirements. (171) Since the slave-trade had been prohibited, Hottentot labourers were very much in demand. The farmers complained about their vagrancy, the Hottentots themselves about their treatment.

Therefore, Caledon applied the practice that Hottentots, going overland, must carry passes, with new vigour, and laid down strict conditions for the labour-contracts. And his successor reinforced the provision that children of Hottentots, growing up on the farms, must be apprenticed to the farmer until their eighteenth year. (172) The inhabitants of the settlements were less affected by these laws than the other Hottentots, because they had their fixed abodes for themselves and for their children on the mission stations. But they had to avoid going overland without a pass and the missionaries could not admit newcomers without a note from their former master. (173)

The growing demand for Hottentot labourers affected the work of the brethren adversely. Government and farmers alike regarded the mission stations as reservoirs for cheap labour. In consequence, the spiritual work among the men suffered from their periodic absence and the remaining women and children, together with the sick and the aged, were an economic burden. When soldiers were needed, the Government called on the residents of the mission stations. When roads were built or other public works undertaken, the Landdrost requested the brethren to send a number of labourers. (174) Farmers asked for labourers, and travellers for transport-riders. (175) Whenever such requests came from the authorities, the brethren were in a dilemma. On the one hand, the word of God bade them to obey the Government, on the other hand,

(171) Burchell, p. 114.

(172) Walker, p. 149; Marais, pp. 116-119.

(173) Passports; Ma. Di. 1, 17.2.1812; Le. IV, 8.10.1813.

(174) IV, 19.9.1806, 4.12.1806; V, 173, 174; Le. IV, 20.6.1813, 28.3.1814; Hau.ko.3.12.1810, 24.1.1811; Ma. Di. I, 1811, passim.

(175) Le. IV, 7.10.1810, 10.10.1810; Burchell, p. 115.

it was not their calling to participate in the governing of the country. They tended to leave the application of Government regulations as much as possible to its officials; the Government, on the other hand, tended to make use of them as local officials; and the inhabitants preferred of course the orders of the missionaries to those of field-cornets and captains.

The country around Genadendal was incorporated into the District of Swellendam in 1811 and a sub-district was established around the Warm Bath, where a church was built and a village developed, which received the name of Caledon.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Their old friend Vos, who became the Predikant of Caledon, renewed the acquaintance by visiting Genadendal and inviting them to partake of the Lord's Supper in his church.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ At the same time, the administration of the Government was brought much nearer to Genadendal. The new Sub-Landdrost, I.H. Frouenfelder, became the nearest official. He requested the brethren at once to submit a list of all male inhabitants between sixteen and thirty-five. When they sent the names of sixty-seven men, twenty-two of whom served in the Cape Corps, he suspected at first that too few were listed, because Genadendal had a population of more than one-thousand, but accepted the fact later.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ In the following year, Hottentots who were not under contract, were bidden to pay an annual head-tax like any other burgher. Only the old and disabled were exempted on the request of the brethren.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ All the official correspondence with Frouenfelder concerning Genadendal as well as many unofficial requests from the farmers and the issuing of passes had to be handled by the brethren.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ Thus, Genadendal came under the strict control of the

(176) Theal I, pp. 167-169.

(177) VI, pp. 130, 306.

(178) Le. IV, 1812.

(179) VI, pp. 215, 218, 222; Le. IV, 9.4.1813, 11.10.1813; Marais, p. 118.

(180) Le. IV, 1813-1815.

authorities and the brethren were nolens volens burdened with its administration.

The Earl of Galedon instituted a Circuit Court in 1811, which had to make a tour through the country once a year, to administer impartial justice and to report to the Governor.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ It appeared in Genadendal under W.S. van Ryneveld on 16th October for a thorough inspection, after which the chairman exhorted the inhabitants to be grateful and obedient.⁽¹⁸²⁾ In its report, the Court declared itself very satisfied with the conditions and expressed the wish for more institutions of its kind. The education of the children would be the means, by which the Hottentots would be brought to work on the farms, if the farmers treated them well, and the mission stations would remain their places of refuge.⁽¹⁸³⁾

Küster visited Van Ryneveld in the Warm Bath shortly afterwards. He urged the brethren to establish a greater number of smaller settlements, preferably in the Eastern Cape⁽¹⁸⁴⁾, as had been suggested by De Mist in his time⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ and had since been encouraged by Van Ryneveld on various occasions.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ The Moravian Board had in fact sent out more workers and had given Küster authority to expand the work in 1811⁽¹⁸⁷⁾, but the continuing frictions along the eastern border caused him to postpone the extension in this direction. With reference to the Western Cape, the brethren were waiting for an offer from the Government, but wanted to accept it only, if the conditions would give them the freedom to apply their principles.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ An offer of Jakobus Linde for

(181) Theal I, pp. 199, 200.

(182) VI, p. 131.

(183) Records VIII, pp. 303, 304.

(184) VI, p. 164.

(185) See p. 147.

(186) See pp. 159, 160.

(187) Mi.ko. 11.10.1811, 17.4.1812.

(188) Mi.ko. 19.1.1810, 11.10.1810.

a farm south of Genadendal was declined because of the lack of water.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ Through the death of Van Ryneveld, on 14th August 1812, the brethren lost a friend, who, amongst other things, had been instrumental in the establishment of Groenekloof. His mother, who was a sincere Christian, had met Bishop J.F. Reichel in 1787 and cherished his memory.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾

The second Circuit Court had to deal with serious complaints, which Read in Bethelsdorp had raised about numerous cases of maltreatment of Hottentots, covering a long period. They were tried and judged in Uitenhage. Many farmers were summoned and some were convicted and punished. The extension of impartial justice to the eastern parts by means of the Circuit Court was an unwonted occurrence for the Colonists and caused lasting embitterment among them, especially against the missionaries of the L.M.S.⁽¹⁹¹⁾ On its way back, the Court touched at Genadendal and enjoyed its quietness and peace.⁽¹⁹²⁾ It stated in its report that the people of Genadendal were trained in industry, order and obedience, that their dwellings were remarkably clean, that they listened with great attention to the simple lessons of their teachers and that they were satisfied with the farmers, for whom they used to work. ⁽¹⁹³⁾

The third Court investigated a case of murder at Genadendal in the presence of P.S. Buissinne, the Landdrost of Swellendam. The accused was acquitted.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ The Landdrost complained on that occasion that he was sometimes unable to obtain a single labourer for public works from Genadendal, but the Court ascribed it to the fact that the men had probably been working on the farms, thus giving the lie to the general talk about the laziness of the inhabitants.

(189) VI, pp. 96, 97; Hau.ko. 29.5.1811.

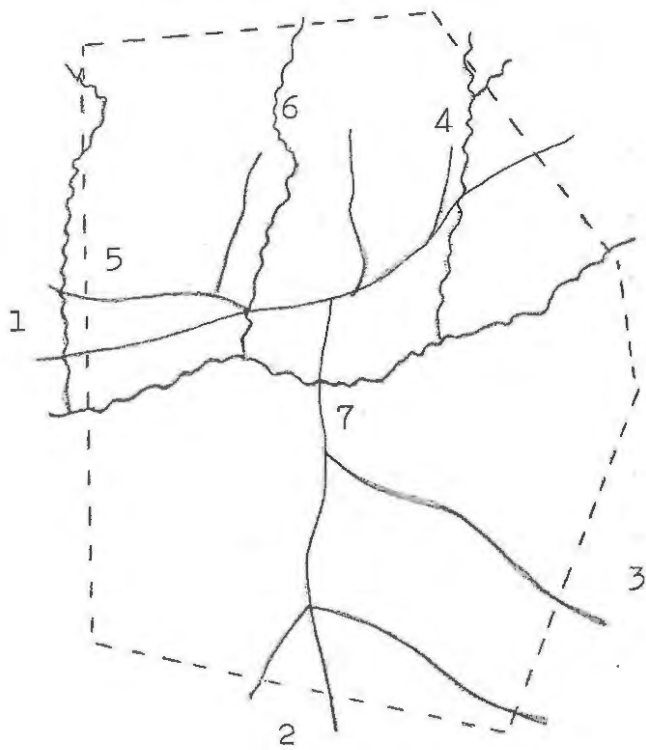
(190) VI, p. 179.

(191) Walker, p.150; Du Plessis, pp.131-135; Marais, p.121.

(192) VI, pp. 207, 208.

(193) Records IX, p. 74.

(194) VI, pp. 290, 291.



The first Diagram of Genadendal (1815).

1. P. Morkel's farm.
2. Badenhorst's farm.
3. Groenewald's farm.
4. Stoffels Kraal.
5. Voorstekraal.
6. The Institution.
7. Sergeant's river.

In its report, the Court pointed out among other things, that the place was too small for 1157 people. (195)

This was correct and the fact that the inhabitants grew more and more fond of working the ground made matters worse. The plots, gained by the draining scheme, had been given out, but the disputes about the few fertile stretches continued.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Moreover, people, who had been on the spot before 1792, insisted on their rights: When the brethren began to give plots to residents in Voorstekraal, Jan Baatjies, who had been living there for a long time, protested to the Landdrost, and even in Genadendal people would say that the land belonged to them, not to the missionaries. The Landdrost advised the brethren to be careful about old land-rights.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ Later, when the faithful wife of Jan Baatjies died, his house became a meeting place for blackguards and he was expelled.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ It was the first dispute between the brethren and inhabitants about vested rights, more of which were to come.

The Landdrost promised, on occasion of his first visit in 1811, to procure more land for the settlement.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ When the brethren discussed the matter with Cradock in 1813, he advised them to make a written application.⁽²⁰⁰⁾ They complied, pointing out that more and more land had been taken away by neighbours since 1792 and asking for an additional loan-farm as near as possible to Genadendal,⁽²⁰¹⁾ whereupon Buissinne, after a careful investigation, cut off stretches of land from the three adjoining farms for the benefit of Genadendal. The neighbours were abundantly compensated by the addition of land on the other side.⁽²⁰²⁾ The brethren estimated that the size of Genadendal was increased from

(195) Records X, pp. 88-91.

(196) V, p. 109.

(197) Le. IV, 17.2.1808; Ma.Doc. 7.1.1808.

(198) V, p. 253; La Trobe, pp. 271, 272.

(199) VI, p. 96.

(200) Mi.ko. 9.5.1813.

(201) Mi.ko. 7.5.1813, 2.7.1813, 11.8.1813; Records IX, pp. 191, 192

(202) Records IX, pp. 199, 200, 438, 439; Gen.Doc. 14.9.1813; Mi.ko. 24.9.1813; VI, pp. 291, 298, 299.

3500 to 4500 morgen by the transaction.⁽²⁰³⁾ A more precise survey established a total size of 4923 morgen later.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ Cradock, who considered the settlement "quite superior to the case of all other Missionary Institutions"⁽²⁰⁵⁾, approved of it in principle⁽²⁰⁶⁾ and his successor, Somerset, finalised it.⁽²⁰⁷⁾ Beacons were put and a diagram was issued, but, in spite of the efforts of the brethren, no title was given.⁽²⁰⁸⁾ The costs of survey were paid by the brethren.⁽²⁰⁹⁾ The fertile parts of the additional land were apportioned to the inhabitants as cornfields. Somerset wrote later to the Secretary for the Colonies in London that he had added 3612 morgen to Genadendal.⁽²¹⁰⁾ This assertion is repeated in various books⁽²¹¹⁾, but is not correct. 3612 morgen were the total size of Genadendal according to the first faulty survey.⁽²¹²⁾ Nevertheless, it was a very valuable help.

Genadendal owes its first school-building to Cradock, too. Being an educationist, he endeavoured to increase and to improve the schools in the Colony by means of his Bible and School Commission, of which R. Jones and C.H.F. Hesse were outstanding members.⁽²¹³⁾ He supplied the brethren with an educational sermon by Jones and a booklet, An Account of the Progress of Joseph Lancaster's Plan for the Education of Poor Children.⁽²¹⁴⁾ Lancaster had devised methods, which were suitable for the children of the poor in England. In his institution, the older pupils served as monitors for the younger classes. Placards against the wall and slates

(203) Mi.ko. 11.2.1814.

(204) Gen. Doc. 25.1.1834.

(205) Records IX, p. 412.

(206) Records IX, pp. 412, 413, 461, 462.

(207) Records X, pp. 179, 193, 198, 200.

(208) Records X, pp. 179, 246; VII, p. 21; VIII, p. 13; Gen. Doc. 5.5.1815; Le. IV, 24.1.1815, 1.5.1815.

(209) Hau.ko. 9.6.1814; VI, p. 339.

(210) Records X, pp. 328-332.

(211) Theal I, p. 257; Du Plessis, p. 88; Marais, p. 140.

(212) Gen. Doc. 5.5.1815.

(213) Theal I, pp. 207, 208.

(214) VI, pp. 167, 244.

enabled the teachers to instruct a great number of children inexpensively. (215) This system remained exemplary for the Moravian mission schools for a long time.

When Jones visited Genadendal in 1813, he explained it to the brethren. And when they expressed the wish to have a separate school-building, he drew up a list for donations at once, beginning with a donation of one-hundred thaler. (216) Cradock and other highly placed people followed and, after six weeks, 1215 thaler had been donated. (217) The Government granted timber (218), the men of Genadendal supplied voluntary labour (219) and, on 15th July 1814, the first school, a one-room-building, was consecrated. All the children promised on the first school-day to the two teachers, Schulz and Peterleitner, by hand-shake to live henceforth for the Saviour only. (220)

Kühnel did not live to see the progress of the children's school, for which he had done so much. After his wife had died in 1810 (221), he contracted consumption and was called to rest on the 20th April 1813. Küster wrote about him:

Unser sel. Er. Kühnel verkündigte dass Evangelium Jesu mit einem warmen Herzen, u. war besonders ein grosser Kinderfreund, deren Schule er von Anfang an gehalten hat, bis dass er vor Schwachheit nicht mehr konnte. Er war von sehr dienstfertiger Art, u half überall wo es ihm nur möglich war, wodurch er sich nicht nur allein hier, sondern auch ausser uns viel Liebe erwarb. Mit seiner Profession kam er im äussern der hiesigen Mission gar sehr zu hülfe, weil ihn der Hld. dabey auf eine erfreuliche Weise segnete. (222)

He left a son, who was brought to England, where he grew up. (223)

Finally, mention must be made of the efforts of the Government to improve the health of the population. Because

(215) Lancaster, passim; Maurice I, p. 93.

(216) VI, pp. 277, 278.

(217) VI, pp. 283, 284.

(218) VI, pp. 300, 301.

(219) Mi.ko. 5.10.1813.

(220) VI, pp. 334-336.

(221) VI, p. 1.

(222) VI, p. 230 (slightly amended; see p. 76).

(223) V, pp. 108, 112; La Trobe, p. 95.

of its crowded conditions, Genadendal was very susceptible to epidemics. The measles took eighty lives in 1807. (224) That same year, the small-pox spread from Cape Town, and again in 1812, but was successfully fought by inoculations. (225) Marsveld used to act as a local doctor and Dr J.F. Hassner supplied medicines and free treatment from Caledon. (226) A silver basin for baptism, presented by him, is still in use at Genadendal. (227) But there was one disease, against which all efforts were of no avail, namely leprosy. Six lepers are on record for Genadendal in 1809. (228) They had to sit at the back of the church for the Lord's Supper. (229) A commission of enquiry turned up in 1807 (230), but only in 1814, the Landdrost communicated to the brethren the plan of the Government to establish an institution for lepers on the farm Hemel en Aarde south of Caledon. (231)

While Genadendal flourished and was praised by many, Groenekloof ran into difficulties. They were partly of a similar kind to those, which the three pioneers had experienced in Baviaanskloof in the beginning. Farmers warned their labourers against moving into the settlement. (232) Neighbours encroached on the boundaries, especially on Louw's Kloof and Cruywagens Kraal. (233) The survey, promised by the Government, was delayed and started only in 1814. (234) The valuable grove of poplars and oaks was declared a Government forest, although the complete farm had originally been promised to the brethren. (235) The distribution of wine

(224) V, p. 52.

(225) Theal I, p.198; V, p.29; VI, pp.157-159, 167, 187.

(226) For instance VI, p. 91.

(227) Terugblik, p. 4.

(228) VI, p. 46.

(229) Mi.ko. 5.9.1814.

(230) V, p. 53.

(231) Mi.ko. 21.1.1814.

(232) Ma.Di. I, 9.5.1810, 23.7.1812, 12.1.1815.

(233) Le.IV, 7.1.1809, 17.3.1809, 26.9.1809; Ma.Di.I, 1810, passim.

(234) Ma. Di. I, 4.1.1814, 20.3.1814.

(235) Ma. Di. I, 10.5.1811, 22.10.1811, 12.10.1812.

to the Hottentots on the farms caused numerous difficulties.⁽²³⁶⁾

The meetings and the school, which had been held at first in the lounge of the residence, were moved into an outbuilding in 1812.⁽²³⁷⁾ But when Bonatz applied for permission to erect a church in the same year, he received a negative answer, for the reason that the proposed transfer of Groenekloof to the missionaries caused difficulties; if the brethren would build in Louw's Kloof, no objections would be made, since it was not a Government farm but the place of a Hottentot-captain.⁽²³⁸⁾ It emerged that the continued existence of Groenekloof as a mission station was in the balance. The brethren decided at first to wait and see, hoping that Cradock's successor would take a different attitude. It was at the time, when Read's complaints on behalf of the Hottentots raised a storm of protest in the Colony.⁽²³⁹⁾ But after some time, Küster repeated the application for permission to build a church with reference to the concession granted by Caledon,⁽²⁴⁰⁾ and La Trobe in London approached the Secretary for the Colonies for a formal conveyance of both settlements to the Moravian Mission.⁽²⁴¹⁾ Cradock left the matter to his successor. He could not but recognise the concession made by Caledon, having, moreover, been instructed by his superiors to secure the rights of the Mission. But he expressed regret that his predecessor had given away the best estate in the Colony. He would have preferred to keep it as a country-seat of the Governor. Besides, his advisers pointed out that the law did not permit of an irrevocable grant of land to a Missionary Society.⁽²⁴²⁾

When Somerset took over in 1814, the two brethren, who

(236) Ma. Di. I, 10.5.1811.

(237) Ma. Di. I, 26.3.1812.

(238) Ma.Doc. 22.6.1812, 3.7.1812; Mi.ko. 13.7.1812.

(239) Mi.ko. 26.8.1812.

(240) Mi.ko. 4.12.1812; VI, pp. 198, 199.

(241) Records IX, pp. 259-262; Mi.ko. 21.10.1814.

(242) Records IX, pp. 35, 461, 462; Records XXXV, p. 329.
C. O. 611, 23.12.1813.

paid him a first visit, gathered the impression that he was unfavourably disposed towards them. (243) Shortly afterwards, he turned up in Groenekloof. After a short look at the dwellings of the Hottentots from the back of his horse, he expressed his thorough disapproval of the dirtiness and the other imperfections of the residents to the brethren. (244) Back in Cape Town, he notified them that he was not prepared to make their temporary occupation of Groenekloof permanent, if a total change was not effected. The purpose of the settlement was to make the Hottentots industrious, but at present, they spent their time in laziness, uselessness and prayer-meetings. Only the sewing-class of the English speaking Sister Schmitt found favour in his eyes. He suggested that a system of enforced and controlled labour should be introduced. He would wait for their proposals in that direction. (245) After the bombshell had landed in Groenekloof, one of the brethren went in haste to Genadendal, where Bonatz was on sick-leave. (246) He drew up a careful reply, in which he described the system of the brethren: The Holy Scripture was their basis; the Gospel of Jesus Christ was their strength; teaching, exhortations and discipline were their method; converts, who lived industriously according to the word of God, were their fruit; the thought that their own fore-fathers had been savages six-hundred to eight-hundred years ago and were transformed only very gradually by the force of the gospel gave them patience. The Moravians had applied this system in many British colonies under the protection of the Government for eighty years and would not depart from it. (247)

The two letters reveal the difference of purpose between the Government and the Mission. The Government wanted to

(243) VI, p. 333.

(244) Ma. Di. I, 1.9.1814.

(245) Ma. Doc. 8.9.1814.

(246) VI, pp. 340, 344, 345.

(247) Mi.ko. 17.9.1814.

integrate the Hottentots as useful labourers into the economy of the Colony. The missionaries wanted to gather congregations from among the heathen. The answer of Bonatz evidently made no impression on the autocratic Governor. He suggested that the inhabitants should be transferred to Genadendal (248), gave notice that the brethren must not cut wood without a permit (249) and quartered dragoons on the institution. (250)

After La Trobe had interceded in London, the Secretary for the Colonies censured Somerset and instructed him to grant the necessary security for the settlement. In his reply, Somerset gave the assurance that he was well disposed towards the missionaries, but pointed out that it was dangerous in general to cede the control over the Hottentots to missionaries. It was better that the land remained the property of the Government. (251) Therefore, the insecurity about the future of Groenekloof remained for the time being.

Küster departed in 1815 with his family, after the lot had given its approval. He brought his children and those of Bonatz home for their education and did not return. On his way to Europe, he touched at St. Helena, shortly before Napoleon arrived there as a prisoner. The Napoleonic war had come to an end and the road to Herrnhut was open again. (252)

The Moravian Mission had, under Küster's direction, confined itself to the intensification of the spiritual work within its own sphere, while the L.M.S. had spread across the country, founding settlements of the Genadendal type. In a similar manner, the Moravians on the Continent of Europe kept themselves aloof from the world during this period,

(248) Records X, pp. 187, 328-332.

(249) Ma. Doc. 3.9.1814.

(250) Ma.Dl.I, 9.11.1814, 15.5.1815, 19.5.1815, 16.8.1815, 3.10.1815.

(251) Records X, pp. 258-261, 295, 296, 301, 302, 312, 313, 328-332.

(252) Mi.ko. 4.1.1814, 21.1.1814; Hau.ko. 20.1.1815; VII, pp. 32, 47; Le. IV, 1.3.1814.

concentrating on the preservation of their heritage (253), while the world underwent great changes and a new missionary initiative went out from England.

(253) Gröger III, pp. 536, 537.

III. EXPANSION AND TRAINING
OF INDIGENOUS HELPERS
UNDER HALLBECK.

1. The visitation of Christian Ignatius La Trobe, 1816.

The end of the Napoleonic wars marks the beginning of an era of progress for the Moravian Mission at the Cape. Men, money and instructions came forward from Europe. The work was greatly expanded and a beginning was made with the training of indigenous helpers. The rapid development was to a great extent due to the initiative of H. P. Hallbeck, the Superintendent, who was an outstanding personality. A visitation by C. I. La Trobe paved the way in 1816.

A word about the constitution of the Moravian Church may be useful at this stage. The highest authority was the Synod, which gathered every ten years and consisted of the officials and the elected representatives from Europe and North America. Between the Synods, the Unitäts-Altesten-Konferenz (U.A.C.) governed the Church from Berthelsdorf near Herrnhut. Its twelve members were Germans. Important decisions, such as the selection and the appointment of workers, were submitted to the lot. The office of the bishop was not an administrative one. The bishops had a pastoral mandate for the Unity as a whole and ordained ministers on the request of the U.A.C. Some members of the U.A.C. were incidentally bishops. One of the departments of the U.A.C. governed the mission work by means of correspondence and occasional visitations. A Helferkonferenz ins Ganze (H.C.), which was responsible to the U.A.C., had been installed in the two oldest and biggest mission fields, Suriname and the Danish West Indies. Its chairman, the Helfer ins Ganze, was the Superintendent of the field. (1)

(1) Hutton, pp. 401-410; Schulze, pp. 74, 103, 133, 150.

The U.A.C. instructed Christian Ignatius La Trobe, the Secretary of the Moravians in Great Britain, in 1815 to inspect the work at the Cape, as had been desired by the brethren in Genadendal for some time.⁽²⁾ He had taken a keen interest in the South African venture from its beginning and had intervened several times in London on behalf of the German brethren. From 1790 he edited the first missionary magazine in English, the Periodical Accounts relating to Moravian Missions, in which extracts from the diaries and letters of the brethren from many parts of the world held a prominent place. He was in constant touch with the contemporary missionary movement in Britain and had won the support of many members of the other Protestant churches. Among his friends were Rowland Hill of the London Missionary Society and William Wilberforce. He had received his classical and theological training in Germany, and was a distinguished personality with a broad outlook, a good writer and drawer, a connoisseur of church music, and interested in the phenomena of nature, especially in mineral ores. Above all, he was a cheerful Christian and full of enthusiasm for the mission work. He could negotiate with people like Lord Charles Somerset on the same level, but also converse with an illiterate Hottentot in a simple and brotherly fashion.⁽³⁾ The printed and illustrated journal of his visit to South Africa gives us a vivid picture of the conditions and events in 1816.⁽⁴⁾

The immediate purpose of his visit was twofold: The solution of the difficulties about Groenekloof and the establishment of a mission station near the Bantu home-lands. Before his departure, he applied to the Secretary for the Colonies in London for the return of the grove, the withdrawal

(2) Mi.ko. 16.1.1816.

(3) Pioniers, pp. 15-19.

(4) La Trobe.

of the dragoons, and permission to build a church at Groenekloof, and for permission to establish a third institution. The Secretary instructed Somerset to grant the requests as far as possible.⁽⁵⁾

La Trobe was fifty-seven years old, when he set out on his journey. He arrived on Christmas Eve at the Cape, together with two married missionaries, A.M.A. Clemens and C. Thomsen, and two bachelors, J.G.F. Stein⁽⁶⁾ and J.F. Lemmerz.⁽⁷⁾ Another brother, J.D. Beinbrecht⁽⁸⁾, had come a few months earlier. Stein was a tailor, Lemmerz a stocking-weaver and Beinbrecht a copper-smith. The unmarried brethren received their wives in due course through the lot. Some of the new arrivals were not yet ordained. They worked at first for the economy of the Mission and were ordained by letter at a later stage.

Visiting Somerset, La Trobe won his favour at once. The Governor assured him that he appreciated the Moravians and would remove any obstacles in their work. La Trobe noted that he was very fond of hunting and races. Perhaps, his initial opposition to the settlement in Groenekloof was explained by the fact that the neighbouring Groote Pos was his cherished hunting-box. The influential Deputy Secretary, C.C. Bird, a Roman Catholic, was another important contact. La Trobe described him as a moody official and an opponent of mission work.⁽⁹⁾

A long visit to the two stations followed, where the visitator gained the respect and the affection of missionaries and inhabitants alike. It was a unique experience for him to see the places, which had been in his prayers for so long. The spiritual life of the congregations and the difference between the inhabitants and the other Hottentots

(5) Records X, pp. 343, 344, 353, 354.

(6) Curriculum vitae in G.N. 1855, II.

(7) Curriculum vitae in G.N. 1856, IV.

(8) Curriculum vitae in VIII, pp. 256-258.

(9) Theal I, p.351; Anshelm I, p.44; La Trobe, p.36.

impressed him deeply. (10)

The first task, which had been entrusted to him by the U.A.C., was the reorganisation of the work. It had been controlled hitherto exclusively by the Missionary Conference of Genadendal; the brethren at Groenekloof had no part in it. Now, a Helferkonferenz ins Ganze was established, with the Superintendent as chairman and four brethren, appointed by the U.A.C., as members. It was constituted on 5th January 1816 at Groenekloof with Clemens as chairman and the four oldest missionaries, Marsveld, Schwinn, Bonatz and Schmitt, as members. (11) It was competent for all matters, which concerned the field as a whole, but subject to the U.A.C. Thus, it would call the missionaries to their stations and instruct them as to their task, control the finances, consider the expansion of the work and recommend brethren for ordination.

In one of its first sessions, the H.C. endorsed the decision of the U.A.C. to establish another station in the interior. The region of the Gamtoos river was mentioned, which was said to shelter many Hottentots, and it was felt that some of the inhabitants of Genadendal should move to the new settlement. It would bring the mission nearer to the Bantu. At the same time, it would be far enough from the border, which was still in a state of friction and insecurity. On inquiry, Jakobus Linde and Marthinus Theunissen confirmed that the region was promising for their purpose.

It was resolved that La Trobe with Stein and Mr. and Mrs. Schmitt should inspect the Gamtoos and any other suitable spots. (12)

The Governor gave his consent and went out of his way to facilitate their journey by instructing the landdrosts of George, Uitenhage and Swellendam to assist La Trobe in every

(10) La Trobe, passim.

(11) He.Ko. 5.1.1816.

(12) He.ko. 5.2.1816.

possible manner; he would regard every civility to him as a favour done to himself.⁽¹³⁾ The result was that the land-drosts and the field-cornets had spans of oxen ready, whenever they were needed and advised him on the few available spots. The surveyor John Melvill, who knew the country well, decided to accompany him on the expedition.⁽¹⁴⁾

Nevertheless, the journey to the Eastern Cape by ox-wagon was an arduous one for a man of his age. It lasted about two months. Time and again, they had to camp out or to rely on the hospitality of Colonists in lonely farm-dwellings, which were often not better than the huts of the inhabitants of Genadendal. The traces of the Xhosa war were visible everywhere. The Colonists were full of bitterness against England, its Government and its missionaries. The complaints of Read about the treatment of the Hottentots and the proceedings of the second Circuit Court were still fresh in their minds, and a short time ago, a group of insurgent farmers had been captured near Slachter's Nek with the aid of Hottentot soldiers, and five of them had been condemned to death.⁽¹⁵⁾ Therefore, the British missionary agent, who had come to select a spot for another settlement for Hottentots, was met with suspicion and dislike, especially in the Longkloof.⁽¹⁶⁾ It is true that many received him hospitably, but he could not expect them to offer farms for a mission station.

The Government had only few suitable places at its disposal, and Schmitt wrote from the Longkloof:

... leider finden wir die guten Plätze besezt
u wir kommen 10 Jahre zu spät. ⁽¹⁷⁾

The brethren inspected first two farms near Mosselbay, which belonged to the Secretary, H. Alexander, and had been offered

(13) La Trobe, pp. 105, 125; VII, p. 63.

(14) La Trobe, p. 103.

(15) Walker, p. 154.

(16) La Trobe, pp. 173, 179, 191.

(17) Le. IV, 27.3.1816.

by him. But there was only a small number of Hottentots in the neighbourhood. (18) The Landdrost of George, A.G. van Kervel, mentioned a farm near Plettenberg Bay, called Jakkalskraal, which had been offered to Van der Kemp on a former occasion but had been refused by him. The brethren found it promising except for the poor pasture. The neighbouring farmer was unfriendly at first, but began to see the advantages of a mission station in the course of the conversation. (19) Arriving at the Gamtoos, they discovered that the farms, which had been mentioned to them, had been taken. The place of a Hottentot-captain was left, but a farmer had already moved thither, intending to claim it. La Trobe did not wish to oust him. It was granted to the L.M.S. six years later and received the name of Hankey. (20)

The Landdrost of Uitenhage, J. Cuyler, received them well. They stayed for a few days and, on Palm Sunday, Schmitt preached in a tent to about a hundred Hottentots, including some soldiers from Genadendal. (21) Cuyler, who was eager to have a Moravian mission station in his district, suggested three sites: The place of the Hottentot-captain near the Gamtoos, the farm of Marthinus Prinsloo in Bruintjes Hoogte, who had been ordered to leave the district, because his family had taken part in the insurrection, and the vacant place of Witterriver near the Sunday river. (22)

The travellers inspected Witterriver first. South of the spot, where Enon is situated to-day, they found the farm of Jakobus Scheepers senior and a military post. To the north, a footpath led around the bend of the river through a valley to the farm of Scheepers junior. It was this valley, which was available. It consisted of about three-thousand

(18) La Trobe, pp. 136-139.

(19) La Trobe, pp. 145-148, 161-167.

(20) La Trobe, p. 196; Du Plessis, p. 247.

(21) Le. IV, 27.3.1816.

(22) La Trobe, pp. 204, 210.

morgen, a third of which was pasturage, the rest indigenous forest. La Trobe was struck by the beauty of the natural surroundings and the men from Genadendal, who accompanied the party, were pleased with the good quality of the pasturage. The river was in flood and many tracks of elephants led down to it. (23) The disadvantages of the spot appeared only later. Theal writes with reference to another part of the Eastern Cape:

It has always been the case in South Africa that any advantages possessed by a locality are recognised at first sight, and its faults only become known by experience. (24)

Thereafter, the party visited the border along the Fish river. The land had been laid waste by the war and they met more soldiers than farmers. The border was secured by military posts. Finally, they arrived at the farm of Marthinus Prinsloo near Somerset-East. They found the farmer in a deplorable state. One of his sons had been executed, another one banished from the country, and he himself had been ordered out of the district. The farm was promising for their purpose, but La Trobe was against taking advantage of Prinsloo's calamity. (25)

Back in Genadendal, they reported to the H.C., which decided to apply for Witterriver quickly, before others forestalled them. (26) It was granted under the same conditions as Genadendal and Groenekloof (27) and surveyed at the expense of the Mission. There were no stations east of Uitenhage at this stage, except two: Theopolis, a settlement for Hottentots, which was destroyed later in the course of a war, and another L.M.S. station for the benefit of the Xhosa; near the Kat river, which was begun in 1816, but lasted only two years. (28)

(23) La Trobe, pp. 215-220.

(24) Theal I, p. 288.

(25) La Trobe, pp. 231-233.

(26) He.ko. 13.5.1816.

(27) En. Doc. 7.6.1816.

(28) Du Plessis, pp. 246, 247.

The Moravian settlement on the Witterriver still exists to-day, but went through difficult times and never became a flourishing institution.

La Trobe now turned his attention to the external order of Genadendal. Melvill made a map of the settlement, which shows all the dwellings and plots.⁽²⁹⁾ A request from the inhabitants for the appointment of a number of overseers came up for consideration.⁽³⁰⁾ The brethren welcomed the idea of having a local police, because visiting Hottentots, slaves and colonists caused disturbances in certain houses at night.⁽³¹⁾ Fifty-four men were appointed to the office, after the Landdrost had given his consent.⁽³²⁾ The question which puzzled him for some time, was whether the overseers should be given the right to take steps against Colonists. After consulting the Governor, he ruled that Christians, who caused disturbances at night, may be locked in by the Hottentot overseers and then be surrendered to the landdrost. Other cases, which were less urgent, should be referred to him by the brethren.⁽³³⁾ Two Colonists, who molested young girls in Genadendal shortly afterwards, were reported to him in this manner and, after proper investigation, put into jail for eight days.⁽³⁴⁾ It is noteworthy that the Landdrost still spoke of Christians on the one hand and Hottentots on the other hand, although most of the inhabitants of Genadendal were Coloureds and nearly all of them were Christians. In fact, "Hottentot" had already become an offensive word in the settlement. ⁽³⁵⁾

The brethren requested La Trobe to revise the regulations, on which the communal life of the settlement was founded

(29) Original in the Genadendal Archives.

(30) VII, p. 40; La Trobe, pp. 273, 274.

(31) He.ko. 14.5.1816.

(32) VII, pp. 75, 76.

(33) Gen. Doc. 23.5.1816, 28.8.1816, 10.10.1817.

(34) Le. V, 22.11.1817, 4.12.1817, 27.12.1817.

(35) Anshelm I, p. 83.

and to which every newcomer subscribed.⁽³⁶⁾ He drafted a document of eighteen paragraphs, taking the existing practical rules of Genadendal and the principles of the Moravian settlements in Europe as a guide.⁽³⁷⁾ The full text is added in an appendix.⁽³⁸⁾ The first sentence is fundamental:

The Regulations of a Congregation of the Brethren are not to be considered as laws, prescribed by Superiors, but as a Brotherly Agreement between the inhabitants of a Settlement of the Brethren. - The object of the Brethren's living together in separate settlements is, that they may as much as possible be out of the way of temptations, and that by the preaching of the word of God connected with a wholesome Church discipline a living knowledge of Jesus Christ, and a godly life may be promoted among the inhabitants. Hence all the regulations of a Congregation must tend to further this object and to prevent whatever is contrary to the same. (39)

It shows that Genadendal was constituted on the same principle as Herrnhut in 1727 as a community of people, who have voluntarily agreed to live together under the Saviour, although the missionaries were the de facto local authority under the Government. The rules were meant to serve the development of a living Christian congregation. Both, the temporal and the spiritual matters, were subjected to the Saviour.

The Regulations were introduced by being read in public to the inhabitants. Two years later, they were translated into Dutch with a few small amendments: More emphasis was given to the authority of the word of God and a few expressions were omitted, which were felt to be too liberal. The concept as a whole was left untouched.⁽⁴⁰⁾ They were also applied to Groenekloof⁽⁴¹⁾ and supplied the pattern for the later stations. Their influence on the social order of the

(36) Compare p. 8.

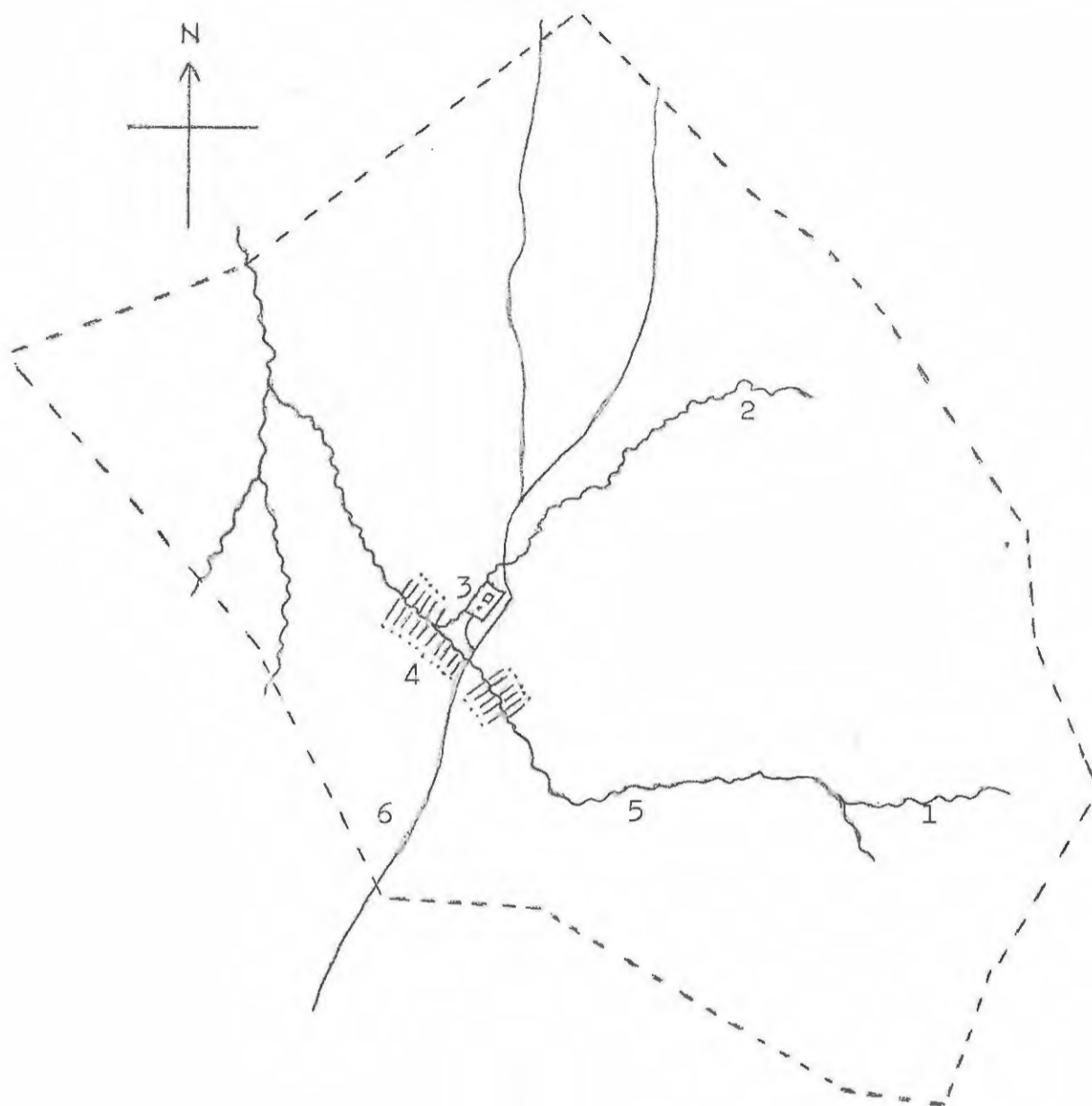
(37) Gen. Doc. 1816; La Trobe, p. 276.

(38) See Appendix I.

(39) Appendix I, 1.

(40) Gen. Doc. 1818.

(41) Le. IV, 23.6.1816.



Groenekloof in 1817.

(After Melvill's diagram)

1. Louw's Kloof.
2. Cruywagens Kraal.
3. Residence.
4. Settlement.
5. Mooimaaks river.
6. Outspan Papekuilsvally.

mission stations throughout the country is considerable. For instance, the Landdrost of Swellendam asked a copy in 1818, in order to introduce them at Zuurbrak (42), and his successor studied them in 1820, when he was instructed to take the direct control of that settlement in hand. (43) In 1819, John Melvill asked a copy on behalf of the South African Missionary Society for the benefit of its institutions. (44) A short time afterwards, he took charge of the L.M.S. station Griquatown at the request of the Government. (45)

Before his departure, La Trobe delivered an address in Dutch, which he had carefully prepared and which moved the people deeply, because they had come to love den ouden Heere, as they called him. (46)

He spent the last days of his visitation at Groenekloof. The permission of the Governor to build a church had been obtained and he gave much time and care to its planning. He laid the corner-stone on 31st August, assisted by the four local missionaries, Bonatz, Schmitt, Fritsch and Stein. The settlement had about three-hundred inhabitants at that stage, half of whom had been accepted into the congregation. The building had the size of the church of Genadendal, but a ridge-turret and a gable on the longitudinal side were added. (47) Masons from Genadendal supplied voluntary labour. (48) In order to cover the liabilities of the South African field, La Trobe approved of a loan of six-thousand thaler, and promised to raise another seven-hundred thaler in England for the church building. (49)

(42) Le. V, 6.7.1818.

(43) VIII, pp. 105, 108; Anshelm I, p. 67.

(44) Le. V, 29.7.1819.

(45) Walker, p. 152; XI, 17.12.1843.

(46) La Trobe, p. 287; VII, pp. 77, 78.

(47) La Trobe, pp. 304, 333; He.ko. 19.6.1816; Ma. Doc. 1818.

(48) VI, p. 90.

(49) Hau.ko. 29.7.1816, 5.11.1816.

He further succeeded in gaining the goodwill of the Governor for Groenekloof. A survey was made by Melvill and a diagram was issued for 4606 morgen. (50) Half of a neighbouring farm, the Laatste Stuiver, was leased and sublet to the inhabitants. (51) The grove of Groenekloof was divided between the mission and the Government. (52) Only dragoons were further quartered on the station, whenever the Governor stayed at Groote Pos. (53) Because Somerset had gathered the idea that men and women lived together in an unorderly fashion in the settlement, La Trobe submitted a list of all the inhabitants, which showed that his impression had been quite wrong. Somerset admitted his mistake (54) and nothing was heard any more of a possible withdrawal of the grant. On occasion of his next visit to Genadendal, Somerset was exceedingly friendly and promised every support for the Moravian Mission. (55)

During La Trobe's stay at Groenekloof, the news came that Schwinn had died in Genadendal at the age of sixty-six. He had taken a prominent part in the re-establishment of the Cape Mission from the beginning. Besides preaching the Gospel, he had established and enlarged the agriculture of the Mission and taught the inhabitants various crafts. (56) La Trobe wrote about him:

He was a man of a remarkably cheerful and active mind, and possessed great courage and firmness. His public ministry was distinguished by many bold and convincing testimonies of his faith, which he delivered with peculiar energy, speaking from the abundance of his heart, with demonstrations of the Spirit, and conviction to the hearts of his hearers. (57)

(50) La Trobe, p. 326; Ma. Doc. 1817.

(51) La Trobe, p. 351; Ma. Doc. No. 22.

(52) He.ko. 14.5.1816; Ma. Doc. No. 22.

(53) Le. IV, 8.12.1816; He.ko. 29.12.1817, 8.1.1818.

(54) He.ko. 18.6.1816.

(55) VII, p. 112.

(56) VII, pp. 83, 84.

(57) La Trobe, p. 318.

La Trobe left the Cape on a British man-of-war on 17th October, taking the son of the Governor to England on the occasion. The ship carried supplies for Napoleon's party in St Helena. He paid an interesting visit to the island, but Napoleon himself remained invisible. (58) After an absence of more than one year, he was back in England. His journey had been the first official inspection of the mission in South Africa and remained the only one for many years to come. But he saw to it that a capable brother was sent out forthwith, who was to govern the work for the next twenty-two years.

(58) La Trobe, p. 374.

2. The first years under Hallbeck and the extension
to the Eastern Cape, 1817 - 1822.

In his report to the U.A.C. La Trobe pointed out that the Mission at the Cape needed an outstanding English speaking brother. Some of the past disappointments had been due to the insufficient knowledge of that language on the part of the missionaries. (1) The Board selected a Swedish theologian, Hans Peter Hallbeck, who served the Moravian Church in England at that stage, and the lot approved of the choice. (2)

Born in 1784 on the island of Malmö as the son of a cooper, he received the best possible education. After completing his theological studies at the University of Lund, he became a private tutor in Gothenburg. The people, who employed him, belonged to a Moravian society. He became acquainted with the Brethren and his prejudice changed into appreciation. During one of the meetings of the society, he surrendered to the Saviour and dedicated his life to His service. After the death of his father, he placed himself at the disposal of the Brethren. He taught in various Moravian schools and became the head of the Brüderhaus in the settlement of Fairfield near Manchester, where he was ordained a minister. (3)

He was an excellent scholar and spoke Swedish, German, English and later Dutch fluently. He had great foresight but at the same time a realistic and sober approach, a quick perception and a penetrating judgment, precise opinions and a clear discernment of the essentials. Very hard-working, he bestowed the same care on far-reaching projects as on small particulars. He was of delicate health, but tenacious and persevering. In his dealings with people, he was sensitive

(1) Anshelm I, p. 43.

(2) Anshelm I, p. 35.

(3) 200 Jahre I, pp. 190-192; N. Reichel, pp. 5-10.

and conciliatory, but persistent if necessary. He loved music and played the violin well. And he loved children and gave them much of his time and care. Like many other leaders of his generation, he attached great importance to the education of young and old.

He was called to South Africa at the early age of only thirty-three. After marrying a German Moravian teacher, Johanna Christiana Beck, he left for the Cape, where he landed on 17th December 1817 together with three other additional workers.⁽⁴⁾ The day is of the same significance for the Moravian Mission as the arrival of Dr. John Philip two years later for the L.M.S. It spelt the beginning of an era of progress. Philip improved the fate of the indigenous peoples by his interventions in the political life of the Colony, and Hallbeck initiated the creation of an indigenous mission church by the establishment of the training-school at Genadendal. Both organised and extended the mission work in their respective spheres, together with the other societies, which appeared on the scene during this period, encouraged by the philanthropic and liberal ideas, which gained the upper hand in England.

Hallbeck's first visit to Somerset was pleasant. The Governor was full of praise for the Moravians.⁽⁵⁾ In one of his letters to his superiors in London, he expressed his dissatisfaction about the many missionaries, who were coming into the country, but exempted the Moravians explicitly from his complaint.⁽⁶⁾ Likewise, Bird assured Hallbeck that he was a friend of the Moravians, but not of the other societies.⁽⁷⁾

A meeting of the H.C. was held at Groenekloof, the first one since La Trobe's departure more than a year ago.

(4) Anshelm I, pp. 37, 44.

(5) Anshelm I, p. 44.

(6) Records XI, p. 254.

(7) Anshelm I, p. 44.

The U.A.C. had submitted various suggestions for consideration: That the brethren should make more use of indigenous helpers, that a missionary should be stationed in Cape Town, and that the dispersed heathen on the farms should be gathered by the stationing of missionaries outside the settlements. The two main themes of Hallbeck's programme, the creation of an indigenous church and expansion, were foreshadowed therein. The H.C. felt that Hallbeck should become acquainted with the local circumstances, before any far-reaching decisions were made. (8)

The establishment of the station in the Eastern Cape called for immediate attention. Schmitt was appointed to lead the party of pioneers, as soon as he had finished the church at Groenekloof. It was resolved that copies of the diaries should circulate among the stations. (9) Even more than this resolution, the regular correspondence, which Hallbeck entertained with every brother, and his frequent visits, preserved the unity of the expanding work and counteracted the tendency of the missionaries either to be little kings or to lose courage at their isolated posts.

After the dedication of the church on 8th February 1818⁽¹⁰⁾, Schmitt departed with two ox-wagons. Three unmarried missionaries, J.G. Hornig, J.F. Hoffman and J.G. Schulz, accompanied him and, on a special request from Mrs. Schmitt, the widow of Kohrhammer. Artisans from Genadendal joined the party with their families as well as Wilhelmina, the Xhosa woman. (11)

The Landdrost of Uitenhage had advised the brethren to buy the adjoining farm of Jakobus Scheepers senior and to settle there, because the valley to the north had not enough water. (12)

(8) He.ko. 29.12.1817; Le. U.A.C. 16.4.1817.

(9) He.ko. 28.12.1817.

(10) VIII, p. 3.

(11) He.ko. 27/28.12.1817; G. N. 1868, p. 63.

(12) En. Doc. 4.11.1816.

Scheepers sold his right for the small amount of 550 thaler. He was in difficulties, because the Bantu had plundered his sheep, and the Mission added a present of hundred thaler to the purchase price. (13)

After Cuyler had supplied them with twelve guns for their defence (14), the pioneers arrived at Witteriver, but met with a great disappointment. Two years earlier, the spot had looked green and fertile, but now, a grey, arid landscape presented itself, because no rain had fallen. The hills around, thickly covered with bush, presented a source of danger in war time. Elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes and other beasts abounded. The bush was impenetrable except for the trails of the elephants. Near the small residence of Scheepers stood three huts, which had been erected by British soldiers during the war and were inhabited by five Hottentot soldiers from Bethelsdorp for the protection of the farm against Xhosa robbers. (15)

The brethren pitched their tents and, after the soldiers had been withdrawn, moved into the huts. The families from Genadendal built shelters for themselves. The first service was held on 12th April in the residence of Scheepers, (16) and the school was opened in an outbuilding. (17) Lack of water presented the greatest difficulty. It was reduced to a few pools, soiled by the elephants, in the bed of the river. On the other hand, Schmitt, the wagon-maker, rejoiced in the abundance of wood. Trees had to be planted in Genadendal, in order to get a supply of timber, but here, their first task was to cut a path through the thick forest. (18) And the men from Genadendal were pleased with the good pasturage. The oxen of Scheepers were fat, and their own

(13) He.ko. 24.4.1818; En.Doc. 3.4.1818; Le.En. 4.4.1818.

(14) Le. En. 4.4.1818.

(15) Le. En. 14.4.1818; G. N. 1868, p. 64.

(16) Le. En. 14.4.1818.

(17) Le. En. 12.6.1818.

(18) Le. En. 10.5.1818; G. N. 1868, p. 64.

cattle, which had grown thin on the journey, picked up quickly. (19) When the first rain fell, it appeared that the soil was exceedingly fertile and the first crop came up well. (20)

The estate of Scheepers being unsuitable for irrigation, Schmitt planned to build the station fifteen minutes higher up the river at a place, which he called the Elephant's Nest, and where the institution stands to-day. (21) He appealed to the brethren in Genadendal to send more reliable families in order to increase the security of the settlement. Many followed the call, including some outstanding Hottentot and Xhosa members from Genadendal. (22) At the end of the year, sixty-eight people had moved to the Witte river. (23) Thus, the settlement was a colony of people from Genadendal, established for the purpose of bringing the Gospel nearer to the Bantu.

Hottentots from the neighbourhood moved in as well. Until the end of the year, eighty-one of them had received the permission of the Landdrost to do so, and another twenty-one were still waiting for his approval. Among them were women, whose husbands had to complete their terms of contract on the farms, and discharged soldiers. The Governor had disbanded the Hottentot Corps in the Eastern Cape in order to save expenses, and the Landdrost preferred the ex-soldiers to settle at Witterriver rather than at Bethelsdorp. (24)

The rights of the Mission to the farm of Scheepers caused considerable difficulties. The Government did not grant any more loan farms on annual lease but quitrent farms on a permanent basis, and insisted that the holders of loan

(19) Le. En. 14.4.1818.

(20) G. N. 1868, p. 64.

(21) Le. En. 3.6.1818; En. Doc. No. 52.

(22) Le.En. 31.10.1818; Hau.ko. 7.8.1818; Mi.ko. 24.7.1818.

(23) VIII, p. 40.

(24) Le.En. 17.9.1818, 7.1.1819; Theal I, p. 267.

farms should convert them into quitrent farms.⁽²⁵⁾ When Hallbeck tried to obtain the transfer, it emerged that Scheepers had not yet finalised the conversion of his farm. The mission had in fact bought only his annual lease and could not obtain permanent possession, which was not granted to missionary societies, but to individuals only.⁽²⁶⁾ Cuyler, who did his best to help the brethren, suggested that the title should not be made out for the Mission but for Hallbeck and his successors in office, but Bird objected.⁽²⁷⁾ The end was that the brethren held the farm like the adjoining Witte-
river and like Genadendal and Groenekloof on a concession from the Government, which could be withdrawn any time. This was exactly, what the authorities wanted.

It was Hallbeck's first acquaintance with a problem, which caused the brethren more headaches later. The Government regarded the mission stations as its own property, many missionaries and residents as the property of the Mission, and Hallbeck and other inhabitants as the property of the people, who lived thereon.⁽²⁸⁾ It is true that the Governor was very sympathetic towards the Brethren at this stage. And the establishment of a Moravian institution in the east suited his own purposes well. He had given the instruction to settle more Colonists in the Zuurveld and recommended the immigration of British settlers to these parts, in order to secure the border of the Colony against the Bantu.⁽²⁹⁾ He even suggested that the Xhosa-Chief Gaika, who reigned east of the Fish river, should send his sons to a Moravian settlement for their education.⁽³⁰⁾ In his view, the expansion of the Christian religion and the European civilisation and the extention of the political influence went hand in hand.

(25) Theal I, pp. 205, 206.

(26) He.ko. 7.11.1818, 15.12.1818; En.Doc. 10.12.1818.

(27) En.Doc. 20.12.1819, 15.3.1820; He.ko. 4.5.1820.

(28) 200 Jahre I, p. 194.

(29) Theal I, pp. 263, 288.

(30) Records XII, p. 155.

But he wanted to control the movement.

A new Xhosa war broke out at this stage. The Chief Ndlambe defeated his uncle and superior, Gaika, in 1818 in a bloody battle. The Colonial forces went to Gaika's aid, who was an ally of the Colony, taking 23000 cattle from Ndlambe, who replied by invading the Cape in 1819. The Colonists between the Fish and the Sunday rivers withdrew into lagers and lost much of their belongings.⁽³¹⁾ The men of Genadendal and Groenekloof were called up for military service.⁽³²⁾ Hallbeck, who was on his way to the Witte river, had to turn back at George.⁽³³⁾

The people of Witterriver realised that the main danger was to their live-stock. Therefore, armed men guarded the cattle of the settlement, patrols controlled the surrounding country-side, and the missionaries kept watch at night in turns. But on 9th February in the evening, about two hundred Xhosas appeared near the station and drove 235 head of cattle away. Shots were exchanged and some of the enemy wounded and killed, the rest vanished with their booty into the darkness. On the following day, their neighbour Jakobus Scheepers junior took refuge at the station and drew up a lager of wagons on the yard. The Xhosas had robbed him of his cattle and killed one of his servants. The brethren tried to send a message to Uitenhage across the swollen Sunday river, but only at the third attempt did the messenger succeed in swimming through. The inhabitants wanted to flee, but Schmitt reminded them that God had sent them to proclaim his word and would protect them.⁽³⁴⁾

The Xhosas re-appeared two weeks later, taking more cattle and destroying the estate of Scheepers.⁽³⁵⁾ At Easter,

(31) Theal I, pp. 273-277.

(32) VIII, pp. 50, 51; He. ko. 6.12.1819.

(33) VIII, pp. 46-48.

(34) Le. En. 10.2.1819.

(35) Le. En. 2.3.1819.

Jakobus Linde passed through with his commando, which included many men from Genadendal. One of the armed Colonists told Wilhelmina that they were going to kill her people, but she retorted that they, too, were God's creatures and that the Lord commanded them to pray for their enemies. It grieved her that the people, whom they had come to convert, were now their opponents, and she implored the others not to hate them, but to pray for them. (36)

The history of the resurrection was read on Easter Monday, and many neighbours and soldiers attended. Thereafter, the visitors and the commando left. But the Xhosas were keeping the settlement under observation from the mountains all the time, unknown to the residents. They knew the region well, because the kraal of Ndlambe had been in the neighbourhood until 1812. The traces of a large residential area of Bantu kraals were on the other side of the first hills to the north. (37)

While the Lord's Supper was solemnised on Tuesday, a few Xhosas spied on the settlement and, on the following day, the enemy attacked the eleven cattle-guards in full force, killing nine and taking the rest of the cattle and all the guns. The settlement was left in a state of grief and fear. Mrs. Schmitt sent an urgent appeal to the Landdrost, which was brought to Uitenhage at night. The women and children took refuge in the chapel, while the men kept watch. The Landdrost replied by sending a commando with three spans of oxen, which evacuated the whole settlement of about 450 people to Uitenhage, after the dead had been buried and Hornig had concealed the tools of his smithy in the ground. (38)

When the brethren inspected the site a few weeks later, the Xhosas had destroyed all the buildings, in order to get hold of the timber and the iron parts, and the elephants had

(36) G. N. 1868, pp. 65-67.

(37) He.ko. 2.1.1822.

(38) Le. En. 14.4.1819, 29.4.1819, 3.5.1819, 10.5.1819;
Records XII, pp. 168, 169, 175; G. N. 1868, p. 67.

stripped the gardens, except for a few pumpkins. (39) The other two mission stations in the Eastern Cape fared better: Theopolis survived two attacks (40), and at Bethelsdorp, only some cattle were stolen. The people of Uitenhage prepared for an attack. Grahamstown was in fact attacked, but the enemy was repelled. (41)

The refugees were a welcome reinforcement to Uitenhage. Schmitt and Mrs. Kohrhammer enjoyed the hospitality of the Landdrost, and the unmarried brethren were taken by a resident. The congregation was housed in a barrack, and then invited to build houses. A small Moravian settlement grew up on the outskirts of the village. The Landdrost granted the use of a barn for church and school purposes, and rations for the beginning. Mrs. Cuyler gave a big garden, the predikant a corn-field, another resident a plot for potatoes, and others butter, rice and vegetables. In fact, the fugitives were better off than at Witteriver. They remained in the village from April until the end of the year, working their plots and taking jobs as artisans and labourers. Church services and school were held in the usual manner, and, after the Xhosas had been defeated, the full number of cattle was restored to them. (42)

Many did not wish to return to the Witte river. Mrs. Kohrhammer asked permission to go back to Genadendal, and Schulz wanted to be transferred to another station. Hornig, Hoffman and many members of the congregation objected against the choice of the site. The farm of Marthinus Prinsloo or the country near the Bushman river were in their opinion more suitable. At least, the station should be built on an open plain. Only Schmitt stuck to his idea of building the institution near the Elephant's Nest. (43)

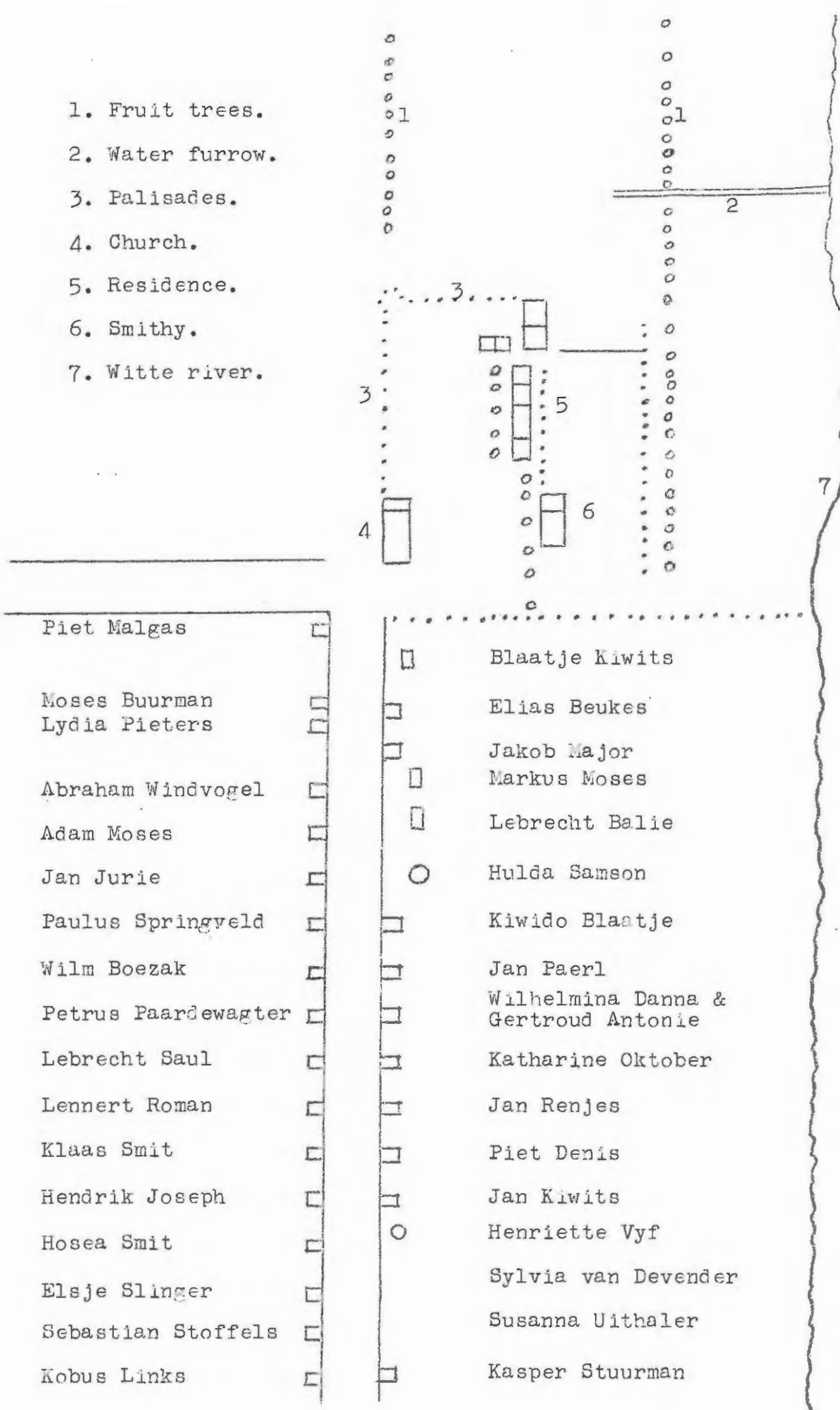
(39) Le. En. 28.5.1819.

(40) Theal I, p. 276.

(41) Le. En. 29.4.1819.

(42) Report by Hallbeck in He.ko. 1819, appendix.

(43) Le.En. 29.4.1819, 27.7.1819; G. N. 1868, p. 64.



Enon 1820.

(After a sketch by Schmitt)

Hallbeck paid a visit to Uitenhage in October. Travelling by ship, he landed in Algoa Bay a short time before the British settlers arrived there.⁽⁴⁴⁾ He was pleased with the spiritual condition of the congregation and the good reputation, which it enjoyed at Uitenhage, but agreed with Schmitt that the people should move back to the Witte river as soon as possible, because their cattle had not sufficient pasture near the village. Bird, who visited Uitenhage at the same time, promised the assistance of the Government for the erection of a palisade around the station, and Cuyler, who inspected the spot with the brethren, advised them to apply for an additional loan farm, three hours from the Witte river, which was suitable for the growing of wheat. The war was over; the Xhosas had been pushed back behind the Keiskamma river; the British settlers were coming. It was safe to return to the Witte river. ⁽⁴⁵⁾

The second beginning was made on the site selected by Schmitt, and the station received the name of Enon ⁽⁴⁶⁾, after the spot where John baptised his converts in the river (John 3.23). Hard work was required, but Schmitt had the endurance to see it through. He wrote to Hallbeck:

... daher ist es nöthig die erstern
[sc. die Hottentotten] gehen zu lassen dass
wir gar nicht ans weggehen dencken, sondern
dass wir uns im Bauen u. Bevestigen gar
nicht stöhren lassen. ⁽⁴⁷⁾

Palisades were erected around the main buildings and a four-roomed residence was built.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Orange-trees were transplanted from the farm of Scheepers to the new site.⁽⁴⁹⁾ A dwelling, which served as a smithy and a joinery, and a kitchen followed.⁽⁵⁰⁾ A provisional church was dedicated on

(44) VIII, p. 82.

(45) Report by Hallbeck in He.ko. 1819, appendix.

(46) He.ko. 15.7.1819; En. Doc. 22.12.1819.

(47) Le. En. 19.4.1820.

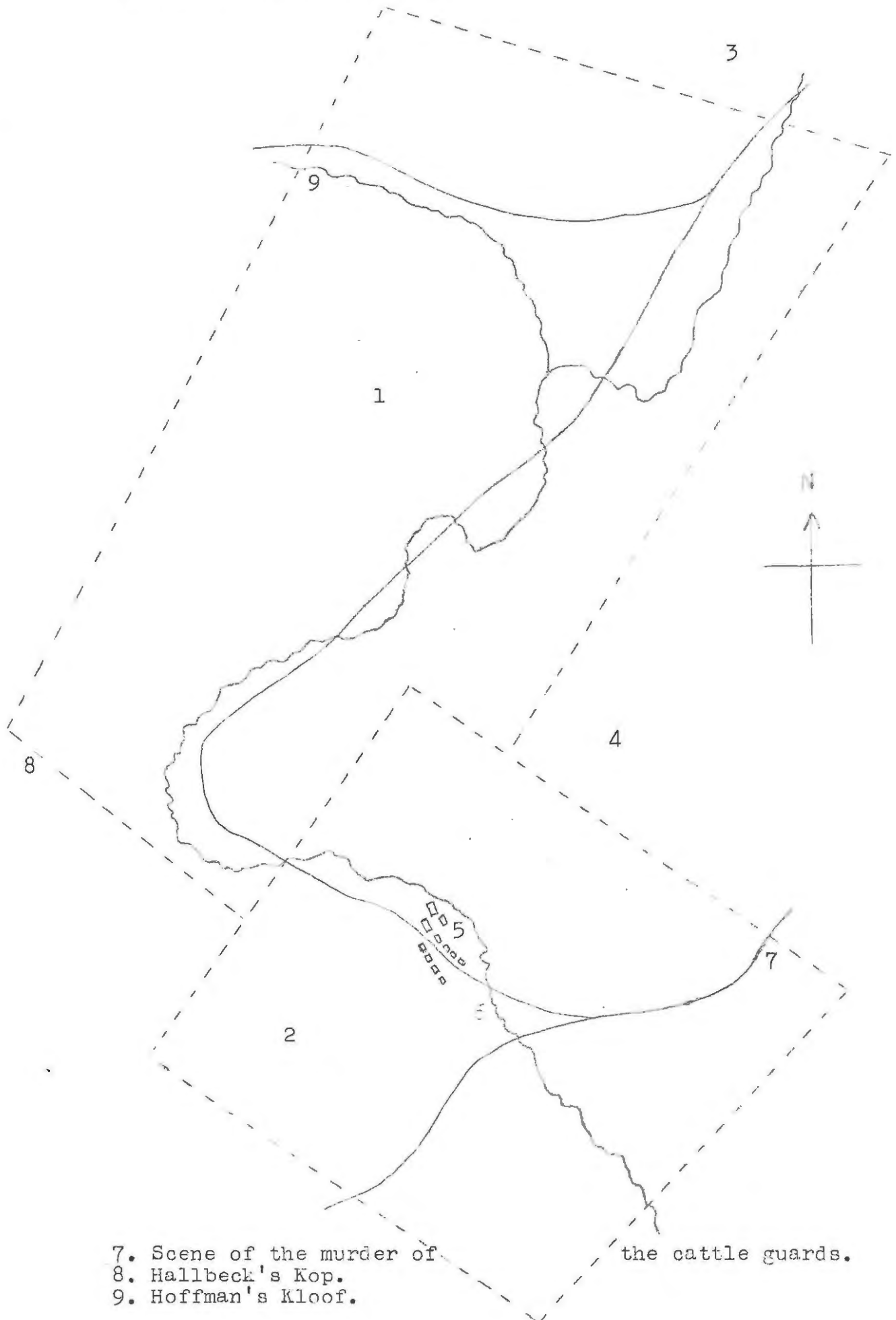
(48) Le. En. 27.1.1820.

(49) Le. En. 19.4.1820.

(50) Le. En. 12.8.1820.

Enon in 1820.

1. Witterriver (La Trobe's Thal).
2. Farm of Jacobus Scheepers senior.
3. Farm of Jacobus Scheepers junior.
4. Samdee, added in 1822.
5. Enon.
6. First settlement in 1818.



7. Scene of the murder of the cattle guards.
8. Hallbeck's Kop.
9. Hoffman's Kloof.

12th May 1821. (51) A mill was added in the following year. Its wheel pumped water into the garden as well. A street with two rows of plots was marked off. (52) Dwellings were erected by the Mission for the widows of those, who had been killed in the war. (53)

The number of residents increased to two hundred within two years. (54) Among the new-comers was a faithful communicant from Genadendal, Carl Stompjes, who married Wilhelmina. (55) No contact was made with the Bantu. The few Xhosas, who were still in the neighbourhood, remained in hiding. (56) Only the elephants continued to cause trouble, and Schmitt regretted that Somerset prohibited shooting them in 1822. (57) No difficulties arose through intoxicating liquor, because Enon was out of the way and wine was four times as expensive as in the west. (58) Only once, a farmer brought wine and, when Schmitt turned him away, sold it outside the station. Those who became drunk, threatened to kill Schmitt and his wife and had to be tied. (59) But the incident remained an exception. The people prospered and not a single death occurred for a whole year. (60) The brethren were conscious of making history on a small scale. Hoffman wanted to plant a pear-tree like Georg Schmidt (61), and the names of La Trobe's Thal, Hallbeck's Kop and Hoffman's Kloof served to remember the founders.

Schmitt kept asking for more co-workers. He was disappointed, when the lot disapproved of the transfer of Fritsch to Enon, and suggested that Hallbeck should come

(51) Le. En. 20.3.1821, 26.5.1821.

(52) Le. En. 30.1.1822, 9.9.1822.

(53) Le. En. 12.8.1820.

(54) He.ko. 2.1.1822.

(55) Le. En. 2.12.1822; G. N. 1868, p. 68.

(56) G. N. 1868, p. 69.

(57) Le. En. 4.5.1822.

(58) Le. En. 12.8.1820.

(59) Le. En. 10.6.1820.

(60) Le. En. 16.3.1822.

(61) Le. En. 19.4.1820.

himself, at least for some time. He expressed regret that not one of the brethren was prepared to leave Genadendal without the lot. (52) After reinforcements had come from Europe in 1821, Lemmerz followed a call to Enon, bringing two brides for Hoffman and Hornig on the occasion. (63)

Stroebel's farm, three hours to the east, which the Landdrost had offered, was leased for the growing of wheat, in order to make the inhabitants independent of the farmers (64) and the use of about 7000 morgen of pasturage on the eastern border of Enon, called Samdee, was granted. (65)

Hallbeck visited the station towards the end of 1821, in order to examine its finances and development. He found that the total excess of expenditure was 16000 thaler, of which 4000 thaler were losses suffered through the war and 1000 thaler travelling expenses. On the other hand, buildings to the value of at least 10000 thaler had been erected. The state of the finances was therefore quite sound. The only income worth mentioning came out of Hornig's smithy. However, the market for knives was not as good as around Genadendal.

In his opinion, Enon had many advantages as a mission station. It had good pasturage and a supply of water. Uitenhage was near enough to offer employment, and too far to have a bad influence on the morals of the congregation. And it was at a spot, where the Xhosas had lived in former times and to which they would return as soon as the Government allowed it.

On the other hand, it had its disadvantages. It provided only for a limited number of people, having not enough water for irrigation and few neighbours in need of farm labour. The first effort to sow wheat on Stroebel's farm had been a failure, and future success was doubtful. The supply of

(62) Le. En. 27.1.1820.

(63) Le. En. 26.5.1821.

(64) Le. En. 14.10.1820; En.Doc. 14.3.1821; He.ko. 27.4.1821.

(65) He.ko. 2.1.1822, 11.7.1822, 13.8.1822; En.Doc.No.22, No.52.

bark for tanning from the bush was nearly exhausted. Only the burning of coal was still a source of income. The people wanted to sell timber, but both, Hallbeck and Schmitt, were against it, because it would deprive the station of future supplies, and might tempt the Government to declare the bush a crown forest. The making of wagons could provide an income for the Mission, although many British artisans had come of late into the district. In short, the chances for a prosperous development were not good. But Hallbeck was pleased with the spiritual life of the congregation and with the harmony among the missionaries. (66)

The fellowship among the brethren was not everywhere as harmonious as he desired. Not all of them had the spirit of the three pioneers. The common household required men and women of great humility and unselfishness. Differences of opinion about small matters, such as the distribution of responsibilities and the competency of each brother, were accentuated by their living together in one family. This could encumber the daily fellowship, which was the case in Groenekloof. In order to alleviate the position, the U.A.C. suggested that Peterleitner should be transferred from Groenekloof to Cape Town, where he could make furniture and preach the Gospel to the slaves. (67)

Hallbeck went to investigate the matter. He was pleased about the spiritual life of the 350 inhabitants of Groenekloof. Having to struggle hard for their existence, they had become much more industrious. The gardens and the fields were well tended. The Mission leased now the whole of the *Laatste Stuiver* (68) but was unable to collect the annual rent: The inhabitants could only make small profits out of it by collecting wax berries, extracting the wax and forming

(66) He. ko. 2.1.1822.

(67) He. ko. 15.7.1819.

(68) He. ko. 3.2.1819; see p. 203.

candles.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The mission buildings, which had caused considerable expenses for repairs, were now in good order, except that a mill was still wanting. It could, therefore, be expected that the annual deficits of Groenekloof would decrease. The old blind Captain Klapmuts still lived in his kraal. The brethren had taken part of the Louw's Kloof under cultivation, in order to prevent the neighbours from claiming it. The rich farmers of the district were less friendly towards the station than those around Genadendal.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Although all of the missionaries had the best intentions, little frictions about the various competencies persisted, which Hallbeck, being a sensitive and conscientious man, took seriously. ⁽⁷¹⁾

Visiting Cape Town, he explored the chances for the stationing of a Moravian missionary. The town had a population of 7460 Europeans, 1905 Free Blacks, 7462 Slaves, 810 Prize Negroes and 536 Hottentots. Nearly all the Non-whites were Mohamedans or heathen. Religious house-gatherings being permitted, a missionary of the L.M.S. and several mission friends held regular meetings for Non-whites. Most of the slave-owners sent their slaves to the mosque by preference, because the Moslem faith would keep them from drunkenness. On the other hand, the masters of Prize Negroes were in duty bound to have them instructed in the Christian faith. Nobody prevented the Reverend G. Thom from baptising slaves. Many burghers intimated that they would prefer a Moravian missionary for their slaves. Therefore, the spiritual side of the project was promising.

But on the material side, serious obstacles presented themselves. It was difficult to establish a profitable trade, because the market was flooded with British articles, which

(69) Anshelm I, p. 71.

(70) Anshelm I, p. 83.

(71) Report by Hallbeck in He.ko. 1819, appendix.

were sold cheaper than in England. Fortunately, the British manufacturers had not yet started making knives of the kind made in Genadendal. Slaves being very expensive, the local labour could not compete with overseas, the import was much larger than the export, capital was scarce, tradesmen sold their products under cost-price and many went bankrupt. The root of the trouble was in Hallbeck's opinion that the Colonists considered it beneath their dignity to do ordinary labour. In any case, the establishment of a work-shop for the making of furniture would be a very risky undertaking. It would be better, if the Mission could afford it, to station an English speaking brother in Cape Town, who could open a school, represent the Mission and make contact with the slaves. (72) After considering Hallbeck's report, the U.A.C. decided against the transfer of Peterleitner. An additional learned brother was not available, and the plan to extend the work to Cape Town was postponed for many years to come.

Consequently, Genadendal remained the centre of the activities. It was here, where Hallbeck lived and the H.C. met. Clemens was the local head-missionary and kept the books of the Mission. Hallbeck took care of the medicines and the poor relief (73) and gave his attention to the improvement of the order and the education. The Regulations of La Trobe were read to the inhabitants once a year. (74) Hallbeck made an adaptation of them in the form of questions and answers for the instruction of new-comers and children (75) In order to prevent the young people from forgetting what they had learnt at school, he proposed to give them lessons once a week, and made a start with the girls in 1820. (76) The day-school became an exemplary institution. It closed

(72) Report by Hallbeck in He.ko. 1819, appendix.

(73) Hau.ko. 22.1.1818, 7.8.1818.

(74) VIII, p. 94.

(75) Mi.ko. 12.12.1818; He.ko. 3.2.1819.

(76) VIII, p. 89.

every year with an oral examination in the presence of all the missionaries. (77) A visitor from Holland was astonished to find that it looked like the schools in Europe: The desks of the pupils were oblique, with ledges, leaden inkpots and large slates, and graphs and maps decorated the walls. The wives of the missionaries instructed the girls in needle-work. (78) Copies of a Dutch translation of Luther's Small Catechism arrived from Zeist in 1822 (79) and were distributed among the pupils on the three stations. It has remained the doctrinal basis of the religious instruction of the Brethren at the Cape until to-day.

In the second place, Hallbeck improved the industry and the welfare of the inhabitants. The meetings, which had been held in the afternoons, were transferred to the evenings, in order to leave the time for daily work uninterrupted, as had been recommended by La Trobe. (80) When the people returned from the harvest on the farms in January, they were exhorted in a public meeting to save their earnings (81) and a savings-bank was opened. (82) More trees were planted, not for the benefit of the Mission as in former times, but for the inhabitants. The men planted them by voluntary labour under the supervision of Hallbeck and a Hottentot captain, and it was laid down that the timber would be sold at half price to the residents. The profit would go to the poor relief. (83)

A major undertaking was the building of a bridge across the Zondereind, giving access to the corn-fields. (84) After a visitor had donated two hundred thaler for the purpose, a start was made under the direction of Beinbrecht. (85)

(77) VIII, p. 107.

(78) V. R. XXIV, pp. 135, 136.

(79) VIII, p. 156.

(80) Le. U.A.C. 16.4.1817.

(81) VIII, pp. 43, 87.

(82) Sav. bank.

(83) Hau.ko. 2.3.1818.

(84) VIII, p. 16.

(85) VIII, p. 29; Hau.ko. 8.1.1819.

The Xhosa war of 1819 interrupted the work, but in 1820, the bridge was ready for use. Five stone pillars, twelve by five feet thick, between eleven and fourteen feet high and twenty feet from each other, carried a wooden plank. Thirty-five men worked daily on a voluntary basis, breaking and transporting the stones with unparalleled endurance.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The people were justly proud of their feat. It was probably the second solid bridge in the Colony: La Trobe crossed the Palmiet river in 1816 on a bridge, which rested on stone pillars and was, according to him, the only bridge in the country.⁽⁸⁷⁾ After 1820, the brethren increased the height, added a sixth pillar and made it passable for wagons.⁽⁸⁸⁾ It served for many decades, and Beinbrecht's pillars are still in use to-day. The costs amounted to 4489 thaler, part of which was covered by donations. ⁽⁸⁹⁾

Voluntary labour was used for other purposes as well. On the day after the festival for the married couples, the men enjoyed enlarging the grave-yard as part of their celebrations. ⁽⁹⁰⁾

On the other hand, Hallbeck discouraged migrant labour by advertising in the Government Gazette that letters from private people, asking for labourers, would no longer be answered by him.⁽⁹¹⁾ Only when men were required for public works, he could not refuse.

W.C. van Ryneveld, the successor of Frouenvelder in Caledon, continued the friendship of his father with the brethren.⁽⁹²⁾ When Vos, the Predikant of Caledon, retired in 1818, another friend of the brethren, G. Thom, succeeded him.⁽⁹³⁾ The Governor instructed him to cultivate the fellowship with

(86) VIII, p. 96.

(87) La Trobe, pp. 292, 293.

(88) VIII, pp. 96, 130, 138.

(89) He.ko. 5.11.1823; Gen. bridge.

(90) VIII, pp. 146, 147.

(91) Le. En. 26.5.1821.

(92) VIII, p. 39.

(93) Theal I, p. 257.

the brethren, expressing the hope

.. that their confidence will increase, and with it that their labour will be spread beyond the narrow confines of the Bavians Kloof. (94)

Hallbeck took part in his installation (95), and Thom preached one Sunday at Genadendal. It was the first time that a sermon was delivered in English. (96)

Dr. John Philip, who visited Genadendal several times, preached in English too. (97) Hallbeck found it strange that such a learned man made no efforts to learn Dutch. (98)

Other visiting English speaking ministers included Robert Moffat and Andrew Murray. (99) In 1823, the Scotch missionary John Ross stayed at Genadendal for some days on his way to the Eastern Cape, where he founded Lovedale together with John Bennie in the following year. (100)

When the British settlers arrived at the Cape in 1820, the Governor directed one group of 120 people under five leaders to a farm two hours to the west of Genadendal. Some of them visited the settlement, and two ladies took their lodgings in the guest-house. The settlers were bitterly disappointed with their farm and moved to Albany in the course of time. (101) It was the intention of the Government to settle them in closed, self-supporting villages, and the Governor had sent Hallbeck a questionnaire before their arrival in order to find out, how far the Moravian settlements could be exemplary for the proposed colonies. Hallbeck had replied, however, that a settlement after the Moravian pattern was possible only, if the inhabitants were bound

(94) Records XII, p. 59.

(95) VIII, p. 41.

(96) VIII, p. 29.

(97) VIII, pp. 74, 108, 148.

(98) Anshelm I, p. 78.

(99) VIII, pp. 74, 174.

(100) VIII, p. 222; Du Plessis, p. 184.

(101) Theal I, pp. 295, 296; VIII, pp. 97-99.

together by the Holy Spirit. (102)

The years 1821 and, more especially, 1822 were difficult ones because of a general famine. (103) Even in normal times, the inhabitants were underfed, most of them dying from consumption. (104) The times of distress made matters worse and many had to seek work on the farms. Only half of the communicants attended the Lord's Supper in 1821, and in 1822, only a third of the married couples participated in their festival. (105) The church servants and the overseers had to guard the crops at night against thieving, a measure which was quite unnecessary in normal times. (106) The number of cattle decreased from four hundred to two hundred. (107) The people of Enon lived from rice, supplied by Schmitt on credit. (108) On top of it, a tempest raged in July 1822 in the Western Cape, doing heavy damage. (109) The bridge of Genadendal was damaged, the gardens were devastated and twenty houses completely destroyed. (110) Similar havoc was wrought at Groenekloof. Schmitt was shocked by reading in the Government Gazette that the church of Groenekloof, which he had built himself, had collapsed. (111) Somerset had passed the news in the same form to London (112), although, in fact, only one of the gables had given in. (113) Still, the damage was great enough. However, the calamities caused many sympathisers to come to the support of the Mission. The Governor gave rice and seed-corn. (114) The U.A.C. granted

(102) Gen. Doc. 11.12.1819; G. O. 102, 11.12.1819.

(103) Theal I, pp. 313, 314.

(104) VIII, p. 60.

(105) VIII, pp. 145, 175.

(106) VIII, p. 169.

(107) VIII, p. 174.

(108) Le. En. 9.7.1821.

(109) Theal I, pp. 320, 321.

(110) VIII, pp. 170-172.

(111) Le. En. 9.9.1822.

(112) Records XV, p. 2.

(113) He.ko. 13.8.1822.

(114) VIII, pp. 158, 159.

four hundred thaler, and the Government and the Landdrost added more. The brethren used the money to cook food three times a week for the hungry women and children. The beneficiaries had to do a bit of voluntary labour before the meals.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ The men were summoned to work the gardens of the widows and other needy residents.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ In response to Hallbeck's appeal, mission friends collected in Germany 1000 Mark, in Holland 1000 guilders and in Britain 100 Pound for the Cape Mission.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Thus, a great catastrophe was averted and exceptionally few people died at Genadendal during 1822. ⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Among those who died was Father Marsveld, the last one of the three pioneers, at the age of seventy-six. He had served in Genadendal without interruption for thirty years and was greatly trusted and loved by all. A woman told the brethren of a dream, which she had had, while being in the Eastern Cape. She saw Schwinn with wings, about to fly to heaven. When she started following him, he turned her back because of her sinfulness. This grieved her greatly, but Marsveld appeared, comforting her. The dream caused her to seek the Saviour once more and to return to Genadendal.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Marsveld was a simple and very humble man. After a frivolous youth, he had experienced the forgiveness of the Saviour in a Moravian society and dedicated his life to Him.⁽¹²⁰⁾ His widow, who remained in the service of the Mission like Mrs. Kohrhammer and Mrs. Schwinn, wrote about him:

Uebrigens ist es sein Wunsch, dass wir von seiner Arbeit im Weinberge des Herrn so wenig als möglich sagen, denn bei allen Gaben u. Treue sah er sich für einen unnützen Knecht an, u. er

(115) VIII, pp. 172-174, 187.

(116) VIII, p. 179.

(117) Anshelm I, p. 73.

(118) VIII, p. 195.

(119) VIII, pp. 176, 177.

(120) Ph. Marsveld; VIII, pp. 179-187.

pflögte zu sagen, dass das ganze hiesige Werk war so augenscheinlich des Herrn, dass es eine Versündigung seyn würde, irgend einem Menschen das mindeste davon zuschreiben zu wollen. (121)

(121) VIII, p. 187.

3. Further expansion: Hemel en Aarde and Elim, 1823, 1824.

The years which followed the famine, brought further expansion. On the one hand, Somerset urged the Moravians to undertake various tasks. On the other hand, the brethren wished to establish more stations. The beginning in Hemel en Aarde was due to a request from the Governor.

The Government had bought this place on the Onrust river for the lepers in 1817.⁽¹⁾ A European relative of the former owner, who was a leper herself, remained on the farm.⁽²⁾ Patients, with or without their families, moved thither and were maintained by the Government. Most of them were Hottentots, some were slaves, and a few Europeans. At least twenty-three of them came from Genadendal.⁽³⁾ They had been certified by the doctor and advised by the magistrate to go to the new institution. The law did not yet make their segregation compulsory. In some cases, healthy husbands joined their wives, and children their mothers.⁽⁴⁾ The brethren went to visit their members about once a quarter. One of the sick, a communicant sister from Genadendal, started regular lessons for the children⁽⁵⁾, and all desired that a brother should come to live with them.⁽⁶⁾ The Government had an overseer on the spot, the doctor of Caledon was responsible for the treatment, and the pastoral care had been entrusted to G. Thom.⁽⁷⁾

He asked the brethren as far back as 1819 to relieve him of his responsibility. The H.C. refused however, because of the peculiar difficulties connected with the work, for which they had no experience, and because the responsible

(1) Theal I, p. 255.

(2) H. A. Di. I, p. 20.

(3) VIII, pp. 36, 115; Mi.ko. 12.12.1818.

(4) Le. V, 6.10.1818; Mi.ko. 10.11.1820.

(5) VIII, p. 118.

(6) VIII, p. 76.

(7) Records XII, p. 59.

brother would not be a free agent, but dependent on the Government and possibly on Thom.⁽⁸⁾ The arrangements remained unaltered for some time; a catechist from Caledon visited the institution twice a month.⁽⁹⁾ But when Somerset inspected Hemel en Aarde in 1822, he was greatly dissatisfied with the carelessness of the overseer, the doctor and the catechist, and with the neglect of the patients. Going straight to Groenekloof, he asked Peterleitner and his English speaking wife to take charge of the institution. Both were quite willing to go, but referred the matter to Hallbeck.⁽¹⁰⁾

Hallbeck hesitated, because two responsibilities were involved: Leitner would be a Moravian minister and a Government overseer at the same time. He felt, however, that the request should be acceded to, on the understanding that the Moravian Mission, not Peterleitner personally, was responsible. It might even be possible to establish a mission station in the proximity of Hemel en Aarde, which could serve as a basis for the work among the lepers. The Governor agreed to Hallbeck's proposals: A salary of one thousand thaler per annum would be paid to the Mission. A residence and a garden would be put at the disposal of the missionary. A doctor would control the treatment of the patients by regular visits. The regulations for the community could be altered from time to time. The Government had no objections to the establishment of a station on part of the land or by the purchase of a neighbouring farm. Thereupon, Hallbeck accepted the offer.⁽¹¹⁾

Peterleitner and his wife arrived at Hemel en Aarde at the foot of the Tower of Babylon on 18th January 1823. Many lepers welcomed them by the singing of hymns, after they had held a last dance party and smashed their violins.

(8) He.ko. 6.12.1819.

(9) VIII, p. 134.

(10) He.ko. 29.11.1822.

(11) He.ko. 18.12.1822.

having heard that this kind of behaviour would not be tolerated by the brethren. When Peterleitner preached the gospel for the first time on 2nd February behind his residence, all who could move, came to listen. (12)

His task was not easy. 150 people had to be fed, ruled and instructed. A farmer delivered twenty-four sheep a week, and tea, sugar and meal, under a Government's contract, and Peterleitner distributed the daily portions. Somerset wanted to cancel the contract, and to leave everything to Peterleitner, but Hallbeck objected. He only asked that the contract should be for the quantities required by Peterleitner and not per head of patient, because under the existing method, it was in the interest of the contractor that the patients ate as little as possible. (13) The Governor agreed, but the feeding of the people continued to cause Peterleitner many a headache. Some complained about the food, others fed their chicken, geese and dogs with Government meal or exchanged their rations of tea and sugar for meal and butter from the farms. Or the bad quality of the supplies made protests to the contractor necessary. (14)

The upkeep of the buildings, for which another contractor was responsible, was another problem. Complaints had to be addressed to the Landdrost of Swellendam. The buildings were in a very bad state of repair, and the contractor was very slow to do something about it. (15)

The Medical Inspector of the Colony, Dr. J. Barry, visited the institution from time to time. She was in fact a woman, but this became only evident after her death. (16) Her instructions were drastic, and Peterleitner found her authoritarian manners difficult to endure. The lepers had

(12) H. A. Di. I, pp. 2-9.

(13) He.ko. 8.4.1823, 30.4.1823.

(14) H. A. Di. I, pp. 35, 36, 59.

(15) H. A. Di. I, pp. 9, 173, 215.

(16) Ray, passim.

been prohibited from going to the sea-shore, because three of them had drowned. Now, she reversed the order: All who were able to walk, must go to the shore every day. (17) Again, she demanded that the food must be cooked in a common kitchen, and not privately, as hitherto. (18) Then came the instruction that the healthy spouses and children must be sent away. (19) It caused much bitterness, and a man, whose wife had to leave, ran around with a knife, until he was tied and locked in. (20) Twenty-seven children were sent to Genadendal and distributed to selected foster-parents, a measure for which the mothers were grateful. (21) Another day, the Doctor gave drastic orders concerning the sanitary conditions of the institution, although Peterleitner had neither the personnel nor the accommodation nor the means to convert Hemel en Aarde into an up-to-date hospital. This time, Hallbeck protested to the Governor, and Somerset conceded that he was right. (22) Barry wanted to transfer the institution to Simonstown, in order to have it under his eyes and near the sea, and the Governor seemed to support his view (23), with the result that the work was ad interim once more, as had been the case in Groenekloof in the beginning. (24) Finally, the Doctor wished to separate the male and the female patients in order to prevent their procreation, because the disease was sometimes transmitted to the children. (25) Her orders were quite understandable from a medical point of view, but it meant for the patients that the institution changed from a place of refuge into a

(17) H. A. Di. I, pp. 10, 22.

(18) H. A. Di. I, pp. 10, 21.

(19) H. A. Di. I, pp. 27, 28, 32.

(20) H. A. Di. I, pp. 53, 54.

(21) H. A. Di. I, p. 32; Mi.ko. 24.10.1823.

(22) He.ko. 28.6.1823, 28.7.1823; Le. IV, 18.7.1823; Ray, pp. 37, 38.

(23) H. A. Di. I, pp. 32, 43, 78.

(24) See pp. 189, 190.

(25) H. A. Di. I, p. 175; Le. H. A. 28.3.1824.

prison, and some of them escaped. (26) It made Peterleitner's task to do justice to the heaven as pastor and to the earth as overseer at Hemel en Aarde still more difficult.

The number of lepers decreased to about one hundred during his first year and remained at that level. Many deaths occurred. On the other hand, the landdrosts sent patients from all parts of the country. Among them were a Bushman, with whom nobody could talk, a Bantu from the Eastern Cape, a Moslem slave and a few colonists. (27) The disease made all of them equals.

Peterleitner's pastoral duties were different from those of the other brethren. He had not to deal with a congregation of voluntary adherents. The inhabitants came from sheer necessity and could not be sent away. The disease did not make them necessarily receptive to the Gospel. Some refused to accept it even on their deathbeds. Some were enslaved by dagga and intoxicating liquor. But some turned to the Saviour in their need.

Out of these, Peterleitner gathered a congregation in the Moravian manner. The lepers from Genadendal and Groenekloof formed the nucleus. The communicant sister from Genadendal continued faithfully with the instruction of the children. (28) Baptised members from other churches brought their certificates. The names of those, who desired to be admitted to the various classes, were submitted to the lot at Genadendal. The worship, the sacraments, the weekly gatherings, the "speaking" and the house-visiting were performed in the usual manner. Peterleitner and his wife were not afraid of infection (29), and many a leper found the Saviour through their service.

The meetings were held in the open air at first. But on

(26) H. A. Di. I, p. 89.

(27) H. A. Di. I, pp. 20, 29, 42, 63, 67, 130.

(28) H. A. Di. I, p. 91.

(29) H. A. Di. I, p. 140.

rainy days, the congregation became wet and Peterleitner contracted rheumatism.⁽³⁰⁾ For some time, the hospital-building served as a chapel, but the air within was so bad that they went back to the open air.⁽³¹⁾ A church was greatly needed, but the future of the institution was in the balance. Finally, Peterleitner erected a simple temporary wattle-and daub-building with the aid of the lepers.⁽³²⁾ It became dilapidated within a short time. Only after Somerset's successor had taken over and Dr. J. Barry had been replaced, the assurance was given that the institution would remain on the spot.⁽³³⁾ Thereupon, the lepers erected a proper chapel of fifty by twenty-two feet, which was dedicated by Hallbeck on 16th March 1838.⁽³⁴⁾ It was the crown on Peterleitner's work.

One year later, on Easter Monday, he received a stroke during a baptismal ceremony and had to be carried out of the chapel. His last worry was that he had not yet pronounced the blessing over the baptised woman. He died at the age of sixty and was buried in Genadendal. A cartwright by profession, he had served the Mission in Suriname for six years. After the death of his first wife, he had returned to Europe with his little daughter, and had been sent to the Cape in 1810. He was conscious of his fastidiousness, which made him a difficult man to work with, and relied on the grace of the Saviour alone. His exactness enabled him to carry out his manifold duties at Hemel en Aarde, such as the keeping of two different diaries, one for the Mission and one for the Government. Another brother was called in his place, but Hallbeck managed the administration of the institution henceforth from Genadendal. ⁽³⁵⁾

(30) H. A. Di. I, p. 15; Le. H. A. 26.2.1823.

(31) H. A. Di. I, p. 39.

(32) H. A. Di. I, pp. 79, 83, 84.

(33) H. A. Di. I, pp. 142, 174, 175.

(34) H. A. Di. I, pp. 191, 204; He.ko. 15.10.1827.

(35) H. A. Di. I, pp. 135-144.

The care of the lepers was not the only task which Somerset allotted to the Moravians in 1823. Two groups of Bantu, mostly women and children, entered the District of Graaf-Reinet and asked permission to remain in the Colony. Other tribes had devastated their home-land, leaving them destitute. The Landdrost, A. Stockenstrom, wanted to turn them back, but Somerset asked Hallbeck to admit them in Enon, and the H.C. agreed to receive half of them in Enon and the other half in Genadendal. But they had meanwhile left the Colony. (36)

At the same time, the Landdrost of the Cape District asked the brethren to provide for the children of slaves at the school in Groenekloof. A proclamation of the Governor bade the farmers to send the children of their slaves to school. The H.C. declined, however, after investigating the matter. There were only two farms within the reach of Groenekloof, the slaves of which were English speaking. And the conservative Clemens, who had meanwhile become the head-missionary of Groenekloof, was not in favour of new experiments. (37)

The Cape Corps in the Eastern Cape was reinforced once more (38), and Captain R. Aitchison came to Genadendal to enlist volunteers. He tried to do it by means of intoxicating liquor, but the brethren put a stop to it. No sober inhabitant was willing to sign on. Thereupon, Somerset wrote a letter to Hallbeck, asking him to speak to the men. He wrote:

They are formed into a Military Corps not to fight the Battles of a new Mother Country but to defend their own land, of which they are the Aborigines. (39)

He explained the advantages of his offer: Only seven years of service, the same pay as for British soldiers and in addition full support for the families, possible promotion

(36) He.ko. 30.4.1823, 22.5.1823, 28.7.1823; Le. IV, 1823; Theal I, p. 379.

(37) He.ko. 29.5.1823, 28.7.1823; Le. IV, 12.6.1823; Walker, p. 171.

(38) Theal I, p. 325.

(39) Le. IV, 8.8.1823.

to higher ranks, and a chaplain and a school for their benefit at Grahamstown. He felt that the people were ungrateful for what he had done for them, and hinted that he might be forced to commandeer them.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Upon this, Hallbeck spoke to the men and some enlisted.⁽⁴¹⁾ A number of Moravians were at Grahamstown already, and Hallbeck, who visited the town and preached in one of its churches in 1826, found the soldiers well cared for.⁽⁴²⁾

Thus, Somerset availed himself of the services of the brethren in various ways. On the other hand, the brethren wished to establish another settlement. The U.A.C. suggested the purchase of a farm between Genadendal and Enon, which would bridge the gap between the two places and might alleviate the overcrowding of Genadendal. The H.C. realised that the two purposes demanded two different sites, one near Genadendal, the other one farther east.⁽⁴³⁾ An investigation revealed that the country around Hemel en Aarde was unsuitable for the purpose.⁽⁴⁴⁾ A Hottentot-Captain, Absalom Pommer, invited the brethren to his place Sandfontein near Swellendam. The Landdrost supported the idea, but the brethren found the spot unsuitable.⁽⁴⁵⁾ A farm adjoining Genadendal came up for auction, but it was too near to draw people into a second settlement.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Several farmers in the Swellendam District offered their farms for sale.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Seidenfaden, who had heard of Pommer's offer, suggested that they should rather buy Zuurbraak⁽⁴⁸⁾, because he was tired of all the criticism, which he had to endure. He stated that he would be satisfied with the refund

(40) Le. IV, 8.8.1823.

(41) VIII, pp. 218, 219.

(42) Anshelm II, p. 12.

(43) He.ko. 26.2.1823, 4.4.1823.

(44) Hau.ko. 5.11.1823, 17.1.1824.

(45) He.ko. 15.12.1823, 23.2.1824; Mi.ko. 31.12.1823.

(46) He.ko. 29.1.1824.

(47) Hau.ko. 4.3.1824.

(48) Compare pp. 97, 177, 202.

of the money, which he had spent on the station, and that the Governor would surely give his approval. (49) The brethren found on investigation that he was no longer in the service of the L.M.S. but of the South African Missionary Society, that he had built part of his residence with his own money, and that the Government had set aside the area for the Hottentot inhabitants and exercised direct control over them. Hallbeck replied that the brethren would do nothing, if the resident Hottentots did not approach them out of their own. (50) Nothing was heard for some time, but in 1825, Somerset informed them on occasion of a visit to Genadendal that the Commission of Inquiry, which toured the country, had given a very critical report on Zuurbraak, and that he had ordered Seidenfaden to vacate it. Would the brethren take charge of the station? (51) Hallbeck hesitated, because he did not want to offend the L.M.S. (52) and referred the matter to the U.A.C. When Somerset's successor entrusted Zuurbraak to the L.M.S., the brethren welcomed the solution. (53) Seidenfaden left the place and opened a canteen in the neighbourhood. (54)

Meanwhile, another promising offer had been made. Dr. G. Thom in Caledon informed Hallbeck that a brother-in-law of Seidenfaden wanted to sell his Farm Vogelstruyskraal near Cape Agulhas for a very reasonable price. (55) It proved very suitable on inspection. The prospects for cattle and wheat seemed certainly not so good, but horses and pigs could be raised and there was excellent garden-ground. The Nieuwejaars river had enough water throughout the year. A residence with outbuildings and even a mill were already

(49) Le. V, 15.2.1824.

(50) He.ko. 23.2.1824, 26.2.1824; Le. V, 13.3.1824.

(51) Le. IV, 30.1.1825.

(52) He.ko. 9.2.1825.

(53) He.ko. 7.5.1827; Report 1830, p. 15.

(54) Report 1854, p. 15.

(55) He.ko. 25.3.1824.

on the premises. The neighbouring farmers, having few slaves, were in need of labourers and were eager to hear the Gospel. Vogelstruyskraal was a quitrent farm and the purchase price of five thousand thaler was very moderate. The H.C., having heard that the Government itself was about to set up schools for slaves and Hottentots in the country, decided at once to buy it. (56)

Hallbeck succeeded this time in buying it "ageerende voor de Missionarissen der Vereenigde Broederen" on quitrent, and the costs of transfer were remitted. (57) Bird, who had insisted in the past that missionary societies may not own property, was no longer in office and resigned shortly afterwards. (58) Somerset, who was under pressure from Philip and others, raised no objections. The experienced Bonatz, who was returning from furlough with his second wife, after his first wife had died at Groenekloof, was called to make the beginning together with Chr. Thomsen. (59) The station received the name of Elim (60) after the oasis in the desert, where the Israelites rested on their way to the promised land among palm-trees and water-fountains. (Exodus 15.27).

The farmers in the Strandveld were well-meaning and pious. (61) Friends of the brethren like Wessel Wessels and Pieter Du Toit were among them. (62) Elim was neither a grant from the Government nor an old residential area of Hottentots. The statement of Marais that it was established on the request of Captain Pommer is not correct. (63) Every newcomer knew that he lived on mission property. All of this combined to allow for a new beginning with new methods.

In the first place, Hallbeck drew up new regulations

(56) He.ko. 3.4.1824; Mi.ko. 3.4.1824; Anshelm II, p. 2.

(57) He.ko. 26.4.1824; El. Doc. 12.5.1824.

(58) Theal I, p. 353.

(59) He.ko. 2.7.1824, 3.7.1824.

(60) He.ko. 8.3.1825; El. Doc. 26.4.1825.

(61) Compare p. 118.

(62) El. Di. I, pp. 1, 76.

(63) Marais, p. 110; See p. 233.

for the settlement. Consisting of sixty-seven paragraphs, they are much more exhaustive than La Trobe's rules.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The additions, which Hallbeck had noted down in the course of the years, are embodied therein, and the material is arranged in a new manner. The full text is added in an appendix.⁽⁶⁵⁾ As will be seen, the fundamental principle is preserved that they represent a brotherly agreement between the inhabitants under the Saviour (I.1). Hallbeck stated even specifically that the missionaries derived their authority from the congregation (IV.14). Evidently, he considered it desirable to counteract the inclination of the inhabitants to devolve every responsibility on their teachers, and the tendency of the missionaries to act in an authoritarian manner. He wanted a brotherly relation of mutual trust between both parties (IV.15). On the other hand, he stressed the authority of the Lord in all matters. The extensive first part is a detailed exposition of the Christian duties in a congregation, based on the ten commandments and centred around the Christian worship. The cross of Christ is proclaimed as the source of life for all Christian fellowship (I.9). A separate part is dedicated to the marriage and the education of the children, which shows that Hallbeck considered the family life within the community of special importance. As an educationist, he explained the reasons for various regulations (for instance IV.2) and coupled inhibitions with positive practical guidance (for instance I.12) like Luther in his Small Catechism. He further stressed the need for neatness, cleanliness and industry, and warned even against unnecessary visits to other stations, by which precious time was lost for work (V.12). It is on the foundation of these Regulations that Elim was built as a Christian settlement.

(64) See pp. 200, 201.

(65) Appendix II.

In the second place, Hallbeck proposed to minister to the dispersed labourers on the farms, the so-called Diaspora.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The older missionaries preferred to confine their activities to the edification of a Christian congregation within the boundaries of the settlements and foresaw many difficulties for extending the work to the farms, where the Hottentots lived widely dispersed in very small groups and could only be ministered on Sundays. Their aim of developing Christian communities after the pattern of Herrnhut could not be realised among farm labourers. On the other hand, the U.A.C. urged them to extend their activities in that direction, and reminded them of the mission work among the slaves in the West Indies, who could be reached only by visits to the farms and by gatherings on Sundays. Hallbeck agreed with the Board, but other brethren were against it. The opinions of both sides were submitted to the Synod in 1825, which considered the extension to the farms very desirable. Even before its findings reached South Africa, Bonatz, instructed by Hallbeck, took the first steps towards diaspora work. ⁽⁶⁷⁾

He arrived on 31st July 1824 and preached his first sermon on the following day in the lounge of the residence about the missionary command of the Lord (Matthew 28.19). Hottentots, farmers and slaves from the neighbourhood provided the audience. Three families from Genadendal had moved with him to the new settlement. A neighbour explained, where the ground was suitable for gardens, corn-fields or pasturage⁽⁶⁸⁾, and Hallbeck selected the sites for the church, the grave-yard and the village.⁽⁶⁹⁾ People from the neighbourhood moved into the settlement, many of whom had been connected with Genadendal for some time. Hallbeck had laid

(66) Compare pp. 65, 207.

(67) Le. U.A.C. 31.8.1817, end of 1818; Anshelm I, pp. 97, 98; Anshelm II, p. 2.

(68) El. Di. I, p. 1.

(69) El. Di. I, p. 2.

down that only clay-houses should be built from the beginning, and that every man who did so, received twenty-five thaler and the roof-timber from the Mission. The people built their houses jointly, one by one, ten by twenty feet in size. Sixteen neat dwellings were erected within two years. It was the beginning of Church Street. Further, the Mission gave them the use of arable land for two years, while they reclaimed their own plots. The gardens produced a rich crop of vegetables and Bonatz urged the inhabitants to work their plots throughout the year. It appeared that the farm was more suitable even for wheat and cattle, than Hallbeck had thought at first. (70)

The spiritual work was blessed in like manner. When the new regulations were read, all agreed with one voice to accept them. (71) Church servants and overseers were appointed. A friend in Cape Town presented a large bell. (72) The meetings were well attended. Bonatz endeavoured from the beginning to widen the horizon of the congregation for the kingdom of Christ on earth. When the first Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church met in Cape Town in November 1824, the little flock of Coloureds in the lounge at Elim interceded on its behalf. (73) At other times, they were told about their Christian brethren and sisters in Labrador, Greenland and elsewhere.

The residence was converted into a hall and a separate manor-house was built with the aid of artisans from Genaden-dal. (74) The grave-yard was laid out and a grove of poplars and oaks planted alongside. (75) But not a single death occurred during the first three years. (76) The discipline was good from the beginning. Only once, boys stole

(70) El. Di. I, pp. 14-40.

(71) El. Di. I, p. 17.

(72) El. Di. I, pp. 15, 23, 24.

(73) El. Di. I, p. 7; Theal I, p. 344.

(74) El. Di. I, pp. 38, 58, 79.

(75) El. Di. I, p. 68.

(76) El. Di. I, p. 74.

vegetables from the garden of a neighbour. They and the man, who had assisted them, were expelled. At one stage, some inhabitants complained that the missionaries gave not enough time to their pastoral duties, that the discipline at the school was too stern, and that the gifts from overseas were not used for the distribution of clothing. It shows that the people of Elim expected their guardians to look after them properly. Hallbeck quickly succeeded in restoring the confidence. (77)

In accordance with the diaspora-plan, the brethren took pains to establish good relations with the farmers by personal visits. Consequently, no difficulties arose of the kind experienced at Baviaanskloof and Groenekloof at the beginning, and the farmers came to attend the Sunday services together with their families and their labourers, arriving at 9 o'clock in the morning for the preceding litany from as far as two or three hours away. (78) During the week, they brought their corn to the mill, which was working even in times of drought, when the other mills of the region came to a standstill. (79) One Sunday, the brethren announced that school would be held after the service for all, who wanted to take part, and about forty of the visitors stayed behind. (80) This Sunday school became a regular practice and was attended by adult slaves, Hottentot labourers and a few children of Colonists. It achieved even better results than the daily school for the residents. (81) The farmers expressed their gratitude for the opportunity offered to their children, but Bonatz wondered how long they would be prepared to sit alongside

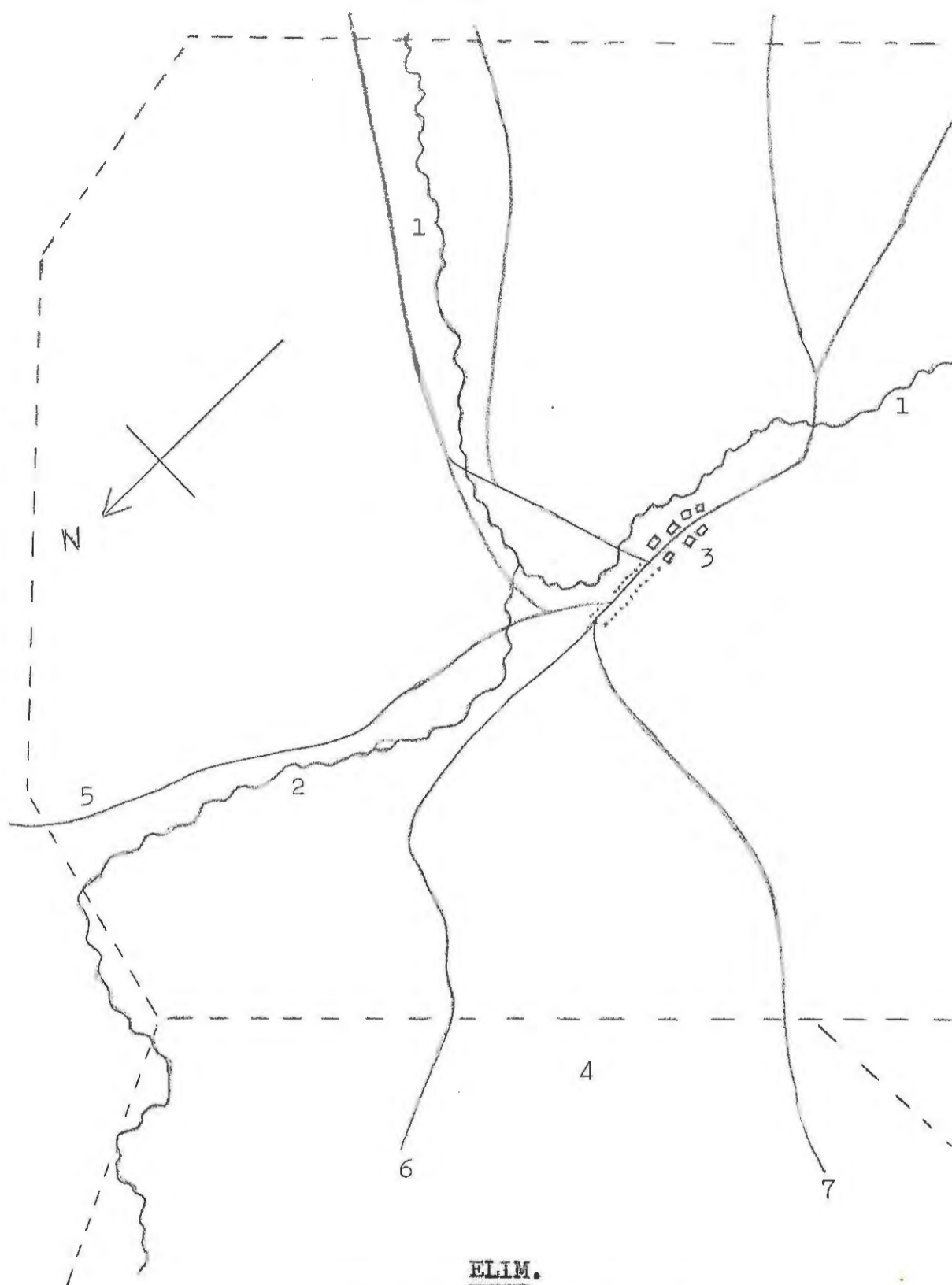
(77) El. Di. I, pp. 34-36.

(78) El. Di. I, pp. 43, 44.

(79) El. Di. I, pp. 16, 25.

(80) El. Di. I, p. 19.

(81) El. Di. I, pp. 20, 24.



ELIM.

(After an undated sketch)

1. Nieuwejaars river.
2. Koude river.
3. Institution.
4. Platte Rug.
5. To Petersilierskloof.
6. To Genadendal.
7. To Hemel en Aarde.

slaves and Hottentots. (82) Still, the main purpose of teaching the dispersed people from the farms was being achieved.

Bonatz fell ill three years after the beginning and was brought to Genadendal, where he died on 16th December 1827. (83) He was succeeded by Christian Ludwig Teutsch, a capable young brother, who presided over the station for the following twelve years. Elim had at this stage about a hundred inhabitants, half of whom were baptised. (84) An additional adjoining farm, Platte Rug, was purchased by the Mission a few years later. (85)

Another station to bridge the gap between Genadendal and Enon was still wanting. A valuable farm near the eastern end of the Longkloof was offered in 1826, but the brethren, who did not wish to interfere with the work of the L.M.S. around Hankey, declined. (86)

(82) El. D1. I, p. 20.

(83) El. D1. I, p. 74; VIII, 16.12.1827.

(84) El. D1. I, p. 82.

(85) El. Doc. 13.3.1832.

(86) He.ko. 21.8.1826; Le. V, 15.7.1826.

4. Reflections on the work and its vindication
during a period of change, 1823 - 1828.

A new wind blew from England from 1823 onward, which brought about the end of the autocratic rule of the governors at the Cape. Philanthropic and liberal ideas influenced British policies, and the Government in London took more interest in news and complaints from the colonies. The champion of the philanthropic movement at the Cape, Dr. John Philip, fought for the rights of the Hottentots, and the exponent of the liberals, Thomas Pringle, achieved the freedom of the press at Cape Town. Both were in opposition to Lord Charles Somerset. The British Government sent a Commission of Inquiry to the Cape, which investigated the policy of the country over a period of years, sending reports and recommendations to London. The farmers resented the British rule, the introduction of English as official language, the devaluation of the thaler by the pound sterling, and the fight of the British missionaries for the rights of the Hottentots. (1)

What was the attitude of Hallbeck with regard to these trends, and how did they influence the Moravian Mission? It may be said by way of a preliminary summary that he agreed with the aim of Philip, but differed from him as to his methods. (2)

He prepared for the coming of the Commission in 1823 by a comprehensive reflection on the position of the Mission. The result was a long confidential report to the U.A.C. (3) and a shorter statement for the Commission. (4) For our purpose, his confidential opinions about the Hottentots, the farmers, the Government and the L.M.S. are of special interest.

(1) Walker, pp. 158-169.

(2) Raum, p. 25.

(3) Anshelm I, pp. 81-104; Ph Hallbeck.

(4) Report 1835, pp. 24-27.

Only a few pure Hottentots were left in Genadendal. Hallbeck made special efforts to learn their language. According to him, they were neither better nor worse than other people. Their children were just as intelligent as other children. Some bad habits, such as stealing, adultery and lying, had been unknown to their forefathers, and had developed only from their contact with the Colonists. The original Hottentots were simple and open-hearted people, very strict in their married life and towards their children, honest and easily cheated by the Colonists. They were of unstable character and easily influenced. This was the reason, why they fell so quickly into drunkenness and other temptations. They lacked thriftiness and persistency and were very open-handed and hospitable. A captain, for instance, who received four hundred thaler per annum from the Government, held nothing over for himself, but distributed everything among his relations and neighbours. They were also very attached to those, who were kind to them. These were the people, who had found a place of refuge on the mission stations, outside of which they were under the domination of the farmers. (5)

The standard of living and of education of the farmers were, according to Hallbeck, in general rather low, partly because they came from the lower classes in Europe, partly because of their isolation on the farms. They were very hospitable and always willing to lend assistance, but had also certain failings. Cunning and cheating were looked upon as virtues rather than vices among them. Hallbeck regretted most of all that they trespassed the sixth commandment so easily. Many a farmer was the father of his slave children, whom he could sell. They had opposed the establishment of mission stations at first, because it was in their interest to keep the Hottentots dependent on the

(5) Anshelm I, pp. 84-88.

farms. Their attitude had improved as the result of a peaceful and enduring labour of the missionaries. But Hallbeck was convinced that their enmity persisted under the surface and could erupt again at any time. They held the brethren in high esteem, but were against the mission stations as such and still endeavoured to keep the Hottentots back on the farms, for instance by giving them credit for future labour in the form of wine. Only the protection of the Government prevented them from taking further steps against the settlements. (6)

The Government supported the Mission to a great extent, and its officials praised the Brethren beyond measure. But their actions showed that they were fundamentally against permanent, self-supporting settlements of Hottentots. Hallbeck quoted the following examples: In spite of many efforts, even in spite of instructions from the British Government, the property rights of Genadendal, Groenekloof and Enon remained undefined. Further, Caledon's Pass Laws referred only to two groups of Hottentots, namely farm labourers and vagrants, but no provision was made for the free Hottentots of the mission stations. It encouraged the farmers to hire labourers from the settlements for short terms, and handicapped the inhabitants greatly in their movements. Finally, on occasion of the latest enlistment of Hottentot soldiers, the farm labourers were exempted, but one third of all men were recruited from Genadendal alone. In short, the Government used the stations for the accommodation of the women and children and the sick, but wanted the men either to serve as farm labourers or as soldiers. The missionaries were expected to keep order in the settlements and had so far been able to do so. But considerable difficulties would arise, if people, who did not submit to the rules, refused to leave. (7)

(6) Anshelm I, pp. 81-84, 88-91.

(7) Anshelm I, pp. 91-93.

Hallbeck was grateful for the friendly relations between the Brethren and the L.M.S. They could not be taken for granted. Various differences in the methods and opinions of both sides could cause friction. The missionaries of the L.M.S. were on the whole more outspoken towards the authorities than the Moravians with their Lutheran background. Therefore, their relations to the officials were more strained. The Government preferred the Moravians, setting them as an example. This gave offence to the British missionaries, who complained that the Moravians did not side with them in their struggle for the political rights of the Hottentots. Besides, there were differences of missionary methods, which could cause friction. But fundamentally, both appreciated each other as co-workers and were at one as to their aim. (8)

In conclusion, Hallbeck considered the economic and spiritual condition of each station and made a number of recommendations. (9) On the basis thereof, the H.C. submitted the following proposals to the Synod of 1825: People outside the stations should be eligible for church membership; marriages of members should be legalised before the land-drosts; the property rights of the stations should be clarified, for instance by subdividing the plots of the inhabitants; regulations, similar to those of Elim, should be introduced at all stations; the schools should be improved by the appointment of full-time English speaking missionary teachers and of sisters for needlework; visiting ministers of other denominations should be admitted to the Holy Communion. (10) These proposals show that Hallbeck strove for the improvement of the property rights and the order of the settlements, for a higher standard of education, for

(8) Anshelm I, pp. 78, 79, 94, 95; Report 1830, p. 22.

(9) Anshelm I, pp. 95-102.

(10) He.ko. 2.12.1824 (appendix).

more fellowship with the other churches and for the extension of the work onto the farms. The Synod gave its approval in principle, leaving it to the brethren on the spot to apply them as far as possible.⁽¹¹⁾ No missionary from South Africa took part in the proceedings of the Synod.⁽¹²⁾

The members of the Commission of Inquiry, J.T. Brigge and Major W.M.G. Colebrooke, appeared at Genadendal on 22nd November 1823. They inspected everything, attended the worship and examined the pupils of the school.⁽¹³⁾ Hallbeck submitted his statement, in which he gave a summary of the history of the Moravian settlements and of the results obtained, and pleaded for the improvement of the conditions of the inhabitants.⁽¹⁴⁾ He wrote about the pass law:

In the proclamation relative to the Hottentots, issued by Lord Caledon in 1809, no notice whatever is taken of the Hottentots residing in missionary settlements, and hence they are sometimes exposed to great hardships. In the 16th sec. for instance, it is provided, that Hottentots, going about the country must be provided with a pass; and it is required that in this pass be stated where they go, and how long they are permitted to remain on the road, and if they deviate from the route, or are detained by some accident, they are treated as vagabonds. Accordingly, if a Hottentot leaves a settlement in search of work with the colonists, he must be provided with such a pass by the missionary; but now such a Hottentot mostly goes out on speculation, and it is therefore a great hardship to him to be obliged to fix place and time, of which he knows nothing himself. This is surely inconsistent with the title of a free labourer ⁽¹⁵⁾

The members of the Commission assured Hallbeck of their goodwill and left fifty thaler in the poor-box.

A counterstroke came from an unexpected quarter. Jakobus Theunissen, the son of Marthinus and neighbour of the brethren, complained to the Commission about Genadendal, supported by the testimony of two inhabitants. He had a

(11) Le. U.A.C. end of 1825.

(12) Syn. 1825.

(13) VIII, p. 227.

(14) Report 1835, pp. 24-27.

(15) Report 1835, p. 27.

personal grievance against the brethren at that stage: His application for a Government contract for Henel en Aarde had not been recommended by Peterleitner and Hallbeck, because his tender had been too high. At the same time, his action revealed the enmity which still existed among many farmers. He complained that the brethren sold wine and other merchandise to the inhabitants, and that they advised them to spend their earnings on the station. The grievance of the farmers, that their profits out of the Hottentots were lessened by the mission stations, was clearly behind it. (16)

Hallbeck, who was a total abstainer himself, gave his views as requested by the Commission: Neither wine nor brandy was sold to the inhabitants since the visit of La Trobe. The Mission supplied only the brethren and their workmen with small quantities of wine on request. (17) One of the brethren kept a small stock of clothing and material for sale against low prices to the inhabitants. It was kept in a box in the sleeping-room of the responsible missionary. (18) The Mission made no profits out of the wages of the inhabitants but encouraged them to thriftiness.

The Commissioners accepted his explanations. The sale of clothing and the issuing of wine was in their view necessary for the protection of the inhabitants against exploitation. (19) They corresponded further with Hallbeck about such matters as the workings of the pass law and the advantages of a mission station for its neighbours, and Hallbeck pointed out to them that the number of farms around Genadendal and the quantity of land under cultivation had greatly increased since its establishment. (20) Even the

(16) VIII, p. 229; Le. IV, 29.11.1823; Le. V, 1823; Le. H.A., 16.12.1823; Anshelm II, p. 7.

(17) Hau.ko. 17.3.1816; Anshelm II, p. 4.

(18) Hau.ko. 26.2.1823; Gen. Doc. 29.12.1826.

(19) Report 1830, p. 13.

(20) Le. IV, 23.12.1824, 30.4.1825.

first report of the Commission shows that the information supplied by him and the pleadings of the British missionaries had borne fruit. They recommended that the Colonists should be taxed for every Coloured person in their service, except for those on short term contracts. This would excite them to put their own families to work and to hire labourers from the mission stations for the seasons only. The Coloured People should form their own settlements and should be allowed to offer their labour freely.⁽²¹⁾ The directors of the L.M.S. had objected to the British Government against the Pass Laws even before Hallbeck ⁽²²⁾ and, in 1826, Philip went to England himself to fight for the rights of the Hottentots.⁽²³⁾ The important Ordinance 50 of 1828 cancelled the restrictive laws of Caledon and Cradock, making the Hottentots free men with equal rights before the law, including the right to own property. ⁽²⁴⁾

Meanwhile, Theunissen submitted his complaints to the new Secretary of the Government, Sir Richard Plasket ⁽²⁵⁾, and instigated some inhabitants to renew old grievances. Petrus Mauritz from Bushmanskloof went to Cape Town with his followers and demanded the return of Stoffel's old Captain's kraal, which had been incorporated partly into Genadendal, partly into neighbouring farms. The Commission referred his request to the Governor, the Governor to the Landdrost of Swellendam, H. Rivers, who refused it on occasion of his first visit to Genadendal. ⁽²⁶⁾

Thereupon, Theunissen chose another way. It was at the time, when Thomas Pringle and his friends had won their struggle for the freedom of the press against Somerset. A weekly newspaper, the S.A. Commercial Advertiser, was

(21) Report 1826, p. 76.

(22) Du Plessis, p. 145.

(23) Theal I, p. 429.

(24) Marais, p. 156.

(25) Le. IV, 22.1.1825; VIII, pp. 275, 276.

(26) VIII, pp. 284, 285, 291; Le. IV, 15.4.1825, 6.8.1827; Anshelm II, p. 9.

printed in Cape Town, in which the public could voice its opinion within certain limits on all matters of public concern for the first time in the history of South Africa.⁽²⁷⁾

Theunissen made use of the opportunity by attacking the mission stations in the Advertiser on 12th August 1826 under the pseudonym of Rusticus. He contended that the missionaries of Genadendal, Elim and Zuurbraak enriched themselves by exploiting the poor Hottentots, making good profits out of their shops, mills and guest-houses and from the sale of intoxicating liquor, although they had probably no licences. Elim, for instance, was the worst place in the whole Colony for Hottentots, but the missionaries run an excellent mill and had planted a vineyard. (28)

Hallbeck published a long reply, refuting the allegations: The missionaries did not sell wine and did not receive salaries. The work was not profitable, but was supported by large subsidies from overseas. The guest-house at Genadendal carried on at a loss. A few vines were planted at Elim, which supplied the table of the missionaries with fresh grapes. Some farmers called Elim the most suitable place for Coloureds in the whole district. The sale of clothing was in the interest of the inhabitants, and the mills were also for the benefit of the farmers. (29)

Rusticus replied by new allegations and hinted at a public inquiry. The Advertiser hesitated to publish his article for some time, but printed it at last.⁽³⁰⁾ This ended the public dispute, because Hallbeck did not reply. It is noticeable that the new-born freedom of the press led at once to an attack on the mission stations. The public opinion, which became vocal, was the opinion of the Colonists. The settlements, which had sheltered under the vigorous

(27) Theal I, pp. 356-365.

(28) Gen. Doc. 1826.

(29) Gen. Doc. 1826.

(30) Gen. Doc. 1826.

protection of the governors, were now exposed to public criticism. Thus, the departure of Somerset in 1826 marks the beginning of a new phase in the history of the settlements.

Hallbeck submitted the whole correspondence to the Acting Governor, R. Bourke, together with his remarks and requested that no steps should be taken against the anonymous writer, but that the stations should be safeguarded against similar attacks in the future, by giving the local Regulations the force of laws and by granting dealer's licences to one missionary at each station.⁽³¹⁾ The Governor replied that he was prepared to sanction the rules on the understanding that they were a voluntary agreement among the inhabitants and did not clash with the law of the country, and that the punishment of offenders went no further than depriving them of their local privileges. He would also be prepared to appoint an extra field-cornet or a member of the country-court to enforce the law at Genadendal, and to grant dealer's licences cost-free.⁽³²⁾ Thereupon, Hallbeck drafted new regulations for Genadendal, which were approved by a meeting of the male inhabitants on 5th May 1827 and by the Governor, and one of the brethren, D. Luttringshauser, received a dealer's licence for victuals, clothing, wine and other commodities.⁽³³⁾

The first and the second parts of the Regulations⁽³⁴⁾ are a revised edition of those for Elim. The first part about the Christian and moral duties of the inhabitants embraces the first three chapters of the Regulations of Elim, and the second part about the temporal affairs chapters four and five. Evidently, Hallbeck aimed at a clearer separation between spiritual and temporal affairs.

(31) Gen.Doc. 29.12.1826, 12.1.1827; He.ko. 18.1.1827.

(32) Gen.Doc. 17.2.1827.

(33) Gen.Doc. 17.2.1827, 9.3.1827, 16.3.1827, 23.3.1827.

(34) Gen.Doc. 1827: Ordeningen.

The first part includes a new regulation about marriages. It is stated that baptised members must first register their marriage with the landdrost. Unbaptised people, who were at that stage still debarred from marrying legally, could do so before the missionaries as hitherto. Inhabitants would not lose their residential rights by legal marriages to outsiders. The second part contains additions about the planting of fruit-trees, the attendance to the cattle and the protection of the gardens. In view of the fact that the brethren were now licensed to sell wine, it was stated:

Niemand mag wyn en sterken drank van andere plaatsen herwaards brengen, behalven eene kleine Quantiteit voor zyn eigen gebruik. Wie tegen deze regel handelt is verantwoordelyk voor de Ongeregeldheden, die daardoor ontstaan, en indien hy daarin volhardt, wordt hy als een Verleider aangezien en behandeld. - Om de gevaarlyke Onordeningen van dezen aard voortebuigen, hebben de Voorstaanders des Instituuts maatregelen genomen, dat de Inwoonderen in de plaats van den noodigen wyn kunnen worden voorzien. (35)

In this connection, the Conference laid down that every inhabitant could obtain a cup of wine at certain times on weekdays, and that house-fathers could take a bottle home.⁽³⁶⁾ Thus, the brethren endeavoured to prevent the people from making themselves drunk on the farms.

To these two parts, Hallbeck added a third one, which is of special importance. It stated that the responsibility for the public order rested with a Conference, consisting of the missionaries, fourteen appointed church servants and eighteen elected overseers, ^{It} ~~who~~ had to apply discipline, to prevent irregularities and breaches of the law, to settle disputes and to decide on admissions and expulsions. Even the administration of the poor relief was entrusted to a committee of this Conference. The overseers had to be elected by those of the householders, who were communicants. Only communicants, who had proper houses, were eligible.

(35) Gen.Doc. 1827: Ordeningen, II, No. 25.

(36) Hau.ko. 23.3.1827.

The Conference would warn trespassers. Those who did not mend their ways, would lose privileges such as their claim to poor relief, and, as a last measure, have to leave the settlement. (37) No provision was made for people, who might refuse to do so. Hallbeck expressed the hope that the regulations could be enforced over many years to come on the basis of the spiritual authority of the missionaries without compulsion and without the appointment of an outside field-cornet or a member of the country-court. (38) It was the first step towards local self-government in the temporal affairs: Elected overseers took part in the management of the community. Surely, it was a step in the right direction for the obviation of future disturbances.

The Regulations were introduced at the other stations as well, in Enon fully (39) and in Groenekloof with a few small alterations. (40) In Elim, a Conference of overseers held its first meeting in 1829. (41) They shaped the life of the communities on the mission stations, and their traces are still visible in a number of written and unwritten local rules at some places.

Hallbeck wanted the U.A.C. to send a brother exclusively for the administration of Genadendal. He considered it unsound for a missionary to sell meal at nine o'clock and to stand behind the pulpit at ten o'clock, and thought it better, if some brethren attended to the spiritual task and others to the temporal duties. Both were of equal importance to the Lord, but it would be better to entrust them to different people. But his wish was not granted. (42)

The political changes in the country caused Hallbeck

(37) Gen. Doc. 1827: Ordeningen, III.

(38) Gen. Doc. 9.3.1827.

(39) En. Doc. No. 51.

(40) G. N. 1830, pp. 847, 848.

(41) El. Di. 3.5.1829.

(42) Anshelm II, pp. 10, 11.

to improve the order of the settlements and to obtain the responsible co-operation of the inhabitants for their management. He regarded oppressive laws as great evils, but did not fight against them in public like Philip and the L.M.S. The Commission stated in its report about the Moravian missionaries:

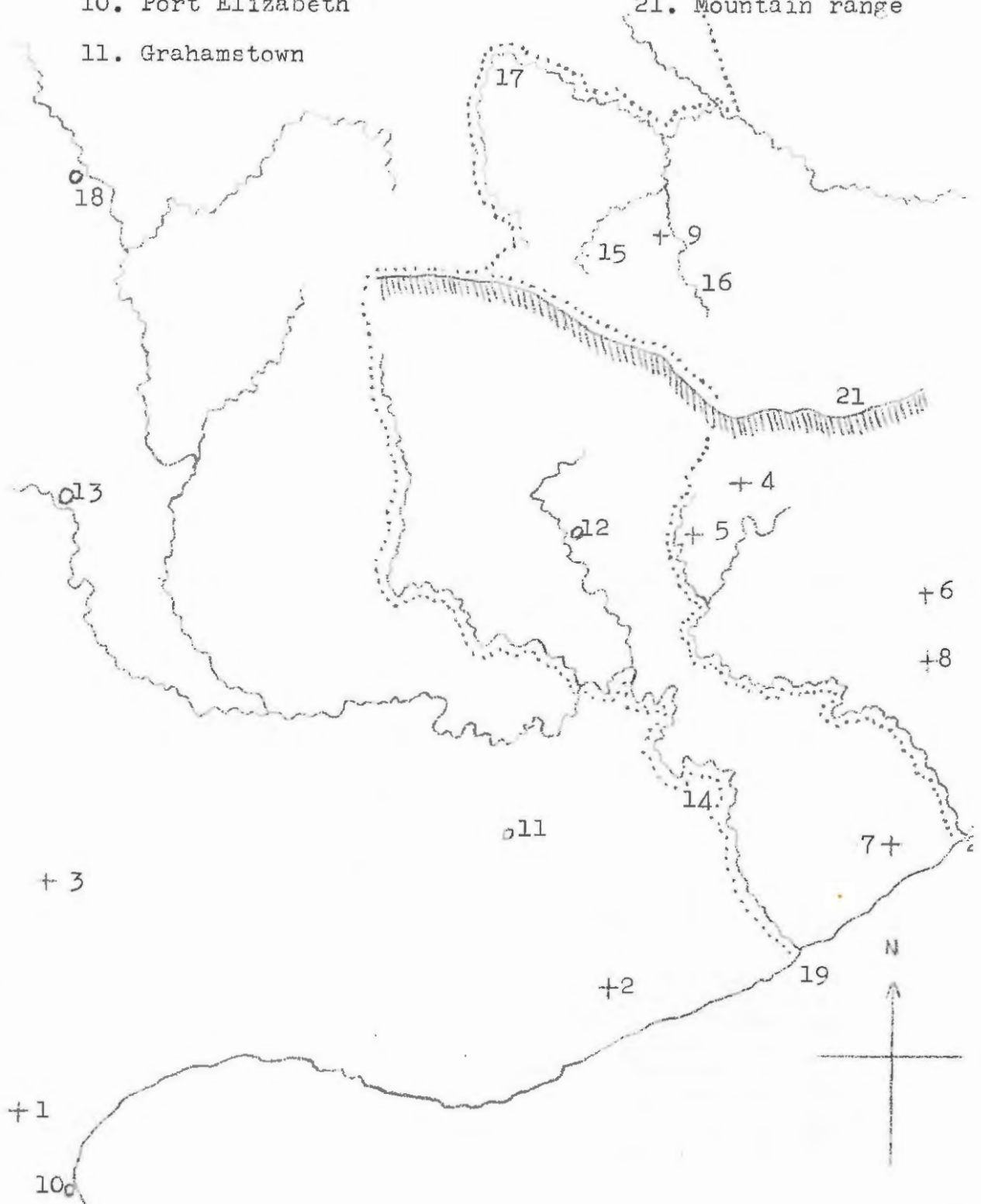
.... while they were disposed to attribute to political causes the obstacles which certain measures of the colonial government opposed to the amelioration of the state of the Hottentot population, they silently and respectfully awaited the period of their removal. (43)

This verdict is not quite correct. Hallbeck did not remain quiet about the Pass Laws, but only refrained from opposing them publicly in the newspapers. In his dispute with Theunissen, he restrained himself, omitting to take legal steps and preserving Theunissen's anonymity in his official correspondence. In this manner, the brethren followed the path of peace and took the first steps towards the self-government of the settlements. When Somerset's successor abolished the restrictive laws and the Hottentots could move freely in the country, the regulations, approved and applied by the inhabitants themselves, safeguarded the continued existence of the closed settlements.

(43) Report 1830, p. 14.

Mission stations in 1828.

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|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Bethelsdorp | 12. Fort Beaufort |
| 2. Theopolis | 13. Somerset East |
| 3. Enon | 14. Fish river |
| 4. Tyumie | 15. Oskraal river |
| 5. Lovedale | 16. Klipplaat river |
| 6. L.M.S. station | 17. Zwart Kei river |
| 7. Wesleyville | 18. Cradock |
| 8. Mount Coke | 19. Colonial border |
| 9. Shiloh | 20. Buffer zone |
| 10. Port Elizabeth | 21. Mountain range |
| 11. Grahamstown | |



5. The first settlement among the Bantu, 1828.

The Moravian Mission extended its activities to the Bantu tribes outside the Colony in 1828. The conditions on the eastern border had changed during the preceding years. The British settlers colonised and secured the Zuurveld. Grahamstown grew into a town and a cultural centre. (1) The first permanent mission stations were established among the Xhosa east of the Fish river with the support of the Government. Tyumie was founded in 1820 near the residence of Gaika. Its missionaries were at the same time agents in the pay of the Government. The Scottish Missionary Society founded Lovedale, eight miles from Tyumie, in 1824, where the first Christian literature in Xhosa was printed. (2) The L.M.S. started work in 1825 along the Buffalo river. (3) William Shaw, who had arrived with the British settlers, established Wesleyville south of Peddie. Mount Coke, forty miles to the east, followed, and, in 1827, Butterworth. (4) The plan of the Wesleyans was to form a chain of stations in the direction of Port Natal. Thus, six stations were established within seven years among the Xhosa south of the Amatole Mountains. (5) Somerset urged the Moravians to join the other societies in their eastward move. It was his last request to Hallbeck, before he left the country. (6) The opportunity came during the following year.

There was considerable commotion among the Bantu at that stage, emanating from the Zulu Chief Tshaka. His well-disciplined troops attacked the surrounding tribes, who, in turn, invaded others. Whole tribes were dispersed, expelled

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- (1) Walker, p. 179.
(2) Du Plessis, p. 184.
(3) Du Plessis, p. 248.
(4) Du Plessis, p. 174.
(5) G. N. 1828, p. 787.
(6) Anshelm II, p. 13.

or annihilated. (7) The Tembu, who lived east of the Khosa, were affected by the commotion. They were related to the Khosa, speaking the same language. Both had mixed with the Hottentots, whose areas they had occupied, the Khosas to a greater, the Tembu to a lesser extent. (8) One of the Tembu tribes, the Amahlala under the Chief Bawana, were pushed far westward into the pocket between the Zwart Kei and the Winterbergen just outside the borders of the Colony. (9) It was inhabited by Bushmen, and the farmers along the border used it for grazing and hunting. Friendly relations developed between the farmers and the migrant Tembu, and Bawana invited the Landdrost of Somerset to send Colonists into the area for the instruction of his tribe in agriculture and for its protection against its enemies. In reply, the Landdrost advised him to apply rather for a mission station. Bawana agreed and his request was forwarded to the Government. (10)

Hallbeck was just on a visit to Hemel en Aarde, when Bourke called him to Caledon and asked him to undertake the task. (11) He wanted the Tembu to be instructed in the Christian faith and to learn agriculture and trades, and promised financial support. (12) Hallbeck agreed to consider the matter and went with Fritsch and three men from Enon to explore the region. (13) They were greatly encouraged by the public intercession of G. Morgan, the Predikant of Somerset-East, for the success of their venture, and Hallbeck remarked on the change in the attitude of the

(7) Walker, pp. 175, 176.

(8) Theal I, p. 382; G.N. 1828, pp. 732, 733; G.N. 1835, p. 133.

(9) G.N. 1828, p.735; G.N. 1835, p.123; G.N. 1868, p.76.

(10) G.N. 1828, p. 735.

(11) VIII, 1.4.1827. The request did not come from Somerset, as stated by Du Plessis, p. 244.

(12) C.O. 4889, 29.3.1827, 13.4.1827.

(13) G.N. 1828, p. 720.

official Church since the time, when the brethren were forbidden to ring the bell at Baviaanskloof. (14) The Landdrost told them that the policy of strict segregation between the Colonists and the Bantu along the border would be modified: Bantu would be allowed to enter the Colony. (15)

The Scottish farmers near the frontier considered the Tembus more good-natured, honest and accessible than the Xhosa. (16) The reason was, perhaps, that they had come less into contact with the European civilisation. Near the border, the party met the first members of the tribe, one of whom produced a knife from Genadendal. (17)

They found Bawana's kraal near the Oskraal river, which derived its name from the fact that Goenraad Buis had camped there in former times. (18) Around the Chief's kraal were a number of huts in the shape of beehives. Each of Bawana's seven wives had built her own hut. (19) After the Landdrost had introduced the missionaries, he left and Hallbeck reconnoitred the environment. A plain, covered with grass, stretched between mountains. Tembu kraals were dispersed on the slope of the hills and great herds of cattle grazed in the veld. Two strong rivers, the Oskraal and the Klipplaat, ran through the plain, the second of which was one of the strongest streams of the region. The country abounded with game and lions. Trees were scarce and the nights were cold. Bushmen hid in the ravines and their drawings could be seen on the cliffs. Huge swarms of locusts invaded the veld at times. (20)

Bawana, surrounded by his councillors, received them

(14) G.N. 1828, p. 729.

(15) G.N. 1828, pp. 726, 727; Walker, p. 182.

(16) G.N. 1828, p. 735.

(17) G.N. 1828, p. 743.

(18) G.N. 1828, p. 768.

(19) G.N. 1828, p. 748.

(20) G.N. 1828, pp. 750-755, 775.

officially. They delivered their presents and an ox was slaughtered. He reigned over about one thousand families⁽²¹⁾, but differed scarcely in appearance from his subjects. Assuring Hallbeck of his joy about their coming, he expressed the hope that they would remain with him and not go to other chiefs.⁽²²⁾ The Bantu chiefs competed at that time for missionaries and regarded them as a matter of prestige and as a protection against attacks from other tribes.⁽²³⁾ Bawana's father, the Chief Tshatshu, who dwelled along the Buffalo river, had already secured a missionary for his tribe.⁽²⁴⁾ Bawana wished to have the new settlement near his kraal, but Hallbeck inclined to a site near the Klipplaat, having heard that the Oskraal dried up at times. ⁽²⁵⁾

On the way back, the party met a number of soldiers from Genadendal, who guarded the border, and took the opportunity to hold a singing service.⁽²⁶⁾ Hallbeck paid a visit to Tyunie and Lovedale, where the missionaries promised their support for the new enterprise. They had planned to work among the Amahlala themselves, but would now gladly leave them to the Moravians. Hallbeck admired the printing-press and was full of praise about their work, which demonstrated that mission stations among the Bantu were indeed possible. ⁽²⁷⁾

He was conscious of the fact that Bawana had no longing for the Gospel at all, and that the Government supported the project mainly for political reasons. But he was convinced that the Lord had opened the door by using human ambitions and fears for his purpose. Perhaps, the persecutions, which the Amahlala had endured, had made them more accessible to the word of God, and, through them, access might be gained

(21) G.N. 1828, p. 733.

(22) G.N. 1828, pp. 757, 760, 761.

(23) G.N. 1828, pp. 766, 767.

(24) Theal I, p. 353; Du Plessis, p. 248.

(25) G.N. 1828, pp. 768-771.

(26) G.N. 1828, p. 777.

(27) G.N. 1828, pp. 787-797.

to other Tembu tribes. The greatest difficulty was the language. A good interpreter, who was a sincere Christian, was needed. Hallbeck thought that the missionaries could drop the difficult clicks completely, and that the people would then leave them out as well, because they were not an original part of their language, which was more beautiful without them. He had been told that the Tembu, who lived farther east and had not mixed with Hottentots so much, used them less than the Xhosa.⁽²⁸⁾ The missionaries needed guns and ammunition as a deterrent against other tribes and in order to give the Amahlala a sense of security, but he hoped that they would never be used. The main object of the Bantu was to plunder cattle, not to kill men, and, if the brethren must ever flee, the border was near and a military post was on the Klaas Smits river. The missionaries should take a few artisans from Enon with them to assist in the erection of the buildings. The Tembus should be taught agriculture, which would induce them to live together in a settlement. The conditions of the Tembus were so different from those of the Hottentots, that new methods were required. (29)

These then were Hallbeck's plans for the new mission station. But when he met the Governor on his way back, he was informed that the dreaded Mfecani had attacked Bawana, who had fled into the Colony with his tribe and 12000 cattle. The Governor was just on his way to the border to restore order. He found that the enemy had withdrawn to the east, and Bawana promised to move back to the Oskraal, on condition that the missionaries came. Therefore, Bourke urged Hallbeck to proceed with his plan. The station would be under the protection of the Government and a military post would be

(28) G. N. 1828, p. 791.

(29) He.ko. 31.8.1827 (appendix); G. N. 1868, p. 70.

established on the spot, if necessary. (30)

Upon this, the H.C. decided to make a beginning on probation. The promise of protection and a gift of two hundred pounds were gratefully accepted, but the offer of a military post was declined for the time being. J.F.Lemmerz and J.F. Hoffman were called to do the pioneer work and a number of Hottentot and Bantu inhabitants of Enon agreed to join them. (31) Among them were Wilhelmina Stompjes, who regarded it as a call from the Lord. It is true that she would have preferred to bring the Gospel to her own people, the Xhosa,⁵ but even so, it was for her the fulfilment of a long-standing desire. Daniel Kaffer, the first Bantu baptised at Genadendal, joined the party as second interpreter. He was a Tembu, who had been enslaved by the Portuguese in his youth. After his slave-ship had been captured by the British, he had been set free at Cape Town, from where he had come to Genadendal, and afterwards to Enon. More inhabitants of the Moravian stations followed the first party later. At the end of the first year, thirty people from the western settlements formed the nucleus of the new station. (32)

The Commandant of Grahamstown provided the first group with twelve guns and a barrel of powder. After some delay, one of Bawana's wives permitted them to cross the border into his country. He himself was not at home. Arriving at the Oskraal on 10th May 1828, they hung a bell between two poles and, on the following day, one of the brethren preached the Gospel for the first time in these parts. (33)

(30) G.N. 1828, p.803; C.O. 4889, 15.10.1827; Theal I, pp. 385, 411. According to Theal, the Tembus left the Colony only in August 1828, but in fact, the missionaries found them on the Oskraal in May 1828 already.

(31) He.kc. 8.11.1827, 4.12.1827; C.O. 323, 23.10.1827; C.O. 360, 3.1.1828, 29.2.1828.

(32) G.N. 1868, p. 70; Le. En. 28.4.1828; Shi. Di. 1828, 1829, passim.

(33) Shi. Di. C. 16.3.-11.5.1828.

On his return, Bawana gave them leave to settle along the Klipplaat, although it was farther from his kraal than he desired. A few hundred yards above the spot, where Shiloh is situated to-day, the bell was hung up for the second time. A kraal followed, to protect the cattle against the lions. Simple, roof-like shelters were built for the settlers and a water-furrow was constructed for the gardens. The "speaking", the division into classes, the instruction and the conferences were arranged in the usual manner. The surrounding Tembus, who had been invisible in the beginning, came to ask for alms or to listen in at the meetings, and Bawana paid a friendly visit. (34) He admired the bell and the water-furrow and was invited to the table of the brethren. When he asked them, whether he could keep his seven wives as a Christian, the brethren replied that they desired him to live in peace and love with them all and to accept the Saviour. Thereafter, the word of God would point the way further. (35)

So it went for some time. The settlers continued their usual activities and the Tembus paid occasional calls. The brethren visited their kraals and arranged ad hoc meetings, whenever a group of them came to the settlement. The interpreters were invited to say prayers in Xhosa on such occasions. Lemmerz fetched Xhosa catechisms from Lovedale, and Wilhelmina started with lessons. Those who stayed overnight, lodged with residents. The brethren offered to build a guest-house for Bawana, but he talked of moving back to his former area. When Lemmerz went to explore the region, seven hours to the east, he found it more wooded, good for grazing and more open, but water for irrigation was difficult to obtain. Evidently, it was not easy to induce the Tembus to live in a settlement. Even when rumours

(34) Shi. Di. C. 18.5.-16.6.1828.

(35) Shi. Di. C. 2.6.1828.

came that the dreaded Tshaka was approaching, they moved nearer to the station but not into it. (36)

The rumour spelt the beginning of trouble. Commandos of Colonists passed through on their way to the east, and one of them stayed for some time in the neighbourhood. (37) Far in the east, the Colonial troops, assisted by the Xhosa and Tembu, defeated the Amangwane, mistaking them for Zulus, and Tshaka moved back with his warriors. (38) A scattered unit of Amangwane appeared near the station. After they had taken some cattle from Bawana's subjects, he applied for protection, and Hottentot soldiers were posted at the station for a short time. (39) After their withdrawal, the Amangwane plundered thirty-seven cattle and six horses from the settlement. The guards fired blind shots to deter them. They had been instructed not to shoot to kill. Bawana objected, saying that the enemy would have been repelled by the killing of only one man, and asked ironically, whether he could take the cattle of the missionaries with impunity. In reply, the brethren explained to him the inestimable value of a single human soul. (40)

Shortly afterwards, the Amangwane tried to burn the settlement down at night and to take the rest of the cattle. The inhabitants noticed them only at the last moment and, after a few shots had been fired, the enemy withdrew. The brethren realised that the lives of their flock were in danger. Hallbeck had advised them rather to flee than to shed blood. Lemmerz, asking the lot, received the answer twice: "Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word" (Matthew 2.13). Upon this, the whole settlement

(36) Shi. Di. C. 16.6.-14.9.1828.

(37) Shi. Di. C. 5.8.1828, 21.8.1828.

(38) Theal I, pp. 386, 387.

(39) Shi. Di. C. 30.8.1828, 6.9.1828, 8.10.1828.

(40) Shi. Di. C. 21.10.1828; He.ko. 13.11.1828.

moved to the Klaas Smits river for a month, while six soldiers guarded the station. (41)

New difficulties arose shortly afterwards. A second Tembu tribe, the Amagcina under Mtyalela, had come into the same region, and continuous friction between the two tribes followed. (42) Cattle was stolen and people were killed. (43) Mtyalela expressed the wish to live at the station, but Bawana insisted that he had preference. When the brethren asked him, why he did not come himself, he replied that he would be killed there. Confidence in God was good enough, but soldiers were needed, too. (44)

The Xhosa Chief Mag^qoma, the son of Gaika, who lived with his tribe near the Kat river, robbed the cattle of Mtyalela in the beginning of 1829, probably on the invitation of Bawana. The Colonial Government stepped in, expelling Mag^qoma from the region, and settling Hottentots in his place. Bawana was warned, but the friction between the two tribes continued. (45) Mapasa, the son of Bawana, plundered cattle from Mtyalela, who called the Colonial forces to his aid. When they took Mapasa's cattle, he suspected the missionaries of having betrayed him. The letters, which passed between them and the military post on the border, were the cause of his suspicion. He came with armed men, intending to kill them. After entering the residence, he started with a verbal dispute. The brethren were not aware of the danger, but Wilhelmina, realising it, went inside and gave Mapasa such a scolding that the warriors withdrew. (46) He returned later with his father and two councillors, asking forgiveness. Bawana went to the military

(41) Shi.Di.C. 24-26.10.1828; G.N.1868,p.75; He.ko.13.11.1828.

(42) Theal II, pp. 7, 8.

(43) Shi.Di.C. 24.12.1828.

(44) Shi.Di.C. 7.1.1829, 25.1.1829.

(45) Shi.Di.C. 25.1.1829, 27.1.1829, 15.3.1829;
Theal II, pp. 7-10.

(46) Shi.Di.C. 25.3.1829; G.N. 1856, pp. 665-668;
G.N. 1868, pp. 76-79.

post and to Mtyalela on the advice of the brethren, making peace, and Stockenstrom warned both chiefs against further trouble. (47)

Things were quiet for a few months, but in 1830, Bawana was killed by Mtyalela's men, and Mapasa, who blamed the missionaries again, attacked the station with his soldiers. But when the inhabitants confronted him with loaded guns, he withdrew and left them in peace for a long time. (48)

The struggle between the two tribes was not the only danger, to which the settlement was subjected. Tembus, Bushmen and roving gangs plundered cattle. One day, the inhabitants killed seven of the attackers. It worried the brethren greatly. The H.C. could only advise them to do their utmost to spare lives, and to report attacks to the military post. (49)

On the other hand, the unrest resulted in a few Bantu families moving into the settlement for shelter. They were mostly poor people, who had lost their cattle, or whose tribes had been scattered. Like the sea throws a great variety of shells against the shore, distressed people from various tribes were thrown against the border and became inhabitants of the station. (50) It was out of these dispersed and despised people that a Bantu congregation was gathered on the Klipplaat river.

A Tembu family, who had been deprived of their cattle by Mag¹oma, came first. The other Tembus tried in vain to keep them back. (51) Others, who were in similar circumstances, followed. A family of straying Amangwane applied for admission. (52) A Sotho, called Nakin, who had fled from his

(47) Shi.Di.C. 27-31.3.1829, 9/10.5.1829.
(48) Theal II, p. 8; Reichelt, pp. 28, 29.
(49) He.ko. 22.12.1830; Reichelt, pp. 23, 29.
(50) G.N. 1835, p. 122.
(51) Shi.Di.C. 5.2.-14.2.1827.
(52) Shi.Di.C. 23.3.1829.

country far away to the north, became an inhabitant together with his wife, whom he had found as a starving young girl on the way. (53) A Xhosa, who had served as an interpreter, followed. (54) In the end of 1829, eighty-eight Bantus lived in the settlement together with thirty-one Hottentots. (55) Even the Bushmen came to visit the place, but nobody was able to talk to them. Their numbers increased since the establishment of the station, after they had been nearly exterminated before. But they were very slow to make contact. (56)

Most of the new-comers came for temporal reasons, but, once in the settlement, they came under the influence of the gospel. More than the missionaries, Wilhelmina succeeded in gaining their confidence. She kept school for their children and, after Daniel Kaffer had left the station to resume his old life, she was the only interpreter of the brethren. In translating their addresses, she added picturesque illustrations and vigorous exhortations of her own, and her private conversations proved a blessing to many. (57)

Nakin and his wife became the first candidates for baptism. It disturbed the Tembu that these vagrants, who had been last, became first. Both were baptised in 1831, receiving the names of Joseph and Salome. (58)

Hallbeck paid a visit to the settlement during the same year, riding on horseback all the way from Genadendal. He was agreeably surprised at the progress, which had been made. The Bantu lived in twenty-five round huts alongside the people from Enon and worked their gardens with good results. The new members assured him that they would henceforth live

(53) Reichelt, pp. 24, 25.

(54) Shi.Di. C. 9.6.1829.

(55) Reichelt, p. 23.

(56) Shi.Di. C. 10.9.1829; G.N. 1835, p. 123.

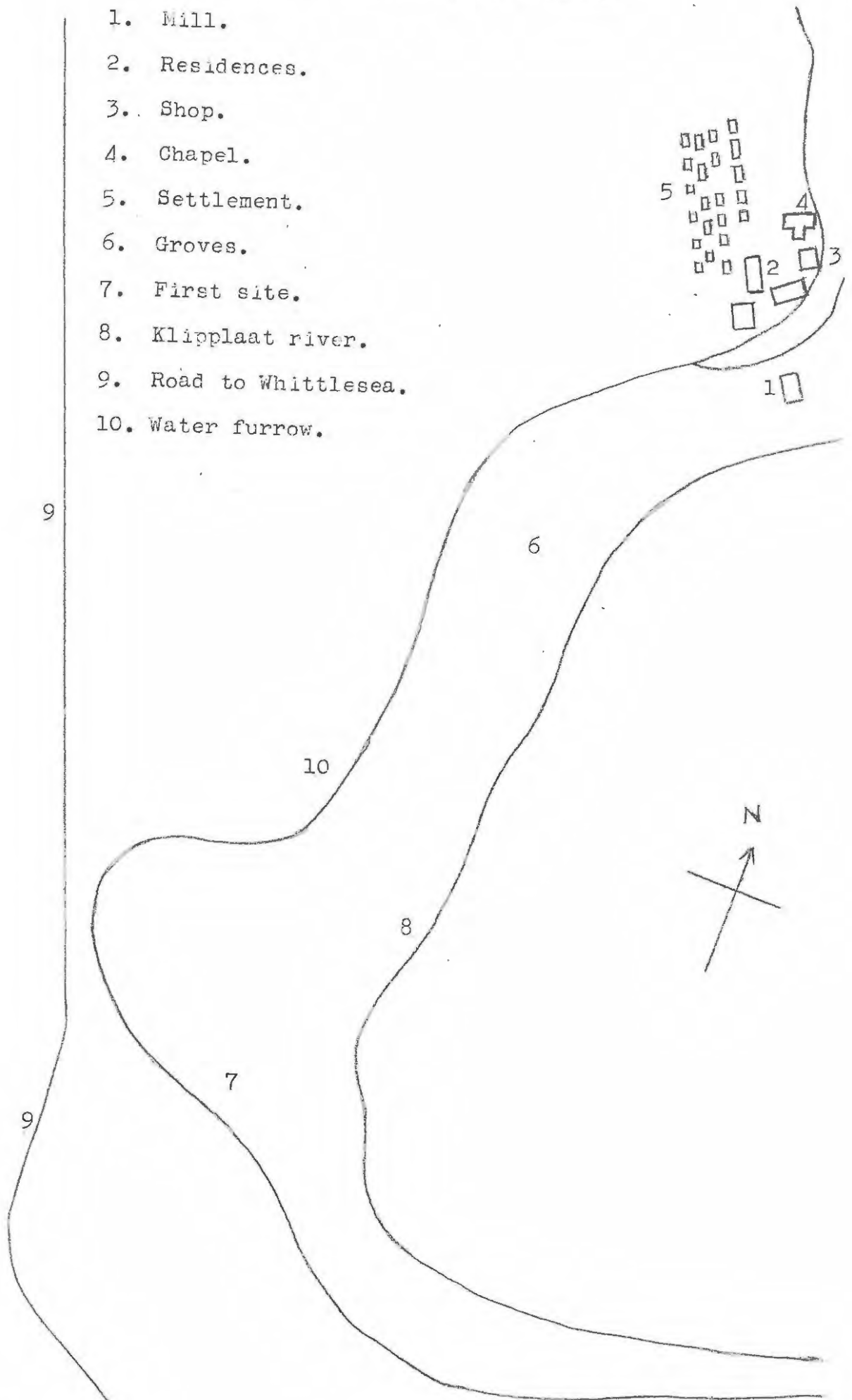
(57) Shi.Di. C. 31.5.1829, 17.6.1829; G.N. 1868, pp. 72, 80, 97; Reichelt, p. 15.

(58) Shi.Di. C. 4.9.1829, 7.10.1829; Shi.Church reg. p. 1.

Shiloh about 1840.

(After a sketch by R. Fabian)

1. Mill.
2. Residences.
3. Shop.
4. Chapel.
5. Settlement.
6. Groves.
7. First site.
8. Klipplaat river.
9. Road to Whittlesea.
10. Water furrow.



for the Saviour only. Good work was being done at the school. Only Lemmerz was ill and had to be transferred to Enon. The period of probation had come to an end. It was decided to erect permanent buildings a few hundred yards below the first site.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The settlement received the name of Shiloh, peace, but the Bantu call it Ebede, place of prayer, to this day.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The population increased quickly. 371 people, Coloureds, Bushmen and Bantus from various tribes, were counted at the end of 1832.⁽⁶¹⁾ Although the Bantu inhabitants moved to and fro, and frictions occurred between the different sections, the people grew into one community.⁽⁶²⁾

A son of J.G. Bonatz, Johann Adolph, arrived from Europe in 1832 and was called to Shiloh. He had learnt Xhosa from Wilhelmina as a child at Genadendal.⁽⁶³⁾ It was a great joy for her to welcome him back and to teach him again. He had a special gift for languages and mastered the difficult Xhosa quickly. Remaining in Shiloh for twenty-six years, he became the real pioneer of the Moravian Mission in the east.⁽⁶⁴⁾ He took charge of the school, and published the first Xhosa Grammar for Germans ⁽⁶⁵⁾ and other booklets, and provided for a mill to be built at the station. ⁽⁶⁶⁾

(59) G.N. 1830, pp. 956-960; He.ko. 11.6.1830.

(60) Reichelt, p. 27.

(61) G.N. 1835, p. 98.

(62) Reichelt, pp. 31-33.

(63) See p. 168.

(64) He.ko. 21.1.1832; Reichelt, pp. 36, 149.

(65) Bonatz.

(66) 200 Jahre II, pp. 414, 415, 459.

6. The development of education in Genadendal, 1828 - 1838.

Meanwhile, Hallbeck continued to improve and to enlarge the school at Genadendal and began with the training of indigenous helpers. It was his most important contribution to the history of the Mission in South Africa.

It was not a new idea among the Moravians to make use of indigenous helpers. Friedrich Martin appointed assistants out of his first converts in the West Indies in 1737, in order to reach the slaves on the farms, and Zinzendorf added more functionaries two years later in the same field. (1) Georg Schmidt employed Wilhelm in the teaching of the children. (2) But later on, the attitude of the missionaries changed somewhat. They were so many that they could take care of the schools themselves, and an extension of the work to the farms was not intended. When the U.A.C. suggested in 1823 that they should make more use of the church servants and the overseers, the H.C. regarded the step as premature for the following reasons: The inhabitants did not want to be ruled by their own people, who inclined to imperiousness; the farmers would not easily permit a Coloured man to hold meetings on their farms; the L.M.S. had made an unsuccessful effort to work with indigenous assistants; the mission work being in the public limelight, great care was required at present to avoid offence. (3) The brethren were evidently cautious at that stage to delegate responsibilities. But Hallbeck did not let the matter rest.

The shortage of missionaries, which resulted from the expansion of the work, offered the first opportunity. When Lemmerz left for Shiloh in January 1828, a brother,

(1) 200 Jahre I, pp. 36, 42.

(2) See pp. 24, 34.

(3) He.ko. 26.2.1823, 4.4.1823.

who was overburdened with other duties, succeeded him in the girl-school, and a communicant, Johanna Magdalena Fredericks, was appointed his assistant for two shillings a day. She had already assisted in keeping order among the pupils together with other sisters and began now to give lessons. Of course, she had no training. (4)

That same year, Hallbeck took the first step to train helpers. There was a talented boy of thirteen at Genadendal, by name of Ezechiel Pfeiffer. His father Samuel, who had been a respected and beloved church servant, had perished in 1816 in a flooded river. (5) His mother Henrietta died in 1828, leaving her children orphans. Hallbeck decided to adopt him and another boy, Wilhelm Pleizier, for training. Both moved into the room of an old gardener in the mission garden and received their food from the Mission. Hallbeck kept them busy in the forenoon with books and in the afternoon with handicraft. Reading, writing, orthography, arithmetic and geography were the subjects. (6)

His next step was the creation of an infant-school, in which the newly trained teachers could gain experience. When the new Governor, Sir G.L. Cole, visited Genadendal in 1829, Hallbeck mentioned his plan, perhaps in the hope of financial assistance. (7) But the Government left the education of the Coloured People in the hands of the missionaries in those days, the more since the education of the Colonists themselves was still very defective. (8) However, other visitors gave donations for the purpose (9) and, in 1830, an additional class-room was built for the infants. The building of another room for handicraft was postponed. (10)

(4) Hau.ko. 12.1.1828.

(5) VII, pp. 99-101.

(6) VIII, 12.8.1828; Hau.ko. 14.8.1828, 23.9.1828; Anshelm II, p. 31.

(7) Anshelm II, pp. 30, 31.

(8) Maurice II, pp. 211, 212, 216, 217.

(9) Anshelm II, p. 31.

(10) Hau.ko. 12.7.1830, 25.8.1830, 17.9.1830.

The new department was opened on 12th September 1831 with 144 infants between three and six years, including the children of the missionaries, and with Hallbeck, Ezechiel Pfeiffer, Wilhelm Pleizier and a sister as teachers. The beginning was difficult. When Hallbeck played to the children on the violin, all started crying. But he soon succeeded in gaining their confidence, and the infant-school became a great success.⁽¹¹⁾ The parents expressed their appreciation, the children were eager to come and the good influence on the family life of the inhabitants was remarkable. The department was divided into three classes and regular examinations were held. Pfeiffer showed great aptitude and managed the infants alone at times. When the Acting Governor, T.F. Wade, visited Genadendal in 1833 in Hallbeck's absence, it was the infant-school with his young Coloured teacher, which impressed him most. The children learnt bible-stories, prayers, letters and something about the phenomena of nature. Writing and numbers were added later. Hallbeck composed lessons for them in the form of short rhymes, which were printed after his death under the title: Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Kleinkinder-Scholen.⁽¹²⁾ A rocking-horse, seating five children, served during play-time. Hallbeck, who was convinced that the first impressions are of utmost importance in the life of a child, bestowed much time and care upon this department. The other stations followed the lead by opening infant-classes, Elim in 1832, Groenekloof in 1833 and Enon in 1835.⁽¹³⁾

Two more teachers were appointed for the infants in 1834, Johannes Jager and the eight year old David Lakey. Pfeiffer was transferred to the primary school, where a vacancy occurred. A third class-room was built by voluntary labour.⁽¹⁴⁾ Some

(11) Hau.ko. 27.9.1831; IX, 12.9.1831; Anshelm II, p. 39.

(12) Lessen.

(13) IX, 12.9.1832; G.N. 1837, p.487; Anshelm II, pp. 40,41; Kweekskool, p. 9.

(14) Hau.ko. 10.5.1834, 12.6.1834, 4.8.1834; X, 1834 passim.

of the farmers applied for the admittance of their children to the school. Hallbeck was quite willing to accept them. He wrote:

Sicherlich ist es für uns nicht weniger angebracht, die Kinder der Buren zu unterrichten als ihre Pferde zu beschlagen und ihre Wagen zu reparieren ... (15)

He planned to form a separate class on their behalf, because they would have to start right from the beginning. But the project did not materialise, because private tutors were obtained for the farms. (16)

There was a spiritual revival among the neighbours at that time, which had its source in Genadendal. It began according to Hallbeck in 1829, when he successfully treated a farmer's wife, who had been poisoned. The farmers, too, ascribed the revival to the influence of the missionaries. Their participation in the worship on ordinary Sundays increased considerably. The Moravian hymn-book, which comprised about seven hundred hymns and had been printed in Zeist especially for the congregations at the Cape in 1826 (17), was very popular among them. Ninety copies were sold in the first two months of 1834 alone, and few farms in the proximity of Genadendal and Elim were without them. While auctions on the farms had been unthinkable without dance-music in former times, a church elder would now be invited to open them with prayer. The relations of the farmers to the brethren improved accordingly. (18)

In addition to the infants, the youth and the adults received attention. The class for young girls has already been mentioned. (19) Mrs. Hallbeck instructed them in

(15) Anshelm II, p. 44.

(16) Anshelm II, p. 44.

(17) Lofzangen 1826.

(18) IX, 9.1.1834, 22.2.1834; X, 1/2.3.1834, 15.11.1834; Anshelm II, pp. 43, 44; Backhouse II, p. 18.

(19) See p. 219.

needlework. (20) In 1831, Hallbeck began with a school on Sundays after the example of Elim in the interest of the farm labourers. (21) But his intention was not realised: Young men from Genadendal provided most of the pupils. (22) Therefore, it was held on two evenings during the week from 1838. Reading, arithmetic, geography, history, natural science and English were the subjects.

Hallbeck promoted the knowledge of English, because it was the official language of the Colony, and every inhabitant needed it for his dealings with the authorities. He was the only English speaking brother at Genadendal. When the Governor visited the station in his absence, nobody could converse with him. (23) Therefore, he gave lessons in English to some of the younger missionaries. (24)

A British physician, Dr. Edward Lees, who belonged to the Moravian Church and had been a pupil of Hallbeck as a child, visited the Cape in 1832 for health reasons. He met his old teacher at Genadendal and agreed to establish his praxis there. (25) After he had married in England, he returned with his wife and remained at Genadendal until his death in 1837. (26) For a few years, Genadendal had its own physician for the benefit of the inhabitants and the farmers. Moreover, he substituted for Hallbeck, whenever an English speaking brother was needed. Two German physicians offered to take his place after his death, but the H.C. felt that only a brother, who joined the common household, was acceptable. (27)

Dr. Lees played the organ, too. A visiting lady from

(20) Hau.ko. 9.11.1835.

(21) Anshelm II, p. 39.

(22) IX, 5.1.1834.

(23) Anshelm II, p. 41.

(24) Anshelm II, p. 31.

(25) He.ko. 23.3.1832; IX, 7.3.1832; Anshelm II, p. 43.

(26) He.ko. 6.7.1833, 28.11.1835; X, 14.4.1837.

(27) He.ko. 16.5.1838.

Paris had given one hundred pounds towards the purchase of a church organ. It was bought and taken into use in 1832. Hallbeck, his wife and Dr. Lees acted as organists, and Ezechiel Pfeiffer learnt to play it.⁽²⁸⁾ When the Doctor died, Pfeiffer was ready to fill the gap.⁽²⁹⁾ Thus, Hallbeck opened the way for the indigenous helpers in the field of church music.

Another gift of educational value was a printing-press, which was presented by the brethren in Zeist in 1834. It had been Hallbeck's wish for some time to print booklets for church and school use, like the missionaries of Lovedale.⁽³⁰⁾ But since no one at Genadendal was able to work it, it was put aside, and Hallbeck had to print his Litanijen en Gezangen in Zeist, where they were published in 1839.⁽³¹⁾ The booklet puts the riches of the Moravian liturgicum at the disposal of the congregations in South Africa and served for fifty-six years. It was preceded by a much shorter booklet printed in Holland in 1815 for the missions⁽³²⁾, and offers a rich choice of liturgies and litanies, especially for the festival periods, as well as the necessary formularies. The importance of the Litanijen and of the hymn-book of 1826⁽³³⁾ for the Moravian congregations in South Africa may not be underestimated.

Hallbeck's plan to establish an industrial school for boys did not come to fruition.⁽³⁴⁾ But Mrs. Lees started one for girls with the aid of her friends in England. Thirty young girls were instructed daily in sewing and stitching. After her death, Hallbeck's daughter Gustava, who had returned after her education in Germany, succeeded her.⁽³⁵⁾

(28) IX, 29.1.1832, 14.2.1832; Anshelm II, pp. 41-43.

(29) Anshelm II, p. 66; Terugblik, p. 9.

(30) X, 18.5.1834.

(31) Litanijen 1839; Anshelm II, p. 67.

(32) Litanijen 1815.

(33) See p. 268.

(34) See p. 266.

(35) Hau.ko. 27.10.1835, 30.1.1838; Anshelm II, p. 53.

Many people of Genadendal learned to do skilled work in the various branches of the Mission. Whenever possible, Hallbeck passed responsibilities on to them, in order to release the missionaries for their spiritual duties. When Peterleitner was called to Hemel en Aarde, an inhabitant of Groenekloof succeeded him in the joinery.⁽³⁶⁾ The management of the guest-house of Genadendal was entrusted to a married couple from the settlement.⁽³⁷⁾ Another couple at Groenekloof attended to the shop, when the responsible missionary fell ill.⁽³⁸⁾ But the U.A.C. put a break on, pointing out that Moravian missionaries must not be pastors, but must earn their living like St. Paul, the tent-maker, in order to decrease the huge annual expenditure of the Mission. How could the work be maintained, if all profitable branches were handed over to the inhabitants? ⁽³⁹⁾

The economy of Genadendal flourished during this period. The mill, the smithy, the cutlery, the garden, the vineyard and the shop contributed in various measure to the income. Different kinds of knives were manufactured, including table-knives.⁽⁴⁰⁾ More than three-hundred knives a week were made at times.⁽⁴¹⁾ Hallbeck tried new branches, in order to create avenues of employment for the inhabitants. In 1824, he let them collect Buchu on a large scale. 1500 pounds were forwarded to Cape Town for export, and 350 thaler were paid out in wages.⁽⁴²⁾ In 1828, an Irish tanner appeared in Genadendal, looking for work, and Hallbeck took him into the service of the Mission. When the man left for Grahamstown after two months, because he could not get enough brandy on the station, Hallbeck himself

(36) Anshelm II, pp. 29, 33.

(37) Hau.ko. 12.1.1828, 10.3.1828.

(38) He.ko. 18.5.1837; Anshelm II, p. 65.

(39) Le. U.A.C. 14.5.1828.

(40) V. R. XXIV, p. 137.

(41) Anshelm II, p. 67.

(42) Le. V, 1824; Anshelm II, pp. 4, 5.

continued the tannery with the aid of local people. It was a success. Leather from Genadendal gained a good reputation in the Colony. Even the Governor's riding-boots were made out of it. The first two-storey building of the station was built for the tannery in 1831.⁽⁴³⁾ Finally, he started the manufacture of tobacco from the leaves, which had been cultivated in the garden.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Some of his enterprises were of short duration, but others survived. In any case, about half of the inhabitants earned their living as tailors, shoe-makers, carpenters, masons, joiners, cutlers, smiths or tanners in his time. They were better off than those who worked on the farms. All inhabitants supplemented their income by gardening. Genadendal was on the way to become a self-supporting community.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The other stations had their mills, agriculture and shops, too. Trades depended on the abilities of the missionaries, who were available on the spot. The surplus of Genadendal varied between 1500 and 3600 thaler per annum. For Hemel en Aarde, it amounted to 600 - 700 thaler because of the subsidy from the Government. Even Enon produced a surplus at times. It was, however, more than balanced by the excess of expenditure for the new stations, Elim and Shiloh, where new buildings had to be erected.⁽⁴⁶⁾ A fine church was built at Elim by Teutsch and dedicated by Hallbeck on 18th October 1835.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Groenekloof produced the largest deficits, until Lemmerz succeeded Clemens as Head of the station in 1837.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The total adverse balance was

(43) Hau.ko. 20.10.1828, 23.12.1828, 26.8.1831;
Anshelm II, pp. 29, 30, 41.

(44) Report 1836, No. 3172.

(45) Report 1836, No. 3017, 3022, 3026, 3028, 3172.

(46) He.ko. 1829-1834, passim.

(47) El. Di., 18.10.1835.

(48) He.ko. 30.1.1838.

debited to the U.A.C. (49) In 1838, the H.C. reported even a total surplus. (50) The expenses were in general very low, because the missionaries had no salaries. Only from 1840, every missionary received pocket-money of one pound per annum. (51) The licensed sale of commodities played an ever increasing role and produced seizable profits. Especially the shop of Elim grew into a flourishing business. It caused Hallbeck some anxiety, because it could put the Mission in a false light. (52) On the other hand, it indicated that the purchasing power of the inhabitants was rising under the new liberal policy of the Government. (53) Besides, Coloured labourers from the farms were no longer restrained by passes from visiting the mission stores, and even the farmers made increasing use of them.

Some of the older missionaries were not satisfied with Hallbeck's policy. They felt that temporal matters received too much attention, and Clemens suggested to the U.A.C. that one of the directors should pay an official visit to the Cape. (54) When the matter was put before the H.C., the members declared that a visitation was unnecessary, with the exception of Hallbeck, who refrained from voting. In its place, they proposed that the Superintendent should be ordained a bishop, because ordinations by letter could cause offence, as in the case of Georg Schmidt, and lacked dignity. (55) In reply, the U.A.C. invited Hallbeck to attend the coming Synod at Herrnhut, and Hallbeck left with his wife for Europe on 8th February 1836. A week later, the centenary of Georg Schmidt's departure for the Cape was celebrated at

(49) He.ko. 18.12.1833.

(50) He.ko. 28.3.1838; however, all travelling expenses were debited to the U.A.C.

(51) He.ko. 29.6.1840, 6.7.1840.

(52) He.ko. 30.1.1838, 9.2.1839.

(53) Compare Marais, p. 185.

(54) Anshelm II, pp. 51, 52.

(55) He.ko. 9.8.1833, 2.8.1834, 15.6.1835; Anshelm II, pp. 52, 53.

all stations. Hallbeck had written a short historical survey in Dutch for the occasion. (56)

Among the forty-five delegates of the Synod of 1836 were three brethren from the mission fields, Hallbeck and the Superintendents of the Danish West Indies and Jamaica. A special commission for the missions was appointed for the first time, (57) to which Hallbeck submitted the following proposals in the name of the H.C.: Ordinations should be performed by a bishop in person; an unordained manager should be appointed for the administration of Genadendal and the mission stores; the brides of the missionaries should no longer be selected by the lot; English speaking brethren should be sent to the Cape; the children of the missionaries should no longer be sent to Europe, but educated at Genadendal together with children from the South African congregations, who were to be trained as helpers; a brother should be placed in Cape Town as agent for the Mission and as house-father to those, who wanted further training at the South African College. Thus, Hallbeck proposed to educate the children of the missionaries together with selected Coloured children in South Africa in the interest of the further development of the local church. The climate and other conditions, which forbade such a measure in other regions, made it feasible for South Africa. (58) The idea was in the air: Three years later, the Glasgow Missionary Society considered a similar proposal. (59)

With reference to the first proposal, Hallbeck was elected a bishop and ordained on 5th September. (60)

As to the separation of temporal and spiritual affairs, which Hallbeck desired, the Synod left the traditional

(56) Hal. Memo; G.N. 1837, pp. 468-489; Anshelm II, pp. 51, 54.

(57) Syn. 1836, paragraph 106.

(58) Hal. Memo.

(59) Du Toit, p. 7.

(60) Anshelm II, pp. 57, 58.

policy unaltered, and the following Synod confirmed once more that the missionaries should be willing to contribute to their living like St. Paul. If this source of income fell away, a large part of the work would have to be abandoned. It was noted that the Cape Mission was fully maintained by its economy at that stage. The Synod empowered the Board, however, to send unordained brethren without the lot for temporal affairs in special cases. (61)

With his proposal about the lot, Hallbeck touched a tender spot. According to the old conception of the Brethren, the Saviour ruled the Church and its individuals effectively by this means, even in personal matters. But from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the members desired more freedom of choice, especially in the case of marriages. Preceding Synods had dispensed members and ministers from the compulsion to submit to the lot in that respect. Only the missionaries remained. (62) The Synod of 1836 was reluctant to abandon the example of childlike trust in the Saviour, which was expected from the brethren in the mission fields. The Board was given the authority to make exceptions only in special cases. (63) The following Synod took the next step by leaving it to the missionaries, which method to chose. (64) For other matters, such as the calling of workers and the promotion of members, the lot remained in official use for a long time.

Hallbeck's influence is most noticeable in the declarations of the Synod about education and training in the mission fields. It stressed that Christian education should be given more attention, especially in the British colonies. Otherwise, the Moravians would fall behind other

(61) Syn. 1848, paragraph 127.

(62) Hutton, pp. 430, 432.

(63) Syn. 1836, paragraph 107.

(64) Syn. 1848, paragraph 122.

societies. The training of indigenous helpers was felt to be of special importance; qualified, English speaking missionaries should be appointed for the purpose. (65) Some delegates from England and North America proposed that a Moravian training-school should be established at home. Hallbeck sympathised with the idea, but the Synod declined to entertain it. The traditional method of selecting suitable candidates from the Moravian institutions in Europe and submitting them to the lot, remained unaltered. The Synod felt, that special training might deprive the missionaries of their simplicity and humility. (66) Nor was

Hallbeck's idea of educating the children of the missionaries in South Africa accepted. The Board in Berthelsdorf regarded itself responsible for their education as hitherto. (67) With regard to the stationing of a brother at Cape Town, Hallbeck himself found in 1838 that ample provision was being made by other societies on behalf of its non-white population. (68)

On the other hand, his project of training indigenous assistants received the warm support of the Synod. (69) A German mission friend, Prince Victor von Schönburg-Waldenburg, who had supported the educational work at Genadendal before, granted 20000 thaler for a training-school on occasion of a personal visit from Hallbeck. (70) Two additional workers were called to accompany him back to South Africa, Chr. Adolf Küster, a son of the former Superintendent, and Christian Friedrich Francke, an able married teacher, who had a special talent for music. Francke spent some time at a printing-press in London, but, once in Genadendal, did not

(65) Syn. 1836, paragraph 107.

(66) Schulze, p. 251.

(67) Syn. 1836, paragraph 108.

(68) He.ko. 25.6.1838.

(69) Syn. 1836, paragraph 107.

(70) Anshelm II, pp. 50, 51.

find the time to set the press going. During the sea voyage, Hallbeck kept both of them busy with the study of English.⁽⁷¹⁾

Back at Genadendal, he proceeded to realise his plans. A separate conference was established to deal with school matters. English was introduced as a subject in the primary school. Dr. J. Philip presented New Testaments in English for the use of the pupils.⁽⁷²⁾ Every Sunday afternoon, a sermon was delivered in that language for the benefit not only of visitors, but also of the inhabitants, many of whom had learnt to speak English in the military service.⁽⁷³⁾ A lending library, which Hallbeck had brought from Zeist, was opened.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Francke took charge of the organ and established a church choir. The Hosianna was sung on the 1st Advent of 1837, not by the missionaries, but for the first time by members of the congregation.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The Moravian choral music entered upon its career in South Africa.

The training of assistants became Francke's main responsibility. Four of the ten boys, who had received special lessons twice a week, were selected for daily training. Two of them were fully adopted by the Mission and came to live with Pfeiffer on the mission premises.⁽⁷⁶⁾ As a next step, a double-storey building was erected in front of the church and dedicated on 12th September 1838 as a training-school. Pfeiffer was consecrated an acolyte, that is a church helper, on the same day.⁽⁷⁷⁾ He became the warden of the institution, in which eleven boys from Genadendal, Elim, Groenekloof and Enon began their training. Bantu from the Eastern Province and Coloured students from the Berlin Missionary Society followed soon. Many of them

(71) Anshelm II, p. 64; Kweekskool, p. 7.

(72) Anshelm II, p. 96.

(73) Mi.ko. 27.7.1837; X, 12.9.1837; Anshelm II, p. 66.

(74) G. N. 1840, p. 108.

(75) Kweekskool, p. 9; 1st Advent 1837.

(76) X, 5.8.1837; Hau.ko. 2.8.1837.

(77) XI, 12.9.1838.

became good teachers and church helpers in due course, and one of the first group, Carl Jonas, was ordained a minister many years later. (78)

The institution, the first of its kind in South Africa, was the crown on Hallbeck's work. The replanting of the hundred year old pear-tree from a sprig symbolised the new life, which was springing up in Genadendal. (79)

The brethren were not alone in their educational efforts, but part of a general movement. The L.M.S. established infant-schools as well. Philip received 1500 pounds from supporters in England for this purpose, and the Government added another 3000 pounds for the erection of the buildings. (80) The L.M.S. missionaries also held separate classes for adults and made use of indigenous helpers in the schools. They went even further than the Moravians by permitting the assistants to preach and by extending their activities to the towns such as Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Grahamstown, into which many Coloured people crowded after the abolishment of the pass laws. (81) When the missionary of Enon proposed to start work at Uitenhage in 1838 for the benefit of his members in that village, the H.C. decided against it. It did not wish to interfere with the work of the L.M.S. missionary J.G. Messer at Uitenhage. (82) Other societies, supported by many well-wishers in Britain and South Africa, took part, with the result that the schools for the indigenous population were actually in advance of the Government-sponsored facilities for the Colonists. (83) The establishment of the training-school at Genadendal is the outstanding contribution of

(78) Kweekskool, pp. 8-10; Renkewitz, pp. 5-8.

(79) Hau.ko. 2.8.1837.

(80) Backhouse II, p. 33.

(81) Backhouse II, passim.

(82) He.ko. 10.1.1838.

(83) Theal II, p. 209.

the Moravians to this movement.

The Moravians and the L.M.S. were still the two main missionary societies in the country.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The L.M.S. missionaries were widely dispersed, whereas the Moravians were placed in groups in the five settlements. At Genadendal alone were eight brethren and eleven sisters.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The grouping enabled them to produce flourishing economies and to teach the inhabitants agriculture and trades. The stations of the L.M.S. had one or at most two missionaries, who were fully occupied with evangelisation and education.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Theal characterises the difference in the following manner:

The Moravians and some of the others regarded industrial training as equal necessary, but with many, the sole object was to impart an education such as was given to English children in English schools. ⁽⁸⁷⁾

Hallbeck regarded the policy of the Moravians as necessary for missionary reasons. He stated:

... as soon as the people live dispersed there is no possibility of instruction, and you cannot in any way concentrate them without their finding means of employing themselves in various ways and useful ways. ⁽⁸⁸⁾

In addition, the Moravians were exemplary by their Regulations for the communal life of the settlements.⁽⁸⁹⁾ On the other hand, the L.M.S. did exemplary work in the fight against drunkenness. Temperance societies played a great role in its congregations. ⁽⁹⁰⁾

The difference did not diminish the strong bond of fellowship between both. The comparisons which have been made in historical books, must not induce us to overlook the fundamental unity, to which numerous mutual visits bear witness. Whenever Moravians travelled between Genadendal

(84) Theal II, p. 209.

(85) X, 1.11.1837.

(86) Report 1836, No. 3168, 3169.

(87) Theal II, p. 209.

(88) Report 1836, No. 3069.

(89) Backhouse II, p. 21.

(90) Backhouse II, passim.

and Enon, they visited Zuurbraak, Pacaltsdorp and Hankey, and the missionaries of the L.M.S. used to visit Genadendal. Hallbeck was open-minded towards new ideas and methods from their side. At the same time, he voiced occasional criticism. He wrote for instance in 1830:

Seit ein paar Tagen haben wir den Besuch eines Missionar Elliot von der Londonmission. (91) Seiner Meinung nach müsste man in seiner Missionsgesellschaft ganz von neuem mit der Arbeit beginnen, wenn etwas aus der Sache werden soll. Die Hottentotten in Theopolis und Betelsdorf verhungern in ihren grossen Häusern wie die Schnecke, die in der geräumigen Hummerschale wohnen sollte. In London sah ich einmal eine Karikatur von Kaiser Paul. Auf der erhobenen rechten Hand stand "Order", auf der linken "Contraorder", und auf der Brust "Disorder". Dies ist das wahre Bild der Londonmission in Südafrika, so viel sie es auch in ihren Berichten zu verbergen suchen, und die wahre Ursache davon ist ihre Einmischung in die politischen Streitigkeiten. (92)

And after a visit from Philip, he wrote:

Dr. Philip war sehr gnädig und weniger selbstbewusst als früher. Er gab zu, dass Betelsdorf ein vollständiges Wrack geworden sei. Doch suchte er die Schuld dafür bei anderen, anstatt sie, wie es recht und billig wäre, bei sich selbst zu suchen. (93)

But he also stated:

Unter ihren Missionaren haben sie viele begabte, eifrige und gottesfürchtige Menschen, die uns beschämen. (94)

And he invited them to lead in public worship in Genadendal.

The fellowship was fundamental, the differences secondary.

Several other societies sent workers to South Africa during this period, some of whom ventured far outside the borders of the Colony. Many visited the Moravians first. The three pioneers of the Paris Missionary Society stayed at Genadendal for a few days in 1829 on their way to Basutoland. (95) The Wesleyan missionary B. Shaw paid a

(91) Du Plessis, p. 281; VIII, 3.1.1830.

(92) Quoted in Anshelm II, p. 34.

(93) Quoted in Anshelm II, p. 42.

(94) Quoted in Anshelm II, p. 34.

(95) VIII, 18.12.1829; Du Plessis, p. 189.

visit from Cape Town in 1833 and addressed the congregation.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Captain Allen F. Gardiner called in 1834, shortly before he went to Port Natal as an independent missionary.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Two workers of the American Board Mission inspected Genadendal in 1835, before going to the Zulu.⁽⁹⁸⁾ British officials from India were so impressed by Genadendal, that they urged the Brethren to begin with mission work in Assam. Hallbeck passed the request on, but the U.A.C. was unable to grant it. ⁽⁹⁹⁾

Most of all, the two German societies, which entered the field at that stage, established close contact with the Moravians. The four pioneers of the Rhenish Missionary Society, who arrived in 1829, proposed from the beginning to establish settlements with agriculture and trades after the pattern of Genadendal.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ After one of them, J.G. Leipoldt, had inspected Genadendal thoroughly, he founded Wupperthal in the Cedarbergen. Other artisan missionaries soon joined him and started a mill, a tannery, and plantations of tobacco and fruit-trees.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Regulations, similar to those of Genadendal, were drawn up for the new settlement. The other three laboured in Stellenbosch, Tulbagh and Ebenezer. The Rhenish Mission Board requested Hallbeck in 1831 to act as chairman of its missionary conferences at the Cape, but he could not spare the time.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Before he went to Europe, the same Board asked him to visit the Rhenish stations and to report to it. Again, he found it impossible to do so, but had a long talk with the Board in Barmen during his furlough.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The Rhenish missionaries,

(96) IX, 25.12.1833; Du Plessis, pp. 171, 172.

(97) X, 22.11.1834; Anshelm II, p. 42; Du Plessis, pp. 235, 236.

(98) X, 10.4.1835; Du Plessis, pp. 219, 220.

(99) X, 14.9.1837; He.ko. 16.9.1837, 28.3.1838.

(100) Du Plessis, pp. 201, 202.

(101) VIII, 28.11.-2.12.1829; Marais, p. 247.

(102) Anshelm II, p. 42.

(103) Anshelm II, p. 60.

most of all P.D. Lückhoff, paid repeated visits to Genadendal.

In 1834, Lückhoff brought two of the pioneers of the Berlin Missionary Society, A. Gebel and G.A. Kraut, to the brethren, and Hallbeck supplied a span of oxen and transport-riders for their journey to the Korannas. (104) A few years later, the Berlin missionaries became neighbours of Genadendal by the establishment of Zoar in the District of Swellendam. (105)

The Board of the newly founded Dresden Missionary Society consulted Hallbeck in 1836 about the opportunities in South Africa. The Cape Government considered at that stage the settlement of more Hottentots along the eastern border, as suggested by Philip. The Board made inquiries through Hallbeck, but the Governor was unable to give definite assurances about the project. Still less could he promise financial assistance. Thereupon the Dresden Society turned to other countries. (106)

In short, Genadendal served as a power-station and an example for the many missionary activities, which spread across Southern Africa.

(104) X, 4.5.1834; Du Plessis, pp. 211, 212.

(105) Du Plessis, p. 214.

(106) Le. IV, 14.7.1837; Anshelm II, p. 60; Walker, pp. 174, 184.

7. Vagrancy Law, Xhosa war, and the liberation of the slaves,
1834 - 1839.

During the period, in which Genadendal became an outstanding centre of education, the fate of the non-white inhabitants of South Africa underwent great changes. The Ordinance 50 of 1828, which made the Hottentots equals before the law, has already been mentioned.⁽¹⁾ Its result was that the mission stations were no longer places of refuge. Nevertheless, their population did not decrease. Their appeal as Christian communities was such that the inhabitants did not make use of their newly-won freedom by leaving them. On the other hand, their number did not increase. Those of the Coloured People who left the farms, went to the villages, where there were better prospects for earning a living. In the Eastern Cape, many turned back to their old habits of moving about.⁽²⁾

The fact that Coloureds could now become owners of property, led to the establishment of Moravian out-stations, the first of which was Houtkloof. A certain Domingo van der Heyden bought this farm from his former master.⁽³⁾ Whenever the brethren travelled between Genadendal and Elim, they used to visit him, and from 1833, the people of Houtkloof became members of Elim in accordance with the diaspora-plan. The missionaries of Elim held regular meetings at the farm, which were attended by many Hottentots and slaves from the neighbourhood.⁽⁴⁾ The owner built a dwelling for the purpose, to which Genadendal supplied the roof and Elim the doors and the windows.⁽⁵⁾ When he and his wife Martha died, the brethren assisted the children in the

(1) See p. 247.

(2) Marais, pp. 180-182.

(3) Elim, p. 20.

(4) El. Di. 10.10. 1833, 10.9.1834.

(5) X, 29.11.1834.

payment of the estate duties, in order to preserve their property rights (6), which have been held by their descendants to this day.

Another out-station, Kopjeskasteel, developed in a similar manner. It had been a cattle farm of the Landdrost of Stellenbosch. He bequeathed it to his German foreman, Petrus Klink, whose wife was a Coloured woman. Their children, who inherited the farm, became members of Genadendal, and regular services were held from 1838. A chapel was consecrated in 1841, and the owners granted the plot around it to the Mission for permanent occupation. (7)

There was much discontent among the farmers about the Ordinance, because many of their labourers left them. They petitioned the Government for a law against vagrancy, and a bill was published in 1834, according to which vagrants could be apprehended and condemned to forced labour. It caused considerable unrest among the Coloured People. The inhabitants of the settlements became afraid of going overland, as in the days of the Pass Law. Many of those, who wandered about, took refuge on the L.M.S. stations. Philip, supported by his son-in-law, J. Fairbairn, the Editor of the S.A. Commercial Advertiser, protested publicly. Hallbeck submitted his opinion on the request of the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. He was decidedly against the measure. It was, however, passed by the Legislative Council against the votes of the Governor and other officials. D'Urban now referred it to the authorities in London. (8) When Hallbeck was in England on his return from the Synod, he had the opportunity to state his opinion before a Committee of the British Parliament. In his view, the measure would bring

(6) He.ko. 20.4.1837.

(7) He.ko. 10.1.1838; G.N. 1840, pp. 807, 845, 846; XI, 13.3.1841; Kop. Dec. 14.1.1843.

(8) Theal II, pp. 79-83; Walker, pp. 173, 174; Marais, pp. 182, 183.

the Hottentots back to where they had been ten to twelve years earlier. It was, moreover, unnecessary, at least for the Western Cape: The number of Hottentots, who visited the stations, had not increased since the introduction of Ordinance 50, and the number of law-breakers had decreased. Besides, a law against vagrants would not be impartially applied in the Colony. A farmer would be called a traveller, but a Hottentot a vagrant. In this connection, Hallbeck quoted an example from the times under the Pass Law: At Stellenbosch, a Colonist tore the pass of an inhabitant of Genadendal to pieces and had him imprisoned, in order to force him into work on his farm. Fortunately, the Hottentot succeeded in persuading the Landdrost to inspect the spot, where the pieces were still scattered. When the Landdrost put them together, he recognised Hallbeck's hand-writing and set the man free. Similar things could happen again, if the bill became law, although it did not differentiate explicitly between Colonists and Hottentots. It was against the interests of the farmers as well: people would be afraid of going far overland in search for work.⁽⁹⁾ These then were the views of Hallbeck about the proposed Vagrancy Law, which was finally vetoed by the British Government.

The Cape Government proposed to diminish vagrancy by the establishment of settlements, in which Hottentots could become the owners of plots. Projects similar to the Kat River Settlement in the east were proposed for the west. The Government announced that suitable crown-land would be granted to Hottentots. A settlement for four hundred people was planned three hours from Groenekloof and the brethren were invited to provide church and school for the settlers. A farm near Groenekloof was offered for a similar scheme. However, neither of these projects came to fruition.⁽¹⁰⁾

(9) Report 1836, No. 3113 - 3161.

(10) He.ko. 1836, passim; Walker, pp.173,174,182; Marais, p.216.

The idea of granting property rights to the Hottentots was also discussed with regard to the mission stations. One of the members of the Commission of Inquiry, W.M. Colebrooke, drew up a special memorandum in 1829, according to which the land of the stations should be divided among the inhabitants. In his view, the time had come to do so, because the Hottentots had become citizens with equal rights. He expressed regret that the missionaries did not encourage the progressive elements at the stations to become the owners of their plots. It would be in the interest of all concerned: The missionaries would be released from the administration and could give their full attention to their spiritual task. Colonists would buy plots and mixed villages would come about, which would lead to the civilisation of the Coloured People. If many British settlers moved into these settlements, they would turn them into English speaking communities.⁽¹¹⁾ Clearly, ideas of Philip were at the back of the memorandum. The matter was discussed in the Legislative Council in 1834, and one of the members pleaded strongly for action. ⁽¹²⁾

It was on the surface an effort to promote the upliftment of the Coloured People. But many Colonists, who regarded the mission stations as a nuisance, welcomed the idea of doing away with them in this manner. Rumours spread in the neighbourhood of Genadendal that the missionaries and the Hottentots would be expelled and the land would be given to Englishmen. The matter caused Hallbeck serious concern. He himself had considered subdividing the plots among the inhabitants and releasing the missionaries for their spiritual task in 1823. But the experiences, which he had gathered since, and the hostile attitude of the public against the mission stations, made him now very cautious towards such a step. It would mean the end of the peculiar

(11) Report 1830, pp. 23, 24.

(12) He.ko. 8.10.1834.

spiritual and temporal fellowship in the settlements, which he had done so much to bring about. Anyone would be able to buy a plot and to become a resident. It would become impossible to apply strict discipline. The economy of the Mission would cease to finance the spiritual work. The settlements would become ordinary villages. The Government could apply the measure to the three grant-stations, Genadendal, Groenekloof and Enon, at any time. It was true that high officials in Cape Town assured him that no changes were contemplated with regard to the Moravian settlements. But he had tried in vain to obtain more security of tenure for the grant-stations. Attorneys in Cape Town and in London had been unable to help him in the matter. He did not wish to protest in public against the idea, because it purported to be in the interest of the inhabitants. Therefore he proposed that the land of the grant-stations should be divided in two: The estate with the buildings, gardens and fields should become the permanent property of the Mission; all the rest should be preserved for the inhabitants. If the settlements would then change into ordinary villages, the brethren could continue with the missionary work on their premises. With reference to the public order in the settlements, he envisaged the appointment of an inhabitant as field-cornet and a missionary as justice of peace. The patriarchal system, which had been maintained hitherto, was in his opinion unsatisfactory: The missionaries had to act as minor Government officials against their wish in order to prevent the intrusion of neighbouring field-cornets and justices of peace.⁽¹³⁾ These were the countermeasures, which Hallbeck proposed to the Synod in 1836, but further developments occurred only after his death.

(13) Hal. Memo. A I.; Anshelm II, pp. 47, 59, 90;
He.ko. 8.10.1834; El. Di. I, 24.10.1834.

Meanwhile, the sixth border war had broken out unexpectedly. Twelve thousand Xhosa under Magoma and Tyali invaded the Colony in December 1834.⁽¹⁴⁾ As usual, the men from the western stations were called to arms. 160 men from Genadendal followed their old Commandant Jakobus Linde. The brethren supplied each one with three pounds of bread for the body and some religious tracts for the soul. The whole stock of leather was sold to the army, and the smithy supplied fifty horse-shoes.⁽¹⁵⁾ Most of the people of Enon fled once more to Uitenhage for the duration of the hostilities. Fortunately, the station was not plundered. A few men from Enon, who were captured by the Xhosa, were released, after their captors had promised to spare the settlement, if the missionaries and the inhabitants remained neutral.⁽¹⁶⁾

Outside the border, Shiloh had meanwhile grown into a large settlement of 183 Coloured and 284 Bantu inhabitants, 110 of whom were members of the congregation.⁽¹⁷⁾ Mapasa refrained from interference. When trouble had developed between him and the farmers on the border, the brethren had advised him to go to Colonel H. Somerset at Grahamstown, and the Colonel had received him well. Since that time, he trusted the brethren and followed their advice. Many Tembus had come to Shiloh for shorter or longer periods. At one stage, about five hundred had been admitted, but most of them had left again. Even the Bushmen from the neighbourhood sent their children to the school, and some stayed occasionally in the settlement under their primitive shelters. Only in 1833, a group of Korannas, who lived on an island in the Orange river, broke the peace by plundering

(14) Walker, p. 185.

(15) X, 30.12.1834 - 15.1.1835.

(16) G.N. 1835, p.1092; He.ko. 21.1.1835; Anshelm II, p.49.

(17) Reichelt, p. 42.

cattle. None of the inhabitants were killed and part of the cattle was retaken. Three married brethren, J. Fritsch, J.F. Hoffman and J.A. Bonatz, worked harmoniously together. Fritsch, known among the brethren as the Water-Fritsch, had built a new water-furrow. Bonatz had mastered the Xhosa well. According to a contemporary writer, he spoke it better than any other missionary. Wilhelmina assisted the brethren as faithfully as ever. (18)

They were quite unaware of the fact that the Xhosa had planned a war against the Colony. (19) The chiefs had secretly agreed that Mapasa's Tembus should remain neutral, and Tyali and others sent their wives and children to the neighbourhood of Shiloh. Only after the war, when Tyali sent a message of thanks to the brethren for the safe-keeping of the families, they realised the significance of the move. (20) Its result was that Shiloh was not affected by the war, whereas all other stations among the Bantu were vacated, the missionaries fleeing to Grahamstown. (21) An official warned the brethren that Mapasa could not be trusted, but they yielded to the urgent entreaties of the Tembus to remain. (22) Even the church, which is still in use as a school-room, was completed during the war. (23) One day, Hintsa, the Chief of the Gcaleka, and the nominal Paramount Chief of the Xhosa, who was Bawana's brother-in-law, passed through, in order to negotiate with the Government. (24) Another day, Tshatshu, Bawana's age-old father, who had been a powerful chief in his time, came begging for tobacco. (25)

Meanwhile, Colonial forces under D'Urban invaded the

(18) G.N. 1835, pp. 754, 755; Backhouse II, p. 86;

Theal II, pp. 25-27; Reichelt, pp. 29-42.

(19) G.N. 1835, p. 1096; Walker, p. 184.

(20) Reichelt, p. 42; Van Calker, p. 18.

(21) Theal II, p. 111.

(22) Reichelt, p. 45.

(23) Reichelt, p. 43.

(24) Reichelt, p. 43; Theal II, p. 103.

(25) Reichelt, p. 44.

country of the Gcalekas east of the Kei river. Hintsa was taken hostage and perished in an effort to escape. The Fingos, who were the scattered remnants of other tribes and lived as subordinates among the Gcalekas, were liberated and settled around Peddie. The country west of the Kei river was incorporated into the Colony as the Province of Queen Adelaide. The commandos of the Colonists were dismissed, but the Hottentot soldiers were retained. The Government urged even their families at Genadendal to join them with the idea of settling Hottentots and Fingos in the buffer zone near the new border. But the women preferred to remain at Genadendal. (26)

The expansion to the Kei river meant that the country of Mapasa fell inside the Colony, although he had kept aloof from the war. Somerset, turning up at Shiloh with one hundred British soldiers and three hundred armed Colonists, let Mapasa choose between withdrawal of his tribe to the east of the Kei and subjection to the Colonial Government. The Tembus had no alternative but to become British subjects. (27)

Theal wrote about it:

The chief offered no objection to the arrangements that had been made. (28)

But Hallbeck declared:

Mapassa said he could not choose but to enter into the treaty, because he was a dead man. (29)

Not one of the brethren had requested the incorporation of the region, and Bonatz expressed his fervent hope that the outcome would not be detrimental to the Tembus, who had not taken part in the war. (30)

(26) Theal II, pp. 106-128; Walker, pp. 185, 186; Report 1836, No. 3033 - 3035.

(27) Reichelt, p. 45.

(28) Theal II, p. 132.

(29) Report 1836, No. 3053.

(30) G. N. 1835, p. 1098.

A few months later, an official gathered the tribe at Shiloh and proclaimed Mapasa as the lawful authority under the Colonial Government. Two Hottentots of Shiloh were appointed field-cornets. No Colonists were to be admitted into this part of the country.⁽³¹⁾ A military post was established at the station to the regret of the brethren. An officer with his family, servants, soldiers, messengers and interpreter made himself at home on the mission premises. The strict order of the settlement broke down. The brethren thought of protesting against the measure, but decided to keep quiet and trust in the Lord.⁽³²⁾ Many Fingos, who had been living among the Tembusas detested inferiors, moved into the settlement.⁽³³⁾ The Gcaleka, on the other hand, called the missionaries to account for the death of Hintsa, because he had approached the Government via Shiloh during the war.⁽³⁴⁾

The philanthropists pleaded meanwhile for the subjected Xhosas. In their view, the Colonists, having treated the peaceful aborigines badly, were responsible for the outbreak and should not be allowed to deprive them of their country. Philip, going to London with a Hottentot from the Kat River Settlement and with a son of Tshatahu, who had been educated at Bethelsdorp, pleaded the case of the aborigines before a Committee of the British Parliament, as did Rev. and Mrs. Read. Hallbeck, too, gave evidence.⁽³⁵⁾ He could not say much about the war, knowing only the conditions in the west, but mentioned two matters, which in his opinion were unjust: That the Hottentot soldiers were kept back after the cessation of hostilities, and that Mapasa was forced to cede

(31) He.ko. 6.6.1836; Reichelt, pp. 46, 47.

(32) He.ko. 6.6.1836, 8.8.1836; Reichelt, p. 47.

(33) Reichelt, pp. 45, 46.

(34) Reichelt, p. 44.

(35) See pp. 284, 285.

his territory. (36) Lord Glenelg (37), the Secretary for the Colonies, who was on the side of the philanthropists from the beginning, cancelled the annexation of the Province of Queen Adelaide and appointed Captain Andries Stockenström to apply his liberal ideas to the Eastern Cape. (38)

The military post was withdrawn from Shiloh, five months after it had been established. The border was taken back to the Zwart Kei and the Keiskamma, and peace treaties were signed with the chiefs. On 18th January 1837, Stockenström concluded a treaty with Mapasa at Shiloh. A consular agent, Henry Fynn, took his residence at the station and moved back to the border on the Zwart Kei three months later. Shiloh was again outside the Colony in Mapasa's country. (39)

The discontent of the farmers along the eastern border about the change of policy was considerable. They had suffered great losses during the war and were now deprived of the fruits of victory. Many left the Colony. The Great Trek began. In their place, land was given to Hottentots. Even a few families from Shiloh moved back into the Colony against the advice of the brethren. (40)

Hallbeck, visiting Shiloh in 1837, noted that Mapasa behaved like a protégé of the missionaries, although he was their protector. His father had called the brethren into his country, not because of the Gospel, but for his protection. The station answered now to his purpose. The purpose of the Government was realised, too: Shiloh provided a channel of Colonial influence outside the Colony. But the purpose of the brethren to gather a Christian congregation was still far from being fulfilled. Of the 284 Bantu inhabitants,

(36) Report 1836, No. 3030 - 3056.

(37) Son of Charles Grant, the friend of C.I. La Trobe. Compare p. 156.

(38) Theal II, pp. 136-144; Walker, pp. 189-192.

(39) Theal II, pp. 149-153; Reichelt, pp. 47, 48.

(40) Theal II, pp. 158, 159; Walker, p. 196; G. N. 1840, pp. 749, 750.

only nineteen adults were baptised.⁽⁴¹⁾ Therefore, he stressed that all the missionaries of Shiloh must learn to speak Xhosa well.⁽⁴²⁾

Meanwhile, the great day of the liberation of the slaves was approaching. The brethren had always abhorred slavery. Spangenberg wrote as far back as 1738:

Die Sklaverei in Westindien ist ein so unmenschliches Ding, dass einem die Haare zu Berge stehen, wenn man die Sache recht ein-sieht. ⁽⁴³⁾

And Hallbeck called it the blackest of all evils, which must certainly lead to the destruction of a country.⁽⁴⁴⁾ On the other hand, the brethren felt that they were not called to fight it. In their view, the slavery of sin was the greater evil. They became slaves to the slaves and free men to the free, in order to win some for Christ. The idealistic humanism, which inspired the philanthropists, was different from the love of Christ, which moved them. The Synod of 1825 warned the missionaries in the West Indies explicitly against participation in the struggle for the liberation of the slaves, because it was not part of their task and would invite the hostility of the farmers to the detriment of their missionary work.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The same restraint was shown by the brethren at the Cape.

The philanthropists won the struggle, and the British Parliament voted for the abolition of slavery. On 1st December 1834, the slaves at the Cape were declared free, but had to remain under their masters for another four years. The owners were promised compensation for their losses.⁽⁴⁶⁾ At Genadendal and Elim, the day passed rather quietly,

(41) Anshelm II, pp. 77, 78.

(42) He.ko. 10.1.1838.

(43) 200 Jahre I, pp. 333, 334.

(44) Anshelm II, p. 83.

(45) Syn. 1825, p. 108.

(46) Theal II, pp. 73, 74.

because the farmers in the neighbourhood felt very sore about it.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Only in the evening service, thanks were given for the victory of the humanitarians, and prayers were offered that the temporal freedom might lead many to the freedom from sin.⁽⁴⁸⁾ At Groenekloof, the neighbours of which had many slaves, the event was not mentioned at all.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The four subsequent years offered the opportunity to prepare for the actual liberation. Hallbeck, who expected crowds of new-comers for the settlements and new chances for expansion, asked the U.A.C. for more means and workers and stopped the production and consumption of brandy altogether at all stations, even for the missionaries. The rest of the existing stocks was put aside for medicines.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The fear of the brethren that the event would be accompanied by disorders, proved unnecessary.⁽⁵¹⁾ On Sunday, the 2nd December 1838, the congregation of Genadendal praised the Saviour once more for the liberation and prayed for the spiritual freedom of the ex-slaves. The attending farmers joined in the ceremony.⁽⁵²⁾ At Elim, most of the ex-slaves were unable to attend, because it was harvest time and a heavy rain fell.⁽⁵³⁾ But at Groenekloof, many came in spite of the bad weather for the special thanksgiving service, held for their benefit.⁽⁵⁴⁾

As had been expected, many applied for admission, most of all at Genadendal. Those whose wives and children were residents already, came first. Others, who had been regular visitors on Sundays, followed. From 17th December onward, Hallbeck explained the local rules to the new-comers in the

(47) Anshelm II, p. 46.

(48) X, 1.12.1834; El. Di., 1.12.1834.

(49) Ma. Di. 1.12.1834.

(50) He.ko. 5.7.1834; Hau.ko. 20.7.1835; Anshelm II, pp.47,48.

(51) Anshelm II, p. 83.

(52) XI, 1.12.1838.

(53) El. Di., 1.12.1838.

(54) Ma. Di., 2.12.1838.

church every morning. Sixty were granted admission on 19th December, and another 142 on 26th December. The worship on Christmas-day was held simultaneously in the church and the school. But the two localities proved too small for the crowds of listeners.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The new-comers lodged with the inhabitants for the beginning, and there were few homes, which did not shelter guests.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The school opened in January with five hundred pupils. Two more classes had to be opened with students from the training-school as teachers.⁽⁵⁷⁾ In the first three months of 1839, another 355 people gained admission.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Every applicant was first instructed in the Regulations and, after the Conference had given its approval and the lot confirmed it, solemnly promised to obey them. Thereafter, he started to build his house on the allotted plot.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Altogether 818 people were admitted until 10th September 1840. The number of inhabitants rose from 1446 in 1837 to 2187 in 1840, at Elim from 416 to 715, and at Groenekloof from 725 to 1096. ⁽⁶⁰⁾

The gratitude of the ex-slaves and their hunger for the gospel were moving, and their behaviour bore witness to their appreciation of the new privileges: Not a single case of drunkenness occurred at Genadendal in 1838 and at Groenekloof during the harvest of 1838/39.⁽⁶¹⁾ We may take it that only those, who were willing to accept the local discipline, moved into the settlements, while those who longed for a licentious life, went to the villages. The new-comers were a valuable asset to the communities:

(55) XI, 2.12.1838 - 31.12.1838.

(56) Anshelm II, p. 84.

(57) XI, 7.1.1839.

(58) XI, 31.1.1839, 28.2.1839, 31.3.1839.

(59) Anshelm II, pp. 83, 84.

(60) X, 31.12.1837, 31.12.1840; El. Di., 31.12.1837, 31.12.1840; Ma. Di. 31.12.1837, 31.12.1840.

(61) Anshelm II, pp. 85, 86; Ma. Di. 11.1.1839.

They had learnt more in the "hard school of slavery" than had the Hottentots in their state of comparative "freedom". (62)

They were hard-working and active, and eager to hear the word of God. The mission stations were enriched by a progressive element. (63)

But how could they earn their living, and who would work on the farms? It was in the interest of all that some remained on the farms as labourers. Therefore, Hallbeck contacted the farmers with the purpose of establishing more out-stations in the neighbourhood. (64) Some of them agreed to permit regular services on their farms. A beginning was made in Matjesgat on 5th May 1839, and in Matjesdrift on 8th September 1839. (65) From Groenekloof, Teutsch held a first service on the farm of Mattheus Everts at Wittezaand on 22nd September 1839. Mr. Everts was married to a Coloured woman, and many poor people lived around his farm between the dunes. They made a living from the burning of coal. (66)

On the other hand, many farmers regarded the concentration of their former slaves at the mission stations as a danger. Rumours spread and were mentioned in the Legislative Council that thousands of ex-slaves, six thousand alone at Genadendal, loitered about in the settlements, while the farms were without labourers. The Government sent the Judge W. Menzies to Genadendal and Elim for an investigation. He found that the figures were grossly exaggerated, and that the people went to the farms for work, as hitherto. The brethren expressed the opinion that only

(62) Marais, p. 176.

(63) Marais, p. 177.

(64) Anshelm II, p. 84; XI, 28.1.1829.

(65) XI, 5.5.1839, 25.8.1839.

(66) Ma.D1. 19-22.9.1839; Sketse, pp. 66-68.

those farmers, who treated their labourers badly, experienced difficulties. (67) In fact, the inhabitants were badly in need of some income. An epidemic of measles plagued the Colony in 1839, of which 1250 people fell ill at Genadendal, and eighty-two died. (68) The other stations were similarly affected. In addition, Elim lost all of its horses through a sickness and Genadendal five hundred. (69) However, the bad times passed, and the former slaves were gradually integrated into the settlements. The Governor granted unbaptised people the right to contract marriages, and many, who had lived together as man and wife, were able to legalise their relations. (70)

(67) XI, 7/8.7.1839; El. Di. I, 4/5.7.1839;
Le. IV, 12.3.1839; Anshelm II, pp. 84, 85.

(68) Anshelm II, p. 87; Theal II, p. 192.

(69) El. Di., 20.4.1839; Anshelm II, p. 88.

(70) Ma. Di. 6.9.1839; El. Di., 17.9.1839; XI, 21.8.1839.

8. The beginning in Clarkson, 1838 - 1840.

The liberation of the slaves concerned the stations in the west. At the same time, another station was established in the east on the request of the Government.

As has been mentioned, D'Urban had settled the liberated Fingos around Fort Peddie. But the surrounding Xhosa^s plundered their cattle and treated them with contempt. Therefore, Stockenstrom moved a number of them two hundred miles westward into the Tsitsikamma in 1837.⁽¹⁾ This inaccessible strip of country, situated between a mountain range and the sea, was thinly populated. The traffic between the east and the west passed it by through the Longkloof. When the new Governor, Sir George Thomas Napier, met Stockenstrom in 1838, they agreed to move the rest of the Fingos into this region and to entrust them to the care of the Moravians.⁽²⁾ Stockenstrom sent a message to Hallbeck on occasion of a visit to Enon, and Napier despatched an official request from Cape Town. Both urged the brethren to undertake the task at once. The Fingos would be persuaded by this means to settle definitely in the new environment.⁽³⁾ Napier, who had arrived from England only a short time ago, was a philanthropist. The plan to come to the aid of the Fingos was to him a humanitarian task, and he took a special interest in the venture.

The response of the H.C. was immediate and positive. The brethren felt that the Fingos must be helped. Besides, the Tsitsikamma could provide an opening for the people of Enon, who found it increasingly difficult to make a living at the Witte river.⁽⁴⁾ Teutsch, sent to select a suitable site, met Stockenstrom in the Longkloof, who assured him that the Fingos would never be expelled from the Tsitsikamma.

(1) Theal II, pp. 156, 157.

(2) Theal II, pp. 177, 178.

(3) He.ko. 24.4.1838, 16.5.1838.

(4) He.ko. 20.5.1838.

If they behaved well, they would be granted land for permanent occupation. They should learn agriculture by working on the farms in the Western Cape.⁽⁵⁾ At Shaloh, Teutsch met Napier. He had come to try Mapasa and another chief, whose subjects had stolen cattle in the Colony. The Governor promised Teutsch every help and instructed the field-cornet of the Longkloof to assist him.⁽⁶⁾ Visiting Enon, Teutsch was shocked by the deplorable state of the station. The big yellow-wood trees along the river had died, and the leaves of the orange-trees withered. Many houses stood empty, the people being away in search of work. Some tried to make a living out of the bush. But only the few artisans in the service of the Mission had a sufficient income. Most of the inhabitants lived from milk and the word of God, as the old missionary, J.A. Halter, put it. A neighbour expressed the opinion that the weather had definitely changed to the worse in 1811, when the Xhosa were expelled and their huts and crops were burnt down. Halter and an interpreter from Enon accompanied Teutsch to the Tsitsikamma.⁽⁷⁾

The name of this region is a Hottentot word, which means Rushing Waters. It has many streams and good rain-falls. Indigenous forests grow along the slope of the mountains. The western part, covered with forest and cut by gorges, was the home of elephants and buffaloes. In the eastern part, a few cattle-farms stretched along the shore. But towards the mountains, the grass was sour.⁽⁸⁾ It is here where the Fingos had settled. Two thousand of them lived in about one hundred kraals under five captains

(5) G. N. 1840, pp. 674, 675.

(6) G. N. 1840, pp. 681-683; Reichelt, p. 53.

(7) G. N. 1840, pp. 681-683; Backhouse I, p. 60.

(8) G. N. 1840, pp. 862-864.

dispersed on the plain. Others worked on the farms.⁽⁹⁾ They were pure-blooded Bantu and had lived east of the Tembus long ago.⁽¹⁰⁾ Their huts were of the beehive type.⁽¹¹⁾ They had brought eight thousand cattle into the Teitsikamma, half of which were left after two years.⁽¹²⁾ They complained about the poor pasturage and pleaded with the Government for additional ground with better grass.⁽¹³⁾ Unlike the Tembus and the Xhosa, they lived not only from the cattle but also from agriculture, and the men worked the soil, not only the women.⁽¹⁴⁾ Wherever the ground was suitable, they had crops of Kaffir corn, pumpkins and oats near the kraals.⁽¹⁵⁾ They were an industrious people⁽¹⁶⁾, and the farmers were eager to have them as labourers.⁽¹⁷⁾ Many understood Dutch.⁽¹⁸⁾ It was evident that they had come to stay in the land, which the Government had offered them.⁽¹⁹⁾ They call it blood-ground, even to-day⁽²⁰⁾, because it was granted as compensation for the blood, which they had shed on the Colonial side during the war.

Teutsch, accompanied by the Commissioner of Uitenhage, J.W. van der Riet, inspected Hoffmansbosch first. A Colonist lived there, but the farm had not yet been transferred to him. More promising was the neighbouring Koksbosch. It was more or less in the centre of the Fingo area and had good water, good pasture and garden-land, and a big forest. Three wattle-and daub-buildings stood near the entrance to the kloof, one of which belonged to a Hottentot from Hankey,

(9) G.N. 1840, pp. 876, 877.

(10) G.N. 1840, p. 869.

(11) G.N. 1840, p. 685.

(12) G.N. 1840, p. 877.

(13) G.N. 1840, pp. 689, 831, 876.

(14) G.N. 1840, pp. 866, 867.

(15) G.N. 1840, p. 870.

(16) Theal II, p. 110.

(17) G.N. 1840, pp. 854, 955.

(18) G.N. 1840, pp. 828, 875.

(19) G.N. 1840, p. 870.

(20) Oral information.

who came from time to time to cut wood. Ten Fingo kraals were on the other side of the stream. Their young captain Manqoba or Bladje expressed the wish to have missionaries. The Commissioner promised that the forest would also be granted to the Mission. Thereupon, Teutsch decided on the Koksbosch, and Halter, assisted by the interpreter, preached the Gospel on the following Sunday, the 14th October 1838, in the open air. (21)

The H.C. endorsed the decision at once. The brethren realised that the Fingos would continue to live dispersed and had to be visited in their kraals, but considered that people from Enon and other Coloureds from the neighbourhood could be settled at Koksbosch. Hallbeck requested the Commissioner to buy the three huts on behalf of the Mission and went to Cape Town for negotiations with the Government.⁽²²⁾ Napier promised to grant five hundred morgen, and the right to feed cattle and to divert water on the adjoining land, for the settlement of Coloureds and other people under the Regulations of the Mission. No canteen would be allowed for ten miles around. The title would be given to the Superintendent and his successors. If the station had ever to be abandoned, the Government would grant another suitable place in exchange. Thus, Hallbeck succeeded in his efforts to obtain more security of tenure than had been given for the older grant-stations. Napier mentioned the grant in his opening speech to the Legislative Council in 1839, and the newspapers spread the information about the country. (23)

The lot called Carl Friedrich Nauhaus from Genadendal to the Tsitsikamma, and Christian Adolf Küster, who had learnt to speak Xhosa at Shiloh, was appointed his assistant.

(21) G.N. 1840, pp. 830, 861.

(22) He.kc. 30.10.1838, 31.10.1838.

(23) He.ko. 19.11.1838, 26.11.1838, 10.12.1838;
Anshelm II, p. 90.

Halter was instructed to direct the lay-out in the beginning.⁽²⁴⁾ He left Enon on 5th February 1839 in spite of his bad health, together with Küster and five families from Enon.⁽²⁵⁾ As in the case of Enon, Elim and Shiloh, the brethren had decided to start the new settlement with a nucleus of members from an older station. The trek along the shore proved difficult. Whenever one of the wagons stuck in the sand, it was quickly off-loaded and drawn out with both spans of oxen, before the flood came. Heavy rains enforced a rest of three days in the open. But the joy of the Fingos about their arrival gave them new courage.⁽²⁶⁾ Living in one of the wattle- and daub-huts, they built a residence on the spot, where the memorial is to-day. A kraal and a garden were laid out. Meetings were held every evening and every Sunday in the open, until the hut became available. Two services were arranged each time, one in Xhosa and one in Dutch. There was a capable interpreter among the Fingos, who had formerly served a British missionary at Port Elizabeth, and who exhorted the others not to plague the missionaries with requests for better pasture, but to be grateful for the opportunity to hear the word of God. About one hundred Fingos, forty Coloureds and a few farmers with their families attended the first Sunday service. After a month, the numbers had doubled. The Fingos remained in their kraals during the week, sending only their children to school, but former slaves and a few Hottentots applied for admission. It was granted to those, who showed an earnest desire to hear the gospel. The captain of the local Fingos on the other side of the stream gave his eager support. When a dance-party had been held in one of the kraals after the heathen fashion, he brought the participants to church, and

(24) He.ko. 19.11.1838, 30.1.1839.

(25) Cl. Di. 5.2.1839.

(26) Cl. Di. 5.2.1839 - 14.2.1839.

the brethren forbade similar abuses. Another party was held shortly afterwards some distance away, with the result that some of the children did not turn up at school. Küster fetched them and handed them over to the captain, who gave the girls a good hiding. Boys were not beaten among the Fingos. When the farmer of Hoffmansbosch punished a boy in this way, he was killed by the relatives. The farmers of the neighbourhood welcomed the establishment of the station. One of them presented a pulpit. An old German came from the Longkloof, longing for spiritual food after many years of sinful life. A congregation of Hottentots, ex-slaves, Fingos and Colonists gathered regularly around the word of God. (27)

Nauhaus arrived from Genadendal on 29th May with his wife, his younger child and a bride for Küster. The elder child had been sent to Europe for his education. The journey had been extremely difficult. Their transport-rider had fallen ill, and heavy rains had hampered their progress. The baby, which was only three months old, had nearly died. Upon their arrival, Halter returned to Enon, accompanied by Küster, who desired to be married in a church. The strain had been too much for the older brother. He died shortly afterwards in Enon. Nauhaus remained alone in Koksbosch with his small family. (28) He wrote:

Der 16. Juni war ein Tag schwerer Prüfung: nach einigen bange durchwachten Nächten gefiel es dem Heiland, früh um 6 Uhr unser einziges bei uns habendes Kindlein zu sich heimzurufen. Meine liebe Frau lag ebenfalls an heftigem Kopfweh krank, es war Sonntag, wo ich ausser der Früh- und Abend-Versammlung 2 mal predigen musste, und in der Zwischenzeit am Sarg arbeiten helfen. Da hier noch kein Gottesacker war, wählte ich einen Abhang gegen Osten 170 Schritte in gerader Linie von unsrer Wohnung, wo ich Tages darauf dieses erste Samenkorn für die Ewigkeit aussäete, und dabei diesen Platz dem Herrn unter Gebet und Flehen weihte. (29)

(27) Cl.Dl. 15.2.1839-9.6.1839; G.N. 1840, pp.855-857.

(28) Cl.Dl. 29.5.1839-12.6.1839; G.N. 1840, pp.336-342.

(29) G.N. 1840, p. 341.

The spot is still the graveyard of the settlement.

After Küster's return, a street was laid out and plots allotted, on the western side to the local Fingos and on the eastern side to the Coloureds. (30) The Coloured inhabitants were pleased about them, but the Fingos would have preferred to remain in their kraals on the edge of the forest. They had the habit of burning the bush in order to gain garden-land, but the brethren stopped the practice for the preservation of the timber. (31)

The Governor, who had received a gift of two hundred pounds from his philanthropic friends in England for the Fingo; put the money at Hallbeck's disposal and requested that the station should be called Clarkson in honour of Thomas Clarkson, the friend of Wilberforce. The H.C. (32) agreed, but objections were made from Europe. P. La Trobe and other brethren in England pointed out that it was customary to choose the names from the Bible. Besides, the name of Clarkson signified an inappropriate veneration of men and stood, moreover, for a definite policy. Their supporters in England would take offence, if the brethren identified themselves with a political party. But Hallbeck refused to alter the name, because it would offend the Governor. (33)

He set out in September 1839 for a visit to the Tsitsikamma. Skeletons of horses, which had perished from the epidemic, were lying on the roadside. Trekking Colonists were moving out of the Colony. On some farms, the children of farmers were doing the work, which had formerly been done by slaves. Hallbeck regarded this as a hopeful development for the good of the country. (34)

(30) G.N. 1840, p. 342.

(31) Cl.Di. 13.6.1839, 5.8.1839, 11.9.1839.

(32) He.ko. 16.8.1839; Anshelm II, p. 91; Clarkson.

(33) He.ko. 6.4.1840; Le. U.A.C. 15.11.1839; Anshelm II, p. 91.

(34) G.N. 1840, pp. 847-850.

He found at Clarkson ten Fingu huts and seven wattle-and daub-buildings, inhabited by forty-one Fingos, forty-four former slaves and twenty-five Hottentots. Two buildings served the missionaries. The meetings were still held in the hut, which had been purchased by the Mission. The attendance was good: Every Sunday, the Fingos ceased working throughout the region and flocked to the station. Hallbeck hoped that they would learn Dutch in due course, making the double services unnecessary. It was now decided to build a church out of the stones, which abounded near the site. The services of some building-artisans among the ex-slaves were available.

In the second place, Hallbeck used the gift from the Governor for the promotion of agriculture among the Fingos. Spades had already been distributed. He instructed the brethren to proceed by reclaiming land for the inhabitants, making water-furrows, fencing the plots and having the soil manured. The Fingos believed that animal manure polluted the soil, but after the matter had been explained, Manqoba applied the new method at once. Hallbeck regarded this as a sign that the Fingos did not cling too firmly to their inherited superstitions. He hoped that the example of the people of Clarkson would induce the dispersed Fingos to work the ground properly in accordance with the wish of the Government. Gathering the tribe, he promised them to ask the Governor for additional land with better pasture, if they would make a suitable proposal. After waiting in vain for the arrival of the Commissioner for the survey of the grant, he returned to his family, his violin and his infant-school at Genadendal. It was the last station, which he had founded. (35)

The brethren endeavoured from the beginning to reach

the dispersed Fingos with the gospel. Küster visited their kraals south and west of the station. One of the interpreters gathered his neighbours regularly at his kraal, three hours to the east, repeating the sermons, which he had heard at Clarkson.⁽³⁶⁾ Fingos outside the settlement could become members of the congregation. The first-fruit from the tribe was baptised at Easter of 1840.⁽³⁷⁾ Manqoba and others followed.⁽³⁸⁾ 138 Christians from the settlement, seven from outside and fifty-seven candidates for baptism are on record for the end of the year.⁽³⁹⁾ The first marriage of baptised Fingos was held without payment of cattle.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The Fingos seemed to embrace Christian habits quicker than the Tembusaround Shiloh.

However, heathen customs continued under the surface. One day, the brethren were informed that a dance-party was being held at a kraal near the Tsitsikamma river. They found on arrival about thirty red-painted men around a slaughtered ox, and a number of women and children tried to hide in the bush. Fortunately, not one of the party was a candidate for baptism. The brethren warned them, and the people dispersed quietly.⁽⁴¹⁾ Another day, a Fingo girl, whose father had sold her for cattle to a witch-doctor as his fifth wife, took refuge at Clarkson. The Commissioner informed the brethren that the sale and purchase of people was prohibited throughout the Colony and that major children could not be forced into marriage by their parents. The brethren explained the law to all on a Sunday and kept the girl in the settlement. But the Fingos were greatly offended.⁽⁴²⁾

(36) Cl. D1. 10.3.1840, 24.3.1840.

(37) Cl. D1. 19.4.1840.

(38) Cl. D1. 12.12.1840, 31.10.1841.

(39) Cl. D1. 31.12.1840.

(40) Cl. D1. 31.10.1841.

(41) Cl. D1. 20.4.1840.

(42) Cl. D1. 27.7.1840, 11.8.1840, 16.8.1840.

When Kūster visited a distant kraal, they received him with open hostility and with a dance-party and blamed him for making the children rebellious against their parents.⁽⁴³⁾ - Manqoba resolved with his councillors to move back to Peddie, his complaint being that he was losing his authority as a captain at the station.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The group left in 1841, at a time when the Government itself made efforts to move the Fingo back to the eastern border.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Manqoba returned after a few months, mortally ill, and died in peace at Clarkson.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The brethren found that the Fingos were meek, and quick to accept admonitions, but their real thoughts were hidden. They regarded blunt speaking as tactless, and their inherited superstitions were deeply rooted. They were not easily integrated into a Christian community, and it was the Coloured People who formed the backbone of the settlement.

The officials of the Government used Clarkson like Shiloh as a channel of communication for the whole tribe. When the Colonists complained to the Commissioner about trespassing cattle and other matters, he instructed the brethren to pass a warning to the Fingos. The field-cornet of the region called the men to the station for the purpose and turned up with a farmer to witness the proceedings. He seemed to hold the brethren responsible for the behaviour of the tribe. After the brethren had read the letter of the Commissioner, the Fingos turned against the two Colonists, complaining about injustices, which they had suffered from the farmers, and called on Nauhaus to pass judgment. He advised them to lodge their complaints with the Commissioner, explaining that he was not a judge, but had only been instructed to read the letter and to exort

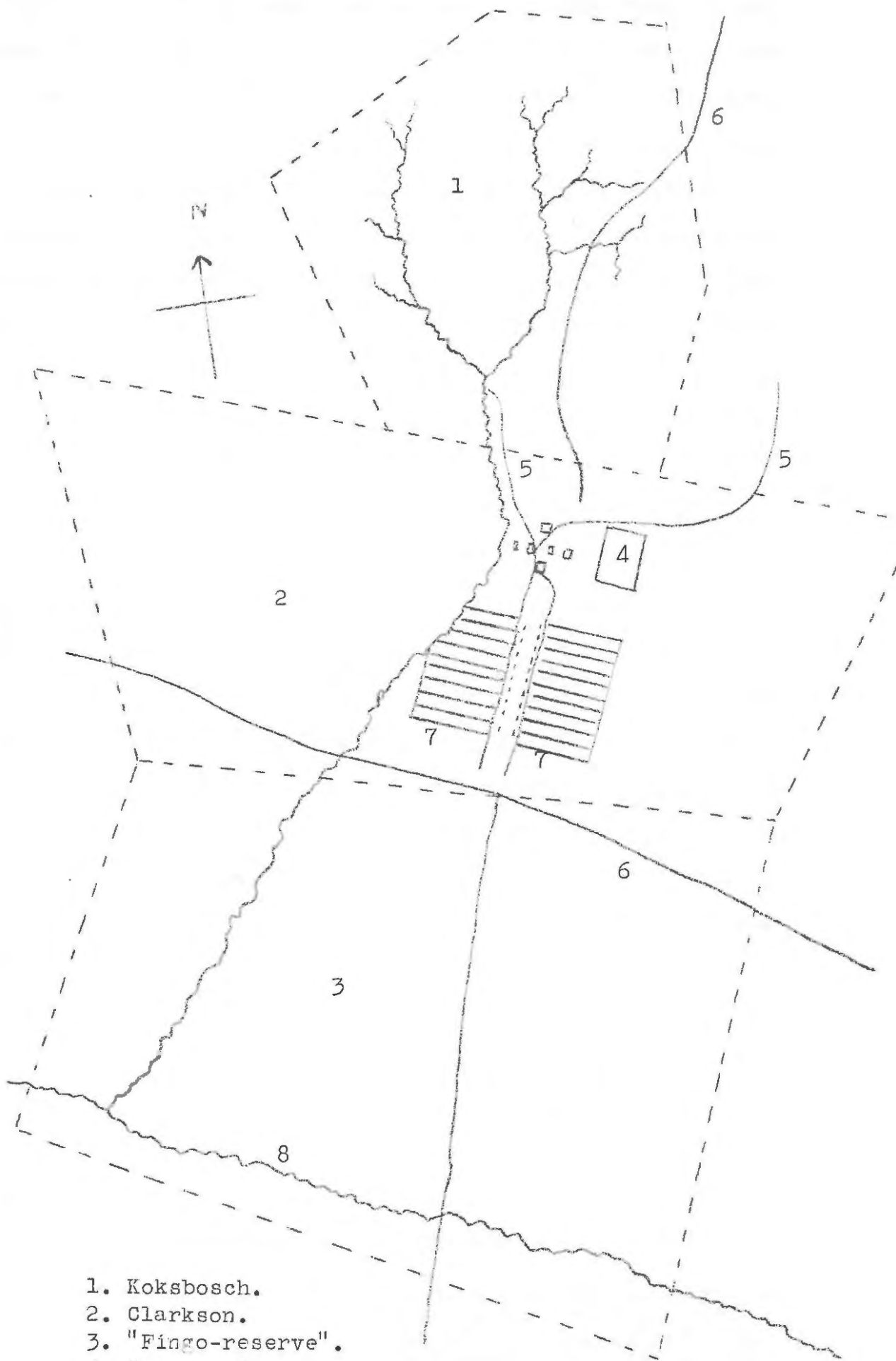
(43) Cl. Di. 18.2.1841.

(44) Cl. Di. 10.8.1840, 31.9.1841, 8.11.1841.

(45) Theal II, p. 178.

(46) Cl. Di. Jan. 1842.

Clarkson in 1850.
 (After an undated sketch)



1. Koksbosch.
2. Clarkson.
3. "Fingo-reserve".
4. Graveyard.
5. Water-furrows.
6. Wagon-paths.
7. Settlement.
8. Tsitsikamma river.

them to obedience. It was evident that the brethren were becoming once more minor Government officials and arbitrators between the indigenous people and the Colonists against their wish. (47)

The new Superintendent-General of Education, James Rose-Innes, visited Clarkson in 1841 on a special request from the Governor. His main task was to improve the public schools in the villages, which were open to all in principle, but for the children of the Colonists in fact. He was impressed by what he found at the station and promised to send slates and paper for the school. (48)

The settlement developed under Nauhaus to a sizable village. Those who built proper dwellings, received a subsidy from the Mission, as at Elim. After the completion of the church, a residence for two families and a mill were erected. A wagon-path was constructed across the mountain range in order to give the farmers of the Longkloof access to the mill. (49) The station was surveyed in 1841 and a title was issued, according to which it was given to the Superintendent of the Moravian Mission and his successors for all time, as a "Grant in Freehold". It comprised 1038 morgen. The forest to the north, comprising 540 morgen, was subsequently added in the same manner. When the brethren heard in 1845 that the Fingos were to be expelled from the Tsitsikamma, they submitted a petition on their behalf, and the Government granted the so-called Fingu-reserve to the south of the station, comprising 1238 morgen, to the Mission for the use of the Fingos and the other non-white people connected with the institution. (50)

(47) Cl. Di. 7/8.1.1840.

(48) Cl. Di. 28.8.1841; Theal II, pp. 210-214.

(49) Cl. Di. 1842-1844, passim.

(50) Cl. deeds; He.ko. 9.3.1843, 7.1.1845, 4.2.1846, 22.10.1846, 27.10.1846, 9.11.1847, 9.1.1848; Le. drafts IV, 9.1.1844.

Hallbeck did not live to see the fruits of his efforts. He died on 25th November 1840 after an illness of eleven days from an abscess. The work on the surrounding farms came to a standstill, while farmers and labourers alike flocked to Genadendal to attend to his funeral. (51)

The loss to the Mission was incalculable. One of the brethren wrote:

Es ist wohl nicht möglich, dass ein Mensch all das allein tun kann, was Br. Hallbeck zu tun gehabt hat. Denn unser seliger Bruder war ein Mann, der soviel Arbeit auf sich nehmen konnte, wie ich nie zuvor jemanden gesehen oder gekannt habe. (52)

His ideas shaped the further development of the work for a long time to come. The entrenchment of the peculiar order of the settlements, the promotion not only of the spiritual life of the inhabitants, but also of their temporal progress with the support of indigenous co-workers, the development of the economy of the Mission, in which the shops played an ever increasing role, the training-school and the printing-press at Genadendal, and the introduction of English as second language were the fruits of his work. He did not succeed in securing the property rights of the grant-stations and in separating the spiritual work of the missionaries from their temporal duties. He took the first steps towards the development of a self-dependent indigenous church: After his consecration as a bishop, he ordained the brethren himself in South Africa, trained indigenous assistants systematically and consecrated one of them an acolyte. He even suggested that the selection of candidates for ordination should not be made in Germany, but at Genadendal. (53)

The work expanded greatly under him. It was extended

(51) XI, 25.11.1840.

(52) Anshelm II, p. 103.

(53) He.ko. 18.4.1839.

to the Bantu. The former slaves were admitted to the settlements. The province grew from two stations with 1600 inhabitants in 1816 to seven stations with 5400 inhabitants in 1840. (54) The activities were extended to the farms. The expansion posed also the problems, which confronted the brethren in the following years: How to win the Bantu for the Gospel and how to integrate the former slaves into the communities. He did not succeed in extending the work to the towns and the villages.

A prominent German scholar, J. Richter, summarises the achievements of the Moravians under Hallbeck as follows:

... im Rahmen der unruhigen südafrikanischen Missionsgeschichte jener Zeit liest man mit Bewunderung von dem planmässigen, überlegten und zielbewussten Vorwärtstreben der Brüdermission. (55)

While the L.M.S. produced outstanding pioneers, a romantic history and a wide extension, the Moravians achieved an admirable, quiet but stable development. (56)

(54) Anshelm II, p. 106.

(55) Quoted in Anshelm II, p. 106.

(56) Anshelm II, p. 106.

IV. THE PRESERVATION OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND FURTHER
EFFORTS OF EXPANSION.

1. Groenekloof and Genadendal after the liberation of
the slaves, and the beginning in Goedverwacht,
1840 - 1845.

The earlier history of the Moravian Mission at the Cape is identical with the history of the rural settlements. Their ideal was a Christian community, in which both, the spiritual and the temporal affairs, were under the rule of the Saviour as symbolised by the lot. The solemn admission of new citizens was not much less than a sacrament, by which they were received into the covenant, as stated in the formulary:

- L. Wat is de saanname in de gemeente?
Cand. Een verbond met Christus, die het hoofd der gemeente is, en met alle ware leden daarvan, waardoor wij deel ontvangen aan alle zegeningen Zijns huizes en herderstafs, en waardoor wij ons verplichten de ordeningen Zijner gemeente na te komen. (1)

At the same time, the settlements were places of refuge for the Hottentots.

In consequence of the political changes, which have been mentioned in the preceding part, the continued existence of the closed settlements came under pressure from three sides: The Colonists complained that the Coloured People led an easy life at the stations, while there was an acute shortage of labour on the farms; the philanthropists considered that the missionaries were no longer needed as protectors and guardians, and that the settlements should be transformed into open villages; and the rush of the former slaves to the settlements endangered the traditional

(1) Litanijen 1839, No. 26.

order under the Regulations. These factors posed the problems, which confronted the brethren during the period, to which we have to turn now. Instead of telling the history of each particular station in detail, we shall focus our attention on the more important developments, personalities and events.

The difficult task of succeeding Hallbeck fell to the experienced and practical Christian Ludwig Teutsch. He was a joiner by trade and had served the mission faithfully, at Grosnekloof for two years and at Elim for twelve years. The erection of the church at Elim, the selection of the site for the settlement in the Tsitsikamma and the direction of the work during Hallbeck's visit to Europe had proved him a careful and circumspect worker.⁽²⁾ He found it hard to accept the responsibility and wrote about it:

Es ist mein einziger Trost, dass Er selbst
(sc. der Heiland) auch Sein hiesiges Werk
treiben will, u. mein ganzer Sinn, Ihm nicht
in dem Weg zu stehen, sondern Ihn thun u.
walten zu lassen, als warum ich Ihn täglich
anrufe. (3)

He enjoyed the confidence of all, but paid fewer visits to the stations than Hallbeck, relying more on the initiative of the U.A.C. and the brethren on the spot. His first visitation of the Eastern Cape took place only in 1848. Very conscientious, he followed the lead of the Saviour from day to day. In view of the fact that he had not much education, the U.A.C. sent an able, newly-married theologian, Carl Rudolph Kölbing, to his assistance, who had been a teacher at the Moravian High School in Niesky. He gave his special attention to the education and the training, and took care of the correspondence with the authorities. A short stay in England had improved his knowledge of English. He was a person of outstanding intellectual ability and of

(2) His curriculum vitae: XII, pp. 164-169.

(3) XII, p. 168.

clear insight in legal matters, impartial in his judgment and careful in his statements, but cordial in his conversation and patient with regard to the weaknesses of his fellow-men. The study of the South African flora was his hobby and provided for his relaxation.⁽⁴⁾ Hallbeck's wish to divide the direction of the work between two brethren, was fulfilled after his death by Kölbing's appointment.

The missionaries were ordained once more by letter, as in former times.⁽⁵⁾ The lot still figured largely in their lives. When Bonatz had lost his second wife at Shiloh, he declined to marry Hallbeck's daughter Gustava, only because the lot had decided against it on a former occasion. He wanted to retain his trust in the guidance of the Saviour, which had been his consolation in the past.⁽⁶⁾ When J. Fritsch was transferred to Elim, where D. Luttringshausen was the head-missionary, they let the lot decide, who should take the lead. Both had ability and experience. The lot decided on Luttringshausen, and both worked happily together.⁽⁷⁾ It was no longer obligatory in the case of marriages: When Fritsch lost his wife, he married the widow of Hallbeck without consulting it.⁽⁸⁾ But that the brethren in South Africa were more conservative than many Moravians elsewhere, is shown by the fact that the Synod of 1848 preserved the lot for the admission and promotion of members with regard to South Africa on their wish, while a change was granted to the congregations in Suriname and the West Indies.⁽⁹⁾

The establishment of the training-school at Genadendal produced good results. Pfeiffer, assisted by the students, managed the infant-school of Genadendal and attended to the organ and the choir.⁽¹⁰⁾ Alexander Haas served as a teacher

(4) His curriculum vitae: G.N.1861, pp. 1075 ff;
He.ko. 27.6.1841.

(5) He.ko. 17.11.1841.

(6) He.ko. 31.8.1842.

(7) He.ko.19.12.1843 (The two ballot-papers are appended).

(8) He.ko. 5.11.1843.

(9) He.ko.14.12.1847,16.1.1850;Syn.1848,par.117, 128.

(10) XI. 14.-26.11.1842.

at Elim from 1842,⁽¹¹⁾ David Lakey at Groenekloof from 1844,⁽¹²⁾ and Nicolaas Oppelt at Clarkson from 1845.⁽¹³⁾ In the same year, Carl Jonas went to Houtkloof and Jozua Pleizier to Kopjeskasteel. At these two out-stations, the teachers were not under the eyes of the missionaries and the local people provided for their living.⁽¹⁴⁾ The missionaries of the main stations were reluctant to surrender the schools, because they were fond of teaching the children.⁽¹⁵⁾ But the development was irreversible.

Prince Victor continued to take a keen interest in the training-school, which he had founded. He wanted the institution to serve the other missionary societies as well, and granted three bursaries to the Berlin Mission as a beginning.⁽¹⁶⁾ And he urged the brethren to prepare the students for ordination, so that they could carry the Gospel into Africa. But the H.C. considered that the training of indigenous helpers was still on trial and should be advanced slowly.⁽¹⁷⁾ The sad discovery of wide-spread immorality among the students in 1848 confirmed their view.⁽¹⁸⁾ Therefore, the emphasis remained on the training of teachers. English, Dutch, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Drawing were the subjects. In the afternoons, the students learned various trades in the village.⁽¹⁹⁾ In any case, the brethren regarded the schools and the trades as part of their spiritual task, and the teachers as clerical assistants.

The Cape experienced a period of general prosperity,⁽²⁰⁾ and the economy of the Mission flourished. The annual account of Shiloh for the year 1848 may serve as an example:

(11) He.ko. 16.10.1842.

(12) XI, 15.1.1844.

(13) He.ko. 11.3.1845.

(14) He.ko. 14.2.1845; Kweekskool, p. 10.

(15) He.ko. 13.10.1843, 8.4.1845.

(16) He.ko.11.1.1843; XI,1.9.1843; Le. U.A.C. 31.8.1842.

(17) He.ko. 24.8.1845.

(18) He.ko. 18.10.1848.

(19) XI, 6.4.1842; Renkewitz, p. 8.

(20) Walker, p. 236.

Receipts - Profits

The Smithy	£ 15. 0. 9
Mill	75. 9. 6
Carpenter's Shop	20.12. 6
Store (shop)	68.16. 8
Traveller's Boarding House. Garden	7. 5.11
Arable land (Wheat, Barley)	49. 7. 1
Fruit Garden	9. 0
Tannery (none at Shiloh)	- - -
Sheep (" " ")	- - -
Fancy work by Hottentots	- - -
	<hr/>
	237. 1. 5
Total expenditure	208. 4. 8 1/4
Surplus	28.16. 7 3/4
	<hr/>
	237. 1. 5 (21)

7 adults, 4 children, 6 servants.

Most of the stations produced annual profits by hard work and thrift in the common household. In 1843, an accumulated surplus of one thousand pounds was credited to the travelling fund, for which the U.A.C. was responsible.⁽²²⁾ This state of affairs encouraged the Synod of 1848 to declare that the South African Mission supported itself,⁽²³⁾ and to begin with pioneering work in Australia and Nicaragua later. But the financial position was not as sound as it appeared to be. The support for the work came from the trades and the shops of the Mission, not from the contributions of members. The inhabitants had still to be educated in that respect. A small beginning was made in 1842 on occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the three pioneers, when the U.A.C. called on the congregations to express their gratitude by donations in aid of the world-wide mission work.⁽²⁴⁾ Occasional church collections were taken for this purpose. But the response was not encouraging. Some people even missed the services on purpose, in order to avoid giving their share.⁽²⁵⁾ Others misinterpreted the meaning of the collections: A man gave half a crown, because he

(21) V.R. XXXVII, pp. 55-57.

(22) He.ko. 12.11.1843, 10.5.1844.

(23) Syn. 1848, paragraph 127.

(24) He.ko. 26.7.1842.

(25) Ma. Di. 8.4.1844.

expected the Lord to reward him threefold.⁽²⁶⁾ Another approach seemed to hold more promise. A local missionary society was founded at Clarkson in 1844,⁽²⁷⁾ and other stations followed the example. The male members paid monthly contributions of two pence, the female members of one penny.⁽²⁸⁾ It was a voluntary effort, and only a section of the inhabitants was interested.

The two oldest and largest settlements, Genadendal and Groenekloof, were more affected by the liberation of the slaves than the others. A study of the life and the work at Groenekloof between 1839 and 1845 is therefore of special interest.

It had developed into a lovely village. The dwellings on both sides of the two streets were neatly built. Many of the inhabitants had not only a garden but also a corn-field. The wheat was ground in a horse-mill, until a water-mill was erected in 1843. The Government had ceded the whole of the grove to the Mission in 1827. The high gable of the church could be seen from afar.⁽²⁹⁾ Travelling missionaries, such as the Rhenish brethren from Wuppertal and Namaqualand, the L.M.S. pioneer J.H. Schmelen, the Superintendent of the Berlin Mission and a Methodist missionary made use of the hospitality of the brethren.⁽³⁰⁾ The Reformed Minister of Malmesbury held occasional services for the farmers in the church of Groenekloof.⁽³¹⁾ The old Captain Klapmuts had at last been baptised.⁽³²⁾ When the smallpox broke out in 1839, he was induced to move into the settlement.

(26) Ma. Di. 6.1.1843.

(27) He.kc. 30.10.1844.

(28) XI, 25.3.1845; Miss. Soc. Gen. passim.

(29) Backhouse I, p. 619; Ma. Doc. 22.8.1827; He.ko.9.2.1839; Ma. Di. 13.2.1843, 9.9.1844.

(30) Ma. Di. 1841-1844, passim.

(31) Ma. Di. 18.3.1848, 29.10.1849, 14.4.1850.

(32) Ma. Di. 29.5.1839.

His residence in the Louw's Kloof was turned into an isolation hospital and remained uninhabited thereafter. (33) He died shortly afterwards at the age of about one hundred. (34)

The adjoining Government's farm of Laatste Stuver had been leased by the Mission and sublet to the inhabitants. Hallbeck had declined to buy it, taking the view that the people would pay their rentals better, if it belonged to the Government. But Teutsch purchased it, and the overseers signed a declaration, according to which the cattle-owners promised to pay the annual interest of the purchase price to the Mission. (35) The matter led to a Supreme Court case between the inhabitants and the Mission sixty years later. The cattle-owners themselves acquired another adjoining farm, Hartebeestkraal, from a farmer, promising to pay three-hundred pounds per annum over a period of three years. (36)

The rich farmers of the neighbourhood attended the services of the brethren only on rare occasions. (37) A visitor from England was shocked by the observation that some of them were sitting on chairs along the street, while the inhabitants flocked to church. (38) The farmers, who had attended the meetings at Wittezaand at first, withdrew. In their view, the chapel became more and more a meeting-place of Coloured People. (39)

Many former slaves had become residents of Groenekloof. There were no frictions between them and the old-established inhabitants. They had known each other for a long time. The slaves had come to church in Groenekloof, and the Hottentots had gone to work on the farms. Therefore, the

(33) Ma. Di. 12.6.1840.

(34) Ma. Di. 27.8.1841.

(35) He.ko. 13.6.1836, 15.7.1836, 21.1.1840, 25.10.1841, 27.12.1841; Case 1909, 14.5.1842.

(36) Ma. Di. 12.12.1842.

(37) Ma. Di. 25.12.1842.

(38) Backhouse I, p. 619.

(39) Ma. Di. 8.3.1840, 5.3.1843.

the new-comers were easily integrated into the settlement. On the whole, the liberation had not altered their relations to their former owners, except that the aged people and the families could now live in the settlement, and that they could make a choice among their employers.

Most of them continued to depend on farm labour, as did the old-established residents. The school and the greater part of the week-gatherings closed every year at the end of October, when the men went to the farms, partly with their families.⁽⁴⁰⁾ When they returned in January, some had to be put under church discipline for drunkenness or immorality, because the farmers had given them as much intoxicating liquor as they desired, at the end of the harvest.⁽⁴¹⁾ The process repeated itself between May and July during ploughing-time.⁽⁴²⁾ Some of the women and young girls went at times to the dunes for a few days, collecting wax-berries and melting wax.⁽⁴³⁾ The brethren considered that the inhabitants should be able to live out of their own gardens and fields, if only they exercised more thrift. In fact, some managed their affairs well, were independent of the farmers. But many lived on advances from the Colonists. If they did not repay them, they were liable to be brought before the magistrate and to lose their movable property. In order to fight the evil, the brethren announced that those who were taken to court because of debts, would be put under church discipline.⁽⁴⁴⁾ But it did not help much.

Francke, assisted by two married brethren, administered the station from 1840 onward. His time at the training-school had been cut short, because a responsible brother was urgently needed for Groenekloof. For twenty years,

(40) Ma. Di. 31.10.1841, 30.10.1843.

(41) Ma. Di. 7.1.1841, 13/14.1.1842, 13.1.1843, 29.1.1843.

(42) Ma. Di. 25.5.1841, 18.7.1842.

(43) Ma. Di. 31.3.1842.

(44) Ma. Di. 18.7.1841, 20.2.1842, 25.5.1842.

the station profited from his abilities as a musician and a teacher. (45) A church choir and a school choir were formed at once, and the services were brightened by beautiful German choral music. When the Civil Commissioner of the Cape District visited Groenekloof, a sacred concert was arranged, because he was a lover of music, and the performance moved him to tears. (46)

In the school, the missionaries and their wives gave the lessons, assisted by young girls from the settlement, and, from 1844, by David Lakey. Talented girls were kept at school until their seventeenth year for this purpose. Thereafter, they could become teachers. One of them, Dorothea Abrahams, did outstanding work in the infant-school, where between 130 and 140 infants made their first acquaintance with the Bible, singing, reading, writing, Dutch, English and geography. (47) In the girls-school, which had about a hundred pupils, numbers and needle-work were added. (48) Examinations were held for both departments from time to time. The teachers made it their main task to implant the love of the Saviour into the hearts of the children. The attendance of the boys-school was very irregular, because the parents used the boys as cattle-herds and for other work, and many of them grew up illiterate or forgot what they had learnt. But on the whole, the efforts of the teachers were not in vain. When the Superintendent-General of Education touched at Groenekloof on a Sunday, he was well pleased with the results of an ad hoc examination of the girls-school, and donated twenty English primers. (49)

The pastoral care remained the chief concern of the brethren. The daily evening meetings, the special weekly

(45) He.ko. 6.7.1840; Kweekskool, p.7; G.N. 1862, p.320.

(46) Ma.Di. 24.12.1840, 14.5.1841, 13.8.1841, 17.8.1841, 17.10.1841, 28.11.1841, 13.8.1843, 13.10.1844.

(47) Ma.Di. 9.2.1840, 19.5.1840, 27.4.1842, 17.8.1842, 17.10.1843.

(48) Ma.Di. 4.10.1840, 15.10.1843.

(49) Ma.Di. 26.8.1843.

meetings of the classes, the "speaking" and the worship on Sundays provided the opportunities. Only the so-called societies, which had played such an important part under Küster, were falling into disuse.⁽⁵⁰⁾ It was a great privilege to be a member of the congregation. The graveyard was reserved for them. Unbaptised and excommunicated people were buried at a separate place.⁽⁵¹⁾

The festivals of the "choirs" were high-lights of the year. They were held for the baptised children on 17th August, for the married communicants on 7th September, for the unmarried and widowed male communicants on 29th August and for their female counterparts on 4th May,⁽⁵²⁾ as was the Moravian custom. The members of the "choirs" were individually spoken to in preparation, the men by a missionary, the women by a missionary's wife, and the married couples by both together. A special service was held for them on the festival day, after which they went together into the veld or comforted the sick in the settlement by the singing of hymns. Festival joy was the key-note of the day and the affirmation of the covenant with the Saviour its meaning. Other high-days of the year were the universal Christian festivals and the memorial days of the Moravian Church, with Holy Communion, love-feasts and much singing. They helped to make the history of the Christian Church and of the Moravian Church in particular dear to the inhabitants. Thus, the mixed population of the settlement became a people. The Moravian festival of brotherly love, the 13th August, became an outstanding event. The habit of brightening the love-feasts by short addresses, was copied from similar habits among the English churches.⁽⁵³⁾ A special love-feast united

(50) Ma. Di. 8.8.1841. See p. 173.

(51) Ma. Di. 20.-22.10.1840, 12.1.1841.

(52) Ma. Di. 29.8.1840, 4.5.1842, 17.8.1842, 7.9.1843.

(53) Ma. Di. 13.8.1843.

the church-servants, the overseers, the teachers, the members of the choir and the missionaries once a year.⁽⁵⁴⁾ It was this group, which considered itself jointly responsible for the congregation.

Indifferent and indolent people were mostly found among those, who had grown up in the settlement from early childhood. There was a regrettable ignorance on church matters among the men, because the daily work kept them away from the meetings and the lessons.⁽⁵⁵⁾ At Pentecost of 1841, the church was only half full, and one of the brethren, who went into the settlement, found people who did not even know of the occasion.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Only the third part of the 1200 to 1300 inhabitants attended the worship regularly.⁽⁵⁷⁾ People were less willing to provide voluntary labour, such as digging graves and cleaning the church.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The brethren complained that many old-established inhabitants gave a bad example to the new-comers through their laxity.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The former slaves, on the other hand, were in general eager to hear the Gospel, and to send their children to school.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Especially the old people, who had spent their lives in ignorance and slavery, were grateful for the opportunity to be instructed in the Christian faith. Some came from Mozambique, some from Madagascar, some spoke only the Portuguese language.⁽⁶¹⁾ A blind, ailing woman let herself be carried to the church,⁽⁶²⁾ and many a former slave died a believer. Thus, the liberation injected new spiritual life into the settlement.

(54) Ma.Di. 7.6.1840.

(55) Ma.Di. 7.7.1842, 2.4.1844.

(56) Ma.Di. 30.5.1841.

(57) Ma.Di. 2.4.1844.

(58) Ma.Di. 28.1.1841, 11.7.1842.

(59) Ma.Di. 3.3.1841.

(60) Ma.Di. 13.4.1840, 4.1.1841, 1.9.1842, 9.4.1843.

(61) Ma.Di. 18.10.1841, 20.7.1842, 31.12.1842

(62) Ma.Di. 2.7.1843.

But the discipline suffered. It is true that all new-comers were instructed in the Regulations, and the church servants and overseers acquainted them with the local standard of behaviour.⁽⁶³⁾ But the crowd of ex-slaves included some bad elements, who conspired with the weaker section of the young people of the settlement. Thefts, drunkenness and quarrels occurred. One day, three drunkards went so far as to defy the authority of the overseers.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Such a thing had not happened in the past; an old inhabitant complained that the people had been more respectful towards the church servants and the overseers in former days.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The proximity of Cape Town continued to be detrimental: People bought wine in the town, even on festival days, and started quarrels on the way back.⁽⁶⁶⁾

The strict rules of the brethren served to fight these evils. But a sad incident brought them into disrepute. The daughter of an old-established resident killed her new-born illegitimate baby, because her seducer, who was a married man, forced her by threats to do so. The matter came before the Supreme Court. The defence suggested that she had done so only from fear of expulsion from the settlement. Brother J. Lehmann, who appeared as a witness, was handicapped by the fact that he could not speak English. The blame for the misdeed was put on the harsh Regulations of the settlement even by the judge, who declared the girl guilty, but reprieved her. The newspapers presented the case to the public in the same light.⁽⁶⁷⁾ It shows that the closed settlements came under attack from a new angle. Formerly, the farmers had blamed the brethren for sheltering thieves and other evil-doers, but now, the philanthropists denounced

(63) Ma.Di. 25.1.1841, 28.3.1842, 3.10.1843.

(64) Ma.Di. 14.8.1841.

(65) Ma.Di. 2.12.1843.

(66) Ma.Di. 22.5.1840, 10.5.1841, 13.8.1842.

(67) Ma.Di. 14.6.1842, 22.10.1842; Mail, 29.10.1842.

them for treating their wards too harshly. The case caused them to mitigate the rules in so far as to allow mothers of illegitimate children to remain in the settlements. (68) For the rest, they were left untouched.

Such then were the conditions at Groenekloof in the years after the liberation of the slaves. Genadendal presented a similar picture. The brethren complained about indifference and indolence among the old-established inhabitants, many of whom kept their boys from school. (69) They praised the eagerness of the former slaves to hear the Gospel. (70) They reported cases of drunkenness and quarrelling, especially after the harvest. (71) And they observed that a few bad elements among the hundreds of new-comers conspired with some of the young people of the settlement against the local authorities. (72)

The maintenance of the public order in Genadendal became difficult. An inhabitant refused in 1843 to surrender a cask of wine to the overseers, which he had bought from a farmer, and the brethren bought it from him, in order to get it out of the way. (73) They gathered the impression that some of the men became restive against the Regulations. (74) A dispute led to an open revolt: The rules provided that a jointly appointed herdsman guarded the cattle, and that every cattle-owner contributed to his wages, whether he made use of him or not. But some of the old-established residents, who used their own children for the purpose, refused to pay their share, and when the Magistrate upheld the rules, twenty-one of them, aided by a farmer, appealed to the Governor against the measure. When the Magistrate came to investigate

(68) He.ko. 22.8.1843.

(69) XI, 24.8.1842, 29.8.1842, 2.7.1843.

(70) XI, 15.1.1841.

(71) XI, 3.1.1842, 6.2.1842, 12.11.1843.

(72) XI, 18.1.1844.

(73) XI, 19.5.1843.

(74) XI, 4.6.1844.

the matter again, the overseers declared that the rule was for the benefit of all, and the brethren could prove that the contributions had in fact been spent on the herdsman. The Magistrate decided in their favour and advised the complainants either to choose another place of residence or to go to the courts. All submitted to the decision and the dispute came to a satisfactory conclusion.⁽⁷⁵⁾ But it showed that a group of inhabitants, supported by neighbouring farmers, were inclined to rebel against the Regulations.⁽⁷⁶⁾

It is evident that not the former slaves, but the old-established residents were mainly responsible for the difficulties at both stations. The sudden increase in the population of the settlements and the change in the attitude of the South African public towards them, provided the occasion to produce suppressed grievances against the Regulations. The U.A.C. reacted by sending a pastoral letter to all South African congregations, exhorting them to desist from evil, to send their children to school and to appoint joint herdsman for the cattle. ⁽⁷⁷⁾

At one place, the liberation of the slaves led to the establishment of an out-station, which developed into a flourishing settlement. A visiting ex-slave told the brethren at Groenekloof one day in 1842 that about forty of his companions lived on a secluded spot in the Cedarbergen, called Sulverfontein, and that they had a teacher, but needed books. The brethren gave him a Bible, and Pastor H. Stegmann of the Lutheran Church in Cape Town supplied primers.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In the following year, a visiting Hottentot by the name of

(75) XI, 30.6.1844, 29.10.1844; Gen. Doc. 1844;
H.A. Doc. 23.6.1846, 30.12.1846.

(76) XI, 8.8.1844.

(77) He.ko. 30.10.1844.

(78) Ma.Di. 20.8.1842; Goe. Doc. 19.7.1845.

Baron Wilms introduced himself as the responsible teacher. According to him, they were about a hundred people and desired the services of a missionary. They would build a church and a school and pay a salary of five-hundred thaler. The place was four days on horse-back from Groenekloof. (79)

The brethren declined, but when the U.A.C. read the report, it instructed Teutsch to investigate the matter. (80) Stegmann, who took a special interest in mission work, informed him that he knew of another settlement, in the Piquetbergen, called Burgershoek, where a considerable number of ex-slaves dwelled together, who also longed for a missionary. But they were rather wild and the place was unsuitable. When Baron Wilms visited relatives in Genaden-dal, he told Teutsch that he knew both places and actually lived in Burgershoek. (81) Thereupon, Teutsch decided to see for himself. It was in the year 1845.

He found Suiverfontein unsuitable for the establishment of a mission station. About fifty former slaves lived in a valley of the Cedarbergen on Government's property. The surrounding farmers used it as pasturage for their cattle and there was not much gardenland. The people told him that many of their companions hid in a similar manner in the neighbouring valleys; others had remained on the farms of their former owners. It was evident that a mission station on a suitable farm in this region would provide a home for many people, but would have to face the ill-will of the farmers. He advised the people of Suiverfontein to move to the Rhenish institution of Wupperthal or to Clanvilliam, and left for the Piquetbergen. (82)

At Burgershoek, he met a community of former slaves

(79) Ma.Di. 19.2.1843.

(80) He.ko. 11.3.1845.

(81) He.ko. 25.6.1845; Goe. Doc. 19.7.1845;
XI, 23.5.1845; Ma.Di. 23.6.1845.

(82) Goe. Doc. 19.7.1845.

under peculiar conditions. The original name of the place was Goedverwacht. About a hundred people sheltered in an out-of-the-way valley with good water, including a hot spring, and with good garden-land. The settlement was the legal property of six ex-slaves. The people worked their plots well and the Bible was not unknown to them. The story how they came to live there, deserves to be told.

A farmer, Hendrik Schalk Burger, lived on the farm Zand-drift along the Berg river during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Among his slaves was a woman, called Maniesa, whom he had bought together with her two children, David and Eva, in Cape Town. Three more children, Adam, Rachel and Hester, were born on the farm. Like the other farmers, he did not permit his slaves to go to school. But a slave of a neighbouring farm, who possessed a New Testament, read it to Burger's folk, when they did the laundry in the Berg river. Burger bought Goedverwacht as a cattle-farm in 1809 or 1810, built a residence thereon and broke the ground. After his wife had died and his children had grown up, he moved permanently into the valley together with his slaves. On top of the mountain dwelled a certain Hottentot, Koopman by name, who read the Gospel to the slaves behind Burger's back. One of them, the Predikant, as the others called him, held even prayer-meetings on the farm, until Burger detected it and gave him a hiding. When the slaves were liberated in 1838, Burger bequeathed Goedverwacht to the five children and the son-in-law of Maniesa on condition that they did not desert him as long as he lived. He stipulated that the farm should be sold after the death of the legatees and the profit should be divided among their children. His children contested the will, but the court upheld it. During his last years, he permitted his folk to attend the Sunday-school for Coloured People at Piquetberg.

And more people moved into the valley after his death, which occurred in 1842. (83)

The inhabitants received Teutsch with joy and he preached in one of the dwellings on I Timothy 1.16. In his view, the place was not suitable for a mission station: It was rather small and the property rights were complicated. But he promised them that the missionaries of Groenekloof would visit them from time to time. (84)

After his return to Genadendal, it happened that one of the students of the training-school, Jozef Hardenberg, became available for an appointment, and Teutsch, taking the hint from the Lord, decided to send him to Goedverwacht.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The people bade the teacher a hearty welcome. They erected a building for church- and school purposes, and he started with lessons for about fifty children in 1846. The missionaries of Groenekloof visited the place twice a year, and the six first-fruits, three of the legatees among them, were baptised in 1850. (86) The inhabitants urged the brethren to purchase the farm, but the conditions of Burger's will made it impossible. (87) Thus, the liberation of the slaves led to the establishment of another settlement, and a teacher of the training-school did the pioneering work.

(83) Marx, pp. 2-10; Goe. Doc. 18.4.1838.

(84) Goe. Doc. 23.10.1845.

(85) Goe. Doc. 23.10.1845.

(86) Marx, pp. 12, 13; Ma.Di. 30.1.1846, 5.2.1846, 29.9.1846.

(87) He.ko. 23.5.1849, 9.3.1850, 28.9.1850.

2. The removal of the lepers to Robben Island, and the effort to convert Hemel en Aarde into a settlement, 1845-1846.

Meanwhile, the brethren had continued with their work among the lepers in Hemel en Aarde. It demanded much self-denial. One of the missionaries described the place aptly as his Patmos.⁽¹⁾ The buildings were rather dilapidated, and the hospital with its small windows high up on the wall reminded a visitor of a prison.⁽²⁾ People came in order to die sooner or later. About four-hundred lepers were buried in the graveyard of the institution until 1845.⁽³⁾ The average number of patients decreased from about a hundred in 1823 to about fifty in 1844.⁽⁴⁾

The strict order, which Dr. J. Barry had tried to establish, had not been maintained. The patients prepared most of their food themselves, and every one had his garden, many had chickens and a few even cattle.⁽⁵⁾ The families stayed together⁽⁶⁾ and children were born.

We read in the diary:

Ein neu gebornes Kind empfing nach der
Predigt das Bad der Heil. Taufe, beide
Eltern haben keine Hände mehr. (7)

A man who brought his wife to the institution, refused to leave her, and the magistrate permitted him to stay and to work on the surrounding farms.⁽⁸⁾ The patients were visited by their relations.⁽⁹⁾ Patients would leave, and return after some time, more sick than before.⁽¹⁰⁾

The abuse of intoxicating liquor was a serious problem.

- (1) Backhouse II, p. 11.
- (2) V. R. XXIV, p. 146.
- (3) Hemel en Aarde, p. 7.
- (4) Hemel en Aarde, p. 7; H.A. Di. 31.12.1844.
- (5) H.A. Di. 11.2.1844, 22.4.1845, 2.12.1845.
- (6) H.A. Di. 13.6.1844.
- (7) H.A. Di. 1.9.1844.
- (8) H.A. Di. 28.1.1845, 2.12.1845.
- (9) H.A. Di. 2.12.1845.
- (10) H.A. Di. 17.5.1844, 4.8.1844, 25.4.1845.

The patients exchanged the rations, which the Government provided, for wine from the farmers. Quarrels and other misbehaviour were the results. (11)

J. Lehmann, who held the post from 1844 (12) onward, ministered to the patients in the Moravian manner. Overseers from among the lepers assisted him (13) and a sick member gave lessons to the children. (14) One day, even an examination was held, in which five pupils participated. (15) All the forty-six lepers were integrated into the congregation: nineteen were communicants, six under church discipline, ten baptised, three candidates for baptism, six children and two new-comers. (16) The "speaking", the festivals and the various kinds of services were held in the usual manner. The children sang the Hosianna on 1st Advent and Palm-Sunday. (17) Labourers from the surrounding farms attended the worship, (18) and whenever Lehmann was ill, his wife substituted for him. (19)

The Magistrate brought them the unexpected news on 1st December 1845, that the Government had decided to move the institution to Robben Island. He presented it to the patients as an improvement: A doctor would visit them every day, nurses and other personnel would be in attendance, and a minister would look after them. (20) Evidently, the Government intended to isolate the lepers and to bring the institution better under control. On the other hand, it meant for the patients that they would be cut off from their relations and would have to leave their gardens and livestock behind. Therefore, the Magistrate had to use strong language to get their

(11) H.A. Di. 24.10.1844, 22.4.1845.

(12) He.ko. 31.10.1843, 27.11.1843.

(13) H.A. Di. 13.5.1844.

(14) H.A. Di. 8.2.1845.

(15) H.A. Di. 22.6.1845.

(16) H.A. Di. 31.12.1844.

(17) H.A. Di. 16.3.1845, 7.12.1845.

(18) H.A. Di. 9.11.1845, 31.12.1845.

(19) H.A. Di. 20.7.1845.

(20) H.A. Di. 1/2.12.1845.

co-operation. They were transported to Cape Town in groups. But the first group refused to enter the boat without their missionary. Only when the Secretary of the Government, J. Montagu, who was present, promised to fulfil their wish, they left obediently and quietly for the island.⁽²¹⁾ Montagu transmitted their request to Genadendal, and Mr. and Mrs. Lehmann agreed to follow the lepers to their new abode.⁽²²⁾

Teutsch, who had heard of the project in 1844, wanted to acquire Hemel en Aarde for the establishment of a settlement.⁽²³⁾ The U.A.C. supported the idea and P. La Trobe petitioned Lord Stanley in London and the Governor P. Maitland in Cape Town to grant the farm either gratis or for a moderate price to the Moravian Mission, with reference to the fact that the other stations were overcrowded - Genadendal had nearly 2700 inhabitants, Elim 1014 and Groenekloof 1273. Government farms were as a rule sold by auction, but La Trobe expressed the hope that an exception would be made for the benefit of the Moravian Mission.⁽²⁴⁾ However, times had changed. The Cape was on the way to self-government, and the authorities were obliged to take the public opinion into consideration.⁽²⁵⁾ Moreover, the Governor was inclined to listen to the opinion of other people such as Montagu.⁽²⁶⁾ And Montagu was devoting his energy to the deletion of the debt of the treasury.⁽²⁷⁾ In any case, Maitland invited seven prominent people to give him their confidential views on the question, whether the cost-free grant of such a valuable farm for the establishment of a Moravian institution was necessary and desirable.⁽²⁸⁾ This led to an outburst of

(21) H.A. Di. 14.12.1845.

(22) H.A. Di. 14.1.1846.

(23) He.ko. 19.2.1845, 24.8.1845; Le. U.A.C. 14.5.1845, 21/22.10.1845.

(24) H.A. Doc. 24.6.1845.

(25) Walker, pp. 233 ff.

(26) Theal II, p. 233.

(27) Theal II, p. 198.

(28) H.A. Doc. 31.12.1845.

antagonism, which came as a great shock to the brethren.

All seven writers considered a cost-free grant unnecessary, in view of the fact that the Moravians made good profits out of their present institutions.⁽²⁹⁾ Some added that Hemel en Aarde was unsuitable for the purpose, because there was little demand for farm labourers around it, and Genadendal and Elim were in the district already. Their opinions about the desirability of another mission station in the Western Cape are of special interest: Five of them regarded the institutions as revolting segregations and conglomerations of people, who led a useless and lazy existence under the tutelage of the missionaries. One of the writers asserted that there was probably not a single farmer in the District of Caledon, who did not regard the institutions as obstacles to the advancement of the country.⁽³⁰⁾ Two motives combined to produce this antagonism: The philanthropic idea that the Coloured People, who had become equals before the law, must be freed from the tutelage of the missionaries, and the self-interest of the Colonists, who were short of farm labourers. Two strong emotions animated the writers: The humanistic idealism of the Enlightenment and the jealousy at the profitable business of the missionaries and at the authority, which they exercised over the inhabitants.

The writers made various recommendations: One suggested that the stations should be subdivided and the plots given to the inhabitants for life, and thereafter revert to the Government.⁽³¹⁾ Another one proposed that plots should be offered to Coloured People on suitable sites near the villages, in order to draw the progressive elements away from the stations to places, where they would be useful.⁽³²⁾

(29) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 1-7.

(30) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 6.

(31) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 5.

(32) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 3.

And a third one expressed the view that the five-thousand pounds, which Hemel en Aarde was supposed to be worth, should rather be used for the establishment of schools in the rural parts, not only for Coloured People, but more especially for the Colonists, and for the appointment of travelling instructors. (33) In any case, the mission stations should be abolished:

They isolate classes and impoverish the Country by unprofitably absorbing the operatives of what would otherwise be active and accumulative industry. (34)

Only two of the writers had different opinions. One of them conceded that many of the liberated slaves had at first lived in idleness in the institutions. But conditions had changed: Most of the able-bodied men worked now on the farms, and even many women and children joined them during the harvest. Besides, the education, which the institutions provided, promised to make the next generation valuable citizens of the country. (35) The other writer was probably Dr. W. Robertson, the Dutch Reformed Minister of Swellendam, who was from Scotland. (36) He wrote:

If more provisions were made by means of Itinerant Teachers and Ministers for affording the benefits of secular and religious instruction to all classes and if effectual means could be employed for dispelling the prejudices still existing on the subject of colour, so that all classes were readily admitted to an equal participation in the same religious and civil privileges, then the increase of Missionary Institutions would be rather to be deprecated than encouraged. Unless however such provision is made and the right to participate in such privileges is acknowledged and acted upon, it must be expected, that the friends of the coloured population will continue to provide and that the coloured population themselves will eagerly embrace the advantages and privileges of Missionary Institutions. (37)

In other words: As long as the colour prejudice prevented

(33) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 7.

(34) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 5.

(35) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 4.

(36) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 1; Theal II, pp. 287, 378.

(37) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 1.

the Coloured People from full and equal access to all privileges, mission stations would be desirable.

On the other hand, one of the writers went out of his way to defame the institutions, especially Genadendal. It was probably T.B. Bayley, a Justice of the Peace, who had a farm near Genadendal and hoped at that stage to become a member of the Legislative Council of the Colony.⁽³⁸⁾ According to him, it was generally known that the Moravian missionaries sent large amounts annually to Europe out of their profits. The stations served nobody but them. They enticed the people by offering plots and building loans, but after the new-comers had built their dwellings, they were at the mercy of the missionaries, who could eject them at any time under the Regulations. The inhabitants were not allowed to be absent from the stations for longer than a few weeks without special permission. Festivals were proclaimed at short intervals, and those who did not attend, were severely punished. The news that a festival was pending at Genadendal, spread panic among the farmers, because their labourers and even their domestic servants would stop working and hasten to Genadendal. The missionaries proclaimed festivals during the periods of ploughing, sheep-shearing and harvesting on purpose, in order to have the wages brought to Genadendal. Nobody was allowed to open a shop in the settlement or to buy anywhere except at the mission-shop, where extravagant prices were demanded. After the inhabitants had spent their wages, they passed the rest of the time in poverty, idleness and immorality. It was true that the Magistrate rarely punished people from Genadendal for contraventions of the law, whereas convictions of other Coloured People were numerous. But the reason was that the missionaries concealed the misdeeds of their wards. The character of the Coloured People was too well known to allow

(38) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 2; Le. U.A.C. 14.5.1845; Theal II, pp. 239, 240.

for any other explanation.

I have no hesitation in stating, that the Moravian Missionary Institutions are generally regarded throughout the country as perfect sinks of iniquity and as affording a sanctuary for thieves and disorderly vagabonds of every description. (39)

The former slaves were relatively the best elements of the settlements, and the old-established inhabitants were the worst ones. The farmers who hired labourers from Genadendal, locked everything away for fear of being robbed. However, they were dependent on Genadendal: A farmer who had encouraged an inhabitant to oppose the missionaries, had done so in secret, because he was afraid of losing his labour supply, if the matter reached their ears. (40)

The abusive character of the allegations is evident, and the fact that people from Genadendal were rarely convicted of crimes, speaks for itself. There is some truth in the statement that the former slaves compared favourably with the old-established residents. But in order to form an opinion about the influence of Genadendal on the character of the people, the residents must rather be compared with the other Coloured People in the Colony. Besides, the fact that the residents of the mission stations developed more self-respect in the course of generations, may have been offensive to some farmers. The allegation that the missionaries exploited and enslaved the inhabitants for their own benefit, is a distortion. The viciousness of the accusations must be seen against the background of the difficulties, which the farmers experienced with their labour supply: The inhabitants of the stations preferred the strict control of the missionaries to the fate of those, who lived on the farms. On the whole, the picture of Genadendal, presented by the writer, is at its best a caricature. But even so,

(39) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 2.

(40) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, No. 2. See pp. 323, 324.

it is instructive as a supplement to the extravagant praise, which has been bestowed on the institutions by travellers and officials. The economy which the brethren operated, and the authority which they wielded over the residents, were capable of misuse. The aim of Hallbeck to develop self-supporting and self-governing Christian communities may sometimes have been lost sight of.

In view of so much antagonism, La Trobe's application for the cost-free grant of Hemel en Aarde was rejected by the authorities. But W.E. Gladstone, the new Colonial Secretary, communicated the seven anonymous opinions to the brethren, inviting them to defend themselves against the accusations.⁽⁴¹⁾ Incidentally, he also declined to confirm the appointment of T.B. Bayley to the Legislative Council.⁽⁴²⁾ The brethren in Genadendal were startled at discovering so much enmity around them, but took it as an indication that they were still a stumbling-block to the world in the steps of their master, who had said: Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake (Matthew 5.11).⁽⁴³⁾ Both, K lbing and La Trobe, submitted long memoranda, in which they refuted unjust allegations, demanded an impartial enquiry, and stated that the purpose of the mission stations of gathering people around the word of God by means of church and school was as valid under the new conditions as in former times.⁽⁴⁴⁾ However, Montagu refused to reveal the names of the writers,⁽⁴⁵⁾ no inquiry was instituted, and the matter was closed.

The brethren regarded the affair as a hint from the Lord

(41) H.A. Doc. 2.3.1846, 16.3.1846, June 1846.

(42) Theal II, pp. 239, 240.

(43) He.ko. 22.10.1846, 27.10.1846.

(44) H.A. Doc. 30.12.1846, 8.5.1847.

(45) He.ko. 30.12.1846.

to expand the work rather in the Eastern Cape among the heathen.⁽⁴⁶⁾ They rejected the alternative of purchasing Hemel en Aarde by auction, although its value was only three-thousand pounds, and not five-thousand, as had been stipulated by the Cape Government.⁽⁴⁷⁾ When the farm Witelshoek near Knysna, which had been mentioned to Hallbeck in 1838, was offered again, and when the Commissioner of Caledon invited them to establish a mission station in Hemel en Aarde, part of which became his property, they declined.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The general result of the affair was that they discarded the establishment of more mission stations in the Western Cape henceforth.

Meanwhile, Lehmann continued with his work among the lepers on Robben Island. His duties were different from those in Hemel en Aarde. The administration was completely in the hands of a Government official. Three institutions were established on the island: A lunatic asylum in the former prison, a hospital for chronic sick and pauper patients in two buildings, one for males and one for females, and the asylum for lepers.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In addition, a few fishermen lived on the island.⁽⁵⁰⁾ A room in the former prison served as a jail for offenders.⁽⁵¹⁾ Patients arrived from various places. Among them was a number of lepers from Port Elizabeth, who were originally from Bethelsdorp and Enon.⁽⁵²⁾ 180 patients were assembled in 1846,⁽⁵³⁾ and for the end of 1852, 87 lunatics, 150 chronic sick and about 100 lepers are on record.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The Superintendent of the whole institution,

(46) Le. U.A.C. 9.9.1846.

(47) H.A. Doc. 8.5.1847, p. 17.

(48) He.ko. 10.1.1838, 4.6.1846, 10.2.1847, 3.6.1850.

(49) Report 1855, pp. 11-13, 124.

(50) H.A. D1. 31.5.1846.

(51) Report 1855, pp. 11-13.

(52) H.A. D1. 8.2.1846, 18.2.1846.

(53) H.A. D1. 31.12. 1846.

(54) Report 1855, pp. 11, 12; H.A. D1. 31.12.1851.

Dr. J. Birtwhistle, was an irascible man of rough manners, who took no interest in church matters and gave offence by his amoral conduct. The patients were afraid of him. (55) One day, an old blind woman killed herself, because she had stolen chickens from him and was afraid of facing his punishment. (56) Offenders were beaten up and thrown into jail. (57) Admittedly, he had to rule with a firm hand, having only six assistants for the whole establishment. (58) But his quick temper made him unsuitable for the post. (59) The authorities on the continent were unaware of the conditions, because the patients were afraid to speak out, and the doctor had good friends among the high officials. Whenever a commission arrived for inspection, new clothing was distributed and everything cleaned up, and patients, who raised complaints, had to endure his temper afterwards. (60)

The task of Mr. and Mrs. Lehmann was twofold. In the first place, they ministered to the congregation of lepers in the Moravian manner, as they had done in Hemel en Aarde. Lehmann even tried to appoint overseers, but two of the patients objected, stating that they preferred to be ruled by a Government official. (61) But the majority of the lepers stood by their teachers. The average number of members remained about fifty. (62) Patients who were communicants of other denominations, were permitted to partake in the Lord's Supper three times a year. (63) The lepers longed to go back to the continent, (64) and a commission expressed in 1852 its unanimous regret that they had ever been removed

(55) Report 1855, pp.26,36,56,61; H.A. Di. 12.1.1847.

(56) H.A. Di. 10.5.1847.

(57) H.A. Di. 17.8.1846.

(58) Report 1855, p. 57.

(59) Report 1855, p. 99.

(60) H.A.Di. 11.1.1847,17.7.1852,5.10.1852,6.11.1853,9.11.1854.

(61) H.A.Di. 26.-28.6.1846.

(62) H.A.Di. 31.12.1847, 31.12.1850.

(63) He.ko. 28.7.1846.

(64) H.A.Di. 28.10.1846; Report 1855, pp.54,55,65,66.

from Hemel en Aarde and from the fatherly care of the Moravian missionaries. (65) They preserved their identity as a separate community, as indicated by the following statement of another commission:

They [sc. the lepers] are a peculiar class of people; wedded to their own habits, and it is perhaps better to let them continue to enjoy themselves in their own way, rather than impose regulations, which might irritate and annoy them. (66)

Most of them were Coloured People. Their isolation was not yet compulsory: There were a number of lepers in Cape Town, who refused to be moved to the island. (67)

In the second place, Lehmann had to be the chaplain of the whole establishment. His Sunday services in the chapel were also attended by members of the personnel and by patients of the other branches. (68) He visited the sick (69) and held the funerals. His inability to speak English proved a serious handicap, and after some English speaking patients had petitioned the Government about it, he was replaced by a bilingual Moravian missionary. The Government provided board and lodging, and paid a salary of one-hundred pounds per annum to the Mission. (70)

News came on 6th July 1849 that all patients would be moved to the continent, in order to make room for a number of convicts from England, who were destined to settle in the Colony. But the order was withdrawn, because the project raised a storm of protest in the country. Even the inhabitants of Genadendal sent a petition against it, which was among the first to reach the Queen. The convicts remained on board and were sent to Australia. (71)

(65) Report 1855, p. 55.

(66) Report 1855, p. 12.

(67) H.A.Di. 6.11.1853. There were still six lepers at Genadendal in 1856 (Roser, p. 47).

(68) H.A.Di. 22.2.1846, 22.3.1846.

(69) H.A.Di. 28.4.1846, 8.9.1846.

(70) He.ko. 27.9.1846, 22.10.1846; H.A.Di. 3.11.1846.

(71) Theal III, pp. 70-78; H.A.Di. 6.-12.7.1849; XII, p. 49; Gen. Doc. 1849.

The patients were not much better off than prisoners under the rule of the doctor. Sometimes, the missionary could scarcely converse with them about spiritual matters, because they were so full of complaints about the treatment.⁽⁷²⁾ But only when the H.C. called Johann Friedrich Wedemann to Robben Island in 1851, did their complaints reach the ear of the authorities.⁽⁷³⁾ Two commissions of inquiry were appointed, the second one in consequence of a report from Wedemann.⁽⁷⁴⁾ A hard struggle followed. The influential friends of the doctor took his side. At one stage, Montagu suggested that Wedemann should be removed, because he could not agree with the doctor.⁽⁷⁵⁾ But in the end, a committee of the new-born Cape Parliament took the matter in hand and recommended after an investigation that an alteration should be made in the management, and that the establishment should be moved to the continent.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The doctor was removed forthwith. His successor was a professing Christian, who treated the patients well and lived in harmony with Wedemann.⁽⁷⁷⁾ But the removal of the institution to the continent was not effected at this stage.

Lehmann served at other stations and resigned in 1855, in order to return to Europe. He fell ill in Cape Town on the way home and was brought to the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Wedemann, where he died a week afterwards.⁽⁷⁸⁾ His grave is still to be seen on the island.

(72) H.A. Di. 11.6.1849.

(73) G. N. 1889, pp. 595, 596.

(74) Report 1855, pp. 46, 49; H.A. Di. 8.11.1853.

(75) Report 1855, p. 128; H.A. Di. 5.10.1852.

(76) Report 1855, pp. III, IV; Walker, p. 243; H.A. Di. 9.11.1854.

(77) G. N. 1889, pp. 595, 596.

(78) He.ko. 10.8.1855, 14.9.1855.

3. Border wars and efforts of expansion in the Eastern Cape,
1846 - 1852.

The seventh Xhosa war broke out in 1846. Stockenström's policy of keeping peace along the border and of treating the tribes east of the Fish river as independent neighbours, had been a failure. Gattle had been robbed from the Colonists, commandos had raided the Xhosas in order to retake it and to apprehend the culprits, and the chiefs had secretly decided on a war. When a few soldiers brought a Xhosa prisoner, who had stolen an axe, to Grahamstown, armed Xhosas liberated him and refused to return him. Colonial troops retaliated and the war broke out in earnest. Large numbers of hostile warriors invaded the Colony. (1)

All able-bodied men between sixteen and sixty were called to arms. (2) 337 from Genadendal and 100 from Elim left for Swellendam. (3) The former were led by a local overseer, Johannes Botha, who had fought in three previous border wars and was now a sergeant. (4) Both groups, together with the men from Zuurbraak, were formed into a corps and joined the British troops under Captain W. Hogg. (5) 64 men from Groenekloof were sent by ship to the border. (6) The women and children were left without support. When the commandos of the farmers were dismissed after a few months, but most of the Coloured soldiers were held back, the corps revolted. After they had submitted their complaints to the Governor, rations were granted to their families. (7)

The Commissioner of Uitenhage instructed Nauhaus at Clarkson to enquire from the Fingoes in the Tsitsikamma,

(1) Walker, pp. 225-228; Theal III, pp. 1, 2.

(2) G. N. 1848, p. 866.

(3) G. N. 1848, pp. 870, 764.

(4) G. N. 1848, p. 868.

(5) G.N. 1848, p. 880; Theal III, pp. 22, 23.

(6) G. N. 1848, p. 733.

(7) G.N. 1848, pp. 768, 769; Theal III, p. 25.

whether they chose to flee or to join the Colonial army. The Fingoes were eager to fight their former oppressors and 125 men left in haste for the front on Good Friday. (8) The officer who took charge of them, held occasional services and exhorted them to give a good example to the others. Their families were also supported during the later stages of the war. (9) Nauhaus feared at first that the enemy would invade the Tsitsikamma, but the region was spared. (10)

The Colonists around Enon withdrew into lagers, and the Xhosas devastated their farms. (11) When a Bantu inhabitant of Enon warned the brethren on 6th May that the enemy was near, the women and children fled to Uitenhage, and the men armed themselves. One day, the Xhosas robbed the cattle, which were, however, retaken. Several skirmishes occurred in the neighbourhood, and one of the inhabitants was killed. But the station was not destroyed. The families returned after some months, although many Xhosas still hid in the Zuurbergen. (12)

Shiloh was exposed to great dangers, because Mapasa did not remain neutral this time, but took part in the conspiracy of the chiefs, being related to Sandile, the nominal Paramount Chief of the Xhosas. (13) However, the first part of the war was fought to the south of the Winterbergen. The mission stations were evacuated and devastated, except Lovedale which was turned into a fort. (14) The Government's Agent H.F. Fynn advised the brethren at Shiloh to withdraw, too, but they wished to save the station from destruction, and the inhabitants pleaded with them to stay, promising not to fight against the Colony. Most of them were Fingoes

(8) G. N. 1848, pp. 548-551; Theal III, p. 9.

(9) G. N. 1848, pp. 554-556.

(10) He.ko. 4.6.1846.

(11) Walker, p. 228.

(12) G. N. 1848, pp. 410 ff.

(13) Theal III, p. 8; G. N. 1852, p. 643.

(14) Theal III, pp. 11, 12.

and Coloured People. Therefore, it was fortified with thorn-bushes and walls, and Fynn sent powder and guns. British traders and missionaries of the Berlin Mission from the east took refuge at the station.⁽¹⁵⁾ Through the latter, Shiloh obtained its first harmonium: One of the Berlin missionaries, Ernst Scholz, had brought one from Germany years ago. He had been killed by the Xhosa^s on the way, because they had mistaken him for a Government's agent. When the missionaries fled to Shiloh, Bonatz acquired the instrument for the local church.⁽¹⁶⁾ One of the refugees from the Berlin Mission, A. Kropf, who was famous for his medical and linguistic knowledge, was so impressed by the conditions at Shiloh that he offered his services to the Moravian Mission afterwards. But the offer was not accepted. ⁽¹⁷⁾

Joseph Read, the son of the L.M.S. missionary, arrived on 5th July with two-hundred armed men for the protection of Shiloh.⁽¹⁸⁾ The corps, which he had formed himself, went under the name of Bushmen, but consisted in fact mainly of Fingo and Coloured People.⁽¹⁹⁾ They arrived just in time: Four days later, Mapasa appeared with his warriors, intending to take the station by force. Bonatz, who still hoped to preserve the peace, went to meet him, accompanied by Read and Wilhelmina. While they were talking, the armed men drew near from both sides, and one of them fired a shot. Mapasa fled and the Tembus withdrew. They had not expected the presence of a military corps. ⁽²⁰⁾

Thereupon, the Government declared war on Mapasa.

Stockenstrom passed Shiloh with commandos of farmers and

(15) Reichelt, pp. 66, 67, 74.

(16) Theal II, p.261; Reichelt, p. 73; Du Plessis, p. 216.

(17) He.ko. 11.4.1849, 5.6.1849, 30.3.1850, 4.9.1850;
Du Plessis, p. 352.

(18) Reichelt, p. 67.

(19) Theal III, pp. 42, 43; Freeman, pp. 124-226.

(20) Reichelt, pp. 67-69; G. N. 1868, pp. 86-89.

took the "Bushmen" with him.⁽²¹⁾ Captain Hogg appeared with his troops in the district and attacked Mapasa. The men of Shiloh were persuaded to assist him to the regret of the brethren. Starting the attack too early, they lost seven men.⁽²²⁾ Hogg defeated Mapasa, captured four-thousand cattle⁽²³⁾ and moved into Shiloh with his troops and his booty. The officers made themselves at home in the church, and the men put up their tents. The brethren regarded the camp-fires around the station with mixed feelings, because they were fed by the poles of the fences. The conduct of the British soldiers was offensive. Only the men from Genadendal and Elim knew how to behave at a mission station. They came to greet the brethren, attended the services and practised their trades for the benefit of the institution.⁽²⁴⁾

In addition, Stockenstrom re-appeared with his commandos and seven-thousand cattle. A host of soldiers and refugees from many nationalities crowded the station.⁽²⁵⁾ Fortunately, Stockenstrom's farmers left soon for their farms, and Hogg withdrew his British soldiers after a few months. Only Read stayed on with his "Bushmen" and administered a second defeat to Mapasa. Some of the inhabitants entered his corps, and he distributed military rations even for minor services. This relieved the distress of the people to some extent.⁽²⁶⁾

The second year did not bring much relief. Shiloh became a depot for the troops.⁽²⁷⁾ British soldiers were quartered on the station and molested the inhabitants. Traders who had come to stay, sold intoxicating liquor. Two-thousand pounds of powder were stored in the loft of the church. The smithy served as a jail and the school as a

(21) G. N. 1848, pp. 374, 375.

(22) G. N. 1848, pp. 376-378.

(23) Theal III, pp. 22, 23.

(24) Reichelt, pp. 71, 72; G.N. 1848, pp. 378, 379, 413.

(25) G.N. 1848, p. 379; Reichelt, p. 72.

(26) Reichelt, pp. 72, 73; Theal III, p. 30.

(27) Theal III, pp. 46, 47.

store-room. The traditional order collapsed and the young people became unruly.⁽²⁸⁾ When the commander, who used to take part in some of the excesses, reminded the brethren that the soldiers protected the station, Bonatz retorted that they would thank God for the day, on which they would be relieved from their protectors.⁽²⁹⁾ However, he wrote a letter of thanks to Read for his assistance.⁽³⁰⁾ He also endeavoured to keep in touch with Mapasa, sending him a warning at one stage with the approval of the Government's Agent, in order to save him from an ambush.⁽³¹⁾ The Chief responded in the same spirit. He stated in a message:

Ihr Missionare seid doch unsre Väter, ich bin euer ungehorsamer Sohn. Wie ein Vater nicht immer auf seine Kinder böse sein kann, sondern ihnen wieder vergibt, so müsst ihr mir auch wieder vergeben, und nicht müde werden, mich zu ermahnen! (32)

The subjection of the enemy was completed at the end of 1847, and the soldiers withdrew at last from the station.⁽³³⁾ Harry Smith, the new Governor, who knew the Eastern Cape from former experience and was an active and popular leader, extended the border to the Keiskamma and the Klipplaat rivers, and proclaimed the country to the east up to the Kei river a protectorate under the name of British Kaffraria.⁽³⁴⁾ Shiloh became a border village of the Colony. The subjected tribes in the Protectorate were forbidden to practise heathen customs and requested to listen to the missionaries. No Bantu were allowed to live near a mission station or a trading post without permission.⁽³⁵⁾ When Bonatz visited the Governor at Kingwilliamstown, Smith urged the brethren to expand eastward. He would gladly give sites for six

(28) Reichelt, pp. 73-75.

(29) Reichelt, p. 73.

(30) Freeman, p. 126.

(31) Reichelt, p. 75; Theal III, p. 55.

(32) Translated in G.N. 1868, p. 90.

(33) Reichelt, p. 76.

(34) Theal III, pp. 52, 53.

(35) Theal III, pp. 55, 56, 59.

mission stations to the Moravians. (36)

He visited Shiloh on his way to the north in January 1848. After the service he exhorted the people to accept the teachings of the brethren and thanked them for their support during the war. The traders, who had come to stay in Shiloh, urged him to send the missionaries to the east as pioneers of the civilisation and to grant the land around the station to Colonists for the foundation of a large European village between the Klipplaat and the Oskraal rivers. The Governor refused and advised them to settle an hour to the west of Shiloh along the Oskraal. The village of Whittlesea, which was named after Smith's birth-place in England, was founded forthwith on that spot. The neighbourhood of this village, in which intoxicating liquor was obtainable, proved detrimental to the mission work at Shiloh. On the other hand, Smith promised the brethren that Shiloh would be surveyed and granted to the Mission. (37)

The surveyor, who arrived shortly afterwards, tried to give much less land to the station than had been promised. Only when the Government sent another definite instruction, he allotted the whole, 10721 morgen, to the Mission. The Governor granted it in freehold to the Superintendent and his successors for the benefit of the inhabitants. (38) The Colonists were dissatisfied that so much land - they spoke of 30000 morgen - was given away, whereas Whittlesea had only 2200 morgen. (39) Some of the traders refused to leave Shiloh. But after they had broken the windows of the residence of the missionaries one evening, the Commissioner, H. Calderwood, requested them to leave the settlement. He had been a missionary of the L.M.S. before entering the

(36) He.ko. 26.1.1848.

(37) Reichelt, pp. 77, 78; V.R. XXXXII, p. 65.

(38) Reichelt, p. 78; Van Calker, p. 24.

(39) V.R. XXXXII, pp. 170, 171.

service of the Government, and preached occasionally at Shiloh. (40) He and other sympathisers were greatly impressed by the results of the hard work of the four resident missionaries. When Archdeacon N.J. Merriman visited the station in 1849, he wrote:

.... altogether there is an appearance of industry far greater than that what is witnessed at the missionary stations of other bodies. (41)

The Governor urged Bonatz repeatedly to become Government's Agent for the Tembuswith a salary of hundred pounds per annum. The H.C. left the choice to Bonatz, but he declined, considering that he would lose the confidence of the Tembusas a representative of the Colonial Government. (42) He submitted, however, his opinion to the Governor on the question, how the Bantu should be civilised. In his view, the proper manner was to instruct them in the Christian faith. If they accepted the Gospel, civilisation would follow. (43)

Thus Bonatz succeeded in steering the Moravian Mission through the war and preserving it as a free agency. Smith's invitation to expand into British Kaffraria was accepted by the brethren, the more since it coincided with their own intentions. (44) But when they made inquiries at Cape Town, Montagu replied that the Government was not in favour of more mission stations for the Protectorate. Evidently, the Governor and Montagu had different views on the matter. (45) Nevertheless, Teutsch went to Shiloh with a recommendation from Smith, in order to select a suitable site. (46) The Commissioner of Kaffraria, G.H. Mackinnon, promised his

(40) Reichelt, p. 78; Theal III, pp. 32, 63.

(41) V. R. XXXVII, p. 54.

(42) He.ko. 4.2.1849, 1.3.1849, 11.4.1849.

(43) Du Toit, pp. 64, 65.

(44) He.ko. 26.1.1848.

(45) He.ko. 15.3.1848, 26.3.1848, 9.4.1848.

(46) He.ko. 15.3.1848, 6.10.1848.

support, and Teutsch, together with Bonatz, chose a site with good pasturage and water half a day's ride east of Shiloh at the foot of the Windvogel mountain in the new residential area of Mapasa's Tembu. (47) The mountain had its name from a certain Bushman, who had lived thereon in former years. It had been the hiding-place of Mapasa during the last war. (48) Thus, the brethren followed the Chief to his new area in the Protectorate. The Commissioner approved of the site, instructed Mapasa to safeguard the station and assured the brethren of the protection of the Government. It was founded in 1850 and received the name of Goshen after the fertile region in Egypt, granted by the Pharaoh to Jacob and his sons, where Israel grew into a big nation. (49)

Sebastian Gysin with his wife and an unmarried brother moved into their newly-built residence on 5th March 1850. Among the people, who settled on the allotted plots, were six Fingo families from Shiloh. Only Bantu were admitted, and one Coloured family from Enon. The Xhosa interpreter Josua Hermanus, who had married a Hottentot woman and was a faithful Christian, was of great assistance to the brethren. He had been a member of the Berlin Mission in former times and had stayed at Shiloh since the war. Mapasa paid occasional visits, and the Commissioner sent a consignment of European clothing, cotton, spades and other implements of the civilisation with the stipulation that they should be given as rewards to those, who accepted the teaching of the missionaries, and to pupils, who achieved the best results at school. (50) A chapel was built. (51) A bell, which had been founded in Shiloh from the iron parts of ammunition - boxes left after the war, was hung up. It was the first bell, which has ever been founded in the Eastern Cape. (52)

(47) He.ko. 6.10.1848; Theal III, p. 54.

(48) G. N. 1852, pp. 626, 527.

(49) He.ko. 4.12.1848, 25.6.1849, 31.7.1850.

(50) G. N. 1852, pp. 624-633.

(51) G. N. 1852, p. 639.

(52) Reichelt, p. 81; Gray II, p. 155.

The political developments led to the establishment of a settlement of quite a different type to the south of the Amatole mountains. The project of settling people along the eastern border for the protection of the Colony came up for consideration once more. (53) Nauhaus in Clarkson expected that the Fingoes would be shifted back to the neighbourhood of Peddie. (54) Captain Hogg recruited volunteers at Genadendal and Elim for the armed forces with the proviso that they would receive three to six morgen of land near the border after the termination of the hostilities. Their families would be conveyed thither at Government's expense, and seeds and rations would be granted for the beginning. In order to encourage the people to accept the offer, the Government asked Teutsch that some of the missionaries should accompany them. Land and two-hundred pounds per annum would be granted to them. (55) The H.C. agreed, but only a few new-comers, people under church discipline, and young men were prepared to enter into the contract. (56) The old-established inhabitants were not interested in the colonisation of the eastern border.

The Government realised its plans after the war. Discharged British soldiers were settled in the Tyumie valley. Every settler received land and other support and was expected to do military service in case of need. Four military villages were established in this manner, each one under an officer as superintendent. (57) A similar project was planned for the volunteers from Genadendal and Elim. But the Government was disappointed that only a few of them availed themselves of the opportunity. Montagu informed Teutsch that, since only about twenty families were prepared to go

(53) Theal III, pp. 28, 42.

(54) He.ko. 9.11.1847.

(55) He.ko. 14.3.1847; XI, pp. 323, 324.

(56) XI, p. 326.

(57) Theal III, pp. 64, 65.

in place of the two-hundred to three-hundred, which the Government had expected, only a hundred pounds would be set aside for the missionary for one year. However, three-thousand morgen would be granted to the Mission for as long as it provided church and school for the settlers. The establishment would be along the Begha river south of Peddie.⁽⁵⁸⁾ It was evident that he had an interest in the expansion of the missionary activities only in so far, as it would assist in moving Coloured settlers from the Western Cape to the border.

Nevertheless, the unmarried Theodor Küster, who was another son of the former Superintendent, was appointed to join the settlers.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Forty-four people from Genadendal and sixty from Elim left in May 1848 for the Eastern Cape. The former went by steamship to Port Elizabeth, the latter arrived late and had to take a sailing-vessel to East London.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Some of the men caused trouble through drunkenness even on the journey.⁽⁶¹⁾ The military service had had a bad effect on their character, and they welcomed the opportunity to escape the strict order of the institutions.

They were received in Peddie by a young British officer, who had been appointed Superintendent of the proposed military village. He brought them to a place called Hardinge, where they would receive their plots.⁽⁶²⁾ Some distance to the north were the ruins of a Methodist mission station among the Fingoes. Discharged Coloured soldiers lived among them.⁽⁶³⁾ To the south, near the mouth of the Begha river, was the site of Fredericksburg, which had been a settlement, long ago, of discharged British officers.⁽⁶⁴⁾

(58) He.ko. 15.3.1848.

(59) He.ko. 9.4.1848.

(60) G. N. 1850, pp. 195, 204, 210.

(61) G. N. 1850, pp. 201, 202, 215-217.

(62) G. N. 1850, p. 231.

(63) G. N. 1850, p. 242; Du Plessis, p. 432.

(64) G. N. 1850, p. 243; Walker, pp. 156, 181.

The settlers erected huts and lived from the rations, supplied by the Government. But the establishment of a mission station did not receive any encouragement. The officer had no instructions about it from Cape Town and told Küster that his presence was quite superfluous. (65)

Küster wrote:

Wir hatten geglaubt, hier einen Missionsplatz anfangen zu können, sahen uns aber gegen unsern Wunsch auf einem Militärplatz, in der Gewalt eines Offiziers, der Alle auf den breiten Weg zu ziehen sucht. (66)

The officer distributed brandy to the settlers and supplied double rations to his favourites to the disadvantage of the others. (67) Küster had to confine himself to giving lessons to the children and religious instruction to the adults in his wattle- and daub-building. (68)

A visit from Teutsch brought some relief. He came to Peddie with Bonatz after the selection of the site for Goshen, and had talks with Colonel H. Somerset and with Calderwood. (69)

Three-thousand morgen were allotted to the Mission half an hour to the north of Hardinge on the spot, where the Xhosa Chief Pato had resided before the war. (70) Nauhaus was called from Clarkson to make the beginning and brought a bride for Küster with him. (71) Buildings were erected, the land was cultivated, and the station received the name of Mamre. (72)

The brethren intended to develop it in the old proved manner by admitting residents and committing them to the Regulations. But they did not succeed. The settlers of Hardinge were satisfied with attending the meetings and the lessons at Mamre, but slow to leave the plots, which the

(65) G. N. 1850, pp. 230, 239.

(66) G. N. 1850, p. 237.

(67) G. N. 1850, pp. 238, 249, 250.

(68) He.ko. 6.10.1848.

(69) G. N. 1850, p. 239.

(70) G. N. 1850, pp. 247-249, 263.

(71) G.N. 1850, pp. 266, 267, 271, 272; He.ko. 4.2.1849.

(72) He.ko. 10.9.1849.

Government had promised to them, and where they could indulge in drunkenness and other pleasures under the management of the British officer. When a few families, who realised that the lack of discipline spelt their ruin, moved to Mamre, they were informed that they would lose their claim to a plot.⁽⁷³⁾

Upon this, the brethren turned their attention to the Fingoes, who lived in the neighbourhood. But when some of them settled at the station, Nauhaus was informed that this was against the intentions of the Government.⁽⁷⁴⁾ The agent of the brethren in Cape Town, C.F. Juritz, approached Montagu about it, because the latter had assured the brethren on a former occasion, that they would be permitted to settle people on their property.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Juritz, who was a pharmacist, an elder of the Lutheran Church and a Danish consular agent,⁽⁷⁶⁾ did his best to represent the interests of the Moravians during this period. Montagu explained to him that the Government wanted the Fingo and the Coloured People along the border to tend the plots, which had been set aside for them, and to pay an annual rent of one pound per plot. For this reason, they would not be allowed to move into mission stations.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Thus, the plan of the brethren to establish a settlement in the usual manner, collided with the plan of the Government to settle people along the border on their own plots, with a missionary to minister to their spiritual needs. A Moravian settlement could not develop under these circumstances.

The project of the Government proved a failure as well. When the rations ceased after the first year, the people suffered want and some moved away. More followed after a

(73) He.ko. 5.6.1849, 31.10.1849, 9.3.1850; Sketse, p. 65.

(74) G. N. 1852, p. 103.

(75) He.ko. 31.10.1849.

(76) G. N. 1850, pp. 205, 207.

(77) He.ko. 29.11.1849; Walker, p. 250.

bad harvest in the second year.⁽⁷⁸⁾ At the end of 1850, about twenty of the hundred settlers were left in Hardinge.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The military villages of the British soldiers near the Tyumie did not fare much better.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The people from Genadendal and Elim dispersed in the Eastern Cape. Some went to Grahamstown and its neighbourhood. One of them, Andreas Wilms,⁽⁸¹⁾ returned to the west sixty years later, to die in Genadendal.

The brethren held out at Mamre as long as possible in the hope of better times to come, making themselves useful in various ways. When a British officer at a military post in the neighbourhood had wounded his hand, Küster did his clerical work, on condition that he was allowed to preach to the Fingo soldiers.⁽⁸²⁾ But when Montagu requested one of the brethren to minister to the prisoners, who built a road across the Zuurbergen, Küster refused, because a Wesleyan minister, who had held the appointment previously, warned him against it.⁽⁸³⁾ The outbreak of the eighth border war brought the venture at the Begha finally to a close.

The failure of the project is instructive. In accordance with the contemporary ideas about mission stations, the Government rejected the establishment of another Moravian settlement, and tried to develop a village of Coloured People with individual ownership under an official. But the authorities lacked the experience and the sympathetic but firm hand of the brethren. When the war broke out, the failure was already apparent.

Rumours circulated in Shiloh, Goshen and Mamre in 1850 that the Xhosa and the Tembu tribes in the Protectorate would rise once more against the Colonial Government. They resented the degradation of their chiefs and the prohibition

(78) G. N. 1850, p. 276; G. N. 1852, pp. 102-104.

(79) G. N. 1852, pp. 104, 108, 110; He.ko. 20.10.1850.

(80) Theal III, p. 65.

(81) Sketse, p. 63.

(82) He.ko. 3.12.1849.

(83) He.ko. 27.5.1850, 16.7.1850, 4.9.1850.

of heathen customs. (84) A prophet by the name of Umlanjani rose among them. He was a mentally deficient young man of twenty, whose spirit was said to have returned to him on occasion of an earthquake. He ordered the people to slaughter their yellow cattle and to burn their bones, to leave the farms and to paint themselves red. All white men and all Fingo's would perish, only the missionaries would survive. His prophecies caused great excitement among the tribes. Even in Shiloh and Goshen, some of the resident Tembus made secret sacrifices and left the stations. (85)

There was also much discontent among the Coloured People of the Eastern Cape against the Colonial authorities. They were dissatisfied that the Government took advantage of their patience, and that the Colonists and the officials were hostile to the mission stations and threatened another vagrancy law after the installation of the new Parliament. (86) The centre of the dissatisfaction was the Kat river settlement, where the responsible Magistrate, J.H. Bowker, enraged the settlers through his arbitrary and inconsiderate manner of administration, and where they had a leader, whose name was Hermanus Matroos. (87)

The Xhosas of Sandile started the war at Christmas of 1850 and, within a few weeks, most of the Xhosas and Tembus and many of the Coloured People along the border rose against the Government. The Xhosa police and even part of Read's "Bushmen" went over to the enemy. The Colonial troops and the Fingo's were isolated in the villages, the Governor himself was encircled in Kingwilliamstown, and the chiefs sent marauding expeditions into the Colony. The danger was greater than ever, because many well-armed and well-disciplined Coloured People joined the insurgents. (88)

(84) Walker, p. 250.

(85) Theal III, p. 86; G.N. 1852, pp. 105, 640, 641; Reichelt, pp. 82, 83.

(86) G.N. 1852, p. 923; G.N. 1868, p. 90; Marais, pp. 231, 238.

(87) Marais, pp. 239-244.

(88) Walker, p. 251.

The farmers were slow to respond to the call of the Government this time. Therefore, a special effort was made to call the men of the western mission stations to arms. One of the high officials came with Juritz to Genadendal in January and addressed the men from a table under an oak-tree with Kölbing as interpreter. He reminded them of the benefits, which they had received from the Government, and called on them not to forsake it in the hour of need.⁽⁸⁹⁾ He repeated the performance at Elim and another official at Groenekloof.⁽⁹⁰⁾ It was successful. The people said: "Ons moet de Gouvernement help."⁽⁹¹⁾ Eight-hundred men from the three stations volunteered for six months⁽⁹²⁾ to the great relief of the authorities and went in haste by ship to the border under two former students of the training-school, Johannes Absalom and Jakob Haas, as sergeants. The Coloured People of the Eastern Cape despised them for siding with the Government, and the congregation of Genadendal prayed for them to remain loyal.⁽⁹³⁾ They did in fact remain loyal and some were killed in battle.⁽⁹⁴⁾ But after the six months had passed and the Government had more troops at its disposal, most of them refused to stay on, finding it hard to fight against their own people.⁽⁹⁵⁾

The stations in the Eastern Cape, except Clarkson, suffered great damage. The women and children of Enon fled to Clarkson together with one of the missionaries and the cattle, after three men had been killed by roving Xhosas, and after a Bantu, who was a former resident, had made a vain effort to incite them to rebellion. Lehmann remained at Enon with the men for the protection of the station. It was not

(89) XII, pp. 100, 101.

(90) G.N. 1853, pp. 46-49; Ma.Di. 21.1.1851.

(91) XII, p. 102.

(92) XII, p. 109.

(93) XII, p. 113.

(94) XII, pp. 109 ff; Theal III, p. 96.

(95) XII, pp. 123-125.

devastated, although farmers threatened at one stage to destroy what they termed the nest of rebels. Another critical moment came, when a number of Coloured insurgents dwelled on an inaccessible spot in the neighbourhood. But the danger passed, and the fugitives returned after a year. (96)

The brethren of Mamre and the last settlers of Hardinge fled to Peddie. (97)

Mapasa advised the brethren at Goshen to withdraw to Shiloh, thanking them for their friendship in the past. The Fingo residents joined the flight, after their cattle had been taken away. The brother of Mapasa made an unsuccessful effort during their flight to get hold of the rest of their belongings. Mapasa made Goshen his headquarters, until it was burned down against his wish. He stated that he was fighting people, not dwellings. (98)

Most of the Tembu residents left Shiloh for fear of Umlanjani, who had prophesied the destruction of the station.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Some of them joined the troops of Mapasa.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Shiloh was between the lines: The insurgent Tembus were to the east across the Klipplaat, and armed Colonists and British troops were to the west at Whittlesea. The inhabitants were divided: The Fingo's, who feared for their lives, sided with the Colony, and the Coloured People sympathised with the insurgents. The brethren did their utmost to keep Shiloh out of the war, and Mapasa sent word to Bonatz that he wished to spare it.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ But the Coloured inhabitants were tempted from many sides: The Fingo's did not trust them, the Tembus in the Protectorate wanted them to surrender the Fingo's and their cattle, a messenger from the seditious settlers

(96) G.N. 1853, pp. 74-91; G.N. 1854, pp. 769-773;

G.N. 1856, pp. 133, 134.

(97) G.N. 1852, pp. 107-114.

(98) G.N. 1852, pp. 647-654.

(99) G.N. 1856, p. 201.

(100) G.N. 1852, pp. 919, 921, 939.

(101) G.N. 1852, p. 924.

at the Kat river came to win them over to their side, and the Colonists at Whittlesea embittered them through their remarks. They regarded Shiloh as a nest of rebels, which must be destroyed. The former magistrate of the Kat river, J.H. Bowker, was their commandant. (102)

Nevertheless, the inhabitants assured Bonatz repeatedly that they would not rise against the Colony and would defend Shiloh against Mapasa, if necessary. (103) But when the Captain of the British troops demanded the surrender of two Coloured visitors from the Kat river, they refused. The brethren, unable to identify themselves with disobedience against the authorities, decided to evacuate the station together with those, who chose to follow them, and the British commander delayed his attack on Shiloh for one day. (104) For the last time, Gysin tried to avoid the catastrophe: He addressed an emphatic appeal to the inhabitants on the text: If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes (Luke 19.42). It moved the men to assure the British commander of their loyalty, and to invite him to occupy the fortified church-building. But his unfortunate counter-order was that they must come to Whittlesea to lay down their arms. This they refused to do; there were rumours that other Coloured insurgents, who had surrendered, had been shot. (105) If the commander had been more experienced in the treatment of these people, and had withstood the advice of the Colonists at Whittlesea with determination, the ensuing catastrophe would have been avoided. (106)

The brethren left Shiloh on 30th January 1851 for Colesberg, accompanied by the Fingoës and a few loyal Coloured

(102) G.N. 1852, pp. 923-932, 945, 957.

(103) G.N. 1852, pp. 916, 925.

(104) G.N. 1852, pp. 931-934; G.N. 1868, p. 92.

(105) G.N. 1852, pp. 934-937; Reichelt, pp. 89-92.

(106) G.N. 1856, p. 202.

People. Most of the Fingoꝝ had meanwhile been robbed of their cattle and some went to Whittlesea to join the Colonial forces. Tembu warriors entered the station and attacked Whittlesea together with the remaining residents. The British commander retaliated and attacked the settlement. The fleeing missionaries saw the smoke of the burning houses. The fiercest fighting developed around the church, in which the women and children had taken refuge. The attackers heard them singing hymns between the noise of the battle. (107) The attack was repelled and skirmishes continued for four weeks between Shiloh and Whittlesea. Only when the Colonial troops obtained a cannon, the inhabitants evacuated the station and fled. (108)

Two months later, the brethren returned with their party on the invitation of the British commander. But two of them left the service of the Moravian Mission and remained in Colesberg. The inhabitants of Whittlesea were disappointed about their return, but the Fingoꝝ of the institution welcomed them with relief. (109) Many of the buildings had been burnt down, and all of them had been plundered. Graves were scattered over the estate, Colonists from the Kat river, who lived in some of the dwellings, refused to hand them back to their rightful owners. Wilhelmina was not even admitted into her own hen-house and had to buy back part of her furniture from a Colonist. (110) Only the harmonium had survived the calamity, and the services were resumed at once. (111) Somerset, who regarded the action against Shiloh as a blunder, offered pardon to the Coloured insurgents. But Bonatz preferred to wait a bit longer, before he re-admitted them

(107) G.N. 1852, pp. 937-941.

(108) G.N. 1852, pp. 941-949; Theal III, pp. 96, 98.

(109) G.N. 1852, pp. 950-957.

(110) G.N. 1852, pp. 950, 957, 958; G.N. 1868, p. 93.

(111) G.N. 1852, p. 961.

into the settlement. (112) Most of them returned in the course of time after serving their two years of hard labour. (113)

The war lasted until the end of the following year. Mapasa died and his tribe was nearly annihilated. (114) Shiloh served once more as a military establishment. The brethren made profits out of their trades and agriculture, and the Government granted some compensation and relief. Part of the losses were recovered in this manner. (115)

When peace was concluded, the Government settled the rest of Mapasa's Tembus east of the Kei and incorporated their country into the Colony. Farms were granted to Colonists and a few places to Fingoes. (116) The Mission retained its rights on Shiloh in spite of persistent efforts of Bowker and the inhabitants of Whittlesea to turn it into a European village. The troops left the station and the buildings were gradually repaired. Calderwood saw to it that the Colonists, who had come to stay during the war, withdrew at last. 420 Fingo and 218 Coloured People lived again in the settlement at the end of the year. (117) Most of them were newcomers, who had fought on the Colonial side. (118) Only a nucleus of loyal members had survived the catastrophe. The brethren regarded it as a judgment from the Lord, which they were bound to accept. (119)

(112) G.N. 1852, pp. 962, 963.

(113) Reichelt, p. 108; He.ko. 22.2.1853, 25.4.1853, 30.5.1853.

(114) Theal III, p. 107.

(115) Reichelt, pp. 105-109.

(116) Theal III, pp. 109, 110.

(117) Reichelt, pp. 109-111.

(118) He.ko. 5.5.1854.

(119) He.ko. 17.3.1851.

4. Agitation against the mission stations in the
Western Cape, 1848-1852.

Teutsch did not live to see the end of the hostilities. The last years of his life proved difficult, not only because of the war, but also because of the enmity against the mission stations. The farmers persisted in their complaints about the shortage of labourers resulting from the liberation of the slaves and the abolishment of the pass laws. The Legislative Council appointed a Committee about the matter, which sent a questionnaire to magistrates, justices of the peace, ministers and other responsible people. Teutsch at Genadendal and Luttringshauser at Elim were among them. Both confined their remarks to a rejection of another vagrancy law and of the suggestion that justices of the peace should be entitled to judge between farmers and their employees.⁽¹⁾ But many of the others pleaded just for these and similar measures, and added complaints about the mission stations, although they had not been questioned about them. Justices of the peace and field-cornets from the neighbourhood of Genadendal, Elim and Groenekloof were among them.⁽²⁾

About five-hundred farmers submitted a petition, in which they wrote:

Your petitioners also beg to call your Excellency's particular attention to the evils arising from the withdrawal of so many thousands of farm labourers from permanent service on farms, to reside in idleness and unproductive habits at the numerous Missionary Institutions throughout the colony, and to the mischievous effects of missionary interference with temporal affairs, affecting not only the interests of the large bodies of people monopolised by them, but the agricultural interests generally⁽³⁾

Thereupon, the Government instructed the magistrates to make a detailed survey of each mission station, stating among

(1) M. and S. 1849 I, pp. 53, 61.

(2) M. and S. 1849 I, pp. 74, 75, 79, 80, 103, 104, 115, 116, 123, 142.

(3) M. and S. 1849 II, p. 18.

other things, how many of the inhabitants worked on the farms, and how many could read and write.⁽⁴⁾ It appeared from the report of W.M. Mackay that the great majority of the male inhabitants of Elim and Genadendal earned their living as farm labourers, while most of their wives remained at the stations. A great number of inhabitants were found to be illiterate.⁽⁵⁾ The explanation was that part of them were former slaves, who had come to the stations as adults, and others were children of old-established residents, who supplemented the income of the family by work on the farms.⁽⁶⁾ The schools of the two institutions earned the praise of the Magistrate. Concerning the morale of the people, he stated that not a single criminal case had occurred during the preceding six months in his district, which included the three-thousand to four-thousand inhabitants of Genadendal and Elim.⁽⁷⁾ With reference to other insinuations of the Colonists, he asked each inhabitant, whether the missionaries made undue profits out of the wages of the people, whether they compelled them to attend the festivals at the stations and to spend their earnings in the mission-shops, and whether they encouraged them to industry. But the answers are not recorded in the report. ⁽⁸⁾

Marais has examined the complaints of the farmers about the shortage of labour at length. His conclusion is that they were exaggerated, but in general not unfounded: The rural parts lost a great number of labourers, because so many of them left the farms.⁽⁹⁾ It may be added, however, that these difficulties were considerably less around the mission stations: The inhabitants continued to depend on farm labour, and their numbers had greatly increased following

(4) M. and S. 1849 II, pp. 27, 28.

(5) M. and S. 1849 II, pp. 190, 191, 220, 221.

(6) XII, p. 45.

(7) M. and S. 1849 II, p. 190.

(8) M. and S. 1849 II, p. 232.

(9) Marais, pp. 190-199.

the liberation of the slaves. Only the women and children, who had formerly lived on the farms of their owners, preferred to remain at the stations except during harvest-time and ploughing-time, and the old and sick people, who had formerly been a burden of the owners, were now cared for by the missionaries. The complaints of the farmers around the mission stations had, therefore, even less substance than elsewhere, and the antagonism against the mission stations, coming from their side, was not justified.⁽¹⁰⁾

One of the complaints was that their labourers flocked to the stations for the festivals at short intervals. Therefore, the brethren at Groenekloof decided to shift the traditional festivals for the "choirs" to Sundays. They abolished them completely during the following years at all stations.⁽¹¹⁾ Only the children's festival survived.

Another complaint was that the settlements were hiding-places for law-breakers.⁽¹²⁾ Therefore, the authorities provided a policeman for Genadendal. An inhabitant, Johannes Ruiter, was appointed for forty pounds per year on probation, as proposed by Teutsch. But after a few months, a white constable was put in his place under the supervision of the neighbouring field-cornet, Herbert Vigne. Teutsch, who regarded the measure as an interference in the local order and feared that the constable, who was not committed to the Regulations, would cause offence through his behaviour, protested in vain.⁽¹³⁾ The policeman did in fact set a bad example.⁽¹⁴⁾

A third complaint was that the missionaries maintained

(10) Compare p. 318.

(11) MaDi.6.5.1849,20.9.1859; El.Di.5.9.1852,11.9.1853; XII, p. 20.

(12) M. and S. 1849 II, p. 74.

(13) XII, pp. 41,55; Case 1923, 10 IV (Correspondence Teutsch - Mackay - Montagu).

(14) Report 1854, p. 10.

a commercial monopoly at the stations for their own benefit.⁽¹⁵⁾
An article appeared in the Cape Town Mail about Genadendal
in January 1850, which repeated this accusation and demanded
that the stations should be turned into open villages.⁽¹⁶⁾
A few days later, a trader of Caledon, H. Osterloh, asked
for permission to open a bottle-store at Genadendal.⁽¹⁷⁾
When Teutsch refused, he obtained a licence for the same
purpose on a spot, which was only ninety minutes from the
institution. Five-hundred inhabitants petitioned the Govern-
ment against it. But Montagu replied that the law did not
permit of the cancellation of the licence. The consequences
were fatal, as had been expected: The men, who returned from
the war, spent their pay in the bottle-store.⁽¹⁸⁾ Fortunately,
the liquor law was amended shortly afterwards, and the
extension of the licence was refused.⁽¹⁹⁾ Moreover, the
Licensing Board decreed that canteens would be granted only
at Caledon. The relief of the brethren was such that they
resolved to erect buildings for church and school purposes
at Houtkloof and Twistwyk from mission funds as memorials
of their gratitude.⁽²⁰⁾ On the other hand, they did not
object, if inhabitants opened shops in Genadendal, although
they affected the income of the mission shop. In fact, the
economy of Genadendal had an excess of expenditure 1853 and
1854 for this very reason. ⁽²¹⁾

The most important accusation was, however, that the
missionaries exercised an unhealthy control over the settle-
ments in place of confining themselves to their spiritual
task and ceding the land to the inhabitants. Even the friends

(15) M. and S. 1849 I, passim.

(16) Mail, 12.1.1850.

(17) He.ko. 23.1.1850.

(18) XII, pp. 136, 141, 144; Marais, p. 197.

(19) XII, pp. 152, 153.

(20) He.ko. 23.3.1852.

(21) He.ko. 24.5.1854; Hau.ko. 2.6.1854.

of mission work wanted the institutions to be turned into open villages.⁽²²⁾ A L.M.S. missionary, W. Elliot, made a plea in that direction in 1848.⁽²³⁾ The Government gave its attention to the matter: Juritz warned Teutsch in 1849 that the rights of the Mission to Genadendal and Groenekloof were about to be investigated⁽²⁴⁾ and, in the following year, Sir Harry Smith and Montagu questioned an inhabitant of Genadendal privately in Cape Town about the affairs of the institution. The Governor wanted to know, amongst other things, whether the inhabitants had a responsible leader among them. The man from Genadendal did some research in the Cape Archives and came to the conclusion that the station belonged to the Hottentots. He wrote at once to one of his friends that the time had come to claim a captainship over the settlement. Many advantages would be gained by this move.⁽²⁵⁾ In response, four residents of Genadendal addressed a petition to the Governor without the knowledge of the brethren. However, they did not ask for a captainship, but that the land belonging to the station should be safeguarded against its neighbours more effectively, than was done by the missionaries.⁽²⁶⁾

The Governor instructed the Surveyor-General, J. Bell, and the Magistrate of Caledon, W.M. Mackay, not only to investigate the request, but also to make recommendations as to how Genadendal could be put upon a better footing, for the advancement of the inhabitants.⁽²⁷⁾ Long negotiations followed. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants declared that they wanted the missionaries to remain in control of the settlement.⁽²⁸⁾ Teutsch reminded the Government of the promises, which it had made to the brethren from

(22) Mail, 3.2.1849.

(23) Lovett, pp. 572, 573.

(24) He.ko. 29.11.1849.

(25) Gen. Doc. 1.8.1850.

(26) Gen. Doc. 19.9.1850; G. O. 611, 19.9.1850.

(27) Case 1923, 26.9.1850.

(28) Case 1923, 3.12.1850.

time to time since 1792, and asked that Genadendal and Groenekloof should now be formally granted in freehold to the Superintendent and his successors, and that in any case the settlements should not be opened to Whites.⁽²⁹⁾ Mackay supported his view at first,⁽³⁰⁾ but Bell was not fully satisfied. He discussed the matter further with Montagu,⁽³¹⁾ and suggested a compromise: Genadendal should be granted to the Superintendent for the time being in trust for the inhabitants, until it could be declared a municipality. The estate with the church, the school, the trades and the agriculture of the missionaries should be given in freehold to the Mission. He considered it impractical at this stage to subdivide the land and to grant the plots to the residents. The survey would be too expensive.⁽³²⁾ His suggestion of treating the settlement and the missionary institution differently reminds one of the solution, which Hallbeck had envisaged in 1834.⁽³³⁾

With reference to the Regulations, he considered that they were certainly good, but that the missionaries lacked the power to enforce them. He suggested that they should proceed before the magistrate against residents, who refused to obey them.⁽³⁴⁾ The brethren, supported by the church servants and the overseers, had formerly been able to expel such people on the strength of their spiritual authority, but had of late become very reluctant to do so.⁽³⁵⁾ The prospect of carrying on a lawsuit deterred them still more.⁽³⁶⁾ Therefore, the expulsion of people, who refused to obey the

(29) Gen.Doc. 22.10.1850; C.O. 611, 22.10.1850.

(30) Gen.Doc. 30.10.1850.

(31) C.O. 611, 28.7.1851, 6.9.1851, 26.9.1851.

(32) Case 1923, 3.12.1850; Gen.Doc. 26.9.1851.

(33) See p. 286.

(34) Gen. Doc. 26.9.1851.

(35) Case 1932, 4.4.1851; C.O. 611, 4.4.1851.

(36) He.ko. 22.5.1854, 1.6.1854.

rules, fell practically into abeyance at Genadendal. Bell proposed a number of minor alterations to the Regulations, in order to bring them up to date and to circumscribe the rights of the inhabitants more clearly,⁽³⁷⁾ and suggested that the population of Genadendal should not be enlarged any more.⁽³⁸⁾ The brethren had already become very reluctant to admit new-comers.⁽³⁹⁾

The final recommendation of Bell and Mackay was that Genadendal be granted to the Superintendent and his successors for a nominal quit-rent with the proviso that the mission premises would remain the permanent property of the Moravians.⁽⁴⁰⁾

At this stage, the Governor ordered the postponement of the negotiations in view of the fact that the Cape Parliament was about to be established and might wish to review the system of mission stations.⁽⁴¹⁾ - The coming of the Parliament caused considerable anxiety among the Coloured People, and Teutsch, together with the other missionaries of Genadendal, petitioned the Government in 1850 to protect the rights of the indigenous peoples against unjust laws and oppression in the constitution, which was being drafted.⁽⁴²⁾

The agitation against the mission stations and the public discussion of their affairs affected the settlements adversely. We read for instance in the diary of Genadendal in 1850:

Der Schulbesuch - ausser der Sonntagsschule - ist nicht besser, u. die Theilnahme an der Ausbreitung des Reiches Gottes nebst dem Kirchenbesuch noch geringer gewesen als voriges Jahr. Und im Zusammenhang damit hat Missvergnügen u. Habsucht u. grober Sündendienst sich immer offener gezeigt. (43)

(37) Gen.Doc. 26.9.1851; Case 1923, 30.10.1851.
(38) Gen.Doc. 26.9.1851.
(39) Case 1923, 4.4.1851; G.O. 611, 4.4.1851.
(40) Gen.Doc. 26.9.1851.
(41) Gen.Doc. 20.10.1851.
(42) Gen.Doc. 5.11.1850.
(43) XII, p. 98.

And one year later:

Dies Jahr war aber auch für unsre hiesige Gemeinde eins der schwersten, ja das schwerste seit ihrem Entstehn wegen des immer offener sich zeigenden innern Verderbens Denn nicht nur lässt sich eine Parthei aus unsrer Gemeinde, meist aus Ausgeschlossnen bestehend, durch die Aufreizungen unsrer weissen Feinde zu offener Widersetzlichkeit gegen unsre Ordnungen u. zu Feindschaft gegen ihre Lehrer verführen, sondern es ist auch der in unsrer Nähe angelegte Bottle-store eine zu starke Versuchung für dies schwache Volk. (44)

There was a retrogression of interest in mission work and of support thereof in the three western congregations. (45)

The temporal affairs were affected in like manner. For instance, the appointment of a joint herdsman was discontinued at Genadendal, because it became too difficult to collect his wages as a result of the conflict of 1844. (46) Even Elim had its troubles: A church servant and overseer tried to incite the inhabitants against the payment of the road-tax in 1851 and had to be deposed. (47) However, the nucleus of the congregations remained undisturbed. The church servants and the overseers assisted the brethren faithfully, and Ezechiel Pfeiffer exhorted the members not to be misled by people, who contended that the missionaries were seeking their own advantage. (48)

The border war of 1851/52 and the rebellion of the Coloured People in the Eastern Cape added to the difficulties. Rumours spread among the farmers in the Western Cape that the inhabitants of the mission stations would rise against them. (49) The first incident occurred in the neighbourhood of Elim, after the volunteers had returned from the war. A panic arose. The farmers collected their guns and deserted their farms. The inhabitants of Elim assured the Governor of their loyalty and appealed for an investigation. It

(44) XII, p. 141.

(45) XII, p.38; G.N. 1853, p.39; Ma.Di. 24.1.1850.

(46) Gen. Doc. 20.10.1851. See pp. 323, 324.

(47) He.ko. 19.5.1851, 1.6.1851; G.N. 1853, pp. 56, 57.

(48) XII, p. 131.

(49) Plakkers 1852, passim.

emerged that a shop assistant in Napier, who had sold intoxicating liquor to a few Coloured men, and had heard them uttering threats in a state of drunkenness, had taken fright and spread a warning. (50) A similar incident occurred near Groenekloof towards the end of 1852. Again, the words of two drunk men were at the root of it. (51) At the same time, T.B. Bayley complained to the Government that the missionaries listed too many dependents of soldiers with the result that too many people received Government support, which in turn deprived the farmers of labourers. A commission investigated the matter, and the Governor ruled that the support should be continued as before. (52)

Teutsch died from a stroke in 1852 at the age of sixty-five, after having commended all his anxieties to the Lord. (53) His co-workers testified that he never sought his own honour or advantage, but served the Lord in humility, sincerity and child-like affection. The Moravian usages, such as the lot and the common household, were dear to him. Although he had not much education, he had enjoyed the respect of all. (54) The Moravians had a number of learned brethren at this stage, most of whom had been selected in the interest of the training-school. Among them were C.R. Kölbing, C.F. Francke, D.W. Suhl, E. Gysin and the physician R. Roser, who submitted a thesis for the doctorate at the University of Tübingen in 1856 on the subject of the flora, the fauna and the diseases, which he had observed at Genadendal. (55) The nine brethren of Genadendal, mostly married, lost in Teutsch their father. The oldest inhabitant of the institution, Thomas Robijntje, who had lived in Voorstekraal before the arrival of the pioneers, died a week ahead of him. (56)

(50) G.N. 1854, pp. 891-896.

(51) Ma.Bi. 26.11.1851.

(52) XII, p. 139.

(53) XII, p. 163.

(54) XII, pp. 163-171.

(55) Roser.

(56) XII, p. 161.

5. The visitation of Bishop Johann Christian Breutel,

1853 - 1854.

The successor of Teutsch, C.R. Kōlbing⁽¹⁾, had been the beloved principal of the training-school since his arrival ten years earlier, and had more and more taken charge of the negotiations with the authorities in the name of Teutsch. He was, therefore, well equipped for his task, but found it hard to leave the training-school, and continued to remain in contact with his former pupils, who served as teachers all over the country.⁽²⁾ The administration of the finances was entrusted to J.F.W. Kühn, who had served under Kōlbing in the training-school since 1843.⁽³⁾

At this stage, the H.C. expressed the wish that one of the members of the U.A.C. should visit South Africa. The problems arising from the border war for the stations in the Eastern Cape were foremost in the minds of the brethren, when they made this suggestion.⁽⁴⁾ The U.A.C. had also some wishes with regard to the work in South Africa: It wanted to give the indigenous helpers more responsibility, to increase their number in proportion to a decrease in the number of missionaries, to educate the congregations for the financial support of the work, and to establish a greater number of smaller stations.⁽⁵⁾ Bishop Johann Christian Breutel, the correspondent of the U.A.C. for the Cape Mission, undertook the task.⁽⁶⁾

After Breutel, accompanied by his wife, had arrived at Genadendal in the spring of 1853, he set out for a visit to the eastern stations together with Kōlbing. They rode in a wagon drawn by ten mules, which were exchanged for oxen from

(1) See p. 312.

(2) He.ko. 17.3.1851, 7.11.1851; G.N. 1861, pp. 1084, 1085.

(3) He.ko. 19.7.1852, 27.11.1852, 6.12.1852.

(4) He.ko. 13.8.1852, 29.11.1852.

(5) He.ko. 23.5.1849, 29.4.1852, 8.8.1853, 23/24.5.1854.

(6) G. N. 1875, pp. 755 ff.

Clarkson onward. The hobby of both brethren was botany, and Kōlbing's journal is interspersed with notes on the flora of the country.⁽⁷⁾ Evidently, they enjoyed the opportunity of studying the nature of the various parts of the Colony at their leisure. They had seeds of the blue gum trees of Genadendal in their luggage, and exchanged them for victuals on the way. The tree, which had been imported from Australia a short time ago, grew in profusion at Cape Town and Genadendal, and the farmers of the interior were eager to get it.⁽⁸⁾

Two young Bantu, who had spent eight years without interruption at the training-school, returned with them to their families at Shiloh. Johannes Nakin and Samuel Mazwi were the first trained teachers to take up their posts in the east. Both had been presented to the Governor at Cape Town before their departure.⁽⁹⁾ The joy of the parents in welcoming their sons back after such a long time, was overwhelming. Nakin wrote about it:

Viele Leute, ja die Meisten kannte ich nicht, mich kannten Viele, weil ich meinem Vater ähnlich sehe. Die alten Männer und Frauen waren verwundert und erfreut. Ich hörte sie sagen, sie hätten gedacht, wir wären verloren und würden nie wieder kommen, und nun sähen sie, dass Gottes Hand wunderbar führt. Sie versammelten sich in meiner Eltern Haus, um uns zu sehen. Sie haben unsern Eltern, wie ich nun vernahm, oft Vorwürfe gemacht, dass sie uns weggeworfen hätten. Aber jetzt ist es ganz anders, Jedem tut es leid, dass sein Sohn nicht so wie wir erzogen ist.⁽¹⁰⁾

Both started to give lessons in the school, and Nakin played the harmonium in the church to the astonishment of his people.⁽¹¹⁾

The brethren at Shiloh had aimed at a unilingual Bantu congregation after the war, but without success: One third of the inhabitants were Coloured People.⁽¹²⁾ The Government

(7) G.N. 1856, pp. 67-160, 189-268.

(8) G.N. 1856, pp. 86, 90.

(9) G.N. 1855, p. 137.

(10) Translated in G.N. 1856, p. 195.

(11) G.N. 1856, p. 211.

(12) He.ko. 5.5.1854.

had prohibited the Tembus from settling in these parts, (13) but many Fingoës had moved into the settlement. They had retrieved their losses caused by the war: About two-thousand cattle passed every morning through the Klipplaat to the pasture. (14) The Bushmen had vanished completely since the war. Only their paintings were left as a reminder of their former existence. (15) The church had been repaired, and the mill was functioning again, but some fortifications still stood and the old residence was still a ruin. (16) The gathering of the congregation had started almost from the beginning, because most of the inhabitants were new-comers. Even the missionaries had not escaped unhurt: One of them had depressions; the fixed idea that he was to blame for the destruction of Shiloh, had taken hold of his mind. He had to be transferred to Elim and died shortly afterwards. (17) And the state of health of Mr. and Mrs. Bonatz was such that they had to go to Europe on furlough in the following year. (18) Bonatz was difficult to replace; only one of the other brethren, S. Gysin, spoke Xhosa fluently. (19)

Goshen had not yet been rebuilt, but the Governor, General G. Cathcart, had permitted the re-establishment of the station on the recommendation of Calderwood, on condition that Fingoës, not Tembus, would be admitted. (20) The brethren were especially grateful for this gesture in view of the enmity against mission stations, which also prevailed in the Eastern Cape. But they regretted that the Tembus, whom they had come to serve, were excluded from both stations. (21) When Breutel went to see the ruins of Goshen, Josua Hermanus

(13) He.ko. 31.12.1853; G.N. 1856, p. 206.

(14) G.N. 1856, p. 208.

(15) G.N. 1856, pp. 206, 214.

(16) G.N. 1856, pp. 211, 212.

(17) He.ko. 7.10.1854, 29.12.1854.

(18) He.ko. 19.12.1854; Reichelt, p. 112.

(19) He.ko. 5.5.1854.

(20) He.ko. 3.11.1853.

(21) He.ko. 31.12.1853.

and other former residents accompanied him, eager to return thither.⁽²²⁾ Shortly afterwards, Johann Heinrich Hartmann made the new beginning. Samuel Mazwi assisted him in the school.⁽²³⁾ The surveyor allotted much less land to the brethren than they had held before the war, with the result that Goshen developed on a much smaller scale than Shiloh.⁽²⁴⁾

The question of the re-establishment of Mamre on the Begha had been under consideration for some time. The settlers of Hardinge had dispersed, and it was certain that the Government would not permit a settlement of Coloured People in the Eastern Cape: The L.M.S. station of Theopolis, the inhabitants of which had joined the rebellion, was in ruins and has never been rebuilt. Many Fingo's lived in these parts. The Government had appointed superintendents over them, and Wesleyan missionaries ministered to them, riding from kraal to kraal.⁽²⁵⁾ The brethren had applied after the war for permission to form a settlement of Fingo's at Mamre, but the Government had refused.⁽²⁶⁾ Nauhaus had been transferred to Elim and the movable belongings were earmarked for Goshen. When Breutel and Kōlbing visited Peddie, a friend urged them to try again with a settlement of Fingo's, but they decided against it in view of the fact that no Xhosa speaking brother was available.⁽²⁷⁾ The final result was that Goshen, which had been established in accordance with the missionary intentions of the brethren, was rebuilt, but Mamre, which owed its existence to a colonising effort of the Government, was discontinued. The name of Mamre became available, and Groenekloof was forthwith renamed Mamre. ⁽²⁸⁾

Enon had withstood the war once more, but the station

(22) G.N. 1856, pp. 216-225.

(23) Reichelt, pp. 112, 113.

(24) He.ko. 5.5.1854.

(25) He.ko. 15.11.1852, 23.3.1853, 8.8.1853; Du Flessis, pp. 246, 247.

(26) He.ko. 25.4.1853; G.N. 1856, p. 245.

(27) G.N. 1856, pp. 245, 246.

(28) He.ko. 1.6.1854.

had further deteriorated. Breutel found 281 inhabitants under two missionaries and the teacher Carl Jonas, where there had been 500 people under four missionaries in former times. The station had been evacuated four times during the thirty-five years of its existence, and the people had lost nearly all of their cattle on the last occasion. The last Bantu inhabitants had left, and many Coloured members had moved to Shiloh. Those who remained, lived from charity: The Government had supplied rations during the war and had granted a subsidy for the restoration of the station, and the Mission gave assistance to the poor. The repeated interruption of the spiritual work had affected the morale and the discipline of the congregation. The people were listless and discouraged, asking why they should build better houses and increase their cattle, only to lose them again in the next war. Nevertheless, part of the damage had been repaired: The water-furrow had been restored, and a horse-mill had replaced the water-mill. Breutel suggested that part of the indigenous forest should be opened for the cutting of wood. Stroebel's farm on top of the Zuurbergen was too far to be useful: The brethren did not want the people to lose their connection with the church and the school by moving so far away. (29)

On the other hand, Clarkson had developed well. Most of the original settlers from Enon had moved to Shiloh and other places. But the former slaves had come to stay. They formed two thirds of the population. A number of artisans were among them, such as masons, carpenters and thatchers. The rest of the inhabitants were Fingoes, who were in the process of adopting European manners: They wore European clothing and had square, furnished dwellings. The services and the lessons were very well attended, and the discipline was good, (29) G.N. 1856, pp. 130-145; He.ko. 6.1.1853, 6.5.1854.

but the visitors found the people on the whole less frank towards the missionaries than the inhabitants of the other stations, which may have been either a remnant of the slavery or an effect of the Fingo mentality. Two teachers from the training-school, Nikolaas Oppelt and Johannes Zwelibanzi, welcomed their former teacher with joy. Oppelt assisted in the school at Clarkson, and Zwelibanzi served the Fingoës outside the settlement, giving lessons to the children in a hut at Snyklip, one hour to the south of the station. He lived with his brother at Clarkson, who was the interpreter of the brethren and worked as an evangelist among the dispersed kraals. There were still about one-thousand Fingoës in the Tsitsikamma. Only a few of the old people spoke their original dialect, the rest had adopted the Khosa language. They were still in doubt, whether the Government would grant the land to them or to Colonists in the end. (30)

Elim presented an encouraging picture, too. Nauhaus was assisted by three married brethren, one of whom, Carl August Lemmerz, was the son of the pioneer of Shiloh. The dwellings appeared neat and clean, and the inhabitants distinguished themselves by their prosperity. They attended the various meetings assiduously, and the infants enjoyed the lessons of their teacher, Michael Balie. Breutel recommended that a second teacher should be appointed and the number of missionaries should be reduced to three. He visited the people in their homes and advised them to send their children to school more regularly. (31)

In Mamre, formerly Groenekloof, Francke was still at the head, keeping the station in good order in spite of the current difficulties. But a few rebellious members gave some cause for anxiety, as was the case in Genadendal. He was

(30) G.N. 1856, pp.105-107; G.N. 1858, p.832; He.ko. 29.4.1852, 5.7.1853, 6.1.1854, 6.5.1854, 30.5.1854, 25.8.1854.

(31) G.N. 1856, p. 682; He.ko. 8.5.1854.

assisted by three married missionaries and the faithful teacher David Lackey. Breutel wanted to ordain the latter an acolyte, but Lackey declined the promotion out of modesty. A simple hall had been completed at Wittezaand shortly before Breutel's arrival, which served the many poor charcoal-burners in the dunes. Local efforts and donations had provided the means. It was called Jacob's Chapel. (32)

A distinctive feature of the work was the development of the out-stations under the care of teachers, trained at Genadendal. Jozua Pleisier did responsible work at Houtkloof, where the brethren had fulfilled their vow to erect a proper building from mission funds. (33) Hardenberg coped with his manifold duties at Goedverwacht so successfully that Breutel consecrated him an acolyte. (34) Frederik Armoed managed the school at Kopjeskasteel, and Petrus Beukman at Twistwyk. (35)

The latter out-station had been established through the favour of Commandant Jakobus Linde, who had led the men of Genadendal on several occasions. A suitable building had been completed on his farm in 1853, and K lbing had introduced Regulations with the approval of the Commandant, which were similar to the spiritual part of the Regulations of Genadendal. They stated expressly that the owners of the farms, on which the people lived, had the authority over their temporal affairs, but they committed the members to the ten commandments. Whosoever sinned against them, would be excluded from membership, but would still be allowed to attend the worship and to send their children to school. Provision was made for church servants, but not for overseers. (36) In this manner, a Christian congregation was formed, which was not at the same time a Christian settlement.

(32) Ma.Di. 10.-25.10.1853, 22.6.-11.7.1854;
He.ko. 29.12.1854; Sketse, p. 67.

(33) Elim, p. 21; He.ko. 13.2.1854. See p. 362.

(34) He.ko. 16.6.1854.

(35) He.ko. 12.11.1853.

(36) He.ko. 5.5.1854, 22.5.1854; Twistwyk.

The particulars of the stations at this stage were as follows:

	in- habitants	mission- aries	indigenous assistants	balance of economy 1853
GENADENDAL	3050	9	2	- 127. 4.10 1/4
Kopjeskasteel			1	
Twistwyk			1	
MAMRE	1258	4	1	+ 194. 9.10 1/2
Wittezand				
Goedverwacht	200		1	
ENON	281	2	1	+ 35. 2. 3
ROBBEN ISLA ND	81	1		+ 71.17.10
ELIM	1241	4	1	+ 137.19. 5 1/4
Houtkloof			1	
SHILOH	638	5	2	+ -.11.10 3/4
CLARKSON	351	3	1	+ 57. 4. 0 1/2
Snyklip			1	
	7100	28	13	+ 370. -. 5 3/4 (37)

The membership of the out-stations is not given separately, except an approximate number for Goedverwacht. The number for Robben Island is not the number of lepers, but of church members. The travelling expenses are not included in the balance of the stations. Part of the profits were kept at the stations for the erection of buildings and other major expenses.

The report of Breutel's visit provides on the whole a remarkable contrast to the descriptions of the settlements as nests of rebels and sinks of iniquity. The hearty welcome and the Christian life of the inhabitants impressed him deeply. His visit served as a reminder to the brethren that the spiritual and the educational task was their main concern.

(37) G.N. 1854, p. 731; G.N. 1856, p. 520; Ma.Di. 31.12.1853; H.A. Di. 31.12.1853; He.ko. 1854, passim.

Some of them were ordained by him on this occasion.⁽³⁸⁾ It will also have been noted that he took a special interest in the progress of the indigenous assistants.

Back in Genadendal, he discussed the work at length with the H.C. With regard to the teachers, he made it clear that the U.A.C. wanted them to take charge of the work in the schools step by step, and to assist in the clerical work.⁽³⁹⁾ A suggestion of Prince Victor von Schönburg-Waldenburg came up for discussion. He had offered that some of the students should be trained in Germany at his expense. But the brethren considered that the young men received everything they needed for their work, in Genadendal; the reliability and maturity, which they lacked, could only be gained by experience, and a sojourn in Germany might have an undesirable effect on their character.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The Prince, who was full of ideas, had also requested the Mission to buy a few farms in his name and for his money as an investment for the purpose of creating Coloured villages under Coloured ministers, the inhabitants of which would pay the interest for his investment by their rentals. But the H.C. rejected the project, because the brethren had not the necessary experience to make it a success.⁽⁴¹⁾

Breutel insisted further that the inhabitants of the stations should learn to support the work financially. He pointed out that some of the mission friends overseas were poorer than many of them. The brethren explained to him that they had tried to educate them in that respect, but without success. It was true that the members of the L.M.S. stations paid regular contributions. But the difference was that the inhabitants of the Moravian settlements beheld the income of the Mission from the trade, the shops and the agriculture, which convinced them that their support was not needed.

(38) G. N. 1875, p. 781.

(39) He.ko. 29.5.1854.

(40) He.ko. 29.5.1854.

(41) He.ko. 20.9.1852, 23.5.1853, 29.5.1854.

Besides, it would be dangerous at this stage to impose financial obligations on them, because the Mission was accused of making large profits out of the poor Hottentots, and the dissatisfaction, which would result from such a measure, could be used by the enemies of the institutions against them in the coming sessions of Parliament. Only at Elim, it might be possible to demand contributions, because it had been purchased by the Mission. A few years ago, the brethren had considered the system, which prevailed at the Khenish institution, that every occupant of a plot had to pay an annual rental, and that those who failed to do so, were expelled. They had rejected the idea at that stage as inappropriate to mission work, but were now prepared to try it out on Elim. It was decided to demand small annual rentals for the use of the land at that station. With regard to all stations, it was resolved that every head of a family should pay eighteen pence annually as a school contribution. No coercion should be applied, but the people should be reminded of their obligation by affectionate admonitions. (42)

Finally, the expansion of the work came up for discussion. The only possibility for the establishment of more settlements in the Western Cape was the purchase of farms after the example of Elim. But the prices of the farms had risen considerably, and the collection of the interest for the outlay presented great difficulties. Only by an increase of outstations with indigenous teachers could the work be expanded in the rural areas of the west. Pioneering work among the Bantu in the east was more promising, and Breutel encouraged the brethren to proceed in that direction. (43)

The negotiations about the property rights of the grant stations were not debated in Breutel's presence in the H.C.

(42) He. ko. 31.7.1850, 8.5.1854, 23./24.5.1854;
El. Opz. Co. 6.6.1854.

(43) He. ko. 20.9.1852, 26.1.1853, 1.6.1854; G.N. 1859, p.950.

We may presume that he discussed the matter at length with Kōlbing in private, but that he was unable to give much guidance, because it depended largely on the attitude of the Government and the coming Parliamentary sessions. It was left to Kōlbing to lead the negotiations through many hazards to a successful conclusion in the following years.

6. Consolidation of the work under C.R. K lbing, 1854-1860.

The Cape Parliament was elected for the first time in the history of the Colony, while Brautel, keeping strictly out of politics, was still touring the country. Every adult inhabitant, who occupied fixed property to the value of twenty-five pounds or more, was entitled to vote. The Legislative Council had proposed a higher qualification, which would have excluded the majority of the Coloured People from the privilege, but the British Government had lowered it, with the result that all who partook in the civilisation, had a share in the election.⁽¹⁾ Much depended on the attitude, which the Parliament would adopt towards the mission stations, and G.F. Juritz asked one of the candidates for the new Legislative Council in the District of Caledon to champion their cause. He refused, and was subsequently not elected by the voters, who included many inhabitants of Genadendal and Elim.⁽²⁾

The magistrates held electoral gatherings at each station. The men of Shiloh and Enon gave all their votes to the popular A. Stockenstrom, and the hundred voters of Mamre supported J.H. Wicht, who was equally favoured. Both were elected.⁽³⁾ There were about five-hundred voters at Genadendal. Henry T. Vigne, the brother of Herbert,⁽⁴⁾ who alone promised to advocate the cause of the mission stations, was their favourite candidate. Every voter had eight votes, which he could either give to eight different candidates, or heap on one of them. The men of Genadendal chose the latter course with the result that Vigne received 3913 votes from their part. Another candidate tried to win support by the distribution of brandy, but received only one vote by this means. The

(1) Theal III, pp. 123-134; Marais, pp. 214, 215.

(2) Argus, 27.6.1857; Evidence 1856, p. 14.

(3) G.N. 1856, pp. 146, 507; Ma.Di. 12.1.1854; Theal III, p.127.

(4) Compare p. 361.

election had an unfortunate aftermath: Jakobus Linde expelled eight families from Twistwyk, who had given their support to Vigne. (5)

In Elim, the agents of the candidates appeared a few days before the election, in order to recruit voters, and Henry Vigne gained many supporters. But Nauhaus received a warning: There was much dissatisfaction among the Colonists, because the people of Genadendal had heaped their votes on one candidate. Therefore, he advised the voters of Elim to act more intelligently. This caused dissatisfaction among Vigne's supporters at Elim, one of whom branded the missionaries openly as traitors. He was deposed from his positions and put under church discipline. Vigne, who had been elected, objected at first, but acquiesced in the measure later. The opponents of the mission stations made bitter remarks about the excessive influence of the missionaries on the election of the new Legislative Council. (6)

Parliament gathered on 30th June 1854, and one of the members of Caledon, C.A. Fairbridge, moved in the House of Assembly that the grant stations should be subdivided and the plots given to the inhabitants in freehold. Kölbing caused the people of Genadendal and Mamre to react at once: Petitions, signed by nearly all of the men, who were at home, were sent to the Governor and to both Houses of Parliament. The petitioners referred to the instructions, which Bathurst had given to Cradock in 1813 about the safeguarding of the mission stations, and declared that the proposed measure would be to their peril: The plots would be purchased by Colonists in the course of time, and their own children would lose, what was now their joint property. Some of the members

(5) XIII, pp. 4-6.

(6) El.Di. 18.-21.1.1854; El.Opz.Do. 6.6.1854;

He.ko. 13.2.1854, 14.9.1855, 22.12.1855; Argus, 27.6.1857.

of Parliament expressed their surprise that so many inhabitants could sign their names, because the general impression was that they learnt nothing in the institutions.⁽⁷⁾

The matter was referred to a committee, which adopted at first a sympathetic attitude towards the Mission. J. Fairbairn was in the chair, and Henry Vigne kept his promise to advocate the cause of those, who had contributed to his election. But in the second year, C.F. Fairbridge was in the chair, and people like T.B. Bayley and Th. Osterloh submitted adverse evidence. Kölbing and the brethren at Mamre chose to forward their evidence in writing. Kölbing suggested that Coloured People should be granted their own plots on Government land, for instance near the villages, but not on the mission stations, the inhabitants of which were perfectly happy with the existing conditions. Juritz, who gave evidence in person, reminded the committee of the loyal attitude of the inhabitants during the last border war. However, the committee recommended that the stations should be subdivided and that the titles should be inalienable for three years only. It was fortunate for the people concerned that this recommendation did not become law. (8)

A large number of prominent people of Caledon District petitioned Parliament for a White magistrate, assisted by White policemen, to be stationed at Genadendal. The Government complied in so far as to instruct the Magistrate of Caledon to visit the station once a month. (9)

Kölbing, who realised that the insecurity about the

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- (7) He.ko. 25.8.1854; Ma.Di. August 1854; XIII, pp.32,33; Case 1923, 2.8.1854, 8.8.1854; G.O. 637, 2.8.1854; Gen. Doc. 16.8.1854, 9.9.1854.
(8) Report 1854; Evidence 1856; Report 1858, 23.4.1858; He.ko. 2.5.1856; XIII, p. 112.
(9) Assembly 1854, 3.8.1854; Assembly 1855, 21.3.1855; Gen. Doc. 9.5.1855; He.ko. 30.5.1855; Argus, 27.6.1857, 4.10.1859.

property rights was at the root of the difficulties, submitted at this stage a formal request to the Governor that Genadendal should be granted to the Superintendent and his successors in trust, with reference to the recommendations, which Bell and Mackay had made in 1851. And a committee of the Legislative Council recommended in 1857 that the recommendations should be carried out. (10)

Various efforts were made to change the attitude of the residents. A visiting magistrate called on the men to vote for the conversion of Genadendal into a municipality, but only one of them held up his hand. An English speaking Colonist collected signatures for the establishment of a Government school at the station, but nobody signed it. (11) Nineteen inhabitants submitted a petition for a public meeting about the future of Genadendal, because they were dissatisfied that it was to be granted to the Mission. In response, a justice of the peace, W.A. MacIntyre, called the men together in the open air in front of the guest-house. Being a humanitarian, (12) he tried hard to convince them that individual ownership would be in their best interests. But seven of the petitioners declared that their signature had been obtained by fraud, and four withdrew their support. Nobody came forward with a motion for individual ownership. Another motion, which stipulated that Genadendal should be given in trust to the Superintendent and two Hottentot inhabitants, received only four votes. The rest wanted the Superintendent alone to be the trustee and petitioned the Governor accordingly. The idea of many of them was that the land belonged, in fact, to the descendants of the Hottentots, that even the former slaves lived thereon by their favour,

(10) Case 1923, 11.2.1856; C.O. 677, 11.2.1856; Argus, 27.6.1857; He.ko. 29.12. 1857.

(11) XIII, pp. 160-163.

(12) Mail, 3.2. 1849, 2.6.1849.

and that they delegated their authority to the missionaries.⁽¹³⁾

The Governor signed the grant on 15th February 1858, according to which Genadendal was given to the Superintendent and his successors for a nominal quitrent, with the proviso that the estate of the brethren would remain the permanent property of the Mission, just as Bell had proposed. The Regulations were confirmed with a number of amendments, which had been agreed upon between Bell and K lbing.

The rules concerning marriages were brought up to date. The number of church servants and overseers was increased. Parents had to pay a school fee, and the children had to be sent to school from the age of four, in place of six. The appointment of a joint herdsman was abolished, and provision was made for a pond for internal use. The regulations concerning the issue of wine by the missionaries fell away. It was expressly stated that the inhabitants had the right of appeal to the magistrate and would not lose their right of residence through long absence, but that they could forfeit it, if a missionary or an overseer proved to the satisfaction of the magistrate that they persisted in disregarding the Regulations. ⁽¹⁴⁾

The brethren imagined that the authorities would now assist them in the maintenance of discipline. There was a young girl in Genadendal, who had an illicit relationship with a Colonist, who had opened a shop in the settlement with the girl as his assistant. The shop remained open till late at night contrary to the local order, and supplied intoxicating liquor under the name of vinegar to the people.⁽¹⁵⁾ After all efforts to bring her to reason had failed, K lbing asked the magistrate for her expulsion. The magistrate decided in K lbing's favour, although she had been provided

(13) XIII, pp. 190, 191; Case 1923, 7.1.1858, 16.1.1858; Gen.Doc. 23.1.1858; He.ko. 3.2.1858.

(14) Gen.Doc. 15.2.1858; He.ko. 15.3.1858.

(15) He.ko. 29.12.1855, 21.6.1856; Gen.Doc. 7.1.1856.

with a competent advocate for her defence. The press reported the case under the heading "The Morality of Missionary Institutions" in a one-sided and malicious manner: It was suggested that the missionaries had acted only in order to protect their own shops against competition, and that immorality was the normal practice in Genadendal. Kōlbing pointed out in his reply that five inhabitants, including a church servant and an overseer, had shops in the settlement with the blessing of the Mission, and that the proportion between legitimate and illegitimate children for the eleven preceding years was thirteen to one, which did certainly not compare badly with conditions elsewhere. It was true that the mother of the young girl had admitted to the magistrate of having eight illegitimate children, but all of them had been born, while she had been a slave on a farm.-The advocate of the girl appealed to the Supreme Court, which put the judgment aside, because the case was considered to be beyond the jurisdiction of a magistrate. Upon this, Kōlbing gave the matter up as lost; a new lawsuit before the Supreme Court would have been a very expensive undertaking.⁽¹⁶⁾ The Colonist continued with his relationship and his shop for some years and opened a canteen, but moved later to Greyton, entered into marriage and asked the forgiveness of the brethren.⁽¹⁷⁾

The result was that Genadendal had now a proper grant and recognised Regulations, but practically no power to expel obstinate trespassers. The habit of declaring such people non-residents, without actually expelling them, remained in use at Genadendal, as at Mamre and Shiloh. At the other stations, the old, strict practice was still being maintained, although it had to be exercised with care.⁽¹⁸⁾

A similar grant was issued for Mamre in the same year,⁽¹⁹⁾

(16) XIII, pp. 210, 216; He.ko. 8.6.1859, 3.8.1859, 24.8.1859; Gen.Doc. 1359; Argus 24.6.1858, 1.7.1858.
(17) G. N. 1875, pp. 920, 921.
(18) G.N. 1859, pp. 936, 937.
(19) Ma. Doc. 11.12.1858.

and for Enon a few years later. In the case of Enon, the Mission ceded its rights to the distant Stroebel's farm in exchange for the definite inclusion of Samdee in the grant, and the effort of an official to have the bush declared a Government's forest, was defeated.⁽²⁰⁾ Proper titles for the grant stations were in the hands of the Superintendent at last. The brethren had secured the continued existence of home villages for generations of inhabitants at the price of being burdened with their management, without having the necessary powers for the purpose.

The process of consolidation under Kōlbing can also be observed at three other stations: Clarkson, Goedverwacht and Shiloh.

1. Kōlbing made a successful effort to secure the rights of the Fingoꝑs in the Tsitsikamma. Four reserves, Wittekleibosch, Snyklip, Doriskraal and Palmietriver, were granted to them for occupation, and plots for church and school purposes were promised to the Mission.⁽²¹⁾ This enabled the brethren to erect a school and a residence at Snyklip. The school was dedicated on 24th February 1858, and Zwelibanzi moved into the residence.⁽²²⁾ The people asked for a missionary to be stationed among them, but the brethren chose to consecrate Zwelibanzi an acolyte in 1860.⁽²³⁾ In this manner, the Mission gained a foothold among the dispersed Fingoꝑs in the reserves. On the other hand, many of the Fingo inhabitants of Clarkson moved to Shiloh and Goshen, looking for better pasturage.⁽²⁴⁾ Thus, the work in the Tsitsikamma developed along two distinctly different lines: The Fingoꝑs were ministered to in the reserves, and the Coloured People in the settlement of

(20) He.ko. 29.12.1858, 14.4.1860, 7.8.1860;
En. Doc. 1858/59, 8.12.1864.

(21) He.ko. 12.4.1855, 29.12.1855, 1.10.1856, 31.12.1856.

(22) Per.Acc. 1858, pp. 457, 458; G.N. 1859, p. 105;
G.N. 1860, p. 638.

(23) He.ko. 3.8.1859; G.N. 1862, p. 135.

(24) He.ko. 16.4.1857, 15.6.1857, 2.9.1857.

Clarkson.

2. With reference to Goedverwacht, an advocate found the documents concerning Burger's last will, which had been missing for some time, among his papers in 1856. After the Attorney-General had studied them, he assured K lbing that it would be safe for the Mission to erect buildings, as requested by the inhabitants. If the farm would be sold after the death of the last legatee, the brethren could either buy it or recover their expenses. Upon this, J.W.A. Stolz was called to Goedverwacht. He moved thither in 1858. The inhabitants, who had built a school and a teacher's residence already, promised to erect a parsonage.⁽²⁵⁾ Nearly half of them had been baptised, but none were communicants, and Stolz held his first communion with his wife and Mr. and Mrs. Hardenberg alone.⁽²⁶⁾ Some of the people, whose forefathers had come from Mozambique, still believed in witchcraft.⁽²⁷⁾ The parents did not show enough appreciation for the faithful work of the teacher.⁽²⁸⁾ In short, there was abundant work for a missionary. But when a neighbour offered his farm Wittewater for sale, the brethren bought it for eighteen-hundred pounds. It seemed safer, after all, to build the station on Mission property and to serve Goedverwacht from there. The Berlin Mission had taken a similar line by the purchase of Amalienstein near Zoar a few years earlier. The brethren intended to establish a settlement of the Rhenish type in Wittewater. Inhabitants were required to sign a contract and to pay a rent.⁽²⁹⁾ Stolz moved from Goedverwacht into the existing farm-house of Wittewater in 1859, and, at the end of the year, sixteen families had been admitted.⁽³⁰⁾

(25) He.ko. 1.5.1856, 3.12.1856, 15.6.1857; Per.Acc. 1858, pp. 490-492.

(26) G.N. 1860, pp. 655, 660.

(27) Per. Acc. 1859, p. 140.

(28) G.N. 1861, p. 536.

(29) He.ko. 27.9.1858, 3.11.1858, 3.3.1859; Du Plessis, p.351.

(30) G.N. 1861, p. 547.

In this manner, the work in that part of the country was placed on a permanent footing.

3. Turning to the eastern border, we find no less than six missionaries at Shiloh and Goshen. They were trying hard to master the language in the interest of further extension among the Bantu.⁽³¹⁾ Xhosa literature was obtained from the Wesleyans, and the brethren assisted J.W. Appleyard in Mount Coke with his translation of the Bible into Xhosa.⁽³²⁾ The damaged buildings had been repaired. C.F.W. Klinghardt, who was an expert in the erection of mills and had installed a steam-engine for the mill at Enon, built an excellent new mill at Shiloh, which was a subject of admiration among the Bantu, served the whole neighbourhood and provided the main income of the station.⁽³³⁾ K lbing secured a proper grant of 1829 morgen for Goshen, which grew into a seizable settlement. ⁽³⁴⁾

Another crisis threatened to interfere with the work, when the prophet Umhlakaza rose among the Xhosa. He derived a prophetic calling from his christian confirmation and instructed his people to slaughter their cattle and to burn their crops, because the day of wrath was near. Two suns would rise, a hurricane would sweep the Whites and the Fingo s into the sea, the spirits of the fallen warriors would reappear and kill the rest, a huge number of cattle would come out of the sea and everyone would receive his cattle back threefold.⁽³⁵⁾ The Xhosas complied, but the day of salvation did not come. Thousands of them died from hunger, and thousands of starving people flocked into the Colony.⁽³⁶⁾ The tragedy

(31) He.ko. 14.4.1860.

(32) Aux.Bible Soc. p. 17; Du Flessis, p.298; Moths, p.10.

(33) He.ko. 29.9.1855, 16.4.1857, 1852-1864 appendix; Fer. Acc. 1860, p. 315.

(34) He.ko. 29.7.1857, 29.12.1858.

(35) Calderwood, p. 213; Moths, pp. 14, 15.

(36) Calderwood, p. 219.

broke the power of the Xhosa for a long time. - The people of Goshen and Shiloh had declared from the beginning that they would not be misled again, and both stations remained intact.⁽³⁷⁾ Crowds of starving men, women and children passed through on their way to the west. One day, when the Klipplaar river was running high, more than a hundred of them were held up opposite Shiloh for some days. People fed them by throwing little bags of maize across the water, until the river subsided and they could be saved from starvation.⁽³⁸⁾ Those who were fed, had to do a bit of work in exchange, and the brethren took the opportunity to point out to them the danger of listening to prophets and witchdoctors.⁽³⁹⁾ Many of them remained in the settlements and were admitted to the classes in the course of time.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Polygamists were not required to dismiss their wives, but one.⁽⁴¹⁾

The difficult problem of polygamy kept the brethren busy time and again. Zinzendorf had adopted a remarkably free attitude in the matter: In view of the evidence of the Old Testament and the prohibition of divorce in the New Testament, he had decided that polygamists, who were baptised, should not dismiss any of their wives.⁽⁴²⁾ The pioneers of Shiloh had acted accordingly.⁽⁴³⁾ But the Regulations of Genadendal, which had been made for congregations of Coloured People, and the views of other missionary societies working among the Bantu caused a gradual change in the attitude not only of the brethren but also of their congregations in the east: They wanted the Synod of 1857 to reverse the traditional practice.⁽⁴⁴⁾ However, the Synod confirmed the old conception:

(37) Reichelt, p. 114.

(38) Reichelt, p. 115.

(39) Per. Acc. 1859, pp. 141, 142,

(40) Reichelt, p. 121.

(41) He.ko. 11.7.1860.

(42) 200 Jahre I, pp. 310, 311.

(43) See p. 259.

(44) 200 Jahre II, pp. 455, 456.

Dass die Missionare einen Mann, der vor seiner Bekehrung mehr als Ein Weib genommen, nicht nöthigen sollen, eine oder mehrere derselben zu verstossen, ((45)

Baptised members were of course bidden to marry one wife only, and baptised polygamists could not become church servants or overseers. (46)

The admittance of many starving Xhosas caused the brethren to establish a branch-settlement on the Ingoti river, to the west of Shiloh but still on land, which had been granted to the Mission. The brother, who was called to make the beginning, Heinrich Meyer, was a joiner with teaching- and medical experience, who had arrived at Shiloh in 1855. It was typical of him that the journey by ox-wagon had been too slow for his taste: He had arrived alone and on foot two days before the others. (47) After he had been invited to build a station on the Ingoti river, he started without delay:

I thought "we must strike while the iron is hot", and set off at once to survey the first street, and to mark out sites for houses. (48)

Many of the Xhosas followed him to the new spot and assisted in the erection of buildings. He changed his joinery at Shiloh for agriculture on the Ingoti, and, after the first year, a residence with out-buildings, a stable for two-hundred sheep, a garden and a large corn-field with crops of wheat, barley, oats and maize, a water-furrow and a plantation of fruit-trees bore witness to his energy. Other missionaries were in danger of neglecting their spiritual task for the sake of the economy, but he ministered to his flock with equal zeal and with a remarkable ability to speak their language. The sixteen families, who had moved to the Ingoti within a year, attended the services eagerly, and he visited the kraals all around the station. A school under a Bantu

(45) Syn. 1857, paragraph 107.

(46) Syn. 1857, paragraph 107.

(47) Moths, p. 7.

(48) Fer. Acc. 1859, p. 142.

teacher was added, and the place received the name of Engotini.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Meyer was destined to do outstanding pioneering work among the Hlubis at a later stage.

Wilhelmina had still her burning desire for the expansion of the Kingdom of God among her people and even called on the chiefs of various tribes to apply for mission stations.⁽⁵⁰⁾ When the Governor, Sir George Grey, visited Shiloh in 1858, she repeated her wish. He retorted that she should urge the missionaries of Shiloh to spread over the country, instead of crowding together on one spot.⁽⁵¹⁾

The widow of Mapasa, Yiliswa by name, asked the brethren repeatedly to establish a station in the new residential area of her tribe east of the Kei river, three to four hours from Goshen. But they had some doubts: The region, where the remnants of Mapasa's tribe lived, had little water, and the tribe was disintegrated and impoverished. Therefore, the prospects for the development of a Moravian settlement were poor. Nevertheless, they forwarded the application to Genadendal, but the unrest in connection with the prophet Umhlakaza delayed the matter. The brethren paid several visits to her and preached the Gospel to her people. Some of the listeners had been baptised at Shiloh, but were now prohibited from returning to the station. On one occasion, Josua Hermanus met a man, who had nearly killed him and was now grateful for receiving a piece of bread from him. All of them longed for a missionary. But when the brethren decided at last to undertake the task, the Anglicans had already founded St. Mark's in the region.⁽⁵²⁾

The centralisation of the management of the work in Genadendal may have impeded its expansion in this case. On

(49) He.ko. 14.4.1860, 11.7.1860, 1852-1864 appendix; Moths, pp. 17-19.

(50) G.N. 1868, p. 96.

(51) Reichelt, p. 120; G.N. 1868, p. 95.

(52) He.ko. 25.8.1854, 2.6.1855, 3.10.1856, 20.5.1857, 15.6.1857, 27.6.1857; Moths, pp. 12, 13.

the other hand, it served to preserve it amidst much opposition. All matters of any importance were referred to the H.C., the quorum of which consisted of the Superintendent, the administrator of the finances and a third missionary, all residing at Genadendal.⁽⁵³⁾ The suggestion of the U.A.C. that Bonatz should undertake the bookkeeping for the eastern congregations, and a later proposal that a second H.C. should be established at Shiloh, were rejected by the brethren of Genadendal.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Kölbing kept a gentle but firm hand on the development of all stations and negotiated with the authorities on their behalf.

The H.C. stuck to the old manner of work as much as possible. When the Synod of 1857 gathered at Herrnhut, the H.C. resolved not to propose any alteration of the existing methods.⁽⁵⁵⁾ There were liberal ideas among the Brethren overseas at that time: The traditional conception that Christ was the Head of the Moravian Church in a special sense, the use of the lot, the policy of gathering small groups of faithful adherents rather than expanding the Church, and the entanglement of the spiritual with the economic matters in the settlements, were subjected to criticism.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Many wanted the Church to open its doors towards the world. The Moravians in the U.S.A. were most outspoken and refused to be ruled by Herrnhut any longer. The Synod succeeded in reaching a brotherly agreement: The brethren in the U.S.A. and in England were given autonomy within the Unity, and the spiritual foundation of the Moravian conceptions and methods was restated in new terms. The use of the lot was further reduced: It was abolished for the admission to the preparatory classes for baptism and confirmation, with reference to the command

(53) He.ko. 25.7.1856.

(54) He.ko. 19.7.1852, 27.11.1852, 6.12.1852, 11.7.1860, 7.8.1860, 12.12.1860.

(55) He.ko. 16.4.1857.

(56) Hutton, p. 470.

of Christ to invite the bad as well as the good to the marriage feast (Matthew 22.10). It could still be used for the admission to baptism and the Lord's Supper, but only in the sense of delaying, not of refusing the sacraments, and exceptions could be made for sick people and in other cases. (57) The brethren in South Africa regretted the change, but submitted to it. (58)

It is difficult to assess the spiritual condition of the western congregations during this period, because the disturbances about the future of the grant stations confound the view. It is true that the brethren met more rebelliousness and indifference than in former times at some places. But K lbing, who took a wide view, did not regard this as a retrogression of the spiritual life. He considered that many people, who had formerly obeyed the European missionaries without contradiction, were now more outspoken, and that, on the whole, the spiritual life had neither improved nor deteriorated. His opinion contrasts with the complaints, which we have quoted above from the diary of Genadendal. (59) Evidently, he made a difference between the spiritual life and the behaviour of the residents towards the missionaries, and realised that the political changes had released forces, which had not only negative but also positive potentials. In his view, the picture had not changed fundamentally: There were strong groups of faithful members at all stations, but also a number of fellow-travellers and indifferent people. The number of educated people was certainly increasing as a result of the work in the schools. (60)

The education and the training of the indigenous population was being advanced at that time by two outstanding

(57) Syn. 1857, passim.

(58) He.ko. 14.11.1857.

(59) See p. 366.

(60) G.N. 1859, pp. 943-947.

men, Dr. Robert Gray, the first Bishop of the Anglican Church in South Africa, and Sir George Grey, the Governor.

The former visited Genadendal shortly after his arrival in South Africa in 1848, and two years later Shiloh.

He praised the brethren greatly:

There is a vast superiority in the Moravian establishments, so far as civilization and improvement are concerned, over all other institutions in this colony. (61)

It pleased him that the brethren did not exaggerate their achievements and were not blind to their shortcomings. (62)

He disagreed with their policy on one important aspect:

According to him, the time for the missionary management of settlements had passed; villages, in which every inhabitant had his own property, should take their place. He applied this principle, when the Anglican station of Abbotsdale was founded in 1858. (63) But he was especially interested in the Moravian training-school and intended to train Anglican students at Genadendal. (64) And he planned to establish mission stations among the Bantu, with a missionary, a teacher, an artisan and an agriculturist for every station, connecting spiritual and temporal education in the Moravian manner. (65)

Sir George Grey, who became Governor in 1854, cherished similar plans. He wanted to open up the country between the Colony and Port Natal for the civilisation and the Christian faith through the establishment of missionary centres of education and employment, and the British Government granted forty-thousand pounds per annum for three years for this purpose. (66) He visited Genadendal one month after his arrival in the country, and conversed with the brethren about his projects, expressing the hope that the Moravians would make

(61) Gray II, p. 155.

(62) Gray I, p. 6.

(63) Hinchliff, p. 46.

(64) Renkewitz, p. 7.

(65) Du Plessis, p. 354.

(66) Theal III, p. 40; Du Plessis, p. 354; Sketse, p. 68.

their contributions. Schmidt's pear-tree with its memories moved him deeply, and the brethren presented him with a polished box, made from its wood. Visiting the infant-school, he shook hands with Pfeiffer. Another teacher played the organ for him, and two old inhabitants demonstrated the Hottentot language to him. The brethren were delighted to find that he was a friend of the missions and an abstainer, and that he and his wife spoke the German language. His Secretary, W.R. Rawson, was a botanist like Kōlbing, and both made an excursion into the mountains together. (67)

When the Governor had another interview with Kōlbing at Cape Town in the following year, he referred to his plans for the Bantu home lands and offered financial support for the industrial training of Bantus at Shiloh. The brethren had four Bantu apprentices at that station and two more could be employed. The Governor promised a subsidy of twenty pounds for every apprentice, and forty pounds for every Bantu teacher. (68) It is probable that the brethren could have obtained much higher subsidies. Other societies received more support: Lovedale, which had a training-school since 1841, was enlarged by buildings for industrial work, and the Methodists founded the institution of Healdtown. (69) But the Moravians had always been reluctant, sometimes even over-cautious, to become tools of Government policy.

Subsidies were gradually obtained for the existing schools. The Government granted 75 pounds per annum for first grade, 30 pounds for second grade and 15 pounds for third grade mission schools on condition that English was among the subjects and that the work was done to the satisfaction of the Superintendent-General. (70)

(67) XIII, pp. 61-64, 138.

(68) He.ko. 29.12.1855, 28.1.1856, 12.3.1856, 3.10.1856.

(69) Du Plessis, pp. 298, 360.

(70) Ed. Regulations 1860, pp. 6, 9.

Kölbing saw to it that grants were obtained as far as possible.

The subsidies and the school fees of 1861 were as follows:

	<u>subsidy</u>	<u>school fees</u>	<u>pupils</u>
Genadendal	75. --	4. --	753
Elim	75. --	11.10.--	326
Mamre	30. --	-- --	278
Enon	30. --	7. 3.--	117
Kopjeskasteel	15. --	5. --	15
Twistwyk	15. --	14. 2.--	50
Goedverwacht	15. --	-- --	94
Clarkson	15. --	-- --	90
Tsitsikamma	15. --	-- --	36 (71)

The salaries of the married teachers were increased from twenty-eight to thirty-four pounds per annum, ⁽⁷²⁾ and teachers' dwellings were gradually erected at the main stations. ⁽⁷³⁾

But it proved very difficult to collect the school fees from the parents. People kept asking why they should pay for the education, which had been provided for nothing ever before. The U.A.C. advised the brethren to dismiss pupils, whose parents refused to pay, but the H.C. rejected the idea. It proposed in turn not to admit unwilling parents to the baptism of their children, but the U.A.C. disapproved of it. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ The outcome was that the Mission made up the difference between the subsidy and the salaries at most stations. Indigenous teachers gave the lessons in all Moravian schools by 1859 with the exception of the girls-départements at Genadendal and Mamre. ⁽⁷⁵⁾

The result of the general advance of education under Sir George Grey was that many requests for candidates from the training-school were suddenly received in 1856 and 1857.

(71) Ed. Report 1861, passim.

(72) He.ko. 11.7.1860; G.N. 1859, p. 940.

(73) He.ko. 3.11.1858, 29.12.1858.

(74) He.ko. 8.6.1859, 13.6.1860; G.N. 1859, pp. 941-943.

(75) G.N. 1859, p. 940.

Teachers were required and, as far as possible, provided for Dutch Reformed mission schools at Prince Albert and George, for Anglican schools near George and Malmesbury, and for the Anglican and the Berlin missions among the Bantu.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The brethren, who had expected a shortage of posts in 1854,⁽⁷⁷⁾ were suddenly confronted with a shortage of teachers.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Upon this, Prince Victor offered to finance the extension of the training-school, to provide for thirty in place of fifteen students, and the H.C. decided on twenty, as a beginning.⁽⁷⁹⁾ At the same time, Bishop Robert Gray made his own arrangements through the establishment of the Zonnebloem College at Cape Town,⁽⁸⁰⁾ and the Prince, who had done so much for the advancement of the indigenous helpers, died.⁽⁸¹⁾ Thus, the opportunity to develop a large undenominational training-centre at Genadendal, had passed.

A talented brother, Benno Marx, was the director of the training-school from 1855 onward.⁽⁸²⁾ He was a joiner by trade and had served the church as a teacher and an organist in Germany. He lived in the institution together with the students. The boys received instruction and gave test lessons in the mornings and went to tailors, joiners and shoemakers as apprentices in the afternoons.⁽⁸³⁾ The methods of Lancaster⁽⁸⁴⁾ still served as a model: Both, Marx and his assistant H.G. Hettasch, had studied the institutions of Lancaster in England, before coming to South Africa. Music played a great role: The students sang choral music and played the organ, the piano or the violin.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Marx formed a brass-band among them, which edified the congregation on

(76) He.ko. 2.4.1856, 1.10.1856, 7.11.1856, 3.12.1856, 31.12.1856, 4.3.1857.

(77) He.ko. 29.5.1854.

(78) G.N. 1859, pp. 940, 941.

(79) He.ko. 2.9.1857, 2.4.1858; Kweekskool, p. 10.

(80) Du Plessis, p. 359.

(81) He.ko. 26.4.1859.

(82) He.ko. 17.7.1855.

(83) G.N. 1862, p. 1066.

(84) See p. 186.

(85) G.N. 1862, p. 63.

festival days after the pattern of the Moravian congregations in Germany.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The students, who were ceded to the Mission by their parents at an early age, spent six or seven years at the institution, working hard. Lady Duff Gordon, who visited Genadendal in 1862, admired especially their singing, drawing and handwriting.⁽⁸⁷⁾ From time to time, they and their teachers paid a visit to Elim or Mamre, or made an excursion into the mountain, together with the missionaries and their wives, studying the flora and fauna.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Marx took the printing-press, which had been standing idle for more than twenty years, out of its corner and started printing in 1859.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The students left the trades in the village and became printing-assistants. The first results were unsatisfactory, and Marx wrote to La Trobe:

We have taught two of the pupils to assist in composing, while others help in other ways. But I am not a practical printer; all I know from books, and from looking at some presses, &c. at Cape Town. Besides this disadvantage, our press is an old wooden one, which an Englishman would laugh at. The type was old and very defective, so that I ventured to procure some new letters from town. This, of course, led to the incurring of some expense, but we hope to repay it ere long. I feel assured that no more important benefit could be conferred on this Mission, than a new and improved printing-press. You send us books, papers, &c., but of what use are they to our people? If, however, we can get them to read tracts, books, and magazines, printed expressly for them, and adapted for their use, the beneficial effect on their minds will, by the blessing of the Lord, be very great. (90)

In response, the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel donated a new press,⁽⁹¹⁾ and more work could be undertaken. An old sketch shows five of the students, respectably dressed in long trousers and vests, collars and ties, busy with the press.⁽⁹²⁾ While Marx printed in one room, Hettasch did the

(86) XIII, p. 232; G.N. 1860, pp. 314, 315.

(87) Duff Gordon, pp. 93, 94.

(88) XIII, pp. 203, 238, 251; G.N. 1862, pp. 1058, 1059.

(89) XIII, p. 256.

(90) Per. Acc. 1860, pp. 372, 373.

(91) XIV, 19.8.1860.

(92) Renkewitz, p. 47.

binding in another one with three assistants. A few of the first text-books were even bound in leather and gilt-edged.⁽⁹³⁾

A monthly paper, De Bode. Berigten uit de Heiden-wereld, appeared from December 1859 with three-hundred copies and for an annual subscription of two shillings. Its successor, Die Huisvriend, is printed at Genadendal still to-day. Marx filled it with news from the world-wide mission work, sketches from the history of the Christian church and devotional articles.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The Maandbladje voor Kinderen followed in 1861 with an edition of seven-hundred and a subscription of six pence per annum. It contained devotional stories and admonitions for the children, and was printed in a larger size and with many pictures from 1862.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Both periodicals spread outside Genadendal, not only to other mission stations but also to White congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Kleinkinder-Scholen, which Hallbeck had written, were produced in 1859 and quickly sold out for six pence a piece.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Other booklets from the first years were De Kleine Zang-vriend, a collection of songs for school use,⁽⁹⁸⁾ the Lydensgezangen over die zeven Kruiswoorden, for the devotional gatherings during Passion Time,⁽⁹⁹⁾ Dr. Martin Luthers Kleine Katechismus,⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and a curriculum vitae of K lbing, which was published after his death in 1860.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The most important publication was Het Tekst-Boek der Broederkerk with a text from the Old Testament and one from the New Testament for every day of the year. These watch-words have been published for the

(93) Per. Acc. 1861, p. 583.

(94) Bode; G.N. 1862, pp. 1065, 1066.

(95) Maandbladje; Kinder-vriend; G.N.1862, pp. 1064, 1065.

(96) Per. Acc. 1863, p. 35.

(97) Lessen.

(98) Zang-vriend.

(99) Zang-vriend, back page.

(100) Katechismus.

(101) K lbing.

whole Church since the days of Zinzendorf and translated into an ever increasing number of languages. They were first published in Genadendal for 1862 with an edition of six-hundred for nine pence a copy.⁽¹⁰²⁾ The first booklet in Xhosa was edited in 1861 with extracts from the Scriptures.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Various tracts and pamphlets were printed for the benefit of the inhabitants of the stations, such as Mijd de Kantien!, Gaat gij in den Oogst?, Onmatigheid, en De School.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The booklets and the periodicals were of inestimable value for the promotion of spiritual life and Christian fellowship.

Kölbing and Roser, the physician, participated in 1860 in a Christian conference at Worcester, which was attended by ministers of the Reformed Church and by missionaries from different societies. The Reformed Church, which had appointed a committee for missionary work in 1857, began to take a leading part. Kölbing rejoiced in the fact that this important body was taking its rightful place in the field. Among the matters, which came up for discussion, was the question, how the work could be done without depriving the farmers of their labourers. Professor J. Murray from Stellenbosch suggested that many more small stations should be established, one for every area of a field-cornet, and that every farmer should become the evangelist of his farm. Dr. W. Robertson from Swellendam made a plea that Whites and Non-Whites should worship together in one church, and that the farmers should ask themselves, whether the supply of labourers was of greater importance, than the salvation of immortal souls at the mission stations. The missionaries from Europe were acquitted of the charge that they were intruders in the country; the conference acknowledged that they had come, because the Church in South Africa had not realised its missionary calling.

(102) Tekst-Boek; G.N. 1862, p. 1066.

(103) Duff Gordon, p. 93.

(104) Tractate.

It was an encouragement for K lbing to meet fellow-workers from the Reformed Church in this spirit. Evidently, the Moravians had long since ceased to be regarded as a sect. (105)

He celebrated his fiftieth birthday in the same year. Shortly afterwards, his youngest child met with a fatal accident. It caused him such a shock that his health deteriorated and he died before the end of the year. (106)

He was one of the most remarkable superintendents of the Moravian Mission at the Cape, but headed the work for eight and a half years only. In obtaining proper titles for the mission stations, he rendered a great service to their inhabitants. He promoted the education of the children, the training of the teachers and their clerical work at the out-stations. The stations, which were no longer places of refuge, became important centres of education, and the printing-press extended their influence outside their borders. He attended to his extensive correspondence in German, Dutch and English with great care, and helped by the way many people through his medical knowledge. His sober judgment helped to reduce the difficulties about the mission stations to their proper proportions. (107)

(105) XIV, 16.4.1860; Worcester 1860; Du Plessis, pp. 284, 285.

(106) G.N. 1861, pp. 1075 ff.

(107) Sketse, pp. 70-73.

7. Scarcity and economising, and the partition of the work,

1861 - 1869.

The seventh decade of the nineteenth century was a period of scarcity for the whole country. A depression on the world's market and catastrophes of nature combined to make it a difficult time for the population. Droughts, failures of crops, and invasions of locusts followed each other. Conditions of dearth, especially among the poor, were the result. (1)

The mission stations were seriously affected. Many Fingoës left Shiloh, Goshen and Engotini, and moved into the Transkei. (2) The out-stations on farms, which belonged to Coloured People, suffered most: The meetings in Jacob's Chapel at Wittezaand were discontinued, because there was nobody to attend. (3) The Klink family at Kopjeskasteel was forced to sell the farm and moved to Genadendal. The school was discontinued, and the teacher, who had held out to the last, was granted a pension of one rix-dollar per day. The chapel, which had served for twenty-five years, was closed. (4) Even the meetings at Houtkloof were discontinued for some time, the people having left the farm because of the famine. The school had been closed in 1859 already. (5) The inhabitants of the main stations suffered want. Their chances of earning a living on the farms were poor, because the farmers themselves were in difficulties. (6) Typhoid fever broke out at Genadendal. (7) The relief fund of the Mission, which Hallbeck had left, and which had been assigned to the building of chapels and schools by Teutsch, was used once more to

(1) Walker, pp. 297, 298.

(2) He.ko. 1.5.1866.

(3) He.ko. 22.2.1862.

(4) He.ko. 13.2.1866; G.N. 1867, p. 549.

(5) Elim, p. 21; El.Di. 1.1.1866.

(6) G.N. 1867, p. 778.

(7) G.N. 1866, p. 851.

pay remunerations for small jobs to people in need. (8)

The accounts of the Cape Mission produced annual deficits of 400 to 2400 pounds. Even Genadendal closed mostly with an excess of expenditure in spite of its various trades. Only Elim showed an annual surplus of a few hundred pounds, and Robben Island, which was subsidised by the Government, a small one. (9) The work on Robben Island was handed over to the Anglican Church on the wish of the Government in 1868; most of the officials and attendants of the institution were Anglicans, the last one of the lepers, who had come over from Hemel en Aarde, died in 1868, and the formation of a Moravian congregation among the patients was no longer welcome. (10) The accumulated reserves from former years were exhausted in 1864, and the account of the U.A.C. had to be taxed. (11) It caused great disappointment at headquarters, because the Cape Mission had been regarded as self-supporting, and the resources of the Mission Departement had been directed to new fields, which captured the main interest of the supporters of the work. The U.A.C. itself produced a large deficit in 1866, consequent to the world-wide depression. (12) Therefore, economising became an urgent necessity in South Africa.

Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Kühn succeeded Kölbing as Superintendent, and Wilhelm Ferdinand Bechler took charge of the finances in his place. (13) When Kühn moved to Berthelsdorf in 1866 and became the correspondent of the U.A.C. for South Africa, Bechler succeeded him but retained the financial administration. (14) The curriculum vitae of Kühn is typical for the life course of many a Moravian missionary. His

(8) He.ko. 22.6.1866.

(9) He.ko. 1862-1870, passim.

(10) He.ko. 25.7.1867, 26.11.1867; H.A.Di. 1867, 1868; Hemel en Aarde, p. 11.

(11) He.ko. 1.8.1865.

(12) He.ko. 20.8.1867.

(13) He.ko. 22.7.1861.

(14) He.ko. 13.2.1866.

parents were poor, and he grew up in Silesia under unhappy circumstances, until he met a Moravian brother and experienced a conversion. He moved into the settlement of Gnadenfeld, where he lived in the Brüderhaus and worked in the local joinery of the brethren. After a period of probation, he was admitted to membership and became an assistant teacher in the local boarding-school. He learnt to speak English and to play the violin in his spare-time and indicated his desire to be sent to the mission fields. At the age of twenty-eight, he was called to South Africa with reference to the needs of the training-school, and a wife was assigned to him by the lot on his request. The use of the lot remained dear to him throughout his life. He served at Genadendal in the training-school, the primary school, the joinery and as administrator of the finances. He followed the lead of Kōlbing, cautiously and very conscientiously, until he was called to succeed him.⁽¹⁵⁾ He had inspected the economies of the eastern stations shortly before Kōlbing's death and had written a careful report about it.⁽¹⁶⁾

Carlyle, who compared the Moravians of that time with other missionaries, came to the conclusion that their methods were a bit old-fashioned and their movements a bit slow, and that other societies produced more talented, educated and far-sighted workers, but that the Moravians still excelled in the essential qualities of humbleness, friendliness and faithfulness; the old type of the Moravian piety and its evangelic witness was still evident among them.⁽¹⁷⁾ Kühn represented this type par excellence and imprinted it on his co-workers. His example of humility and dependence on the Lord imparted itself to the indigenous helpers, who came more and more into their own during this period.

(15) Kühn, passim.

(16) He.ko. 1852-1864 appendix.

(17) Carlyle, pp. 121-123.

The full control of the work passed gradually into the hands of the U.A.C. The improved postal communications made this possible, and the economic difficulties desirable. For instance, the erection of buildings became subject to the approval of the Board,⁽¹⁸⁾ and the missionaries were given the right of appeal, whenever the H.C. of Genadendal called them to another station.⁽¹⁹⁾ The U.A.C. planned twice a visitation of the field, only the lot decided against it.⁽²⁰⁾ The remote control contributed to the fact that the Moravians were slow to seize opportunities for expansion, while churches, which had their headquarters in South Africa, notably the Anglican and the Reformed Church, extended their missionary activities on a large scale.

Germany remained the home country of the brethren. All personal matters, such as ordinations, marriages and furloughs, were decided at Berthelsdorf. The children, who reached the school-going age, were sent from time to time to Europe under the care of a missionary.⁽²¹⁾ The oldest serving brother was usually chosen for this purpose and remained in Germany on pension thereafter. The children were educated in a Moravian boarding-school together with those from the other mission fields at the expense of the Board.⁽²²⁾ Some of them returned later to South Africa in the service of the Mission.⁽²³⁾ According to N.J. Merriman, it was a distinctive feature of the Moravians, that many of them were children or grandchildren of missionaries. He attributed the outstanding quality of their work to the good education, which they had received, and which they passed on to their own children.⁽²⁴⁾ A tradition of service was fostered

(18) He.ko. 9.10.1866.

(19) He.ko. 23.10.1864.

(20) He.ko. 16.6.1863, 5.12.1863, 23.5.1864.

(21) For instance He.ko. 7.11.1856.

(22) 200 Jahre II, p. 655.

(23) See pp. 264, 270, 276, 349, 373.

(24) V. R. XXXVII, p. 55.

in this manner. It was of course a great hardship for the parents to part from their children, but the opinion of Merriman shows that it produced good results for the mission as a whole.

The centralisation of the direction at Berthelsdorf was supplemented by decentralisation in South Africa. The Synod of 1857 had recommended that regional conferences should be held in preparation for the following Synod, ⁽²⁵⁾ and the U.A.C. urged the brethren of Genadendal to act accordingly. Kühn and Bechler wanted at first only a brotherly discussion of the brethren in the west as an experiment. On the other hand, Benno Marx, the youngest member of the H.C., proposed that the regional conferences should be empowered to take binding resolutions and even to elect the members of the H.C. ⁽²⁶⁾ The outcome was that two annual missionary conferences were held from 1862 onward, one at Genadendal for the west and one at Shiloh for the east. Their resolutions required the approval of the H.C. and finally of the U.A.C. The Board continued to appoint the members of the H.C. ⁽²⁷⁾ Responsible government was, therefore, not intended. Still, the missionaries welcomed the new conferences, especially in the east, where they could give more attention to the problems of their work among the Bantu. It is evident that the younger brethren desired some share in the responsibility, and that the brethren in the east wished to stand on their own feet. ⁽²⁸⁾ There was a corresponding movement in the political field at that time, which aimed at the creation of a separate government for the Eastern Province, and there were even dissensions and schisms in the Anglican and the Dutch Reformed Churches. Walker wrote about this period:

(25) Syn. 1857, paragraph 117.

(26) He.ko. 19.11.1861.

(27) He.ko. 15.11.1862, 8.3.1862, 22.4.1862, 21.7.1862.

(28) He.ko. 2.6.1863, 16.6.1863, 23.5.1865, 15.10.1865.

... everyone , faced with falling trade and revenue, became depressed and quarrelsome ((29)

However, it would be a gross exaggeration to apply this verdict to the brethren.

The growing organisation of the work caused a change in the relations between the various bodies, which was especially marked during this period: They became more official. The missionaries were, for instance, bidden to distinguish between personal letters and official correspondence with the H.C. (30) It was certainly understandable in view of the financial difficulties that Bechler stressed the official character of the relations. After he had been given the right to inspect the books of the stations, (31) he visited them repeatedly for an examination of their economies. A large unaccounted debt was discovered in the shop of Genadendal, and the brother, who was in charge, was deposed. (32) At Mamre, Bechler found that outhouses had been built "unnöthig dauerhaft u schön", (33) and that even a cow-shed had been added without authorisation. At Goshen, Hartmann earned a reproof for having built the church with gothic windows and a beautiful double flight of steps with railings in front. (34)

Drastic restrictive measures were applied to the economy. Branches, which were not profitable, were closed down, such as the joinery at Shiloh, the wagon-making and the smithy at Enon, the smithy and the joinery at Mamre and the agriculture at Goshen. The wish of the Governor to have Bantu artisans trained at Shiloh could not be satisfied any longer. Only some of the trades of Genadendal and

(29) Walker, p. 298.

(30) He.ko. 19.11.1861.

(31) He.ko. 18.3.1862.

(32) He.ko. 23.7.1861.

(33) He.ko. 21.7.1863.

(34) He.ko. 1852-1864 appendix.

Elim, and the shops and the mills of all stations carried on.⁽³⁵⁾ The cutlery of Genadendal suffered damage from the competition of industrial products. At one stage, a British firm imported knives under the trade-mark of Genadendal into South Africa.⁽³⁶⁾ Nevertheless, it carried on, until the last trained artisan died in 1886.⁽³⁷⁾ Only the name of herneuterme, meaning Herrnhuter Knife, still survives.⁽³⁸⁾

The number of missionaries decreased from thirty-two in 1861 to twenty-seven in 1868, while the total number of inhabitants remained about the same.⁽³⁹⁾ Various opportunities for expansion could not be seized. An official urged the brethren in 1864 to work among the Bushmen along the Orange river. Neither the Reformed nor the Anglican Church nor the Rhenish Mission had responded to his appeal. The brethren found a refusal most difficult, in this case, because the Moravians had always gone to the most dejected and despised peoples. But the financial circumstances forbade it.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Another request came in 1868 from the Griqua Captain Adam Kok. He had moved with his people from the Orange river to East Griqualand on the invitation of the Government. Passing Shiloh, he had made the acquaintance of the brethren, and invited them to his new residential area. The invitation could not be accepted.⁽⁴¹⁾ No additional land was bought during this period except a small piece near Elim, which the H.C. approved at last "mit Seufzen".⁽⁴²⁾

The training-school was also hit by the restrictions. The number of students was fixed at eight, after K lbing had increased it from fourteen to twenty-two.⁽⁴³⁾

(35) He.ko. 11.6.1866, 18.6.1866, 25.9.1866.

(36) 200 Jahre I, p. 187; Oom Fani, p. 16.

(37) XVI, 27.10.1886.

(38) Groot Woordeboek. Pretoria, 1956.

(39) G.N. 1861, pp. 839, 840; G.N. 1868, pp. 832, 833.

(40) G.N. 1866, pp. 264-266; He.ko. 20.9.1864, 23.5.1865.

(41) He.ko. 18.2.1868, 14.5.1868; Reichelt, p. 133; Walker, pp. 305, 306, 315.

(42) He.ko. 4.6.1867.

(43) He.ko. 17.3.1863; Per. Acc. 1870, p. 318.

Consequently, there were not enough candidates to fill the vacancies in the Moravian schools, and teachers, who had gone to serve other churches, were called back. (44)

Dr. Langham Dale, the energetic Superintendent-General of Education, visited Genadendal in 1864 with the idea of converting the station into a large educational centre for the Western Cape. There were still twelve students in the training-school at that time, five Namaquas, one Damara, one Rhenish student from Stellenbosch and five Moravians, but there was room for thirty. The interest of the fund established by Prince Victor covered the expenses of the institution to the extent of 400 pounds per annum. Dale offered a subsidy of 244 pounds for a substantial increase in the number of student-teachers, on condition that the teachers of all the schools of Genadendal should be Europeans and qualified to teach English. (45) The H.C. considered the proposal, but found it impossible to replace the Coloured teachers by qualified missionaries without considerable expenses. The plan was rejected, (46) and the training-school remained small, but independent. The printing-press was not closed down, although Kühn expressed the fear that the students might become haughty by printing in place of serving as apprentices in the village. (47) But the publication of the text-books was interrupted for many years, because it was not profitable. (48)

The financial difficulties produced at least one positive result: After a large deficit had been reported in 1865, the U.A.C. declared energetically that the income of the South African Mission must be enlarged by church contributions from the members, (49) and the two missionary conferences of

(44) He.ko. 2.12.1862.

(45) Ed. Report 1864, pp. 127, 128; He.ko. 30.12.1864; G.N. 1866, pp. 270, 271.

(46) He.ko. 23.5.1865, 25.9.1866, 3.5.1867.

(47) He.ko. 19.6.1866.

(48) He.ko. 4.6.1872; Bode 1873, VI.

(49) He.ko. 1.8.1865.

Shiloh and Genadendal resolved in 1866 that every adult inhabitant should pay an annual church fee, the men six shillings and the women four shillings, and that those who refused to pay, should be quietly excluded from the sacraments, until they paid their arrears. The same discipline should be applied to those who refused to pay their school fees. The names of the members in arrear should be published at the end of every year. (50) The measure was based on the biblical demand that those who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel (I Cor. 9.14), and similar passages. It came very late, and its introduction caused endless trouble. Kühn wrote about it to Bechler later:

Du weisst, mit welchem schweren Herzen, als ahnte ich Alles das was folgen würde, ich vor meinem Abschied von Afrika, namentl. in Gnaden-
thal die Gemeinbeiträge Einrichtung bekannt
machte u. nur zu sehr davon schmerztl. über-
zeugt war, dass es schon früher hätte geschehen
sollen. (51)

After a period of grace of three years, the exclusion of about six-hundred members was announced in Genadendal, whereupon a hundred of them petitioned the Governor against the measure. (52) Still, a beginning had been made, and a principle had been laid down, which is still being maintained.

A report stated in 1869 by way of summary:

It need hardly been stated that no great progress has been made in the payment of regular contributions towards the support of the mission. Still the congregations seem to have attained to the conviction that it is, according to the word of God, their duty to contribute towards the maintenance of their spiritual instructors. (53)

Another positive feature of this period was the further advance of the indigenous helpers. They learnt to love their church and its music at Genadendal. After they had become teachers, they disseminated the periodicals and booklets,

(50) He.kc. 15.6.1866, 22.6.1866; Beschlüsse, p.6; Reichelt, p.133.

(51) Le. U.A.C. 3.1.1873.

(52) XV, February 1870, June 1870; Gen.Doc. 20.5.1870.

(53) Per. Acc. 1870, p. 318.

which they had helped to print in the training-school, some became organists, and one station after another obtained its own brass-band. (54)

The secular instruction was not neglected. The Superintendent-General of Education granted subsidies only, if 20% of the pupils at the main stations and 10% at the out-stations could read, write and do sums, (55) and inspected the schools from time to time. The missionaries held regular school conferences with the teachers at every station, and part of the regional conferences was set aside for the same purpose. (56) Various measures were taken to improve the attendance: It was resolved that candidates for baptism should endeavour to learn reading, (57) and that children should be able to read and to recite the first two parts of Luther's Catechism, before being admitted to the privileges of residents, (58) and that only members, who could read and write, could become church servants or overseers. (59) New-comers and grown-up children had to sign the Regulations, (60) and all contracts, such as leases and testaments, had to be executed in writing. (61) These and similar resolutions of the regional conference of Genadendal show that great stress was laid on the improvement of the secular education.

The daily religious lessons helped the teachers to acquire a solid biblical knowledge. The Hoofinhoud der Christelijke Heilsleer SERVED AS TEXTBOOK from 1868. It presented the Christian doctrine systematically and in a simple manner in the form of questions and answers with suitable texts from the Scripture. (62) It was an adaptation

(54) Reichelt, p. 133; El. D1. 27.3.1864.

(55) Ed. Report 1862, p. 5.

(56) Beschlüsse, p. 5.

(57) Beschlüsse, p. 3.

(58) Beschlüsse, p. 4.

(59) Beschlüsse, p. 7.

(60) Beschlüsse, pp. 3, 4.

(61) Beschlüsse, p. 8.

(62) Hoofinhoud.

of an old Moravian catechism, edited in 1747,⁽⁶³⁾ and was preceded by a hand-written booklet, Eenvoudige vragen by het Godsdienstige Onderwijs der Hottentotten te gebruiken.⁽⁶⁴⁾

The Hoofdinhoud shaped the religious knowledge of both, teachers and pupils, for several decades.

Four of the teachers had been promoted acolytes by 1860, which entitled them to hold liturgical meetings and funerals and to instruct candidates, but not to preach.⁽⁶⁵⁾

These competences were insufficient at least in the case of Hardenberg, who served the large congregation of Goedverwacht, supported only by occasional visits of the missionary of Wittewater. His state of health was not good, and his wife substituted many times for him at the school, but the people respected him.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The U.A.C. wanted him to be ordained a minister,⁽⁶⁷⁾ but Kühn considered the step premature.⁽⁶⁸⁾

He was made an assistant minister. The new rank entitled him to preach and to partake in the "speaking", to assist in the administration of the Lord's Supper and to become a member of the missionary conferences. His salary was increased to sixty pounds, and Mrs. Hardenberg was consecrated an acolyte.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The Superintendent-General of Education

recognised her as a teacher for needle-work and granted fifteen pounds per annum for this purpose.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Both were

progressive workers. When Hardenberg had administered an emergency baptism to one of his children, long discussions

among the church authorities followed, because he was not yet ordained, but in the end, his action was quietly approved.⁽⁷¹⁾

Two other acolytes, Carl Jonas in Enon and Johannes Zwelibanzi

(63) Hauptinhalt.

(64) Eenv. vragen.

(65) He.ko. 17.3.1863.

(66) He.ko. 22.2.1862.

(67) He.ko. 4.2.1862.

(68) He.ko. 9.11.1862.

(69) He.ko. 21.4.1863, 23.5.1865, 15.11.1865.

(70) He.ko. 24.7.1868.

(71) He.ko. 1.5.1866, 21.8.1866, 8.1.1867.

in the Tsitsikamma, were promoted assistant ministers after him. (72) Thus, the indigenous helpers were gradually prepared for responsible ministry in a slow but thorough manner. Their sons were admitted to the training-school by preference, if they had the necessary talent and character. (73) A tradition of service was cultivated in these families, out of which the Church received many able ministers later.

At the same time, the functionaries and the members of the congregations were educated to responsible membership. Kühn urged the missionaries to make more use of the church servants and the overseers. He observed in 1866 that the spiritual life at Shiloh, where no conference had been held with the functionaries for two years, left much to be desired, while Goshen, where they assembled nearly every week, was much more of a living congregation. (74) With regard to the ordinary members, he emphasised the importance of house visits and family prayers. (75) The pastoral contact, which had formerly been maintained by the "speaking" in the offices of the missionaries, was carried into the settlements. Larger settlements were divided into wards, each of which was entrusted to one of the missionary couples. (76) The habit of daily family prayers spread among the inhabitants. (77) Other methods, imported from Europe, were less successful: The local missionary societies lingered away, and young men and young women associations, though founded with enthusiasm, were of short duration. (78)

The contact of the brethren with the missionaries of other societies was as strong as ever and became more organised. The brethren in the Eastern Cape joined the

(72) He.ko. 5.4.1864, 22.8.1864, 1.8.1865.

(73) He.ko. 28.5.1867, 25.7.1867, 8.5.1868.

(74) He.ko. 22.6.1866, 1852-1864 appendix.

(75) Beschlüsse, p. 1; He.ko. 22.6.1866.

(76) He.ko. 22.6.1866, 26.6.1866.

(77) G.N. 1861, p. 815.

(78) He.ko. 22.6.1860; G.N. 1862, p. 41; Raum, p. 31.

conferences of the seven bodies, which worked among the Bantu, held at Kingwilliamstown,⁽⁷⁹⁾ At Genadendal, German missionaries from different societies conferred together in 1865 and 1867 on the invitation of Kühn and Bechler. They came mainly from the Berlin, the Rhenish and the Moravian Coloured congregations in the Western Cape. Mutual edification was the purpose, and practical questions of common interest were the subjects.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The fellowship of Christians from all denominations was dear to the brethren since the days of Zinzendorf. The verdict of Kriel is not justified:

Alhoewel die Morawiese Genootskap reeds in 1792 hul werksaamhede hervat het, het hulle geheel en al geïsoleerd van die ander Protestantse genootskappe gestaan. (81)

However, more than brotherly interdenominational co-operation was not intended. When the Director of the Berlin Mission, Dr. H.T. Wangemann, suggested on occasion of a visit to Genadendal that a South African church should be formed out of the congregations of the three German societies under a South African board, they rejected the idea, because it sacrificed the world-wide Unity of the Brethren for the sake of a national church.⁽⁸²⁾ It must be remembered that the Moravians, unlike the Berlin and Rhenish Missionary Societies, were a church, doing mission work. Those who were gathered through their efforts, became associated with the Gemeine.

On the other hand, it had never been their intention to propagate their own brand of Christianity, but only to proclaim Christ to the heathen. The question arose: How far did the South African congregations belong to the Moravian Church? The U.A.C. explained on inquiry that the mission work aimed only at the winning of souls for the Saviour and

(79) G.N. 1870, p. 542; G.N. 1871, p. 666.

(80) G.N. 1866, pp. 562-564; G.N. 1868, pp. 944, 945.

(81) Kriel, p. 16.

(82) He.ko. 29.1.1867; G.N. 1867, p. 986.

and gathering them into congregations. Whether they would finally join the Moravian Church, was to be left to the future. Meanwhile, as many of the Moravian usages should be introduced as was practically advisable.⁽⁸³⁾ Thus, the practical aim of the work remained uncertain. Only the acolytes and the assistant ministers were expressly declared members of the Gemeine.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The association of the congregations with the Moravian Church was provisional. Their future was left to the Lord, for whom they had been gathered.

In any case, the establishment of a national church of Coloured People was foreign to the brethren. Only for practical reasons did they decide in 1863 to admit none but Coloured People into the settlements, although the titles did not oblige them to do so: The sad experiences, which they had made with White intruders, led them to this decision.⁽⁸⁵⁾

Kühn wrote later about his time in South Africa:

Da fühlte ich mich in einem Zustand, in welchem ich froh war, mit dem schwachen Amtschifflein in den brausenden Wellen um die allergefährlichsten Riffe herum zu kommen. Daran war gar nicht zu denken, in ein sicheres ruhiges Fahrwasser zu kommen. Schien es einmal so, so war es nur eine ruhige Stelle zwischen den Klippen und Riffen, wo die Brandung etwas nachgelassen hatte. (86)

His judgment was probably coloured by the state of affairs at Genadendal, where he resided. Genadendal had certainly its special problems because of its size. Some neighbours continued to encourage opposition against the order, under which many of their former slaves now lived. One of them told Lady Duff Gordon: "You see it makes the d-d niggers cheeky." ⁽⁸⁷⁾ It is true that Genadendal made a deep impression on the Lady. She was astonished at the neat appearance of the people and their dwellings:

(83) Beschlüsse, pp. 10, 11.

(84) Beschlüsse, p. 12.

(85) Beschlüsse, p. 1.

(86) Le. U.A.C. 2.5.1870.

(87) Duff Gordon, p. 95.

They are ... far cleaner in their huts than any but the very best English poor. (88)

But the trouble, which the management of the settlement caused, remained unnoticed to passing visitors.

There was a well-to-do inhabitant, who owned a guest-house and a shop. Lady Duff Gordon, who lodged with him in 1862, described him as "thriving, shrewd, sensible". (89) He and his wife were ex-slaves. His former owner, who was also his father, was a Scot. (90) When he could not pay his debts to a businessman of Caledon in 1862, he was declared bankrupt, and his dwelling was sold by auction. The Regulations were taken into consideration: Only residents could compete for possession. It was the first time that an auction was held at Genadendal. The dwelling was acquired by the Mission, but the man refused to vacate it and had to be ejected by a verdict of the magistrate. The inhabitants complained that the Mission had not prevented the auction, and some addressed an unsuccessful petition to the Governor for the prohibition of auctions at the station. Even some of the church servants and overseers signed it, although they were expected to stand by the majority of the Conference. When Kühn reprimanded them, most of them resigned their office. (91)

Another inhabitant complained to the magistrate that Kühn had caused the overseers to pull down a construction and a fence, which he had erected without permission. He was a non-resident, who refused to leave Genadendal and acted at his pleasure. A court case began, which took years and was eventually decided in Kühn's favour by the Supreme Court. The verdict confirmed at last that the Regulations were binding on the inhabitants. The dwelling of the man was

(88) Duff Gordon, p. 91.

(89) Duff Gordon, p. 86.

(90) Duff Gordon, p. 86.

(91) G.N. 1864, pp. 41-58, 1053-1060.

sold by auction and purchased by the Mission, in order to recover part of the expenses. But the Lion's share of the costs had to be borne by the brethren. (92)

Another difficulty arose from the Parliamentary elections of 1864. Maundy Thursday and Good Friday had been fixed for the voting at Genadendal. The objections of the brethren against the choice of festival days had come too late. The losing party contended that the days had been chosen not without missionary influence, in order to get a maximum number of Coloured voters to turn the balance of the election. The newspapers wrote about it, and an objection was lodged. A commission investigated the matter and rejected the objection as unfounded. (93)

Adherents of the same party had made threats that Genadendal would be broken up by means of canteens, if their candidate lost the election. After the event, two canteens were licensed at Greyton, just outside Genadendal. The Argus declared in a leading article that people who were supposed to have the maturity to elect the Parliament of the country, should also be able to resist the temptation of intoxicating liquor. At first, the inhabitants were eager to fight the danger. Pfeiffer preached against canteens and leaflets of warning were disseminated throughout the settlement. But more and more went to buy wine and brandy, and public disorders followed. (94)

The election days continued to be a source of trouble. In 1869, the candidates gave their supporters meals with drinks. One of them arrived two days before the event with eight barrels of wine. The resulting disturbances were considerable. (95)

(92) G.N. 1865, pp. 821-825; G.N. 1866, pp. 565-567;
G.N. 1869, pp. 187-189; He.ko. 8.10.1867; Ma.Div.2.8.1866.
(93) G.N. 1865, p. 817; Argus, 12.4.1864, 23.4.1864, 25.4.1864,
10.5.1864; Report 1864, passim.
(94) G.N.1866, pp.258-261, 269, 270; Argus, 10.5.1864.
(95) G.N. 1871, pp. 164, 165.

The brethren reported such difficulties faithfully in their diaries and periodicals. According to Carlyle, their reports were distinguished by candidness. He added:

One almost feels at times, as if in their desire to be truthful, the Brethren sometimes allowed themselves to take too morbid a view of things. (96)

But the fact remains that their spiritual authority was no longer sufficient for the control of Genadendal, and that the inhabitants were not yet capable of exercising responsible self-control.

Two remarks of visitors permit us to assess the change in the spiritual life of the congregation. Lady Duff Gordon wrote:

... the congregation was singularly decorous and attentive, but did not seem at all excited or impressed (97)

And Professor J. Murray from Stellenbosch commented:

The imperfections of the old Christian Churches in Europe, such as formalism and the like, manifest themselves also in this congregation gathered from among the heathen. (98)

Evidently, the relation to the Saviour was no longer the main interest of many. The world had made its inroad into the formerly secluded community of Genadendal.

However, it must not be overlooked that the conditions of Genadendal were singular. The smaller settlements presented a different picture. In Elim, for instance, Johann Jakob Müller ruled the congregation in the old patriarchal manner. People who caused offence through disturbances, immorality or insubordination, or who married outsiders, had to leave the station. (99) When the wording of Hallbeck's Regulations was revised, the clause, which described them as a voluntary agreement of the inhabitants, was omitted, as

(96) Carlyle, P. 121.

(97) Duff Gordon, p. 91.

(98) Per. Acc. 1863, p. 36.

(99) El. Di. 25.9.1862, 10.4.1863.

was another one, which explained that the missionaries derived their authority from the inhabitants.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The attendance of the meetings was good. Müller went occasionally through the village during church time, in order to apprehend people who stayed at home.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ When the church was enlarged, the meetings were held in the school, but the evening services were suspended, because those who could not find seats inside, disturbed the congregation, while waiting outside in the dark.⁽¹⁰²⁾ This may indicate that the discipline at Elim was a success only under the eyes of the missionaries. In any case, the station flourished in spite of the difficult times in every respect.

Clarkson provided another example. Hettasch, the head-missionary, compared the station with an oasis in the desert: Wickedness and drunkenness reigned among the people all round; the farmers ridiculed the brethren, contending that their discipline was too stern. But he preferred a small congregation of sincere Christians to a large crowd of half-hearted and undisciplined people.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The work among the dispersed Fingoes was much more difficult, and Hettasch tried at one stage to draw them into the settlement, laying out a second street on the other side of the river for their benefit. But it did not work. Only few of them moved to Pesheya street.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ He was disappointed, being convinced that solid spiritual work could only be done in a closed settlement. The difference between the two types of work was daily before his eyes. He wrote about it:

... among those natives who live scattered up and down the district, conversions can and do take place, beyond all doubt, but the growth

(100) He.ko. 1.5.1866; El. Doc. Ordeningen van Elim.

(101) El. Di. 18.6.1865.

(102) El. Di. 26.2.1865.

(103) Per. Acc. 1875, pp. 290, 291.

(104) He.ko. 25.2.1869; Per. Acc. 1875, pp. 290, 291; G.N. 1874, pp. 1035, 1036; G.N. 1875, p. 957; Hettasch, pp. 20, 21.

of the spiritual life, the grounding in the Word and doctrine, are greatly favoured by the daily food and attention which can alone be given to those residing at the station. ((105)

It was mainly for this reason that the brethren did not take steps to surrender the management of the settlements to the state. The H.C., which considered the matter in 1868, came to the following conclusions: The system that all the inhabitants were regarded as members of the spiritual fellowship, resulted in considerable hypocrisy in the case of Genadendal, and if the Mission took the initiative to get rid of the management now, favourable conditions might be obtained. On the other hand, the inhabitants would become more worldly and would lose their property rights to Whites. In any case, it would be wrong to bring serious disadvantages on the smaller settlements only in order to be relieved of the management of Genadendal. It was, therefore, preferable to endure the difficulties and to await possible steps of the Government. (106)

The L.M.S., on the other hand, considered that its congregations at the Cape should now stand on their own feet and should release the men and the means of the Society for pioneering work among the heathen. It investigated the matter in 1868 and requested the Government to subdivide its stations and to give titles to the inhabitants, although many of them were opposed to the measure. The necessary legislation was passed in 1873. The State undertook to pay for the survey, and it was stipulated that the titles could not be sold for ten years without permission from the Government. The measure was gradually carried out, and the land was acquired by Whites to a large extent in the course of time. (107) At one spot, the Moravians inherited part of the work of the L.M.S.:

(105) Per. Acc. 1871, p. 100.

(106) He.ko. 1864-1906 appendix.

(107) Marais, pp. 250-252; Lovett, pp. 577, 578.

When Rev. W. Philip left Hankey, he entrusted his out-station in the western Tsitsikamma to the care of the brethren at Clarkson.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ It was the beginning of the Moravian congregation of Blueliliesbush.

Kühn followed the development with interest. He considered it wrong that the L.M.S. undertook the step against the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants and was surprised that the State was prepared to pay for the survey. He expected, however, that the Moravian settlements would also be opened one day. In that event, the Mission would be relieved of a heavy burden. But he wished to see first what would happen to the L.M.S. stations, after the ten years period of grace had lapsed.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Thus, the Moravians kept the management of their stations and tried to make the best of it. The difficulties about Genadendal diminished gradually, as indicated by the fact that the Government considered the withdrawal of the White constable and the cancellation of the monthly visits of the magistrate in 1869.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Other matters, such as the discovery of diamonds in 1868, captured the interest of the South African public.⁽¹¹¹⁾ The crisis, which had been brought about by the political changes in the country, had been weathered for the time being.

New branches were founded at three places for various reasons. A settlement was established within the boundaries of Genadendal, one hour to the west of the station, in 1865. It received the name of Berea. A church, a school and a residence were built by Marx, but the intention of the brethren to decrease the population of Genadendal by this means, was not realised. After four years, only seventy-seven

(108) G.N. 1879, p. 337; Per. Acc. 1874, p. 129.

(109) Le. U.A.C. 16.5.1873, 15.9.1873.

(110) Le. U.A.C. 4.11.1869.

(111) Walker, p. 325.

people had moved to Berea. (112) It became the residence of the Superintendent. - Johannes Zwelibanzi moved with his school from Snyklip to Wittekleibosch in 1866, because the Fingoes thereabout were eager to have him, whereas the people of Snyklip had grown lax in their support. (113) There are congregations and schools at both places to-day. - A building for church- and school purposes was erected on the farm of Katzenberg outside Mamre, which had become the property of an inhabitant of Mamre., Godlieb Johannes. The descendants of people who had been expelled from Mamre in former times, lived on and around it. Material of the dismantled Jacob's Chapel was used, and the new building, dedicated in 1869, received the name of Johannes Church. A teacher struggled daily through the sand from Mamre to Katzenberg for the lessons, and the missionaries gathered a congregation on Sundays. It grew into a large settlement in the course of time. (114)

Only in the east, the brethren extended the work among the heathen. As mentioned above, it was the policy of the Government to open the Transkeian Territories east of the Colony to the civilisation. The Government's Agent for the Tembu, J.C. Warner, requested the brethren on occasion of a visit to Shiloh to establish a mission station in the area of the Tembu Chief Joyi along the Bazylia river. After the spot had been reconnoitred, Leopold Richard Baur moved across the Kei in 1863 for the new beginning. Other societies were already at work in these parts, the Anglicans in All Saints, Ngcolosi and St. John's, and the Wesleyans in Clarkebury. Their assistance facilitated Baur's pioneering work.

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- (112) He.ko. 2.8.1864, 23.8.1864, 23.5.1865, 1.8.1865;
G.N. 1868, pp. 233 ff; G.N. 1871, p. 76; Sketse, p. 114.
(113) He.ko. 27.6.1865, 1.5.1866.
(114) He.ko. 26.10.1860, 22.2.1862, 8.7.1864, 7.6.1864,
19.2.1866, 21.4.1870; G.N. 1871, pp. 731-733;
G.N. 1872, p. 126; Sketse, p. 80.

Fingo's from the older stations and from the neighbourhood settled on the land, which Joyi had granted to the Mission, and a Bantu teacher, trained in Genadendal, assisted Baur in the school. The Tembus of the region preferred to remain dispersed in their kraals, and Baur rode from place to place in order to reach them with the Gospel. Moreover, the eighteen-hundred morgen, which Joyi had granted, were too small for the development of a village, and it had never been the intention of the Tembus to permit a foreign enclave in their country. Nevertheless, Baur endeavoured to establish a Christian settlement under local rules on a small scale as a basis for the evangelisation of the tribe. The final result was a Christian oasis in the midst of a population, which remained predominantly heathen.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ When the brethren took the next step into Hlubiland in 1869, the policy of establishing settlements was dropped completely.

The General Synod, which gathered at Herrnhut in 1869, steered the mission work into new directions. The establishment of a training-school for missionaries in Germany in the same year marks the departure from the old method of sending brethren out without specialised training.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The first steps to abolish the common household in South Africa in favour of salaries followed.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ The separation between the spiritual work and the economy was approved in principle by the Synod,⁽¹¹⁸⁾ although it was not carried into effect in South Africa for another twenty-five years.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ The decision of the Synod to abolish the use of the lot for the admission to the sacraments removed it finally from the conferences in South Africa.⁽¹²⁰⁾ The old christocratic

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- (115) He.ko. 8./9.7.1862, 12.8.1862, 1852-1864 appendix; G.N. 1865, pp.1058-1073; G.N. 1871, p. 716; Per.Acc. 1863, pp.489-492; Van Calker, pp. 37, 38.
(116) 200 Jahre II, p. 652; Syn. 1869, pp. 113-115.
(117) Syn. 1869, p. 122; He.ko. 5.7.1870.
(118) Syn. 1869, pp. 121-125.
(119) He.ko. 23.2.1894, 7.12.1894.
(120) Syn. 1869, pp. 106-108, 110, 111.

approach was replaced by the democratic method of majority decisions.

The Synod declared that the creation of self-supporting churches, ministered by their own workers, was the aim of the work. The differentiation between the Mission and its employees, which had to decrease, and the Indigenous Church and its workers, which had to increase, was taken over from contemporary missionary thinking.⁽¹²¹⁾ Thus, the establishment of national churches came into view. It was certainly an advance that the old individualistic approach was being overcome, but the conception of national churches had its dangers.

The decision of the Synod to divide the Cape Mission into two provinces may be seen against this background. The matter had already been discussed in 1860⁽¹²²⁾ and 1866, and Kühn had taken the practical view that the travelling expenses for the control of the work in the east would be saved by partition, and that the east could be administered more effectively from Shiloh.⁽¹²³⁾ The brethren of Shiloh, who proposed the step,⁽¹²⁴⁾ pointed out that their work among the Bantu had a character of its own, and that the policy of Genadendal was sometimes unsuitable for their congregations. The brethren of Genadendal, who opposed it, found the inclination of the brethren in the east to abandon old-established principles and methods in favour of foreign ideas disquieting.⁽¹²⁵⁾ The Synod decided in favour of separation,⁽¹²⁶⁾ and Kühn explained to the brethren of Genadendal that both would profit from the measure:

(121) Syn. 1869, pp. 101, 102, 125, 126.

(122) See pp. 390, 391.

(123) He.ko. 16.6.1866.

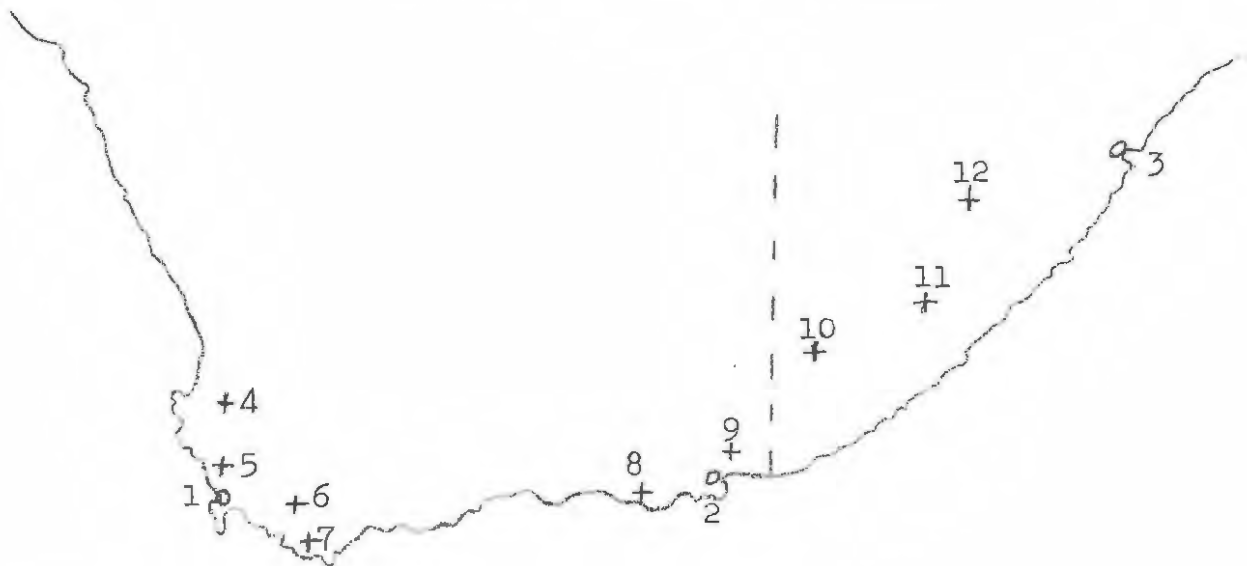
(124) Le. U.A.C. 4.1.1869.

(125) He.ko. 16.6.1866, 1864-1906 appendix.

(126) He.ko. 12.10. 1869.

THE PARTITION OF THE FIELD.

(1869)



1. Cape Town.
2. Port Elizabeth.
3. Durban.

WESTERN PROVINCE:

4. Goedverwacht
with Wittewater
5. Mamre
with Katzenberg
6. Genadendal
with Berea
7. Elim
8. Clarkson
with Wittekleibosch
9. Enon

EASTERN PROVINCE:

10. Shiloh
with Goshen and Engotini
11. Bazyia
12. Hlubiland

	<u>Congregations</u>	<u>Missionaries</u>	<u>Indigenous Assistants</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Schools</u>
S.A.W.	7	17	12	7621	13
S.A.O.	5	8	7	1194	5

The suspicions against the rule of Genadendal would cease; the older Western Province would advance more quickly towards self-support, free from the financial responsibility for the young and still expanding Eastern Province.⁽¹²⁷⁾ Thus, the Western Province was instructed to aim at self-support, as soon as possible, and the Eastern Province, to continue with missionary expansion. The partition was immediately effected. The brethren of Enon and Clarkson chose to join the Western Province;⁽¹²⁸⁾ their stations were geographically part of the Eastern Province, but Dutch was their principal medium, whereas Xhosa was the main language in the other eastern congregations. However, the partition was not along racial lines: The brethren of Clarkson ministered to the Fingoés in the Tsitsikamma, and part of the inhabitants of Shiloh were Coloured People.

In short, the Synod of 1869 marks a turning-point in several respects. The principles and methods of the Moravians were modernised and approximated to those of the other societies. The development of self-supporting indigenous churches was stressed, and steps of decentralisation and differentiation were taken. Each of the two provinces followed henceforth its own course and requires a separate study.

(127) Le. U.A.C. 4.8.1869.

(128) He.ko. 1864-1906 appendix.

C O N C L U S I O N.

The outstanding contribution of the Moravian Mission to the ecclesiastical history of South Africa is the system of closed settlements. The Moravian settlements became models for the mission work in general for a long time and to a considerable extent. Most of the earlier missionaries of the other societies visited Genadendal at the start and developed their own work along similar lines. For the pioneers of the L.M.S., the Wesleyan, Scottish, French, Rhenish, Berlin, American and Anglican Mission, this connection has been indicated in the thesis.⁽¹⁾ The Regulations of Genadendal supplied the pattern for their institutions. The Government, too, considered the Moravian stations exemplary. A network of this type of institutions spread over the Colony. Through them, the Gospel was brought to the indigenous population of the Cape.

The closed settlements were also a most controversial contribution. In the earlier days, they were overloaded with praise, and after the liberation of the Hottentots and the slaves, they were subjected to the most severe criticism. Therefore, a balanced appraisal is called for.

Three factors combined to make them: The image of Herrnhut, the support of the Colonial Government, and the vacuum created by the break-down of the indigenous culture.

Firstly, it must be emphasised that it was not part of the plan of the Moravians to expand Herrnhutianism to foreign countries. On the contrary, Zinzendorf warned the brethren against the exportation of the European divisions to the mission fields. He wanted them to preach the crucified Saviour only, and not to measure other peoples with the yardstick of Herrnhut.⁽²⁾ Moreover, he expected only to gather

(1) See pp. 125, 126, 127, 177, 178, 201, 202, 222, 280, 281.

(2) 200 Jahre I, p. 208.

individuals as first-fruits from the nations for Christ. In his opinion, the time for the gathering of whole groups of people had not yet come, and the unexpected numbers of converts from many nations surprised him greatly. (3)

Spangenberg, his successor, whose instructions remained the text-book of the missionaries for a long time, spoke only of the gathering of little congregations and of the pastoral care for them, but not of the organisation of Herrnhut-like settlements. (4)

Only for practical reasons did the brethren form settlements, wherever it was expedient to do so. In order to teach the heathen, they had to settle them. Dispersed people could not be taught efficiently, as Hallbeck pointed out to the Committee of the British Parliament. (5) A settlement was only a means to this end, not an end in itself. As it developed, the brethren helped the inhabitants to make a living and to improve it through industry in agriculture and trades. In the same practical manner, they made from time to time ad hoc regulations for the growing community. In order to keep their flock away from detrimental outside contacts, they built mills and opened shops on the spot. It was all part of their pastoral care. Thus, the settlements were developed, not out of a preconceived plan, but out of experience for the sake of the missionary task.

But, as the image of Herrnhut was strong in the minds of the brethren, the settlements came to resemble the Orts-gemeinen in Germany to some extent. The Moravian hymns, liturgies and church music were introduced. The Moravian memorial days were kept. The congregation was divided into "choirs". The interior of the church-buildings, the lay-out of the graveyards, the arrangement of the buildings on the

(3) 200 Jahre I, pp. 263-274.

(4) Spangenberg, passim.

(5) See p.279.

mission premises reminded the visitors of Herrnhut. More important, the members called each other brother and sister, and the Regulations were framed as a voluntary brotherly agreement of the inhabitants after the example of the statutes of Herrnhut. The rule of Christ through the lot regulated the spiritual progress of every inhabitant. The pattern of Herrnhut can be recognised in these features.

A second factor has to be considered. The Moravians did not establish settlements everywhere. Among the negro slaves of Suriname and the West Indies, they were not permitted to do so: The slaves had to remain on the farms of their masters. In Greenland and in Labrador, settlements were formed but did not flourish, because the only way, in which the Eskimos could make a living and become an economic asset to the country, was by hunting and fishing. Therefore, the responsible governments persistently urged their dispersal. Again, in North America, the brethren gathered the Christian Red Indians into settlements. But when war broke out, both sides suspected them, they had to move from place to place, and were finally annihilated.⁽⁶⁾ Only in South Africa, the settlements flourished over a long period, because the governors encouraged them, gave grants and protected them. Without this protection, the Colonists would have taken away the last land rights from the Hottentots. The government also held the missionaries responsible for the order and the material development of these communities.

The governors had, of course, other motives than the missionaries. It was part of their policy: In the west, they desired a number of small settlements, where the remnants of the Hottentots could find refuge, learn industrious habits, increase their value as a source of labour and do military service in case of need out of loyalty towards their

(6) 200 Jahre, passim.

protectors. In the east, they wanted to extend the Colonial influence and the European civilisation into the Bantu areas through the agency of the mission stations. The discrepancy between the motives of the Government and of the missionaries led to occasional frictions: Somerset was at first very dissatisfied with Groenekloof, because it did not answer his idea of a labour colony.⁽⁷⁾ Bonatz refused to become a Tembu agent in the service of the Government, because he considered that he would lose the confidence of the Tembu, if he accepted.⁽⁸⁾ The brethren discouraged for pastoral reasons the recruiting of soldiers from the settlements as much as possible. The danger that the missionaries could become tools in the hand of the authorities to the detriment of their own purpose, was ever present; the failure of the settlement at the Begha is an illustration of this.⁽⁹⁾ But on the whole, the settlements would not have become what they were and would not have endured and flourished for so long without the grants, the encouragement and the protection of the governors. However, the reluctance of the authorities to give either the missionaries or the inhabitants permanent possession of the grant stations, resulted in the vagueness of property rights, which caused distrust and frictions.

The disruption of the indigenous culture, in the west more than in the east, is the third factor. The settlements have been criticised for replacing the indigenous mode of living by Moravian customs. It is contended that the brethren should have preserved the national heritage of the heathen

(7) See pp. 190, 191.

(8) See p. 346.

(9) See pp. 348-353.

as far as it was compatible with the Christian message. However, in South Africa, at least in the Western Province, there was nothing to preserve. Even when Georg Schmidt began his work at Baviaanskloof, the Hottentot culture was disrupted and dying. Later, the missionaries gathered a mixed population of people without customs and traditions in the settlements, where they were bound together by the faith and the mode of living of the missionaries. The history of the Christian Church in general and the Moravian Church in particular became their own history. The language of the Bible and the Moravian hymn-books became their own language, even in their private conversations and letters. The new manner of celebrating festivals became their own manner. The rhythm of the ecclesiastical year became the rhythm of their lives. The rules of social behaviour in the settlements became their own rules and were handed down from generation to generation. In short, the inhabitants became a people and accepted Christian traditions and customs through the agency of the Moravians.

The same applies to a lesser extent to the closed settlements of Shiloh, Goshen and Engotini in the east. Those who took refuge there, were mostly detribalised Fingo's, who had been left behind after the disruption of their tribes by wars, famines and the European colonisation. At the stations, they grew into new communities, which evoked the admiration of unprejudiced visitors, such as N.J. Merriman.⁽¹⁰⁾ Shiloh especially was a remarkable success as a Fingo settlement. It was not the task of the missionaries either to disrupt the indigenous culture or to preserve it, but to preach the Gospel and to let it do its work of reshaping the lives of the heathen. Thus, the pioneers of Shiloh would baptise polygamists, whose hearts had been touched by the

(10) See p. 346.

Gospel, telling them that the Lord would henceforth show them how to order their lives. (11) When the work was extended to the tribes in the Transkei, whose culture was still more or less intact, the policy of establishing settlements was gradually abolished from 1869 onward.

Thus, the brethren were not confronted with an intact heathen culture in their western and their eastern settlements, but entered to a varying extent into a cultural vacuum, and the inhabitants eagerly accepted the new Christian way of living. This, together with the two other factors, helps to explain their success.

The purpose of the settlements was the edification of Christian congregations in obedience to the command of Christ to teach all nations (Matth. 28,19,20). In the Missions-Ordnung of 1894, it is formulated as follows:

1. Das Ziel unsrer Arbeit ist, eine lebendige Gemeinde darzustellen, in der auch jedes einzelne Glied ein wahrer Christ sei.

2. Unsere Missionsstationen, gekaufte wie uns gegebene, sind als Institute anzusehen, wo derartige Gemeinen geschaffen werden sollen.

3. Deshalb unterstehen sie einer auf das Wort Gottes gegründeten Lebens- und Gesellschaftsordnung, deren Zweck es ist, den einzelnen und die Gesamtheit für den Herrn zu erziehen und bei ihm zu bewahren. (12)

Everything was subordinated to the purpose of teaching adults and children to read and to understand the Bible, to sing and to pray, and to live together as Christians. The missionaries were called teachers, leraars, the mission stations were called schools. It was the teaching, which attracted the heathen, gave offence to the Colonists and could not be surrendered by the missionaries. Nobody was admitted as an inhabitant, who did not express his desire to be instructed. Those who consistently refused to heed the instructions, were advised to leave the settlements.

(11) See pp. 259, 388, 389.

(12) Miss. Ordnung, p. 5.

The most severe punishment was temporary exclusion from the classes. The Regulations were intended to teach the inhabitants habits of industry and orderliness.

The aim of the teaching was the transformation of the settlements into living congregations. The concept of living congregations goes back to Zinzendorf, who in turn had been influenced by Spener's *ecclesiolae*.⁽¹³⁾ For Zinzendorf, the world-wide invisible fellowship of all who belong to the Saviour, must be locally realised. His people must be united into congregations here and there in accordance with his last will (John 17.21).⁽¹⁴⁾ The first-fruits from the heathen must also be gathered into the Bündel der Lebendigen (1 Samuel 25.29).⁽¹⁵⁾ The members of such congregations are united by their dependence on the Saviour. He is the living centre of their fellowship. His effectual headship is indicated by the use of the lot. There is a forceful simplicity in the whole concept: Everything points to the Saviour and depends on him. Both, the spiritual life and the daily work are related to him and are to serve him. The members are like rays around the sun, witnessing the Saviour to the world.⁽¹⁶⁾ Thus, the people who accepted him at the mission stations, even the children, promised time and again to live henceforth only for the Saviour in this world. It was the aim of the closed settlements that such christocratic communities should come about. The missionaries received remarkably few other instructions for their work. The central point was enough. In all details, they were free to adapt themselves to circumstances. A voluntary whole-hearted association under the Saviour was aimed at. Therefore, the brethren were eager to make fellowship with other

(13) Becker, pp. 103-178.

(14) See pp. 8, 9.

(15) 200 Jahre I, p. 268.

(16) 200 Jahre I, p. 267.

Christians, but slow to accept people into membership, very thorough and persevering in their pastoral work, but slow to expand it; new settlements were in most cases founded only, if the people concerned expressed a wish to hear the Gospel. The fact that they had an invisible head and depended on the lot and the spirit, explains also some of their difficulties: Against obstinate, unscrupulous opponents inside and outside the settlements they were rather powerless; and the main-spring of their association was not hereditary: When the liberated slaves flocked into the settlements, they brought new life, but the second generation of the old-established residents caused trouble.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1846, they accepted the enmity against the settlements gladly as an indication that they were in the footsteps of the crucified Saviour.⁽¹⁸⁾ - Thus, the purpose and the aim of their work was a religious one.

Economically, the settlements closely resembled the nineteenth century villages of Europe with their tradesmen, artisans, shops, lodging house and small scale farming. The lay-out, carefully planned, resulted in rows of neat houses along the streets and equal garden plots, watered by furrows, and a commonage. The culmination of their economic development was in Hallbeck's time, when about half of the inhabitants of Genadendal lived partly as tradesmen, partly off the land, and only the other half earned their living as labourers on the surrounding farms. Migratory labour and the industrialisation of the Colony caused their decline from 1880 onward. An effort to bring industries to Genadendal at that time, was unsuccessful, because capital and professional knowledge was lacking.⁽¹⁹⁾

Politically, they were under the patriarchal rule of

(17) See pp. 321, 322.

(18) See p. 335.

(19) Hettasch, pp. 28-30.

the missionaries, suspected but tolerated by the Colonists. The settlements offered opportunities to the inhabitants to be trained in responsibility and leadership in a slow but thorough manner and on a small scale. Non-Whites only were admitted, not as a matter of principle, but because a few Whites, who had come to live there, proved to be bad elements.⁽²⁰⁾ Because of the prevailing discrimination against the Coloured People, the settlements continued to be their reserves even after the liberation. During the Boer War, the political aspirations of the inhabitants awoke, which led to the end of the benevolent patriarchal rule of the missionaries at most stations.

In the field of education and culture, the settlements were pioneers of the European civilisation in the rural areas of the Colony and beyond its borders. The standard of the Moravian schools was high, and the care, bestowed on them by the missionaries, unceasing. As time went on, secular subjects and manual training received the same care as religious instruction. The early and thorough training and guidance of Coloured and Bantu teachers was an outstanding achievement. For a long time, the Government left the burden of the education of the Non-Whites to the mission stations, first completely and later as much as possible. Some essays have already been written touching this subject, but a special study of the relevant material in the archives is still wanting. I have only been able to refer to it in passing. The same applies to the cultural aspect, especially to the cultivation of music, and to the liturgical forms of the worship. In short, the settlements were cells of Christian European culture in the country.

Many objections have been raised against the closed settlements from various sides. The most vehement criticism

(20) See p. 414.

came time and again from the farmers. They regarded them as potential nests of rebels and locks on their labour supply, and viewed with disfavour the schools of the stations at a time, when they themselves had few facilities for the education of their children. They wanted the inhabitants dispersed and dependent. Their opposition started at the very beginning, came into the open with the end of the autocratic rule of the British governors,⁽²¹⁾ and reached its climax after the liberation of the slaves, when there was a distinct shortage of labour on the farms.⁽²²⁾ The formation of self-dependent autonomous settlements of educated Non-Whites was against their interests. They needed them as farm-hands.

The missionaries did their best to meet the complaints as far as it was compatible with their task. They encouraged the inhabitants to industry and honesty, by words and deeds, closed the schools during harvest-time and abolished festivals on weekdays.⁽²³⁾ They kept a strict discipline and urged obedience to the law and the government. In return, many neighbours showed sympathy and friendship, and some admitted that the labourers from the mission stations were more valuable than others. But there were limits to the co-operation: The missionaries encouraged the inhabitants to spend their earnings at the stations and to become independent from the work on the farms, because of the temptation to drunkenness and immorality, connected with the farm labour, and because they wanted to keep them together as much as possible for the sake of teaching.

Fundamentally, the clash of interests was unavoidable, and it is remarkable that the difference of purpose between the farmers and the missionaries did, as a whole, lead to

(21) See p. 248.

(22) See pp. 331-335.

(23) See pp. 360, 361.

a working-agreement between both. This is due to the conciliatory attitude of the missionaries, the friendly support of many farmers, and the influence of the churches of the Colonists. The Reformed Church had become a supporter of the mission work at an early date. (24)

Quite another type of criticism came from the side of the philanthropists. It arose in connection with the liberation of the Hottentots and the slaves, when the settlements were no longer deemed necessary as places of refuge. It was directed not against the settlements as such, but against their closedness. The ideal of the philanthropists was full and equal rights for all. This humanitarian point of view combined in many instances with the self-interest of the Colonists, and this led to the demand for the break-up of the settlements. (25) The inhabitants, being afraid of losing their homes to the Colonists, were strongly against such a measure. Whatever the merits of the philanthropic point of view may be, in practice the conversion of the settlements into open municipalities threatened to deprive the residents of their villages. The missionaries, who were not guided by philanthropic ideals, but by practical considerations, also opposed the opening-up. History has proved that they were correct: Most of the inhabitants of the L.M.S. stations, which were opened up, lost their properties in the course of time, whereas the inhabitants of the Moravian stations continued to have them. (26) This advantage outweighs the considerable disadvantages connected with the missionary management of villages. Under the special circumstances of South Africa, where a strong and spreading population of Colonists took more and more hold of the country, the continuance of the closed settlements was justified and

(24) See p. 119.

(25) See pp. 284, 285, 361, 362.

(26) See 419, 420.

proved a blessing.

The main philanthropic argument against them was that they kept the inhabitants in a state of tutelage. It must be conceded that they actually tended to do so. This was not according to the original plan of the brethren. The first missionaries established a brotherly relationship under the Saviour and endeavoured to share responsibility and to encourage initiative. But under Küster, a patriarchal relationship had developed. The role of protectors, which had been forced on the missionaries, had been accepted by them. Hallbeck tried again in various ways to counteract this tendency,⁽²⁷⁾ but later on, it emerged again. The purpose of promoting the economic self-dependence of the inhabitants was sometimes lost sight of. The introduction of church contributions was too long delayed, because the flourishing economy of the Mission made them unnecessary.⁽²⁸⁾ The support given to the poor and needy in times of famine accustomed the inhabitants to rely on the paternal care of the missionaries and the big pot of the Mission at any time. The missionaries tended to keep the management of the temporal and the spiritual affairs in their own hands, and the inhabitants were most eager to leave it to them, rather than to accept responsibilities themselves. Thus, the settlements tended to spoil the residents and to retard the development towards self-dependence. The most serious criticism of this weakness came from the missionaries and the mission leaders themselves at a later stage, and the efforts to overcome it and to revert to the original plan were never wholly wanting.

The most weighty argument against the system is that it tended to isolate communities contrary to their missionary task. In place of being a leaven of Christianity in the

(27) See pp. 220, 237, 270, 271.

(28) See p. 408.

population, they could become narrow islands of self-righteous people, cut off from the rest and cultivating their own piety, like cloisters behind high walls. Again, this argument was put forward most strongly by mission leaders from 1880 onward. The isolation of the settlements was also against the original plan. In Zinzendorf's view, a congregation was a quiver full of arrows in the hand of the Saviour.⁽²⁹⁾ But outward pressure and an inclination of the Moravians towards exclusiveness and sectarianism created isolation, which was most marked under Küster. The emphasis was on keeping the inhabitants away from the temptations of the wicked world. Again, Hallbeck tried to overcome it by means of his diaspora-plan,⁽³⁰⁾ and the liberation of the Hottentots and the slaves offered new opportunities for the settlements to serve the population as a whole. Some inhabitants served as voluntary evangelists among the troops and on the farms at all times. And Genadendal became fruitful through the training-school and the printing-press. But in general, the tendency of the missionaries to concentrate on the cultivation of piety within the radius of the institutions hampered their value for the missionary movement of the Church. It was their strength and their weakness at the same time. In as much as they reverted to the original plan of becoming centres of evangelistic activity from time to time, they became living congregations again.

The question may be asked: Why should Christian settlements be formed at all? The answer is that it is not only the task of the Church to convert individuals, but to establish a brotherhood. Christianity is fundamentally fellowship, as Zinzendorf put it:

(29) Compare Psalm 127.

(30) See pp. 237-240.

.. ich statuiere kein Christentum ohne
Gemeinschaft. (31)

And this fellowship expresses itself not only in joint church activities, but in the daily living and working together. Thus, the mission stations were meant to form congregations of dedicated believers, who were bound together by daily fellowship, for the benefit of the whole population.

As long as the central principle of a brotherhood under the personal rule of the Saviour was in force, living congregations were formed and the brethren were free to adapt themselves to changing circumstances. But in as much as the total and exclusive rule of Christ grew less, the settlements, which were originally armourer's workshops of the Saviour,⁽³²⁾ froze into self-centred institutions with a fixed mannerism. They share this development with all social structures, which begin as movements and end up as institutions. But the possibility remains that by a new central orientation an entire settlement may become a living congregation, in which all spheres of life are subjected to the rule of Christ and serve his purpose.

(31) Quoted in Brüder, p. 88.

(32) 200 Jahre, p. 291.

A P P E N D I X I.

Regulations

of the Congregation at Genadendal.

(Drawn up and agreed to by all the inhabitants in 1816)

1. The Regulations of a Congregation of the Brethren are not to be considered as laws, prescribed as Superiors, but as a Brotherly Agreement between the inhabitants of a Settlement of the Brethren. - The object of the Brethrens' living together in separate settlements is, that they may as much as possible be out of the way of temptations, and that by the preaching of the word of God connected with a wholesome Church discipline a living knowledge of Jesus Christ, and a godly life may be promoted among the inhabitants. Hence all the regulations of a Congregation must tend to further this object and to prevent whatever is contrary to the same.
2. If a Congregation shall subsist according to the regulations, voluntarily adopted by its members, it is necessary that persons be appointed, whose duty it is, to watch over the due observance of these regulations. [sic] This office is in Genadendal entrusted to the Teachers and Missionaries, whose admonitions and decisions [sic] every one is bound to obey, as long as they are agreeable to the word of God, and the rules adopted by the Congregation.
3. We wish to conduct ourselves as faithful and obedient subjects under the existing Government, & willingly to submit to the laws of the country, in as far as we are not exempt by privileges lawfully obtained. - We consider it as our duty not only to love and honor the persons in power placed over ons [sic], but also to endeavour to promote the welfare of the country, where our lot is cast. - We likewise are willing to honor and obey the Overseers, who with the approbation of Government are appointed to watch over

order and regularity here at Genadendal.

4. Every Inhabitant of this place is bound, according to the precept & example of Jesus and his disciples, to be kind and friendly towards all men without regard to nation or other circumstances. - We also wish to avoid all disputes [sic] about religious matters with people of other communities, in order that the brotherly love and harmony, which ought to characterize the followers of Christ, may not be disturbed. Disputes and quarrels amongst ourselves must also, as much as possible, be avoided.
5. We consider it as a matter of the highest importance, that the strictet [sic] morality be attended to, in the intercourse of children and young persons of both sexes. Parents and Guardians must be particular in regulating domestic affairs in such a manner, that as much as possible every opportunity of forming improper connexions may be avoided. No inhabitant is permitted to keep children of other parents in his house over night without the knowledge and leave of the parents.
6. We consider drunkenness as a great sin, which is frequently the occasion of exciting the worst passion; and no less do we abhor the smoking of Dacha.

Swearing and cursing is an abomination in the sight of God and his word says, that He will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his name in vain Exod 20:7, it is also written, that neither adulterers, nor thieves nor drunkards shall inherit [sic] the kingdom of God. 1 Cor 6: 9.10.

Hence it is our desire, not only to avoid all these works of darkness, but never to suffer them in our children, and on all occasions use our best endeavours, to extirpate all these and other wicked habits amongst us.

7. No one is permitted to bring spirituous liquors from other places to Genadendal, and all plays of a mischievous and

immoral tendency are prohibited.

8. The Sabbath or Sanday [sic] is ordained by God to be a day of rest. Hence it is our duty, to keep it holy, to improve every opportunity afforded us, to appear before him in fellowship for edification, and to avoid everything, whereby this holy day must be abandoned. Let rather every one in retirement meditate on the word of God and the useful instructions, which he has heard in Church and Schol. - Children and young people must conduct themselves quietly and with proper decorum in going in or out of the Church, lest the Congregation be disturbed and offended by their lightmindedness.
9. In the evenings after the public meetings every one must remain in his house and not go about visiting in other dwellings, unless compelled by necessity.
10. Whoever receive a stranger in his house to stop over night, must give notice of it to the Missionary, who is appointed to examine the passports of such stranger, and be answerable for the good conduct of the visitor.
11. When any one has obtained leave to reside in Genadendal, and is desirous to build a house and have some land for a garden, he must address himself to the Missionary, who has the inspection over buildings and gardens, and be willing to follow his advice. In the same manner previous notice must be given, before one is allowed to enlarge his house.
12. All the inhabitants of this place must be attentive to cleanliness in their persons, houses and the environs thereof, and take care, that the ditches, watercourses and paths adjoining their houses and gardens be kept open & clean.
13. If any one damages his neighbour's houses, hedges, trees or what he has sown and plandend [sic] or such damage is

- done by his children or cattle, he must remunerate the sufferer according to a fair valuation; and if any one commits thefts or other crimes, he must be delivered over to the Magistracy.
14. If a dispute arises between inhabitants of this place, it is their duty in the first instance, to appeal to the Missionaries, in order that by their good advice and admonition such dispute may be settled & love peace & harmony restored.
15. In case there should be persons found amongst us, who disregard all good advice and admonitions[sic], and repeatedly render themselves guilty of the above mentioned sins and improprieties, they shall no more be allowed to live amongst us. If they possess house, garden and ploughland, they are at liberty to sell the house, and the fruit found on the land & in the garden to other inhabitants of the place, of which however due notice must be given to the Missionaries. - After having settled their affairs, they are not allowed to remain in Genaden-dal beyond a certain time fixed by the Missionaries, and no Inhabitant is allowed to shelter them in his house.
16. In case the inhabitants of this place remove from hence, and stay away beyond a year without giving any notice of it, and without giving their huts and gardens in trust to some one else. If they remain absent for two years, their huts or houses may be disposed of and the amount reserved for them, and if they have no heirs here, and nothing is heard of them within five years, the mony[sic] falls to the poors box.
17. In the same manner do all those, who though they remain on the spot, make no use of their land and garden, forfeit their right thereto, and must expect, that they will be given to another.

18. Before any one obtains leave, to reside in Genadendal he promises in the presence of all the Missionaries, to conduct himself according to these Regulations and in all things to follow the precepts of Jesus and his Apostles. Hence it is expected of every Inhabitant of the place, duly to observe these regulations, which have no other object, than to promote the welfare of the whole community and of every Individual.

May God - who is not the author of confusion

but of peace - add his blessing! -

(1)

(1) Gen. Doc. 1816.

A P P E N D I X II.

Ordeningen
der Gemeente te Elim.

(1824)

Inleiding

In het Jaar 1824 wierd voor reekening van de Zending Diakony der verenigten Broederen en voor de middelen dezer Diakony de plaatze Vogelstruiskraal gekocht. Het Oogmerk daarby was, aldaar onder de bestiering der Broeder gemeente eene Zending aantevangen, dat is, door de Missionarissen der gez. Gemeente het Evangelium te verkondigen, en zulken Zielen (voornaamlyk onder de Hottentotten) die een Verlangen hebben, zich te bekeeren en naar het woord Gods en de Ordeningen der Broederkerk te leven, eene woonplaats te verschaffen, waar sy ongestoort te zamen leven kunnen. Terwyl noe tot bereiking van dit Oogmerk bepaalde regelen noodig zyn, zoo zyn de eerste bewoonderen van deze plaats over nastaaende Ordeningen overeenkomstig gewoorden, en hebben zich verbonden, niemand hoegenamd als inwoonder alhier aanteneemen, die zich niet verplicht, daarna te leven.

Deze Ordeningen zyn dus geene Wetten of Voorschriften der Leeraars aan hunnen Leerlinge; maar een broederlyk Overeenkomst tuschen alle Inwoonderen van de plaats, welken zy alle, zoo wel Leeraars als Leerlingen, gelek onderworpen zyn, en in de obregthouding waarvan zy gelyk belang hebben. Waarvan dan ook volgt, dat aan wien ook het waken over de waarning/sic/dezer Ordeningen aanbehoud is, niet deze Persoonen, maar de Ordeningen in de Gemeente regeeren; verders dat in deze Inzettingen niets kan verandert of bygevoegd worden buiten de toesteming der Gemeente, en de goedkeuning van de Directie der Broeder Uniteit, onder wiers bestiering te staan wy als een kostelyk Vorregt oordeelen.

I. Van den Godsdienst en de Christelyke Plichten
in't Algemeen.

1. De heilige Schrift is de eenigste groendregel [sic] en proefsteen onzer Leere en onzes Levens, en wy zyn daarom verplicht, daarover te waken, dat het woord Gods rein en zuiver onder ons geleerd woord.
2. Wy betrachten het als eenen heiligen Plicht, alle onder ons tot onderwys en stichting ingestelde Verzamelingen getrouw en met eerbied als voor Gods Oogen te bezoeken, en dat om zoo meer, terweil het grootste gedeelte van de Gemeente uit de zulken bestaat, die eertyts onweetende Heidenen wasen, en die daarom dagelyk Onderwys van nooden hebben.
3. Voornaamlyk willen wy daarop zien, dat de Zondag onder ons niet ontheiligt, maar als een dag des Heeren tot stichting voor onse Zielen behoerlyk gebruikt worde.
4. Wy willen met alle zorgvuldigheid daarover waken, dat de heilige Doop en het heilige Avondmaal naar de Voorschrift der heilige Schrift onder ons gehouden, en van niemand onwaardiglyk gebruikt worden.
5. Wy moeten bereid zyn tot verantwoording van de hope, die in ons is; maar in nutteloose twistige zamensprekingen met Menschen van andere Gezindheden willen wy ons niet inlaten. Veelmeer willen wy met alle Menschen, die de Geboorte uit God door den heiligen Geest ondervonden hebben, en welke wy als Kinderen Gods en als Broeders in Christo aanzien, in Liefde en Geestesgemeenschap leven.
6. Daarby zyn wy voor onze nadere Verbinding met de Broeder-gemeente van harte dankbaar, en willen dezelve als een kosteyk [sic] kleinood zorgvuldig zoeken te onderhouden; en dierhalven niemand als Leeraar onder ons aanerkennen, die niet door de Directie der Broeder Uniteit daartoe beroepen is.

7. Wy houden het School Onderwys onzer Kinderen van het grootste belang, en willen daarvoor zorgen, dat zy dit Voorregt mogen genieten en zich hetzelfde getrouw ten nutte maken.
8. Het is niet genoeg, dat het woord Gods zuiver en rein onder ons geleerd wordt, maar wy zyn verplicht, heilig als de Kinderen Gods naar hetzelfde te leven, volgens de woorden Petri: Gelyk hy, die U beroepen heeft, heilig is, zoo word Gyzelve heilig in allen Uwen wandel.
1. Petr. 1:15. - Daarom willen wy door Gods Genade ons reinigen laten van allen besmettingen des Vleesches en des Geestes, voleindigende de heiligmakinge in de Vreeze Gods. 2. Cor. 7.1.
9. Het verdienstlyk Leven, Lyden en Sterven Jezu is de eenigste bron, waar uit alle Kracht tot eenen Gods welbehagelyken [sic] wandel voortvloeit; daarom is ons het woord van 't Krueis zoo groot en gewigtig, terwyl wy in de overdenking van Jezu pyn het krachtadigste bewaarmiddel vinden tegen de bedroeg der zonde, en de sterkste dryf-veer tot een heilig leven.
10. Wy verfoegen niet alleen den openbaren Afgsdendienst [sic] (die gelukkig onder ons onbekend is), maar ook alle soorten van Bygeloof, die daaruit gesproten zyn, als Tovoery en andere heidenische dwaasheden.
11. Niet minder afschuwelyk is ons het misbruik van den heiligen Naamen Gods, waarvan het woord Gods zegt: De Heere zal niet onschuldig houden, die zynen naam ydelyk gebruikt 2 Mos: 20:7; daarom willen wy alles vloeken, zweeren en ligtzinig Gebruik van den Naam Gods op het zorgvuldigste vermyden.
12. Daartegen willen wy onder het gevoel van onze menschelyke zwakheid, en in overweging der menigvuldige Gevaren voor ziel en ligchaam, die ons omgeven, den Naam des Heeren

in 't Gebed geloovig aanroepen naar de woorden des Apostels: Houdt sterk aan in 't Gebed, en waakt in 't zelve met dank zegginge. Col. 4:2. Huis aandachten woorden allen Inwoonderen dezer plaats ten hoogste aanbevolen.

13. Wy zyn verplicht alle Menschen en voornaamlyk onze Broeders en Zusters in Christo van harte lief te hebben, en wy willen dus geenen Menschen aan ziel of Ligchaam Schade aandoen, maar veelmeer zyne welvaart zoo veel mogelyk zoeken te bevorderen. Daarom willen wy ook oven [sic] wandel waken, opdat wy niemand ergeren, maar veelmeer onzen Medemenschen tot stichting zyn.
14. De woorden des Apostels: Niemand zoeke, dat zyes zelfs is, maar een iegelyk zoeke, dat des andern is, 1. Cor. 10:24. moeten onze grondregel zyn en blyven in alle verhandelingen met onze Evennaasten, dat is, wy willen onze Medemenschen niet benadeelen om daardoor voordeel te maken, wand de Liefte zoekt haarzelven niet. 1. Cor. 13:5.
15. Wy houden niet alleen zulke Dingen, welke volgens de Landeswetten strafbaar zyn, als doodslag, dievery, meeneed, bedrog, en diergelyks voor schandelyke Overtreedingen, voor de welke wy ons door de Genade Gods willen laten bewaren; maar wy reekenen ook nyd, bitterheid, toorn, vuyle reden, gevegt, agterklappen, liegen enz. Eph. 4 onder de Werken des Vleesches, van de welke wy ons meer en meer willen laten reinigen.
16. Daartegen willen wy tegen onze Medemenschen dienstvaardig, vreedzaam, weldadig en verzoenlyk zyn, en ons der waarheid, der Opreghheit en der eelykheid [sic] in allen onzen handel en wandel getrouw bevlytigen.
17. Byzonders zyn wy verplicht, allen Vreemdelingen zoo wel in als buten [sic] de plaats, vriendelyk en beleefd te bejegenen.

18. Wy willen nooit vergeten, dat wy beroepen zyn, om God te verheelyken [sic] in onz Lighaam en in onzen Geest, welke Godes zyn, 1.Cor:6.20. en dat wy dus onze ziele en ons Ligchaam als een eigendom Gods en een tempel des heil: Geestes moeten heilig houden, en daarom alles vlieden, waardoor dezelve ontheiligd en besmet worden, by voorbeeld, hoerery en alle onreinigheid, brassery en dronkenschap, Dacharooken en diergelyks, wel weetende, dat geene hoererders of ontuchige, noch dronkaards het koningryk Gods beerven zullen. Gal. 5:21.
19. Wy cordeelen ons zelve verplicht, alles getrouw waar te neemen, wat tot de Gezondheid dient, waartoe voornaamlyk reinlykheid aan ons Ligchaam en in onze wooningen, en ordentlyke kleeding behooren.
20. Alle leden onzer Gemeente moeten getrouw en vlytig naar de ordening Gods werken, en zich voor de verderflyke traagheid laten bewaaren. Alle Uren onzes Levens en alle krachten onzer Ziele en onzes Ligchaams zyn edele gaven Gods, die wy niet misbruiken kuñen, zonder ons eener zware Verantwoordinge bloot te stellen.
21. Wat wy door onze arbeid eerlyk verdiend hebben, willen wy als Gaven Gods aanzien, en dezelve met dankzegging en verstanige [sic] matigheid en spaarzaamheid [sic] genieten. Van alle Ouders en Huisvaders wordt verwacht, dat zy ten einde deze gevoelens in de gemoederen van hunne Kinderen inteprenten, nooit verzuimen, voor en na het eeten te bidden of te zingen.
22. Daarby willen wy zorgvuldig waken, dat wy ons niet in die handelingen des leeftogts inwikkelen en daardoor Schade aan onze ziele leiden, niet vergetende, dat het woord Gods zegt: Gierigheid is Afgodendienst. Col. 3:5.
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II. Van de Overheid.

1. Nademaal de heil. Schrift uitdrukkelijk leert en beveelt: Zyt alle menschelyke Ordeningen onderdanig om des Heeren wille; het zy den Koning, als de opperste Macht hebbende; het zy den Stadhouderen, als die van hem gezonden worden, 1. Betr. 2:13 [sic]; zoo willen wy ons als getrouwe en gehoorzame Onderdanen aan alle Landeswetten allerwilligst onderwerpen [sic], ten zy wy door wettig verkregene Vryheden en Vorregt daarvan ontslagen zyn.
 2. In zaken, die voor de resp. Gerechthoven behoren, kunnen [sic] en willen wy in onze ordeningen niets voorschryven. Zouden onder ons Overtredingen tegen de Wetten des Landes voorkomen ('t welk God in Genade verhoede!) zoo willen wy zulks niet verbergen, maar aan de resp. Magistraaten daarvan kennis geven.
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III. Van den Echtenstaat en de Opvoeding der Kinderen.

1. Den huwelyken Staat willen wy naar het woord Gods als heilig aanzien, en met allen ernst daarop toeleggen, dat alle heidenische en ligtzinige gewoonten en denkbeelden daaromtrent meer en meer uitgeroeyd worden.
2. Van elk eenen Inwoonder dezer plaats, die in den heil. Echtenstaat treden wil, verwachten wy dat hy deze belangrijke schree zynes levens onder Gebed en als voor de Oogen Gods doe, opdat niemand het ongeluk hebbe, naderhand te moeten berouwen, wat hy in ligtzin en uit onzeuivere beweegredenen gedaan heeft.
3. Jonge Menschen kunnen tegen den raad hunner Ouders onder ons niet trouwen.
4. Alle Echtelieden, zy mogen hier getrouwd zyn, of tezamen geleefd hebben, eer zy hier aangenomen wierden, zyn verplicht, zich in hunnen Echtenstaat naar het woord Gods

te getragen. Echtbreekers zullen onder ons niet gedulded worden.

5. Het is een hoogst gewigtige Plicht van alle degenen, welke God met Kinderen gezegend heeft, of die Kinderen aangenomen hebben, dezelve in de leering en Vermaning des Heeren optevoeden, waartoe behoort, dat zy vroeg met den Heiland bekend gemaakt worden, dat zy aangeleidt worden, de School en de Kerk vlytig te bezoeken, dat zy aan gehoorzaamheid en arbeidzaamheid gewend worden, en dat de Ouders hen niet alleen niet ergeren, maar zoo veel als mogelyk is, oppassen, dat zy niet door anderen geergerd worden.
6. Wy houden het voor eene schandelyke ondeugd, wanneer de Jeugd tegen bejaarde Menschen onbescheidenheid en Verachting toonen, daarom willen wy alle moeite doen, dat onze Kinderen en jeugt niet alleen tegen hunne Ouders, maar tegen alle oude Menschen eerbied en gehoorzaamheid beweyzen.
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IV. Byzondere Ordeningen der Gemeente tot Verhoeding van Zielen Schaden en tot bevordering van eenen God welbehagelyken wandel.

1. Gelyk de gantsche Broeder Uniteit, als een klein Gedeelte van de Gemeente Christi daartoe beroepen is eene Verzameling van Zielen te zyn, welke leven door het geloof des Zoons Gods, en onder de leiding des heil. Geestes en de Regeering onzes Heilandes Jezu Christi daarna trachten, dit geloof door eenen Gode welbehagelyken wandel en byzonders door eene geheiligde Broederliefde te bewyzen [sic], zoo willen wy ook nooit vergeten, dat alle Inwoonders [sic] van deze pläts dezelve hooge beroeping hebben, en dat het dus onze eerste en wuigtigste [sic]

Zorg moet wezen, als navolgers Jezu Christi die op't naauwste in liefde verbonden zyn, te leven.

2. Onze Verbinding, als eene Gemeente, grondet zich dus op de woorden Christi: Een is uw Meester, Christus; en Gy zyt alle Broeders. Math. 23:8. - Maar zal deze Verbinding voortduuren, zoo moet ook, zoo veel mogelyk is daar voorgezorgt worden, dat niemand onder ons woonde die dezen zin niet heeft, en dat alles voorgebuigd worde waardoor de Leden der Gemeente van dezen zin afkomen kunnen. Met dit Oogmerk zyn wy over volgende Regelen overeengekomen.
3. Wanneer iemand woenscht [sic] hier te komen wonen, zoo worden zyne beweegredenen daartoe grondig onderzocht, en worden dezelve zuiver bevonden, zoo verzekert hy plegtiglyk voor de verzamelde Leraars, dat hy zich naar het woord Gods en de Ordeningen der Gemeente getragen wil, nadat hem zyne plichten, als Inwoonder alhier duidelyk zyn voorgelegd worden.
4. Daaruit volgt, dat niemand wegens verwantschap met leden der Gemeente of wegens uiterlyke Voordeele voor hem zelven of anderen, enz. onder ons kan worden aangenomen; dus kan ook geen opstal in de plaats aan vreemde Menschen verkocht worden, die noch niet Verlof hebben, om hier te wonen.
5. Wanneer een Inwoonder met iemand buiten de plaats trouwet, zoo kan zyn of haar Echtgenoot uit die rede niet onder ons worden aangenomen, en dus verklaart een ieder door eene zulke schree, dat hy zyn regt tot wonen alhier begeeft.
6. Zouden Menschen die onder bovengemelde Voorwaarde hier aangenomen zyn, zoo ongelukkig worden, van dezen zin aftekomen, zoo kunnen zy slegts zoo lange onder ons geduld worden, als zy anderen niet tot schade zyn.

7. Dus willen wy ook Kinderen, die onder ons opgroeeyen, met geduld dragen, zoo lange zy zich uiterlyk naar onze Ordeningen gedragen, en geene Verleiders zyn; maar in dit geval moeten zy de plaats ruimen.
8. Tot Verhoeding van Verzondiging houden wy het voor hoogst noodig, dat in de Ommeegang tuusschen Peroonen [sic] van beide Geslachten over de strengste zedelykheid gewaakt worde, byzonders willen wy over onze Kinderen en jeugd op het zorgvuldigste waken, en dezelve zoo weinig as mogelyk zonder opzicht laten.
9. Onnodige Byeenkomsten van jonge Menschen, vooral's avonds, kunnen onder geenerley voorwendzel geduld worden. Ouders en Voormonders moeten daarvoor zorg[sic], dat de jeugd die onder hunne berusting is, nooit zonder hunne voorkennis by anderen overnagten, als waardoor de grootste Onordeningen ontstaan. Wie zulke byeenkomsten in zyn huis duldet en jonge Menschen overnacht opneemt, heeft zulks voor God en de Gemeente te verantwoorden.
10. Even zoo zal niemand Vreemdelinge in zyn huis mogen opneemen, zonder aan de Leraars daarvan kennis te geven.
11. Alle Spelle en Verlustigingen, waardoor de onheilige begeerlykheden des harten ontstoken worden, als, dansen en diergelyks kunnen onder ons niet geduld worden.
12. Wanneer jonge Menschen te zamen zyn moeten, als op reizen, by de arbeid, in de oogst, by hout halen enz. zoo moet, zoo veel mogelyk, daarvoor gezorgt worden, dat zy onder opzicht zyn.
13. Wie van andere plaatsen sterken drank terwaards [sic] brengt en daardoor Onordeningen in de plaats veroorzaakt, zal als een Verleider aangezien en behandeld worden.
14. Naardien alle Ordeningen zonder Bestierders nietig zyn, zoo hebben wy het waken over de waarneeming van onze Ordeningen en de handhaving onzer Kerktugt aan onze

Leeraars aanbetrouwd, en wy willen ons hunne vermaningen en bestraffingen naar het woord Gods en volgens de Regelen onzer Kerktugt willig onderwerpen. Zy zyn dierhalven bevoegt, zulke Leden der Gemeente die tegen het woord Gods en de Ordeningen handelen van de Brivate [sic] Verzamelingen en het heil. Avondmaal uittesliten [sic] of van de plaats weg te sturen, nadat de omstandigheden het een of andere vereischen.

15. Het is weezenlyk noodig tot het welzyn der Gemeente dat de Leeraars, als die beroepen zyn over de zielen te waken, met alle Leden der Gemeente in vertrouwelyke Verbinding staan, en met hunne omstandigheden naauwkeuniglyk [sic] bekend zyn. Met dit oogmerk is het Spreken onder ons ingesteld, 't welk zich alle Inwoonderen billig met dankbaarheid ten nutte maken.
16. De onder ons aangestelde Kerkdienaren hebben niet alleen voor ordening en betaamlykheid by den uiterlyken Godsdienst te zorgen, maar zyn ook als Helper der Leeraars aantezien, en wy syn dus verplicht hunne vermaningen en herinneringen in Liefte [sic] aanteneemen.
17. Wanneer een Inwoonder iets bemerkt, waardoor enkele Leden of de gantsche Gemeente konde Schade lyden, zoo is hy verplicht, den schuldigen te herinneren of anders aan de Kerkdienaren of de Leeraars kennis daarvan te geven.

V. Overeenkomst der Gemeente omtrent
uiterlyke plaatselyke Ordening.

1. De opsicht over uiterlyke Ordening is aan de Leeraars aanbetrouwd, en tot hunne ondersteuning willen wy onder de Leden der Gemeente, zoo dra de omstandigheden zulks toelaten, Opzienders verkiesen, welken wy eerbied en gehoorsaamheid schuldig zyn.

2. Om twist en Onordening voortebuigen houden wy het voor noodig, dat elk eene familie zyne byzondere wooning heeft.
3. Het woordt allen Inwoonderen ernstig aanbevolen, duurzame wooningen te bouwen.
4. Het bouwen van huizen staat onder de opzicht van de Leeraars, onder welken een in't byzonder volmagtigd is als Opziender van Gebouwen, wiens' raad de Ingezetene [sic] verplicht zyn te volgen, zoo wel by het aanleggen van nieuwe huizen, als wanneer zy hunne wooningen vergrooten willen.
5. Zoo is ook het uitgeven van tuingrond en land aan eenen Leeraar aanbetrouwd, die ook de plicht heeft, daarover te waken, dat de Tuine en het land behoorlyk gebruikt worden. Wie daarom hierin nalatig is, moet herinner worden, en indien herinneringen niets baten, moet hy verwagten, dat zyn tuin en land aan andere gegeven worden, terwyl het niet alleen onbetaamlyk, maar zelfs voor de aanliggende Buuren schadelyk is, wanneer het land woest ligt.
6. Wie de plaats verlaat, of wegens verzondigingen weggestuurt wordt, heeft vryheid zynen opstal, dat is, zyn huis met al het geen aard en nagel vast is, aan eenen inwonder van de plaats met vookennis [sic] der Leeraars te verkoopen, maar het land kan hy niet als eigendom verkoopen, terwyl hy hetzelfde slegts als vergunning bezit.
7. Zouden Inwoonderen van hier vertrekken, en over hunnen opstal, tuin en land niet disponeerd hebben en zonder kennis van hun verblyf aan de Leeraars te geven, zoo worden tuine en land na verloop van een Jaar aan anderen tot gebruik gegeven, en de opstal na twee Jaaren voor hunne reekening verkocht, en het geld, in geval zy geene Erfgenamen hebben, in de Armbus gegeven. - Zoude het nagelatene van beduidende waardy zyn, zoo zal niets daarmede gedaan worden, tot dat den afwezigen Eigenaars in

- het Kaapsche Weekblad kennis daarvan is gegeven worden.
8. Niemand kan huis, tuin of land aan andere Inwōnderen van de plaats verkoopen of verruiten [sic], zonder voorkennis des Leeraars, die daarover opzigt heeft.
 9. Het wordt allen Inwoonderen, die Vermogen bezitten, aangeraden, daarover hun Testament te regter tyd te laten maken, opdat geen twist of oneenigheid na hun Afsterven moge ontstaan. Daarby is te bemerken, dat aan Menschen buiten de plaats kunnen geen Aard en nagelvaste Goederen in erfenis gegeven worden.
 10. Zoo wel plaatselyke Ordening als de Landeswetten vereischen, dat geen Vreemdeling zonder behoorliken Pas hier zal mogen overnachten. Daarom is een ieder Huis eigenaar verbonden, niemand in zyn huis opteneemen, tot dat zyn Pas door eenen Leeraar is onderzocht. De Ingezetene moet op den Vreemdeling een waakzaam Oog hebben, opdat door hem geene Onordening in de plaats moge ontstaan.
 11. Met Vreemdelinge verstaan wy ook de zulke, die hun voorregt als Inwoonderen alhier, verloren hebben; welke hier niet over nacht blyven kunnen, zonder Verlof van de Leeraars.
 12. Het weerzydige bezoeken tusschen onze plaats en Genadenthal, Groenekloof enz, als waardoor de kostbare tyd verloren gaat en de noodige arbeid by 't huis verzuimd wordt, moet, zoo veel mogelyk is, voorgebuigd worden: Daarom zyn de Leeraars op de verscheidene plaatsen overeenkomstig geworden, zulke bezoekende niet in de plaats te laten overnagten, indien zy niet een schriftelyk Verlof van hunne Leeraars medebrengen.
 13. Na de Avond Verzamelingen in de Kerk zal een ieder Inwonder in zyn huis blyven, en niet zonder nood in de plaats rondlooben. [sic]
 14. Wy willen, zoo veel mogelyk is, daarvoor zorgen, dat niemand door nalatigheid, of wel [sic] moedwillig Overleg

zyner Buuren aan zyn Eigendom Schade lyde, waartoe onder anderen behoort:

- a.) dat de Tuine wel omheind zyn.
- b.) dat het Koornland behoorlyk opgepast worde.
- c.) dat schikkinge gemaakt worden tot oppassen van het Vee, waarby het voordeelagtigste is, eenen algemeenen Beeste wagter te huuren, tot wiens onderhoud, alle die belang daaraan hebben, naar mate van het getal van hun [sic], Vee contribueeren.
- d.) dat het veld niet in brand gestoken worde, ten zy zulks te voren bekend gemaakt is.

- 15. Zoude nogthans Schade gedaan worden, zoo zal dezelve door twee of meer ervarenen Mannen getaxeerd worden, en wie schuld daaraan is, het zy de Schade is gedaan door hemzelve, zyne Kinderen en Onderhoorige of door zyn Vee, zal verplicht zyn volgens de Taxatie te vergoeden.
- 16. Geschiedt Schade aan iets, wat aan de Gemeente in't algemeen behoort, als heining der begraafplaats, plantingen enz. zoo behoort hetgeen als Schadeloosheid gegeven wordt, in de Armbus.
- 17. Zouden Inwoonderen van deze plaats over iets oneens worden, zoo zullen zy zich niet in twist en gekyf inlaten, maar van de zaak aan eenige verstandige Mannen of aan de Leeraars kennis geven, en zich bemoeyen, door hunnen goeden raad tot een broederlyk Verglyk te komen.
- 18. Alle Ingezetene moeten aan algemeene Werken en Lasten gelyken Aandeel neemen, by voorbeeld: de onderhouding van de begraafplaats, het aanleggen en rein houden van Watersloten, Wege maken, Verlichting van de Kerk, Regusitien door [sic] de Overheid enz. enz.
- 19. Iedereen Inwoonder is verplicht, in den omtrek van zyn huis en tuingrond alles schoon en zindelyk te houden.

Alles waardoor het water verontreinigd wordt moet zorgvuldig vermieden worden.

20. Wy houden ons verplicht, zoo veel onze omstandigheden toelaten voor de Arme en Kranke te zorgen. De middelen daartoe moeten uit de Armkas komen, welke daarom allen Leden der Gemeente op het beste aanbevolen wordt.

Besluit.

Deze Ordeningen zullen van tyd tot tyd den verzamelden Inwonderen voorgelezen worden, opdat geen punt daarvan in Vergetenheid kome. Daarby verwachten wy, dat alle getrouwe Leden der Gemeente onzen lieven Heiland vlytig aanroepen zullen, dat het oogmerk van ons 't zamen wonen ons altoos heilig moge blyven, en de Geest der broederlyken Liefde in alle harten uitgestoort worden. Dan zullen wy onze schoone Inzettingen meer en meer als een kostelyk kleinood leeren waardeeren, en daarby rykelijk ervaren, hoe goed en hoe lieflyk het is, dat broeders te zamen wonen, want aldaar gebiedt de Heer zynen zegen en 't leven tot in der Eewigheid. Ps.133:1,3.

(1)

(1) El. Doc. 1824.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

Abbreviation

I. MANUSCRIPTS

1. AT THE GENADENDAL ARCHIVES

a. DIARIES

Diary of Georg Schmidt (Copy, partly extract)	G.S.Di.
Diary of Baviaanskloof/Genadendal, 1792-1880. (Fifteen volumes)	I, II, III, etc.
Diary of Groenekloof/Mamre, 1808-1925. (Seven volumes)	Ma.Di.
Diary of Enon, 1818, 1819, 1831-1838, 1855-1884. (Six volumes)	En.Di.
Diary of Hemel en Aarde/Robben Island, 1823-1868. (Four volumes)	H.A.Di.
Diary of Shiloh, 1828, 1829. (Copy)	Shi.Di.C.
Diary of Wittewater and Goedverwacht, 1864-1891.	Wi.Di.
Diary of Berea, 1869-1913.	Be.Di.

b. MINUTE BOOKS

Minutes of the <u>Helferkonferenz ins Ganze</u> , 1816-1906. (Six volumes)	He.ko.
Minutes of the <u>Missionskonferenz</u> of Genadendal, 1793-1846. (Five volumes)	Mi.ko.
Minutes of the <u>Hauskonferenz</u> of Genadendal, 1800-1911. (Two volumes)	Hau.ko.
Minutes of the <u>Gemeinrat</u> of Genadendal, 1824, 1825.	Gem.pro.

c. COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS

Concerning Genadendal.	Gen.Doc.
Concerning Mamre and Pella.	Ma.Doc.
Concerning Enon and Clarkson.	En.Doc.
Concerning Hemel en Aarde.	H.A.Doc.
Concerning Elim.	El.Doc.
Concerning Goedverwacht and Wittewater.	Goe.Doc.

	Abbreviation
Concerning Kopjeskasteel.	Kop.Doc.
On occasion of the Supreme Court Case of 1908/1909.	Case 1909
On occasion of the Supreme Court Case of 1923.	Case 1923
Diversa about Mamre.	Ma.Div.
Drafts and memoranda from Hallbeck.	Hal.Memo.
Passports and contracts of Hottentots.	Passports
Regulations.	Regulations
d. COLLECTIONS OF LETTERS RECEIVED	
Under the East Indian Company, 1737-1795.	Le.I.
Under the first British occupation, 1795-1803.	Le.II.
Under the Batavian Republic, 1803-1806.	Le.III.
From the second British occupation, 1806-1839. (Two volumes)	Le.IV.
Less important letters, 1795-1829.	Le.V.
Letters from Groenekloof/Mamre.	Le.Gr.
Letters from Enon.	Le.En.
Letters from Hemel en Aarde/Robben Island.	Le.H.A.
Letters from Elim.	Le.El.
Letters from Shiloh.	Le.Shi.
Letters from Clarkson.	Le.Cl.
Letters from Wittewater and Goedverwacht.	Le.Wi.
Letters from Mamre on the Begha.	Le.Ma.Be.
Letters from the <u>Unitäts-Aeltesten-Konferenz</u> .	Le.U.A.C.
Letters from teachers.	Le.tea.
e. COPIES AND DRAFTS OF CORRESPONDENCE FROM GENADENDAL.	
From Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel.	Le.drafts I.
From G.L. Rose.	Le.drafts II.
From H.P. Hallbeck.	Le.drafts III.
From C.R. Kölbing.	Le.drafts IV.

	Abbreviation
From J.F.W. Kühn.	Le.drafts V.
From W.F. Bechler.	Le.drafts VI.
f. SYNODAL RECORDS	
Synod of 1801 (Verlass).	Syn. 1801
Synod of 1818 (Diarium).	Syn. 1818
Synod of 1825 (Diarium).	Syn. 1825
Synod of 1836 (Verlass).	Syn. 1836
g. MISCELLANEA	
Church register of Baviaanskloof/ Genadendal, from 1793.	Church reg.Bav.
Expenditure on the church building, 1798-1800.	Church exp.
Kühnel's report of his stay in Swellen- dam, 1799. (Copy from the Archives of Herrnhut)	Kü.rep.
Register of dwellings and persons at Baviaanskloof, 1799.	Reg. 1799
Kohrhammer's report of his stay at Wynberg, 1805.	Kohr.rep.
Church register of Hemel en Aarde, from 1823.	Church reg.H.A.
Ledger of the savings-bank of Genadendal II, 1835-1859.	Sav. bank
Subscriptions for the Genadendal bridge, 1837-1860.	Gen. bridge
List of members of the Missionary Society of Genadendal, 1845.	Miss.Soc.Gen.
<u>Eenvoudige vragen by het Godsdienstige Onderwijs der Hottentotten te gebruiken. (1849)</u>	Eenv.vragen
<u>Ordeningen der Gemeente te Twistwyk. (1856)</u>	Twistwyk
Annual accounts of the stations, 1867-1897.	Accounts
2. AT THE ELIM ARCHIVES	
Diary of Elim, 1824-1874. (Three volumes)	El.Di.
Minutes of the <u>Missionskonferenz</u> of Elim, 1824-1885. (Two volumes)	El.Mi.ko.

	Abbreviation
Minutes of the <u>Hauskonferenz</u> of Elim, 1824-1905.	El.Hau.ko.
Church register of Elim, from 1824.	El.Church reg.
Minutes of the <u>Opziener-Conferentie</u> of Elim, 1829-1881.	El.Opz.Co.
Regulations of Elim, 1866.	El.Regulations 1866
 3. AT THE SHILOH ARCHIVES	
Diary of Shiloh, 1828-1838 (except January-June 1836), 1851-1886. (Five volumes)	Shi.Di.
Minutes of the <u>Missionskonferenz</u> of Shiloh, 1843-1854.	Shi.Mi.ko.
Minutes of the <u>Hauskonferenz</u> of Shiloh, 1828-1909. (Two volumes)	Shi.Hau.ko.
Minutes of the <u>Opziener-Conferentie</u> of Shiloh, 1854-1874.	Shi.Opz.Co.
Church register of Shiloh, from 1828.	Shi.Church reg.
 4. AT THE CLARKSON ARCHIVES	
Diary of Clarkson, 1839-1877. (Six volumes)	Cl.Di.
Minutes of the <u>Missionskonferenz</u> of Clarkson, 1839-1846.	Cl.Mi.ko.
Minutes of the <u>Hauskonferenz</u> of Clarkson, 1839-1864.	Cl.Hau.ko.
Church register of Clarkson, from 1839.	Cl.Church reg.
Title deeds concerning Clarkson.	Cl.deeds
 5. AT THE CAPE ARCHIVES	
Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 1742.	G. 34
Miscellaneous Documents, 1795-1803.	B.O. 32-34
Letters received from churches, 1819.	C.O. 102
Letters received from Agents and Missionaries in the Interior, 1827.	C.O. 323
Letters received from Agents and Missionaries in the Interior, 1828.	C.O. 360
Letters received from Surveyor- General, 1851-1852.	C.O. 611
Letters received: Ecclesiastical, Educational, 1854.	C.O. 637

	Abbreviation
Letters received: Ecclesiastical, 1856.	C.O. 677
Letters despatched: Detached Bodies and Officers, 1826/27.	C.O. 4889
6. DOCUMENTS FROM THE HERRNHUT ARCHIVES ON MICROFILM AT GENADENDAL	
Diary and reports of Georg Schmidt, and correspondence and testimonials concerning him.	Ph.G.S.
Instruction of J.F. Reichel for Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel, 1792.	Ph.Reichel
Curriculum vitae of H. Marsveld.	Ph.Marsveld
Curriculum vitae of J.P. Kohrhammer.	Ph.Kohrhammer
Correspondence of C.I. La Trobe, 1815, 1816.	Ph.La Trobe
H.P. Hallbeck, <u>Die Hottentotten und die Mission der Brüder in Süd-Africa im Jahr 1823.</u>	Ph.Hallbeck

II. PRINTED SOURCES

1. PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

<u>Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine.</u> (Until 1818 manuscript, from 1819 printed at Gnadau)	G. N.
<u>Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren</u> , London, from 1792.	Per.Acc.
<u>Berichten van de Zendingen der Evangelische Broedergemeente onder de Heidenen,</u> Zeist, from 1798.	Berichten
(All three publish extracts from diaries, reports and letters of the missionaries, and their curricula vitae.)	
<u>De Kaapsche Cyclopaedie</u> No. 48, Cape Town, 1833/34.	Cyclopaedie
<u>S.A. Commercial Advertiser,</u> Cape Town, from 1824.	Advertiser
<u>Cape Argus,</u> Cape Town, from 1857.	Argus
<u>Cape Monitor,</u> Cape Town, 1859.	Monitor
<u>Cape Town Mail,</u> Cape Town, 1842, 1849, 1850.	Mail

Abbreviation

2. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

<u>Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry of the Cape of Good Hope: On government and finances, (London, 1826) Cape Town, 1827.</u>	Report 1826
<u>Report upon the Hottentot Population of the Cape of Good Hope, London, 1830.</u>	Report 1830
<u>Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Inhabitants of Southern Africa... Part I, London, 1835.</u>	Report 1835
<u>Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines. London, 1836.</u>	Report 1836
<u>Master and Servant Documents and Addenda....(Two volumes) Cape Town, 1849.</u>	M. and S. 1849
<u>Handelingen...betrekkelyk de... gewoonte zich op Gouvernements Grond te vestigen of te plakken. Cape Town, 1852.</u>	Plakkers 1852
<u>Report from the Select Committee on Granting Lands in Freehold to Hottentots, Cape Town, 1854.</u>	Report 1854
<u>Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly 1854. Cape Town, 1854.</u>	Assembly 1854
<u>Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly 1855. Cape Town, 1855.</u>	Assembly 1855
<u>Report...upon...the Robben Island Establishment, Cape Town, 1855.</u>	Report 1855
<u>Minutes of Evidence...on Granting Lands in Freehold to Hottentots, Cape Town, 1856.</u>	Evidence 1856
<u>Report of the Select Committee on the subject of Missionary Institutions, Cape Town, 1858.</u>	Report 1858
<u>Regulations of the Departement of Public Education 1860. Cape Town, 1860.</u>	Ed. Regulations 1860
<u>Report of the Superintendent-General of Education for the year 1861, Cape Town, 1862.</u>	Ed. Report 1861
<u>Report of an Inspection by the Superintendent-General of Education of the Schools, Cape Town, 1862.</u>	Ed. Report 1862

Abbreviation

Report of the Superintendent-General of Education for the year 1864, Cape Town, 1865. Ed. Report 1864

Report of the Select Committee on Standing Rules and Orders on Clanwilliam and Caledon Elections, Grahamstown, 1864. Report 1864

3. VAN RIEBEECK SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

- I. The Reports of Chavonnes and his Council, and of Van Imhoff, on the Cape, 1717 and 1743, Cape Town, 1918. V. R. I
- II. Life at the Cape in the Mid-Eighteenth Century, by O.F.Mentzel, Cape Town, 1919. V. R. II
- III. The Memorandum of Commissary J.A.de Mist, Cape Town, 1920. V. R. III
- IV, VI, XXV. A...Description of the Cape... by O.F.Mentzel, I-III, Cape Town, 1921, 1925, 1944. V. R. IV, VI, XXV
- X, XI. Travels in Southern Africa, by Henry Lichtenstein, 1803-6, Cape Town, 1928, 1930. V. R. X, XI
- XVIII. D.G. van Reenen se Joernal, 1803, Cape Town, 1937. V. R. XVIII
- XXIV. M.D. Teenstra; De Vruchten mijner Werkzaamheden, 1830, Cape Town, 1943. V. R. XXIV
- XXVIII. Journals of J.T. Rhenius and C.F. Brink, 1724-62, Cape Town, 1947. V. R. XXVIII
- XXXVII. The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman 1848-1855, Cape Town, 1957. V. R. XXXVII
- XXXII. T. Baines: Journal of Residence in Africa 1842-1853, Cape Town, 1961. V. R. XXXII

4. JOURNALS OF TRAVELLERS

- A. Sparrman, Reize naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop...., (Translation) Amsterdam, 1787. Sparrman
- J. Barrow, Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa. London, 1801. Barrow
- J. Campbell, Travels in South Africa, I. London, 1815. Campbell

	Abbreviation
C.I. La Trobe, <u>Journal of a Visit to South Africa...</u> , London, 1818.	La Trobe
W.J. Burchell, <u>Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa.</u> (Two volumes) London, 1822-24.	Burchell
J.W.D. Moodie, <u>Ten Years in South Africa.</u> London, 1835.	J. Moodie
J. Backhouse, <u>A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa.</u> London, 1844.	Backhouse I.
J. Backhouse, <u>Extracts from the Letters of James Backhouse....</u> Volume II. London 1841.	Backhouse II.
R. Gray, <u>Journals of Two Visitations in 1848 and 1850.</u> London, 1849, 1851.	Gray
J.J. Freeman, <u>A Tour in South Africa.</u> London, 1851.	Freeman
C. Buchner, <u>Acht Monate in Südafrika.</u> Gütersloh, 1894.	Buchner
Lady Anne Barnard, <u>South Africa a Century Ago.</u> London, 1908.	Lady Anne
Lady Duff Gordon, <u>Letters from the Cape.</u> (First edition 1864) London, 1921.	Duff Gordon

5. ON SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL HISTORY

H. Calderwood, <u>Caffres and Caffre Missions.</u> London, 1858.	Calderwood
G.M. Theal, <u>Records of the Cape Colony, 1793-1827.</u> (Thirty-six volumes) London, 1897-1905.	Records I,II,etc.
H.C.V. Leibbrandt, <u>Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten (Memorials), 1715-1806.</u> (Two volumes) Cape Town, 1905, 1906.	Leibbrandt
G.M. Theal, <u>Belangryke Historische Dokumenten, III.</u> London, 1911.	Bel.Hist.Dok.
D. Moodie, <u>The Record. Official papers relating to the Native Tribes of South Africa.</u> (Reprint) Cape Town, 1960.	D. Moodie
A.E. Du Toit, <u>The Earliest South African Documents on the Education and Civilisation of the Bantu.</u> Pretoria, 1963.	Du Toit

	Abbreviation
6. ECCLESIASTICAL AND EDUCATIONAL SOURCES	
a. SYNODAL RECORDS	
<u>Verlass des Synodus der evangelischen Brüder-Unität....1848. Gnadau,1848.</u>	Syn. 1848
<u>Verlass der Allgemeinen Synode der Brüder-Unität....1857. Gnadau,1857.</u>	Syn. 1857
<u>Verlass der Allgemeinen Synode der Brüder-Unität....1869. Gnadau,1869.</u>	Syn. 1869
b. EARLY PRINTINGS AT GENADENDAL	
<u>De Bode. Berigten uit de Heiden-wereld. (Monthly) From December 1859.</u>	Bode
<u>Maandbladje voor Kinderen. (Monthly) From 1861.</u>	Maandbladje
<u>De Kleine Zang-vriend. 1861.</u>	Zang-vriend
<u>Levens-Geschiedenis van C.R. Koelbing. (1861)</u>	Kölbing
<u>Het Tekst-Boek der Broederkerk. (Annual) From 1862.</u>	Tekst-Boek
<u>De Kinder-vriend. (Monthly) From 1862.</u>	Kinder-vriend
<u>Tractate. (Collection)</u>	Tractate
<u>Verschiedene Drucke.... (Collection)</u>	Drucke
<u>Dr. Martin Luthers Kleine Katechismus. 1863.</u>	Katechismus
<u>Beschlüsse der Allgemeinen Missions-Conferenz Süd-Afrika (Westliche Provinz). 1885.</u>	Beschlüsse
<u>P. Hallbeck: Eenvoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Kleinkinder-Scholen. (First edition 1859) 1886.</u>	Lessen
c. OTHERS	
<u>Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorff, Theologische...Bedencken. Büdingen,1742.</u>	Bedencken
<u>Die Missions-Societät in England. Barby, 1797.</u>	Miss.Societät
<u>An Account of the Progress of Joseph Lancaster's Plan for the Education of Poor Children. Southwark, undated.</u>	Lancaster
<u>Litanijen en Liturgien tot Gebruik voor de Zendingen der Broedergemeente onder de Heidenen. Haarlem, 1815.</u>	Litanijen 1815

	Abbreviation
<u>Samuel Lieberkühn, Der Hauptinhalt der Lehre Jesu Christi.... Gnadau, 1822.</u>	Hauptinhalt
<u>Lofzangen en Geestelijke Liederen der Vereenigde Evangelische Broedergemeente. Zeist, (1826).</u>	Lofzangen 1826
<u>Litanijen en Gezangen, behoorende tot de Liturgie der Evangelische Broedergemeenten. Zeist, 1839.</u>	Litanijen 1839
<u>A.G. Spangenberg, Instructions for Missionaries of the Church of the Unitas Fratrum. (German edition 1784) London, 1840 (second edition).</u>	Spangenberg
<u>R. Roser, Naturhistorische und medizinische Beobachtungen über Gnaden-thal in Süd-Afrika. Tübingen, 1856.</u>	Roser
<u>Correspondence South African Auxiliary Bible Society. Cape Town, 1857.</u>	Aux. Bible Soc.
<u>Verslag van de Christelijke Conferentie te Worchester 1860. Cape Town, 1860.</u>	Worchester 1860
<u>J.A. Bonatz, Anleitung zur Erlernung der Kaffer-Sprache. Gnadau, 1862.</u>	Bonatz
<u>Hoofdinhoud der Christelijke Heils-leer.... Cape Town, 1876.</u>	Hoofdinhoud
<u>Lebenslauf desJohann Friedrich Wilhelm Kühn.. Gnadau, (1890).</u>	Kühn
<u>Missions-Ordnung der Süd-Afrikan. Westlichen Provinz....Herrnhut, 1894.</u>	Miss. Ordnung
<u>G. Spoelstra, Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde Kerken in Zuid-Afrika. (Two volumes) Amsterdam/Cape Town, 1906, 1907.</u>	Spoelstra
<u>Lebenslauf des....Andreas Gustav Hettasch. Gnadau, (1918).</u>	Hettasch
<u>Die Brüder. Herrnhut, 1922.</u>	Brüder

III. SECONDARY MATERIAL

1. THESES AND OTHER UNPUBLISHED WORKS

<u>Carl Anshelm, Bischof Hans Peter Hallbeck der erste schwedische Missionar in Afrika. (Lund, 1927) (Two volumes) Translation in Genadendal.</u>	Anshelm
<u>J.W. Raum, The Development of the Coloured Community at Genadendal under the Influence of the Missionaries of the Unitas Fratrum 1792-1892. (M.A. Thesis) University of Cape Town, 1953.</u>	Raum

	Abbreviation
E. van Calker, <u>Hundert Jahre Kaffernmission der Brüdergemeine. 1828-1928.</u> (Hectogram) Herrnhut, 1928.	Van Calker
E.L. Maurice, <u>The History and Administration of the Education of the Coloured Peoples of the Cape 1652-1910.</u> (B.Ed.Thesis) University of Cape Town, 1946.	Maurice
J.J. de Villiers, <u>Elim...</u> (M.A.Thesis) University of Stellenbosch, 1948.	De Villiers
P.G. Warnick, <u>Genadendal...</u> (M.A.Thesis) University of Stellenbosch, 1950.	Warnick
J.D. Schreuder, <u>Die opvoedkundige bedrywigheede van die Morawiese Broederkerk onder die Kleurlinge in Suid-Afrika.</u> (Thesis) Potchefstroom, 1951.	Schreuder
L.R. Schmidt, <u>Die Sendingwerk van die Broederkerk in Suid-Afrika.</u> (Hectogram) Genadendal, undated.	Sketse
L. Hewson, <u>Healdtown...</u> (Ph.D.Thesis) Rhodes University, 1959.	Hewson
W.R. van Lennep, <u>Graphologische Analyse von Marsveld, Schwinn und Kühnel, "Vrede", Hof Street, Cape Town, 1965.</u>	Van Lennep

2. ON ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

W. Brown, <u>The History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen.</u> London, 1814.	Brown
J. Holmes, <u>Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren...</u> Dublin, 1818.	Holmes
E.W. Gröger, <u>Geschichte der erneuerten Brüderkirche, I-III.</u> Gnadau, 1852-1854.	Gröger
<u>Benigna van Groenekloof of Mamre.</u> Cape Town, 1873.	Benigna
G.Th. Reichelt, <u>Geschichte der Brüder-Missionsstation Silo...</u> Herrnhut, 1878.	Reichelt
J.E. Carlyle, <u>South Africa and its Mission Fields.</u> London, 1878.	Carlyle
A.C. Thompson, <u>Moravian Missions...</u> London, 1883.	Thompson
B. Becker, <u>Zinzendorf im Verhältnis zu Philosophie und Kirchentum seiner Zeit.</u> Leipzig, 1886.	Becker

	Abbreviation
E. Marx, <u>Entstehung, Fortgang und Zukunft der Missionsstation Goedverwacht. Herrnhut, undated.</u>	Marx
<u>Georg Schmidt, de eerste Zending der Broederkerk in Zuid-Afrika. Genadendal, 1887.</u>	G.Schmidt 1887
H.G. Schneider, <u>Gnadenthal, I. Stuttgart, 1892.</u>	Gnadenthal I
<u>Geschied-Verhaal van Genadendal. Genadendal, 1893.</u>	Genadendal 1893
A. Nachtigal, <u>De oudere Zending in Zuid Afrika. (Translation) Amsterdam, 1893.</u>	Nachtigal
H.G. Schneider, <u>Oom Fani. Stuttgart, 1895.</u>	Oom Fani
R. Lovett, <u>The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895. (Two volumes) London, 1899.</u>	Lovett
A. Schulze, <u>Abriss einer Geschichte der Brüdermission. Herrnhut, 1901.</u>	Schulze
J.T. Hamilton, <u>A History of the Missions of the Moravian Church... Bethlehem, 1901.</u>	Hamilton
Th.G. Renkewitz, <u>The Training-School... at Genadendal... No place and date.</u>	Renkewitz
J.E. Hutton, <u>A History of the Moravian Church. London, 1909.</u>	Hutton
J. du Plessis, <u>A History of Christian Missions in South Africa. London, 1911.</u>	Du Plessis
R. Schmidt, <u>Terugblik op het begin en de voortgang van het werk in de School te Genadendal. Genadendal, (1914).</u>	Terugblik
R. Schmidt, <u>Hemel en Aarde. Genadendal, undated.</u>	Hemel en Aarde
P. Moths, <u>Ein Held auf dem Missionsfeld- Heinrich Meyer... Herrnhut, 1920.</u>	Moths
H. Frick, <u>Die Evangelische Mission.... Bonn/Leipzig, 1922.</u>	Frick
G. Reichel, <u>Die Anfänge Herrnhuts. Herrnhut, 1922.</u>	Reichel
K. Müller, <u>Georg Schmidt. Herrnhut, 1923.</u>	Müller G.S.
<u>Elim 1824-1924. Genadendal, 1924.</u>	Elim
K. Müller, <u>Der Weg des Matthäus Stach. Berlin, 1926.</u>	Stach
K. Müller/A. Schulze, <u>200 Jahre Brüdermission. (Two volumes) Herrnhut, 1931, 1932.</u>	200 Jahre

	Abbreviation
R. Schmidt, <u>Die Kweekskool...in Genadendal...</u> Genadendal, 1935.	Kweekskool
W. Lütjeharms, <u>Het Philadelphisch-Oecumenisch Streven der Herrnhutters in de Nederlanden in de Achttiende Eeuw.</u> Zeist, 1935.	Lütjeharms
W. Bettermann, <u>Theologie und Sprache bei Zinzendorf.</u> Gotha, 1935.	Bettermann
G.B.A. Gerdener, <u>Two Centuries of Grace.</u> Stellenbosch, 1937.	Gerdener
<u>Georg Schmidt en sy Opvolgers.</u> Herrnhut, (1937).	G.Schmidt 1937
R. Schmidt, <u>Die ou suster Magdalena.</u> Genadendal, 1937.	Magdalena
W.S. Mazwi, <u>History of the Moravian Mission Church in South Africa East..</u> Matatielle, 1938.	Mazwi
G.P. Ferguson, <u>The Story of the Churches of the Congregational Union of Southern Africa.</u> Paarl, 1940.	Ferguson
W. Oehler, <u>Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Mission.</u> (Two volumes) Baden-Baden, 1949, 1951.	Oehler
<u>Pioniers van die Moraviese Kerk.</u> Cape Town, 1952.	Pioniers
C.P. Groves, <u>The Planting of Christianity in Africa.</u> (Five volumes) London, 1948.	Groves
H. Berkhof, <u>Geschiedenis der Kerk.</u> (Sixth edition) Nijkerk, 1955.	Berkhof
W. Schaberg, <u>Silberblätter aus Südafrika.</u> Hamburg, 1955.	Schaberg
E. Beyreuther, <u>Zinzendorf.</u> (Three volumes) Marburg, 1957-1961.	Beyreuther
N. Reichel, <u>Hans Peter Hallbeck.</u> Genadendal, 1961.	N.Reichel
P. Hinchliff, <u>The Anglican Church in South Africa.</u> London, 1963.	Hinchliff
C.J. Kriel, <u>Die Geskiedenis van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk in Suid-Afrika 1881-1956.</u> Paarl, 1963.	Kriel

Abbreviation

3. ON SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL HISTORY

- T. Clarkson, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-trade by the British Parliament. London, 1908. Clarkson
- G.M. Theal, History and Ethnography of South of the Zambesi, before 1795. (Three volumes) London, 1910. Theal 1-3
- G.M. Theal, History of South Africa since 1795. (Five volumes) London, 1908, 1910. Theal I-III
- P.A.C. Wieringa, De Oudste Boeren-Republieken. 's-Gravenhage, 1921. Wieringa
- J.P. van der Merwe, Die Kaap onder die Bataafse Republiek, 1803-6. Amsterdam, 1926. Van der Merwe
- W.M. Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question. A Historical Survey. London, 1927. Macmillan
- J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937. London, 1939. Marais
- S.F.N. Gie, Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika I, Stellenbosch, 1924. Gie
- J.S. Marais, Maynier and the First Boer Republic. Cape Town, 1944. Maynier
- H.P. Cruse, Die Opheffing van die Kleurlingbevolking. Cape Town, 1947. Cruse
- A.J.H. van der Walt/J.A. Wild/A.L.Geyer, Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika I and II. Cape Town, 1951. Van der Walt
- R. Ray, The Strange Story of Dr. James Barry. London, 1958. Ray
- E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa. (reissue of third edition) London, 1959. Walker
- J.M. Meiring, Sundays River Valley. Cape Town/Amsterdam, 1959. Meiring
- A.K. Millar, Plantagenet in South Africa - Lord Charles Somerset. London, 1965. Millar
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