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THE LIFE AND INFLUENCE
OF
WILLIAM SHAW
1820 - 1856

Thesis

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by

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Preface

William Shaw was undoubtedly one of the greatest of the missionary pioneers to work in southern Africa and it is strange that up until now there has been no major research into his time spent in the Cape Colony and beyond. Apart from his own work, The Story of My Mission, and the Memoir of the Rev. William Shaw by William Boyce, published in 1874, there was nothing devoted exclusively to Shaw until Mrs Celia Sadler published extracts from his letters and journals in Never a Young Man, in 1967. Scholars have examined aspects of Shaw's career in a number of theses, articles and books, but, unlike the attention paid to Dr John Philip, William Shaw has never been the subject of close historical scrutiny. This has, most probably, been attributable to the unfortunate gap in the Shaw correspondence from the late 1830's to the 1850's, but, despite this, I have felt that so important a figure in southern African historiography - both ecclesiastical and secular - should be examined regardless of the lacunae which there might be. When - and if - the missing pieces ever come to light, then the time for the definitive study will have arrived, but until such time there is, most decidedly, a need for what we do have access to, to be sifted and placed in historical context. This is what this thesis has attempted to do with specific reference to his work in the Eastern Cape. As General Superintendent of Wesleyan mission work in "South Eastern Africa", Shaw also had oversight of work in the Bechuana country, but that lies outside the scope of this thesis and requires independent examination.

Shaw wrote of the work of the missionary - with his own work firmly in mind, "... I am fully satisfied ... that wherever there is a British colony in juxtaposition with heathen tribes, or natives, it will be our wisdom to provide for the spiritual wants of the Colonists, while at the same time we ought not to neglect taking earnest measures for the conversion of the heathen."¹ Such an approach made Wesleyan endeavours almost unique in mission history. The proponent of such uniqueness requires a sympathetic yet not hagiographical appraisal. This thesis seeks to accomplish just that.

1 The Story of My Mission p 213

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Completing the research for an M.A. thesis and writing it up in one year has not been an easy task and as the year progressed and the pressures increased, so the need for expert help and advice became more urgent and necessary. I am extremely grateful to have enjoyed and benefitted from the wise counsels of a great many people, not only in the M.A. year but also in the years preceding it.

Professor T.R.H. Davenport was responsible at the very beginning of my history studies for developing my interest in the subject and for my decision to continue history beyond the B.A. level. Similar encouragement was received from a succession of tutors in the Rhodes History Department.

From my supervisor, Professor Keith Hunt I received encouragement, sound advice and, above all, friendship, for which I am grateful, and which acted at all times as a spur to greater efforts especially in the inevitable periods of introspection and lack of confidence.

In the Cory Library for Historical Research, Michael Berning, Sandra Fold and Jackson Vena were always ready, whatever other calls there were, to locate books and manuscripts and give advice on a variety of topics. With them, as with the Cory library users, I enjoyed friendship which was greatly valued.

At the Cape Archives, the South African Library and the Library of the University of the Witwatersrand I was given kindly attention which greatly facilitated my task.

Outside the academic sphere there have been those in Grahamstown and Cape Town who offered friendship, encouragement and assistance for which I am thankful.

The Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Scholarship for Eastern Cape and Settler History, together with a scholarship from Rhodes University, have made the research for this thesis possible, and for both I am most grateful.

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Note on Sources and Terminology

Research into the life and influence of the Revd. William Shaw revolves mainly around material held by the Methodist Archives and deposited in the Cory Library for Historical Research at Rhodes University. Wesleyan missionaries in the field were expected to write regular letters to the mission-house in London as well as to keep a regular journal of events. William Shaw was a reasonably good correspondent, although his journal was rather patchy. The letters written from southern Africa comprise the Home Correspondence and are the major source for this thesis. They are to be found on microfilm, the originals now being held by the School of African and Oriental Studies, at the University of London. It is most unfortunate for any student of this period of missionary as well as Eastern Cape frontier history, that from the late 1830's to the late 1850's there is a gap in the Home Correspondence. There are some theories as to why this is so, but Professor Leslie Hewson and Dr Donald Cragg, the Co-Archivists of the Methodist Church believe that these letters were lost, most probably after having been removed from London for safekeeping elsewhere during the 1939 - 45 war. This gap makes this period a very shadowy one for the researcher although the details contained in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices for the period help considerably in filling in gaps. These notices, with their circular letters and journals, are, generally speaking, a most valuable source. Of other Methodist Archive holdings the District Minutes proved valuable.

Shaw's two journals: the early one, 1816 - 1819, and the later one from 1820 to 1830, edited by Hammond-Tooke and published by the Grahamstown series were basic sources for the early years as was his account of his time in southern Africa, The Story of My Mission.

A volume of letters collected by Shaw and bound into one volume concerning the Boer attack on Ncaphayi has been edited and properly collated by Dr Donald Cragg and published in the Journal of the Methodist Historical Society. Both the original volume and the published version were useful sources.

Shaw's letters to the Revd Thomas Jenkins in Natal gathered together and transcribed by Dr C.J. Uys were not as valuable as may have been supposed. Being letters from Shaw only, they were often one sided and mysterious as

regards contents and meaning. Often too they were parochial in content and had no bearing on wider issues.

Due to Shaw's close association with Robert Godlonton it was hoped that the collection of Godlonton Letters held by the Library of the University of the Witwatersrand would prove of interest. Unfortunately it turned out that there was no Shaw material in these letters.

Regarding terminology and spelling the guide here has been Dr J.B. Peires in his recent and authoritative book on the Xhosa, The House of Phalo. The word "kaffir", with its variant spellings, has been used only where necessary in direct quotation. It must be remembered that the connotations of the word then were very different from those today.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.Y.B.	Archives Year Book
C.D.N.B.	Concise Dictionary of National Biography
D.S.A.B.	Dictionary of South African Biography
G.T.J.	Graham's Town Journal
I.S.E.R.	Institute of Social and Economic Research
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers
R.C.C.	Records of the Cape Colony
S.E.S.A.	Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa
S.M.M.	Story of My Mission
W.M.M.	Wesleyan Methodist Magazine
W.M.N.	Wesleyan Missionary Notices
W.M.M.S.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society



MAP OF THE EASTERN CAPE, SHOWING EARLY TRAIN STATIONS

Reproduced from THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM SHAW, edited by W.D. Hammond-Taake. (Cape Town 1972)

Chapter 1

THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND REAWAKES

1.

Montesquieu¹ observed in the first half of the eighteenth century that "In England there is no religion and the subject, if mentioned in society, excites nothing but laughter".² A harsh comment this, but one substantiated by others. Addison³, for example, noted that "there was less appearance of religion in England than in any neighbouring state, Catholic or Protestant".⁴ These views of the national church, the church bound up so closely with the fabric of English society, reflect the torpor into which it had sunk, but true as they were, they painted a view which was, perhaps, unnecessarily harsh, for if the eighteenth century was not the best of times, then it was not quite the worst of times either. This century which formed the background to the great religious revival which sent men such as William Shaw into the mission fields of the empire and beyond, was an age with "an unheroic temper",⁵ one which, despite its static qualities, did contain within it some strength and some vitality: the undoubted weaknesses of the state church were counterbalanced by its perseverance and tenacity despite the adverse social and political climate. When confronted by indifference and little ecclesiastical virtue, then it was, to a limited extent, an age which

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1. Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, 1689-1755. French man of letters and philosopher. He visited England from 1729-1731 where he acquired a wide circle of friends and acquaintances. His visit is thought of as one of the most fertile periods of his life - Encyclopedia Britannica.
 2. Montesquieu, Notes sur l'Angleterre, quoted in G.R. Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party (London, 1908), p.20.
 3. Addison, Joseph, 1672-1719. English essayist, critic and social commentator. Editor of both the Tatler and the Spectator.
 4. Addison, The Freeholder, No. 37, quoted in Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party, p.21:
 5. G.R.Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason (1648-1789), (England, 1960), p.117.

retained something of the basic precepts of the Christian religion. It is true that the eighteenth century church failed largely in its role of reconciliation and mediation between God and man and between man and man and it is that aspect which has been recorded for posterity and not the faithful work of the Gospel which went quietly on, performed by faithful prelates and priests, as unnoticed as it was unsung.

The price of being the church established by law was a heavy one and the demands of the state did not sit lightly upon it and ensured that the church became little more than a pale reflection of the state. "The unadventurous temper which pervaded society"⁶ transferred itself with ease to the church, and if, as has already been observed, the Hanoverian age was content with an unheroic temper⁷, then this included the church as well. Much of the torpor was attributable to events which took place in the earlier years of the century. The church-state controversies of the age of Anne had left their mark; above all, the affair of Dr. Sacheverell⁸ had made sure that the church remain as quiescent as possible. Church feuds were to be avoided and the close alliance of the bench of bishops - the lords spiritual - with the temporal affairs of state guaranteed the continued alliance of church and realm so that it became very

6. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, p.117.

7. Ibid.

8. Sacheverell, Henry, 1674?-1724. Academic and cleric. A rabid advocate in sermons and writings of the High Church and High Tory cause. Notable for a sermon preached in 1709 at St. Paul's Cathedral which condemned toleration and occasional conformity. This was printed and classified by the Commons as seditious libel. He was impeached and found guilty but only a very moderate sentence was imposed. He stirred up tremendous popular loyalty in his favour.

difficult for the one to damage the other. It was in this closeness and this interrelatedness that the church mirrored the state, and the often dull and stodgy Hanoverians were reflected in the equally dull and stodgy church.

The Hanoverian church comprised two major strata - the bishops themselves, together with the more prominent and senior clergy such as the deans, canons and archdeacons, and the ordinary parish clergy. It was in the first stratum - the bishops and senior clergy - that the prevailing tenor and character of the church was sustained. Cragg has attempted some form of defence of the current episcopal behaviour.⁹ Their difficulties he claims, were insuperable, their dioceses enormous and the means of travel and communication difficult. In many instances the facts do not allow such defences to stand up. The bishops were unashamedly political role players; in their dioceses they played the part of political magnates and promoted their party's cause sustaining the loyalty of the gentry and winning over waverers. Their involvement in the partisan politics of the time automatically precluded them from active involvement in the day to day affairs of their pastorate. One of the major charges brought against the bishops - that of non-residence, or absenteeism, was hardly occasioned by largeness of diocese or difficulty in communication. More often than not the pleasures of life in London and the attraction of affairs of state and the debates of the House of Lords and intrigues at court were far more pleasing than the rigours of life in a more rural environment. Bishop Hoadly, sometime Bishop of Bangor¹⁰ is often cited as one of the worst offenders in this respect, as indeed he was, never setting

9. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, pp.122 ff.

10. Hoadly, Benjamin, 1676-1761. Successively Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury and Winchester.

foot in the Diocese of Bangor in the six years over which he ruled it. The mundane and pedestrian round of confirmations and parochial visitations were by no means designed to keep bishops diligently and happily at their duties. The constant absences of the bishops from their sees had implications which were as diverse as they were far reaching and effected, for instance, the quality of men who offered themselves for holy orders. All too often the bishop made no proper check on those presenting themselves, with the result that those ordained were often ill-fitted for their new duties; they lacked suitable education and temperamentally were generally unsuited to the life of a clergyman. This neglect of ordination candidates led to a self-perpetuating inefficiency. Very often too, the bishop did not bother with the actual ordination but delegated it, by means of letters dismissory to a brother prelate more willing to perform the task.

Closely tied up with the practice of non-residence was that of pluralism which was to be found amongst all ranks of the clergy. The origins of this were much earlier than the eighteenth century and it was a practice which had existed as much outside England as within it. English clerics, though, showed themselves to be by no means slow to follow it with assiduity. Preferment was striven for, livings accumulated and the resultant large incomes enjoyed by a broad spectrum of Church of England clerics from bishops to parish priests. Important and valuable deaneries were often held by the incumbents of poorer sees and useful connections made through good marriages often opened the way for young men to accumulate a string of useful benefices.¹¹

11. cf. G.R. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, p.125. John Hoadly, son of Bishop Hoadly held the Chancellorship of the Diocese of Winchester, a prebendal stall in the Cathedral, the Mastership of the Hospital of St. Cross and six other livings, all of which he retained throughout his career in the church.

Pluralism meant absenteeism as well, with the result that a curate was placed in charge of a living and more often than not these curates were second-rate and hugely underpaid. There was little or no incentive proffered to the holders of such cures and it was here, as much as at the top, that the life of the church fell into decay and despondency. The number of men in holy orders exceeded the number of jobs available despite the need for a proliferation of curates to administer the absentee parishes. In view of the fact that the majority of those ordained were destined to be part of the second stratum of the Hanoverian church as obscure country parsons, this is hard to explain. Cragg records that Richard Bently, the Master of Trinity,¹² suggested that the answer resembled a lottery, whereby the prospect of a few glittering prizes made those taking part impervious to the fact that there was also a large number of blanks.

Parish life became formal and pedestrian, the services were read perfunctorily from the prayer-book and the sacrament of Holy Communion was administered anything from four times a year to once a year, although in London itself once a month was the norm. The unheroic temper of the age pervaded even the growth and development of new churches: few were built and their maintenance was not looked to with any sort of enthusiasm or dedication.

The Church of England was the state church but there did exist the various nonconformist and dissenting bodies, though the overall tenor of their ways was often no more exciting than that of the established church itself.

12. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, p.127; Richard Bently was a classical scholar and was Master of Trinity from 1700-1742.

The Act of Toleration gave to the nonconformists the right of freedom of worship but little else, and the Test and Corporation Acts safeguarded the rights of members of the Church of England alone to hold public office and attend the universities.¹³ This legislation was applicable, therefore, to all outside the Established church and included Presbyterians, Baptists, Roman Catholics, Independents and Quakers. During the eighteenth century Roman Catholics remained a small and almost politically voiceless community having lost any place in the corridors of power with the flight of James II and the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

In Great Britain the eighteenth century remained throughout an age which was, in ecclesiastical terms, flaccid and spineless, an age in which there was hardly any progressive development, and an age which because of this background gave rise to a revival which was to change the face of the church, not only in England, but in the colonies and beyond. Great Britain herself was not alone in this revival and a general move in the direction of puritanical reform swept over both sides of the Atlantic with offshoots which made their mark in the colonies, certainly in southern Africa. Apart from British based missionary endeavours, there was activity spearheaded by Moravians, Paris Evangelicals and also by Americans.

13. In England, Scotland and Ireland, none but members of the established church were eligible for public office and the Test and Corporation Acts safeguarded this. The form the test took in England was to make the receiving of Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England a condition precedent to the holding of public office. All members of the town corporations had to receive Holy Communion in a Church of England church one year before election. This Test Act was also applicable to members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The formal repeal of these acts took place in 1863, 1866 and 1871.

The Hanoverian church, like Hanoverian society, was one which was in urgent need of reform. Both were imbued with a lack of seriousness of purpose which militated against the manifestation of any form of zeal. Such continued imperviousness must, of necessity, breed a need for such qualities of zeal and seriousness of purpose although such a need will, more often than not, grow up unconsciously and only be pinpointed at a certain time. It was John Wesley who began to show the Church of England that need within itself in the eighteenth century. When the Hon. Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1768 to 1783 incurred some censure for the extravagance of his living at Lambeth Palace and for the constant succession of routs and balls which took place there,¹⁴ it was a sure sign that some under-current was beginning; an indication that a puritanical reformation was on the way and that activities of clergymen within the Church of England were having an effect.

John Wesley was born in 1703, the fifteenth child of the learned Rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire. His father was known for his strict Toryism and for his high church principles: two qualities which, despite the course which his life was later to take, remained with John Wesley. Conservatism and Toryism became political marks of the Methodist movement and high church principles remained with Wesley throughout his life, despite his schism from the Church of England. This high church attitude is difficult to understand in the light of the puritanical direction which the movement took but emphasises on frequent communion and on a disciplined and

14. The Concise Dictionary of National Biography records demurely that he was noted for his hospitality at Lambeth Palace!

ordered prayer life were hallmarks of Wesley's own life and were equally hallmarks of high church thinking. The wide gulf which later existed in churchmanship between the adherents of Methodism and members of the Church of England is not an indication of Wesley's own churchmanship which remained influenced by the established church.¹⁵ Wesley's mother was a stern, unbending woman with strong beliefs in discipline and in moulding her children in the direction in which she believed they should go. Wesley went up to Christ Church, Oxford, and later became Fellow and Classical Tutor at Lincoln College.¹⁶ His brother followed him to Oxford, also to Christ Church, and together they shared a simple style of living which set them apart from many of their fellow students. Yet sufficient numbers were attracted to them to found the "Holy Club". This club met regularly for bible-study, prayer, Holy Communion and religious fellowship. They were faithful in observing the precepts and ordinances of the Church of England and they involved themselves in work amongst the poor and oppressed. This pattern of disciplined life made them devout and model members of the Church of England. This strict discipline also earned for them the name "Methodist" which has, of course, become the style by which Wesleyans are known worldwide. This "Holy Club" of Methodists earned

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15. Elizabeth Burton, in The Georgians at Home, 1714-1830, (London, 1967) supports this view and refers to all the early Methodists as High Church men - pp.46-47. One of the great influences in Wesley's life was his conversations with the High Churchman and near Non-Juror, William Law, author of A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life.
16. Admission to a fellowship at Oxford or Cambridge meant automatic ordination and so Wesley was a priest of the Church of England immediately on completion of his student days.

ridicule and derision from the very beginning, and as Cragg has pointed out, that such derision should exist within a predominantly clerical environment such as Oxford is in itself a poor comment on the state of the Church of England in the eighteenth century.¹⁷

In 1736, in search of opportunity for greater and wider service, Wesley and his brother left Oxford and travelled, under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to the new colony of Georgia in America where John Wesley offered his services as a chaplain. It was his aim in America to recreate amongst the people there the same type of closely knit religious life which he knew, and of which he had been part in Oxford. In his new life in America he was a model prayer-book priest: he celebrated the Holy Communion weekly, he baptized the children and appointed requisite days of fasting. He even attempted to extend his work beyond the settlers to the indigenous people of the colony. But he was not well received in Georgia: his fearless, vigorous and extremely devout brand of religion aroused opposition amongst the settlers, and his sermons, especially against the slave trade and the use of gin, alienated his new parishioners. The result was his return to England as a vastly disappointed and disillusioned man after only two years. It was shortly after his return to England on the 24th May, 1738, that his life changed irrevocably: he experienced what he was always to consider his spiritual conversion. This took place while he was worshipping with a group of Moravians in London. The Moravians were no strangers to him for he had met Moravian missionaries on the ship to America and he was much impressed with them and with their obvious sincerity and courage.

17. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, p.142.

The Moravians had their origins in Germany under Count von Zinzendorf in 1722, although their antecedents went some way beyond that date. They had a strong Pietist¹⁸ element in their makeup and were also closely linked with the Lutherans, with whom they considered themselves a group. From an early date the Moravians were active missionaries and were involved with work in places as far afield as the West Indies and Greenland. George Schmidt was the first Moravian missionary to come to southern Africa and arrived in 1736.

In 1738, the year of Wesley's spiritual conversion, Peter Böhler established a "religious society" at Fetter Lane in London. It was Böhler who convinced Wesley in talks they had together that he lacked "the faith whereby we alone are saved". A continued association with the Moravians contributed to a deepening of his religious conviction and on the 24th May, 1738, while reading Martin Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans at a Moravian meeting in Aldersgate Street, he recorded that he "felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation: and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine and saved me from the law of sin and death".¹⁹ Although Wesley had been a faithful and

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18. Pietism was a 17th century movement which began within the German Lutheran Church by P.J. Spener. Its purpose was to infuse new life into the moribund Protestantism of the time. It was a movement much involved with devotional prayer circles and with bible reading and it proclaimed the priesthood of all believers. In some of its manifestations, especially as it influenced the Moravians, Pietism laid a particular stress on devotion to the Redeemer. cf. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds.), The Oxford History of the Christian Church
19. The Works of the Revd John Wesley M.A., The Journal, Vol. 1, p.103.

zealous priest of the Church of England since 1726, he regarded this experience as the real beginning of his ministry.

In July 1738, he reinforced his Moravian links still further and visited the heart of the movement at Herrnhut in Germany. This visit reinforced his admiration for these people. "And here I continually met with what I sought for, viz. living proofs of the power of faith: persons saved from inward as well as outward sin, by the love of God shed abroad in their hearts; and from all doubt and fear, by the abiding witness of 'the Holy Ghost given unto them'."²⁰

Wesley decided to follow the example of his close friend George Whitefield²¹ who, with one or two others, had for some time been conducting an itinerant ministry on horseback, preaching to all who were prepared to listen. From this point on Wesley adopted the world as his parish and travelled anything up to several thousand miles a year in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, often preaching three or four times a day. This he sustained for fifty-two years and it has been estimated from his journal that he covered 225 000 miles and preached 40 000 sermons.²²

20. Wesley, Works, The Journal, Vol. 1, p.110.

21. Whitefield, George, 1714-1770. Friend and early associate of John Wesley. He joined the Wesley brothers and the early Methodists in 1735 while at Pembroke College, Oxford. He began missionary work and followed Wesley to Georgia in 1738. He returned the following year and was ordained priest. He then went back to America where he became influenced by the Calvinist position after which he and the Wesleys formed rival parties. He embarked on a peripatetic ministry and spent time in England and America until his death in 1770.

22. J.R.H. Moorman, A History of the Church in England (London, 1953), p.298.

Even before his spiritual conversion, Wesley was devoted to his work, but now, after that experience, his devotion was many times greater; he allowed nothing to deter him although there was much to do. He was not popular and as often as not found open hostility which manifested itself in injunctions not to return to particular parishes. Even though a licensed and regular priest of the church, he found on, countless occasions, that parish churches were closed against him, but once again he looked to his friend Whitefield and found the guidance he needed. If he could not preach in the churches, then why not preach outside them, and he did just that. Fields and open spaces became his churches and the saddle became his pulpit. The hostility continued - "He could always gather an audience but he could not always gain a hearing".²³ He was often the target for mob violence and on occasion was actually beaten. In the earlier days his main areas of work were London and Bristol and the places through which he passed while travelling between those two centres. Later he expanded his itinerary and moved north and into Scotland.

Wesley did not only engender hostility; soon he found that groups of supporters were forming around him in the various places where he preached and it began to exercise his mind as to what to do with these people - how to organise them and utilize their support for good. These groups were soon organised into societies and with the growth and organisation of these societies came the first real stirrings of the Methodist or Wesleyan revival as such.

A Methodist society was defined as "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word

23. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, p.143.

of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation."²⁴ These societies soon began to flourish and expand. Men were appointed to supervise the meetings of the society which was sub-divided into classes of about twelve members. This pattern reproduced itself wherever Methodism took hold. In 1743 Wesley formalised matters further and produced a set of rules for his followers and in 1744 the Annual Conference was begun. Two years later, in 1746, came the formation of circuits or rounds; then came the quarterly meetings and the setting up of districts. In all this Wesley saw not the usurpation of the role of the parish church and the parish priest, but rather a means whereby the shortcomings of the established church could be catered for and corrected. This is a clear indication that as his organisation grew and developed, Wesley himself retained a loyalty to the Church of England which he exhorted his followers to retain as well. "Ye yourselves were first called in the Church of England and though ye have and will have a thousand temptations to leave it and set up for yourselves, regard them not; be Church of England men still; do not cast away the peculiar glory which God hath put upon you and frustrate the design of Providence, the very end for which God hath raised you up."²⁵ These words were ultimately to fall upon deaf ears, for as the organisation grew larger and more complex and as the followers increased in numbers, so the ties with the Church of England grew more and more tenuous and were finally broken.

As time went on the problem of commissioning or even of ordaining men to sustain the growing work became more and more pressing. Regular reception of the Holy

24. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, p.299.

25. Ibid., p.300.

Communion was strongly advised by Wesley but this was impossible in parishes where quarterly communion was the norm. As Methodism spread to, and took root in, the United States of America, so the clamour for Wesley to ordain his own men grew. He steadfastly resisted for some time, but gave way in 1784 and appointed two of his followers, Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury to act as "joint superintendents" in America. He also appointed two others to act as elders to administer the sacraments (in the absence of any Church of England clergy) to the Wesleyans in America. Wesley had grave reservations about it all, but claimed that he did not interfere in any way with the rights of the English episcopate. However, it became only a matter of time before he "ordained" men for work in the United Kingdom, thus interfering directly with the English episcopate. In 1785 men were "ordained" for work in Scotland and shortly afterwards, three for work in England.

This "ordination" of priests or ministers was in total defiance of the canons of the Church of England which empowered bishops, and bishops alone, to ordain priests. As a result of Wesley's action, total separation was bound to follow and schism became inevitable. The ordination controversy must call into question Wesley's own allegiance to the Church of England, for although he exhorted his followers not to leave her, he must have known that his actions would compel him to do so. With his long association with the Church of England and its ways, he must have known also that no authority within the Church of England could recognize those whom he ordained. In that event there were only two possibilities open to him - to remain and acknowledge defeat, or to leave and formally set up his own denomination. He chose the latter.

Wesley died in 1791 at the age of eighty-eight. As Moorman has noted, "He had complete and absolute faith

and trust in God ... all that he cared for was the conversion of souls; for this end he put everything else out of his life ..."²⁶

The Methodist revival, at first within the Church of England, then beyond its bounds, answered needs which were pressing. There were vast changes taking place all over England owing to industrialisation. There were political and social questions raised by the French Revolution and there were also problems caused by the expansion of the empire. The Church of England was unprepared to meet the problems of the new age; the Wesleyan revival, with its emphasis on people, especially those of the lower strata of society, made some attempt to meet these new and growing demands. Wesleyanism was able to show all people, and more especially the lower orders of society, that religion did care and that it was concerned with all sorts and conditions of men.

Because of this, Wesleyanism, on the one hand, appeared to have revolutionary tendencies: its organisation and orientation were bold and new and vastly different from the staid approaches of the established church. On the other hand, Wesleyanism was conservative, despite its appeal to the poor and underprivileged. In politics Wesley was a Tory and had been nurtured in Tory attitudes and beliefs since childhood. This Toryism was not a view arrived at and held after much thought and reasoning; it was a standpoint to which he adhered simply because of his family background and traditions. This Toryism was reinforced by his time at Oxford and was never subject to strain and re-examination in the same way in which his

26. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, p.301. It is interesting to note that at his death there were estimated to be nearly 70 000 Methodists in Great Britain and Ireland and a further 60 000 in America. cf Moorman, p.315.

views of the church were. At his death, the political position of Methodism was intensely conservative. In this sphere, as in all others, the imprint of the founder was marked. This is doubly interesting when one considers that the new Hanoverian age saw the ascendancy of the more liberal Whigs and the wanderings, in the wilderness, of the Tories. In his life, and especially as leader of a religious movement, Wesley was, by nature, something of a dictator. He would brook no opposition and people found it futile to oppose him for long. He retained little faith in the ability of the people to govern, and at the Annual Conference it never occurred to him that the people should be represented and even the preachers who attended merely did so in an advisory capacity. In Dublin in 1777 a pamphlet was published and circulated in which the writer claimed that the whole Methodist system was subversive of true Christian liberty.²⁷

It has been asserted that Wesley found the source of his political position in the Bible. In the Old Testament Kingship was confirmed by the prophets as the spokesmen of God; the people were not consulted. The King became the Viceregent of God and not the representative of the people. It was from God alone that he received his authority and to God alone was he responsible. In other words, what Wesley was saying was that whoever holds authority is answerable to no one but God; the people have no direct say at all but they should, themselves, be subject to authority. This was the basis of his political creed and it embodied a conservatism which pervaded the whole of Methodism itself. This begs the question: why was Methodism so attractive to the common people when the founder and leader of the movement was almost totally

27. M. Edwards, After Wesley, A Study of the Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Middle Period (1791-1849) (London, 1935), p.17.

disregarding of them?

Many, if not all, the features of the Methodist revival can be explained in terms of the actual needs of the time and of the personal gifts and attributes of the man who led the movement. The condition of the Hanoverian church and also of the Hanoverian state meant that people were eager for a message of the type which Wesley imparted. The Hanoverian state was one in which change was rapid and insistent. "... the Georgian era began on horseback and ended in a railway carriage".²⁸ The age-old English balance between town and countryside was about to give way and the people found the resultant problems and confusion hard to accept and cope with. Hanoverian society, like the Hanoverian Church, was sleepy, apathetic and lax and neither were geared to meet with change or adapt to it. The rigorous John Wesley and his equally rigorous followers were prepared to cope with the new demands of the new society. Wesley and his followers, with their paramount emphasis on justification by faith, were able to demonstrate to all people, but especially to the oppressed and depressed - the creatures of the new age - that they were cared for, if not by men on earth, then at least by their father in heaven. Imbued with the missionary spirit, Wesley and his movement proved to be the very antithesis of the dull and moribund English Church. The poor tended not to go to church - the reasoned, logical and essentially dull sermons of the established church were hardly understood by the average man, but instead, Wesley and his followers took the church to the people. With frowned-on "enthusiasm" - a marked contrast to the pedestrian spirit of the established church, the Wesleyans brought the love, joy and peace of God to the masses. The movement continued to do the same long after

28. E. Burton, The Georgians at Home, 1714-1830, p.2.

his death and it was this which spurred on the overseas missionary effort in the years to come. At the basis of Wesleyan practice lay the preaching of the gospel. In other words, Wesleyans were Evangelical.

The evangelical revival within the Church of England cannot, claims Cragg, be equated with the Wesleyan movement,²⁹ yet the Wesleyan movement and Church of England's evangelical revival were both great movements of the Spirit stemming from the listlessness, coldness and generally bad conditions of church and society; from what Moorman has called "the frivolity and dissipation of society ... and the meagre theology and frank worldiness of the Hanoverian Church".³⁰ Wesleyanism was a movement which hived off from the established church because of the unwillingness of that church to lend approval to its growing ministry amongst a class and stratum of society which it was not reaching anyway. The evangelical revival, like Wesleyanism, began within the established church, but remained a movement within it, not separating and setting up as a separate denomination. Methodist reaction to the current mode of living with society, and its sympathy with the oppressed classes made it react to that mode of living by condemning and avoiding all the frivolous excesses of the time. The same was true of the evangelical movement. They eschewed theatres, cards, dancing and much of the popular and current literature of the time. The evangelicals were fundamentalists in their approach to the Bible, using texts and passages from it to bolster and support their beliefs. Again, this was an item of similarity with the Methodists, for whom Bible reading at society and class meetings was an integral factor.

29. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, p.152.

30. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, p.302.

Evangelicals had little use for intellectual pursuits believing that intense scholarship could subvert the practice of the true religion. They were uniformly earnest and singleminded, standing clearly for discipline and order but with little sense of the church as a formally constituted body. This was an attitude shared with the Methodists who would have been less happy to accept the irregular "ordinations" and the resultant schism if they had possessed a greater sense of the definition of a formally constituted Church body as the visible manifestation on earth of Christ's body. Evangelical theology viewed man as a fallen, depraved creature in need of Salvation which could come only through the acceptance of Christ as the personal Saviour. The act of acceptance of Christ as the personal saviour was the conversion towards which every evangelical strove. After this conversion came the growth in grace leading to sanctification.

The main object of the evangelical movement was the spreading of this concept of personal salvation to as many people as possible. The outbreak of the revolution in France challenged the structure of society in all countries. In Britain one of its consequences was a growing seriousness of life and demeanour amongst the upper classes. Many who had ignored Wesley and his followers now came to the realisation that there was perhaps something wrong with society and that something should be done about it. In many instances this was only due to fear - to a desire to retain power, position and privilege. Amongst many of these people - touched as they were by the edges of the revolution - there was a natural capacity for receiving the evangelical message. The Methodists and the evangelicals became, for many, the only sane spots in the visible chaos and the demise of the old order. This growing seriousness of purpose amongst thinking men and women gave rise to the strict

ordering of personal lives and of households and families. "Every hour, every shilling belonged to God. They prayed, they worked, they gave alms, they performed their deeds of charity with scrupulous devotion, living all their lives 'in the great Taskmaster's eye'".³¹

At the beginning the evangelicals received the same sort of treatment as that meted out to the Methodists: they were unpopular and became the butt of persecution from cleric and layman alike. As late as 1820, Bishop Marsh of Peterborough devised a series of eighty-seven questions to be put to clergy who wished to work in his Diocese; any dedicated evangelical would be unable to answer them all truthfully without revealing his true ecclesiastical position.³² When that happened they were not welcome in the diocese. No evangelical became a bishop until the appointment of Henry Ryder to the bishopric of Gloucester in 1815. To many it was as if the earnestness and the strictness with which these people lived their lives, observed Sundays and influenced others, threatened the very structure of society. In the eyes of many they had to be discouraged as much as possible.

In all this there can be seen a distinct similarity to the Methodists, despite the fact that the two revivals occurred at differing periods: Methodism from early in the eighteenth century, and the evangelicals from much later in the century. Indeed the apogee of evangelical influence occurred well into the nineteenth century. Like the Methodists, the evangelicals proved that conversion to new life could take place and that this conversion could be sustained by faith and godliness; again like

31. S.C. Carpenter, Church and People, 1789-1889, Part I, (London, 1959), p.28.

32. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, pp.315-316.

the Methodists, the evangelicals proved that the Gospel was a living and transforming influence in society. Without this transforming power there would have been, no impetus to take the Gospel and spread it among others, especially those in distant lands who were in ignorance of it. The nineteenth century missionary movement, both within and without the Church of England, was a direct and tangible result of Methodism and evangelicalism in England.

Politically there was little similarity between these two movements. Whereas Methodism retained the Toryism and the conservatism of the founder, the evangelical movement in the Church of England was essentially a far more liberal movement, being Whig in political colouring. It revealed its liberalism in its attitudes to some of the great issues of the day such as the abolition of slavery. Cragg has said "The crusade against the slave trade represents perhaps the greatest victory of the awakened Christian conscience over a strongly entrenched evil."³³

There were a good many evangelical groups which came into being, and important amongst these was the group which gathered at Cambridge around an evangelical priest, Charles Simeon (1759-1836). As a young man Simeon was brought up in a high church tradition but he had undergone a spiritual conversion while still an undergraduate in 1779. He became perpetual curate of Holy Trinity Church in Cambridge where he encountered much opposition to his zeal and enthusiasm. He was particularly keen that the evangelical movement should remain within the church and act as a leavening agent unlike its Methodist counterpart. Simeon brought into being the Simeon Trust whereby clergy

33. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason, p.154.

of evangelical principles might be appointed to important parishes rather than live the lives of itinerant preachers.³⁴

Another important group of evangelicals was to be found in Somerset, gathered around Hannah More (1745-1833). Prior to her conversion she had been a figure in the literary world of her time and in 1788 wrote Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society which took notice of the general state of society and urged the great to assume more responsibility in their lives. After her conversion Hannah More and her friends concerned themselves with the poor. They began what today would be called literary classes, they distributed Bibles and began the production of a series of religious tracts called Cheap Repository Tracts which sold more than two million copies in the first year.³⁵

The most famous of all the evangelical groups was that based at Clapham, near London. This group of "earnest and influential evangelicals" was centred around the Clapham Parish church, of which the rector, John Venn³⁶, was the son of Henry Venn, one of the early influences on Charles Simeon. Most of the members of this "Clapham Sect" were influential people in various walks of life and were deeply concerned with religious and philanthropic good works. William Wilberforce has been described as the most important member of the group. He was a member of Parliament and a man of means and in some ways epitomises the evangelical movement in the broad sense. For him his religious faith was everything and his wealth and

34. By 1836 this trust held the patronage of twenty-one livings. cf. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, p.317.

35. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, p.318.

36. John Venn, rector of Clapham, 1792-1813.

influence were to be used solely in the furtherance of his religious aims. The centre of his life from which all his religious actions emanated were his daily devotions. His biographer, R. Coupland, has written, "There lay the secret of Wilberforce's indomitable perseverance. These religious devotions would seem, indeed, to have become an almost indispensable tonic for his mercurial temperament. They steadied, refreshed, inspired him; and he was always trying to secure more leisure for them from the obsessions of his busy life in London ... Above all, he depended on his methodical observance of the Sabbath ... Never if he could help it, would he let the Day be used for work."³⁷ This makes sense of the fact that Wilberforce joined the evangelicals because it seemed to him that it was the only party within the Church of England with any life or zest in it. Like others in the movement he was concerned at the apparent lack of religion in his fellow men, especially in those of his own class. In 1797 he published a work called A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious Systems of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, Contrasted with Real Christianity. Like his own life, this work was the epitome of evangelicalism: it "preached the gospel of seriousness and responsibility".³⁸

Other members of the "Clapham Sect" were equally distinguished - Lord Teighmouth, a former Governor-General of India; Zachary Macaulay, the father of the historian and a prominent and capable businessman, and Henry Thornton, a banker and politician who became a close associate of Wilberforce in the struggle for the abolition of the slave-trade. Two members of the group were to have much to do with

37. R. Coupland, Wilberforce, A Narrative (Oxford, 1923), pp.231-2.

38. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, p.319

southern Africa in the future: Thomas Fowell Buxton, the philanthropist and member of parliament who, apart from his work for the abolition of slavery, chaired the Select Committee on Aborigines, and James Stephen, who was under-Secretary for the colonies from 1836-1847 and who was known as "Mr. Over-secretary Stephen" for the amount of influence he wielded. He too was involved in the abolition of slavery, preparing the bill which abolished the slave trade in 1833.

The most important philanthropic scheme associated with the "Clapham Sect" was undoubtedly the fight for the abolition of the slave trade. Individual protests against the slave trade were made both in Britain and in America during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.³⁹ The slave trade was almost a way of British life and was regarded as a normal branch of commerce. The trade to and from Africa was officially recognized in 1750 as "very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the supplying of the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging with a sufficient number of negroes at reasonable rates."⁴⁰ Despite this, within three decades from the end of the Napoleonic Wars, slavery itself was abolished in the British colonies and the crusade against the foreign slave trade met with reasonable success. One of the factors contributing to this has been classified by Mellor as the freeing of the religious life of the time from theological controversy and from the tyranny of the intellect.⁴¹ In other words, the stress laid by the evangelicals on a warm, enthusiastic, practical religion was one of the basic forces behind this event.

39. G.R. Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, 1783-1850 (London, 1951), p.31.

40. Ibid., p.11.

41. Ibid., p.13.

The campaign itself began in 1787 with the formation of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The struggle was a hard one but the determination of the evangelical party was one guarantee of ultimate success. Wilberforce himself died in 1833 before the bill for the total abolition became law in 1834, but the campaign for the abolition of the slave trade culminated in 1807.

Other schemes with which the Clapham Sect busied itself included the extension of missionary enterprise, especially in India; the establishment of a model colony in Sierra Leone and the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Besides working on projects outside Britain, there were projects at home too: the Society for Bettering the Conditions and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor was founded in 1794. The Clapham Sect was not the evangelical movement and neither was the movement the Clapham Sect, but without this informal group of dedicated, wealthy and influential men the example and influence of the movement would have been much less. This group of men - often interrelated thorough marriage - was able, in the name of evangelical Christianity, to exercise on parliament and on public opinion an influence out of all proportion to its numbers.

The evangelical movement which confronted the established church was a two-fold movement: the Wesleyan revival which eventually broke from the Church of England and set up as a separate denomination, and the evangelical revival which began within, and remained within the established church. It has been necessary to examine both these movements, different as they were, because both these movements formed a background to the zealous and widespread missionary endeavour of the nineteenth century. Both were on fire so that "... the souls of men - all rich and poor alike ... should be illuminated

by the Gospel and prepared for heaven".⁴² Without the background provided by these movements, the devoted missionary endeavour of the early nineteenth century, spearheaded by men such as William Shaw would never have occurred.

Missionary enterprise - the propagation of the Christian faith among non-Christian peoples - was, from the inception of the Christian church, one of its main tasks and was implicit in the teaching of Christ himself. In St. Matthew's Gospel (28:v.19) Christ says: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost". Actual missionary work was undertaken from the very beginning too. St. Paul embarked on long and arduous missionary journeys and soon unknown missionaries were carrying the faith to all corners of the world. Of particular importance was the Celtic missionary endeavour from the fifth century, and later, in the eighth century, English missionaries played an important part in the evangelisation of the more pagan parts of Europe - St. Willibrord worked in Frisia and St. Boniface in Thuringia and Hesse.⁴³ Missionary enterprise tended to slacken with the advent of the Reformation when the newly reformed churches placed much of their emphasis on the establishment of their new standpoints in the face of the Counter Reformation, but

42. Carpenter, Church and People, Part I, p.48.

43. St. Willibrord, 658-739. Apostle of Frisia. He was a native of Northumbria and educated by the monks of Ripon. In 690 he went to Frisia and later secured papal support for his work there. In 695 he was consecrated Archbishop of the Frisians.

St. Boniface, 680-754. "Apostle of Germany". He was born in Devon. He received the fullest papal support for his work in Bavaria, Thuringia and Hesse and he laid the foundations for settled ecclesiastical organisation in Germany.

cf. Cross and Livingstone (Eds), Oxford History of the Christian Church.

gradually the reformed churches did turn their attention to mission especially with the regrowth of a fundamentalist Bible-based Christianity which interpreted the injunctions of Christ in as literal and strict a way as possible. Within the Church of England there was some attempt at missionary endeavour even before the Wesleyan and even before the Wesleyan and evangelical movements: the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded in 1698 and the society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701. It was under the auspices of the latter society that Wesley went to America in 1735. Amongst the protestant and reformed churches it was the Moravians who bore the brunt of missionary activity. Under Count von Zinzendorf they came to regard themselves as a very much a missionary community.⁴⁴ After the establishment earlier of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. it remained for the great evangelical revival to take up the Dominical command to preach to all the nations.

"That Protestantism remained for two centuries and a half asleep to her duty toward the heathen is a melancholy fact in the history of the church."⁴⁵ The religious enthusiasm of Wesley could not help but engender a burning desire to take the Dominical commands seriously. Methodism felt that it could not, for long, remain an insular phenomenon working only amongst the peoples of the British Isles. To have done that would have been a direct contradiction of the interpretations of the Bible as perceived in the societies and classes of the movement. To confine this new and burning zeal to Great Britain alone would be tantamount to sin - a revival as great as Wesley's could not wait for long before it "'thrust forth' into God's world harvest"⁴⁶ there to plant the seed of

44. See above, p. 10 and n.18.

45. G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (London, 1921), Vol. I, p.23.

46. Findlay and Holdsworth, Ibid., p.35.

faith amongst those not fortunate enough to have it already.

Methodists have dated the world-wide expansion of Protestant Christianity from the time John Wesley himself claimed that he looked upon all the world as his parish. "... he was admitting the duty to preach the Gospel, so far as in him lay, the world through".⁴⁷ The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was only formed in 1813⁴⁸ but for some time before that there had been Methodist missionary work amongst the heathen. The Father of Methodist missions was Dr. Thomas Coke who spent a considerable part of his life - some thirty years - working in the West Indies. There he had had some notable success which had made Methodists in England confident of the fact that missionary enterprise was an essential and integral task of the Christian church. The formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was also partly brought about by some jealousy which arose with the establishment of the London Missionary Society in 1795. This society was to operate on non-sectarian, ecumenical grounds. The spirit of Calvinism was present in a great many non-conformists of the time and these Calvinistic tendencies engendered sharp differences between their proponents and the Methodists. When the Church of England - supporters of the London Missionary Society - withdrew support in 1799 because of the formation of its own evangelically orientated Church Missionary Society, the Methodists found themselves the only non-Calvinists in the London Society. This would not do and it was felt that Methodist support should not go to such

47. Findlay and Holdsworth, Ibid., p.32.

48. J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (London, 1911), p.165.

Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Vol. I, p.37.

Calvinist enterprises. There was clear animosity, and in 1812 Thomas Coke wrote, "The L.M.S. are forming committees of two or three of our friends to raise annual subscriptions among our Societies and hearers for the support of their Missions."⁴⁹ He wrote further that unless the Methodists embarked on similar campaigns themselves, thousands would be thrown away "into their lap".

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society grew rapidly after its foundation and it became a large organisation which operated over a considerable area. Findlay and Holdsworth, the historians of the Society, have expressed this in elaborate but nonetheless clear terms: "The limbs of the Missionary Society stretch over the earth ..."⁵⁰ The administration of the Missionary Society was in the hands of two secretaries and a treasurer and the first of these were chosen from among the London ministers in 1814. The following year, a second and lay treasurer was appointed. In addition to those officers there was a committee which consisted, at the beginning, of London ministers only, but later diversified to include others from outside the London area. From its inception the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society went from strength to strength and in this great age of the missionary societies, its work grew in magnitude. By the end of the nineteenth century, every country which laid some claim to being a Christian country and practically every Christian denomination was involved to some extent in the support of the missionary cause.

Without doubt the great evangelical revival, incorporating as it did the Wesleyan and the evangelical revival within

49. Findlay and Holdsworth, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Vol. I, p.37.

50. Ibid., p.98.

the Church of England, contributed much to the spread of missionary work in the Protestant and reformed churches. The fervour and commitment to the spreading of the faith according to the Dominical commands stemmed directly from and ran parallel with the newly converted lives of those affected by the revivals, but there were other motives for missions which underlay the rapid geographical expansion of the work. Again that almost mystical date of 1789 - the year of the beginning of the French Revolution - makes its appearance. Canon Max Warren submits that 1789 may well serve as a symbol for the beginning of the release of the great revolutionary energy in so many aspects of life which had lain dormant for so long and which lay behind all political change from that day to this.⁵¹ He claims that 1789 was a year "to which we can look back as to a time when ideas, religious no less than political, which had slowly been smouldering, ignited to start a chain reaction of explosions whose effects are with us still."⁵² It is true to say that if 1789 and the beginnings of a movement whose effects are with us still was partly the genesis of the great evangelical revival, then this same date must, by extension, have unleashed a style of thinking and a wave of freedom and liberation which enabled men to take yet another, but arguably far greater, more lasting, and deeper freedom to the four corners of the earth.

It is claimed by some historians that, although chronologically, the nineteenth century stretches from 1800-1900, in practice it spans the period 1789-1914 - from the outbreak of the French Revolution to the beginning of the First World War when all the values of the preceding

51. Max Warren, The Missionary Movements from Britain in Modern History (London, 1965), p.36.

52. Ibid., p.37.

generations - much of which emerged with the French Revolution - were swept away by the carnage of the years immediately following 1914. It is claimed that this extended century was pre-eminently a European century: the period in which Europe became the focal centre of the world; a period in which Europe imposed her will on the rest of the world. Faced with this it is a fact that the great religious revivals of the previous century, stemming as they did from Europe and Britain, should be translatable to other countries and continents. Larouette has pointed out that the nineteenth century was "... the age of the most extensive geographic spread of Christianity".⁵³ This is true, but without the extensive and positive stimulus of the evangelical revival set against the decay and collapse of the eighteenth century church, there would have been no venturing forth to take the Gospel to foreign lands and heathen people. Either the church would have remained in its parlous state or there would have occurred some internal reformation with little or no impetus for geographical expansion. The spread of Protestantism, therefore, owes an enormous debt to Wesleyanism as well as to evangelicalism within the established church. But all was not glory only.

With the expansion of the White man's religion to Africa came a great many problems. Problems of a cultural nature predominated with many questions arising and almost as many remaining unanswered. In an effort to impose Christianity and civilisation, the missionary often imposed destruction and alienation where he thought he was bringing enlightenment and culture. Wesley and his disciples, the Clapham Sect and other devotees of the evangelical movement, would have been aghast at the motives since

53. K.S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (London, 1939-45), Vol. IV, "The Great Century", p.1.

attributed to their missionary endeavours. The early missionaries spawned, as they were, by the zeal of the movements from which they came, had in mind solely the transmission of the love, the joy and the ultimate salvation brought about by the religion which they professed.

The church in the eighteenth century - the Hanoverian Dynasty at prayer - was transformed in the succeeding century into a potent force which had the imagination and the courage to spread itself far beyond its boundaries. What must now be examined are the motives of those involved, and the environment in southern Africa which received the early missionaries. Only a knowledge of these things will reveal the whole scene in true perspective and account for the life and influence of a man such as William Shaw.

Chapter 2

FRONTIERS AND MISSIONARIES

Because of its turbulence and frequent dislocation, the eastern Cape frontier enjoys a place of vital importance in South African history. As Wilson states, it was the place where black Africans first encountered whites who were inhabiting the land with intentions of permanence, and it was also the place where policies which have had a far reaching and deep influence on subsequent African affairs were first designed and implemented.¹ In any effort made to understand either the black Africans, or the incoming white settlers and their role, some attempt must be made to appreciate and understand the problems, as well as the whole concept of frontier. For the white element, the frontier had a marked and deep effect and it has had this deep effect "throughout two long centuries".² In 1930 Walker referred to South Africa as "a land which from the point of view of population is still largely frontier".³ That viewpoint has coloured and still colours South African affairs to this day.

The frontier mentality remains strong amongst many South Africans, not least amongst those who govern the country and it is a mentality which is difficult to erase from minds and imaginations. Walker succinctly defines the atmosphere of frontier: "It is a real and living frontier that arouses in the whites ... not so much fear - though that flares up at times with the harshness bred of fear - as a sense of preoccupation, of perpetual

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1. M. Wilson and L. Thompson (Eds.) The Oxford History of South Africa (Oxford, 1969), Vol. I, p.233.
 2. E.A. Walker, The Frontier Tradition in South Africa, A Lecture Delivered before the University of Oxford at Rhodes House on 5th March, 1930 (Oxford, 1930), p.3.
 3. Ibid., p.4.

watchfulness, of being constantly on the defensive against they know not what. That is the atmosphere of a frontier and it prevails to a greater or lesser degree in every home in Southern Africa except those of a small minority."⁴ Those are prophetic words and ring as true in the turmoil of southern Africa in the 1980s as they did when first uttered in 1930. The concept of frontier is closely linked with both fear and land. As George M. Frederickson has pointed out, there is a "long and often violent struggle for territorial supremacy between white invaders and indigenous peoples".⁵ Land hunger and territorial ambition, for whatever reason, made the white settlers in the Southern African context, differentiate between the rights and privileges they claimed for themselves and those they were prepared to grant to the indigenous people. In a great many instances, and particularly in the southern African context, this was a long struggle for the white settlers.⁶ Very often the local aboriginal inhabitants mounted a strong resistance struggle which was waged for considerable periods of time, growing, then lessening in intensity, then increasing again. This resistance was able to give the appearance of stalling white advance and white plans. It can also be argued that it was internecine strife within the tribes which opened southern Africa to white advance and the question must be asked: could the Great Trek have taken place without the chaos of the Mfecane?

4. Walker, The Frontier Tradition, p.4.

5. George M. Frederickson, White Supremacy, A Comparative Study in American and South African History, (New York, 1981), p.4.

6. There is some controversy over the term used here. In some thinking the whites are thought of more as invaders than settlers, but this begs the question: were the blacks whom the whites encountered not originally invaders too?

The whites can be seen in a similar position too, and Frederickson has pointed out that it was lack of consensus and unanimity amongst the whites which, in a good many instances, allowed black resistance to have a sometimes obstructing effect. In a valuable and helpful analysis, Frederickson details five kinds of what he refers to as "white perspectives on the 'native frontier'."⁷

In the first instance (which, according to him is the least in importance) comes the white man and trade. Whatever the actual items of trade, the traders themselves had no real wish to take land from the indigenous peoples, or to subjugate them in any way. The indigenous people became partners in a commercial enterprise. To dispossess them, or to subjugate them would be to undermine the trading partnership and, therefore, automatically to remove business from the whites. The traders had no real political power and so, Frederickson argues, that the gradual dispossession of the indigenous people and their subjugation by others went forward. On the other hand, however, it can be argued that from the British point of view, real political power lay in the hands of the House of Commons and at the time the Commons was dominated by commercial interests. It was, therefore, with British exports that the real political power lay.

The second place Frederickson assigns to the role played by the frontier farmers who, because of the grazing required by their cattle and also because of the cultivation of crops, wanted access to land which was considered to be in the domain of the black inhabitants, although very little of this area was actually settled on as such.

7. Frederickson, White Supremacy, pp.6-7.

Thirdly, Frederickson cites the political authorities of whatever kind: chartered company, self-governing colony or independent republic. Governments varied considerably in their approach to frontier affairs but all of them were in some way involved in the regulation of contact and interaction between white and black. In some instances these governments were fully behind white opinion and standpoints. The main item of contention here, according to Frederickson, was how much expansion should take place and how rapidly. Under Dutch colonial rule the population of the Cape Colony expanded, albeit slowly, through the infusion of new immigrants and also by natural increase. The custom was established early in the colonial settlement that farms of 6 000 acres were available to all who wanted them in return for a small quitrent paid to the colonial government. Each generation, therefore, carried the frontier further eastward.

Frederickson's fourth instance concerned the missionary factor. The chief interest of missionaries in the frontier zones was the conversion of the African peoples and their "civilisation" according to preconceived norms acquired and assimilated in the mother country. Frederickson maintains that the missionaries favoured a "protective insulation"⁸ of the indigenous peoples from the usual kinds of frontier pressures so that their attempts at conversion and civilisation could carry on with the minimum of hindrance. He adds in a footnote that the missionaries favoured some sort of political control so that the people amongst whom they were working would be unable to retain full independence.

The fifth perspective was to do with large-scale entrepreneurs and this occurred when a certain state of

8. Frederickson, White Supremacy, p.6.

economic development was reached in areas already settled. The large-scale entrepreneurs moved in with an interest in land speculation and the control of natural resources for capitalistic accumulation.

These "perspectives" are important in that they attempt to catalogue and classify some of the "diverse and sometimes divergent aims"⁹ of the pressures on the frontier - any frontier. It should be noted that these were pressures very much from one side only; they do not take into account the fact that there must have been pressures from the other side as well. They are a valuable breakdown, but in some instances are too glib; Frederickson tends to see them as separate entities when there must have been degrees of interrelatedness. His most important point in this regard is one which cannot be quibbled with and which is of vital importance to any understanding of the frontier: the character and strength of the indigenous peoples was an independent force to which all white ambitions and interests had to be adjusted.

According to Walker there are two versions of the frontier tradition in South Africa: one stemming from the eastern frontier of the Cape and the other deriving from the Afrikaans trekkers.¹⁰ Despite the fact that there is certainly some divergence in the nature of these two traditions, basic components remain the same and the significance and consequences of a frontier tradition will not alter even if there be a hundred versions of the tradition. The major point stemming from the frontier tradition says, "the people are in danger; wipe out the danger". This, whatever the danger may be. It could be danger from the British to the Boer trekkers;

9. Ibid, p.7.

10. Walker, The Frontier Tradition, p.5.

danger from the indigenous people as white demands for land grew; or danger to the frontier folk as the government, in the seat of power, ceased or refused to act on behalf of the frontiersmen.

In his paper The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography,¹¹ Martin Legassick contends that the influence of the frontier on racial attitudes has been the most persistently argued effect of the frontier.¹² This is a reflection of the attitude and standpoint of Wilson in her chapter on the eastern frontier in the Oxford History.¹³ Legassick goes on to say¹⁴ that the frontiersman regarded the "non-white" as either a servant or an enemy; that the frontier tradition has been responsible in South Africa for the job colour bar in industry; for opposition to African urbanisation and to the common non-racial but qualified Cape franchise, and for hostility to African squatters. He lists other related areas where the frontier tradition has left its mark. He claims that the frontier attitude explained the anti-war rebellion of 1914, the 1922 Rand Revolt as well as the behaviour of Afrikaner nationalists both in opposition and in power. Legassick thinks that the attitudes expressed in these periods of crisis were linked directly with land-hunger and a wasteful attitude to land. All this, he argues, comprises a "frontier tradition" thesis which has imposed a dichotomy of one side versus another — sometimes missionary versus colonist

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11. S. Marks and H. Atmore (Eds.) Economy and Society in Pre Industrial South Africa, pp.44-79.
M. Legassick, The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography.
 12. Ibid., p.45.
 13. Wilson and Thompson (Eds.), Oxford History, Vol. 1, p. 233.
 14. Legassick, Frontier Tradition, p.45.

(as in the case of Dr. Philip) or sometimes of settlers versus government - whether it be colonial or British government. All this Legassick dismisses and in his paper considers whether, in fact, the frontier tradition was responsible for the origins of the present South African society. He "relocates" the frontier and places it in the context of industrial South Africa. The old frontier, for Legassick, is not the place where races met with an hostility which has grown up and lasted over the centuries; he shows that on the frontier some of the least colour-conscious interaction between different societies and different races took place. In his own words, "It was not therefore, the frontier seen as a social system distinct and isolated from a parent society which produced a new, or even intensified an old pattern of racial relationships."¹⁵

Legassick's arguments are interesting but are perhaps seen too much in the light of current political attitudes. He is too glib in his criticisms of the liberal historians, notably Walker and Wilson, for stressing the influence of the frontier environment in their explanations of white racial attitudes. He sees the social background of the colonist as important and suggests that the frontier attitudes should be examined against this background. Legassick has not been without his liberal critics: Harrison Wright in The Burden of the Present wrote of "a use of fake dichotomies and the use, or misuse of evidence."¹⁶ Legassick tends to conflict with the argument put forward in the Oxford History and by Eric Walker, but one thing he does make clear is that the conception of the frontier - of whatever sort, whether as a distinct and separately evolving social system, where races met, viewed each

15. Legassick, Frontier Tradition, p.67.

16. H. Wright, The Burden of the Present, (London, 1977), p.70.

other and decided to differ, or whether as an inherent aspect of the evolving industrial South Africa where race and class are integral parts - is an aspect of South African historiography which must be faced at all times. The frontier, as seen by the Legassick viewpoint is a social not a geographical thing. He quotes Lattimore as saying, "Only after a concept of a frontier exists can it be attacked by the community that has conceived it to be a geographical configuration".¹⁷ Legassick contends that the pattern of racial relationships arises, in the light of the Lattimore argument, from the conception of the colonist as a whole; it stems from his European inheritance and does not come from the fact that he is confronting other groups in a particular geographical context where the border and the land are vital matters. The whole concept of frontier must, by its very nature, have to do with the geographical factor. Frontier in Southern African terms has always meant "where races meet" and contiguous with that is that races meet in geographical areas where there are certain items in contention. As Monica Wilson has said, "The Eastern Cape Frontier is a vaguely defined area lying eastward of the Gamtoos river."¹⁸

There is no doubt in this statement that the frontier is usually seen as an area and not some loosely defined social concept waiting to be linked with the geographical only when the social aspect is fully defined. It must also be borne in mind that both the idea of a social division and a physical division must be seen as part of the contemporary problem of apartheid. In all fairness, both these concepts can be traced back to Company days at the Cape when the Free Burghers depended on slaves and Khoi for labour. At the end of the eighteenth century, however,

17. Lattimore, quoted by Legassick, Frontier Tradition, p.68.

18. Wilson and Thompson (Eds.), Oxford History, Vol. I, p.233.

both white and Xhosa emigrated from different directions into the land between the Gamtoos and the Fish Rivers. There undoubtedly arose a clash between the two groups over land.

The Walker argument - that the frontier tradition "... plays its part wherever advanced and backward races come into contact with one another"¹⁹ is another firm basic point on which to rest the contention that the frontier is, in the main, a geographical rather than a social concept, but one with cultural overtones, too. The concept of a frontier where races meet and where, as a consequence of contact, there is cultural exchange as well as competition must, on occasion, generate friction as it did in the frontier wars. There were much longer periods of peace than war; nevertheless it was the antagonism of the races, rather than their periods of co-operation which has left a scar on the political tissue of the South African body politic.

The British administration of the Cape of Good Hope, like the Dutch administration before it, found the eastern frontier difficult to control and defend and the physical and geographical nature of the area created and sustained constant problems. An important date was that of 1778 when the Dutch Governor, van Plettenberg, marked a boundary of the colony by means of beacons beyond which no white man was allowed to pass. Some Xhosa in the area whom he met were warned not to pass beyond the beacons either. This was, in both instances, white and black - a warning honoured much more in the breach than in the observance, and frequently there were raids and cattle-stealing expeditions across the line of beacons. The earliest date when the entire length of the Fish River became effective as the

19. Walker, The Frontier Tradition, p.4.

boundary of the colony was 1811/12. Previous to those dates Xhosa had remained in occupation of the Zuurveld - the area between the Fish and the Sundays rivers. In 1809 Colonel Collins (who enjoyed the temporary title of Civil and Military Commissioner) reported that the Xhosa should be driven from the Zuurveld and that a military force should be established to prevent the return of the Xhosa. All this was to be done for the security of the colony. Again, the military frontier of 1812 was honoured more in the breach than the observance, and the cattle raids continued with the colonists losing large numbers of cattle. Despite the fact that these cattle were expected to be guarded at all times, this was easier said than done and so the way was invariably open for theft. In the event of theft there was a species of hot pursuit policy which was followed by the colonists whereby they pursued the stolen cattle and the thieves with the aid of friends and neighbours. If the colonist was not able to apprehend the thieves so that they could be brought to a legal trial, he was entitled to kill them. Once the frontier was crossed the pursuit had to be taken over by a commando.²⁰ For this to take place, the authority of the Landdrost had to be gained, or better still, the authority of the colonial government. In this system there was much room for abuse - for revenge and for the commandeering of additional cattle to that stolen. It will be seen that the problem of stolen cattle and their recovery became coterminus: something had to be done.

Lord Charles Somerset became Governor of the Cape of Good

20. A commando was a party of armed men under some form of authority. Since the recognition of free burghers in 1657 all able bodied white men had been organised into a militia. Although they could be used in times of war in a fully military capacity, their usual use was in the recovery of stolen cattle. cf. K.S. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, (Durban, 1974), pp. 97 and 107, n.6.

Hope in 1813, arriving in the colony to take up his appointment on the 6th April, 1814.²¹ Immediately he was faced with his most difficult problem - the defence and maintenance of a recognized frontier. In this regard, on the 2nd April, 1817, - some three years after his arrival, a meeting was arranged between Lord Charles and the chief Ngqika at the Kat River.²² For some time now the colonial government had regarded Ngqika as having paramount authority over the Xhosa on the frontier.²³ At the first session of the meeting his authority as paramount was formally recognised although with no real foundations. He was to be known as the "first chief" and Somerset gave the assurance that the colonial government would not treat with any other chiefs in the future. Ngqika was astute enough to realize the relative independence of the Xhosa chiefdoms and advised Somerset that in matters of control he would really have no power and that accordingly he should attempt, where possible, to approach the various chiefs independently. Hunt, in Sir Lowry Cole, makes the point that no attempt whatsoever was

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21. Somerset got off to a bad start by insisting that he took the oaths of office and assumed the Governorship on the very day of arrival in spite of his predecessor's (Sir John Cradock) wish to remain in office until certain administrative arrears had been dealt with - cf. D.S.A.B., Vol. II, p.686.
 22. The minutes of the meeting can be found in Theal Records of the Cape Colony, Vol. XI, pp.310-316.
 23. Ngqika - 1778-1829 - was the son of Mlawu. After a series of successful military ventures, he almost succeeded in 1795 in becoming the Xhosa paramount chief. In 1807 he suffered a major setback by being defeated by Ndlambe (who was responsible for the building up of amaRharhabe power). Following his recognition by the colonial authorities as possessing paramount power, he was defeated in 1818 at the battle of Amalinde. His allies helped him but confiscated his territory between the Tyhume and Fish rivers. - cf. J.B. Peires, A History of the Xhosa c. 1700-1835 (Unpublished Rhodes MA 1976), pp.249-250. See also, Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.97.

made to canvass the opinions of the chiefs present, let alone those absent.²⁴

At this conference there was proposed by the Governor and accepted by Ngqika, a system for the recovery of cattle stolen across the frontier. It was a doctrine of communal responsibility. What was not taken into account was that the chief or headman did not have the right to prove that in some instances the spoor of the stolen cattle did not end in the neighbourhood of his kraal. Again this system of following a spoor was open to abuse, for the colonists might follow any spoor and then demand, quite unjustifiably, the cattle back, cattle which had not been stolen from them in the first place. Another point was that cattle of equal value were claimed back, and not cattle of equal number. It was for these reasons, more than others, that the popularity and influence of Ngqika declined amongst his peers.²⁵

This reprisal system, by means of the so-called "spoor law", became increasingly unpopular, particularly after a commando had been sent in January 1818, under a Major G.S. Fraser, to Ndlambe's²⁶ country to retrieve stolen cattle. Ngqika was held responsible for the occurrence of this sort of thing and in November 1818 he was defeated in conflict by Ndlambe. This intertribal conflict escalated and on the 22nd April, 1819, Ndlambe, with 5 000 warriors, attacked Grahamstown. This was principally to recover what they regarded as their land - that is, the Zuurveld. The attack was repulsed and afterwards Ndlambe's power was completely destroyed.²⁷

24. K.S. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.97.

25. Ibid.

26. See above, n.23.

27. K.S. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.98.

Somerset returned to the frontier on this outbreak of hostilities and in October 1819 had another meeting with Ngqika. It was here that Somerset decided that without a cavalry force (which he wanted but which, for financial reasons, was denied to him by the British Government) it would be impossible to maintain a secure frontier as long as the Xhosa were allowed to remain in the dense forests along the Great Fish River. Accordingly he persuaded the chiefs to accept the concept of a neutral belt between the Keiskamma and the Great Fish Rivers which would be a sort of no-man's-land inhabited only by military patrols. This meant, in effect, that Ngqika was further humiliated, and as the ally of the colony he was deprived of further land: a loss of face in the eyes of his enemies. At Ngqika's special request, he was allowed to occupy the valley of the Tyhume boundary. What was of particular annoyance to the expelled Xhosa was the fact that while good and fertile land stood vacant and unoccupied in the neutral belt, they were forced to search for suitable land in a congested area, east of the Keiskamma. Because of this pressure upon the land, some concessions were made and some Xhosa came back to the coastal area of the neutral or ceded territory.²⁸

28. Hunt in Sir Lowry Cole, p.107, n.17, makes the point that the terms "neutral belt" or "ceded territory" are used indiscriminately by historians to describe this area. The D.S.A.B., Vol. II, p.687, says that although Somerset arranged with the Xhosa that, temporarily, the territory should be "neutral", it appears that he regarded it as ceded to the colony, and advocated systematic colonisation of it.

In 1821, Maqoma²⁹ led his people back into the lands of the Kat River Valley. While this slow repopulation was taking place, colonists were beginning to inhabit the valley of the Koonap River, very near to the Kat River and the open grasslands of the territory were also being used for grazing of colonists' cattle. In these circumstances contact between white and black became unavoidable.

Ordinance 49 of 1828 was responsible for further racial contact. British settlers had been prevented from using slave labour which meant that the two possible labour forces were Khoi (which was regarded as inadequate) and Xhosa. Ordinance 49 provided for Xhosa entering the colony from across the frontier to form a labour force for the colonists provided they were armed with the necessary pass. It also laid down regulations for employment. Automatically this became a point of great racial intermingling.³⁰ There was some opposition to Ordinance 49 from the Xhosa chiefs who saw it as a means whereby Xhosas were lured across the frontier and into the colony, thereby weakening their own forces and support.³¹

29. Maqoma - 1798-1873 - was the right-hand son of Ngqika and led the amaNgqika at the battle of Amalinde. Initially he was troublesome to the colonial government but came under the successive influence of the missionary John Ross and Colonel Henry Somerset, the Commandant of the frontier. Later he again became an enemy of the colony after repeated expulsion from the ceded territory and played a leading part in the 1834-5 war. He did not take part in the War of the Axe - 1846-7, but did play a part in the 1850-53 war.
- Peires, History of the Xhosa, p.247.
30. For a summary of these regulations for employment, see Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.99.
31. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.99.

In 1828 Andries Stockenstrom was appointed Commissioner General for the eastern districts and was to be particularly concerned with the supervision of the eastern boundary of the colony.³² By the time of his appointment the lawlessness on the frontier had increased to a particularly bad level. The Mfecane - the massive upheaval of the indigenous peoples in the wake of fierce Zulu aggression and movement under Shaka-stoked up this general restlessness and lawlessness. In an effort to check this growing pattern of behaviour, Stockenstrom attempted to see as many of the individual chiefs as he could and this in itself was important, because by doing this he was breaking with previous practice of consulting with a so-called paramount chief only, and acknowledging the need to consult directly with the individual chiefs. This tour of the frontier was undertaken in October and November 1828 and there was a major meeting of chiefs at Fort Willshire, near Grahamstown.³³ Shortly after this, as the result of naked aggression on the part of Maqoma against the Cape Thembu in which he pursued them right into the colony, Stockenstrom advised that Maqoma and his followers should be expelled. The boundary was re-established as it had been set in 1819.

An important fact was that the expulsion of Maqoma was the basis on which the commando regulations were changed.

32. Andries Stockenstrom, 1792-1864. One of the most accomplished and controversial of the Cape frontier administrators and politicians. He acquired a wide knowledge and experience of the frontier and of the whole concept of frontier. His father was Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet and in 1815 he himself was appointed to that post. Before becoming Landdrost he took part as a young officer in military operations in 1811 and was present at the 1819 Kat River Conference. In 1827 he became a member of the Council of Advice. In February, 1836, he became Lieutenant Governor of the eastern Districts - D.S.A.B., Vol. I, p.774.

33. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.100.

Following the Somerset policy which entitled commandos to cross the frontier as they followed the spoor of stolen cattle, Acting Governor Bourke³⁴ had made it clear that patrols were not to cross the frontier unless they could actually see the stolen cattle. The chiefs themselves were expected to take action against the thieves, but this was more in theory than in practice. There were many instances where the cattle thieves were able to outwit the colonials and the milder Bourke system was as much open to abuse from the Xhosa side as the earlier Somerset system was open to abuse from the colonial side. Stockenstrom agreed that something should be done to make the whole system more practicable. His recommendations stated that it was foolish to forbid patrols to cross the frontier but that the moment a crime was reported or ascertained, action should be taken. The patrols, he said, should always be led by a military officer or in some cases by a very carefully selected civilian. The sole right of the commando would be to recover stolen property; compensation should be forbidden. The new Governor, Sir Lowry Cole³⁵, adopted these proposals in place of the milder Bourke system.³⁶

In order to prevent the expelled Xhosa from returning to the lands from which they had been evicted, once the military force was reduced, Stockenstrom realized the need to utilize the land in some way. He proposed that the land should be immediately settled by Khoi. In

34. General Bourke acted as Governor following the departure of Lord Charles Somerset from the colony in 1826 and remained in that position until the arrival of Sir Lowry Cole in 1828.

35. Sir Lowry Cole, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, 1828-1833.

36. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.101.

1829, therefore, his suggestion having been accepted, land in the Kat River valley was granted to 250 families. There were 640 allotments (known by the Dutch term erf) of slightly over six acres. Commonage varied from two to five hundred acres. The boundaries of the settlement also included large tracts of land unsuitable for either grazing or cultivation.³⁷ Occupancy of the settlement was reserved entirely for coloured people and at first they prospered but later conditions began to change and the government began to use the settlement as a dumping ground for Khoi and for African tribesmen who had been dispossessed elsewhere. It was referred to as a refuge for vagrants and its military importance declined. In 1851 during the war of Mlanjeni there was a rebellion in the settlement which was crushed by force of arms and all allotments belonging to the rebels were confiscated and given to whites.³⁸

This settlement did not entirely prevent the Xhosa from attempting to return to the area. There was Xhosa reoccupation of the upper reaches of the Kat River but they were once again expelled. This was not satisfactory but to those who remained in the ceded or neutral territory Governor Cole granted permission to remain provided that they realized that the 1819 boundary was immovable. Those who remained would be held responsible for the restoration of stolen cattle and the bringing of offenders before the law. Hunt points out that Cole was wise enough to realize that the Xhosa within the ceded territory

37. T. Kirk, The Cape Economy and the Expropriation of the Kat River Settlement, in Marks and Atmore (Eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa, p.227.

38. Kirk, The Cape Economy, p.227.

were there almost permanently and that to attempt to dispossess them would mean bloodshed and severe difficulty to the settlers of the Albany district.³⁹

Such, in brief outline, were some of the events and problems in one of the most important but troublesome areas of the colony. It was against this background that the 1820 settlers, amongst them William Shaw, arrived and lived out the first years of their new lives in Southern Africa. To most of the settlers the problems appeared easy enough to settle: maintain a strong frontier which would guarantee safety for themselves. The only way of maintaining such a strong frontier was, of course, by military means, but despite this, by no means all of the settlers and colonists wished to see their Xhosa neighbours kept in total subjection and treated with the inhumanity which could so easily arise from such a situation. The missionaries often adopted this standpoint. Apart from Dr. John Philip⁴⁰ (who was not in the strict sense a settler-colonist) and his followers, the majority of the missionaries and the more religiously motivated amongst the settler community were in favour of the strength of the white colonial government prevailing over the "uncivilised" and "savage" population of indigenes, to whom, in their view, should be brought the enlightenment and civilisation of the nineteenth century world, especially nineteenth century England.

The missionary factor in the colony and along the eastern frontier was of great importance and missionaries who were not of the political colour of Dr. Philip sometimes came in for the criticism of the settler-colonists for their championship, if not of the rights of the black

40. The Revd. Dr. John Philip, 1777-1851. He was Superintendent of the London Missionary Society at the Cape from 1819-1848. He is primarily known today as a fervent champion of the rights of the indigenous peoples of the colony.

man, then, at least, of his need for fair and honest treatment. Monica Wilson has characterised the religious factor as a reason for interaction between the races on the frontier,⁴¹ and whatever the political standpoint of the missionary, even if they were government agent or member of the Philip party, this role of the missionary as an agent of interaction is a valid and important one. The primary task of the missionary was to preach the Gospel to all, regardless of colour. Preaching involves learning the language of those to whom one is preaching (and conversely, their learning the language of the missionary too). The missionaries were among the first whites to learn Xhosa, the first to write the language and the first to teach an Nguni people.⁴² Another important point was the teaching, by the missionaries, of what Monica Wilson calls the "gospel of work".⁴³ They were able to demonstrate to the Xhosa people the advantages of becoming a people of cultivation and craftsmanship: a settled people. Concomitant with this came the need to dwell in substantial houses, to wear more clothes in conformity with European and Victorian concepts of modesty and generally to become as much like their new white mentors as possible. "The object is not the value of their labour but the principle that Christianity and idleness are not compatible".⁴⁴

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41. Wilson and Thompson (Eds.), Oxford History, Vol. I, p.238.
42. Nguni is the collective name for an important major group of South African Bantu peoples. Their living region has been between the Drakensberg and the Indian Ocean, from Swaziland through Natal and extending into the eastern Cape. They include the Swazi, Zulu, Xhosa and Transvaal Ndebele peoples. The Nguni are distinguished as the major group of the Southern Bantu by their closely related language. S.E.S.A, Vol. 8, p.202.
43. Wilson and Thompson, Op.cit., p.239.
44. J. Stewart, Paper read at the General Missionary Conference, London, 22nd October 1878, quoted in Wilson and Thompson, Op.cit., p.239.

Missionary and settler-colonist seemed to regard the traditional nomadic lives of the Xhosa as idle and, therefore, worthless. Previous to the coming of the missionary, the black man was viewed as idle and, by extension, immoral. So much was made to hinge around the need to work - the missionaries reflected a definite ethic of Protestantism: that labour is moral. This was given academic expression much later when Max Weber published The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism in 1904-5. Heavily influenced by Calvinistic thought Weber posited that all men should work toward the greater glory of God and that working toward such a goal would involve the repression of carnal impulse and the abrogation of self-interest. It would lead to success in one's calling and the creation of a more orderly universe. This ethic of increasing commitment to one's worldly calling and abstinence from any enjoyment from the profit reaped from such labours led to the accumulation of capital. In other words, it comes down again to "labour is moral" - a watchcry of the earlier missionaries. The Xhosa occupations of hunting and herding on a nomadic basis were not regarded as work, whereas settled cultivation was. This question is important too, because of a work published in Johannesburg in 1952 by Nosipho Majeke entitled The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest.⁴⁵ Majeke's thesis takes a hard and unequivocal Marxist line in approach to the missionaries and his accusations

45. The name Nosipho Majeke is a pseudonym. J.C.S. Lancaster in his thesis, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban at the Cape of Good Hope 1834-1838 (Unpublished Rhodes M.A., 1981) states that it is not clear whether or not Majeke was, in fact, black. cf. p.17, n.72. There is also some speculation that claims that Majeke was a white woman, a South African exile, who died in England in the late 1950s.

must be discussed when the role of a prominent missionary like William Shaw is to be assessed.

In his introduction, Majeke states that "For a people engaged in a liberatory struggle it is necessary to rewrite the history of the past".⁴⁶ It would seem from the outset that he is making a case for the distortion of known facts and accepted theories. He also assumes that the people about whom he is writing are engaged in a liberatory struggle. While it is true that the Xhosa of the eastern districts of the Cape Colony wished to be free (in the main) from the impositions and hindrances of the colonial authorities, it cannot easily be said that the liberatory struggle which is obviously meant by Majeke, is the same struggle as that engaged in by the Xhosa of the time. Majeke also writes that "it can be readily understood why the herrenvolk should distort history and present a false picture of what happened."⁴⁷ He assumes that history has been changed and that what was preached in the past to us is a false picture. In essence, what Majeke claims for the missionaries in his book is that they were the tools of imperialism who were responsible, with open eyes and full knowledge, for furthering white rule, for maintaining the yoke in place and for taking from the indigenous people any will to resist. In true Marxist style Majeke attributes to the missionary the desire to develop and maintain a capitalist system by creating a desire for clothes and all the trappings of a settled life. The church - or at least the denomination founded by the missionaries - was nothing but an agency for the furtherance of these aims and was in itself an institution which promoted the maintenance of a caste system and a caste society. Majeke links

46. N. Majeke, The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest, (Johannesburg, 1952), Introduction.

47. Ibid.

the missionary with the British colonial authorities and sees them as the hand-in-glove agents of British expansion. They are manipulators who are able, with evil intent, to promote the establishment of white domination over vast areas of the African continent. Majeke credits the great missionary bodies of Britain with aims which are base and lacking in morality. "Yet the humblest and most well meaning saviour of souls, though he might never have seen the inside of an English factory where children died to enrich the English industrialists, nevertheless obeyed like all the others, the law of expanding capitalism. The middle-class knew when and how to make use of all their agents in the time and place."⁴⁸

In the next chapter which is, perhaps, the most revealing ("Functions of the Missionary") Majeke himself is particularly clear. The missionary is referred to as "one of several agents, each of whom played their part in the subjugation of its (Africa's) inhabitants ... they all had a common aim: the confiscation of the land and the establishment of white supremacy."⁴⁹ He closely associates the missionary with British strategy and gives a breakdown of how the missionary goes about his purpose - at the beginning he approaches the chief in a humble manner with the Bible in hand and requests a small piece of land on which to establish his mission station. Close on the heels of the missionary comes the trader, whom Majeke sees as a co-agent in the assault. "Thus the bible and the bale of Lancashire cotton becomes the twin agents of a revolutionary change".⁵⁰ Majeke now sees a slow but sure development whereby the missionary

48. Majeke, The Role of the Missionaries, p.5.

49. Ibid., p.6.

50. Ibid., p.7.

and trader bring about an agreement with the British government which "is actually the precursor of British interference".⁵¹ The process, he believes, continues and the next person to arrive is the magistrate and the policy now becomes "divide and rule" - split the tribe in pieces and then move in for full subjugation. The military arrive and the British reluctantly annex the new territory to "protect the natives". Such, in outline, is the process which he sees; a process which is spear-headed by the missionary.

No one is spared in the Majeke attack, least of all, Dr. John Philip who was unpopular with the vast majority of whites in Southern Africa.⁵² Almost from the beginning of his time in the colony, Philip acquired the reputation of "Defender of the Hottentots",⁵³ but he is vilified by Majeke as a primary agent responsible for breaking down the habits, customs and ideas of the old system and replacing them with those of the "new system". Philip is painted as a proponent of segregation. "The segregated mission reserve was the particular contribution of the missionary to the pattern of South African society. It was part of the liberal myth of 'protection'".⁵⁴ Majeke asserts boldly that all missionaries participated in a very positive sense in conquest.⁵⁵ How are these allegations to be met?

There is little doubt that the missionaries brought change with them. They changed the whole pattern of

51. Majeke, The Role of the Missionaries, p.7.

52. See above, n.40.

53. Majeke, Op.cit., p.12.

54. Ibid., p.19.

55. Ibid., p.25.

life amongst large numbers of peoples but it can be asserted as boldly as Majeke makes his accusations that the changes brought by the missionaries were not to do with the wholesale subjugation of a people, nor with the extension of imperial aims and ambitions on behalf of Great Britain. Professor Monica Wilson has told us⁵⁶ that an assessment of the role of the missionaries hinges on how many of the social institutions which they created are valued. In other words, if what the missionaries did and established lives after them, then surely their value and contribution can be measured. Important in this regard is the establishment of the educational institutions - places such as Lovedale and Healdtown. These institutions would still have been extant had it not been for the educational policies of the present South African government. There can be little doubt that these, and other institutions, took in, educated and then turned out men, and women, trained in the arduous areas of preaching and teaching. The power acquired by education is possibly what many white men feared - for the missionaries were educating the blacks while many whites had no education at all. The products of the great missionary educational institutions were not sapped of the will to resist, as Majeke claims; neither were they a subjugated people. Rather, they were fired with an enthusiasm and with a will to take what they had learned to others, for further benefit and encouragement.

Majeke need only look to the early years of the present century to see that many of the leaders of black opinion were the products of St. Peter's School, Rosettenville - basically a missionary institution. There was no sapped will there. And one has only to look at the products of the great missionary institutions of the eastern Cape -

56. M. Wilson, Missionaries: Conquerors or Servants of God?, in S.A. Outlook, March 1976, p.41.

Lovedale and Healdtown - to see something of the ability of the missionary-run institutions to produce high quality leadership.

Missionaries taught farming skills, and again the work ethic predominates. There was much emphasis placed on the fact that the man should perform tasks which, in traditional African society, had been the province of the woman. Time became an important factor with the culmination of the week being the keeping, in due order, of the Sabbath. The missionary became responsible, through his emphasis on time, for the re-ordering of the life of the Xhosa from the tribal cycle to the western Christian cycle revolving around weeks and months and the Christian festivals such as Christmas and Easter. With all this went a great and Victorian preoccupation with western styles of dress and housing. The central point of all this is: what was essential to the Christian Gospel and what was merely the current exposition of the western form of life? It is an indisputable fact that the principle concern of the missionary was the saving of souls and the ensuring of a place for the convert in an after-life. The code of ethics produced for this life was designed with an ulterior motive in mind - insurance that life will continue after death with a distinct preference for paradise rather than hell! To the nineteenth century missionary mind the trappings of the so-called "civilised life" went hand in hand with the life of faith. The missionary firmly believed that clothes, western-type housing and education were essential to eternal salvation: the trappings of nineteenth century life became indivisible from the life of the missionary despite the fact that nineteenth century trappings had little, if anything to do with the precepts of the Gospel. That the missionary was a complete product of his own background has to be accepted in all good faith. The missionaries came to Africa knowing nothing except what they had learnt

at home. Peter Hinchliff has remarked that anyone studying the techniques and strategy of early nineteenth century missionaries can hardly avoid gaining the impression that they suffered from a "romantic casualness"⁵⁷. What are today known as the social sciences were then non-existent and it was totally inconceivable for the missionary to know anything except the fact that he was going from civilisation to barbarism and that his task was to reclaim the savages in all possible ways. His training, if training there was, provided for nothing more. The missionary had to reclaim the heathen in the eyes of the creator God and also in the eyes of his fellow man. If a few set an example by following western ways, then surely others would follow. There was, in the eyes of the missionary, no other way of life apart from his own, and no other culture. This must all be accepted in good faith and it must be seen that to dress a naked man was not concomitant with subjugation to imperial authority. To insist on steady work being done for a period of six days out of seven does not make the missionary an agent of capitalism. To approach a chief with a request for land on which to build square, whitewashed dwellings does by no means imply that the missionary was in the vanguard of those out to sap the will of the people to resist further encroaches. In a great many instances the missionary was not aware that he would be followed by anyone, let alone by a magistrate or the military. In answer to the charge of being an agent of imperialism it can be stated that the missionary was an innocent bystander as imperial forces, far greater than himself, moved in where he had unknowingly laid the pathway.

If the missionary was an agent for anything apart from the Gospel then he was an agent of interaction and this

57. P.B. Hinchliff, The Selection and Training of Missionaries in the early Nineteenth Century, in The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith, ed. by G.J. Cumming (Cambridge, 1970), p.131 .

argument is propounded strongly by Monica Wilson.⁵⁸ In her speech at the opening of the Missionary Museum at King Williams Town in 1976⁵⁹ she clearly makes the point that when an isolated and a limited people meet with a more sophisticated people and an infinitely more sophisticated life-style and pattern of development, then change begins to occur rapidly in the less sophisticated group. It is a change which is radical in its implications. "The attractiveness of the new culture is often strong".⁶⁰ And there can be little doubt that the attractiveness of the culture in this instance was an attraction of the novel and untried - there was no coercion by force from the other side, although there was often a form of spiritual coercion. Professor Wilson observes that "the first missionaries were indeed revolutionaries in traditional African society. They were so recognized by the Xhosa people and acknowledged it themselves. They sought to change society."⁶¹ Therein, perhaps, lies the nub: the missionary did indeed wish to change society and he wished to make the new society conform to what he knew as right and proper. Such a desire cannot easily be equated with the desire to subjugate the new society and reduce its will to resist in order to facilitate the march of imperialism. The missionaries wished to change society in order to save the souls of those who made up that society, they did not change the society in order to introduce domination by another agency or power.

All this is not to say that the missionaries were without fault. Indeed with historical hindsight and our increased

58. See Wilson, Missionaries: Conquerors or Servants of God?, in S.A. Outlook, March 1976, p.41; also Wilson and Thompson (Eds.), Oxford History, Vol. I, p.238.

59. Wilson, Missionaries; Conquerors or Servants of God?.

60. Ibid., p.41.

61. Ibid., p.42.

knowledge, the missionary can today be seen as wrong in a number of aspects, not least in his desire to impose his own norms and values on a society rich in its own values and traditions. Mistakes in approach, lack of adequate training for the job, the personal limitations of some of the missionaries and the overriding determination to impose a basically alien culture upon their prospective converts by no means place the missionary in the role of agents of conquest.

Missionary endeavour began in southern Africa from early on - long before the great English revivals stimulated interest in missionary work. In 1737 George Schmidt of the United Brethren or the Moravians⁶² arrived in the Cape with the intention of ministering to the Khoi and began his labours at a place then called Sergeant River. Later it became known as Baviaans Kloof and Genadendal. It was near Caledon in the Western Cape. Schmidt's actions - chiefly the baptism of several Khoi children - caused his unpopularity amongst the white settlers and the matter was taken before the Governor and Council where Schmidt was ordered to cease any further baptisms and administrations of the Holy Communion. The Dutch Reformed Church was also jealous of the intervention of another body and the comparative success which it began to enjoy. In 1743 Schmidt was ordered home and it was some forty-nine years later that Genadendal was reopened. This second stint by the Moravians was infinitely more successful than the first and the missionaries refrained from any involvement in the social or political issues of the day, thus gaining the favour of both authorities and colonists.⁶³ By 1834 the missionaries of the United Brethren had six stations, and 3 099 converts, all but

62. See Chapter 1, p.

63. J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p.257.

eight of whom were Khoi.⁶⁴

Of the missionary societies active in southern Africa, two of the most influential institutions were the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Both were children of the Evangelical revival and both were fired with an enthusiasm for mission which emanated directly from the fervour of their founders.

The London Missionary Society began its work in southern Africa in 1799 when four missionaries, led by Dr. J.J. van der Kemp and J.J. Kitchener arrived on a ship bound for the convict stations of Australia. After initial unsuccessful work amongst the Xhosa, van der Kemp set up a station at the frontier town of Graaff-Reinet. Soon, on Government prompting, van der Kemp began the mission station at Bethelsdorp, near Algoa Bay, where he worked amongst the Khoi, and this work became the primary work of the London Society for the next generation. The later championship, under Dr. John Philip, of Khoi rights led some members of the Society to become the bane of the settler community.

Other missionary societies, notably the Glasgow Missionary Society worked in southern Africa, but the chief rival of the London Society was the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Although missionary activity existed within the Wesleyan movement for some time before the official foundation of the Missionary Society in 1813,⁶⁵ the first Wesleyan missionary at the Cape was the Revd. John McKenny who, due to the fact that he was a dissenter

64. J.S. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, British Policy on the South African Frontier, 1834-1854, (California, 1963), p.79.

65. See Chapter 1, p.28.

and a Methodist, was forbidden to preach at the Cape⁶⁶. He was replaced in 1816 by Barnabas Shaw (who was no relation of William Shaw) who, on instructions from the Colonial Office was accepted at the Cape⁶⁷ and allowed to exercise his ministry. It is interesting to note that the London Missionary Society clergy were suspect on grounds of subversiveness, unlike the Wesleyans who were suspect merely because of their being dissenters.⁶⁸

The main areas of Wesleyan work were amongst the Xhosa in the eastern districts of the colony, and the trans-Orange country, and Namaqualand in the Western Cape. From the very beginning the Wesleyans were involved with both black and white and there was no exclusivity in their work. Because of their parochial contact with the white colonists, they were always far more in touch with the opinion of whites than were the L.M.S. ministers. The Wesleyans became closely associated with the settlers of 1820 and this foreshadowed a great clash which was to occur in the 1830's between the Wesleyans and the London Missionary Society in consequence of the behaviour of their leaders, William Shaw and John Philip.⁶⁹

The role of the missionaries on the frontier was one which was fraught with complications both from within and without. The external complications arose with difficulties made by the colonial authorities, by the

66. The Revd. John McKenney. Born in Ireland in an uncertain year. Died in Australia in 1847. He came to South Africa in 1813 and probably remained until 1815 though this is uncertain - Berning, Index to Obituary Notices of Methodist Ministers, 1815-1920. Whiteside in his History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, p.36, mentions that he arrived at the Cape in 1814.

67. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.86.

68. Ibid.

69. See Chapter Six.

settlers and colonists, while the internal complications arose from the personalities of the missionaries and from the manner in which they coped with the environment in which they now found themselves. In many instances the adaptation needed was considerable and there was difficulty in bridging the gap between England and Europe, and Africa. The effect of the new environment was an all important factor in the determination of the behaviour of the missionaries. A thorough study of the backgrounds and personalities of South African missionaries has been made by Donovan Williams in his Ph.D. thesis, Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony 1799-1859.⁷⁰ J.S. Galbraith in Reluctant Empire⁷¹ has made some attempt at a brief analysis on this topic, but as he himself has written "There has been no adequate analysis of the missionary character ..."⁷² A true understanding of such a topic is of vital importance in the full comprehension of missionary attitudes and motives. Many things have to be taken into account such as personal backgrounds, educational backgrounds and the intellectual ability of the missionaries - and their wives and children - to cope with suddenly finding themselves in a strange and often hostile environment. The strains imposed must have been tremendous. It is Williams' contention that although the initial spurt of missionary activity was undertaken with great enthusiasm, by the 1850s there came a realisation that hardly anything had been achieved. This, says Williams, was proof of a rejection of the white man's religion by the Xhosa. Williams is clear in his major reason for this state of affairs. "... any account of the sorry state of the missions by the turn of the half century must take into

70. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1959. See especially Vol. I, Chapter 2, pp.30-63.

71. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.87.

72. Ibid.

account the missionary personality which contributed in no small way to their undoing."⁷³ The Frontier war of 1850-3, begun in one sense by the utterances of the prophet Mlanjeni, was a major war of resistance and came at the time of Xhosa rejection of the missions.

One of the points to which Williams attaches importance is the question of the type of man who offered himself for missionary work. To begin with, each of the various societies had some idea of the sort of person they wished to send out to the mission-field but often this was based on inadequate information, both about the candidate and the environment to which he hoped to go. Williams actually cites the Directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society who believed that a doctor serving in "Kaffirland" could combine his work there with work in Madagascar!⁷⁴ There is little doubt that the intentions of the missionary societies was sincere but with hindsight it can be said that they were nevertheless misinformed about the real conditions and environment of their missionaries.

The Wesleyan Society set no store by the social position or education of its candidates for the mission field. The Committee was satisfied easily - if the candidate had declared his willingness to become a missionary and if he was suitably recommended he was invariably accepted. One of the few bars to acceptance was that married candidates were not welcomed, though it was hoped that a suitable marriage partner would later be found. This did not ultimately apply in the case of William Shaw who was married before he set out for Africa. There was difficulty, though, over his acceptance because of this. Education was encouraged: in a set of "Instructions

73. Williams, Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier, Vol. I, p.30.

74. Ibid., p.31, n.(1).

to Missionaries" set out by the Wesleyan Society⁷⁵ it was laid down, "We wish to impress upon your minds the absolute necessity of using every means of mental improvement with an express view to your great work as Christian missionaries".⁷⁶ The various Wesleyan missionaries all had differing educational qualifications. The instruction on "mental improvement" was taken more as improvement to be undertaken while busy with missionary labours rather than a state of educational qualification to have been achieved before setting out for the mission field.⁷⁷

The missionary of whatever society found himself in a situation which demanded resourcefulness, patience, discernment, organising ability, preaching ability, diplomacy and many other lesser qualities. Not every man who became a missionary lived up to these requirements. Missionary training was almost non-existent and often the instruction given to them before setting out had to do with basic skills such as reading and writing, let alone specifically missionary preparation. Hinchliff has noted that often they were trained "as if they were going to be English country parsons - at worst, as if anything would do for mission work."⁷⁸ Perhaps the last words should come from Dr. A.F. Madden: "It was inevitable that some missionaries should be ill-suited to such difficult tasks, that they should be feckless and fanatical, arrogant and self-seeking. Good men, even,

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75. The full title of these instructions was The Standing Instructions of the Committee to all who are sent out as Missionaries relative to their Conduct on Foreign Stations. Extracts from these instructions appear to have been published in the Wesleyan Missionary Report from 1822 onwards.
76. Williams, Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier, Vol. I, p.36.
77. This is borne out by the fact that in several letters Shaw makes requests to the missionary committee for books to be sent to him, usually books of an uplifting nature and usually with a Wesleyan bias.
78. Hinchliff, The Selection and Training of Missionaries p.133.

simple minded and well meaning, would sometimes be ill-fitted to strange life in a new and hostile land ... They had little training for the vast responsibilities and often developed an exaggerated sense of their ability to use the political power that had become so unexpectedly theirs - a case of mistaken nonentity."⁷⁹

The missionary was indeed a strange phenomenon coming into and operating in a new, sometimes hostile, environment with all manner of thoughts, ideas and theories about what he was and what he was doing there. The missionary of the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony had to face an area with problems which were deep-rooted and complex and which, very often, he understood so little that his view of them became naive and simplistic. Above all, the missionary has left behind him the well nigh insoluble problem of deciphering his motives and ambitions. It was against this sort of background that William Shaw arrived with men and women as strange and alien as possible, to begin a new life and transform the eastern districts into a new and forceful area.

79. A.F. Madden, The Attitude of the Evangelicals to the Empire and Imperial Problems, 1820-1850, (Unpublished Oxford D. Phil., 1950), pp.24-25.

Chapter 3

THE YOUNG SHAW ARRIVES

William Shaw was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on December 8th 1798 and was the eleventh child of his father, a sergeant in the North Yorkshire Militia. When Shaw was born his father was in charge of the officers' mess and so his first environment was the mess house in the royal barracks. Two other children followed William making a family of thirteen children. He set down some of his early memories in a journal which recorded the years 1816-1819 and the first entries, under the title "From birth to conversion" appear to have been written in 1816¹ and by that year he records that there were only three boys and one girl living.² Shaw's father bestowed much care on the family when they were young and attempted to give them the best education he could afford. Shaw's mother is described as a woman who suffered much and like her husband worked hard for her children. It was his mother who took him to church from an early age and it seems that the Methodist chapel was the usual place of worship although both parents were members of the established church. It was his parents who taught him to pray and read the Bible and who planted within him, from an early age, the seeds of religious fervour which were to blossom with such effect later on.

At the age of nine Shaw was placed in the band of his father's regiment and began to come across children of the same age and to enjoy a normal, healthy childhood. From the journal entries it appears that he was as naughty and mischievous as any child of that age, although in retrospect he tended to view those years with too much seriousness.³ By June 1812 his father had been in the militia for thirty-three years and he retired going to live in Wisbeck, Cambridgeshire where he took on a retirement job: sergeant-major to the local militia. His pension, in 1816, was a shilling a day.

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1. William Shaw, Journal 1816-1819, Cory Ms 15,902. The entry on page 15 suggests that he wrote the first fourteen pages on Friday November 15th 1816.
 2. Cory Ms 15,902, Journal 1816-1819, p.1.
 3. Cory Ms 15,902, Journal 1816-1819, p.2.

For a retired soldier the care of the young was, most likely, an arduous business and on his father's retirement Shaw was placed in the care of his eldest brother who had followed his father into the North York Militia and who had the rank of sergeant. We do not know whether Shaw was the only child placed in the care of his brother, but we do know that he behaved as any child would when beyond the restraints of parental care. In the Journal he referred to himself as a "Wicked Boy". When writing of the early days, Shaw tends to regard the matter of his boyish misdemeanours with far too much concern, talking about his "depraved nature" and "excess of riot not to be named".⁴ This attitude to his youth is an indication of the effect which his later conversion was to have on him and reflects the seriousness with which he embraced the tenets of Methodism.

This preoccupation with the state of his youth can be seen as a disturbing commentary on his view of God. For the rest of his life God became for him a harsh and relentless God of justice; a God who, because of our "depraved" natures, needs to be constantly propitiated. Very seldom, either here in these early reminiscences or throughout the later letters and journal, do we come across any realisation of a God of mercy, a God of justice or a God of joy. It is this conception of God as one of unremitting force and anger that was undoubtedly one of the spurs to Shaw's later life and career.

In December 1812 Shaw was persuaded to join a group from the regiment going to a Methodist meeting. The preacher at the meeting was also a member of the regiment and Shaw was stirred by his words although he was unable to remember the text. He had immediate ideas of living a better, more obedient life, but this resolution appears not to have lasted very long. Later he went again to a prayer meeting and was

4. Cory Ms 15,902, Journal 1816-1819, p.2.

moved enough to go to another the following morning where he was exhorted to change his way of living altogether. He made some attempt to dissociate himself from his youthful companions in order to live a better life and was faced with derision and "a torrent of persecution and reviling..."⁵ The fact that Shaw had come under the influence of the Methodists was turned into something of an accusation which indicates that even by the early nineteenth century they were not yet fully tolerated by the community at large.

Often this sort of reaction tends to confirm the original standpoint and Shaw became the more determined in his new way of life. His mentor became William Pearson the leader of the Methodist Society which was attached to the regiment and it was to this society which Shaw became attached. At first he was a trial member and was highly impressed with the mutual support and the love of God which he found amongst the members.⁶

At the end of December 1812 Shaw experienced his real conversion while at a prayer meeting. -He underwent a powerful revelation of the glory and the power of God: "my heart was melted and tears flowed in streams down my cheeks". Members of the society led by William Pearson prayed with him and eventually, after feeling at first that God was ignoring his prayers, he experienced a dramatic sense of God's presence ... "I felt that GOD for Xt's sake had blotted out all my iniquities... O what Joy and comfort did I experience. I felt an heaven begun on Earth"⁷ His conversion took place at the age of fourteen years.

This experience and his full membership of the local society

5. Cory Ms 15,902, Journal 1816-1819, p.4

6. Ibid

7. Cory Ms 15,902, Journal 1816-1819, p.5.

caused a rift between Shaw and his brother who had entertained hopes of his promotion in the army. Now that he had become a Methodist all hopes of preferment vanished. The officers of the regiment were opposed to Methodism. Shaw was upset by the attitude of his brother whom he obviously held in some affection but this attitude and that of others who opposed him was an early preparation for hardships and opposition which were to follow. His brother soon left the regiment and moved to Bradford where he became sergeant-major in the local militia and his death from consumption followed not long after that, but not before there had been some reconciliation between the two brothers. Shaw was now placed in the care of his second brother, Joseph, also a member of the regiment. Although not a Methodist this brother was far more sympathetic to its aims and lifestyle and the two existed happily together. The regiment moved from Colchester, where it was currently based, to Harwich and then to Glasgow. On these journeys Shaw was active in prayer meetings and in other religious activities.

From Glasgow, where they only spent five weeks, they moved to Ireland where Shaw experienced a short period of decline and was rallied by the preaching of his fellow Methodists. About this time he began to feel that he was called to preach and after consulting his mentor, William Pearson, he was advised to begin a trial period as a preacher. With the permission of his commanding officer he preached to almost a hundred soldiers from Revelation 6; v. 17.⁸ He was evidently successful and was encouraged by his colleagues. After further trial sermons as the regiment moved around Ireland he was told by Mr Alcorn, the local preacher, that he was sure Shaw ought to preach.⁹

8. "For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?" This was probably his first sermon.

9. Cory Ms 15,902 Journal 1816-1819 p.9.

Shaw remained in the army until the 10th July 1815 when, because of the end of the Napoleonic wars, and in company with hundreds of others, he received a discharge. He was pleased by this, for ever since his conversion he had been eager to leave the army. On his return to England he visited his parents at Wisbeck where he found his mother ill and confined to bed. He remained with her until her death on the 5th November 1815.

He remained at home with his father and his sister and endeavoured to find something to do. In the army he had learnt no trade and had been solely concerned with the work of the band. Current economic and social conditions, which were far from good following the wars, made his task difficult. In the meantime he involved himself with local Methodists and was placed on the local preachers' plan. In December 1815 the prospect of becoming a schoolmaster was suggested to him by a travelling preacher. The place suggested was Long Sutton in Lincolnshire where there was need of both teacher and school. He accepted the suggestion and early in 1816 moved to Lincolnshire where he began a day school. He settled in well to the life, got on with the inhabitants and became involved with the building up of the local Methodist society. From only thirty-five the membership soon increased to fifty.

Shaw had come a long way from junior member of the regimental band to respected schoolmaster and local preacher, but he was not yet certain that he had achieved all he was able to; he slowly began to realize the call to something more. For some time he thought about the possibility of becoming a missionary and he was encouraged in these thoughts by two senior preachers.¹⁰ At about the same time as this he began an association which was to have far reaching effects

10. Cory Ms 15,902, Journal 1816-1819, p.12.

on his life. He met and became acquainted with Ann Maw of Long Sutton, and it was not long before he began to think in terms of marriage. He set himself a series of questions about her, examining her character and disposition in an effort to determine whether she would be the right wife for him. Most importantly she was a Methodist and it was not long before he decided that he would not make a mistake in marrying her. The only possible stumbling block was that having offered himself to the Methodist Conference as a missionary he might not be accepted as a married man.

Though he himself was certain about his marriage to Ann Maw his friends did not share his convictions and the main obstacle appeared to be the age difference between them: Shaw was a mere eighteen and Ann Maw some ten years older than he. Ann Maw herself became the object of some unwelcome attentions on the part of those opposed to the match. She was accused of having become a Methodist with the express thought of marriage in mind and she was also accused of setting out to ensnare Shaw into marriage. Although she took the campaign badly, he became more and more set on the marriage and was convinced of its desirability.

The progress of time appeared to lessen the opposition to the marriage and by 1817 much of it had disappeared. As a preparation for mission work Shaw began to travel as an itinerant preacher. His thoughts were now turned towards work in Madagascar but he made it clear to the district meeting that should he be selected for missionary work he would prefer to go as a married man, but in July 1817 he was informed that due to a lack of funds no married missionaries would be sent out that year; if any were to be sent at all they should be single. At the conference of 1817 he was again recommended for mission work but his young age and his determination to get married counted against him once more.

On the 30th December 1817, Shaw married Ann Maw¹¹ and analysed his reasons: "After consulting some pious and judicious friends I thought it would be to the Praise and Glory of God".¹² He refers to his new wife as "A woman I have long loved and long desired to have as my Partner thro' life - A woman who temper, Circumstances, Understanding, Person, Religion and manifested strong attachment to me - have all combined, to prove that she ought to be the object of choice".¹³ The missionary vocation remained strongly with him although with married life it faded a little from foremost place.

His life after his marriage remained much the same: he spent his time schoolmastering at Long Sutton and preaching in as many places as he could. Two children were born - William Maw and Margaret. It was not long before things began to change. Plans for a large settlement of Englishmen along the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony got underway and Shaw became inextricably involved.

The idea of an emigration scheme to the Cape of Good Hope was one with a history which stretched back some years. As early as 1809 Colonel Richard Collins¹⁴ had suggested Settlement by whites along the frontier. His report and its recommendation met with a mixed reception, and the Governor,

11. W.D. Hammand - Tooke (ed) The Journal of William Shaw (Cape Town 1972) p.3, intro; Cory Ms 15,902, Journal 1816-1819, p.40.

12. Cory Ms 15,902, Journal 1816-1819, p.39.

13. Ibid, p.40

14. Collins, Richard, 1774? - 1813. British Officer and commissioner for the eastern border districts of the Cape Colony. He began his military career in 1795 in the West Indies. In 1806 he commanded a regiment when the Cape was taken. In January 1809 he set out on a journey to gain first hand knowledge of the eastern frontier. He submitted his report in July of the same year and confirmed that the Great Fish River should be the eastern frontier of the colony because it was a good line of defence. Because the area on the colonial side of the frontier was sparsely populated he suggested a systematic settlement of whites in order to assist with the defence of the frontier. D.S.A.B. Vol I pp.181-2.

the Earl of Caledon,¹⁵ was hesitant about accepting them especially with the Napoleonic wars still in progress in Europe. Later, in 1813, Colonel John Graham¹⁶ sought actively to promote some form of emigration scheme and settlement; he proposed that some 500 Highland crofters be found to settle in the Zuurveld where they would be valuable in the defence of the frontier. Initially there was no official response to this proposal but later, the Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst,¹⁷ allowed him to canvas for potential settlers in Sutherland. Again it was the crisis of the Napoleonic wars which caused the Secretary of State to stall.

In 1819 the British Government made known a scheme whereby about 4,000 emigrants would settle in the Cape Colony. This 1819 scheme was on a scale much bigger than anything attempted before. M.D. Nash has observed that it "was remarkable not only for the number of would-be settlers that it attracted, but for the class of society from which many of them were drawn".¹⁸ Nash quotes Wilmot Horton, the Under-Secretary of State for War and Colonies in 1821 as making a distinction between emigration and colonisation,

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15. Du Pré Alexander, Earl of Caledon, Governor of the Cape, 1807-1811.
 16. Graham, John 1778-1821. British Officer. After a military career beginning at the age of 16 he took part in the British conquest of the Cape in 1806. Given the task of establishing the Cape Corps, he assumed command of the regiment on the 26th January 1806. He became a special commissioner for military and civil affairs in the eastern districts in 1811. He founded Graham's Town in 1812 (named after him by Government notice of 14th August 1812) D.S.A.B. Vol pp.314-316.
 17. Secretary of state for War and the Colonies.
 18. M.D. Nash Bailie's Party of 1820 Settlers (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University 1981) p.1.

Emigration, he contended, is the movement of labourers without capital, and colonisation, the movement of emigrants with capital for the development of land.¹⁹ In the light of this definition, the scheme of 1819 was one of colonisation which was designed to benefit the colony.

The earlier schemes had all been smaller in scale due to a combination of the lack of funds and the uncertainty engendered by the crises of the Napoleonic wars. By the end of these wars the situation in Britain was one of overall depression which led to unemployment on a wide scale. There was a series of bad harvests and a rapid fall in prices without a corresponding reduction in rent. "Great Britain ceased to be the workshop of Europe."²⁰ Coupled with all this was an increase in population and a flooding of towns and cities with between two and three thousand unemployed former soldiers and sailors who had returned from the war. Life in Britain became, in the main, an unpleasant experience. There arose a desire to emigrate amongst various strata of society. Despite the conditions in Britain and despite the growing desire to emigrate, there was little official support, although the Secretary of State did give cognizance to the fact that if people were to emigrate, then it was better to have them go to British possessions rather than to the United States of America.

Lord Charles Somerset, who became Governor of the Cape in 1813, stressed the desirability or necessity of increasing the population by immigration.²¹ Despite this there was hardly any Government support for Somerset's idea in the early years of his term of office. One exception to this

19. Ibid.

20. J. Lowe The Present State of England (1822) p.146 quoted in I.E. Edwards The 1820 Settlers in South Africa (London 1934) p.35.

21. G. Theal Records of the Cape Colony, Vol X p.242, Somerset to Bathurst, 20.1.1815.

was when Benjamin Moodie²² requested a grant of land at the Cape on which he proposed to settle a group of Scots labourers at his own expense. During 1817 he introduced approximately two hundred mechanics and labourers to the Cape.²³ In 1819 there was a further minor settlement when twenty-six families were settled at George, in the Cape, under a Peter Tait.²⁴ Despite lack of official interests, Somerset pursued his own ideas for a large scale settlement in the Zuurveld. The frontier conditions were urgently beginning to require some sort of scheme which would aid in halting the numerous and serious border depredations in which both human lives and cattle were being lost. After his first visit to the frontier in April 1817, Somerset wrote to Bathurst praising the Zuurveld area as one which was beautiful and fertile.²⁵ It was not long before the military force at the Cape was reduced for economic reasons²⁶ and at the end of 1817 Somerset again raised the question of settlement from Britain and primarily he had in mind the use of settlers for frontier defence. In reply Bathurst invited Somerset to submit suggestions.

The necessity for populating the Zuurveld and the need for frontier defence was made all the more urgent by the outbreak of the Fifth Frontier War of 1819 in which Grahamstown was attacked and some 9000 of Ndlambe's Xhosa were involved. Even before the war was officially terminated, the British Government at last agreed to sponsoring a settlement. It was not only the conditions of the Cape which contributed: in Britain it was "the worst of all years"²⁷ with widespread

22. Benjamin Moodie, 1789-1856, eldest son of James Moodie, the 9th Laird of Melselter in the Orkneys.

23. Nash, Bailie's Party, p.4.

24. Ibid p 7.

25. Theal, R.C.C. Vol xi p.305, Somerset to Bathurst 24.5.1817.

26. The only military force left amounted to little more than two regiments made up largely of deserters.

27. Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement p.210 quoted in Nash, Bailie's Party, p.15.

unemployment which led to tension and violence. The threat of general insurrection was rife, and on the 12th July, 1819, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed in parliament a vote of £50,000 "to assist persons disposed to settle in His Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope".²⁸ The motion was passed with general approval.

The scheme was soon taken up by the press which gave it its blessing despite the fact that it was intended to be "palliative to British domestic problems".²⁹ Nash takes a similar view and sees the scheme as intended to serve two political purposes: "to protect the country from the radicals and to protect the Government from the opposition".³⁰

In the middle of July 1819, in the form of a government circular, the details of the scheme were announced. These included free passages, grants of land at the rate of 100 acres for every able bodied male adult or head of family, and remission of the quitrent for ten years. A deposit of £10 was required for families of four and this deposit rose by £5 for pairs of additional younger, or individual older children. The organisation was on a party basis of not less than ten individuals or families, for each of which the organiser of the party had to pay a deposit of £10. There was a promise of agricultural implements and seed at low cost. The deposit would be repayed according to a staggered scheme but there the practical involvement of the British government would cease. There was to be no slave labour or hired indigenous labour used.³¹ The settlers

28. Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time Vol XL p.1549 quoted in Nash, Bailie's Party, p.16. See also Nash, p.16 n.55 for further references.

29. John Benyon in Guy Butler(ed) The 1820 Settlers, An Illustrated Commentary (Cape Town 1974), p.57

30. Nash, Bailie's Party, p.16.

31. Benyon in Butler(ed) The 1820 Settlers, p.66.

themselves were to be responsible for all labour. They were to be limited to the pursuit of agriculture; the small size of the land grants and the congestion of the parties prevented any thoughts of pastoral farming. A special provision was made for large parties of settlers: Any group of one hundred families could submit for approval the name of a clergyman of their own denomination to accompany them, who would be given a government appointment in the colony.

The response was enormous: some ninety-thousand applications were received and out of that staggering number some four thousand were selected. Benyon in "The 1820 Settlers" gives major motives for the applications: financial pressures and the urge to have security of property ownership.³² Amongst those who applied there were no aristocratic landowners neither were there prominent men in the new industry or commerce but the general members of the scheme comprised a fair cross-section of society. There was much diversity of skill and talent which enabled the settlers to survive after the failure of the agricultural side of the venture. Some of the settlers had a reasonable idea of the hazards to be faced and Stanley's Party sought and obtained permission to take out guns with them³³

The leaders of each party were permitted to make whatever internal arrangements they liked and there was no government interference in such matters. The settler parties are divisible into two types. In some the leader assumed all financial responsibility and paid the deposit to the government. This meant that the male members of the party emigrated as indentured servants who were under contract and who were bound to the leader of the party for a certain number of years. They had little or no share in the allotted

32. Ibid.

33. Benyon in Butler(ed) The 1820 Settlers, p.68.

100 acres of land. The leaders of these parties had some capital (of necessity) and were mainly drawn from the upper middle classes. These parties were in the minority. The majority were known as "independent" which meant that each settler paid his own deposit and the grant of land was divided equally between the party members. Very often in these cases the feeling of a definite society emerged. This was particularly true of Cock's party which became a highly organised society known as "the Hardwicke Society" which had a committee, president, secretary and treasurer.³⁴

The settlers began to leave England from November 1819 although the majority only got away in January 1820. Many were delayed by a severe frost which lasted over three weeks and which kept the ships in English waters far longer than anticipated. One settler, William Shaw, recorded in his diary a short and simple prayer which summed up the heartfelt prayers of all the settlers as they set sail in their uncertainty for a distant land. "This day about 2 o'clock we weighed anchor and left Gravesend and expect to stop at no place for any length of time until we shall have completed our voyage. God grant it may prove a safe and speedy one".³⁵

Amongst the parties of settlers, each of them called after the leader, was Sephton's party originally recruited by Edward Wynne. Wynne had not found the recruitment of the party a difficult thing. There were, like him, plenty who wished to leave England in order to try and alleviate their living conditions. What occurred to Wynne, as a devout Methodist, was that if he was able to raise a party of a hundred they would have the right to nominate a clergyman to accompany them.³⁶ In August 1819 Wynne submitted to the colonial office a list of seventy-seven families who wished to emigrate in his party.

34. Edwards, The 1820 Settlers in South Africa, p.56.

35. Hammond-Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, 15th February 1820, p.22.

36. See above, p.78.

On September 4th he submitted a list of a further nineteen families. The party was now close to a hundred and on September 9th Wynne called together a meeting of the family heads to make some decision as to the choice of a clergyman to travel with the party. At the meeting a resolution was adopted whereby the choice of such a minister was to be left to the "wisdom and experience of the Committee of the Society denominated the General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society".³⁷

On September 11th, due to personal reasons, Wynne withdrew as leader and withdrew from the party, although leadership passed to Thomas Colling, an architect and builder, but soon he withdrew also, and leadership passed to Hezekiah Sephton, a carpenter, from Nottinghamshire.³⁸ By this time the party had increased to a hundred and Sephton was able to report to the colonial office that the Reverend William Shaw had been nominated by the General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to accompany the party to the Cape. The report was accompanied by a testimonial issued by the Secretaries at the Wesleyan Mission House supporting Shaw. The support and the permission to go to the Cape had not been easily forthcoming. Shaw, on hearing of the party's need for a clergyman had offered himself, provided he would be received in the capacity of a Wesleyan Missionary appointed by, and in full connexion with the missionary committee as well as the Conference of England. The committee agreed to this but only after "an animated discussion".³⁹ To go out as a missionary but to be at the same time a duly accredited chaplain or minister to a party of settlers was something outside the province of the members of the missionary committee.

37. A.E. Makin The 1820 Settlers of Salem (Hezekiah Sephton's Party), (Wynberg 1971) p.18.

38. Hezekiah Sephton 1776-1843.

39. William Shaw, The Story of My mission (London 1860) p.5.

Shaw's age - just on twenty one - also posed problems and some members of the committee felt he was too young and would, therefore, be susceptible to more problems than an older man. Others felt that the link with the colonial Government through the work in the settlement could prove troublesome with regard to mission work amongst the heathen. Shaw's champion on the committee turned out to be the Revd. George Morely, Superintendent minister of the Great Queen Street Chapel in London where many of the Sephton party worshipped. Morely evidently felt that a missionary in what was loosely termed "South Eastern Africa" would be a valuable asset in the extension of the Gospel in Africa.⁴⁰ Morely spoke forcefully on the matter and eventually persuaded others to back Shaw's appointment⁴¹ which was approved by the colonial office, and he was officially accredited to the Sephton party which now totalled three hundred and forty-four persons in all.⁴²

The first members of the Sephton party boarded the "Aurora" on January 5th 1820 at Deptford. Some families - thirty three in all - had to be accommodated on another vessel, the "Brilliant" and were under the temporary care of Richard Gush.⁴³ The two vessels set sail from Deptford on February 6th putting into Gravesend on the 9th from where they left on the main leg on the journey on February 15th.

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40. William Shaw was not to be the first missionary; Barnabas Shaw was already working in the Western Cape, having arrived in 1816.
41. Shaw, S.M.M. pp.5-6.
42. E. Morse-Jones Roll of the British settlers in South Africa Part I (Cape Town 1969) p.13.
43. Gush, Richard 1789-1858. He was a carpenter, born in Devonshire. Although greatly influenced by Quaker-thought, he was a lay preacher of the Methodist connexion and supervised the erection of the church at Salem in 1822. He also built the succeeding one ten years later in 1832. In the Frontier War of 1834-5 he went out to parley with the enemy and with a dramatic gesture of offering them bread as a token of goodwill he persuaded them to leave. Morse Jones, British Settlers, p.122.

Shaw's final sermon at Long Sutton was preached on the 21st November 1819. The difficult aspect of the departure for Shaw and his wife was that Ann Shaw's mother had asked that their eldest child be left in England so that, in the case of case of disaster in Africa, one small branch of the family be left alive. Out of consideration for his mother-in-law Shaw agreed although it made their departure the more difficult.⁴⁴

Shaw was ordained as a Methodist minister in London on the 25th November 1819 in St George's Chapel-in-the-East. There appear to have been two sermons preached, one by the Revd. George Morely which was addressed specifically to the people present, especially those about to immigrate. The second sermon was the ordination charge, and was preached by the Revd. Richard Watson. Shaw was required to make a public declaration of why he wished to be ordained and he declared that he believed that he was moved by the Holy Ghost "to take upon me the office, duties and responsibilities of a Christian Missionary".⁴⁵

When the Shaws boarded the "Aurora" they found their berth small and inconvenient. The missionary committee had attempted to provide the Shaws with some sort of superior accomodation but Shaw had refused it on the grounds that he did not wish for treatment different from that of the settlers themselves. While they waited to sail Shaw lost no time in beginning pastoral work on board and the first Sunday altogether was given due honour. He preached to a congregation on board the "Aurora" which was augmented by settlers from the "Brilliant". They finally sailed that afternoon and all the settlers lined the deck and under Shaw's direction sang a hymm from the Wesleyan Hymm Book:

44. Shaw, S.M.M. p.7.

45. Shaw, S.M.M. pp.7-8.

"The God that rules on high,
That all the earth surveys,
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And calms the roaring seas."

It must have been a moving moment with a large number of varying emotions. While moored at Gravesend, where they remained until the 15th February, Shaw busied himself with pastoral work both on board and ashore. He began to reveal something of the energy which was to be a hallmark of his career. He made contact with the Methodist minister at Gravesend and preached to his congregation as well as preaching on board both the "Aurora" and the "Brilliant". His text on this latter occasion was Hebrews 4; v.1.⁴⁶ Once they were again underway and bound for the Cape, Shaw found that he had the full co-operation of the master of the "Aurora" in the organisation of the religious life of the vessel during the voyage.

From the start of the voyage Shaw established a regular pattern of worship. On Sundays, in the morning, the capstan⁴⁷ became the pulpit and from it Shaw read "the Liturgy" which most likely meant the service of the Church of England Book of Common Prayer.⁴⁸ Shaw's use of the term "Liturgy" is interesting and seems to imply that despite the fact that he was a Methodist minister and that the majority of his congregation were

46. "Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it."

47. A capstan is a revolving barrel worked manually, for winding up the anchor chain or hoisting in heavy sails.

48. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English gives as one of the definitions of Liturgy, "the Book of Common Prayer", (p.697).

Methodists he was happy to use the set prayers of the Prayer Book. Why he did so is not clear. His journal records that "The excellent prayers of the Established Church are read every Sabbath morning ..."⁴⁹ This use of the Prayer Book was continued by Shaw when he was active in the settlement in Albany. Then it was used chiefly because he was ministering to other denominations as well. Generally speaking, he had no fear of becoming involved with Anglican liturgy. In 1849, Archdeacon N.J. Merriman records in his Journal that Shaw, as head of the Wesleyans, attended the Good Friday service in St. George's Church in Grahamstown and that it was his usual practice to do so and to communicate.⁵⁰

On Sunday evenings Shaw preached between the decks. In addition, there were daily services of scripture-readings, hymn-singing and prayer which were held in cabins and between decks. Shaw's ministrations on board must have contributed in no small way to the general well-being of the settlers. His work would also have made him familiar with the settlers and with problems and needs they might have had.

Shaw's work as settler chaplain also extended to the conducting of a funeral. It was the funeral of a Mrs. Jones, aged only twenty-one, newly married and pregnant.⁵¹

49. Hammond-Tooke (ed.), Journal of William Shaw, 15th February, 1820, p.22.

50. D.H. Varley and H.M. Matthew (Eds.), The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, 1848-1855, (Cape Town, 1955), p.46.

51. Hammond-Tooke notes that the only Jones in the Sephton party was a John Jones. No wife is mentioned. He speculates that he may have married after the lists were drawn up. cf. Shaw Journal, p.189, n.9.

Morse Jones lists John Jones as a miller - p.44.

He read the burial service for her on March 20th and from his entry on the occasion in the Journal it must have been a maccabre affair with the husband in a particularly bad state of grief.⁵² Such an occurrence must have provided an opportunity for Shaw to cope with a particular pastoral situation - that of giving comfort not only to the husband but to other passengers as well.

Some of Shaw's impressions of the voyage are contained in a letter to the Revd. J. Taylor at the Wesleyan Mission House in London.⁵³ The letter reveals Shaw as a man with keen sense of duty; it gives details of the voyage and of the conditions on board and it makes recommendations for future missionaries, even declaring that they should not travel without a store of lemons with which to make lemonade in the hot weather!

Generally speaking, it was an uneventful voyage; apart from the death of Mrs. Jones there was little in the way of excitement, apart from two men falling overboard. Both of them were saved.

Two months after they left England, the Sephton party sighted the Cape of Good Hope on Monday, May 1st, and the following day they came to anchor in Simonstown which Shaw found to be "... a very neat little place".⁵⁴ At about 10 o'clock he went ashore where he knelt down and gave thanks to God for his safe arrival.

On the May 3rd, Shaw and five others hired a "van" or cart⁵⁵ and travelled to Cape Town where he made immediate

52. Hammond-Tooke (Ed.) The Journal of William Shaw, March 20th 1820, pp.25-26.

53. Cory Ms. 15,862/1 (mic), Shaw to Taylor, 27.2.1820.

54. Hammond-Tooke, Op cit., May 2nd, 1820, p.31.

55. Ibid., May 3rd, 1820, p.31-32.

contact with his Methodist colleagues, especially with the Revd. E. Edwards⁵⁶ at whose invitation he preached the following day to a small congregation of civilians and soldiers. This sermon marks the commencement of William Shaw's public ministry in Southern Africa.

While in Cape Town, where he was most impressed with its neat appearance, Shaw called on the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Christopher Bird⁵⁷ in order to request information as to how he was to obtain the government assistance to which he was entitled as a minister officially accredited to a settler party. Bird, who Shaw only later discovered was a Roman Catholic, either pretended not to know what he was talking about or really did not know. He did no more than tell Shaw that he would be permitted to exercise his ministerial functions and would receive the benefit of toleration. Shaw was able to produce documentary proof in the form of a letter written by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies⁵⁸ which stated clearly the obligation of the Cape government to provide for his

56. The Revd. E. Edwards was sent out in 1817 by the missionary committee to assist the Revd. Barnabas Shaw at Leliefontein in Namaqualand. He then moved to Cape Town where he fitted out an old wine store as a place of worship. Hammond-Tooke, Journal of William Shaw, p.189, n.12; also, Shaw, SMM, p.24.
57. Bird, Christopher. 1769-1861, Soldier and civil servant. He held a commission in a foreign regiment employed for service with the British against revolutionary France. He was later employed in the Cape as assistant quartermaster general in 1797. He returned to Britain in 1803 but returned in 1807 to become deputy secretary to the government. In 1818 he became secretary to the government. He held a fair influence over events and Dr. Philip believed that he was the real ruler of the colony. Bird was a staunch Roman Catholic. He retired in 1824. D.S.A.B., Vol. I, p.76.
58. Henry Goulburn, 1784-1856. M.P. Under Secretary, Home Department 1810 and for War and the Colonies, 1812-1821. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer under Wellington. C.D.N.B.

"decent maintenance". On receipt of this documentary evidence Shaw found that the attitude of the Secretary "was now suddenly changed" and he was instructed to address the government on the subject on his arrival at his ultimate destination.⁵⁹

On the 5th May Shaw returned to Simonstown and on the 10th May they set sail for Algoa Bay which they reached on the 15th, exactly three months to the day after they left Gravesend. They arrived at sunset, and so the first sight of the country in which they had come to settle was only afforded them the next morning. The Sephton party was disembarked on the 25th and in the days in which they waited for disembarkation they had plenty of time to examine their new country. On the whole they found it dull and disappointing and compared it, always unfavourably, with what they had left behind them. There must have been some regrets and perhaps even a few recriminations amongst those who lined the decks of the ships.

Their initial accommodation on shore was a number of tents which were due to provide shelter until they set out for their locations. One of Shaw's actions on landing was to send a loyal address to the Governor on behalf of all the Methodists who had travelled out in Sephton's party.⁶⁰

59. Shaw did, in fact, make this address and the full text may be found in his letter to the Secretaries, written from Salem, 11.8.1820 (Cory Ms 15,862/1 (mic)). The address was evidently answered by the Governor's private secretary, Henry Ellis in which he wrote, "The Governor is prepared to allow a stipend to the clergyman you have brought with you according to instructions received on that head from His Majesty's Secretary for the Colonial Department". See above letter.

60. In the files of missionary correspondence with the colonial office in Cape Town, housed in the Cape Archives, there are a number of addresses and memorials from Shaw. This particular one has not been found.

While waiting for the transport to the Albany area Shaw displayed some of the energy which he was to utilize in his subsequent career: he obtained a Khoi guide and went on a visit to Bethelsdorp where he had been invited by the missionary there, the Revd. George Barker.⁶¹ Bethelsdorp, about twelve miles north west of Port Elizabeth, was founded in 1803 when Governor Janssens granted a farm to Dr. J.J. van der Kemp and the Revd. James Read⁶² to establish a mission station which became the first L.M.S. station in Southern Africa. It became a controversial place and neighbouring farmers filed complaints about the idleness of the inhabitants. In return the two missionaries filed complaints about the ill-treatment of members of the mission by the farmers. The station came up for investigation by the so-called "Black Circuit" of 1812⁶³ which criticised van der Kemp and Read heavily.

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61. Barker, the Revd. George, 1789-1861. London Misisonary Society missionary. He came to Bethelsdorp in 1815 but almost at once was transferred to another L.M.S. station, Theopolis. In 1819 he returned to Bethelsdorp, only to go again to Theopolis in 1821 when he took charge there - D.S.A.B., Vol. I, p.54.
62. Van der Kemp, J.T., 1747-1811. Dutch officer, physician and L.M.S. missionary.
Read, the Revd. James, 1777-1852. L.M.S. missionary, colleague of Dr. van der Kemp. Together they settled some seventy-five Khoi at Botha's Place near Algoa Bay - the beginning of the Bethelsdorp station. D.S.A.B., Vol. II, p.774, and Vol. I, p.666.
63. The "Black Circuit" was a special session of the Circuit Court of the Cape of Good Hope, exclusively for the trial of whites who, according to missionaries van der Kemp and Read, had maltreated and murdered Khoi. It operated in 1812. In the final verdict not a single person was found guilty of murder and the court strongly criticised van der Kemp and Read - S.E.S.A., Vol. 2, p.352.

Barker received Shaw warmly and the two got on very well - a far cry from the later bad relations between the Wesleyans and the L.M.S. consolidated by the controversy between Shaw and Dr. Philip,⁶⁴ Shaw attended a prayer meeting where he encountered Khoi singing for the first time. He was not very happy about the situation of the station or with the progress made by the Khoi inhabitants, but the visit was important in that it introduced Shaw to something of the life of the missionary in situ and although he would never work solely amongst Khoi it was able to show him something of the hardships and problems faced by a missionary.

On Sunday May 28th he conducted a public service on the parade ground at Algoa Bay. He was able to leave Algoa Bay for the interior on June 5th. It was a strange journey for those so new to the country: oxen spurred on by Khoi pulled the cart, and the alien country through which they passed must have made them wonder at the wisdom of their move to southern Africa. Shaw accompanied the first section of the Sephton party - a second section left on June 10th - and the initial destination was Reed Fountain, near the Western banks of the Kowie River in accordance with the original plan of location approved by the Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin.⁶⁵ This plan later changed and Donkin gave instructions to Colonel

64. See Chapter 6.

65. Lord Charles Somerset was in England on long leave and Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, 1772-1841, acted for him. His task included the reception of the settlers. There was some contention between Donkin and Somerset on the latter's return to the colony when it was found that Donkin had altered much of Somerset's intended policy for the colony. D.S.A.B. Vol I p.234.

Jacob Cuyler,⁶⁶ the Landdrost of Uitenhage to reserve the area for families to be settled under the leadership of General Charles Campbell, former commander of forces at New foundland.⁶⁷ In about mid June Cuyler learnt that Reed Fountain was, in fact, being settled by the Sephton party. He ordered their immediate re-location to the Assegai Bush River, some seven miles distant.

The first group of Sephton settlers actually arrived at Reed Fountain on June 11th and Shaw took immediate possession of an old farmhouse as a place of worhsip. The settlers began at once to establish themselves with some permanence but were hampered by severe rains which fell. Shaw and his family were offered hospitality and shelter from the rains by John Ullbricht, a missionary from the London Missionary Society station at Theopolis.⁶⁸ This hospitality was gratefully accepted although Shaw was not particularly impressed

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66. Cuyler, Colonel Jacob Glen, 1775-1854. Soldier, farmer and government official. In 1806 he became commandant of Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay. Later he became Landdrost of Uitenhage, at the time a border district which stretched right up to the Fish River. As such he became closely associated with the maintenance of public order in a large part of the colony and was known to be a particularly good and zealous official. He supervised the reception of the settlers at Algoa Bay in 1820 and their conveyance to their farm. D.S.A.B. Vol I p.195.
67. Campbell, Major General Charles, 1772-1822, former commander of forces at Newfoundland. He organised a party of settlers from Scotland and sailed with a portion of them in 1821. He died in an accident and was buried in Grahamstown in 1822. His settler party came out in two sections. By 1825 most of the party had dispersed. Morse Jones, British Settlers, pp.8 and 97.
68. Ullbricht, John, came to the colony in 1805 and worked at Bethelsdorp until 1814 when he moved to Theopolis which was founded in that year. He died in 1821, Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, p.190 n.24.

with the work done at Theopolis.⁶⁹

On the 10th July the order came through for the Sephton party to be re-located to the banks of the Assegai Bush River. It was an unpopular order amongst the settlers who had already erected temporary huts dug over land and planted seeds. What won most of them round **in the end was** that it was a better location. They arrived on the 18th July and were soon joined by the remainder of the party who had come straight from Algoa Bay. Shaw's initial concern was to establish an organised Methodist Society in the new place. Class tickets⁷⁰ were renewed, classes formed⁷¹ and class leaders appointed. A regular pattern of worship was begun with regular Sunday services as well as prayer meetings during the week. As at Reed Fountain Shaw commandeered an old farmhouse as a temporary chapel. A Sunday-school was established which was the first in the eastern Cape and which was organised along the lines of English Sunday-schools. A meeting of class leaders was held and all was set fair for the smooth running of the religious aspects of the new settlement. On the 15th July, at Shaw's suggestion, the settlement

69. Shaw was not alone in his dissatisfaction with Theopolis. Another settler, Thomas Philipps complained of the "filth and indolence of the School .." Ullbricht's belief was that he should only look after their spiritual needs. "... 700 were around him (Ullbricht) almost in a state of nature, eating only when they could kill game, filling not even a Garden. Instead of the School of Industry it was looked up to as a refuge from labour with the Boors. But improvement must commence, the missionaries are found out and detected." A Keppel-Jones Philipps, 1820 Settler. (Pietermaritzburg 1960) p.172.

70. Class tickets were a sign of membership in good standing of the Methodist Society. They were issued quarterly by the class leader or minister and in the case of backsliders could be withheld. In issuing these tickets Shaw detected a number of such backsliders and preached a sermon on the "Backsliders in heart shall be filled with his own ways". Hammond Tooke(ed) Journal of William Shaw, 8th July 1820 p.38.

71. Classes were the division of local societies into groups of twelve or more, each class having a leader who received the contributions of members and who acted as a sort of sub-minister. Townsend, Workman and Eayers A New History of Methodism (London 1909) Vol I p.289.

was named Salem⁷² and his prayer was that "... great 'peace' in the 'prince of peace' be found among us".⁷³ All was ready for his work to begin in earnest.

As soon as he himself was established at Salem and as soon as there was some semblance of religious organisation at Salem, Shaw was able to turn his attention beyond the initial settlement. He began to move away from Salem and spent a part of each week in visiting as many areas where settlers were located as possible. His purpose in these early visits was to make some sort of survey of the religious affiliations of the settlers and their state of religion.⁷⁴ Obviously Shaw came across many who were not Wesleyan and in order to cater to the needs of as many of these people who were without clergy of their own,⁷⁵ he became a sort of pastor to all men. He was able to minister especially to members of the Church of England by reading the Prayer Book liturgy regularly each Sunday, although the version he used, was one especially abridged by Wesley himself.⁷⁶ Shaw was careful to avoid religious controversy in his dealings with those of other denominations and this tact and consideration which he displayed, coupled with his care and concern for all the settlers, obviously went a long way towards his acceptance by the settlers as the "settler minister".

72. The name Šālēm (Gk. Salem) means "safe; "at peace". J.D. Douglas(ed) The New Bible Dictionary (London) 1962.

73. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw 15th July 1820 p.38.

74. Shaw, S.M.M. p.190.

75. Willson's party brought with them the Revd. William Boardman who was not prepared to travel about and who concerned himself solely with his own party and with the care of members of the church of England in Grahamstown. He died in 1825. Morse Jones, British Settlers, p.92.

76. Shaw, S.M.M. p.89.

Shaw's work away from Salem began at Grahamstown which had been founded in 1812 as a military post, and he was quick to realize that unless some Christian evangelisation was performed there, the great majority of the inhabitants would remain almost entirely without any religious instruction.⁷⁷ The population at the time consisted of both civilians and military personnel. There was a place of public worship and Shaw saw the need for regular religious activity there. Accordingly he put the town on his Circuit Plan so that it could be visited as frequently as possible.⁷⁸

Travelling about the district was fraught with difficulty as there was no map of the area and, with the exception of the main road by which the settlers had come from Algoa Bay, there were no subsidiary roads to the actual settlers locations. On his early journeys Shaw frequently lost his way and had to walk considerable distances, often having to wade through streams which criss-crossed his path. He often stayed overnight at the settler camps and would sleep on the ground in the tents of the settlers, or later, as things progressed, in the small rough huts which they erected.

One of the great difficulties was getting used to the weather conditions. The great heat effected him⁷⁹ and made his progress slower. His use of Dutch and other local names was unintentionally funny. He recorded that in September 1820 he passed through the "Kowie Clough", meaning of course, the Kowie Kloof! He found it to be a "most romantic place".⁸⁰ He was obviously an observant man and although his observations on the country-side through which he passed would not satisfy the botanist or zoologist, they do give some indication of his interest in the new world in which he was now living.

77. Ibid, p.95.

78. Ibid. p.100.

79. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, 18th Sept. 1820, p.39.

80. Hammond Tooke, Journal of William Shaw, 25th Sept. 1820 p.39.

In some of the locations which he visited, Shaw was pleased to find several settlers from other parties who had been Methodists in England and who were anxious to renew their associations. Amongst these he found some local preachers who assisted him in the provision of more regular opportunities for worship. In the early days worship was conducted under the trees, weather permitting, but later on buildings were erected which could serve as meeting houses and rough places of worship.

At Salem itself the first Quarterly Meeting of the Methodist Society was held at the end of September 1820 and the local preachers he had encountered were officially accepted and inducted.⁸¹ In order to give greater solidity to the work of the Methodists in the Settlement, Shaw called together a general meeting of them all, to be held at Salem and one of the purposes of this meeting was that all the Methodists should, by coming together, get to know one another and by so doing create some unity of action amongst them.⁸²

The first years of the settlement were not easy and the early agricultural efforts of the settlers were by no means successful. The wheat crops proved to be a failure due to a fatal blight which hit them. It appears to have been the wheat which was badly hit; other kinds of grain were more successful and the settlers planted and grew rye, barley and oats and from these crops they managed to overcome the lack of wheat.⁸³ Due to barter and sometimes to purchase, the settlers were able to obtain a supply of cattle from the Dutch colonists and so were not without milk and meat and were able to eke out some sort of existence. After almost

81. Amongst these was William Pike of the Nottingham party, and John Ayliff who was to play an important role in early South African Methodism - Shaw SMM p.92 and Morse Jones British Settlers, p.85.

82. Shaw SMM, p.96.

83. Shaw SMM, p.52.

two years in the colony the government ceased the supply of rations to the settlers with the result that many of them abandoned their lands and moved to the small towns of Bathurst and Grahamstown. Grahamstown had become the ~~capital~~ ^{main town} of ~~the~~ ^{the} eastern districts. This early spate of urbanisation must have created problems which Shaw, as the settler minister, had to face. The undoubted disillusionment on the part of many of the settlers and the difficulties of settling into the small towns and of attempting to eke out a living there must have taxed Shaw's resourcefulness.

In October 1823 a particularly violent storm caused considerable damage to settler interests and the government, together with various private persons, provided relief. Shaw was much involved in the distribution of relief - a work which he found involved much time as well as great delicacy and tact.⁸⁴

While engaged in the day to day pastoral work amongst the settlers at Salem - conducting services, catechising, visiting, counselling, marrying and burying Shaw thought constantly in terms of wider missionary work, and although he regarded his work amongst the settlers as of vital importance his mind often strayed to the stipulation he made before coming to Southern Africa: that in addition to being a minister to a settler party, he was to be a missionary to the heathen. Towards the end of 1820 he wrote to the committee in London, "I hope the Committee will never forget that with the exception of Latakoo,⁸⁵ which is far in the interior, there is not a single missionary station between the place of my residence and the Northern extremity of the Red Sea; nor any people professedly Christian with the exception of those in Abyssinia. Here then is a wide field - the whole eastern coast of the Continent of Africa!"⁸⁶ Even as early as 1820

84. Ibid, pp.55-6.

85. Latakoo is in the Kuruman area of the Northern Cape.

86. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, 1821-1822, p.23.

Shaw was, therefore, preparing both himself and the missionary committee for the fact that he would, at some stage, move beyond the frontiers of the colony in order to work amongst the heathen.

Following his visit, while in Cape Town, to Colonel Bird, the Colonial Secretary,⁸⁷ in order to enquire about the government stipend which would be given him in terms of the agreement which allowed parties of over a hundred to bring with them a minister of religion, Shaw had addressed a memorial to the Governor requesting some definite information on the subject.⁸⁸ On the 9th October 1820 he received from the magistrate's office at Bathurst a reply to that memorial. It informed him that the Governor had fixed the salary which would be paid to him at 1 000 Rix dollars per annum and this would be retrospective from the date of disembarkation at the Cape. In response to another request in the memorial the government regretted that the inadequacies of revenue prevented the colonial government from undertaking the expense of building a chapel for the use the Methodists in the settlement.⁸⁹

The rest of the year continued in as energetic and busy a manner as it had begun. Christmas was celebrated at Salem with a prayer meeting at 5 o'clock in the morning and a full service of worship at 10 o'clock. Later in the day Shaw rode to Grahamstown where he preached twice - to about twenty whites and to about the same number of Khoi. He preached to the Khoi in Dutch which he had begun to study on the voyage from England. Whether this was the first time he had preached in the language is not certain but it appears to be the first mention of it⁹⁰ and indicates that he wasted no time at all in attempting to master at least one of the new languages

87. See above, n.57.

88. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, 19th Oct. 1820, p.40.

89. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, 19th Oct. 1820, p.40.

90. Ibid, Christmas Day 1820, p.42.

which he encountered.

By the end of 1820 Shaw had already established much. His patterns and areas of work were set up, he was well known in the settlement and he was ministering already to every social group in the colony. As a young man of only twenty-two Shaw had become "apostle, prophet, evangelist, pastor and teacher..."⁹¹ The new year began with a meeting held on the 2nd January at Salem to form a society for the promotion of Sunday Schools throughout the whole district of Albany. By this time three had already been established and between them they contained 136 scholars including six Dutch and ten Khoi children⁹² and this is an important indication that from earliest days, colour and race did not enter the question of religious instruction. Shaw established himself and Methodism as agents of the Gospel to all men. This ability to minister across the colour bar to all races was to be an important hallmark of Wesleyan work in Southern Africa and it distinguished them from the London Missionary Society which worked almost exclusively with blacks.

The early interaction between between Shaw and personnel of the L.M.S. continued.⁹³ In early January Mr. Barker from Bethelsdorp preached at Salem what Shaw called "a sensible and useful sermon".⁹⁴ Shaw was also solicitous of Mr. Ullbricht, the L.M.S. missionary from Theopolis, who was in failing health. Ullbricht died on the 11th January and on the 12th he rode to Theopolis to see Mrs Ullbricht and offer his condolences.⁹⁵

91. L.A. Hewson, An Introduction to South African Methodists (Cape Town 1950) p.6.

92. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, 2nd Jan. 1821, p.44.

93. See above, p.88.

94. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, 3rd Jan. 1821, p.44.

95. Ibid, 12th Jan. 1821, p.45.

Shaw's own activities were, if anything, increasing and on his weekly journies to various parts of the settlement he rode upwards of a hundred and thirty miles. During these journies he preached, on average, about eight times and all was in addition to his work at Salem itself. As the work grew in magnitude a new ambition emerged: to visit the colonial frontier where there were about a thousand British soldiers without a chaplain. At Salem he acquired a reputation as a community leader as well as a religious leader. At the end of January he went to Grahamstown to deliver a memorial which he had drawn up on behalf of the Sephton party concerning the continuance of rations supplied by the colonial government. Due to the failure of the wheat crop and the unsuitability of the Albany area as an agricultural district, Donkin continued issuing rations to the settlers throughout 1821 despite Lord Bathurst's stern injunction that the settlers should become economically viable from as early a date as possible.⁹⁶ As a settler the crop failure concerned Shaw too and he was anxious that the government show its concern for settler welfare by the continuance of rations. He took it upon himself to make a public request on behalf of his own settler party. Further proof of his dual role as community leader is given in the Journal when he describes the giving away of articles of clothing. Friends in London sent articles of clothing for use by needy settlers but it was felt by some that they should go to members of the Methodist Society only. Shaw, on the other hand had the interests of the wider community at heart and distributed the articles to people in need whether members of the Society or not.⁹⁷

His role as a leader in the party was also enhanced by serious rifts regarding the leadership of Hezekiah Sephton. Much earlier, while still at Reed Fountain, Sephton had

96. Edwards, The 1820 Settlers in South Africa p.68.

97. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, 29th Jan. 1821, p.46.

begun to demand payment in cash from party members before handing over rations.⁹⁸ Earlier still, while at Algoa Bay, he had arranged for everything to be charged against the residue of the deposit money.⁹⁹ To pay cash to Sephton was impossible in view of the fact that everyone's money was in Sephton's care and that he was refusing to pay it out. This financial mismanagement caused a body of settlers to march to Bathurst to interview Captain Trappes, the Acting Landdrost. Their request was that Sephton be removed as head of the party, and this was agreed to.¹⁰⁰ James Hancock, a member of the Sephton party,¹⁰¹ confirms that it was the business of money and rations which led to the request for Sephton's removal from the party leadership. It appears that Sephton appropriated the rations and sold them which ~~caused~~^{caused} particular distress amongst those without money: "... some half-starved for many days".¹⁰² Shaw himself alludes to the matter in a letter to the secretaries of the missionary committee in London. He refers to "the general dissatisfaction with the very improper conduct of the person who was appointed leader ... the acting magistrate has removed him from his situation. I am also compelled for the honour of religion to exclude him from our Society".¹⁰³

The fact that Shaw thought it fit to exclude Sephton from the Methodist Society indicates on one hand how serious his conduct was, and on the other how concerned members of the party had become, and also something of the tensions involved.

98. A.E. Makin The 1820 Settlers of Salem, p.29.

99. Ibid.

100. Makin The 1820 Settlers of Salem, p.30.

101. Hancock, James 1775-1837. Began a pottery and brick works at Salem in 1822. In 1824 he began a school and art school in Grahamstown. Morse Jones British Settler p.123.

102. Letter from Hancock in Makin The 1820 Settlers of Salem, p.30.

103. Cory Ms 15,862/1 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 11.8.1820.

Hancock makes it clear in his letter that Sephton had not actually left the party but only that he had been removed from the leadership.¹⁰⁴ Such a dramatic change in the leadership of a party must have had a serious effect on the settlers themselves and undermined their trust in those in authority. It goes some way to explain why Shaw, as a minister of religion, and therefore as a trustworthy person, was allowed the responsibility of drawing up and transmitting a memorial to the governor on a temporal matter and why, at such a young age, he was elevated to a position of community leadership. With his delicacy and tact Shaw must have been able to pour oil on troubled waters and see that the matter was as satisfactorily resolved as possible. Altogether the affair of the Sephton deposition is a shadowy one which has never been properly solved.

From early on in his work in the settlement Shaw requested the missionary committee to send him assistance in the form of another minister. In 1820 he professed his willingness "to ride over hill and dale, through wood and water"¹⁰⁵ to preach the Gospel but he insisted that he needed the assistance of another missionary. Unless this was forthcoming Shaw maintained that all Englishmen in the colony would become heathens. The cry for assistance is to be found in much of Shaw's home correspondence and indicates from the beginning that that he envisaged his work growing and expanding into other areas and places. In February 1821 he requested some assistance in the form of "... a zealous lively soul ... there is plenty of work for more than another missionary district".¹⁰⁶ In the same letter he referred to the future possibility of work in the Caffrarian area where he had heard that the tribes were presently peaceable.

104. Makin The 1820 Settlers of Salem, p.30.

105. Cory Ms 15,862/1 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries, 11.8.1820.

106. Cory Ms 15,862/1 (mic) Shaw to the Treasurers and Committee. 16.2.1821.

In early 1821 an association began between Shaw and Henry Somerset the son of Lord Charles Somerset.¹⁰⁷ This association grew into one between Somerset and the Wesleyans in general. In 1839, in a letter from Shaw to Dr. Philip, which formed part of their controversy, Shaw wrote that "... the Wesleyan missionaries have eulogised Colonel Somerset ... for they have no reason to be ashamed of any public act of theirs towards that officer".¹⁰⁸ In July 1832 Shaw wrote to the Revd. Richard Watson at the Mission House in London introducing Somerset who was on a visit to England. "Myself and the brethren will feel obliged by any attention you may pay", wrote Shaw, "for several years he has shewn myself and our brethren generally the greatest kindness and has forwarded our views especially with reference to the Caffre missions".¹⁰⁹ Somerset became a regular contributor of two guineas a year to Wesleyan Missionary meetings in Grahamstown.¹¹⁰ On the occasion of this first visit Somerset, then a Captain and Deputy Landdrost at Grahamstown, came expressly to view the work done on the settlement and, according to Shaw, approved of what he saw.¹¹¹ Shaw himself was particularly pleased that Somerset offered to use his influence in order to preserve a plot of land in Grahamstown on which to build a chapel. The day following the visit Shaw went to Grahamstown where a piece of plate was presented to Somerset as an expression of gratitude on the part of the settlers for his interest in them while Deputy Landdrost. With the piece of plate went an address signed by twenty-four

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107. Somerset, Henry, 1794-1862. Soldier and administrator. He came to the Cape in 1818 and first went to the frontier in 1819. He became deputy landdrost in 1820 and was stationed at Grahamstown. This appointment was not confirmed by Donkin and he became commandant of Simonstown until 1823. He then returned to Grahamstown in command of the augmented Cape Corps. He remained on the frontier until 1852. In 1825 he was appointed commandant of Kaffararia. D.S.A.B. Vol II, pp.691 ff.
108. Shaw A Defence of the Wesleyan missionaries in Southern Africa (London 1839) Shaw to Philip, II.1.1839 p.22.
109. Cory Ms 15,862/4 (mic) Shaw to Philip to the Revd. Richard Watson 25.7.1832.
110. J. Roxborough Colonial Policy on the Northern Eastern frontiers of the Cape of Good Hope 1834-45 (with special Reference to the missionary contribution (unpublished thesis, Univ of Oxford) p.22,23.
111. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw 14th Feb. 1821, p.47.

prominent men of the settlement, including Shaw who had "... a real feeling of respect for Capt.S".¹¹² Somerset visited the settlement again between the 27th February and the 2nd March in order to mark out boundaries and supervise the division of land. Shaw spent the whole of ^{1st} March ~~1st~~ riding around the settlement in Somerset's party.

Shaw had been conscious of the need for permanent places of worship from the time of his arrival in the colony. As the home of the Sephton party, Salem obviously required a chapel and as the work in Grahamstown grew there was need for a chapel there also. The question of the necessary funds as well as of the land for these buildings was the first problem to be tackled. The colonial authorities made it clear that they were unable to assist although Shaw had approached them on more than one occasion: he made an official request in a memorial to the government¹¹³ and he approached Colonel Willshire, the commandant of the frontier¹¹⁴ who was unable to help. In Salem land was probably more easy to obtain than it was in Grahamstown. At a meeting in July 1821 it was decided definitely that work should begin on a permanent chapel. The settlers planned to build it themselves and work began on the 1st January 1822 and was completed in November. The chapel was opened for public worship on the 31st December. The size of the Salem chapel was 50 feet by 24 feet and it was thatched, plastered and whitewashed. At one end of the building there was a schoolroom which was partitioned off from the church and which was furnished in the proper manner for a schoolroom. Through the good offices of the Landdrost, Mr. Rivers, a schoolmaster was appointed; he was W.H. Matthews, a settler of the Sephton party, who

112. Ibid, 15th Feb. 1821, p.48.

113. See above, p. 96.

114. Willshire, Colonel Sir Thomas, 1789-1862. Commandant of the frontier from 1819-1823.

went on to a distinguished career in the district. As schoolmaster at Salem it was arranged that he should have an official salary from the colonial government.

In October 1821 Shaw was successful in purchasing suitable land for the erection of a chapel and other church premises in Grahamstown. The land extended south from High Street to the stream of the Kowie River.¹¹⁵ The foundation stone was laid by Shaw on the 5th December and the chapel was dedicated on November 10th 1822, almost a year later. Shaw described this building as "neat and substantial".¹¹⁶ It was built of stone and was 40 feet by 25 feet and had a flat roof. The inside was furnished in the manner of an English chapel. The local Society had to borrow about £120 to pay for it and the missionary Barnabas Shaw, in Cape Town, assisted in raising some of the money in the Western Cape. Shaw calculated that on completion the building was worth about £3000 and he also calculated that income from the seats would be upwards of £20. This came from the custom of renting pews out to families and individuals on an annual basis. One feature of the opening services in the chapel was the presence of a number of Khoi and Shaw noted that "for my own part I cannot describe what I felt while sitting in the pulpit and beholding before me Europeans and Africans in a mixed group formerly so rare a sight in this colony ..."¹¹⁷ The completion of the chapels at Salem and Grahamstown gave Shaw's whole ministry in the Albany area a far more settled nature and as the work became more established he began to give more attention to the possibility of work across the frontier. It was around this time that Shaw first began to make mention of a chain of mission stations which he envisaged

115. L.A. Hewson They Seek a City: Methodism in Grahamstown (Grahamstown 1981) p.15.

116. Shaw SMM, p.119.

117. Ibid. This is an early usage of the word African The Dictionary of South African English (ed J. Branford, 1978) p.2 implies that it refers to blacks and not coloureds but it is just possible that Shaw meant Khoi in this instance.

and with which he was to become so much involved. "I know not why we should not form a chain of mission stations among the numerous heathen nations who inhabit the eastern coast of this continent..."¹¹⁸ In order to do this he was fully conscious of the need to build up a first rate religious organisation within the colony itself. This would be the backbone of any solid missionary endeavour. The need for such a good organisation within the colony was in order to supply unfaltering support, both morally and financially, to those working amongst the heathen. Shaw's own work and example contributed much to the establishment of just such a solid base for missionary work.

He continued to travel about the settlement and, on average, was at home only six days out of fourteen. As early as October 1821 he complained to the committee in London that his engagements were so multifarious that he was worn out.¹¹⁹ The position of leadership amongst the settlers in which he found himself was far from easy. Shaw found two sides to almost every person and they were both sides which he had to care for. There was the spiritual side for which he had to supply the benefits of the Gospel, and there was the temporal side for which he had to supply comfort and advice. The two were not mutually exclusive but to care for everyone in such ways was far from easy. The settlers had still not found their feet and the successive crop failures hit them hard. Shaw was dealing with what he himself referred to as an infant society¹²⁰ and it required much strength and fortitude to help meet its needs. On a general day to day basis there was advice to give, disputes to settle and leadership to be exercised on a general basis. For a man as young as Shaw these demands must have taxed not only his strength and patience but his

118. Cory Ms 15,862/1 (mic) Shaw to the Committee, 21.5.1821.

119. W.M.M. 1821-1822, p.244.

120. Shaw, S.M.M. p.122.

ingenuity as well. In an overall analysis Shaw gives every impression of having been a perfectionist; he wanted to do the best for everyone and for everything with which he was engaged. The demands made on him required that perfection on a large scale.

In order to build up the Albany work and to provide a solid basis for work beyond the frontier Shaw became increasingly anxious to obtain ministerial assistance. He was pleased by the fact the missionary committee in London decided to send him an assistant in the person of the Revd. Stephen Kay. Kay had been stationed in Cape Town but just before his transference to Albany he was sent instead to the Bechuanaland district.¹²¹ In May 1822 the committee sent the Revd. William Threlfall to Albany. Shaw refers to Threlfall as "a young man of deep piety and ardent missionary zeal".¹²² Hewson calls him a Romantic who, in the early church would have rushed upon his martyrdom exultant like Ignatius.¹²³ Threlfall did not spend long in Albany but while there worked from Salem with Shaw. Kay became rather disillusioned with the work in Bechuanaland and eventually came to Albany as originally intended. He was based in Grahamstown. Three ministers enabled the work of evangelisation to proceed with unprecedented vigour. Early in 1822 Shaw was able to report to London that the society had never been in so good a state.¹²⁴ He was able to do this despite the fact that for a time he had been a little disillusioned with events. There had been few conversions and internal strife within the society. Members quarrelled and Shaw found that they were "... giving place to other improprieties..."¹²⁵ although he fails to specify what these were.

121. Ibid, pp.115-116.

122. Ibid, p.116.

123. Hewson Introduction to South African Methodists pp.10-11.

124. Cory Ms 15862/1 (mic) Shaw to the Committee 3.2.1822.

125. Ibid.

As things consolidated, especially with the increased assistance, the prospect of work across the frontier appeared to become more of a reality. Even at the beginning of 1822 he regretted that he had not yet been on a visit across the frontier and he analysed his reasons for not having done so.¹²⁶ It was not fear which prevented him: as a Christian missionary he was able to state that he did not hold his life at all dear to him. He felt the missionary stood in no fear at all of cruelty from the Xhosa. "They are all deeply impressed with veneration for the missionary character and all too anxiously desire (I will not say from what motives) the residence of missionaries among them".¹²⁷ Just prior to this there had had been a slight altercation between colonists and Xhosa which had alarmed some of the colonists. Cattle had been stolen by Xhosa and an English boy who was herding the cattle was murdered. This altercation was responsible for the cancellation of a fair which was to have been held at Tyhume¹²⁸ for the purposes of trade. The affair of the robbery and murder soon blew over. It transpired that it all occurred without the knowledge of the chiefs, and as proof Ngqika sent one of those involved to the colony for punishment. Shaw wrote, "He is now safely lodged in the tronk at Grahamstown."¹²⁹ Shaw was quite happy to have gone amongst them and considered that it would have been quite safe for him as a missionary, but from a political point he felt it would have been an indiscreet step at that stage of events.¹³⁰

Shaw's growing impatience to move across the frontier was not allowed to get in the way of his concern for the

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. Tyhume was the site of a mission station founded in 1820 by the Revd. J. Brownlee and situated on the Gwali River about ten miles north of Alice.

129. Cory Ms 15,862/1(mic) Shaw to the Committee 3.1.1822. This is an early usage of the word tronk in English. Dr. Jean Branford in A Dictionary of South Africa English (Cape Town 1980) cites 1732 as the first usage of the word. - p.351.

130. Cory Ms 15,862/1 (mic) Shaw to the Committee 3.1.1822.

white settlers. He wrote, "it is a great charity to take the Gospel to our imigrant population in the colonies in their early struggles. How many professed Christians and their children are thereby saved from degenerating into Heathenism."¹³¹ This concern with the white settlers was the cause of a disagreement with William Threlfall who was even more anxious than Shaw to begin work across the frontier. Threlfall moved from Albany to take up mission work at Delagoa Bay and the Revd. Samual Young was sent from England to take his place at Salem. Before Threlfall's departure he accompanied Stephen Kay and Shaw on a visit beyond the frontier in August 1823 in order to assess the possibilities for the establishment of a mission station amongst the Xhosa.¹³²

This visit out of the colony heralded the end of the first phase of Shaw's southern African ministry. He had established a solid organisation within the colony which catered to the religious needs not only of the Methodists - though that was the primary intention, but of many of the settlers of whatever denomination. It also ministered across racial barriers and language divisions. The stability of the exercise was partly shown by the fact that two permanent chapels had been erected - at Salem and Grahamstown and the Grahamstown chapel had already been enlarged.¹³³ Shaw himself had become a respected leader in the community both in the religious and temporal spheres. He had become the settler's minister but in terms of his initial stipulation that he was to be missionary as well, it was time to move on.

131. Shaw, S.M.M. p.125.

132. For full journal details of this trip, see WMN 1823-1825, pp.33-9.

133. A gallery and an extended nave had been added in the second half of 1823. - Shaw SMM, p.127.

Chapter 4

WORK BEYOND THE FRONTIER

Sometime during the first part of 1823, Shaw petitioned the Governor for permission to begin a mission amongst the Xhosa across the colonial frontier. Permission was granted for such an attempt¹ but certain conditions were set down which specified that the missionary - in this case Shaw - must return across the frontier to the colony whenever called upon to do so, and that he should be in constant touch with the Revd. W.R. Thomson², the government agent in Caffraria. Thomson was to be informed of all Shaw's moves and changes in thought regarding the mission.

Shaw agreed to these conditions³ and set to work amongst the people of Phato.⁴ The choice of situation for his first endeavour was in response to a request from the Governor who wanted some attention paid to that part of the country which could not be done either by the colonial authorities or by the government agent at Tyumie.⁵ With the formal establishment of the mission to the Xhosa chief and his people in mind, Shaw visited the area, which was situated roughly half - way between the Great Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers, from late July to early August 1823. When he arrived at the Kraal of Phato a large assembly of prominent tribesmen turned out to hear and see him. Shaw requested land from Phato on which to establish the mission and this was granted. Shaw returned to the colony in order to make the necessary arrangement for his removal beyond the frontier.

It is interesting to consider exactly why the Xhosa chiefs were prepared to welcome Christian missionaries into their

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1. Theal, R.C.C. Vol xxi pp.52-53, Bird to Shaw 6.6.1823.
 2. Thomson, the Revd. W.R. 1794-1891, Missionary of the Glasgow Society, government agent and later, minister of the N.G. kerk.
 3. Theal, R.C.C. Vol xvi Bird to Thomson 18.7.1823 p.133
 4. Phato, c.1797-1859. The great son of Chungwa or Congo and the brother of Koho and Kama. Initially he, was friendly to the colony but due to the settlement of Mfengu on his land at Peddie he opposed the colony in the War of the Axe, 1846-7 but was loyal again in the War of Mlanjeni 1850-1853. Peries, History of the Xhosa p.251.
 5. Theal R.C.C. Vol xvi. Bird to Thomson 19.7.1823. p.133.

country. Peires contends that the chiefs agreed to receive them for a number of reasons, all of which were secular: political prestige, the provision of a regular channel of communication with the colony and the fear of the consequences of a possible refusal.⁶ The missionaries were often suspected of being spies or of being harbingers of a plot to destroy the Xhosa by drought and disease. The mission stations were often seen as invasions of the sovereignty of the chiefs even though the land was often readily given.⁷ Peires is correct in stating that the motives for the reception of the chiefs was largely secular. The conversion rate amongst the Xhosa proves that there was no great desire, either, amongst this ~~the~~ people to convert to Christianity. Most of those attracted to Christianity (with some notable exceptions such as the brother of Phato) had grown uneasy in Xhosa society or were refugees from justice.⁸ Invariably when the missionaries were popular it was because they performed secular services for the chiefs. It is unlikely that the missionaries themselves realized these things and a strong strain of naivety can be detected amongst them. Certainly Shaw was not aware of these possibilities. Rather he was so fired with his faith and with his determination to win souls that he was a little blind to the motives of Phato and the people with whom he worked across the frontier. Shaw did perform numerous secular favours for the ama Gqunukhweke, Phato's people, but it is doubtful if he realized that this was largely the reason for his comparative popularity.

The Shaws left for the interior on the 13th November 1823. They were accompanied by William Shepstone and his family. Shepstone was a a mason by profession and came to the

6. Peires History of the Xhosa, p.146.

7. Ibid, p.147.

8. Ibid.

colony with the settlers in 1820. He worked at Bathurst and at the L.M.S. mission at Theopolis he was engaged by Shaw to be builder and general assistant.⁹ They arrived at Tyhumie on the 20th November where they remained for ten days. On account of cattle recently stolen from the colony a commando had recently been sent to Phato's Kraal and Shaw thought it would be expedient to send a message ahead to enquire whether he would still be welcome. The answer came back in the affirmative and Phato sent seven men to assist them to his Kraal. They arrived at the site of the new mission on the 5th December. Its exact location was on the Tweca River, sixteen kilometers from the coast in the present East London district. Shaw named the place Wesleyville. Despite the goodwill with which Shaw approached his new work he made some interesting comments to the missionary committee in London about the people amongst whom he would now be working. He called them "barbarous people" and said that the Xhosa were "notorious for thieving".¹⁰ His use of the term "barbarous" stems, of course, from the fact that the Xhosa were uncivilised in the western understanding of the concept. They were not Christian and, therefore, to the missionary who equated Christianity and western civilisation, the absence of the former meant the absence of the latter and the adjective barbarous was automatically applied. The Xhosa had acquired a reputation for theft in the colony and Shaw was, in this regard, merely falling into line with current settler opinion despite a lack of first hand experience.

The welcome at Phato's Kraal was a friendly one. The chief and his brothers Khama and Congo received the missionary party on its arrival and at a meeting held the following day Shaw was designated their father¹¹.

9. Shepstone was ordained in 1829 and became an active and worthwhile missionary in his own right. He died in 1873.

10. Cory Ms 15,862/2 (mic) Shaw to the Committee 26.12.1823.

11. Shaw, SMM, p.358.

The arrival at Wesleyville was the fulfilment not only of a dream for Shaw, but also of concrete missionary strategy, for, while the first priority was always to the white settlers, the idea had never been lost sight of that there would eventually be the formation of work across the frontier. The Methodist societies in the colony were established for the furtherance of the Gospel amongst the settlers and others but also to be supportive powerhouses for the new work. Shaw's departure from the colony meant a new direction for Wesleyan missionary policy.¹² The idea of a chain of stations in the interior was now beginning to take shape and Wesleyville was only the start - "This station will be the Key to Kaffirland..."¹³ In spite of the motives often attributed to the missionaries by the Xhosa themselves and in spite too of the motives attributed by the Majeke school, the basic tenet which lay behind the Wesleyan drive to move across the frontier had nothing at all to do with any political motives of the colonial authorities, although a white presence at Phato's Kraal was agreeable to them. It stemmed instead from the very real belief that there was a duty to evangelise the tribes beyond the frontier. When Shaw gave evidence before the Select Committee on Aborigines he stated quite categorically that "the only possible means of civilising rude and barbarous people is through the influence of Christianity..."¹⁴

From the outset Wesleyan Missionary policy can be viewed as bold and definite. The move into Kaffraria had been planned for some time and was, therefore, a premeditated move. In acceding to the limitations imposed on him by the Governor, Shaw manifested what is perhaps the very essence of

12. A branch Missionary Society had already been formed in Albany: see WMM 1821.1822 p.370.

13. Shaw, SMM p.315.

14. P.P. VII, 538, 1836, p.124.

Wesleyan Missionary policy: to uphold the views, wishes and authority of the government, but at the same time to exercise a certain freedom within that framework. As frontier missionaries they were, of necessity, involved in all the problems inherent in a frontier situation. To carry out the task of evangelisation satisfactorily and to achieve the necessary results meant that peace should prevail on the frontier; an atmosphere of peace was vital to the maintenance of the mission stations and to easy access for the missionaries to the various groups and Kraals. Hostility forced the closing of mission stations and a denial of freedom of movement. It meant also that each white person across the frontier was in a position of great personal danger.

The declared Wesleyan policy of working amongst black and white involved a great deal of tension and meant that a dual position had to be maintained. The Wesleyan missionaries were the wearers of two hats and had to share and promote the views and beliefs of two distinct cultural groups which were often contradictory. In order to negotiate the hazards engendered by this dual position, the height of tact and understanding was necessary. Not all missionaries were temperamentally suited to this. Certainly Dr. John Philip, as a representative of a non-Wesleyan organisation, was unable to maintain a good balance between black and white. Shaw, on the other hand, had already proved from his work in the colony that he was capable of this. He possessed the necessary tact and understanding and, as a result, is viewed as an exponent of Wesleyan missionary strategy.

From the beginning the mission at Wesleyville enjoyed a certain success. The two families of Shaw and Shepstone established themselves near the principal residences - those of the chief Phato and his two brothers Khama and Congo. Once they had established themselves they began to build a series of permanent structures so as to establish visibly a white, "civilised" presence in the area.¹⁵ The Shaw and

15. Shaw SMM, pp.358 ff.

Shepstone families were housed in a simple four-roomed house. Later each family had its own house and these formed the nucleus around which the mission took shape. Once the missionaries themselves were established, attention was turned to altering the living conditions of the Xhosa. The traditional huts of the Kraal gave way to neat rows of white washed houses.¹⁶ There is no doubt that this somewhat arbitrary alteration of local living conditions did change the standard of living. The work on these buildings was undertaken by the two missionaries themselves assisted by men from the area who were paid wages for their labour. These wages were not paid in recognized currency but rather in beads, buttons, brass wire, cotton handkerchiefs and pieces of iron.¹⁷

Shaw began preaching without delay and in so doing was exercising what he referred to as his "great commission as a preacher"¹⁸ - his most important work and the reason why he was there. The erection of western style dwellings and the introduction of the Xhosa to so-called civilised forms of living were secondary to preaching and evangelising which were the primary means of converting. His manner was simple: he would watch for favourable opportunities and assemble a group of people on the grass while he preached.¹⁹ At first the listeners were not very patient but slowly - no doubt due to increased ease and familiarity - they grew more tolerant and even began to join Shaw in brief acts of worship.²⁰ Whether or not the listeners actually realized what they were doing by joining in these acts of worship is another matter but there were questions asked and the answers to the questions also served to familiarise themselves with the strange new things which were happening

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16. B.E. Seton, Wesleyan Mission and the Sixth Frontier War, 1834-1835 (Unpublished Ph.D thesis U.C.T. 1962) p.36.
 17. Shaw, SMM pp.360 ff These trinkets were used by the Xhosa for the purchase mainly of cattle - SMM p.362.
 18. Shaw, SMM, p.363.
 19. Ibid.
 20. Ibid.

around them. In The Story of My Mission Shaw is not particularly clear on the subject of language used. In the early days of the mission the task of communicating must have been made difficult by the lack of a common language. Obviously there must have been interpreters employed and Shaw makes mention of Xhosa who had acquaintance with the colony²¹ and these people must have had a smattering of English, but generally speaking the question of language must have been a severe stumbling block.

Shaw was quick to assess the Xhosa. In his preliminary trip in August 1823 he was observant and retained many of the impressions he gained. From the outset he was sympathetic towards the Xhosa and much later he was able to record his views: "The Kaffirs are men possessing all the faculties and feelings of humanity. There are of course diversities of mental power amongst them as among all other races of mankind; but they probably possess as much capacity for mental improvement as the people of any other nation"²² This is an important observation in that it indicates that Shaw saw no basic differences between the Xhosa and the white man. Shaw was not conscious of race; he was only conscious of gaps in the level of civilisation present in Xhosa and White man. In his attempts to Christianize and therefore civilize the Xhosa, Shaw worked on the basis that he was dealing with members of the same human family as himself.

Shaw was quick to realize that much of his work should be done amongst the leaders of the new society amongst whom he was working. By his example to them, and by their consequent example to their people, the Christianising task would be carried out. This task took a long time to come to any sort of fruition and the success rate amongst the African people was

21. Ibid, p.361.

22. Shaw, SMM, pp.136-7.

very slow and meagre. This is in marked contrast to the success which was enjoyed by the early Christian missionaries in Europe and England. Donaldson has pointed out that in the Anglo-Saxon world the Christian faith and the church took root and became a vital force and influence in the life of the people and nation in succeeding centuries.²³ This was not so in 19th century Africa. Donaldson attributes this in one sense to the fact that the 7th century missionaries were not part of an imperialist, colonising society.²⁴ She points out that however much we may reject the Majeke thesis, the fact remains that the 19th century missionaries were active in lands occupied and possessed by black people, and by the end of the 19th century all of southern Africa was under white rule. Missionaries were part of that annexing and occupying society and often advocated annexation from the best possible motives at the time - to protect the tribes against the encroaching white colonists. But now it looked like dispossession.²⁵ It is hardly likely that those believing themselves to be dispossessed should wish to accept belief in the strange God of their dispossessors or in the equally strange ways of his new society. So it was that the missionaries attempted in vain to get the Xhosa to accept the new ways. Peires cites the reaction of one old man who warned his neighbours that because of the missionaries the Xhosa would be ruined because "their children would neglect the cattle".²⁶

As early as February 1824 Shaw took Khama and Congo, the brothers of Phato, to Grahamstown. They had a good reception, were entertained at the Mission House and were introduced to

23. M.E. Donaldson Missionaries of the Gospel, 7th and 19th Centuries (Grahamstown Historical Society, 1980) p.62.

24. Donaldson Missionaries of the Gospel p.62.

25. Ibid, Land occupation by white colonists often followed frontier wars which resulted in territorial dispossession of the Xhosa.

26. Peires History of the Xhosa p.145.

the congregation. They were the recipients of gifts, including western style clothing and Congo was given a horse by Captain Somerset. This expedition with two leaders was intended, no doubt, to impress them with the adjuncts of western living and to demonstrate the benefits of civilisation. Shaw obviously hoped that news of the trip would spread around the Kraal on their return and that others would become interested in what the white man had to offer.

It was not long before the colonial authorities, aware of Shaw's presence in the interior used him as an intermediary between themselves and the Xhosa. In January 1824 Shaw was requested by Somerset, in his capacity as commandant of the Cape Corps and a leading frontier official, (he was not yet commandant of the frontier) to convene a meeting between himself and some of the local chiefs, notably, Khama, Congo and Ndlambe, in order to prove to them that the colonial government was sincere in its desire to bring about good relations between itself and the tribes situated along the coast. Shaw at first attempted to be excused this request on the grounds that he had no wish to be involved in political matters.²⁷ When he realized that he would, in fact, be performing a service by convening such a meeting, and that he would be assisting in the promotion of peace, which was so essential to missionary endeavour on the frontier, he agreed.²⁸ It was not an easy task. Ndlambe at first refused and required some considerable coaxing before he agreed. Shaw was quick to realize the influence which he wielded in the situation. When giving evidence before the Aborigines Committee he stated that "without missionary influence it would have been scarcely possible for the colonial authorities to obtain friendly interviews with the border chiefs".²⁹

27. Shaw, SMM, p.367.

28. Ibid.

29. P.P. VII, 538, 1836, p.92.

The gathering of between two and three thousand Xhosa and the colonial detachment of about three or four hundred men from the Cape Corps Cavalry plus some Dutch farmers was a successful one. A point of great importance for the missionary factor in the future, and a point of great importance generally, was that Somerset was asked by the chiefs to request that the government direct all future negotiations through the missionaries and not through Ngqika who had been invested with a paramountcy in 1817 which was not recognized by them. This request underpins Peires's contention that the chiefs received the missionaries in order to have a channel of communication with the government.³⁰ It also showed up the government ignorance in appointing Ngqika to the paramountcy and the esteem in which Shaw was held.

In return for the granting of such a request the chiefs were prepared to send back to the colony both deserters from the Cape Corps as well as stolen cattle. There was an atmosphere of goodwill present at the meeting and in recognition of it, and perhaps because of it, Somerset granted a request whereby the people of Ndlambe were allowed back into part of the neutral territory to graze their cattle. This was subject to good conduct. Shaw, as the convener of the meeting, earned the goodwill of both sides and because of this, the credibility of his missionary work was greatly enhanced. The consequence of the meeting was a period of peace on the frontier which lasted about ten years until the outbreak of war in 1834.

A year later, in February 1825, Shaw was again the convener of a meeting.³¹ Once more it was at the request of Colonel Somerset but this time the intention was that the chiefs should meet the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset. The

30. Peires, History of the Xhosa, p.146.

31. Seton Wesleyan Missions p.40.

venue was Caffre Drift on the Great Fish River. Shaw accompanied Phato, Khama and Congo and the meeting took place on the 17th February and was again succesful in the eyes of all parties. The Govenor was very encouraging of the work being done at Wesleyville and both he and the Colonial Secretary, Sir Richard Plaskett, promised official support.³²

At the end of the meeting Shaw accompanied the Governor and his party and the chiefs to Grahamstown where permission was given to the chiefs to graze cattle between the Keiskamma and the Beka Rivers.³³

In April 1826 there were further dealings between Shaw and the government. A commission was engaged in investigating affairs in the colony and Shaw wrote to the secretary of the commission, J. Gregory, informing him of the unsatisfactory position of Phato's people, the ama-Gqunukhwebe.³⁴ Shaw estimated that Phato's tribe numbered between about 7 000 and 10 000 people and he claimed they had been deprived of their land between the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers in 1819 because of a treaty made with Ngqika. Since that time they had been living on land which actually belonged to Ndlambe's people. Shaw's entreaty was that that the ama Gqunukhwebe be allowed to live nearer the colony. An advantage of this proximity would be the fostering of trade between the colony and the ama Gqunukhwebe. There is no record that the authorities acted on this plea. Cory states that Colonel Somerset expressly disapproved of the attempt.³⁵ Somerset believed that the ama Gqunukhwebe were as involved as any of the other tribes in depredations across the frontier. Cory

32. Seton, Wesleyan Missions p.40.

33. Ibid.

34. P.P. xxxix 50.252 1835 p.177; Also C.O. 291 (Cape Archives) Shaw to Sir Richard Plaskett 6.4.1826.

35. G. Cory, The Rise of South Africa (5 vols, London 1913) Vol II p.344.

claimed that to allow free access to the Fish River area would be to invite danger to the whole of the frontier. Correspondence on the matter was sent to London and Lord Bathurst heeded the advice of Somerset and reproved Shaw for such involvement with the chiefs and warned him against meddling in similar affairs.³⁶ The rebuke must have disappointed Shaw after the success of his two previous exercises when he acted as an intermediary between Xhosa and government.

These instances when Shaw acted on behalf of the Xhosa placed him, in Xhosa eyes, in the role of a potential ambassador to the colonial authorities. Just after his arrival in the territory, the chief Mdushane³⁷ remarked to him, "it is well that you have come; we want peace; and you must be our mouth to give our words to the white chiefs".³⁸ Later, Mdushane asked if the missionaries would assist his people in recovering land in the ceded territory, but on this occasion Shaw was not amenable to the request saying that the missionaries would not become involved and that their task was to preach the Gospel and nothing more. Mdushane then asked that Shaw would transmit his views to the government from time to time. Shaw agreed to this but made it clear that the government would not necessarily grant all or any of his requests.³⁹

The fact that the Wesleyans remained amongst the Xhosa and lived with them in relative accord is proof of the esteem in which they were held'. Shaw was conscious that missionary influence was working for good amongst the Xhosa. In January

36. G. Cory The Rise of South Africa, Vol II pp.343-344.

37. Mdushane, d. 1829, Son of Ndlambe. He led the attack on Grahamstown in 1819. He became virtual ruler of Ndlambe's people in the 1820's during Ndlambe's old age.

38. Shaw, SMM, p.366.

39. Ibid, pp.417-472.

1825 he wrote to J. Gregory, "I do not believe that any individual of the tribe has been engaged in plundering excursions to the colony since the commencement of the mission ... I may ... be allowed to claim for the mission its share in educing this state of things".⁴⁰

Despite these instances of involving himself in the temporal affairs of the Xhosa, Shaw's primary task at all times was, of course, evangelism. Repeating the same pattern he followed in Salem, as soon as he had established himself at Phato's Kraal, and once the preliminary domestic arrangements had been made, he began to visit the surrounding areas and kraals to establish himself as a friend and to invite them to services held at the mission house. This was very important - from the beginning he got to know the Xhosa. He accepted their hospitality and often slept in their huts.⁴¹ At no time did he attempt to create a gulf between himself and those amongst whom he worked - neither in the settlement nor in the mission field. In this way he was able to win both trust and affection and through these qualities he was able to forward his work with a certain amount of ease. At all times Shaw attempted to be a model whom the Xhosa could imitate and he was essentially a model whom they wanted to imitate. He included much of western-style living in his instruction and here can be seen again something of the dual purpose of the missionary - to Christianise meant to westernise; the two became synonymous. The missionaries were keen to give to the Xhosa (and to all amongst whom they were living) something of what they themselves had inherited: hygiene, education, skill in agriculture, knowledge of trade and commerce and the desire to present a decent appearance by wearing decent clothes.

The work of the mission was divided up between the men and women. Shaw and Shepstone were responsible for the preaching

40. P.P. xxxix 50.252 1835 p.189.

41. Shaw SMM, p.387.

and catechising. The women were used for teaching of domestic arts to the women and girls. The men took over the actual schoolmastering and provided simple classes in reading, writing and arithmetic. An adult school was begun in February 1825⁴² and twenty adults assembled each morning to be taught to read. Shaw and Shepstone were responsible for the running of the school until June 1828 when they were joined by Daniel Roberts⁴³ who became schoolmaster⁴⁴ thus taking the responsibility for education from the shoulders of the missionaries. By 1829 there were 106 attending the Wesleyville school.⁴⁵ The school soon acquired a good reputation and Phato himself was keen to see what progress was being made. The colonial government was also interested and sent two English youths to the school as part of their training as government interpreters.⁴⁶ The schools on the mission stations grew in importance and influence and later helped to form a corps of Xhosa evangelists.

In a report submitted to the Revd. W.R. Thomson in March 1826⁴⁷ Shaw noted that in 1825 there were, in all, about 150 people present on the mission and in addition to that number there were others who came and remained for a few months at a time. Congregations for worship tended to fluctuate from 80 to 200 persons. There were three baptisms in 1825 and four candidates for baptism up to March 1826.

42. Wesleyan Methodist Magazines, 1825 p.848.

43. Roberts, Daniel, b 1807. He came to southern Africa in the "Aurora" at the age of thirteen with his father. He was placed in charge of the Farmer-field mission in 1850.

44. Seton, Wesleyan Missions, p.51b. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw 13th June 1828, p.124.

45. Seton, Wesleyan Missions, Appendix III, p.410; also p.51b.

46. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw 13th June 1828 pp.124-5.

47. C.O. 291 (Cape Archives) Shaw to Thomson 28.3.1826.

About thirty acres of ground was under cultivation and a good harvest had just occurred. With obvious pride Shaw noted that the lands which had been properly ploughed were yielding far better than those cultivated in the "native manner". Twelve houses had been erected, and in conclusion Shaw reported that Wesleyville was in a "flourishing state". All this must have been particularly gratifying and a justification for further hard work.

It was in March 1826 that Shaw realized the need for a store at Wesleyville. He wrote to Thomson⁴⁸ that a store would be a stimulus to civilisation and improved habits. The whole idea of a store on the station was linked to the desire to westernise and civilise: local people would be able to buy clothing and other articles of a western nature. Shaw requested that Thomson use some influence with the government in order to get permission to open the store. He saw the need for regulations to govern its existence and was prepared to abide by them. He was willing to choose the storekeeper himself. As long term consequences of the establishment of a store on the station he envisaged the profits from the store being used in the promotion of schools and other "positive improvements among the natives".

Previous to this date the government had attempted to control trade along the frontier chiefly because of the often dishonourable nature of many of the early traders and because of their effect on the local people. Thomson wrote to Shaw in May 1826 informing him that the Lieutenant Governor wished to know more about how the proposed store would come into being and under what conditions it would operate. In answer to this Shaw drafted a plan and submitted it to Thomson.⁴⁹

48. C.O. (Cape Archives) Shaw to Thomson, 28.3.1826.

49. C.O. (Cape Archives) Shaw to Thomson, 23.5.1826.

The storekeeper would be selected by the resident missionary and would operate under his control. Only Xhosa actually resident on the station would be allowed to use the store except perhaps for neighbouring chiefs. Regulations were set out governing the use of barter and the use of currency then in use in the colony. Shaw's major concerns were that the store should pose no threat to the fairs held at Fort Willshire,⁵⁰ and that the respectability of the missions and the missionaries, or their religious usefulness should not be damaged.

The first storekeeper appointed at Wesleyville was Richard Walker, a devout Methodist who had come out with the settlers in 1820.⁵¹ He had been a Shopkeeper in England and by virtue of his devout Methodism, and this secular occupation, was a natural choice for the job. He was appointed in 1827 and became a salaried mission worker.⁵² In the establishment of the store at Wesleyville, Shaw combined degrees of cultural advancement, civilisation and the knowledge of basic tenets of Western Society. Through the store and its functions he hoped that these qualities would be transmitted to the local people. The success of the venture is proved by the returns: July 1827 to the end of 1828 - the sales amounted

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50. Fairs were established at Fort Willshire in 1823 and were the only authorised occasions when trading could take place between colonists and tribesmen. It was only in 1830 that the colonists were allowed licenses to trade across the frontier.
51. Walker came out in the "Stentor". He had a distinguished missionary career and was catechist at the Beka mission in 1828, at Fort Peddie in 1839 and at Somerset in 1843. He later worked at both Haslope Hills and at Farmerfield. He died in 1867 - Morse Jones, British Settlers, p.165.
52. A. Slee Wesleyan Methodism in the Albany District, 1830-1844 (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes, no date) p.122. Slee states that trading stores on mission property were regarded as departments of the mission, and their personnel as mission officials; Walker also had a congregation of his own - about 70 persons - each Sunday. - Seton Wesleyan Missions, p.53n.1

to about £657.⁵³ Seton points out that this commerce was complementary to and not in competition with colonial trade.⁵⁴

Shaw became totally involved in the intricacies of the work at Wesleyville. His letters to England reflect something of his busy and tiring life. "Having so many pressing engagements I find it difficult to keep free from running with long arrears in respect of communication relating to the progress of the mission here".⁵⁵

Generally speaking the pace of advance of Wesleyville was slow. To him this meant a solid rather than a superficial growth. The second group of baptisms were held in June 1826 and by November 1826 the total number of Christians at Wesleyville had increased to fourteen.⁵⁶ It was some time before Shaw had the pleasure of seeing a leader join this number. In 1830, Khama, the brother of Phato was baptised after some years of preparation. Phato opposed this move on the grounds that Khama was departing from tribal traditions and customs. Khama's wife and mother were received into the church the following year.⁵⁷

53. Seton, Wesleyan Missions, p.53.

54. Ibid.

55. Cory Ms 15862/2 (mic) Shaw to the Committee 9.12.1824 Wesleyan missionaries were expected by the missionary committee to keep journals reflecting their activities and to transmit these to London once a quarter.

56. WMM 1827 p.562.

57. Seton, Wesleyan Missions, pp.56-57; also W. Boyce Memoir of the Revd. William Shaw, (London 1874) p.137.

As early as 1821 Shaw foresaw a chain of mission stations stretching along the east coast from the colony to Natal, or even as far as Delagoa Bay.⁵⁸ This chain of stations took a step towards reality when Shaw founded Wesleyville in 1823 and the links were added to during the years he spent at Wesleyville and although he remained the resident missionary at that station he was the driving force behind the establishment of the other stations in the chain. After an exploratory journey made in March 1825 in the company of James Whitworth,⁵⁹ to Ndlambe, Hintsu of the Gcaleka and Vusani of the Thembu, the Revd. Stephen Kay was appointed to head the new mission about to be established. There was a further visit to Ndlambe in June and the site of the new station was chosen. It was to be on the southern bank of the Umkangiso, which led into the Buffalo River. The sea was about thirty miles to the south east. It was to be named Mount Coke, after Dr. Thomas Coke an early founder of Wesleyan missionary work.⁶⁰

The third station was established at Butterworth in 1827 under the Revd. W.J. Shrewsbury,⁶¹ in the territory of the

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58. D. Cragg The Relations of the Amapondo and the Colonial Authorities (1830-1886) with special Reference to the role of the Wesleyan Missionaries (Unpublished D. Phil. Oxford 1959). pp.21-22.
59. Whitworth, James died 9.2.1852. He served in South Africa from 1822 to 1825. His movements are not easy to trace but he appears to have been at Delagoa Bay and was briefly on the eastern Cape Frontier. Berning, Obituary Notices of Methodist Ministers, 1815-1920.
60. See Seton, Wesleyan Missions, pp.61 ff.
61. Shrewsbury, The Revd. William James 1795-1866. Served in South Africa from approximately 1826-1836 at Butterworth and elsewhere. He then returned to England. Berning, Obituary Notices of Methodist Ministers 1815-1920.

chiefs Hintsá.⁶² In May 1829 Morely was founded among the people of the Chief Ndepa, William Shepstone was in charge. In November 1830, William Boyce, who went on to become one of the most prominent men in South African Methodism founded Clarkebury in the country of the Chief Faku near Port Natal. With Clarkebury Shaw's dream was complete - there was a chain of stations existing along the eastern coast.

Shaw's time at Wesleyville was not without many problems, some of which had to do with aspects of Xhosa life and tradition of which the missionaries disapproved. Invariably the primary targets of the missionaries were some of the local peoples' most treasured social institutions. There was always an attack on witchcraft and witchfinding. Peires maintains that these attacks were rather like denying the existence of disease and suggesting the elimination of the medical profession.⁶³ Polygamy looms large amongst the institutions the missionaries wished to destroy. For the missionary there was only one alternative - the immediate adoption of a monogamous state. Shaw was able to see the question in a wider light and in May 1826 he actually asked whether missionaries had to insist on the total abandonment of polygamy for admission to the Methodist Society.⁶⁴ Perhaps Shaw was able to see that polygamy was a basic element of Xhosa life and that bridewealth was "the cement of all social relationships".⁶⁵ In August 1827 he mentioned the subject again⁶⁶ but there was never any

62. Hinstá, c1788-1835. The Xhosa paramount, and was successful in building up the power of the paramountcy. He was an ally of Ndlambe against Ngqika. He was shot while attempting to escape from confinement in the 1834-35 war. Peires History of the Xhosa, p.246.

63. Peires History of the Xhosa, p.145.

64. Cory Ms 15,429, reel 1 (mic) Shaw to the Mission House 8.5.1826.

65. Peires History of the Xhosa, p.146.

66. Cory Ms 15429, reel 1 (mic) Shaw to the Mission House 11.8.1827.

concrete or satisfactory answer to the problem. It can hardly be expected that the missionary committee in London, which had no first hand experience of polygamy, could give an answer to the problem when the missionaries in the field, so much closer to the problem, were without an answer.

The missionaries also faced nudity and dancing both of which they found equally wrong. The Xhosa lacked a concept of sin⁶⁷ and so they found it difficult to understand the objections of the missionaries. The attitude of the missionaries to nudity can perhaps be understood. The average nineteenth century missionary, imbued as he was by the tight morality of his day, must have found the nudity of the people with whom he came to work particularly alarming. It is little wonder that he sought to cover it up at once.

So convinced were the missionaries with the infallibility of the religion they came to preach, they were unaware of the fact that Christianity could not hope to replace entirely the traditional religion of the Xhosa people which was bound up closely with their day to day lives. In many instances the new religion was far too complicated and the Xhosa approach was very simplistic. Peires noted that a favourite remark of Xhosa sceptics was that if God was all powerful and the Devil the author of all sin, then God should simply convert the Devil and save every one trouble.⁶⁸

Even Shaw was unable to see any form of indigenous civilisation amongst the Xhosa. For him it was not a question of replacing one form of civilisation with another, but rather it was the imposition of civilisation where there

67. Peires, History of the Xhosa p.146.

68. Peires, History of the Xhosa p.114; Shaw SMM p.331

had been none before. When he appeared before the Aborigines Committee he stated that he found the Xhosa "... in an exceedingly ignorant and degraded condition".⁶⁹ Shaw also made it clear that the Xhosa were not easy to work with. "They disputed every inch of ground with us ... The Caffres exhibited considerable powers of mind, and were not willing to receive any dogma until it was proved to their satisfaction."⁷⁰

In April 1829 Andries Stockenström visited Wesleyville with a communication for the chiefs from the Governor which told them as long as they continued to live quietly with their people in good faith towards the colony, the colonial authorities would protect them from any other tribes who had hostile intentions towards them.⁷¹ Shaw was impressed with Stockenström and especially with his principles of fairness and equality towards all. A statement made by Stockenström to the chiefs was particularly well received. "We do not now seek each other with musket or assegai to shed each other's blood. When we meet it is to shake hands to be good friends. The bad times are passed away. The Caffres killed my father and you were near at the time. The boors killed your father and I was not far off when it happened. Those were bad doings. But now all is changed. You have received the missionaries. You now have the same word of God that we have and the only difference between us is the colour of our skin and though you are black and we are white yet God has made of one blood all nations of the earth".⁷² It is small wonder that Shaw was impressed with such progressive sentiments for the 1820's.

69. P.P.vii 538, 1836 p.59.

70. Ibid, p.60.

71. Cory Ms 15,429 reel 1 (mic) Shaw to the Mission House 10.6.1829.

72. Cory Ms 15,429 reel 1 (mic) Shaw to the Mission House 10.6.1829.

Stockenstrom recorded that from what the missionaries, including Shaw, told him, the chiefs appeared to be sincere in their willingness to live in harmony with the colony.⁷³ Stockenstrom appears to have reciprocated Shaw's warm views of him. He called him "a most worthy gentleman" and referred to him as being "incapable of an intentional misrepresentation".⁷⁴ As to the actual role of the missionaries, Stockenstrom believed that men such as Shaw did more to introduce civilisation and the improvement of the Xhosa than the sudden introduction of English law amongst them would do, or the use of the bayonet.⁷⁵

Shaw's pro-Stockenstrom opinions reflect an interesting divergence from the general settler attitudes towards him. This is particularly interesting in that Shaw invariably allied himself with settler stand-points. In the 1830's the writings of Robert Godlonton, a prominent settler and Methodist, and editor - proprietor of the Graham's Town Journal reflected typical settler attitudes: the undermining of Stockenstrom and criticism of him at all time.⁷⁶ There appears to be no evidence to show that Shaw ever changed his mind and swung to a settler view of Stockenstrom.

As the work beyond the colonial frontiers grew and as the chain of stations took shape, so the need for a central administration of the Wesleyan network evolved. To the missionary committee in London there was only one man who was able to direct and administer what had grown to be a large complex undertaking. Early in 1830 Shaw was moved from the mission-field back to the colony. It was envisaged that he would administer the Albany and Kaffraria District from

73. C.W. Hutton (ed) The Autobiography of the Late Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart (Cape Town 1837) Vol I, p.311.

74. Ibid, Vol I, p.340.

75. Ibid, Vol II, pp.39-40.

76. B. Le Cordeur, The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, 1820 - 1854 (Cape Town 1981) pp.90-91; 94-5.

Grahamstown. Although different in nature, Shaw's new work was to be as complex as the work in Wesleyville. The Wesleyan enterprise in Albany had prospered during his absence⁷⁷ at Wesleyville and there was much upon which to build.

Shaw left Wesleyville in the knowledge that he left behind him a successful operation. From one incipient station there were now six altogether and although the actual progress rate appeared to be slow, there seemed to be grounds for assuming that there were solid foundations to the work of evangelisation.

In 1827 Shaw stated that he had never regretted devoting himself to missionary work which he had been led to in providential but peculiar circumstances.⁷⁸ When he left Wesleyville he had no cause to regret that statement. Looking back on his six years there there was no evidence of failure: he left behind him a mission village of about 300 souls and a convinced church membership of about 40.⁷⁹ He left a comfortable mission house, school chapel and materials ready for the erection of a large new chapel.⁸⁰ Seton has pointed out that the labour in the mission field was worthwhile in that it had been expended on material which had hitherto been untouched in any way by Christianity.⁸¹

It is interesting to bear in mind that since before coming to southern Africa, Shaw had felt a distinct vocation to missionary work and while he lived at Salem his mind had continually dwelt on his ambition to move beyond the frontier in order to evangelise the heathen. With this in mind it is strange that in a career in southern Africa spanning

77. Shaw, SMM p.129.

78. Cory Ms 15,429 reel 1 (mic) Shaw to the Revd. J. Newstead 20.2.1827.

79. Shaw, SMM p.393.

80. Ibid.

81. Seton, Wesleyan Missions, p.58.

thirty-six years, only six were spent in active missionary work. His work amongst the settlers in Salem from 1820-1823 was missionary work of a sort, but to those already nominally Christian. After 1830 he became largely an organiser and administrator and although he travelled extensively in the mission territory it was only as an overseer checking on work done and encouraging the missionaries. His new work in Grahamstown by no means meant any reduction in work-load or in areas of responsibility; if anything it meant an increase. The Albany District Circuit over which he now had charge comprised the circuits of Grahamstown, Salem, Bathurst and Somerset East as well as the missionary circuits of Wesleyville, Mount Coke, Butterworth, Morely, Clarkebury and Buntingville.⁸² Shaw's new job concerned him with affairs within and without the colony. Oversight of these areas implied travelling and Shaw was never hesitant about leaving Grahamstown for long periods in order to gain a clear impression of work done elsewhere in the District.

The Grahamstown to which Shaw returned in 1830 was one much altered since his departure from the colony at the end of 1823. The number of religious denominations had grown. The Baptists had opened a Chapel and established themselves⁸³ and the Anglicans had built St. George's Church.⁸⁴ The Methodists themselves were fast growing into one of the most vital and important of the religious denominations, and Grahamstown was on its way to becoming "almost wholly Wesleyan".⁸⁵ The Methodist chapel which Shaw had built prior to his departure for Wesleyville and which had already been altered because it was too small was again found to be too small and it was decided that a new chapel altogether should be built.⁸⁶ There were thirteen ordained ministers in the

82. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, introduction, p.12.

83. Initially the Baptists worshipped with the Wesleyans but they opened their own chapel on the 7th September 1823.

84. The building had been finished towards the end of 1828 but alterations were made to the roof and the building was only taken into use for public worship in 1830.

85. Seton Wesleyan Missions pp.15-18 quoted in Le Cordeur The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism p.68.

86. Hewson They seek a City pp.21 ff.

the Albany District, nine of whom were employed in the mission circuits.⁸⁷

The population of Grahamstown around 1830 was about three thousand people and this included the military as well as the indigenous population.⁸⁸ Hunt states that after the war of 1819 the comparative peace encouraged the development of trade along the frontier and this, in turn led to the expansion of Grahamstown which by 1831 was the principal town of the Eastern Province, and was the second most important town in the colony as a whole.⁸⁹ Boyce describes it as being "a pretty village" which was well laid out and had the potential to become the prettiest town in South Africa.⁹⁰ Boyce also mentioned that the Wesleyan clergy in the area were a happy and united body with the "loving spirit" of Shaw imposed upon them all.⁹¹

It was after his return to the colony that Shaw encouraged the foundation to be laid for pioneer work in the Xhosa language. He acknowledged that one of the most important tasks of a missionary in a foreign country was the acquisition of the local language. Shaw believed that every missionary should begin learning the language at once and his own experience told him the Xhosa were pleased to find a white man endeavouring to learn the language despite mistakes and blunders. The arrival of the Revd. W.B. Boyce in 1830 led Shaw to realize the importance of and the need for a formal

87. Slee, Some Aspects of Wesleyan Methodism p.25. The Districts Ministers for 1830 (Cory Ms 15,704) give twelve ministers. They are Messrs Shaw; Davis; Palmer; Ayliff; Young; Shrewsbury; Kay; Shepstone; Haddy; Archbell; Hodgson; Boyce. For 1831 (Cory Ms 15,704) Only ten are listed: Messrs Shaw; Palmer; Young; Shrewsbury; Ayliff; Haddy; Shepstone; Boyce; Archbell; Snowdall.

88. Boyce, Memoir of the Revd. William Shaw, p.140.

89. K.S. Hunt, The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, with special reference to Grahamstown 1827-1862 (Rhodes M.A. 1958) p.26.

90. Boyce, Memoir of the Revd. William Shaw pp.141-2.

91. Ibid, p.142.

study of the technicalities of the Xhosa language.⁹² Before moving to his station at Buntingville Boyce spent some time with Shaw in Grahamstown and Shaw was quick to perceive that Boyce had great facility for understanding the difficulties and details of the Xhosa language and the problems it posed for white missionaries.⁹³ Because of this interest in the technicalities of the language, Shaw requested that Boyce give some attention to the task of producing the first grammar of the Xhosa language.⁹⁴ This was a difficult task as Xhosa was a purely spoken language and there were no written aids to help him. Boyce had to work in the Xhosa language by trial and error and was aided by the fact that at Buntingville he heard comparatively little English spoken. His own ear became the yardstick of progress. Like Shaw, Boyce became convinced that lack of knowledge of the local language was an obstacle to the complete acceptance of the missionary by the local people. Slee has made an analysis of the rate of growth of the mission stations compared with the rate at which the missionaries were able to acquire some knowledge and skill in the vernacular.⁹⁵ He maintains that the size of the societies

92. Boyce, the Revd. William Binnington 1803-1889. Wesleyan missionary and Xhosa linguist. He came to the Cape Colony in 1830 and established the Buntingville mission in November 1830. He formed a close friendship with William Shaw. He left South Africa in 1843 after work at various mission stations, and at Grahamstown. In 1845 he went to Australia as general superintendent of the Wesleyan missions there and later became a secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London. D.S.A.B. Vol I, p.109.

93. Shaw, SMM, p.544.

94. Ibid

95. Slee, Aspects of Wesleyan Methodism, p.33.

on the various stations in the year 1834 was proportional to the length of the time the stations had been in existence. Wesleyville had sixty six members. Of the rest, only Butterworth and Morely, which had been founded in the late 20's, had societies of more than twenty members. He claims that this was directly attributable to them having missionaries who had some knowledge of the vernacular.

Boyce progressed rapidly and before long was proficient enough in the Xhosa language to give some tuition to William Shepstone then in charge of the neighbouring mission at Morely. Shepstone's son Theophilus, who had grown up in Southern Africa⁹⁶ was already well acquainted with Xhosa and in his own turn was able to act as a tutor to Boyce.

By the end of 1832 Boyce had already translated the Book of Exodus into Xhosa and was busy with the compilation of the Xhosa grammar which was published in Grahamstown in 1834 as the Grammar of the Kafir Language. In 1832 Boyce wrote that "I am fully convinced that the obstacles in the way of an adult European acquiring a perfect knowledge of the Caffre language are insurmountable..."⁹⁷ In the light of this the Xhosa Grammar was a major achievement. During his work on the

96. Shepstone, Theophilus, 1817-1893. Public servant and African administrator. Eldest son of the Revd. William Shepstone who was active in Wesleyan work in Southern Africa. Theophilus became a fluent linguist. He became an interpreter to Sir Benjamin D'Urban during the 1834-5 war and thereafter was engaged in work for the government. In 1845 he became diplomatic agent to the tribes of Natal in 1856 became secretary for native affairs. He became the representative of Lord Carnarvon in the period leading up to the annexation of the Transvaal. D.S.A.B. Vol I p.215.

97. Boyce in WMM, 1832, p.134 quoted in L.A.Hewson, William B. Boyce and the Euphonic Concord, in The Journal of the Methodist Historical of South Africa, Vol ii No. 3, March 1955, p.39

Grammar Boyce discovered what has come to be known as the euphonic concord. This was described by Boyce as "... a peculiarity of the language ... One principal word in a sentence governs the initial letters or syllables of the other words: this is independent of any grammatical concord, or variety of inflexion".⁹⁸ In the preface to the 1st edition of the Grammar Boyce wrote "... these changes in addition to the precision they communicate to the language promote its Euphony and cause the frequent repetition of the same letter as initial to many words in a sentence, this peculiarity upon which the whole Grammar of the language depends has been termed the Euphonic or Alliterational Concord".⁹⁹

Shaw himself wrote that the importance of Boyce's discovery could not be too highly estimated¹⁰⁰ and he wrote of the value of the discovery being truly discovered by the knowledge that it affected a whole family of languages running from British Kaffraria in the South to "Mombas" in the north and also into the interior.¹⁰¹

The Grammar is thought to have provided a clear outline which, in turn, provided a clear exposition of construction and a full treatment of the use of the verb. There was a terminology for derivative forms and moods which was generally considered to be far seeing.¹⁰² Since then language scholars have evolved and discovered many refinements in the study of Xhosa and other African languages and the work of Boyce is

98.. WMM, 1832 p.664.

99. Boyce, preface to the 1st edition of the Grammar of the Kafir Language, quoted in C.M. Doke, Bantu Language Pioneers of the Nineteenth Century in Bantu Studies, Vol xiv 1940 p.218.

100. Shaw SMM, p.545.

101. Ibid, p.546.

102. C.M. Doke Bantu Language Pioneers in Bantu Studies, p.219.

viewed as an early contribution to the general field of study, but its importance lies in the fact that it was a beginning and that someone had to begin somewhere. Shaw's role in the whole matter is important also because it was he who had the foresight to recognize Boyce's language facility and to encourage it in the first place. These contributions by both Shaw and Boyce indicate the importance of the missionary factor in these areas.

In addition to the grammar and the Book of Exodus Boyce began work on a translation of part of the Acts of the Apostles but was directed by the District Meeting to suspend his work as a Scottish missionary had just completed a translation of Acts. Shaw himself was working on a translation of Genesis which reveals his own grasp of the language and at the District Meeting of February 1833 it was reported that he had translated up to the end of chapter twenty five.¹⁰³

Besides his encouragement of the mastery of the Xhosa language and his work regarding various translations with that language, Shaw was conscious of the need for efficient printing to be done on the spot. A very primitive press was set up in Grahamstown as early as 1831. In July 1831 the report of the Auxilliary Missionary Society for the District of Albany was printed in Grahamstown and Shaw sent it off to London with the message: "you will probably smile at the rude state of the art of printing in this part of the world as exhibited in this specimen of the typogrpahy of the press recently established here".¹⁰⁴ This primitive press was replaced in 1835, presumably with something better, for Shaw records that through a grant from the missionary society he set up a press in 1835.¹⁰⁵ It was on this press that Boyce's

103. Cory Ms 15,704 Minutes of the 9th Annual District Meeting of the Albany District, February 5th 1833.

104. Cory Ms 15,862/4 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 22.7.1831.

105. Shaw SMM, p.546.

Grammar was published and this was also the first important book to be printed by that press.

Together with the other missionaries Shaw was aware of the necessity for suitable translations of the Bible to become available to as many as could read. The hope was that the mission schools would continue to grow and, therefore, those who learnt to read would also continue to grow and the need for more Bibles would become acute. In a letter to the missionary committee in London in May 1831¹⁰⁶ Shaw referred to a letter to the British and Foreign Bible Society written jointly with the Revd. John Brownlee¹⁰⁷ of the L.M.S. and the Revd. John Bennie¹⁰⁸ of the G.M.S. in which it was requested that portions of the scriptures be printed for use in the mission field using the translations made by the missionaries of the various societies. There had been portions of the Bible printed earlier at Tyhumie but these had been in a limited supply and Shaw and the others foresaw the Bible Society producing works on a far larger scale and reaching a wider readership.

Meanwhile in Grahamstown plans were begun for a bigger and better chapel. As early as the 30th July 1830 the Circuit Quarterly minutes recorded that the chapel was too small and that the Sunday School was inconvenienced by this¹⁰⁹ Shaw was

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106. Cory Ms 15862/4 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 16.5.1831.
107. Brownlee, the Revd. John, 1791-1871. Missionary, founder of King William's Town and Xhosa linguist. He came to the Cape in 1817 with Robert Moffat. He left the L.M.S. in 1818 but rejoined in 1825 under Dr. Philip's influence. D.S.A.B. Vol I p.124.
108. Bennie, the Revd. John 1796-1869 G.M.S. missionary and earliest Xhosa linguist. He came to southern Africa in 1821 and worked with John Brownlee. As probably the earliest student of Xhosa he was dubbed the "Father of Kafir literature". D.S.A.B. Vol I p.68.
109. Hewson, They seek a City, p.21.

mandated to take the appropriate steps to raise money from members of the society as well as from Grahamstonians for the erection of a new chapel. In October 1830 an erf facing High Street was bought for 500 rixdollars. Building began almost at once, the first stone was laid on February 14th 1831 and the completed chapel - at a cost of £3000 - was opened for public worship on the 16th December 1832.¹¹⁰ The opening of the chapel was an ecumenical occasion. Shaw himself held the service and preached in the morning and the Rev. J. Monro of the Independents preached in the afternoon. The following day the Revd J. Davies of the Baptists preached. The revd. J. Shrewsbury also preached at another service on the first day and the collection from all four services amounted to £100.¹¹¹ This new chapel was the source of some pride to the Wesleyans and to Shaw. The Grahams's Town Journal reported that it could seat some 800 people and that at the opening some 1 100 had managed to squeeze in.¹¹² Many of the furnishings had come from England.¹¹³

In order to receive some indication from the local people of opinions regarding the work of the missionaries, Shaw convened a meeting at Wesleyville on the 21st March, 1832. The meeting had the subsidiary purpose of putting the advantages of the Christian religion to the Xhosa people on a large scale.¹¹⁴ The meeting was under the Chairmanship of Colonel Somerset who spoke in general terms of his great

110. Hewson They Seek a City, pp.21-22.

111. Grahams's Town Journal, 20.12.1832.

112. G.T.J. 20.11.1832.

113. Cory Ms 15,862/4 (mic) Shaw to the Revd. J.L. Hodgson 18.3.1831. In 1876 the chapel became the Shaw Hall. It was damaged by fire in November 1833 - the damage, which was mainly to the roof, was estimated at about £200-250. Hewson, The Seek a City, p.24.

114. G.T.J. 30.3.1832.

satisfaction at being able to meet with the Xhosa people. He referred to his hope that they would continue to profit by the work of the missionaries. This in itself is further proof of his kindly disposition towards the missionaries and the Wesleyans. Those present at the meeting were the chiefs, notably Phato, Khama and Congo, those who lived at Wesleyville and between seven and eight hundred men. Very few women were present - their presence was more valuable in the cornfield at that time of year. It was also something of an ecumenical occasion: the Revd. W. Carlisle the colonial chaplain at Grahamstown¹¹⁵ was present and gave an address. It was obviously a long meeting: Shaw addressed it as did other Wesleyans - Messrs Young, Palmer and Ayliff. Donald Moodie,¹¹⁶ layman and civil servant was also present and spoke, as did the chiefs, who expressed confidence in the work of the missionaries. From the Graham's Town Journal report of the meeting¹¹⁷ it was successful and interest was sustained right to the end. The Graham's Town Journal report makes no mention of anything else being raised at the meeting which had something of the nature of a propaganda exercise for Christianity and mission work. The tone of the meeting obviously was "look how good the missionaries are and look what benefits they bring you". In the light of this it is small wonder that they are attacked for paternalism.

It was not long after this meeting that Colonel Somerset announced his intention of returning to England on long leave.

115. Carlisle the Revd. William, Chaplain at Grahamstown, 1828-1832 Succeeded by the Revd. John Heavyside.

116. Moodie, Donald 1894-1861 Civil Servant and politician. He was the resident magistrate at Port Frances in 1825 and was clerk of the peace and resident magistrate at Grahamstown from 1828-1830. From 1830-1834 he was protector of slaves for the eastern division of the colony. D.S.A.B. , Vol II p.488.

117. G.T.J. 30.3.1832.

There had long been amicable relations between him and the Wesleyans and in order to cement this relationship the local Wesleyan Society presented him with a bound copy of the Wesleyan hymn-book inscribed, "Presented to Lt. Col. Somerset by the ministers and leaders of the Wesleyan Society, Grahamstown, South Africa; as a small token of their respect for an officer who, while commandant of Caffraria, supported the religious and charitable institutions of the country. (He) used his influence amongst the various tribes of Caffres in promoting the civilisation and propagation of the Gospel".¹¹⁸ Somerset received both the deputation and the gift "very kindly" and expressed his pleasure that a body such as the Wesleyans had cause to approve of his actions.

One of the problems which confronted Shaw was the use to which he should put those Xhosa who had converted to Christianity. His desire was to use them as effective agents of both Christianity and civilisation and various ideas on the question were formulated into the plans for the Watson Institution which was eventually established almost entirely on Shaw's own initiative. The name Watson Institution was a tribute to the Revd. Richard Watson, a former secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. It was Watson who had delivered the charge at Shaw's own ordination in 1819. Hewson has called the scheme for the institution the first draft of a educational policy for Wesleyan missions in South Africa.¹¹⁹ As such it merits attention.

Its object was to train the most promising young men from the mission stations as teachers. Hewson describes it as "the Teacher Training School in embryo".¹²⁰ It was to be located in Grahamstown and there was to be full integration between

118. G.T.J. 20.7.1832.

119. L.A. Hewson, Healdtown, A study of a Methodist Experiment in African Education (unpublished Ph. D thesis, Rhodes 1959) Vol I p.112.

120. Ibid, p.113

those at the institution and the white congregation in the town. There was to be full integration also with the worship of the local church and the work of the Sunday School. This integration with the white congregation is proof of the fact that there was no form of colour bar in Wesleyan work and a further indication that the Wesleyans were fully active amongst both black and white. The basic education at the institution was to comprise language and reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as "the more useful mechanical arts".¹²¹ The committee which would administer the institution was to consist of three laymen and three ministers. Shaw's departure from the colony in 1833 and the outbreak of the 6th Frontier War in 1834 delayed the scheme from being put into operation. The whole venture had to be approved by the missionary committee in London and it was fortuitous that while the plans were before the committee, Shaw was in England and able to offer guidance. Approval was given in May 1834.¹²²

By 1831 Shaw had been in Southern Africa for eleven years and in April of that year he made his first request for leave to return to England.¹²³ His major reasons were family reasons. His eldest son had been left behind in the care of Shaw's mother-in-law and he and Ann Shaw were understandably anxious to see something of the boy and make arrangements for his future. By this time his second son was nine years old and Shaw was anxious to have him enrolled at an English school. There was also a desire to see his father who was now seventy-five. By almost a year later he still had no reply to his request which reflects rather badly on the concern shown by the missionary committee for its missionaries abroad. He wrote again in March 1832 and an air of desperation

121. Hewson, Healdtown, p.113.

122. Ibid, p.112. For a detailed discussion of the Watson Institution, see Hewson Healdtown pp.112-119.

123. Cory Ms 15,429 reel 1 (mic) Shaw to the Mission House, 12.4.1831.

can be detected in the letter.¹²⁴ By the end of September he had obviously had a reply and it would appear that the committee had put some obstacles in his way and that they required him to reconsider his request. Although after eleven years service in the field this looks a little unreasonable it can probably be taken as a sign of the esteem in which he was held on account of the work he was doing so successfully. The missionary committee in London offered him a station in Cape Town and suggested that perhaps he should return to England with Ann Shaw only, leaving the children in Africa. This was obviously a ploy to ensure his return. The permission to return was evidently implied rather than expressed¹²⁵ but he remained adamant and insisted on returning. He requested that while in England he be appointed to work in a circuit so that he would not be a burden to the mission fund. Shaw was, in fact, quite insistent on where he should go and specified he did not want to be where his health would be impaired. There is no record of further word from the committee on the matter and the Shaw family left the colony in April 1833 reaching London in June.

124. Cory Ms 15862/4 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries
2.3.1832.

125. Cory Ms 15,862/4 (mic) Shaw to the Revd. John James
28.9.1832.

Chapter 5

INTERLUDE IN ENGLAND

The time spent by William Shaw in England, 1833-1837, is shadowy from a South African perspective. There are no letters of importance which were received in the Cape and Shaw himself appeared to have kept no journal which is available.¹ This time in England coincided with a period during which South African affairs were prominent and debate on them was at a height. As early as the summer of 1835 a return to Africa had been mooted to him but by then the news of the outbreak of the 1834-5 war had reached him and his opinion was that he would be of greater use to the missions in England than he would be back in the war-torn Colony.²

On arrival in England Shaw was appointed minister of the Albion Street Chapel in Leeds which prospered during his time there.³ His support at missionary meetings was often sought and he was in demand as a speaker.⁴ Prior to April 1835 he was largely concerned with his plans for the establishment of the Watson Institution in the Colony, and with applications for a grant from the British and Foreign Bible Society for Wesleyan biblical translations.⁵ His involvement and priorities changed on receipt of news of the outbreak of war in the Cape.

It is generally accepted that the build up to the war and its outbreak had largely to do with the land question. Shaw

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1. There is Shaw correspondence in the Methodist Home correspondence but this is largely to do with English affairs and has not been available in South Africa. There are only two letters - of little importance - in the South African held microfilms.
 2. N.K. Hurt, Weslyan Missions on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony, 1820-1840 with special reference to the Kaffir War of 1834-5 (unpublished M.A. thesis University, of London 1957) p.182.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Cory Ms 15862/6 (mic) Shaw to the Revd. J. Beecham 21.5.1836.
 5. Hurt Weslyan Missions on the Eastern Frontier pp.182-3.

himself made this clear when he gave evidence before the Aborigines Committee.⁶ The chief Maqoma⁷ occupied part of the basin of the upper Fish River which was drained by the Kat, Mankazana and other tributaries. This was part of the ceded territory which neither white nor Xhosa was supposed to occupy. In 1829 much of the land around was in the grip of a severe drought and as a result both Maqoma and his people and some Boers and their cattle were in the area which had been spared by the drought. On the 25th January 1829, Maqoma and 400 of his men attacked the Cape Thembu who fled into the Colony for protection. About twenty miles inside the Colony they were overtaken by Maqoma's men. A number of Thembu were killed and their entire herd of 3 000 head of cattle was taken.⁸ This was wanton aggression and it became obvious that something needed to be done. The colonial authorities were unhappy at the thought of refugees and they were equally unhappy that an attack had been made against a people who had not done the Colony any harm.

On the advice of Andries Stockenstrom, then Commissioner General of the Eastern Districts, the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole⁹ decided to eject Maqoma and his people. They were allowed two months in which to restore the Thembu cattle, gather their own crops and remove themselves beyond the Keiskamma River.¹⁰ At first Maqoma refused but then the military were ordered to enforce the removal the chief and his people withdrew without incident.¹¹ Stockenstrom defended the removal of Maqoma's people in his Autobiography...¹¹ I maintain the Government could not, without displaying the greatest possible weakness, have allowed those Kaffirs to remain within the Colonial territory after their attack

6. P.P. vii 538, 1836 pp 52-3.

7. See Chapter 2, p.46, n. 29

8. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole p.100.

9. Governor of the Cape, 1828-1833.

10. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole p.100.

11. Ibid.

on the Tambookies pursuing them into the Colony, and there carrying on murder and destruction... I therefore fully approved of the removal of Makoma and his people...¹²

Stockenstrom realized that the removal would create a situation whereby the Xhosa would immediately return once the military force was reduced. His suggestion was that the vacated lands be immediately occupied by Khoi. Peries has said that the colonial authorities had long wanted to get rid of Maqoma from the ceded territory in order to make way for the Khoi settlement¹³ but other evidence suggests that this was not the case. The Memorandum on the Kat River Settlement, by J.R. Innes Esq. LL.D, Superintendent-General of Education in Stockenstrom's Autobiography¹⁴ states clearly that in April 1829 Stockenstrom arrived at Algoa Bay on his way to the Frontier but with no instructions as to the future occupancy of the Kat River.¹⁵ It goes on to say that he first addressed the government on the matter of settling Khoi, from Uitenhage and that in due course he received government sanction. This would certainly indicate that there was no long-standing desire to remove Maqoma for the purpose of the Khoi settlement.¹⁶ This, in turn would appear to be supported by Kirk in his article Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854¹⁷ where he writes: "To prevent them (the Xhosa) from re-occupying the area when the soldiers

12. C.W. Hutton (ed), The Autobiography of the late Sir Andries Stockenstrom Bart; Vol I pp.346-7.

13. Peires, History of the Xhosa pp.201-2 and p.71.

14. Hutton (ed) The Autobiography of the late Sir Andries Stockenstrom Bart Vol II pp.417 ff.

15. Ibid, p.419.

16. Ibid.

17. Kirk, Tony, Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854 in Journal of African History xiv, 3 (1973) pp.411-428.

withdrew the colonial government decided to settle it...".¹⁸

There was some concern amongst colonists at the continued possibility of cattle being stolen by Xhosa and harsh measures to prevent such thefts were implemented by Colonel Wade, the former military secretary to Sir Lowry Cole and acting Governor of the Cape from August 1833 to January 1834. During Wade's short term of office there were further expulsions: both Maqoma and Tyhali¹⁹ were expelled from their last grazing grounds beyond the Tyhumie River. Like the earlier expulsion this also occurred during a time of drought. The Xhosa grew more and more frustrated and refused to accept the excuses and justifications for the expulsions put out by the authorities. One of these justifications was the continuance of cattle thieving. The Xhosa began to see such reasons as pretexts and the real reason they saw as land hunger. Peires cites both Maqoma and Hintsas as thinking that white colonial policy was the complete subjugation of their people and country.²⁰

The reprisal system, whereby the commando was allowed to follow the spoor of stolen cattle to the nearest kraal and demand restitution, also became a cause of Xhosa discontent.²¹ The system was open to abuse and often the innocent were the sufferers and not the guilty. The Xhosa viewed the commando raids as being conducted at random in a often brutal manner.²² The Xhosa were kept in a state of perpetual alarm

18. Ibid. p.412.

19. Tyhali, d. 1842. Son of a concubine of Ngqika. He rose to prominence through his own ability coupled with the attentions of his father. He contended the regency with Maqoma and became a leading figure in the 1834-5 war. Peires History of the Xhosa, p.252.

20. Peires History of the Xhosa, pp.206-207.

21. Ibid, p.207.

22. Ibid, p.208.

by these commando raids and this was proof to them of the resentment felt by the whites. It was the chiefs particularly who felt this alleged white resentment. The chief was regarded as set apart and different from the ordinary tribesman as in their view the white colonists failed to mark or respect these differences.²³ On the other hand it was general colonial opinion that the whites were in every way superior to the blacks. Even the missionaries saw a difference between the "barbarous" blacks and the "civilised" whites although they did agree that all men were equal in the sight of God. Colonel Somerset made some effort to treat the chiefs with the respect due to their rank and position²⁴ and Stockenstrom too is noted for his respectful approach.

There are other minor factors, too, which have been singled out as causes of the war: the discontent of the Khoi over proposed vagrancy laws and over their treatment by whites. Both Maqoma and Tyhali believed that the Khoi members of the garrison at Fort Willshire would rise with them. The Colonial authorities also cited the role of the so-called "political" missionaries, contrasting the "meddling" behaviour of the the L.M.S. missionaries, especially Read and Philip, with the comparatively passive role played by the Wesleyans. This comparison between the L.M.S. and the Wesleyan missionaries assumed importance in the post-war period when emotions were aroused and controversies raged.²⁵

The Xhosa invasion of the colony took place at the end of 1834. Some 12 000 warriors poured into the colony

23. Ibid, p.211.

24. Ibid, p.211.

25. Peires, History of the Xhosa, p.216.

on December 21st. The invasion was chiefly to avenge the loss of land to the white man; to avenge other losses incurred at the hands of the commandos and to reassert the dignity and status of the chiefs. At first the Xhosa enjoyed success and this forced some chiefs who were unsure of involvement to enter the fray.²⁶ The settler view of the matter was that the war was caused by an unprovoked attack on peaceful frontier farmers. Their further view was that such behaviour should be repaid by ruthless measures which included the destruction of the aggressors as well as the expulsion of all the tribes from the vicinity of the colony.²⁷

For the first two weeks the Xhosa ravaged the country from Algoa Bay to Somerset East. They were checked at the Winterberg by forces under Piet Retief. Colonial Somerset held firm in Grahamstown²⁸ and Colonel Harry Smith²⁹ came from Cape Town to take overall command. Once reinforcements had arrived a counter-attack was pushed beyond the Kei as the colonial forces regained the upper hand. It was a savage war: once the colonial troops had regained the offensive, quantities of Xhosa corn were destroyed by burning; huts were burned; cattle were captured and Xhosa were killed. Dr. Philip claimed that it was not a war but a massacre³⁰ but it is generally believed today - and certainly Galbraith holds the view - that Smith was greatly exaggerating his destructive accomplishment.³¹ Stockenstrom later made enquiries and concluded that not more than 2 000 warriors had

26. Ibid. p.213.

27. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, pp.110-111.

28. E.A. Walker A History of South Africa (London 1928) p.185.

29. Smith H.G.W. (Harry) Soldier. Quartermaster-General at the Cape from 1828-1840 with a break while he served on the eastern frontier during and after the 1834-5 war. He was Governor of the Cape from 1847-1852. D.S.A.B. Vol II p.673.

30. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.112.

31. Ibid.

been killed, and not the 4 000 reported by Smith and the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

D'Urban's³³ opinion now was that the hostile Xhosa had forfeited any right to remain in the ceded territory. The question of security became paramount and any question of colonial security automatically involved the frontier. Both D'Urban and Harry Smith felt that the proximity of the of the Xhosa to the Fish River bush gave them the opportunity to burst into the Colony. A new boundary was needed; it should be drawn through open country in order to prevent a repetition of the war. Initially Smith suggested that the boundary should be the Buffalo River, the next major stream beyond the Keishamma, but by January 1835 it was generally known that D'Urban intended to make the Kei the boundary.³⁴ This was possibly due to a wish to crush the power of Hintsas³⁵ who was generally thought to have sheltered captured colonial cattle and horses and to have encouraged the Ngqika Xhosa to fight. On the banks of the Kei, on May 10th 1835 D'Urban proclaimed that he had conquered the country and he compelled Hintsas to accept peace terms.³⁶ The Kei River was proclaimed the boundary of the Cape Colony.³⁷ D'Urban intended that the colony be protected "against such unprovoked aggressions, which can only be done by removing these treacherous and irreclaimable savages to a safer distance." The chiefs and their tribes were to be "forever expelled" beyond the Kei.³⁸ The new territory was

33. D'Urban, Sir Benjamin, Governor of the Cape 1834-1838.

34. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.113.

35. Hintsas c 1788-1835. Xhosa paramount. He was successful in building up the power of the paramountcy. He accepted the missionaries unwillingly. His power was expanded eastwards at the expense of the Thembu. Peires, History of the Xhosa p.246.

36. Hintsas was killed in captivity on the 12th May 1835.

37. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire p.113.

38. P.P. 1836 xxxix(279) p.41 Proclamation, 10 May 1835 in J.C.S. Lancaster, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban at the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-1838 (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes, 1981) p.194.

to be called the Queen Adelaide Province. D'Urban's intention was to settle in the new province clans who had remained at peace with the colony, members of aggressor clans who had disowned their chiefs and Mfengu whom he believed he released from the slavery of Hintsu.³⁹ From the very beginning D'Urban was uneasy about reactions to the annexation in England. He particularly expressed a fear that the "Buxton" or Humanitarian party, would attack this May policy. Lancaster states that D'Urban saw them as the greatest and most powerful opponents of his measures⁴⁰ but for him colonial security was an overriding principle and he was quite sure that his measures were the only ones" ... that could promise to repay the expenses of the war ... and place a defensible barrier between the heart of the colony and the savage tribes of central Africa, provide security for the future, and a just indemnification for the past".⁴¹

The news of the war must have come as a shock to Shaw when it reached him in England. With customary thoughtfulness and thoroughness he wrote a lengthy letter to the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Aberdeen.⁴² "On the subject of the Late Irruption of the Caffres." "It was dated Leeds, April" 7th 1835⁴³ and reached Lord Aberdeen only a few days before he left Office.⁴⁴ This document was not included among the

39. Lancaster, Sir Benjamin D'Urban p.195.

40. Ibid, p.197.

41. P.P. 1836, xxxix (279) p.19, D'Urban to Aberdeen, June 1835 in Ibid, p.198.

42. Aberdeen, George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of 1784-1860 Statesman and diplomat. He was Foreign Secretary from 1828 to 1830 and again from 1841 to 1866. He was Secretary for War and the Colonies under P el from 1834 to 1835 C.D.N.B.

43. See Appendix I

44. His successor, Lord Glenelg, was sworn in on the 18th April 1835.

volume of documents consulted by Glenelg on assuming office but was thought important enough to appear in a volume of papers printed for parliament.⁴⁵ It was also published as a pamphlet which sold well for 6d a copy⁴⁶ and Shaw was sufficiently aware of its importance to refer to it on a number of occasions, especially in his evidence before the Aborigines Committee and also in his book The Story of My Mission.⁴⁷

Shaw began the letter by giving his qualifications for writing. He claimed from the outset that he was not an "officious meddler" with a subject on which he had no claim to be heard. After hinting at the savage nature of the war he passed quickly to its causes. Here he performed what he termed "an act of justice to the British settlers of Albany". He denied any accusations that the settlers were, for any reason of cruelty or injustice, responsible for provoking the war. "I cannot perceive that true philanthropy requires me to blacken my white friends for the purpose of making my black friends white". He agreed that there were some cases of individual cruelty on the part of the settlers towards the Xhosa, but believed it was unjust to charge a whole community with the faults of individuals. Much of the trouble had been caused by the colonial borders: "Our border policy is extremely bad", but he laid the principal cause of the war at the feet of the Xhosa and their moral state: their "own imperfect moral perceptions; deeply rooted habits and defective mode of government". Shaw went on to say that the Xhosa had ... "indistinct notions of the rights of property and are frequently reckless of the destruction of human life". His criticisms turned to the government when he maintained that no efficient measures were maintained for the improvement of the Xhosa and that

45. P.P. 1835 xxxix (252) pp.137-142.

46. Hurt Wesleyan Missions, p.183

47. P.P. 1836 vii (538) pp.56-7 Shaw, SMM p.152.

the mode of treatment of the Xhosa, employed by the government, was one thing and then the other: "there has been nothing like a system at all: He criticised the 1819 treaty whereby Ngqika ceded territory which became known as the neutral territory on the grounds that none of the ama Gqunakhwebi chiefs, Phato, Khama and Congo were party to that treaty. Shaw mentioned other land questions, and the expulsion of Maqoma. Shaw wrote very much as a first hand observer of these affairs. "Residing in Caffraria at the time, I had opportunities ^{to see} how greatly the Caffres were exasperated; And if Makoma could have persuaded the other chiefs to unite with him, I have no doubt that disasters, similar to those we now deplore, would have happened some time ago".

Shaw attributed the state of the border, not to cruelties perpetrated on the Xhosa by the settlers, nor to want of humanity on the part of the military, but to the "moral state and predatory habits of the Caffres, the evil tendencies of which have been aggravated by the exceedingly mischievous character of our border policy". He suggested nine possible remedies for the situation which he thought the British government should carry out.

Shaw proposed that the Keiskamma should become the colonial boundary, with a written treaty to be signed by all the principal chiefs. The ama Gqunakhwebi should be offered back their ancient territory providing they placed themselves under the protection of the British Government. Portions of the neutral territory should be offered to friendly tribes who would then form a barrier between the Albany district and the hostile tribes. These tribes should be made to sign a separate treaty which set out exactly what the colonial government expected from them. A Government Agent should be appointed to live in Caffraria or on the border, to act as a medium of communication between the tribes and the government. An officer should live in Albany and act as protector of the tribes and also act

as counsel for them in the law courts. The authority of the courts should be extended so that British subjects committing offences beyond the colonial boundaries would fall under its jurisdiction. A Lieutenant Governor should be appointed to administer the eastern province and he should be assisted by a legislative council. His seat should be in Grahamstown. The final proposal concerned the missionaries - he praised their beneficial functions and requested assistance and financial aid for their work especially with schools and education.

Altogether the letter was a fair and reasoned one which contained within it much good sense. His proposals were sound and moderate and the whole reflected the moderation which was inherent in Shaw as a person. It attempted to show that the blame could not be apportioned in one particular area; that the colonists were not to blame, but neither were the Xhosa. His use of what appears to be fairly strong language with regard to the Xhosa was not intended as a manifestation of anti - Xhosa sentiments, but rather as a clear exposition of the situation as Shaw himself saw it. He was not a man of bias and the letter reveals this. In his defence of both the settlers and the military on the frontier, Shaw was reflecting a current Wesleyan attitude. His close association with Colonel Somerset has already been noted and his early associations with the settlers made him regard their motives and actions in a sympathetic yet unclouded light. Above all, Shaw relied on his own personal experience to give him insights into the situation on the frontier. His personal experience both in the colony and beyond the frontier made for a realistic and reasoned analysis of the situation.

While Shaw remained in England he continued to be involved in South African affairs and came to be regarded by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee as their expert in African affairs. Until his return to Africa, he was

constantly busy putting his views in speeches and writings, and they were views which differed little from the Aberdeen letter.⁴⁸ In the Story of My Mission written some twenty five years later, Shaw quoted from the letter and stated that his views had not changed and, if anything, they had consolidated over the years.⁴⁹

The Aberdeen letter and his subsequent comments along the themes raised by the letter were the occasion for the first real accusations that he was interfering in political matters. He obviously realised that this was a possibility for twice in the letter - in the second and final paragraphs - he mentioned that he was not a meddler in politics. Despite the general restriction on Methodist ministers becoming involved in politics, Shaw remained unreprimated. A leader in the Wesleyan magazine, the Watchman, actually commended the letter saying that Shaw could rest assured that the charge of meddling in politics could not be levelled at him. "The question is not one of mere wordly politics: it is eminently the cause of religion and humanity; as the political arrangements recommended by Mr Shaw are but subordinate means for its advancement".⁵⁰ In one way the Wesleyans almost encouraged Shaw to work within the political sphere when he was chosen to explain Wesleyan attitudes, presumably on the war and frontier matters, to Buxton.⁵¹ In 1836 Shaw formed part of a Wesleyan sub-committee of reference which was set up to consider the implications of attacks made on the Wesleyans by Dr. John Philip, in public speeches.

48. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.187

49. Shaw, SMM p.152.

50. Watchman, 15.4.1835, quoted - Hurt, Wesleyan Missions p.188.

51. Ibid; Buxton, Thomas Fowell, 1786-1845. Philanthropist and advocate of prison reform. He was a member of parliament and leading member in the campaign for the abolition of slavery. He was a leading member of the humanitarian lobby in English public life. C.D.N.B.

When Shaw returned to England in 1833 he came ostensibly on leave, but with no indication of when, if at all, he would return to Africa. His continued interest in Southern African affairs and his perceptive grasp of details made the committee eager that he should return to Southern Africa as Chairman of the Albany district and General Superintendent of Wesleyan missions in South Eastern Africa. As early as May 1835 he announced his willingness to return and in October the news of his impending return was sent to the Cape Colony.⁵² On Monday May 2nd 1835, at a general meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society held in Exeter Hall in London, Shaw spoke on aspects of his South African work and on aspects of the current situation in the colony. It was at this meeting that he announced his intention to return.⁵³ His plan was to return only after the Annual Conference 1836 had taken place.⁵⁴

If Shaw's letter to Aberdeen appeared in any way to be a vindication of the white colonials and a condemnation of the Xhosa, a letter written to the Revd. John Beecham⁵⁵ in August 1835 completely disproves this point. The letter voiced Shaw's disquiet over the annexation of the Queen Adelaide Province. In the letter he states unequivocally that D'Urban should not have made the Kei the colonial boundary and should not have evicted the tribes living in

52. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.189.

53. WMM, 1835-1838, pp.299-302 esp. p.301.

54. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.189.

55. Beecham, the Revd. John, 1787-1856. General Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society he was very active in the promoting of the missionary work of the connexion and was particularly concerned with all matters dealing with southern Africa. He was President of the Conference in 1850. According to Hurt, Wesleyan Missions p.179, there is evidence of a personal friendship between Shaw and Beecham.

that area. "I cannot easily bring my mind to the total disinheriting 80 000 people of the lands which belong to them - including a territory of 7 000 square miles - without lifting up my voice against so sweeping a measure".⁵⁶ He was particularly keen to see that the ama Gqunukhwebi - the people amongst whom he worked at Wesleyville - were not dispossessed of their land; if that was the case he intended that the whole of the British nation should be made aware of the injustice. Here too is proof that the Wesleyans were not total supporters of all D'Urban said or did although they were far more committed to the government position than Philip and the L.M.S. Hurt underscores the point here that the Wesleyans were essentially a fair-minded community: they wished for justice regarding the Xhosa but did not lose sight of the fact that the colonists should never be deprived of their share of justice. This stemmed from the long and close relationship between colonists and Wesleyans.⁵⁷

This letter to Beecham was written in London just before Shaw made his first appearance before the Aborigines Committee. The Select Committee on Aborigines first met on the 31st July 1835 and had its origins in the immediate post slave emancipations period. One of the prime movers in its establishment was Thomas Fowell Buxton.⁵⁸ Buxton was an intimate of Dr. Philip and was the recipient of many letters from Philip on Southern African affairs. His intention was to establish a parliamentary investigation into the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of British Colonies. It was hoped, initially, that the committee would be established in June 1834.⁵⁹ The departure of Stanley as colonial secretary⁶⁰ made Buxton

56. Shaw to Beecham, 8.8.1835, quoted in Hurt Wesleyan Missions p.191.

57. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.190.

58. See p.153 n.51.

59. Lancaster, Sir Benjamin D'Urban p.207.

60. Stanley, Edward, 14th Earl of Derby, 1799-1869. He was Colonial Secretary from 1833-1834, C.D.N.B.

delay his plans. When the war broke out in December 1834, and Cape Colony affairs sprang into prominence Buxton again felt strongly the need for a parliamentary committee. He gave notice of his motion in May 1835. It was successful and the committee was convened.⁶¹ The committee's brief was "to consider what Measures ought to be adopted with regard to the Native inhabitants of Countries where British Settlements are made; and to the Neighbouring Tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of Justice and the protection of their Rights, to promote the spread of civilisation among them and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian Religion..."⁶²

The committee consisted of fifteen members including Buxton himself, Sir Rufane Donkin, formerly acting Governor of the Cape from 1825-5, and young William Gladstone who was to be prime minister four times in the future and who came to the committee in 1836 as a replacement for a Mr. Hardy.⁶³ There were three sessions of the committee: 31st July 1835 - August 1835; 12th February - 1st August 1836 and 27th February - 19th May 1837.⁶⁴ The last session was to allow witnesses who felt themselves to be wrongly accused by previous evidence to defend themselves. There were fifty-four public sittings and forty-five people were interviewed, out of which thirty-three were concerned with the Cape Colony. Affairs of the Cape took prominence over other areas.⁶⁵

61. Lancaster, Sir Benjamin D'Urban p.209.

62. P.P. 1836 vii (538) p.iii.

63. Other members of the committee were Messrs. Hawes, Bagshaw, Holland, Lushington, Pease, Baines, Johnston, Hindley, Plumtre, Wilson and Thomson. Lancaster, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, p.210 n.89.

64. Lancaster, Sir Benjamin D'Urban p.210 n.90,91,92.

65. Ibid.

Shaw made three appearances before the committee - all of them were in 1835: on the 7th August, the 19th August and the 21st August. Hurt regards his evidence as representative of his most significant contribution to the discussion of eastern frontier problems during 1835 - at least as far as colonial office decisions sent to Governor D'Urban were concerned.⁶⁶ This is not hard to understand: it goes without saying that a missionary with as much first-hand experience as Shaw had of the frontier, would be listened to with every sympathy by such a committee. In his evidence Shaw spoke of his own factual experiences regarding the transmission of Christianity and civilisation, and this experience supplies much valuable detail of the day to day working of the Wesleyan mission in Kaffraria. In all his correspondence and in his journal, Shaw reveals a clear mind and observant eye and this is underlined by his evidence before the committee.

His major piece of evidence was the first, given on August 7th⁶⁷ and in essence it is an enlargement of the views he expressed in the letter to Lord Aberdeen, including the recommendation for the future of the frontier. Basically there was nothing new in his evidence that had not been established in the letter but its value lay in the fact that it was now made public at a time when controversy over the role of the colonist was just beginning. Although he stressed again that there was culpability on both sides, black and white, and although he by no means exonerated the the settlers from blame, Shaw made it clear that the Wesleyans were not following in the L.M.S. footsteps as set by Philip and laying all the blame at the door of the colonists. He stressed the fair degree of friendliness which existed

66. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.191.

67. P.P. 1836 vii (538) pp.50-66.

between the settlers and the Xhosa. Shaw was able to criticise while remaining loyal and this demonstrated the typical fairness which was a consistent mark of his character. He opposed the agreement between the Governor and Ngqika in 1819; he made known opposition to the removal of the Xhosa from their lands and cited this as a clear cause of the war. His opposition to the annexation of land between the Keiskamma and the Kei was made clear, yet he considered it would be unwise to go back on that annexation and as a compromise he thought it would be no bad thing to allow the reoccupation of the lands by the Xhosa provided they became British subjects.⁶⁸

In his second appearance,⁶⁹ Shaw was asked specific questions about the results of work done by the missionaries and missionary institutions. Understandably Shaw made much of the role of the missionaries on the frontier and cited the meetings which he had been instrumental in convening between the colonial authorities and the chiefs. He appeared to be totally confident of the beneficial results which missionary endeavour would engender in the Xhosa and this was for Shaw a complete justification of a missionary presence amongst the Xhosa. Once more Shaw demonstrates the contemporary link-up between Christianity and civilisation: the two were synonymous.⁷⁰

A particularly important aspect of the second piece of evidence was the view held by Shaw of how the annexed territory should be occupied.⁷¹ He recommended that the

68. P.P. 1836 vii (538) pp.64-66.

69. Ibid, pp.92-95.

70. Ibid, p.93.

71. Ibid, pp.94 ff.

area should be divided into a number of sections or townships and that one or more of the sections should be granted to each of the tribes willing to become tributary to the British. The tribes which were the most friendly to the British should be placed near the old border. There would be military posts and settlements in some of the intervening sections. There should be no solitary farms and he suggested that the settlers should be located in townships with a nearby village to form a meeting-place and place of safety. The sale or lease of lands by the Xhosa to the whites should be made illegal. The missionary factor was again prominent in the suggestion that suitable land be made available for mission stations and schools.

This plan of Shaw's is of great interest in that it propounds an intriguing scheme for integration which was not quite that: whites and blacks should live side by side in specially defined areas, each group keeping firmly to its own territory. The chance of any further intermingling being prevented by the ban on the sale or lease of Xhosa land to whites. This would also form a satisfactory check on any white idea of territorial expansion. The whole settlement would therefore be integrated but within the settlement each component group would be kept to itself. There is, in this scheme, the forerunner of the later location system and even of the whole group areas system, but it is clear from the sincerity which is inherent in the evidence, that Shaw was not advocating anything quite so rigid as the separation of the future. His stress on Xhosa rights to the soil preclude any such theories. Shaw made his suggestions in the full expectation of equal justice for all and they were not based on the concept of racial superiority. They were based instead on the concept of civilisation: that once the black man had become civilised - and his acceptance of Christianity would take him a long way towards

that end - then he would be on a par with the white man.

Shaw's third and final piece of evidence⁷² again contained answers to questions regarding the effectiveness of missionary work. The crucial link between Christianity and civilisation was explored once more and Shaw stated clearly that the fixed plan of the missionaries was to combine the principles of Christianity and civilisation. He explained three different theories which existed on the topic:⁷³ that civilisation may be brought about without the influence of religion; that civilisation may be brought about merely by preaching Christianity but without using any of the other means of civilisation; that civilisation may be brought about by preaching the essentials of Christianity while at the same time making use of every form of civilisation in order to improve the situation of the Xhosa - "to raise them to an improved condition". Of these three theories, Shaw showed that the first had been proved to be totally inefficient in practice; the second could produce worthwhile moral results but would result in the Xhosa being left in a comparatively primitive state. The third, on the other hand, was that favoured by the Wesleyans and in Shaw's opinion was responsible for the work of conversion and civilisation being able to proceed concurrently, efficiently and rapidly. This clearly indicates the priorities of Wesleyan missionary policy - that the trappings and components of contemporary "civilised" society went hand in hand with the mission to evangelise and Christianise. This, in turn, confirms the view of Monica Wilson when she states that "The function of the church or mission is to pioneer institutions to meet some need, to experiment, to initiate".⁷⁴ The missionaries,

72. P.P. 1836 vii (538) pp.124-127.

73. Ibid, p.125.

74. Wilson, Missionaries, Conquerors or Servants of God? in S.A. Outlook, March 1976 p.42.

in their attempt to civilise by means of Christianity, or conversely to Christianise by means of civilisation certainly experimented and initiated. Summed up, this evidence by Shaw can be said to have indicated that missionaries were, in fact revolutionaries, and that they were anxious to carry through a revolution of Xhosa society in order to improve the quality of life of that society for its own sake and not for any ulterior motive.

The question which followed explored the general attitudes of the Xhosa towards the British, and in his reply, Shaw indicated two distinct groupings: those who were anxious to be on amicable terms with the authorities and those who were openly hostile. It is interesting to read Shaw's reasons for the tribes who were hostile to the authorities - the hostility arose from a sense of the injustice they felt had been meted out by the government. Shaw makes it clear that he believed there was ground for such belief. He also states that amongst the Xhosa people there existed a definite love of country which made loss of country a particularly great evil in their sight. Shaw was a perceptive and understanding man and he was quick to acknowledge genuine grievances and the causes of those grievances when they were there.

Shaw made a good impression on the Aborigines Committee. Buxton stated that he had given better evidence than had been expected from him⁷⁵ and the Secretary of State, Lord Glenelg, was also impressed. Hurt refers to him as being "more than ordinarily impressed" and states that his notes on Shaw's evidence are, in bulk, second only to those made on Stockenström's evidence.⁷⁶ He paid particular attention to Shaw's comments and opinions on land, reprisals and the Xhosa character. In a marginal note Glenelg wrote,

75. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.193.

76. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.203.

"(the evidence) of Revd. W. Shaw is peculiarly important not only from his long experience among Kaffirs but also because he is one of that class of Missionaries who are not peculiarly favourable to Kaffirs".⁷⁷ It is important to note that Glenelg could not have taken complete notice of all Shaw's opinions, however. He seems to have ignored Shaw's view that it would be foolish to go back on the annexation which he himself described as having been "made so formally, and in the presence of some of the leading Caffre Chiefs",⁷⁸ but, as Hurt points out, he did use Shaw's evidence to support his views on the reclaimable nature of the Xhosa character.⁷⁹ In this way the Aborigines Committee was important in guiding Glenelg in the decisions made regarding the necessity to reverse D'Urban's unorthodox actions of May 1835.

William Shaw's time in England was by no means a wasted period during which he enjoyed the benefits of leave and an easier life-style. He was greatly involved in Southern African affairs and acted almost in the role of an ambassador putting viewpoints and opinions and helping to shape ideas. In so doing he placed himself in a particularly favourable light in the eyes of both the government and his own superiors. This stood him in good stead once he returned to Africa where he was able to continue his work in the knowledge that he was viewed with understanding both in England and in the colony. Above all this was to stand him in good stead in the controversies which raged following his return to the colony.

77. Ibid, p.204.

78. P.P. 1836 vii (538) p.65.

79. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions p.205.

Chapter 6

THE GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT

William Shaw arrived back in Southern Africa as the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in South East Africa on the 14th February 1837 after a voyage of some 100 days from England.¹ He arrived in Cape Town from where he informed the mission house in London of his "tedious" and "disagreeable" voyage. He arrived to be met with complications concerning his transport to Algoa Bay - the vessel on which he was originally booked was delayed, and with considerable impatience he made arrangements for an alternative passage up the coast. He could not "think of submitting to this detention".² His reactions to this change of plan demonstrate something of the frustration he must have felt after the long passage out. One aspect of his impatience to get to Grahamstown arose from the fact that he was particularly anxious to sort out some problems which appear to have arisen at the last meeting of the district. These were problems regarding changes to be made on some of the stations and he made it quite clear that he did not altogether agree with them.³ He failed to make clear in his letter just what the problems were but it is probable that they revolved around the personnel of the stations. He made it obvious to the committee that he had assumed his new office with determination.

Shaw held the position of General Superintendent until his permanent return to England in 1856. Its aim was to direct control and unite Wesleyan work in what was loosely termed South East Africa. The post was a new one and Shaw the first incumbent. His appointment to it was the result of the pioneering and unique work which he had done both within and without the colony from 1820 until his departure for England in 1833. In episcopal churches the bishop has traditionally been seen as the focus or symbol of the unity of the church and in his role as General Superintendent,

1. Cory Ms 1858/6 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 17.2.1837.

2. Ibid

3. Cory Ms 15862/6 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 4.3.1837.

Shaw came near to fulfilling a similar role. Part of his brief was to be present at the district meetings of the various areas under his supervision and thereby exercise a unifying influence. Apart from the Albany District and the Somerset District, and the stations beyond the frontier in Caffraria, his area of responsibility also included stations north of the Orange River and, after 1842, in Natal.⁴ Without the presence of a strong personality to direct and control, this scattered work stood in danger of losing something of its corporate nature despite the organisation of Methodism. Shaw held the Superintendency for twenty years and this, in itself, is a tribute to his overall statesmanship and ability as a leader, organiser and administrator.

By 1837 the Wesleyan involvement in Southern Africa was three-fold: Firstly, with the colonists, secondly with the Xhosa and some Khoi and thirdly, with the government authorities themselves. Roxborough cites the close associations of the Wesleyans with the authorities in the form of the government or diplomatic agents⁵ who were appointed to reside among the Xhosa chiefdoms in terms of the treaties made by Stockenstrom as part of the new dispensation on the frontier. Despite this close association with the authorities, in a letter to the secretaries of the missionary committee in London, written from Cape Town in early March 1837⁶ before his return to Grahamstown, Shaw expressed some disquiet about current arrangements on the frontier⁷ and fears that the missions, especially Wesleyville and Mount Coke, the two oldest, would suffer. He relayed to London the information that a feud existed between Phato's people and those of Maqoma because Phato's people

4. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, introduction, p.14.

5. Roxborough, Colonial Policy, p.22.

6. Cory Ms 15,862/6 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 4.3.1837.

7. It is likely that he refers to the treaty system.

had refused to join in the war. He felt that a running feud might make it difficult to rebuild Wesleyville and Mount Coke, both having been evacuated and burnt to the ground during the war, along with Butterworth. It is probable that these missions were destroyed merely because they were associated with the white colonists and not because of any concerted attack on the missionaries as such, although it can also be argued that as the spearheads of change in African society, the mission stations would automatically be the targets of attack. The fact that Shaw was already in possession of such information is an indication that he was in touch with affairs from the moment of his return.

Shaw actually arrived back in Grahamstown on the 28th March and received a cordial welcome from the local populations, both black and white of all denominations.⁸ Amongst those there to greet him on his arrival was the convert chief Khama.⁹ The town gave him an official welcome back in early April when a public tea meeting was held at the Wesleyan chapel. He made a speech lasting about an hour in which he indicated his pleasure at being back in the eastern Cape once more.¹⁰

Shaw was quick to assess the effects of the war which were to be seen in the Albany District¹¹ and was convinced that they would be felt for years to come. As a minister he was particularly distressed that it had affected both the temporal and spiritual interests of the colonist. He made a firm plea for adequate compensation to be made to the settlers; he felt that failure to do this would be a flagrant breach of faith on the part of the British government who had sent the settlers to Africa. Once he

8. Cory Ms 15429 (reel 1 mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 21.4.1837.

9. G.T.J. 30.3.1837.

10. G.T.J. 6.4.1837.

11. Cory, Ms, 15, 429 (reel 1, mic), Shaw to the Secretaries, 21.4.1837.

saw the situation at first hand he was able to reiterate sentiments expressed both in his letter to Lord Aberdeen and in his evidence before the Aborigines Committee: that the border policy in the colony prior to the war was a bad one and was, therefore, injurious to both white and black. He was able to reiterate too that the settlers were not to blame. Shaw saw his own task in this post-war period very clearly: to use all his efforts in an attempt to pacify and assist those badly affected by the war. At this time the first hints of the dispute with the L.M.S. can be detected. Shaw wrote of the "ungenerous treatment" meted out to the Wesleyans by "... a party who affect to be the friends of the Kaffres but who, in fact, have as yet done next to nothing for that people".¹² It is fair to assume that Shaw refers here to Dr. Philip and the L.M.S, especially in the light of Philip's pro Xhosa and anti-Wesleyan utterances in England at the time of his evidence before the Aborigines Committee. Shaw himself was able to write from a position of strength. While in Cape Town, before he returned to Grahamstown, he called upon the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in order to thank him for kindness shown to the Wesleyans during the war. D'Urban paid tribute to the Wesleyan missionaries by saying to Shaw that a better class of men had not been known and that they did honour to the Wesleyan Society in every respect.¹³ This is further proof of the close affinity which was developing between the Wesleyans and the colonial authorities.

In the eastern Cape the relations with the authorities were just as good. Shaw paid his respects to Stockenstrom, the lieutenant Governor, by whom he was received in a kindly way. Stockenstrom gave Shaw information which was of value to

12. Ibid.

13. Cory Ms 15/429 (reel 1 mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 21.4.1837.

him in making certain arrangements for the mission. Despite the affinity with the government, Shaw was determined that he would not become a party man and take sides. He remained a loyal subject of the crown and showed proper respect to the King's representatives. In declaring this loyalty, Shaw made it clear that to him the interests of black and white were alike; he regarded himself and did not mind being called, "a partizan for the good of all".¹⁴

Little after a month following his return, Shaw set off for an extensive visit to all the stations in Kaffaria. The major purpose of the visit was to assess for himself what had occurred in his absence as well as during the war, and what needed to be done. To this end he convened a meeting of all missionary personnel at Clarkebury on the Bashee River. He also used the meeting as an opportunity to convey to them the wishes and views of the committee in London. This extensive trip was the first made by Shaw as General Superintendent and the forerunner of many others. The journey took about a month. The principal form of transport was horseback and the distance covered was about 800 miles.¹⁵ While travelling Shaw was able to view something of the state of the country and the dislocation of war. On the whole he was impressed and found that things were recovering well but he was distressed to see the state of the stations which had borne the brunt of wartime dislocation.¹⁶ He found that the missionaries themselves were hardly daunted by their experiences of being refugees and the brunt of Xhosa hostility. At the Clarkebury meeting it was resolved not only to continue to build up all the stations which already existed but to

14. Ibid.

15. Cory Ms 15,429 (reel 2 mic) Shaw to the Mission House 25.7.1837.

16. Wesleyville, Mount Coke and Butterworth.

establish others when the occasion arose.¹⁷

Soon after his return Shaw became embroiled in one of the bitterest incidents of his time in Southern Africa and in one of the bitterest controversies of mission history: the clash between himself, and Dr. John Philip of the L.M.S. This protracted incident revealed Shaw in a new light altogether. He emerged as the man who knew he was being wronged and who was determined to see that justice was done - and seen to be done - to him. As a man of loyalty and responsibility to the organisation which he served, Shaw determined to uphold the Wesleyan Society in the face of the onslaught from Dr. Philip, and it was this resolve which created this inter-missionary struggle.

In essence there was a wide difference between the Wesleyans and the L.M.S. These differences were made all the more acute by events on the frontier from 1834 and the period 1834-1840 saw the differences harden and widen. Dr. Philip has been the subject of lively controversy among historians of South African history. Cory has written that though nominally a missionary, he was the greatest politician of his time in South Africa.¹⁸ He also wrote of him that "he was par excellence a political intriguer who could even overshadow a Machiavelli."¹⁹ Not only was there conflict between missionary and missionary - between L.M.S. and Wesleyan - but there also developed conflict between missionary and settler community and this was largely occasioned by Philip. Galbraith claims that this has indelibly marked South African Society, and John Philip has assumed the nature of a permanent symbol: "to his admirers he represents the triumphs, albeit temporary, of the forces of virtue; to his enemies, he was the agent of the Devil".²⁰

17. G.T.J. 1.6.1837.

18. Cory The Rise of South Africa, Vol 2 p.403.

19. Ibid, Quoted in Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.81

20. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.81.

Galbraith goes on to say that "Philip, during his lifetime created a myth of South African history which ensnared not only himself and his admirers but their most violent opponents".²¹ It is unfortunate that all the real details regarding Philip will never be known and no true assessment of the man will ever be made due to a fire in 1931 which destroyed all the Philip personal papers deposited in the library of the University of the Witwatersrand, although Professor W.M. Macmillan wrote his sympathetic account of Philip, Bantu, Boer and Briton before the fire. In opposition to the generally accepted view of an intriguer and a meddler, Macmillan suggests Philip was a wise man who only involved himself in political affairs when he was forced to do so by the moral gravity of the given situation. Philip saw himself in this light and with a certain arrogance enjoyed playing the role in which he cast himself: that of a highhanded statesmanlike figure.

As the avowed champion of the rights of the Khoi, the coloured and later the Xhosa people, Philip became an unpopular figure from the beginning and emerged, as Macmillan says, as "... One of the most hated figures in any national history". "The grievous wrong done to his memory makes the destruction of the Philip evidence the more deplorable".²²

Majeke devotes a whole chapter to Philip, and says that there is no doubt that he played an important political role,²³ but it is a role which is as much involved with the process of conquest as that played by other less politically active missionaries. Despite his championship of the non-white peoples of Southern Africa Majeke sees Philip as no different from the others and asserts that

21. Ibid, p.81.

22. W.M. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, The Making of the South African Native Problem (Oxford 1963 ed) p.10

23. Majeke, The Role of the Missionary, p.13.

Philip's aim was the destruction of one culture, tribalism, and the replacing of it by capitalism.²⁴ He offered "protection" and "friendship" to the non-white people and this he coupled with segregation.²⁵ For Majeke, Philip was no champion of non-white rights but another agent of imperialism.

Hurt maintains that the seeds of the controversy between the L.M.S. and the Wesleyans lay in the early years with the arrival in Southern Africa of Shaw and Philip themselves.²⁶ Philip arrived in 1819, the year before Shaw and he remained in the Colony until his resignation in 1849. Shaw was in Southern Africa from 1820 with a break from 1833-1837, and their African careers, therefore, are largely contemporaneous. On a number of occasions the L.M.S. accused the Wesleyans of trespassing on their territory²⁷ and in 1821 the Wesleyan missionary committee in London expressed the hope that Shaw had not offended the L.M.S. who were described as "our friends".²⁸ Hurt states that the principal fault lay with the L.M.S. and that later Shaw complained of interference from the L.M.S. with chiefs whose lands formed part of the area covered by the Wesleyan chain of stations.²⁹ This was all to do with practical missionary work - the real differences came later over matters relating to political affairs.

At first, relations with Philip himself were good. Shaw had an early meeting with him at Theopolis. In November 1821 he recorded that: "The Dr. is prudent, zealous,

24. Ibid, p.18

25. Ibid, p.13;19

26. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p207.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid, p.208.

29. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.208.

friendly and pleasant and is undoubtedly a valuable director of African missions".³⁰ By 1826, only five years later, Shaw was taking a different line. Philip sailed to England on leave and Shaw wrote to warn the secretaries of the mission house of an impending visit from Philip. He referred to a jealousy which he found had arisen on the part of Philip over the Wesleyans who had refused to join the L.M.S. in matters which they conceived to be political in nature, and as a result, Shaw felt that Philip had attempted to do them some harm in the colony, but had failed. He warned the secretaries not to take notice of any insinuation which Philip could make regarding Wesleyan work and personnel.³¹ What these so-called political matters were, in which the L.M.S. wished Wesleyan involvement, Shaw does not say. This letter, which is vehement in tone, is an interesting reflection of Shaw himself who had become firm and resolute even in his dealings with other missionaries. He was very anxious for the honour and good name of his own society. This is the side of Shaw which was seen throughout the controversy with Philip.

During the first decade in the Albany District, the Wesleyans were not troubled much by the L.M.S. or by Philip who was busy with efforts to improve the quality of life of the people of colour within the colony. It was only in 1830 that he began to take an active interest in the relations of the Xhosa in the colony and as the Xhosa were the people amongst whom the Wesleyans worked, friction was bound to occur.

In January 1830 Philip began a five-month tour of the frontier where he came into contact with chiefs, including

30. Hammond Tooke (ed) Journal of William Shaw, 13th November 1821 p.62.

32. Cory Ms 15,862/2 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 2.2.1826.

Maqoma and Thyali with whom he discussed claims to the neutral territory. In 1832-3 he made another visit to the frontier and began to take the part of the Xhosa whom he met. His activities were regarded by the Wesleyans as tantamount to trespassing in an area which they regarded as their own territory.³² Despite the growing impatience of the Wesleyans with the activities of Philip, according to Hurt the first evidence of a Wesleyan complaint against the L.M.S. or Philip came in 1835.³³ To the Wesleyans, Philip was engaging in affairs of a political nature, and they preferred to restrict themselves to their missionary work. Philip, on the other hand had been saying to chiefs about the neutral territory, "this is your land. I shall speak in the Governor's ear"; "the land is yours on this side of the Fish River, I shall write to the King and speak to the Governor".³⁴ Wesleyan dissatisfaction with these interferences came largely from the fact that the L.M.S. were venturing where they had no right to be. There was plainly an unwritten law which prevented missionaries from working in territory where others already worked; the L.M.S. were patently taking no notice. The only L.M.S. involvement along the frontier was at the Kat River Settlement and in one station which was connected with a small tribe which Boyce does not mention.³⁵ In the eyes of the Wesleyans it stood to reason that their own involvement - a chain of stations stretching some 300 miles - was far greater and their consequent annoyance at the potential undermining of their work was understandable. The L.M.S. pretended to much more, and Boyce cynically remarked, "From the language employed by this gentleman, (Philip) and his colleague, Mr Read, while in England, the public must have been led to suppose that all Kafferland was under

32. Hurt, Wesleyan Mission, p.210.

33. Ibid, pp.211-212.

34. W.B. Boyce Notes on South African Affairs (London 1839) p.13.

35. Boyce, Notes, p.14.

their pastoral care".³⁶

What annoyed the Wesleyans further was that Philip was never an eye-witness of events on the frontier - least of all of the 1834-5 war. His impressions were based on the brief visits which he undertook and on the reports of his various correspondents.³⁷ With their extensive fields of activity, their close association with the people, with the chiefs and with the language, the Wesleyans were certainly far better qualified to exert influence and to draw conclusions on frontier events.

In 1839 Shaw published A Defence on the Wesleyan Missionaries in Southern Africa: comprising copies of a correspondence with the Revd. John Philip D.D. It was published both in Grahamstown and in London and comprised four letters which passed between them as well as a lengthy introduction and a series of appendices relative to aspects of the controversy. The principal occasion of this written controversy can be seen as Philip's denunciation to Governor D'Urban of the Wesleyans as supporters of the commando system as practised by Colonel Somerset but there were other instances which brought the latent hostility into the open.

In June 1835 the Wesleyan missionaries presented a loyal address to D'Urban which contained a paragraph which became the centre of misrepresentation. It stated baldly that the Xhosa were known to have been the aggressors in the 1834-5 war and that they committed their act of aggression in a wanton and cruel way: "Lamentable and distressing as the events of the Kaffer war have been, as well towards the

36. Ibid.

37. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.214.

the Kaffers themselves as the Colonists, we are yet consoled with the reflection, that so far as the Colonial Government is concerned, it has been conducted in accordance with the principles of justice and mercy. We know, in common with our countrymen that the Kaffers were themselves the aggressors, and that they most wantonly, cruelly and ungratefully commenced this war, with a people who sought and desired their welfare and prosperity".³⁸ This paragraph became the target of much criticism and abuse in humanitarian circles in England. Immediately after his arrival back in the Colony Shaw took up the case on behalf of his fellow missionaries and sprang to their defence. In a letter to the mission house in London³⁹ he made it clear that he appreciated the difficulties caused to the committee by the address. He enclosed a document issued by the signatories of the address, Messrs Haddy, Palmer, Ayliff, Shepstone, Boyce, Davis and Dugmore, which was intended to serve as an explanation of their intentions. Shaw regarded this document as a good and valuable one which required a wide circulation. In it, the missionaries quoted from a despatch from Governor D'Urban to Lord Glenelg⁴⁰ with which D'Urban had enclosed the Wesleyan address. He did so because he believed the address, given as it was, by men who possessed a long and intimate knowledge of the country and its affairs, was of considerable value, owing to the fact that the sincerity of the missionaries could in no way be called into question. All this would undoubtedly redound to D'Urban's own credit. In the light of the annexation of the Queen Adelaide Province (a deed which D'Urban was at great pains to justify) it was vitally important to have as solid and respectable a backing as possible. Such backing from the Wesleyans was a great help

38. Shaw A Defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Southern Africa (London 1839) p.60.

39. Cory Ms 15,429 (reel 2 mic) Shaw to the Mission House 9.6.1837.

40. Grant, Charles, Baron Glenelg. 1778-1866. Colonial Secretary 1835-9.

and D'Urban took it to mean support for the annexation. This was strenuously denied by the missionaries in their explanation of the address.

The address, they claimed, was to express their grateful thanks for the kindness of the Governor and to acknowledge his services in seeing to the safety of some missionaries during the war. They reiterated that the Xhosa were "from our certain knowledge" the aggressors but to set the matter straight on the actual conduct of the war they reiterated also that the war was fought by the government with mercy and justice. Dr. Philip, the London Missionary Society and the humanitarian party in England were criticised for making statements while "... residing far from the scene of action, and quite ignorant of the state of affairs".⁴¹ The missionaries stressed that they made no comment on the frontier system prior to the war and made no comment on the actions and plans of the Governor for the future. As proof of the fact that the missionaries felt they had been wrongly judged by some who had no real idea of the state of affairs, they requested that they be judged not from the misinformed deductions of others. They referred to the resumption of the mission stations with the permission of the chiefs and took this to indicate that their remarks about the instigation of the war were not misrepresented by the Xhosa themselves.

The production of such a document is indicative of two things. Either the Wesleyan missionaries were anxious that statements which they had made and initially meant to be taken seriously were now to be disregarded due to their inadvisable nature, or they had had been totally misrepresented as they claimed. The paragraph itself makes it difficult to judge, but perhaps it is the sincerity of the missionaries which must be the deciding factor. The

41. Shaw, Defence p.63.

sincerity of the Wesleyan missionaries has never been called into question and so it can be considered unlikely that they would make statements of such a controversial nature and then attempt to back off. Had they meant what had been credited to them they would, in all likelihood, have stood by what was intended in the face of all criticism. In short, the Wesleyans must be given the benefit of the doubt - the paragraph appears to be clear in its meanings and misrepresentation is understandable. This affair of the loyal address was the precursor of the kernel of the controversy which began in April 1838 with a letter from Shaw to Philip.

The correspondence itself comprised four letters, two from Shaw to Philip and two from Philip to Shaw, written between April 1838 and April 1839. It refers principally to a statement made by Philip in a letter to D'Urban in which the Wesleyans are made out to be in favour of the commando system. This letter was shown by Philip to the Aborigines Committee but without the paragraph referring to the Wesleyans and the commando system. It would appear that this paragraph was for the Governor's eyes only and that it was inserted for the express purpose of bringing the Wesleyans into disfavour in the eyes of the Governor. Due to what Shaw calls "One of those apparant accidents which so frequently unshroud the truth ..."⁴² it became known that the copy of the letter shown to the Aborigines Committee was incomplete. This reflected badly on Philip who was seen as one who willingly and knowingly withheld information from competent authorities. The original letter was obtained and referred to the Aborigines Committee. The correspondence between the two men which revolves largely around this incident was published chiefly so that evidence could be made public whereby Philip was shown to have used influence in private to do "a serious injury to

42. Shaw, Defence p.vii

their (the Wesleyan's) public character".⁴³

The first letter was written by Shaw to Philip on April 6th 1838.⁴⁴ Shaw wrote, not in a personal capacity, but on behalf of the Wesleyan missionaries of the Albany and Kaffraria Districts. The passage in question, which appeared in Philip's letter to D'Urban and with which Shaw and others took issue, should be quoted in full: "There is, perhaps, another reason which may be noticed, in passing by your excellency's information, to account for the favour shown to the Chiefs at the Wesleyan Missionary Stations in Kafferland: the Wesleyan Missionaries have always been eulogists of Colonel Somerset, and thus have always been in the habit of praising him, and defending all his commandos more than the missionaries of other societies".⁴⁵ Shaw requested from Philip a five-fold explanation. In the first instance he wished to know on what authority he made his representation to the Governor regarding the Wesleyans; secondly, why such representations regarding the conduct of the Wesleyan missionaries was made. Shaw was anxious here about the injury the representations would do to the Wesleyans in the eyes of the Governor. Thirdly, he required to know whether Philip had ever been in touch with the Wesleyans regarding his disapproval of their alleged activities and whether he informed them of his intention to let D'Urban know of his feelings towards them. This was asked with reference to the scriptural rule contained in Matthew xviii: 15-18 - "Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone ...". In the fourth instance Shaw was anxious to know why the letter shown to the Aborigines Committee did not contain the paragraph referred to, and finally, if the conduct of the Wesleyans was so reprehensible to Philip, why did he give the Committee an

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., Shaw to Philip 6.4.1838, pl.

45. Ibid.

edited version which could be construed as a compliment; or conversely, if he intended to be complimentary, why did he enclose such a hostile paragraph, in his letter to the Governor?

Shaw demanded a satisfactory explanation from Philip in his capacity as a Christian minister and a "fellow labourer in the South African Missions".⁴⁶ He made it clear that what was required in addition to the explanation was an apology and until that was forthcoming, the Wesleyans would be unable to greet Philip "with the right hand of friendship".⁴⁷ In addition there would be no reciprocal preaching or speaking engagements between the two bodies. Shaw wrote that he intended no disrespect towards the L.M.S. and that the explanation and apology was required from Philip personally.

Philip replied some time later - in early August. The initial tone of the letter was one of almost wounded surprise "that a paragraph so clear should have been so misunderstood".⁴⁸ Philip immediately tried to prove that he had been misrepresented and that Shaw's letter, with its five-fold demand for an explanation, was requiring too much under the circumstances. Philip claimed that he was willing to submit to any impartial judge in the world to ascertain whether Shaw was imputing to him things which he had not said. For this reason he originally intended to ignore Shaw's letter but later decided that the Wesleyans had no other object in view other than to defend themselves against the charge of having been guilty of favouring a public officer for private ends by supporting the commando system. Philip was prepared to answer Shaw's points but only because he felt that all missionaries ought to be able to live together in some form

46. Shaw, Defence, Shaw to Philip 6.4.1858 p1.

47. Ibid.

48. Shaw, Defence, Philip to Shaw 1.8.1838 p5.

49. Ibid.

of Christian fellowship and not because he thought either explanation or apology was necessary.⁴⁹ By this Philip made it clear that he was unable to retract anything of what he had previously written. This showed too that he was unwilling to come to any terms with the Wesleyans and that the confrontation between them - for such it had now become by the tone of Philip's reply - would continue. The remainder of Philip's lengthy letter was devoted to a justification of his original standpoint.

He was able to call upon letters written by Boyce in 1833, and by Shrewsbury⁵⁰ in 1828 in defence of the commando of 1828. He was able to refer to the occasion in July 1832 when the Wesleyans presented Colonel Somerset with a bound hymn-book suitably inscribed in terms of esteem, on the occasion of his return to England on leave. It was chiefly on these instances that Philip based his accusation of the Wesleyans eulogising Somerset. He also claimed that he originally said that the Wesleyans eulogised Somerset more than other missionary societies and that in his original letter Shaw had omitted this qualification. Philip's claim was that in eulogising Somerset's public conduct, (and that had been done, according to the Graham's Town Journal⁵¹) the Wesleyans were, by implication, supporting the commandos. Their only defence, therefore, would be to state that they did not include the commandos in the public conduct. Philip summed up the whole basis for his argument when he stated, My business is not what was meant, but what is expressed..."⁵²

Philip had approached the Governor because he considered it was the duty of every man to express himself frankly on

49. Ibid.

50. Shrewsbury, the Revd. W.J. 1795-1866. Wesleyan Missionary. He served in South Africa from approximately 1826-1836 at Butterworth and elsewhere. - Berning, Index to obituary Notices of Methodists Ministers. p18.

51. G.T.J. 20.7.1832.

52. Shaw, Defence, Philip to Shaw 1.8.1858.

topics as important as frontier policy. He felt no need to consult the Welseyans as he saw no need to consult with a body with whom he had no official connection, over his approval or disapproval of their public proceedings. Once again the matter returned to the question of Colonel Somerset - there was no accusation of sinister motives in the declaration to D'Urban that the Wesleyans upheld Somerset's public conduct. Philip claimed that he was merely making known a fact to the Governor.

On the question of why the letter was shown to the Aborigines Committee and published on their authority without the relevant paragraph regarding the Wesleyans and Colonel Somerset, Philip maintained that the paragraph was intended for the eyes of the Governor only, for his exclusive guidance, and that it had no connection with the business of which the Committee required information. His claim was that they were two different documents - the one containing information he wanted the Committee to possess and the other containing information exclusively for the Governor.

Shaw's response to this came in the new year, in the form of a particularly long letter⁵³ which began with a form of tit-for-tat which was an indication of the tetchiness which was beginning to mark the controversy. Shaw made clear the differences of opinion which existed between the two societies, especially over the question of frontier policy. He also reminded Philip that his attack on the Wesleyans was one sided as no Wesleyan had ever published anything to the disadvantage of the L.M.S. The object of the L.M.S. in these attacks, according to Shaw, was to destroy the character and reputation of the Wesleyan missionaries. Shaw defended the Wesleyans by claiming that their share in the quarrel was "wholly defensive".

53. Shaw, Defence, Shaw to Philip 11.1.1839 p16.

Most of the letter was devoted to piecemeal examination, of Philip's previous reply to Shaw. He contended that Philip's argument had no foundation on which to rest.⁵⁴ Shaw declared that in no way did the Wesleyans support any facets of the commando system and according to him it was well known on the frontier that the Wesleyans were never in favour of that system. On the question of the omission of the paragraph, Shaw detected discrepancies in Philip's explanations to the Aborigines Committee and to Shaw himself, and reiterated that he thought a criminal charge was both expressed and implied.⁵⁵ Shaw concluded by again expressing the view that in the absence of any satisfactory explanation or apology there could be no fellowship between these two bodies and that the Wesleyans now felt that they could pursue any cause which they saw as necessary in order to remove the unfounded prejudices against them.⁵⁶

Philip replied to this letter on the 8th April 1839⁵⁷ and it was the final letter in the correspondence. In a note to the letter in the published version Shaw made it clear that he thought it useless to continue the correspondence. By this point the controversy had become more than a little tedious with the same points being gone over again and with Philip anxious - as Shaw was in the previous letter - to score as many points off the other as possible, and in the process to avoid making any concessions. Philip insisted that he had never had sight of any document which made it clear that the Wesleyans disapproved of the commando system. If he had he would perhaps have changed his mind on the topic.

This reply from Philip explored no new ground but simply

54. Shaw, Defence, Shaw to Philip 11.1.1839 p.23.

55. Ibid, p.35.

56. Ibid.

57. Shaw, Defence, Philip to Shaw 8.4.1839.

rehashed old issues. By not answering the letter Shaw showed good sense in realising that nothing positive would be achieved.

In his concluding observations Shaw, confident of the right being on his side, made a number of points which arose from the letters, in an effort to show how unjust Philip's accusations were. These points amount to a summary of the whole controversy: that the Wesleyans were accused of being in favour of the commando system; that they defended all Colonel Somerset's commandos; that Philip made these representations to the Governor in secret, not letting on to the Wesleyans that he had done so; that a letter containing this prejudicial information was circulated in England where the Wesleyans were unable to produce any counter-arguments; that Philip gave a copy of the letter to D'Urban to the Aborigines Committee without the offending paragraph about the Wesleyans. Shaw claimed that the whole case was an example of a "public man" seeking to obtain his wishes through unfair and dishonourable means. He detected jealousy and the flouting of the Christian ideals of truth and love and he confidently awaited the verdict of a Christian public on the matter. Shaw told the missionary secretaries in London that he did not intend a long controversy with Philip⁵⁸ but felt he had to do something to counter the "mischief which he (Philip) and his coadjutors have done to the cause of Mission..."⁵⁹ Shaw felt that the interests of the Xhosa were ruined by Philip's "injudicious tampering and intermeddling with local politics" and he felt that the damage would be felt for the next thirty years.⁶⁰

The whole controversy was an unfortunate episode in the

58. Cory Ms 15862/6 (mic) Shaw to the Secretaries 14.9.1838.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

careers of both men and in the histories of the two societies. It assumed the character of a peevish and irritable fight in which neither Shaw nor Philip would concede any points but in which both were anxious to emerge as the victor. The whole affair served no real purpose and there was no conclusive outcome. It showed both men up in the light of the one scoring points off the other. In the final assessment nothing was gained because neither side was able to prove anything against the other. What cannot be called into question is the sincerity of either of the two men. Both men believed passionately in the position which they had adopted and neither was able to move at all from their original standpoints.

It should be borne in mind when considering Shaw's position in the matter, that he had sprung to the defence of his colleagues in order to save them and their reputations from the calumnies of Philip and the L.M.S. In so doing he showed himself to possess great facility with the use of his pen and although he did not achieve a great deal by involving himself so closely with the controversy, he was able to put his points of view with admirable ease. Shaw wrote as the spokesman of the whole Wesleyan group and most probably did so far better than the others could have done.

The controversy with Philip can be seen as an excellent example of Shaw at work as the leader of South African Methodism, quick to spring to the defence of its honour and not ashamed to enter into conflict with one who had already achieved a substantial reputation in South African affairs. While the whole affair got no one anywhere it had about it various side aspects which are illuminating in showing some sides of Shaw's character. In this affair he was seen as tenacious, shrewd, unafraid and supremely confident. There is also a hint of personal enjoyment of the controversy; an enjoyment of the thrill of the fight and

of the possibility of victory.

The year from April 1838 to April 1839 when the controversy raged was not only given over to the battle with Philip Shaw found time for many activities and engagements as General Superintendent. Just prior to this period - at the end of 1837—in an editorial in the Graham's Town Journal⁶¹, there appeared the reproduction of a letter from Shaw to the South African Commercial Advertiser⁶² dated the 29th November. The letter dealt with a number of topics, all effecting the Wesleyans. A loyal address had been sent from the inhabitants of Albany to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her accession on June 20th 1837. Shaw had not signed the address and was criticised for the omission by the Commercial Advertiser. In his defence of himself he maintained that the annual conference of Wesleyan ministers had already sent their own address and he wished it known that he had signed that.

It appears from the Graham's Town Journal that a religious revival was taking place within the Wesleyan congregation and the Commercial Advertiser had evidently seen fit to be critical there too. Once again Shaw sprang to Wesleyan defence and claimed to be surprised at the attitude of the Commercial Advertiser. He maintained that the paper was a professed patron of mission and missionaries and so it ill-became them to make a public attack on the Wesleyans. "Should any Christian friend or minister imagine he can prove

61. G.T.J. 14.12.1837.

62. The South African Commercial Advertiser began as an unofficial newspaper under the editorship of George Greig in January 1824. In May 1824 the press was confiscated under orders from Lord Charles Somerset. The case was submitted to Lord Bathurst who permitted further printing but in 1827 Somerset again had the paper suppressed. By this time John Fairbairn, the son-in-law of John Philip, was the editor and he successfully pleaded the case for reopening. In October 1828 the paper re-appeared again.

there has been no revival of religion among us, let him make the attempt in a spirit of kindness...⁶³ According to Shaw, by its criticisms, the Commercial Advertiser was meddling in theology and getting "into a mist".

The most important part of the letter was a refutation of comment made by the Commercial Advertiser with regard to D'Urban's annexation of the Queen Adelaide Province. The Commercial Advertiser claimed that D'Urban's measure had included the expulsion of "a whole nation from the land of their birth. Shaw's criticism of this was three-fold. Firstly, Maqoma and his people did not form the whole of the Xhosa nation, not even half of it. For Shaw, this claim of the Commercial Advertiser had the appearance of "prevarication". Secondly the annexation did not exclude the whole nation from the land of their birth. D'Urban had altered his original intention in the September policy and Shaw regarded as concealment the fact that the newspaper had ignored this. Thirdly, the Commercial Advertiser was aware of these two aspects when their original criticisms were written. To Shaw this appeared to take the form of an accusation made against the Governor, and false accusation made knowingly he called sin.⁶⁴ This letter shows the differences between Shaw and the Wesleyans on the one hand and Dr. Philip and the L.M.S. on the other. Shaw appears to take a pro-government stance here. He did so not blindly but after having assessed the facts of the situation. Had he seen points worthy of criticism no doubt he would have criticised. His association with the authorities did not make him blind to the fact that they could be, and sometimes were, wrong.

Further indication of the Wesleyan ties with the colonial government came in July 1837 when preliminary moves were made

63. G.T.J. 14.12.1837.

64. G.T.J. 14.12.1837.

by Shaw to assist the government with the transmission of important despatches from the interior to Cape Town and from Cape Town to the interior. This came about when a despatch destined for Cape Town was sent by Captain Gardiner R.N.⁶⁵ from Port Natal to Buntingville, from where it was forwarded to Shaw in Grahamstown, who in turn sent it on to Cape Town. Shaw wrote of this to Colonel Bell, the secretary to the Government in Cape Town⁶⁶ and suggested that there might be other times for the urgent transmission of despatches to and from government agents and Shaw was happy for the missionaries at the various stations to act almost in the role of courier and intermediary. Shaw's willingness to assist the government in this regard did not extend to performing these functions without payment and he sent a memorial to the Governor⁶⁷ which set out his plans for the scheme, and requested that £15 be paid to the Wesleyans from the colonial treasury in order to cover expenses. Much of the money would go to the hiring of Xhosa messengers. This was an important suggestion - in helping to establish a regular line of communication the Wesleyans were placing themselves in position of trust and responsibility in the handling of important despatches. The suggestion was accepted and the mail service was commenced.

While the relation with the authorities improved and grew stronger, the day to day pastoral work of the district progressed but there were instances when Methodism itself

65. It is more than probable that Captain Gardiner, to whom are given no names or initials, was Captain Allen Francis Gardiner 1794-1851, naval officer and missionary. He was sent to the navy against his wishes by his father in 1808 but served for some time before devoting himself formally to mission work after the death of his wife in 1834. He worked mainly in Natal but ended his career in South America. D.S.A.B. Vol II p.254. cf also Brookes and Webb A History of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) 1965

66. .C.O. 464 (Cape Archives) Shaw to Bell 13.7.1837.

67. C.O. 464 (Cape Archives) Memorial, Shaw to D'Urban 13.7.1837.

caused something of a hindrance to the progression of the work. In Church of England eyes Methodists were dissenters and almost second-class Christians and this differentiation became apparent in early 1838 when Captain Armstrong, the magistrate of Fort Beaufort began to place obstacles in the way of banns of marriage being called in the Wesleyan chapel. This was on the grounds that Wesleyan ministers, not being official colonial chaplains of the Church of England, could not legally perform marriages. Shaw was quick to write to Armstrong and state his case as clearly as possible.⁶⁸ His argument rested on the fact that the marriage laws of England did not, and never had extended to the colonies and that there was no law of the British Parliament which prevented non-episcopalians from performing marriages. He noted that in a few colonies there were local laws which restricted the right to perform marriages to episcopalians and Presbyterians. Shortly after the second British occupation of the Cape a proclamation was issued which made it obligatory to be married in a religious ceremony, thus negating a previous proclamation issued under the hand of Governor Janssens which allowed marriages to be performed by a magistrate. The proclamation insisting on marriage in a religious ceremony directed that parties were to be married by a minister of the Gospel belonging to the settlement. As a result of this the argument put by Shaw was that Wesleyan ministers residing within the colony were ministers of the Gospel and, therefore competent to perform marriages. Shaw's policy, ever since 1820, had been to perform marriages only when an episcopalian clergyman had not been present to do so, In 1824 Lord Bathurst reinforced this, stating that the Wesleyan missionaries were not to be prevented from performing marriages or baptisms within the colony, providing no episcopalian clergy were available.

68. Cory Ms 15,429(reel 2 mic) Shaw to Armstrong 16.5.1838.

This episode indicates again Shaw's concern for the rights and privileges of Wesleyanism. It is also an indication of his familiarity with law and practices within the colony which might effect Wesleyan work.

Shaw was concerned with the fate of the so-called "coloured" members of the Wesleyan congregations within the Albany and Somerset Districts. Both the L.M.S. and the Moravians had been involved in work amongst them, and by 1839 Shaw was anxious that the Wesleyans were also seen to be working in this area. He wrote to Colonel Bell in April 1839⁶⁹ and informed him that after long experience and careful consideration the Wesleyan ministers had come to the conclusion that one of the most effective means of benefitting the "Aborigines and other coloured people"⁷⁰ and preventing vagrancy in the colony was the establishment of small villages in various parts of the colony where each person would possess a house and garden with the right of keeping a few cows and goats. Shaw believed that these settlements should remain small and not grow anywhere near the size of the Kat River Settlement. There would be no intention of removing labour from the farmers, but Shaw believed that such a system would be a worthwhile stimulus to labour, especially with the incentive of working on their own plots. He did not foresee these small settlements becoming "asylums" for the extremely poor or the very idle. If there was disease or poverty, he regarded that it was the task of public and not missionary societies to deal with the problems. Like any true Methodist, Shaw's views on idleness were scripturally based and he invoked the apostolic maxim "if any man will not work neither ought he to eat".⁷¹

The rules envisaged for these small communities were strict:

70. Ibid.

71. II Thessolonians, 3: 10.

a small annual rent was to be paid; only those who possessed a small stock of cattle would be allowed to settle in one of the villages. An exception was to be made to artisans who would be able to work in order to justify their presence. A lease system would be employed in order to determine the suitability of persons to remain in the villages. Bad behaviour would see to it that leases were not renewed. Shaw envisaged the growth of what he called "a native peasantry" which would become a class to which the poor would aspire. Bundy has said that this concept lies at the core of South Africa's social history - the transition of the majority of her people, the rural African population, from their precolonial existence as pastoralist-cultivators to their contemporary status of sub-subsistence rural dwellers.⁷² Shaw's scheme was certainly intended to take people from the "pre-colonial" existence but it is questionable whether his aim was to take them as far as "sub-subsistence rural dwellers". It is arguable that in all sincerity, all Shaw wished to do was to raise a class of people to a better standard of living. That a transition to sub-subsistence living did eventually occur was by no means due to any preconceived notions on the part of the missionaries.

There appears to be great similarity in Shaw's aim to produce a stable peasantry, with contemporary South African preoccupations with the building up of a black middle class. Then, as now, such a class would be self perpetuating and would have much to loose by indiscriminate and irresponsible behaviour. This acted then, as it does today, as a security buffer whereby the co-operation of the indigenous peoples is guaranteed and a measure of safety for the whites is ensured.

By placing these villages in areas surrounding farms, these

72. C. Bundy The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry, (London 1979) p.1.

small and well regulated coloured communities would be able to assist the farmers at times such as sheep shearing and harvest. Wages would be paid to supplement the incomes already coming in from the gardens and from stock sales. With customary foresight Shaw was able to foresee possible criticisms. One such was that a system like this would encourage the maintenance of a class system amongst the indigenous people. Shaw was able to see that there would, inevitably, be some sort of distinction but it would be independent of the colour question. Nevertheless, he was anxious to avoid it if possible. It would be a distinction "which in all civilised countries exists betwixt the wealthy and the poorer classes". He stated that his plan was similar to that followed on many of the landed estates of England.

Coupled with the general intention of keeping people occupied and busy in as worthwhile a manner as possible was the question which was never far from Wesleyan minds - that of the education and religious instructions of those living in these communities. Shaw considered this dual task would be taken care of easily and cheaply with the recipients of such education living in communities where they would be easily and profitably taught and evangelised. Once more Shaw saw the principle of civilisation clearly before him when he wrote "... the introduction of new works, new tastes and new principles ... cannot be rapidly introduced in any other way than by religious instruction and education, aided by such legislative arrangements as are calculated to stimulate but not to coerce the industry of the labouring classes".⁷³

This vision of Shaw's for the education, civilisation and settlement of the coloured people in the colony was a wide one and which suffered, perhaps, from being too wide and a

73. C.O. 458 (Cape Archives) Shaw to Bell 2.4.1839.

little too ingenuous. Shaw was able to see only the culmination of a perfect development; he failed to take into account the foibles and drawbacks of human nature. He was working in the realm of the perfectionist, and having evolved a scheme which was a perfect one to him, he propounded it with the utmost confidence, fully expecting it to take shape and flourish according to his plans. Some of the proposals were put into practice on the mission stations, but a network of small communities operating around the farms of the colonists never came to fruition. Two variants of the scheme did, however, come about at Farmerfield in the Salem area, and at Haslope Hills in the Cradock District.

Shaw bought Farmerfield, formerly called Klipheuwel, bordering on the village of Salem, in 1839. The object of the purchase was to provide a safe place of residence along Christian principles for Xhosa families who were connected with the Wesleyan congregation in Grahamstown, and for Xhosa from Wesleyville who had been dislocated by the 1834-5 war and had moved into the colony as refugees. The station was under the care of Daniel Roberts and the minister at nearby Salem was responsible for the religious services although, as a licenced lay preacher, Roberts was able to conduct services. Despite the dislocation of the war of 1846-7 and 1850-3, Farmerfield developed considerably and Shaw wrote that "... it is in the strictest sense a truly Christian village. The comfortable cottages of the people and their extensive cultivated grounds with their large herds of cattle, their wagons etc, fully attest their general industry which is indeed surprising considering the community to which they belong".⁷⁴

The other venture which was begun along similar lines began

74. Shaw quoted in Boyce, Memoir p.209 Shaw, SMM pp. 290 ff.

when Shaw and Boyce bought land on the northern base of the Winterberg in the Cradock district. The farm was named Haslope Hills after Haslope, a former treasurer of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. The first resident minister of Haslope Hills was the Revd. John Ayliff.⁷⁵ While Farmerfield became a sanctuary for Xhosa, Bechuana and Mfengu as well as emancipated slaves,⁷⁶ Haslope Hills was established as a centre for emancipated slaves and freed apprentices.⁷⁷ Like Farmerfield, Haslope Hills suffered in the wars of the 1840's and 1850's, but it later flourished as Shaw hoped.

Shaw was profoundly concerned to establish ways and means for all manner of people to establish themselves in a Christian, civilised environment. In one way Shaw was a visionary, but from his vision the seeds of Christianity and civilisation were able to take root and establish themselves on the frontier in some small way. The controversies of the time made no impact on Shaw's ultimate intention to preach the Gospel to all men. This he was able to do with continuing vigour.

75. Ayliff, the Revd. John, 1797-1862. 1820 settler and Wesleyan minister. He had been a local preacher in England, and after acting as a lay assistant to Shaw was ordained in 1827. He worked in the field of Xhosa linguistics and in 1842 published a Vocabulary of the Kafir Language. He also contributed translations to the Xhosa Bible. D.S.A.B. Vol I p.28.

76. Shaw SMM pp.294 ff.

77. Ibid, pp.298 ff.

Chapter 7

THE AFRICAN CLIMAX

One of the disturbing characteristics about Wesleyan missionary correspondence between the years 1837-1854 is the paucity of primary material, which is surprising given the many important events with which the Wesleyan Missionaries, including Shaw, were associated in that period. Wesleyans witnessed the crisis between the boers and their southern neighbours which ultimately led to the British occupation of Natal. There were two wars on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony which also rank as events of crucial interest. N.K Hurt confirms in his thesis that following the war of 1834-5 there is almost a complete lack of communication from missionaries in the field.¹ This was supported by the Wesleyan historian, the Rev. J. Whiteside in his History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, when he wrote that beyond an occasional letter published in the Missionary Notices, or an allusion to be found in a rare book, there was scarcely any material to be found dealing with post 1834-5 events.² There doubtless was some correspondence but whatever there was appears to have gone missing since the end of World War II. Professor L.A. Hewson, the co-archivist of the Methodist Church in South Africa has confirmed this and despite efforts made to trace the correspondence, nothing has been forthcoming.³

Wesleyan missionary endeavour in Kaffraria suffered heavily as a result of the 1834-5 war and a great deal that had been built up during the previous decade was destroyed. Reconstruction was the keynote of the years immediately following the conclusion of the war and it is possible that one reason for the paucity of correspondence was that missionaries were particularly busy in the field. Top priority was given to the rebuilding of the actual mission

1. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.261.

2. J. Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa (London 1906) pp.209-210.

3. Conversation with Professor Hewson at Rhodes University, January 1981.

stations and due to the fact that the government would not pay compensation, this task was a difficult one.⁴

When Shaw arrived back in southern Africa in 1837 he at once involved himself with the process of reconstruction. The period now beginning was one in which, according to Hurt, the closeness of the Wesleyans and the Colonial authorities tended to grow less. This occurred despite the kind words spoken to Shaw by Governor D'Urban on his return from England. After D'Urban's dismissal and replacement by Napier,⁵ and after the appointment of Colonel Hare as Lt. Governor of the eastern districts,⁶ this break tended to widen. Shaw himself was fully involved in the work of the General Superintendency and wrote to Beecham in December 1839,⁷ "I am overwhelmed with a constant press of business arising out of the multifarious local affairs connected with our mission and cannot therefore write to you as often as I could desire". In this letter Shaw makes mention of his pamphlet The Defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries and asked that it be given as good a circulation as possible. Shaw noted the departure of Stockenstrom from office as Lieutenant Governor and although he does not pay any sort of tribute

4. Hurt, Wesleyan Missions, p.262.

5. Napier, Sir George, 1734-1855. Governor of the Cape Colony. He succeeded Benjamin D'Urban. During his term of office there was no full scale warfare in the colony. He was responsible for the occupation of Port Natal in 1838 and again in 1842. In May 1843 he issued the proclamation annexing Natal as British territory. cf, S.E.S.A. Vol 8, p.39.

6. Hare, LT.Col. John, d. 1846. Lt. Governor of the Eastern Cape Province, 1838-1846. He was the successor of Stockenstrom. S.E.S.A. Vol 5, p.436.

7. Cory Ms 15862/6 (mic) Shaw to Beechman (Private) 3.12.1839.

to him, he does not ally himself with the current colonial opinion which was very much against Stockenstrom. Shaw was always impressed with Stockenstrom and was pleased with his fair attitudes towards both blacks and whites.

In November 1840, almost a year later, Shaw wrote again to Beecham⁸ and the length of time between letters bears out the scarcity of correspondence between the mission house in London and southern Africa. Shaw was aware of the fact that he had not written for some time and mentioned the fact, claiming involvement with district matters. These would have included meetings, plans for the reconstructed stations, deployment of missionaries and the administration of the finances. He and his family had also been seriously ill from a fever and this too would go towards explaining the silence..

Despite this silence and absence of letters, the final fifteen or so years which Shaw spent in the colony were far from routine years. One of the crises which arose and which concerned Shaw had to do with an attack by boers on the chief Ncaphayi. The early hours of Saturday December 19th 1840 witnessed an attack made by a commando of boer trekkers on the people of the Amabaca Chief Ncaphayi. Three tribes were involved in this incident and of them, the ama Pondo were the most important. The attack took place in Eastern Pondoland between the South - Western border of Natal and the Umzimvubu River. According to Cragg,⁹ the ama Pondo were the most important tribe in ^{the} area and had probably reached the district at the beginning of the 17th century, and by 1840 were establishing themselves on the eastern bank of the Umzimvubu after the upheavals of the Zulu invasions. The ama Pondo chief was Faku who had ruled for about twenty

8. Cory Ms 15,862/6 (mic) Shaw to Beecham 9.11.1840.

9. D.G.L. Cragg The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi in The Journal of the Methodist Historical Society of South Africa, Vol iii No.4 Oct. 1960, p.121.

years and because of contact with the Wesleyans was regarded as friendly and an ally of the colonial government.¹⁰ The ama Baca tribe was a more recent arrival in the area and had come as refugees from the excesses of Shaka. They had managed to retain their tribal identity and had slowly consolidated power. This was due largely to their chief Ncaphayi who was regent for Mdushane. Initially Ncaphayi had been an ally of Faku but by 1840 was engaged in sporadic warfare with him. Ncaphayi had requested that a missionary be attached to him as early as 1834 and about the time of the boer attack, the Revd. W.H. Garner¹¹ was preparing to take up that position. The third tribe which was involved was the en Tlangwini who lived to the east of the Umzimkulu and who had become dependent on the Trekker Republic of Natal.¹² They had been defeated by the ama Baca in 1828 and so their chief, Fodo, was anxious for Boer patronage. Cragg maintains that he was also anxious to assist Faku in an attack on the ama Baca, independently of the Trekkers.¹³

The attention of the Trekkers had been drawn to eastern Pondoland by the fact that Bushmen in the area were active as cattle-thieves. In April 1840, Jacobus Uys headed a commando which was sent out in an attempt to halt their activities, but this was to no avail. In September the Volksraad received more complaints of cattle-thieving. Cragg refers to the possibility of an embassy being sent to

10. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi: p.121

11. Garner, the Revd. W.H. 1812-1864. Wesleyan missionary. He came to southern Africa in 1836 and spent twenty-eight years in the country. The establishment of a mission amongst the people of Ncaphayi was probably his most notable achievement. D.S.A.B. Vol III. p.317.

12. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi p.122.

13. Ibid.

Faku on the matter but there appears to be doubt as to whether this was actually done.¹⁴ On the 24th November 1840, a large commando under the command of Commandant-General Pretorius set off to be joined by the enTlangwini chief Fodo and some of his tribesmen. Initially the commando searched for Bushmen on the plateau beneath the Drakensburg but this yielded no result, so they moved into Pondoland where Faku was approached by a boer embassy which suggested an alliance. According to Cragg, Faku confirmed boer suspicions that Ncaphayi was guilty of cattle theft and Faku himself accused the boers of being overbearing in manner. Cragg maintains that there was truth in both assertions.¹⁵ A boer council decided that Ncaphayi should be punished and early on the morning of the 19th December, 1840 a surprise attack was made on the kraal of one of Ncaphayi's councillors. Three-thousand cattle are believed to have been seized in the raid and women and children were taken prisoner.¹⁶ The boers found cattle which they alleged belonged to them amongst those seized and that, together with the testimony of prisoners, confirmed boer suspicions and justified - in their eyes - the attack. In other words, they attacked first and collected the concrete evidence afterwards. On the way back Fodo fell into disfavour by allowing some of his men to slaughter small-stock. He was taken prisoner and some of his men were severely beaten.¹⁷

The repercussions of this attack were great. Ncaphayi

14. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi, p.122.

15. Ibid

16. Ibid; cf also The Journal of Messrs Palmer, Jenkins and Garner in the correspondence on the incident in Journal of the Methodist Historical Society, Vol iii No.4, p.134.

17. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi, p.123.

immediately made contact with Garner and relayed the story to him. Faku too was worried. The manner of the boer emissaries towards him and the treatment of Fodo and some of the enTlangwini made him anxious about further boer actions. He therefore turned to the missionaries for advice and assistance.¹⁸ The Revd. Samuel Palmer,¹⁹ Thomas Jenkins²⁰ and W.H. Garner have left a joint journal which is important in that it gives necessary details of the affair.²¹ The three visited the chiefs early in 1841 and were able to assess the situation. The journal was also used to apprise the rest of the missionary brethren and especially Shaw himself, of the situation. This journal runs from the 25th December 1840, the day on which a message came from Faku to request Jenkins to visit him, to the 7th January 1841, which detailed the meeting with Ncaphayi and the relevant aspects of the attack.

It is clear from the journal that both Faku and Ncaphayi were in great fear of the boers. Both men decided to remove themselves: Faku to the area of Buntingville and Ncaphayi to the mountains, and through the missionaries both requested help from the Cape Colonial government. The journal also shows that the missionaries did not remain uncritical of the chiefs and that they were not unduly hopeful of colonial intervention. On the 3rd January 1841

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18. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi, p.123.
19. Palmer, the Revd Samuel, d. 1846 during the Frontier War. He served in South Africa from 1829.
20. Jenkins, the Revd. Thomas 1806-1868. He came to South Africa with the settlers in 1820. He was ordained in 1838 and went to Buntingville in Western Pondoland. In 1845 he settled at Palmerton near the great place of Faku with whom he was working. D.S.A.B. Vol I p.408
21. Journal of the Methodist Historical Society, Vol iii No.4 pp.131-135.

they wrote, "During the conversation we embraced every opportunity of laying before him his own folly, in his late Fetcani attacks on the Abatembu... And that his conduct towards the Abatembu rendered it exceedingly difficult for us to urge his claim upon the colonial government..."²² Later, under Thursday 7th, the missionaries recorded that "we then concluded by earnestly recommending N'Capai to lay aside his warlike intention and live in peace with his neighbours, as on those terms only can he expect the Colony to render him any assistance or to interfere in his behalf".²³

This very unpleasant incident became the subject of a full correspondence between Shaw and the Colonial government, and exists in a volume entitled Copies of a Correspondence betwixt Mr. Shaw, Wesleyan missionary at the Cape of Good Hope; - Relative to the attack made by the Emigrant Dutch Farmers on the Tribe of the Chief N'capye with statements respecting the carrying off Native children etc etc from Dec. 30th 1840 - to March 15th 1844.²⁴ The letters were copied in Shaw's absence and the sequence is incorrect.²⁵ In the Journal of the Methodist Historical Society of South Africa, Vol iii Nos. 4 and 5, Cragg revised the order and published the documents in accordance with a table of contents supplied by Shaw in the original volume.²⁶

22. Ibid, p.133.

23. Journal of the Methodist Historical Society, Vol iii No. 4 p.135.

24. Cory Ms 15,003.

25. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi, p.119 The correspondence was copied in 1844 when Shaw had given up attempting to obtain some sort of redress for Ncaphayi from the local authorities. He then referred the whole matter to the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London. Cragg has not been able to ascertain whether any further action was taken. He thinks not: Ibid.

26. Cory Ms 15,003.

There were two sides to the issue - that of the Trekkers²⁷ and that of the missionaries. The publication of this correspondence between Shaw, the government and others had a three-fold purpose: firstly, it brought to light the missionary viewpoint and it shows that Shaw, who believed in the innocence of Ncaphayi and his people, was a tenacious man who was not willing to let go a matter in which he believed. Secondly, it also reinforced the fact that Shaw was willing at all times to go to the defence of blacks whom he believed to be wronged in any way whatever. This then dismisses the claim made by Dr. Philip and others that Shaw was involved on the side of the colonists against the blacks.

Thirdly, the official records lack detail concerning the raid, hence an anonymous letter from "Emigrant" plays an important part in the evidence.²⁸ Cragg thinks that the author was probably George Christopher Cato, the first mayor of Durban.²⁹ Cato began on the commando and then withdrew to attend to business. Again according to Cragg, the letter is significant in that it confirms at least two points contained in the Palmer, Jenkins and Garner journal which do not occur in the Trekker documents.³⁰ This places the missionary viewpoint in a more reliable light than that of the Trekkers, although the anonymous nature and polemical tone of the letter reduces its value as historical evidence.³¹

Two South African historians - Cory³² and Uys³³ - think that

27. Bird, Annals of Natal, Vol I, pp.630 ff.

28. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi, p.151.

29. Ibid, p.120.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol iv, p.119. See also the following pages.

33. C.J. Uys, In the Era of Shepstone, (Lovedale, 1933) p.11.

the Wesleyans gave too great a prominence to the affair. Cory refers to the account of Messrs Palmer, Jenkins and Garner as "... little more than hearsay evidence" and he implies that Shaw's own involvement in the affair was worthless due to the fact that he was at Peddie "hundreds of miles from the alleged attack". Uys has referred to the Wesleyan's description of the attack as being couched in "exaggerated language" but he adds that Napier was "disposed to believe them". Walker, on the other hand, tends to be unsympathetic to Ncaphayi and says that Ncaphayi was a public nuisance,³⁴ but he does not mention the Wesleyans, least of all does he place them in a bad light.

The whole affair has a two-fold significance. Firstly, the correspondence reveals Shaw's role in the matter as General Superintendent. As the matter was an early prelude to the later annexation of Port Natal, Shaw's role is particularly interesting. Secondly, the affair reveals Shaw's own concern that right should prevail and it shows his continued efforts to prove the innocence of Ncaphayi as well as his efforts to gain some measure of compensation for the losses in both cattle and personel to the chief. Shaw brought the whole matter before the governor, Sir George Napier at the end of December 1840.³⁵ In his usual respectful manner he wrote to H. Hudson, the acting secretary to the government in order to ask him to raise the matter with the governor. With his letter he enclosed an extract from the letter from Garner in which he appraised Shaw of the situation prevailing. From the beginning Shaw saw the matter in terms of the innocence of Ncaphayi and he made it known to the Governor that Ncaphayi waited to see what steps the colonial authorities might take to protect these victims of boer aggression.

34. Walker, History of South Africa, P.215.

35. Cory Ms 15,003, Shaw to Hudson, 30.12.1840 (Ms. Copy).

Napier responded promptly by communicating with the Volksraad in Pietermaritzburg.³⁶ Shaw indicated to the Governor that he intended to go to Ncaphayi country and in a letter from J.M. Craig, the Governor's private secretary, Shaw was requested to investigate the whole affair thoroughly and ascertain the truth of the report. He was also asked to convey to any of the boers he might encounter, the contents of Napier's letter to the Volksraad.³⁷ This is an indication that Governor Napier was satisfied enough with the Wesleyans, and with Shaw in particular, to let him act in this respect as a sort of unofficial envoy or agent. It also calls into question the claim made by Hurt that the Wesleyans and the colonial authorities drifted apart in the period following D'Urban's term of office.³⁸ If this was so it seems unlikely that Napier would have been so ready to trust the Wesleyans and to rely on their advice in such a delicate matter. Certainly the quality or nature of the intimacy between the two may have altered, but there is little, if any evidence to substantiate the claim that any link had disappeared, or was disappearing.

When Shaw sent to Napier the copy of the journal of Palmer, Jenkins and Garner, he again stressed that both Faku and Ncaphayi required - and he implies that they deserved - protection from any further unprovoked attack.³⁹ This again demonstrates his belief in the innocence of Ncaphayi. With this letter Shaw enclosed a statement signed with the mark of Faku and two councillors, and witnessed by Palmer, Jenkins and Garner to the effect that out of fear he was vacating his traditional lands but that he had not abandoned them, and that

36. Cory Ms 15,003, Napier is the President of Council, Pietermaritzburg, (Ms. copy).

37. Cory Ms 15,003, Craig to Shaw, 9.1.1841, (Ms Copy).

38. See page 195.

39. Cory Ms 15,003, Shaw to Craig, 19.1.1841, (Ms Copy).

they still belonged to him.⁴⁰

A letter from Shaw to Craig, dated January 18th 1841 is of importance in that it reveals something of Shaw's thinking on measures which should be taken to prevent further incidents of a similar nature.⁴¹ Shaw foresaw that there were two measures which would put a stop to marauding boers. The first was the immediate seizure of Port Natal by a British force and the second was the establishment of a strong military post on the Umzimvubu River. Cragg refers to this as one of the most significant sentences in the whole correspondence. According to him it was possibly the first time that such a military post had been suggested.⁴² Shaw saw that to do both would be the most effectual measure but realized that there were possible problems with regards to the immediate availability of the required troops. Shaw made, yet again, a plea for the protection of both Faku's and Ncaphayi's people and stated that to show both parties (that is, boers and Africans) that force would be used to put down any attempt to disturb the peace of the country would be by far the best method of preserving peace.

Napier acted quickly, and in response to Faku's request for protection, a detachment of the 27th Regiment was made available and proceeded to the Umzimvubu for that purpose.⁴³ Shaw made his proposed journey to the area and in February reported back, both to the Lt. Governor and to the Governor himself⁴⁴ that he had seen Faku, to whom he explained the presence of the troops. Due to the flooded state of the rivers he was unable to contact Ncaphayi who, as soon as he could, sent a message to Shaw placing

40. Cory Ms, 15,003, Declaration of Faku (Ms Copy).

41. Cory Ms, 15,003, Shaw to Craig 18.1.1841 (Ms Copy).

42. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi, Vol iii No 4 p.161, n.14.

43. Cory Ms, 15,003, Craig to Shaw, 21.1.1841 (Ms Copy).

44. Cory Ms, 15,003, Shaw to Hudson, 17.2.1841, Shaw to Craig 17.2.1841, (Ms Copy).

himself and his people entirely under the control and protection on the British Governor.⁴⁵ This report was well received and its contents were found by Craig, secretary to Governor Napier, to be "most satisfactory, useful and interesting"⁴⁶. Craig also requested that if Shaw should have any further information which might be of value he should transmit it.

Despite the despatch of troops to the area to afford protection to Faku, there was still thought given to a British occupation of Port Natal. In July Shaw was able to inform Hudson, the acting secretary to the government, that he had information to the effect that should such an occupation take place, at least two-thirds of the boers would submit providing they were allowed to retain their farms.⁴⁷ Perhaps this gives some clue as to why the boers trekked in the first place - the quest for land which they could seize and hold at will. In a further effort to prove the innocence of Ncaphayi in the affair of the cattle thefts, Shaw made it known that he was in possession of evidence collected by the missionaries, and confirmed by other evidence collected by the Revd. James Archbell⁴⁸ to the effect that

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45. Cory Ms, 15,003 Shaw to Hudson, 17.2.1841. (Ms Copy).
46. Cory Ms, 15,003 Craig to Shaw, 17.3.1841, (Ms Copy).
47. Cory Ms, 15,003 Shaw to Hudson, 27.7.1841, (Ms Copy).
48. Archbell, the Revd. James, 1798-1866, Wesleyan missionary, Trekker minister, printer, journalist, businessman and politician. He came to South Africa in 1819 and worked under Barnabas Shaw in the Western Cape. Later he moved to the Bechuana country. He became friendly with Trekkers at Thaba Nchu in the mid 1830's and began a definite ministry with Trekker parties. He worked at Farmerfield in the 1830's and later moved to Natal where he renewed his associations with the Trekkers. In 1846 he moved to Pietermaritzburg where he resigned from the ministry and became fully involved in secular affairs. He was known for his anti philanthropic views with regard to blacks.
D.S.A.B. Vol II p.12.

Ncaphayi was entirely innocent of any of the allegations made against him by the boers and, therefore, he was fully justified in claiming protection from the British government.⁴⁹

The correspondence regarding the affair appears to be neatly divided into two parts - the first dealing with Shaw's belief in the innocence of Ncaphayi and the second with his attempt to obtain some sort of compensation for the loss of cattle, and also redress for the carrying off of women and children by the boers. Ncaphayi himself was anxious for such compensation and for the recovery of the women and children, and Shaw took up his case with the Governor after the second British occupation of Natal had taken place in May 1842.⁵⁰ Shaw was also concerned about the return of the captives, especially the children, as he had reason to believe they had been sold as slaves.⁵¹ The matter of slavery was regarded with some seriousness by the colonial government who requested Shaw to furnish them with any proofs of its existence at Port Natal.⁵²

Towards the end of November 1842 there had been official reaction from the authorities regarding compensation, and Shaw, by now growing desperate about the matter, wrote to W.M.D. Fynn, a government agent who lived at Butterworth, about the possibility of an investigation into the whole matter

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49. Cory Ms, 15,003 shaw to Hudson 27.7.1841 (Ms Copy) Similar information was transmitted to the Governor via J.M. Craig. cf Shaw to Craig, 27.7.1841.
50. Cory Ms, 15,003 Shaw to Craig 5.8.1842, (Ms Copy), Troops to occupy Port Natal arrived in May 1842 but were soon resisted by a band of boers who laid siege to the small British force. They were only dispersed when a relief force under Lt. Col. Josias Cloete arrived.
51. Cory Ms, 15,003 Shaw to Hudson 25.10.1841 Cragg says (Journal of the Methodist Historical Society of South Africa, Vol iii, no.5 p.170) that the Natal Volksraad made genuine efforts to regularise the practice of slavery, but due to a general misgovernment in Natal, the boers took little notice.
52. Cory Ms, 15,003 HUDSON to Shaw 11.11.1842; Napier to Hare 4.11.1842 (Ms Copy).

of the attack with a view to obtaining compensation. At the end of 1842 and in early 1843 Shaw actually visited Ncaphayi whom he found to be far quieter due to the fact that British-boer tension, following the occupation of Port Natal, meant that a boer attack was unlikely.

As political events took their course and Natal became a British possession under the control of Henry Cloete⁵³ as special commissioner with responsibility for effecting a settlement with the Volksraad, Shaw thought once more to call the attention of the Governor to the attack and attempt to elicit some compensation for Ncaphayi.⁵⁴ Again he requested an investigation of the matter and suggested that the compensation be in the form of cattle in annual instalments of 1000 until the whole number be repaid.⁵⁵ Some progress was made when Cloete, as commissioner, made some approaches to the Natal Volksraad on the matter. Understandably, they were not inclined to enter into discussion. Cloete proposed that a herd of 100 or 150 choice cattle plus heifers and bulls be bought at the expense of the Natal treasury and sent to Ncaphayi as compensation.⁵⁶ As regards the abducted children, Cloete had been able to ascertain that with the exception of one girl, all the other children had been taken by people now residing beyond the Drakensberg.⁵⁷ This suggestion that small compensation be paid from the Natal treasury was not well received by the colonial government and Shaw was informed

53. Cloete, Henry, younger brother of Lt. Col. Josias Cloete. Lawyer and member of the Cape Legislative Council.

54. Cory Ms, 15,003 Shaw to Montagu 17.5.1843 (Ms Copy).

55. Ibid.

56. Cory Ms, 15,003, Cloete to Montagu 8.12.1843 (Ms Copy).

57. Ibid.

by Montagu⁵⁸ that the colonial government had no power to order such payment from the Natal treasury but that when a regular government was established at Natal, the question would be raised with them.⁵⁹

By March 1844 Shaw realised that his hopes of compensation were fruitless and he decided to forward the whole matter to London, in the hope that the Wesleyan missionary committee would be able to achieve something more concrete through the Secretary of State for the Colonies.⁶⁰ Cragg states that there is no evidence of pressure being brought to bear in London to this end.⁶¹ In 1844, Governor Maitland⁶² (who had succeeded Napier) concluded a treaty of amity with Faku. A similar treaty was proposed with Ncaphayi, but he was killed in 1845 before it could come to fruition. Cragg thinks that Shaw himself was behind the suggestion of this treaty but there is no concrete evidence available.⁶³

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58. Montagu, John 1797-1853. Soldier and public servant. He entered the army at the age of 17. In 1823 he joined the colonial service at van Diemen's Land. After a short interlude when he returned to soldiering, he became colonial treasurer in Tasmania in 1832. In 1834 he became colonial secretary. He became well-versed in the minutiae of administration and acquired a good reputation for hard work and efficiency. He left Tasmania in 1842 and came to the Cape in April 1843. He served four governors at the Cape as colonial secretary and worked hard to establish an efficient administrative system. He left the Cape for health reasons in 1852 D.S.A.B. Vol I p.553.
59. Cory Ms 15,003, Montagu to Shaw 5.1.1844 (Ms Copy).
60. Cory Ms 15,003, Shaw to Montagu 1.3.1844 (Ms Copy).
61. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi Vol iii No. 5 p.170.
62. Maitland, Sir Peregrine - Governor of the Cape, 1844-47.
63. Cragg, The Boer Attack on Ncaphayi pp.170-171.

The whole affair of the attack on Ncaphayi is significant for a number of reasons. It indicates in a convenient, almost self-contained package something of Shaw's tenacity and his determination to see through an issue which he considered important. The affair revolved around a political issue and Shaw's involvement most probably was construed by his enemies as an act of interference in political affairs. His dogged determination to prove the innocence of Ncaphayi and to obtain some form of compensation for the chief could easily be interpreted as political interference. Shaw by no means saw it as such. The affair involved people who were (in his eyes) unjustly the victims of an attack by a far stronger force. Despite the political overtones Shaw saw the people as the most important factor. He saw that wrong had been done and he wanted justice to be done by the colonial authorities who alone had the power to enforce redress. In one clear sense the matter became a pastoral one and he, as the pastor, saw a clear obligation to become involved.

The affair also demonstrated the clarity of vision which Shaw possessed, and his ability to see through to the heart of the matter. His vision was in no way clouded and he was able to weigh up the differing sides and arrive at the truth. He was, of course, disposed to believe his own Wesleyan colleagues, but only after assuring himself that they were in possession of the truth.

Most importantly, the Ncaphayi affair illustrated the closeness of the Wesleyans to the authorities, and particularly Shaw's own close personal contact with them. Hurt's claim that in the post-D'Urban period the government and the Wesleyans tended to drift apart is not suggested by the tone of the correspondence between them. It is clear that Shaw made easy contact with the offices of the Governor and Lt. Governor and on more than one occasion the Governor

expressed his pleasure and satisfaction with the way Shaw had acted and with the information he had supplied. It was obvious he was trusted as a clear and precise expert on affairs beyond the frontier; the Wesleyans were, through Shaw, listened to with respect. There was particular interest in his remarks regarding the stationing of troops on the Umzimvubu as well as in his suggestion that Port Natal be occupied, and it is just possible that his opinion on this matter may have been instrumental in the 1842 occupation. If this is the case, Shaw's influence and his part in the affair has up till now been underestimated. If his voice was an important factor in the determination of policy then it can be argued that the missionary factor was not to be treated lightly.

The period 1840 to the 1850's is notable for two frontier wars: the War of the Axe of 1846-7 and the war of Mlanjeni, of 1850-53. Of necessity the missionaries were involved and, as General Superintendent, Shaw was closely involved. Some ten years had elapsed since the war of 1834-5 and the peace of those years was used by the missionaries to consolidate their work after the dislocation of the war. Le Cordeur and Saunders maintain that the War of the Axe - 1846-7⁶⁴ is one whose origins have been a constant

64. The War of 1846-7 is known as the War of the Axe because of the actual incident which triggered off hostilities. A man called Tsili stole an axe from a shop in Fort Beaufort and was sent for trial to Grahamstown. He went hand-cuffed to a Khoi fellow prisoner. A daring rescue was mounted for him but in order to free him the hand of the Khoi had to be hacked off. The colonial authorities demanded the surrender of the "murderers" but the Xhosa refused. One of their men died in the rescue so all was equal. Governor Maitland was not going to stand for this and the incident was instrumental in straining border tensions between the Xhosa and the colonial authorities beyond breaking point. cf. Peires, Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society, Vol 3, No 2, 1980 p.33.

matter of controversy.⁶⁵ At the time it was alleged that the war had "been forced upon the British Government by the Settlers".⁶⁶ Robert Godlonton,⁶⁷ ever quick to act and speak in settler interests claimed that "THE AGGRESSION is ALL ON ONE SIDE; the colonists are entirely guiltless of having provoked the offence".⁶⁸ The war itself was an episode in a prolonged history of struggle between white and black on the eastern frontier of the Cape colony, but there is no single explanation of the war. Peires maintains that like the frontier wars which preceded it, this one was fought over the land. Le Cordeur and Saunders confirm this claim when they refer to the covetousness of the settlers over land which the western Xhosa occupied east of the Fish River, especially between the "ceded territory" between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers.⁷⁰ New pressures were put on the frontier with the fast growing commercialisation of eastern Cape agriculture, especially the growth of Merino sheep farming.⁷¹

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65. B. Le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The War of the Axe, 1847 (Johannesburg 1981,) p.5 .
66. Harriet Ward, The Cape and the Kafirs, p.154, quoted in Le Cordeur and Saunders, War of the Axe, p.15.
67. Godlonton, Robert, 1794-1884. Politician, journalist and businessman. He was apprenticed as a printer and came to the Cape with Bailie's party in 1820. After initial failure in the Settlement he began and developed extensive business interests both within and without colonial borders. His main interests were press and bookshops. He became owner-editor the Graham's Town Journal. As a staunch Methodist he was active in Methodist affairs. He was particularly noted for his constant defence of the settler interests and good name. D.S.A.B. Vol II p.263.
68. Godlonton, Case of the Colonists of the Eastern Frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, pp.vi, xv, quoted in Le Cordeur and Saunders, War of the Axe, p.15.
69. J.B.Peires, The House of Phalo, A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence (Johannesburg 1981) p.134.
70. Le Cordeur and Saunders, The War of the Axe, p.16.
71. Ibid.

The 1820 settlers had been established in land which had belonged to the Xhosa only eight years before, and it was a loss which the Xhosa still felt deeply. This is proven by their attempts to recover that land by means of the wars of 1819 and 1834-5. Also, the aftermath of the 1834-5 war had established hopes in settler hearts that land east of the Fish River, hitherto occupied by Xhosa, might become theirs. These hopes were dashed by the colonial secretary in London, Lord Glenelg, who confirmed the Fish River as the colonial boundary. Mfengu refugees⁷² from Xhosa territory were settled between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers at Fort Peddie, and the Xhosa remained in possession of most of their land east of the Fish.⁷³ A treaty system which attempted to regulate relations between the Xhosa and the colony existed between 1836 and 1846 and was essentially the conception of Andries Stockenstrom. According to Peires, this system was based on two fundamental propositions: that the Xhosa chiefs could be dealt with as independent rulers through Diplomatic Agents and that the problem of

72. Mfengu (ama Mfengu, Fingos): Early in the 19th century, a tribe similar to the Zulu lived in Natal. They have been described as being of the AbaMbo or AmaLala section of the south eastern Bantu. They were defeated and crushed during the wars of Shaka and some 20,000 survivors eventually reached the Butterworth area of the eastern Cape, then ruled over by Hintsa. They were given certain privileges by him but were forbidden to own cattle. The Wesleyans established the Butterworth mission near Hintsa's Kraal, but it was the Mfengu who showed the greatest interests in becoming Christian. John Ayliff formed a special bond with the Mfengu people. In the 1834-5 war the Mfengu refused to join the Xhosa and remained loyal to the colonial authorities. In May 1834 they were officially accepted as British subjects. After the Glenelg reversal of the D'Urban annexation, the Mfengu were outside the colony and suffered greatly from Xhosa raids. S.E.S.A., Vol 7, p.381.

73. Le Cordeur and Saunders, The War of the Axe, p.15-16.

cattle thefts across the frontier could be solved within the colony and not across the border.⁷⁴ Peires claims that Stockenstrom believed that cattle thefts originated mainly within the colony due to negligent herding; if this was checked the rate of thefts would be reduced. Robberies could be prevented by more herdsmen better armed.⁷⁵ From the outset the treaty system met with hostility from the colonists. A series of incidents from cattle thefts to the murder of herdsmen helped undermine the system, opening the way for further hostilities. The new Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland arrived in March 1844 and was immediately faced with the problem of relations with the Xhosa. Soon after his arrival Maitland visited the frontier and realised that the Fish boundary was difficult to defend. Accordingly he revised the treaties in favour of the colonists.⁷⁶ Forts were to be built and troops stationed in the ceded territory. Farmers were to be enabled to follow up stolen cattle at any time they wished and if the animals could not be located then equivalent compensation could be asked. A tribunal was created to hear the complaints of the settlers against chiefs and agents. Missions and Christian converts were to be placed beyond the jurisdiction of the chiefs and Xhosa law.⁷⁷ This saw the beginning of the so-called "war party" which emerged amongst the Ngqika, the senior and largest group of the Western Xhosa. But there had been murmurings long before this.

In 1842 there was a major drought and Peires ascribes the actual breakdown of the treaty system to the death of large numbers of cattle and the destruction of crops.⁷⁸ Peires also reports a war scare in 1842 when Siyolo, chief of the Mdushane sought to assist the Natal boers against the British.⁷⁹

74. Peires, The House of Phalo, p.119.

75. Ibid.

76. Le Cordeur and Saunders, The War of the Axe, p.16.

77. Peires, The House of Phalo, p.133.

78. Ibid., p.128.

79. Ibid.

This war scare, coupled with the drought, was expected by many to cause depredations against the colonists. Sandile,⁸⁰ head of the Ngqika, had great difficulty in exercising effective leadership, and this too contributed to the high depredation rate. Maitland's visit to the frontier did not help matters and he was pointedly rude and discourteous to Sandile and the Ngqika,⁸¹ believing Sandile to be definitely under the influence of a small and definable group known as the "young bloods" or the "war party".⁸² Maitland foresaw war and took personal control of the frontier, but the final blow, according to Peires, was the occupation of part of the ceded territory by troops under Colonel Hare in reprisal for the murder of a farmer.⁸³ The Xhosa now saw their land at stake and their attitude was that "the land in the object aimed at, and that, in a conflict for it, they must all stand or fall together".⁸⁴ Military patrols from the new post were threatened by armed Xhosa and the tension mounted but the final straw was definitely the establishment of a military post at Block Drift, later to become Fort Hare. It was, therefore, the imperial and colonial authorities who struck first, and not the Xhosa, as in 1834.⁸⁵

Maitland and Hare thought that a quick and powerful strike at Sandile would settle both him and the war party but soon

80. Sandile, 1820-1878, son of Ngqika and educated by Maqoma. Initially he was under the influence of his mother Suthu and he was criticised for this by Maqoma and others. During the 1834-5 war he remained loyal to the colony, but in later wars he switched his allegiance. D.S.A.B., Vol II p.614.

81. Peires, The House of Phalo, p.133.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid,pp,133-4.

84. Journal of H. Somerset, 1st July 1845, quoted in Peires, The House of Phalo, p.134.

85. Le Cordeur and Saunders, The War of the Axe, P.16.

the initiative passed entirely to the Xhosa. The ama Gqunukhwebe under Phato, (amongst whom Shaw worked at Wesleyville) entered the war and the Ngqika and allies penetrated the Graaff-Reinet district and settled in the Addo bush at the headwaters of the Sundays River.⁸⁶ The ama Gqunukhwebe went as far as Port Elizabeth. Maitland attempted to land troops behind enemy lines by making a landing at Waterloo Bay, but what Peires calls a "timid counter offensive"⁸⁷ was to no avail.

The Xhosa began to lose the upper hand when Ndlambe and his force met with defeat at the battle of Gwangqa at the end of May. Some 500 Xhosa were killed in this engagement. Burgher forces under Stockenstrom also enjoyed success but internal divisions in the colonial forces meant a certain weakness on their part. Stockenstrom, who made a separate peace with Sarhili,⁸⁸ resigned when he heard of Maitland's disapproval, and his resignation meant that boer volunteers whom he commanded, were unwilling to continue fighting. With a few exceptions the settlers did little more than guard their properties and the Khoi troops were openly rebellious.⁸⁹ By September 1846, the British troops were forced to withdraw even from Waterloo Bay, Xhosa raids continued, dysentery was rife and the British forces were reduced to a very low ebb. Almost inexplicably it was at this time that the Xhosa sued for peace. The colonial response was to demand an unconditional surrender and the annexation of all the land west of the Kei.⁹⁰ Maqoma gave himself up on the 26th October 1847 and Sandile on the 17th December.⁹¹

86. Peires, The House of Phalo, p.150

87. Ibid.

88. Sarhili 1809-1892. The son of Hintsu. Chief of the Gcaleka paramount chief of all the Xhosa. His reign spanned a stormy period of Xhosa history. He was involved in the 6th, 8th, and 9th Frontier wars. D.S.A.B. Vol I p.686.

89. Peires, The House of Phalo, p.151.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

Peires poses the question, why did the Xhosa pull back on the brink of victory? "Quite simply", he says, "they were starving".⁹² Xhosa cattle had been driven to places of safety before the war and the colonial troops had destroyed their corn supplies. So the reason for the Xhosa laying down their arms in September 1847 was one of provisions and supplies. "The war of the Axe was won on the hearth and not on the battlefield".⁹³ Shaw himself acknowledges that the Xhosa retained the upperhand for much of the war; "The Kaffirs had become apt scholars in the art of war; and were better provided with the means of carrying it on".⁹⁴ On another point Shaw and Peires concur: Peires states that the War of the Axe was the first war in which the Xhosa made extensive use of firearms⁹⁵ and Shaw backs this up with a statement to the effect that the Xhosa had provided themselves with horses and firearms, and were, accordingly, a match for the colonial forces.⁹⁶

In his article on Shaw in the Dictionary of South African Biography,⁹⁷ Cragg asserts that Shaw's influence with the government was at its zenith during the War of the Axe. The correspondence from Shaw to the mission house in London is unfortunately silent on this point as most of it is missing for the period 1837-1857. A loyal address from the Wesleyan missionaries to Sir Pergrine Maitland on his departure from the colony in January 1847 says something of Wesleyan attitudes during the War.⁹⁸ They thanked the Governor for all the great benefits, temporal and spiritual, which were

92. Ibid, p.152.

93. Ibid, p.154.

94. Shaw, SMM, pp. 170.171.

95. Peires, The House of Phalo, p.155.

96. Shaw, SMM, p.171.

97. Vol I, p.711.

98. P.P. 1848, XLIII, 912, p.22 Address to Sir P. Maitland.

conferred on the colony during his tenure of office. This is a far cry from Peires' observation that Maitland had proved himself as pathetically incompetent in war as he had been in peace.⁹⁹ The Wesleyan attitude to the war was characteristic - that it had come about as a punishment of sins and transgressions committed by the Xhosa. They backed up Maitland's contention that the war was not the result of any faulty conduct on the part of the colonists towards the Xhosa, nor of any hostile acts on the part of the colonial government. These sentiments must be compared with contemporary scholarship regarding the causes of the war. There can be no doubt that the loyal address, signed, as it was by Shaw, reflected current opinion of the war and the role of the colonists and government - that the blame was attached to the Xhosa. With this in mind it is interesting to reconstruct Shaw's own attitude if, as Cragg maintains, his influence was at its zenith at this time. Shaw must have adopted an attitude which was unashamedly pro-government, in which case he would have spared no efforts to assist the colonial government in its aim of bringing the war to a conclusion in the most advantageous way.

While in contact with Maitland during the war, Shaw offered to superintend the settlement of 30,000 Mfengu and others¹⁰⁰ between the Buffalo and Fish Rivers. The reason for such a settlement was set out in a despatch from Maitland to W.E. Gladstone¹⁰¹ in September 1846.¹⁰² Treaties were inadequate to bind the Xhosa. Maitland maintained that as long as the Xhosa had control of the bush along the Fish River and the mountains of the Amatola as places of refuge

99. Peires, The House of Phalo, p.152.

100. These "others" were categorised by Shaw as Hottentots, and Mulattos; Mosambiques and late slaves; Kama and Hermanus Kafirs and a few families belonging to other Kafir clans - P.P. 1847, 786, xxxviii, p.189.

101. Gladstone was then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

102. P.P. 1847, 786, xxxviii, p.153, Maitland to Gladstone 18.9.1846.

there was no possible chance of them being restrained. He contended that the colonial government should keep them away from these areas, but to do so would mean the occupation of the lands from which they were ejected. He did not foresee settlement or occupation by whites, but by "coloured settlements of such races as have no sympathy with the hostile Kafirs and whom we can trust for a peaceable occupation of the land and a capability of maintaining their position with our assistance".¹⁰³ This was the only way Maitland would think of shielding the colony from the "hostile tribes". By not having whites settled there, the Xhosa would have no temptation to plunder. He informed Gladstone that he envisaged something of the kind that was tried in the Kat River settlement. Much of the rest of the despatch was taken up with an exposition of his conception of the details of the scheme as he envisaged it.

By October Earl Grey was Secretary of State and Maitland was able to inform him that measures were being taken to promote the settlement.¹⁰⁴ He had been in contact with Shaw - which indicates that in all probability Shaw had been at the Governor's camp near the Fish River Mouth - and in response to a request, Shaw was engaged in bringing the settlement into effect. Shaw submitted a memorandum to Maitland with regard to the settlement.¹⁰⁵ Shaw was initially worried about the feasibility of an immediate settlement along the border but he was confident about eventually bringing a body of "Fingoes and other coloured people" to Fort Peddie or Newtondale as the rendezvous, before placing them between the Fish and the Buffalo Rivers. Shaw made known that it would be some time before the full complement of proposed settlers could be placed in the area, but he proposed to move them in as soon as possible. Shaw's proposals included immediate settlement in areas suitable for

103. Ibid, p.158, Maitland to Gladstone, 18.9.1846.

104. P.P. 1847, 786, xxviii p.185, Maitland to Grey
14.10.1846.

105. Ibid, pp.188-189.

the purpose, but with the provision that they be moved later if necessary. Rations should be supplied while the men were busy with military service, but afterwards they would be expected to fend for themselves by farming "corn and other produce". Those to be settled should be given, in rotation, leave of absence from their military duties in order to instal their families and plant their crops in the proposed places of settlement. Shaw expressed himself of the opinion that once peace had been achieved larger numbers than those initially envisaged would make themselves available for settlement. One of the stipulations made by him in his memorandum was that once settled, those in the new settlement would have adequate military protection. He offered the services of a resident missionary and indicated that until the Governor was able to appoint the proper civil officials to take charge of the settlement he was quite willing to allow the missionary or catechist to assume full control of the area and the inhabitants. Shaw made it clear that he would require no remuneration, either on his own or on the missionary's behalf, but in return for services rendered he would be grateful for grants to enable Wesleyan missionary buildings, destroyed by the war, to be rebuilt, especially in the areas to be settled.

The Revd. Brownlow Maitland, private secretary to the Governor, informed Shaw on the 22nd September 1846¹⁰⁶ that the Governor approved of the scheme and that he gave full authority for Shaw to commence. Shaw was required to furnish information from time to time on the progress of events and also on the amount of rations required.

The idea of establishing a human buffer along the banks of the Fish River was, in one respect, a good one. From the point of view of the colonists it distanced the Xhosa and made raiding

106. P.P. 1847, 786, xxxviii, p.189 B. Maitland to Shaw, 22.9.1846.

into the colony more difficult. It would have this effect in both peace-time and wartime.

What is important however, is that the whole issue itself revolved around eviction as well as settlement. To establish the new settlement meant that the original inhabitants, the Xhosa, would have to be moved. In agreeing to this, Shaw was prepared to ignore the right of the previous inhabitants to the land. This is curiously at variance with his earlier views on expulsion which he made known before the Aborigines Committee. His willingness to superintend this settlement is proof that he was deeply involved at this time with affairs of government. He appeared uncritical of the Governor and in sympathy with colonial - settler opinion on the war and its prosecution.

The scheme itself was frustrated by the transfer of Maitland to India in January 1847 but until that date Shaw was fully concerned with plans for its furtherance. A letter to the Revd. Brownlow Maitland at the beginning of January 1847 makes this clear.¹⁰⁷ He wrote concerning the .Mfengu due to be settled in the new areas and indicated that personally he would arrange their location in the respective settlements. Sir Harry Smith eventually adopted a similar policy through the agency of the missionary Harry Calderwood.¹⁰⁸ The original Maitland/Shaw scheme is, therefore, interesting in that it pre-dates Smith. It was unfortunate that after Maitland's departure, Shaw was deprived of a personal association with the new settlement.

107. C.O. 565 (Cape Archives) Shaw to B. Maitland 2.1.1847.

108. Calderwood, Henry. 1808?-1865, Missionary, government official and Xhosa linguist. He came to the Cape in 1838 as a L.M.S. missionary. He was an adviser to Maitland during the 1846-7 war. He resigned from the L.M.S in 1845 and settled near Lovedale. He later became civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Victoria East. In 1848 he was entrusted with the task of settling Mfengu along the new frontier from Oxkraal and Kamastone north of the Amatolas, down to Peddie in the South, and to superintend military villages in the valley of the Thyumie D.S.A.B. Vol I, p.148.

The years directly following the war of the Axe were years of comparative peace and du Toit wrote of them as years of unprecedented tranquility.¹⁰⁹ Harry Smith succeeded Pottinger as Governor in December 1847 and he was convinced that a long period of peace and quiet had arrived.¹¹⁰ He administered the colony as Governor and High Commissioner with a style and bravado that verged strongly on the histrionic. Peires says that the Xhosa nation, drained by two years of war, found his behaviour to be tantamount to rubbing salt "into the gaping wounds of defeat".¹¹¹ Returning to a D'Urban - like system, the land between the Fish and Keiskamma was annexed to the colony as the district of Victoria. Part of this was given to the Mfengu, part to an "abortive" Khoi settlement and the rest sold off to whites.¹¹² Three military villages were established in the foothills of the Amatola mountains. The territory between the Keiskamma and the Kei became known as British Kaffraria and was not annexed to the colony but was administered on behalf of Britain by Smith in his capacity as High Commissioner.¹¹³ While all this was taking place an atmosphere of apparent tranquility swept over the colony. There was some consolidation after the ravages of the preceding war. Mission stations which had been destroyed were rebuilt. Mount Coke, one of the stations, was receiving a grant to £100 per annum for the training of teachers.¹¹⁴ There was an increase in agriculture and trade. Shaw was occupied in those years with the strenuous business of his General Superintendency. He was present at the formal declaration of peace by Sir Harry Smith and immediately afterwards resumed travelling around his circuit.¹¹⁵ His work he described as being "severe and harassing", but he was never one to put his own comfort before

109. A.E. du Toit. The Cape Frontier: A Study of Native Policy with Special Reference to the years 1847-1866 (A.Y.B. 1954) p.47.

110. du Toit, The Cape Frontier, p47.

111. Peires, The House of Phalo, p.165.

112. Ibid, p.166.

113. Ibid, p.167.

114. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol V p.290.

115. W.M.M., 1848-1850, 1848, p.74.

the work of the mission. "... my personal labour and fatigue must not be weighed too carefully when so much of future importance and consequence is to be effected".¹¹⁶

Early in 1848 Shaw visited British Kaffraria, the Bechuana country and Natal and in his report on the trip to the missionary society he made reference to current political moves being made by Smith, especially the annexation of the territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers which, he claimed, was done with the assent of both the chiefs and the boers in the area.¹¹⁷ He also alluded to communications written by him to the Governor on the matter of African land rights in the areas through which he travelled.¹¹⁸ It is unfortunate that there appears to be no trace of these communications. This visit to British Kaffraria, Natal and the Bechuana country lasted exactly five months and his detailed accounts of the trip¹¹⁹ give a clear picture of Shaw as the Superintendent at work, caring for those to whom he ministered and with a definite concern for the spread of the gospel in every way possible. What particularly pained Shaw was the dislocation and destruction caused by the war. At Butherworth the chief Sarhili paid him a visit and promised to provide compensation for destruction for which he had been responsible.¹²⁰ In the eastern section of the Kaffraria section Shaw found the damage caused by the war less than might have been expected. Mount Coke was destined to become influential in the new post-war dispensation on the frontier. Shaw authorised the reconstruction of the mission on a new site near to where Phato was now in residence. The site of the old mission became Fort Murray, a military post.

Following the 1846-7 war, Shaw demonstrated by means of his

116. W.M.M. 1848-1850, 1848, p.74.

117. Ibid, 1848, pp.178-9.

118. Ibid, 1848, p.179.

119. Ibid, 1849, pp.29-30; 41-7.

120. Ibid, 1849, p.45.

missionary journeys something of his concerns and interests as an involved missionary leader. The reports published in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices go a long way to show him as a devoted missionary overseer. He was involved with the minutiae of the day-to-day running of his own district and also of the various other districts and stations under his control. The deployment of personnel, the organisation of Sunday Schools and catechetical work, the translation of the Bible into Xhosa as well as the financial aspects of the work all fell under his aegis and he was zealous for each and every aspect. Some of the reports were concerned with a breakdown of who was doing what, and where and with whom. It is also clear that despite his involvement with the government over such matters as the settlement of Mfengu, for instance, he never acted in a political matter without having pastoral considerations as well. Always in his mind the pastoral involvement took precedence and when he worked in close co-operation with the authorities it was for the advancement or to the advantage of people who were entrusted to his care in one way or another. In his reports Shaw does not give many details about the actual day to day work in which the various missionaries were engaged but a picture of a concerned and caring pastor and overseer is revealed in Shaw, an observant man who was able to view the situations he found and advise and direct accordingly.

In the second half of 1850 Shaw made a tour of the stations within the colonial boundary. He undertook this journey after having been ill, and was accompanied by Mrs. Shaw. His illness remains unspecified¹²¹ but despite the ill health, he does not appear to have been hampered in his tour, and he conducted it with his usual energy and enthusiasm.

The erection of a larger and more imposing chapel in Grahamstown had, for a long time, been an important priority in Shaw's plan for Methodism in Albany. It was built at the

121. WMN, 1851-1853. 1851, p.23.

lower end of the Grahamstown High Street and called the Wesleyan Commemoration Chapel. The dedication took place on the 24th November 1850 and the ceremonies and celebrations were carried over to the following week. In all there were ten services connected with the event. The building was intended as a living monument to the benevolence of God in providing for the 1820 settlers, and Shaw was much heartened by the public response to appeals for donations towards its cost. Five hundred guineas was collected from public subscription.¹²² Shaw himself described the chapel as "probably the most commodious and handsome of any building of the kind occupied by any English congregation in Southern Africa."¹²³ He was invited by the trustees to preach the first sermon in the building and that first service was attended by the principal officers of the government in the area, by senior military men and by most of the professional men in the vicinity.

Meanwhile affairs in the colony began to change. The tranquility of the years immediately following the War of the Axe gave way to tension and the forebodings of further war. Cory attributes this change in atmosphere to an "undercurrent of discontent" which was prevalent in the Xhosa chiefs, due to loss of influence and profit which the new dispensation occasioned.¹²⁴ By August 1850, news of a new prophet was rife in the colony. This prophet, Mlanjeni, was reputed to be predicting great forthcoming events. He exercised a widespread influence, and not unnaturally, the colonists were disturbed by reports which reached them. The influence of Mlanjeni began to disrupt

122. Ibid., p.76.

123. Ibid.

124. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol. V, p.292.

the lives of the Xhosa and there occurred a general dislocation of attitudes towards the colony. In addition to this, 1850 was a year of drought, and the utterances of Mlanjeni merely added more fuel to an already smouldering fire. The previous years of tranquility were seen to have been more alive with a hidden discontent than was realised at the time. The fame of the prophet spread fast and many stood in fear of him. A general desertion of servants took place which was always seen as a portent of war,¹²⁵ yet officials were still attempting to be optimistic and generally refused to recognize the imminence of war. In October, the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, arrived on the frontier and on the 26th October he met all the chiefs and headmen of the Ngqika and Ndlambe, although Sandile was absent from the meeting.¹²⁶ On the 30th October a proclamation was issued which deposed Sandile, and Charles Brownlee¹²⁷ was appointed to control Sandile's tribe with the assistance of four councillors.¹²⁸ By December events were so bad that a column was attacked on its way to Keiskammahoek and three military villages in the Thyumie Valley were destroyed.¹²⁹ This was the war cry and the upheaval followed in earnest and sharp defeats were soon inflicted on colonial forces.¹³⁰ These forces were sadly depleted by defections to the enemy and there were only 1 700 troops scattered over the frontier, holding

125. Du Toit, The Cape Frontier, p.56.

126. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol. V, p.298.

127. Brownlee, Charles, 1821-1890. Secretary of Native Affairs of the Cape Colony. His father was a missionary amongst the Xhosa and he grew up with a close knowledge of the Xhosa people. He was active in the War of the Axe, and in the 1850-1853 war he served in the military. In 1852 he became captain of the Mfengu Corps. At the conclusion of the war he was one of the official negotiators with the Ngqika chiefs. D.S.A.B., Vol. I, p.126.

128. Du Toit, The Cape Frontier, p.58.

129. Ibid., p.59.

130. Davenport, A History of South Africa, p.100.

a dozen forts.¹³¹ In February 1851, Khoi from the Kat River Settlement came out in rebellion¹³² and according to Du Toit this rebellion undoubtedly prolonged the war.¹³³

Governor Smith had great difficulty in calling out local colonists to supplement the colonial forces. In the eastern districts they were surrounded by hostile Khoi and were afraid of leaving their families. In the western districts the war became known as the "Governor's War" or the "settlers' war", and their response was also poor with only about 150 men joining up.¹³⁴ This reaction was disheartening to Smith who wrote in his autobiography, "A few spirited farmers have performed good service, but where are the men who so gallantly fought with me in 1835 ...?"¹³⁵ Perhaps Smith's answer was that they had trekked. In May 1851 reinforcements arrived which eased the predicament of the Governor although the question of bringing the war to an end was by no means an easy one and the greatest impediment was the lack of troops. In September there was renewed Xhosa activity and Smith requested two more regiments.¹³⁶ Much of the war was a mountainous one and it was only in November 1851 that he was able to lure the enemy from the mountains. Early in 1852 operations beyond the Kei were successful and the Ngqika sued for peace which Smith determined to grant only on unconditional surrender.¹³⁷ Smith was replaced as Governor at the end of March 1852 and was succeeded

131. Of the 400 kaffir Police, 365 joined the enemy with their arms. Later 335 of the Cape Mounted Rifles defected. The 4 000 Khoi auxiliaries were of doubtful loyalty and a source of anxiety. cf. Du Toit, The Cape Frontier, p.59.

132. Davenport, A History of South Africa, p.100.

133. After the war it was estimated that some 1 000 Khoi defected. A little later Khoi from the L.M.S. station at Theopolis also went into rebellion but only 159 out of 395 erfholders at the Kat River were actually implicated in the rebellion. Du Toit, The Cape Frontier, pp.59-60

134. Ibid, p.60.

135. Smith, Autobiography, Vol. II, p.268, quoted in Du Toit, Ibid., p.60.

136. Du Toit, Ibid., p.61.

137. Ibid

by General Sir George Cathcart¹³⁸ who, on arrival in the colony, proceeded directly to the frontier.

In August 1852 Sarhili was subdued and in October one of the Ndlambe chiefs, Seyolo, surrendered unconditionally. By November the Ngqika had been cleared from the Amotolas and Khoi rebels were dispersed.¹³⁹ Peace was concluded with Sarhili in February 1853 and on the 2nd March a general, formal peace was proclaimed. So ended a war which cost the British exchequer £2 000 000.¹⁴⁰

In looking at the war some seven years later, Shaw saw the scarcity of troops as a major factor. He contended that a strong military force would have succeeded in "controlling more effectively the pernicious proceedings of many of the chiefs".¹⁴¹ In analysing his reasons for the outbreak of the war, Shaw wrote very much as a white missionary possessed, as he saw it, of a superior and infinitely more civilised mode of life and belief.

The stirrings of the prophet Mlanjeni he wrote off as "special orders of an absurd character founded upon the national superstitions which the chiefs easily enforced; to prepare people for war".¹⁴² Shaw saw the war as the product of such superstition, coupled with the mission of troops and "native police" to obtain fines and restitution for stolen cattle.¹⁴³ He was unashamedly pro-

138. Cathcart, Sir George, 1794-1854. Governor of the Cape, 1852-1854.

139. Du Toit, The Cape Frontier, p.67.

140. Ibid., p.68.

141. Shaw, SMM, p.174.

142. Shaw, SMM, p.175.

143. Ibid.

government and pro-governor and was unable to see into the real reasons for the war: government frontier policy and treatment of the Xhosa, and to give an unbiased analysis. Harry Smith was held up by Shaw as having done his utmost to prevent the war. According to Shaw, his reputation was at stake and so he had every motive to avoid war. He was, however, critical of the penny-wise and pound-foolish policies of the British Government which cut military personnel and expenditure on the frontier. He obviously failed to take into account that it was well nigh impossible to justify to British taxpayers why they should support a war on a remote frontier of a colony. Shaw's criticism of the British Government amounted to very little in the long term because, in Shaw's eyes, this failure to keep an adequate military presence on the frontier merely meant that the current frontier policy - of which Shaw obviously approved - was not being properly sustained. Shaw clearly refuted any charges made against the settlers along the frontier - charges of disregarding the just rights of the Xhosa. "We have done nothing at any period to render such an allegation applicable against us".¹⁴⁴ It is interesting to note his use of the word "us". He remained closely linked with the settler community, and regarded himself as part of it right until he left southern Africa.

From the beginning of January 1851 to February 1852 there are extant a series of letters written from Shaw to Montagu, the Secretary to the Government in Cape Town.¹⁴⁵ These letters give some idea of conditions in Grahams-town during a major part of the war and also give an indication of Shaw's thinking and opinions of wartime policies. On January 11th, 1851, Shaw wrote privately

144. Ibid., p.179.

145. C.O. (Cape Archives), 605, 612.

to Montagu with information regarding Wesleyan influence over Phato which he described as being "most decisive",¹⁴⁶ thus allowing free passage to troops through Kaffraria. He was also able to give news of Mlanjeni's whereabouts to Montagu. This letter is notable for an early usage (and a correct one) of the word guerilla. "You will see His Excellency has given the Dutch farmers free licence to act as a Guerilla force in their own way".¹⁴⁷ He expressed himself as confident of the loyalty of the Mfengu.

On January 28th, he referred to the state of affairs within the colony as "calamitous and urgent"¹⁴⁸ and blamed this not so much on the Xhosa, as on the "open rebellion of a large number of Hottentots and the extraordinary apathy of the Dutch farmers ...". These references highlighted two important and novel aspects of the war. Shaw found it astonishing that the Dutch burghers failed to mobilise. His opinion was that had they done so, future chances of success on the part of the enemy would be few. With a heartfelt cry Shaw wondered what had become of the boasted patriotism of many of the colonial inhabitants. He was astonished that instead of getting on and fighting, they haggled over the terms of their assistance and involvement. The letters were written with the point of view of the white colonist firmly in mind but this in no way implied total bias against the Xhosa. It merely reflects once more Shaw's own personal involvement with the settler community and his concern for their welfare.

146. C.O. 605 (Cape Archives), Shaw to Montagu, 11.1.1851.

147. Ibid. The word stems from the Duke of Wellington's Iberian campaigns, 1809-1813. It was first used in the sense of an irregular war in 1819.

148. C.O. 605 (Cape Archives), Shaw to Montagu, 28.1.1851.

In October 1851 he reflected an interesting feeling that Grahamstown and the Albany district were receiving no sympathy or support from the government.¹⁴⁹ He did not clarify his opinion fully but it would seem that Grahamstown felt neglected and vulnerable and badly cared for in troubled times. Le Cordeur refers to the threat to Grahamstown as being greater than ever, and to the town as being like a community under siege with armed citizens, women and children crowded into barracks and churches, and refugees and livestock everywhere.¹⁵⁰ This is an indication of the seriousness with which the local people viewed the war. It is not surprising that reacting to the possible effects of the war, they should also react to the supposed neglect by the authorities.

These letters are important for the indication which they give of how aware Shaw was of the events of the war and how in touch with day to day details he was. His own intelligence service must have been very reliable and although he appears not to have acted in any position of advice or trust with regard to the Governor in this war, these private opinions are of importance as an indication of day to day events and feelings. He was conscious that he was not writing officially: "... I should feel it rather out of my province to interfere in such matters in any formal way, altho' when I know that the mere expression of a private opinion will not be regarded as an annoying intrusion I am apt readily enough to express it."¹⁵¹ It is unfortunate that he either stopped these letters early in 1852 or that they have subsequently

149. C.O. 605 (Cape Archives), Shaw to Montagu, 18.10.1851.

150. Le Cordeur, Eastern Cape Separatism, p.245.

151. C.O. 605 (Cape Archives), Shaw to Montagu, 28.1.1851.

disappeared, for none exist for the remainder of the war.

Shaw's close links with the settlers meant that he was obviously deeply concerned for their welfare. These people on the frontier were always close to danger whether there was a war in progress or not, and the prospect of being refugees was always an imminent one. Shaw's concern for people in his capacity as a minister led to his involvement with various efforts made to alleviate the suffering caused by war. The government established a Board of Relief at the outbreak of each war and its aim was to assist those badly affected by the dislocation of the war. Money was placed at its disposal and this was supplemented by donations from various parts of the colony.¹⁵² For both the 1846-7 war and that of 1850-3, Shaw was a member of these relief boards and seemed to work chiefly with the Revd. John Heavyside, the colonial chaplain at St. George's church in Grahamstown. They in turn were assisted by several lay people. The work was time-consuming: hours each day were spent in committee, determining how the relief was to be apportioned.¹⁵³ Amongst the tasks of the board were the administration of funds, the finding of accommodation for the homeless, the finding of clothes for the needy, food for the hungry, medicine for the sick and coffins for the dead.¹⁵⁴

Regulations exist for the board for 1846-7¹⁵⁵ and in the absence of similar regulations for the 1850-3 war it is safe to assume that they were not very much different.

152. Shaw, SMM, p.180.

153. Ibid., p.181.

154. Ibid.

155. South African Pamphlets, Vol. 76, No. 4.

These regulations give an indication of the extensive work done by the board. It was to meet every day (except Sunday) from eleven o'clock until one, and longer if necessary. There were definite regulations laid down as to the amount of rations administered, and to whom. A central board sat in Grahamstown with branches at Bathurst, Fort Beaufort, Salem, Peddie and Theopolis. Shaw's association with the Boards of Relief made him refute absolutely any insinuation that settlers obtained advantages from the wars and, therefore, made efforts to prolong them. The cases of destitution which he came across caused by the war convinced him of the contrary.¹⁵⁶

The dislocation of the war, even in Grahamstown itself, did not prevent all efforts being made to continue the Methodist work in as normal a way as possible. Following the inauguration of the Commemoration Chapel in November 1850, the chapel previously used by the white congregation was taken into use for the steadily increasing black congregation in the second half of 1852.¹⁵⁷ An innovation was introduced into the black congregation (consisting of Xhosa and Mfengu) whereby for the first time the practice of letting the pews was introduced and the scheme evidently went well - by August 1852, upwards of two hundred and eighty places were let at a quarterly rent payable in advance.¹⁵⁸ What the actual rent was is not clear.

In early 1853, Shaw embarked on a visit to the Wesleyan missions in Natal and despite the comparative youth of the colony and of missionary work there, Shaw was pleased

156. Shaw, SMM, p.181.

157. WMN, 1851-1853, 1852, p.181.

158. Ibid.

with what he encountered and also at the prospects for future work.¹⁵⁹ Amongst problems encountered were those thrown up by the scattered nature of the population and the ensuing itinerant nature of the ministry there. Shaw estimated the black population at more than one hundred thousand,¹⁶⁰ and saw that great efforts would have to be made in that direction. Shaw came into contact with missionaries of the American Board of Missions, but while they were active in Natal he considered that the Wesleyans had been right in beginning regular work in the two chief towns, - Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

Shaw's second major tour of 1853 took place after the end of the war when he visited stations on the frontier and in British Kaffraria in October.¹⁶¹ One of the major reasons for the tour was to explore the possibility of a new station in the vicinity of Fort Beaufort which would cater for about 4 000 Mfengu who had settled in the area. The mission was to be erected at the express wish of the Governor, Sir George Cathcart. This mission was to develop into the famous Wesleyan missionary institution of Healdtown.¹⁶² The visit also took in Alice, founded by Sir Perigrine Maitland in 1847, and then moved to a spot about twelve miles east of Alice where another new station was planned - this one in the country of the Christian chief Kama. The station was later named in honour of Shaw's wife, Ann Shaw.

Shaw's wife was taken seriously ill in February 1854 with what the Graham's Town Journal described as paralysis.

159. WMN, 1851-1853, 1853, p.145.

160. Ibid.

161. WMN 1854, pp.38-41; 62-4.

162. For a complete history of Healdtown, see L.A. Hewson, Healdtown, A Study of a Methodist Experiment in African Education (2 Vols.) (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Rhodes, 1959).

She was deprived of the power of speech and it is likely that she suffered a stroke. She died in Grahamstown on the 6th June 1854 at the age of sixty-five after having been married to Shaw for thirty-seven years. She was buried from the Commemoration Chapel on the 8th June and it was a large and impressive funeral.¹⁶³ Ministers of the various denominations represented in Grahamstown attended, as well as government officials, all of which give an indication of the esteem in which both she and William were held by the Wesleyan community and by the community at large. Her obituary¹⁶⁴ paid elaborate tribute to her as "a Mother in Israel" and as a support to Shaw during his years in southern Africa. Her death was obviously a severe blow to Shaw but again one is hampered by the lack of personal correspondence in an attempt to assess his own grief.

In 1854 and again in early 1855 Shaw undertook two major tours, the 1855 tour being the final one undertaken by him in southern Africa.

For some time following the death of his wife Shaw had been in failing health and the death of Ann Shaw undoubtedly left its mark on him. Shaw probably made the decision to return to England in 1855 and apprised the authorities in England. His going was greeted with sadness and dismay in the colony and beyond and this is reflected in three valedictory addresses presented to him before his departure. They were from the Treasurers and Stewards of the Grahamstown Society;¹⁶⁵ from members of his class in Grahamstown;¹⁶⁶ and from the Grahamstonians and settlers

163. G.T.J. 10.6.1854.

164. Ibid.

165. Ibid., 1.3.1856.

166. Boyce, Memoir of the Revd. William Shaw, p.252.

in the district.¹⁶⁷ All three were couched in the elaborate and flowery language used at the time to convey esteem and popularity and regret that he was leaving. They paid homage to Shaw for the achievements of thirty-six years. To each one Shaw replied in similar language tinged with a sadness which was perfectly sincere and genuine.

Shaw left Grahamstown for Port Elizabeth from where he sailed for Cape Town where he embarked for England on the 29th March. He was feted by the Wesleyans in Cape Town and amongst those present to see him off was Robert Godlonton, then busy with parliamentary duties in Cape Town. Shaw kept a journal of his embarkation and of the voyage home which is reproduced in Boyce's Memoir¹⁶⁸ and it bears great similarity to that of the voyage out. With little thought for himself Shaw at once set about preaching and teaching to as many on board as would hear him.

So ended a long and fruitful association with Southern Africa. The final years were years of statesmanship in which Shaw was able to exercise a beneficial influence in a variety of ways through some tumultuous events. His behaviour always remained the same as did his responsibilities: to be a messenger of the Gospel and to win as many souls for the Lord as he could.

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid., pp.254-270.

CONCLUSION

William Shaw spent over thirty years in southern Africa, during which time he became inextricably bound up with the country and its destiny; with its peoples and their future and with their relationships, one with another. Shaw made a lasting and positive contribution to the mission history of southern Africa and emerged as one of the great missionary figures and statesmen of the country. His life and contribution cannot be overlooked and some conclusions must be drawn as to the success or otherwise of his venture. In considering his life and work as a missionary, a distinction must be drawn between the success of the mission work as such, and between the personal success of the missionary himself. There is quite definitely a difference between the two: a personally successful missionary need not have left behind him a successful and lasting missionary endeavour. With William Shaw the situation becomes complex: On a personal level he was eminently successful and he left behind him a Wesleyan missionary network and establishment which, by virtue of its size and organisation, was successful, but yet the general opinion is that prior to the 1850's the wider missionary endeavour in southern Africa was a failure. The whole situation must be looked at carefully with the understanding that personal success on the part of an individual missionary need not necessarily mean the lasting success of missionary endeavour; an efficient, well organised missionary network was not an indication of success in terms of conversions which were influential or lasting

An examination of Shaw's missionary career reveals great personal success: he was possessed of leadership qualities which enabled him to organise and administer and at the same time to command love and respect amongst his colleagues as well as amongst the people with whom he worked. Lack of response to the missionary message by no means implies a lack of respect for the individuals involved. Shaw was immensely zealous for his faith and for the denomination which he served. His journal, which reflects something of the time he spent within the Cape Colony after his arrival in 1820, and then something of the time spent at the first Wesleyan mission station beyond the colonial borders from 1823 - 1830, as well as his letters and later journal extracts and accounts of journeys undertaken, which were published in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, leave no room to doubt his personal success as a missionary: he did everything that a zealous missionary should do. What must be questioned is the effect this personal success had on the wider and longterm missionary

endeavour.

Although the personal characteristics and attributes of missionaries must have had some effect on the general success or otherwise of the missions, there can be no doubt that this success ultimately depended on factors more numerous, more complex, and more diverse than the individual missionary character. In other words, Shaw, with all his zealotry for his faith, his denomination, and for the task with which he had been entrusted, was unable to influence the wider success or failure of the missionary endeavour. He might have been able to establish an efficient missionary machine, but that machine was unable to guarantee long-term success. What needs to be shown is that William Shaw the missionary was successful, but that the missions themselves lacked permanent success prior to the 1850's.

Donovan Williams, in his thesis The Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony 1799 - 1853 maintains that the theme of the half century (1800 - 1850) is a triple failure: failure to propagate Christianity amongst the Xhosa people; failure to retain the goodwill of the colonists and failure to exercise significant political influence on the Cape administration.¹ In examining the career of William Shaw, the second and third of Williams's failures can be disregarded, with attention being paid to the first of the three. The Wesleyans never lost the goodwill of the colonists and worked closely with them right from 1820 onwards. In fact the Wesleyans and the settler-establishment in the eastern Cape became inextricably entwined, so much so that Grahamstown became almost wholly Wesleyan in tenor. The Graham's Town Journal which staunchly reflected settler opinion was owned and edited by Robert Godlonton, a devout Wesleyan, with the result that the Journal also became something of a Wesleyan mouthpiece.

With regard to exercising political influence on the Cape administration, any failure to do so on the part of the Wesleyans must not be construed as the failure of an avowed aim. The Wesleyans were not permitted to involve themselves in activities of an overtly political nature and while Shaw had various close contacts with the colonial administration, he would

1. Williams, Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier, preface, p i

have been the first to eschew any role as a "political missionary" of the like of Dr John Philip. Shaw was content to use his connections with the administration solely in order to further the growth of mission-work; there has never been any question at all of political involvement for its own sake. The major failure on the part of Shaw and the Wesleyans, therefore, was the failure to propagate Christianity on any long-term and lasting basis amongst the Xhosa people. This is not to say that the missionaries in general, and the Wesleyans in particular, were entirely without success. There were converts and some reception of the Christian message, but as Williams states categorically, "Of the missionary failure in Kaffirland there is no doubt".² Later, he claims that "At best Kaffirland, by 1846, and certainly by the turn of the century had become a land where missionary endeavour was carried on more in a spirit of obligation rather than one which entertained hope and optimism."³ Williams goes on to give his reasons for missionary failure. Amongst the Xhosa it was the threat posed by Christianity to the Xhosa tribal structure and its customs and rites which resulted in its non-acceptance by the majority.⁴ In the main the Xhosa tribal structure was strong enough to withstand the blandishments of the missionaries and their endeavours - their preaching and teaching. A great deal of this must be attributed to the fact that the communication skills possessed by the missionaries were by no means strong enough to penetrate age old customs, beliefs and mores. This was largely the fault of the missionary societies which failed to prepare their personnel adequately for the tasks awaiting them in the mission-field. Shaw himself was hardly trained at all. His sole training consisted of the practice he obtained in preaching and pastoral work amongst English congregations whose needs, expectations and environments were totally different from those encountered in southern Africa. To a certain extent Shaw was able to adapt and adjust, chiefly because he was fortunate to possess the right kind of missionary personality. This too was something not adequately tested: Shaw waited some time before being finally selected for the mission field but the reasons for waiting were to do with age and married status and not with the correct temperament for the work. By and large the missionaries, including William Shaw, were not equal to the task

2. Williams, Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier, p i

3. ibid p 359

4. ibid p 552

of converting a people as alien as the Xhosa. Exercising an influence on small pockets of people was a different proposition from being able to influence a whole people in a positive and lasting manner.

Peires supports the Williams argument and states that while some form of Christianity was not lacking in appeal for the Xhosa, the initial optimism of the early years gave way to pessimism and lack of success in the years before 1850.⁵ He cites the missionary Bryce Ross who labelled the years 1838 - 1846 as "the dreariest in the history of the Caffre missions".⁶ Peires claims that this was due to the fact that the traditional Xhosa world view received a new lease of life after the partial success of the 1834 - 5 war.⁷ A people reassured in their ways and in their destiny do not require a new religion, only those who have lost much that is precious and necessary look for replacements. According to Peires this is why the Mfengu proved to be so open to Christianity, and why so many Xhosa were open to the new religion after 1857 but not before.⁸ The missionaries equated Christianity with European civilisation; it is hardly surprising that a people secure in their own civilisation should reject a new and alien civilisation and code of living which they did not understand in any way at all.

Peires also notes that some missionaries were more successful than others and is at a loss to suggest why this was so although he observes that Shaw was far more successful than the liberal Wesleyan missionary Stephen Kay.⁹ This is hardly surprising when one considers that Shaw worked closely with the ama Gqunukhwebe and that he became something of a champion of theirs, winning grazing rights in the ceded territory, opening a store and fostering closer relations with the colony in the early 1820's.¹⁰ Shaw was able to see that assistance in spheres which were not particularly religious would win him a measure of respect. This, in turn, would enable him to have an audience which was at least willing to listen to him, if not to accept his

5. Peires, House of Phalo, pp 74 - 5

6. Williams, Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier, p 331 quoted in Peires, House of Phalo, p 75

7. Peires, House of Phalo p 75

8. ibid

9. ibid p 76

10. ibid p 77

new doctrines. Peires makes one very important point when he says that the Xhosa were selective in their acceptance of Christianity - they accepted the existence of God, for example, and other concepts such as the Devil and creation; they came to Sunday services and quite possibly enjoyed singing the hymns but they were unable to accept the totally new pattern of living which was mapped out for them.¹¹ It was here too that the missionaries often displayed great naivety: the fact that a fair number of Xhosa attended a service was often hailed by Shaw as a great event - he treated it as if he already had the converts and failed to realize that the services and other activities on the mission stations were novelties which the Xhosa found interesting to attend while having no intention of becoming involved.

The career of William Shaw leaves one in little doubt that he was a successful missionary in that he was able to establish and lead an efficient and complex missionary organisation, but above all, the career of William Shaw reveals that he was a servant of God and by no means the conqueror or agent of imperialism as posited by Majeke. In the career of Shaw there is no evidence to support the Majeke argument which states that missionaries were the tools of imperialism who furthered white rule, imposed alien patterns of living almost by force and sapped the will to resist.

In the first instance, the early life of Shaw demonstrates his total abandonment to the will of God for him and the fact that after his conversion he became fully involved in the day to day life of a devout Wesleyan. He did not appear to be interested in the political life of the times, other than to be a good and loyal subject of the crown, and he certainly never expressed in his early journal any indications that he was dedicated to the expansion of British possessions or that he foresaw such an expansion taking place by means of missionaries or the Christian gospel. His attempts to become a missionary were made solely because he felt that he was called to spread the gospel to all corners of the earth; he acted in response to the Dominical command to preach the gospel to all nations. The fervour which gripped Shaw after his conversion left no time for an interest in political expansion, it only created time for a deepening of personal commitment and devotion and a sure knowledge that his calling was to take

11. Peires, The House of Phalo p 78

Christianity and, therefore, civilisation, to distant peoples.

It is the question of civilisation coupled with Christianity which has caused many opponents of mission work to direct their arguments towards the tendency to couple one with the other. In the nineteenth century Christianity and European civilisation were synonymous; to transmit the gospel meant to transmit a certain pattern of living together with values and customs which stemmed directly from nineteenth century European standards of living and behaviour. Such standards, especially those encountered in England, stressed a code of behaviour which meant that without it, the gospel could not be fully accepted and that its precepts could not be fully adhered to. A nineteenth century missionary could not in any way believe that a man could accept the concept of God, understand the doctrine of the Incarnation but at the same time remain dressed in the minimum of clothing or enjoy a tribal dance with his peers according to the customs in which he had been brought up. The missionary was steeped in the tradition that the body must be well covered at all times and that dancing - all dancing, let alone the abandoned dancing of tribal custom - was wrong. Belief in the gospel and adherence to tribal mores were mutually exclusive; belief in the gospel and the rejection of tribal customs and the adoption of European standards were entirely compatible. Because these European standards were synonymous with European civilisation, opponents of missionary work have mistakenly taken the fact that missionaries insisted on their adoption as proof that missionary endeavour was the vanguard of the imperialist attack on what would now be described as the underdeveloped peoples of the world. The missionaries were the products of their times - they were imbued with the notion that what they themselves knew and practised was correct; they were unable, through want of training and lack of understanding, to realize that they dealt in the missions with structured societies with their own established norms and values and that, while these norms and values did not agree with what they were used to, they were, in their own way and in their own milieu, equally valid. But again one comes to the point that such attitudes on the part of the missionaries by no means meant that there was, present in missionary endeavour, a desire to colonise and a desire to impose a yoke and sap the will to resist. The missionaries believed implicitly in the truth of the gospel and their only desire was to make others believe this also.

Wilson has contended that any assessment of missions turns on how the

gospel is rated.¹² The question has to be posed - is the gospel the good news? The important point to remember is that missionaries believed that it was and that belief was the driving force that moved them. Wilson goes on to make a point which is paramount: belief in the task which the missionaries undertook is greatly reinforced by ones own attitude to the gospel. If one is a believer oneself then an assessment of missionaries stems from that point. If, like Majeke, one is patently not a believer, then it is hard to believe that the missionaries themselves believed and, therefore, it is easy to attribute to them motives of conquest and imperialism.

All the available evidence points to the fact that Shaw firmly believed that the gospel was the good news and that it should be transmitted to all men. He was, therefore, determined to use all means at his disposal to see that all men should believe. This meant that the necessary adjuncts of European civilisation had to be transmitted as well; it did not mean that the wills of the prospective converts were being sapped, nor did it mean that an alien yoke was being imposed in order to subjugate them and colonise them for Great Britain. The fact that Shaw, and other missionaries, worked at the same time and sometimes in co-operation with a colonial power, was coincidental. With regard to Shaw, his letters and journals present no evidence at all from which to deduce any collusion between the two. In most instances the fact that there was a colonial presence was the means whereby the missionaries were able to establish their own presence. They had not the time nor the means to establish themselves without some backing from the colonial authorities, and, while they were often pioneers, it was rare for them to exist - certainly in southern Africa - too far from the colonial presence. Far from the missionaries being the vanguard for the colonial authorities, as Majeke claims, in southern Africa the colonial government came first, and while Wesleyan work took place across the frontier, it did so with the express permission of the Governor.

It is very difficult then, to credit the Majeke argument with any great validity; the available evidence - chiefly missionary journals, correspondence and memorials - point in the opposite direction. Missionaries

12. Wilson, Missionaries: Conquerors or Servants of God in S.A. Outlook March 1976, p 40

lived and moved amongst the indigenous peoples of southern Africa; they worked for them and came to know them far better than most others, particularly those who lived on the other side of the frontier and those who were responsible for government. The agents of imperialism - if one still wishes to believe Majeke and recognize their existence - were to be found in the ranks of the government and the military and not in the ranks of the clergy of whatever denomination. It was those who governed, and their immediate circle, who saw in the black peoples a labour force or a potential threat to the spread of the empire. The crucial point which must be understood is that the missionaries wished to transmit a combination of 19th century civilisation and evangelical Christianity, whereas the secular arm - the government and the military - wished to transmit 19th century civilisation only, without the leavening influence of Christianity. It is there that the danger lay: 19th century society was riddled with class consciousness and rigidity and some of this spilt over into the religious expression of the time, notably in the established and moribund state religion of England. But evangelical Christianity, the fruit of the evangelical revival within the Church of England, and the Methodist movement outside it, shed much of the stultifying social mores of the time. Evangelical Christianity with its three pronged spear of religious, educational and social reform helped greatly in making men realize that in the family of Christ there were no distinctions between men; that all are equal in the sight of God. Accordingly, the Protestant missionaries were able and willing to work amongst all men regardless of social station, or position. For the missionary, salvation was the priority and civilisation was a means of helping towards salvation. For the secular government or military official, the aim was not salvation but subjection (and here Majeke's argument does assume some validity) - civilisation was a means towards that subjection. The difference was the religious factor: civilisation coupled with religion meant one thing and without it another. Marxist analysis unfortunately sees arguments in certain colours which are not allowed to alter. In other words, it is a case of oppressor and oppressed. Merely because the missionaries were the unconscious products of their environment and background the Marxist critic has cast them in the role of oppressor; it is a role for which they have - in the main - been wholly miscast. The career of William Shaw bears this out.

It would appear incontrovertible that Shaw was a man of great integrity and

supreme sincerity and honesty. With this in mind it is very difficult to doubt the integrity of sentiments expressed by him and which appeared in the Graham's Town Journal on the 7th March 1833. Of his time in southern Africa he said, "While my leading object was of course the evangelisation of the Caffre tribes, yet I could not be insensible that the success of Missions in that country has a close connexion with the interests of this frontier; and it is now well understood by you all that in promoting the improvement of the native tribes, you are in reality advancing your own interests." In other words, he looked to the improvement (by religion and civilisation) of the "native tribes" and at the same time looked to similar benefits for the white colonists; in this regard the two groups were indistinguishable. Shaw was not advancing the cause of one to the detriment of the other; nor was he advocating the subjugation of one group by the other. The Christian gospel, which he preached and in which he believed implicitly and passionately, prevented either, or both, of these possibilities from occurring. The same cannot be said for the secular arm which did not have the Biblical precepts to mould its thinking.

In the light of this one has to return to the question of the success or otherwise of the missionary endeavour in the first half of the 19th century. The evidence supplied by Shaw's journals and letters indicate that on the personal level he was successful as a missionary, as indeed were all the Wesleyans. Despite the fact that selection and training was almost minimal, the Wesleyan personnel was "... distinguished as a superior class of men ..." ¹³ As such, therefore, it was inevitable that there was some success in their undertakings. It must be borne in mind that although missionary has come to mean one operating amongst the heathen, and although Shaw himself would have agreed with that definition, the work amongst the white settlers within the colony was just as much "mission" work as that outside its boundaries. Shaw and his colleagues may not have converted the entire Xhosa people to Christianity, nor indeed made any appreciable inroads into the heathenism of the times, but they laid the firm foundation for Christianity and its spread at a later date. Without Shaw's chain of stations, for example, the later spread of Christianity and Methodism would not have taken place. Shaw and his colleagues were pioneers who cleared the way for later advance and this

13. Roxburgh, "Colonial Policy" p 87

later advance must be viewed as success for these pioneers. Williams may be correct when he argues that the 1830's and 1840's were dreary years in terms of tangible advance and success, but he is wrong to measure success only by what was happening at that moment. In something as complicated as the transmission of Christianity it can be argued that it is the end result which indicates the success or lack of it. Certainly events such as the 1856 cattle-killing and all its implications show that the missionary endeavour of the first years of the 19th century were not a success, but the spread of Christianity in later years must have had a foundation earlier on, and it was Shaw and his colleagues who contributed towards laying that foundation. In the long term, success was there. It is important to acknowledge that to expect a high, worthwhile and lasting success rate in the mission field in the first half of the 19th century - in the pioneering years - is to expect too much. As Wilson has pointed out in her article, Missionaries: Conquerors or Servants of God?,¹⁴ missionaries were revolutionaries, they sought to overturn existing society and constitute an entirely new one. Such attempts, in whatever sphere, have never been successful from the onset. The great political revolutions of world history have all been a long time in the making. How much more difficult then for a religious revolution to accomplish its avowed aims and objects. If missionary advance was slow and dreary, critics, such as Williams, are being impatient and failing to take into account the extraordinarily difficult task which was to be accomplished. It can be argued that William Shaw and his colleagues were successful purely from the fact that they went out to preach the gospel, that they had the courage to do so and that they achieved even as much as they did. It is certainly wrong to judge success purely on the rate of conversions. In this particular context success must be seen against a far wider background: that of administration, tenacity and zealotry. For Shaw those three are areas of great success: he was a fine administrator who was responsible for the establishment of a denominational network and organisation which exists to this day; he was possessed of immense tenacity, doggedly sticking at his God-given task in southern Africa for thirty-six years despite the dislocation of war and the generally unsettled conditions which prevail in a frontier situation. Finally, he was the recipient of the gift of faith, retaining a zealotry for the

14. S.A. Outlook, March 1976

faith from the early moments of his conversion prior to 1820, until his death some years after he left southern Africa. Without these qualities his life and career would doubtless have foundered, but with them he was able to sow the seed of the gospel in southern Africa. It is doubtful whether Shaw expected greater success than that which he achieved. In his letters, journal and The Story of My Mission he always professed satisfaction with the advances which were taking place. There is no evidence to suggest that he was dissatisfied or that he was unhappy with what was happening, but, of course, like all men of vision he longed for greater things to happen.

That is probably the essence of William Shaw: he was a man of tremendous and God-given vision. It was that which spurred him forward; it was that which dictated the way in which he lived and worked. All the available evidence shows him to have been a man of uncompromising faith and high expectations of others. It was these two qualities which enabled him to live the selfless life which he lived in relation to his pastoral responsibilities towards settlers and Xhosa. It was these two qualities which perhaps made him into the slightly overbearing figure which he became in the latter years of the South African sojourn. He cannot really be blamed for this either: his 19th century conception of the patriarchal figure presiding over his family (in this case all those under his care) required him to demand and expect attitudes of obedience and respect from all - fellow missionary as well as Xhosa convert. Shaw was governed by a tremendous sense of the importance of his task, his denomination in the general swing of events, and of responsibilities towards others. In the instance of the controversy with Dr Philip this is amply illustrated - he was quick to defend his own honour and that of his denomination and by so doing he protected those with whom and for whom the Wesleyans worked. Overbearing, dictatorial qualities are not easy to accept but in this case they must be seen in the wider context. Then they can be understood. It is important to note that with all this Shaw was humble in the Christian manner; his sincere faith made sure of that.

Like Cromwell, Shaw was a man with warts and all. His attitudes, by 20th century standards, were too strict, his ideas too much the product of his own times and background, his manner too lacking in originality. For all this he cannot be blamed. As a missionary he was not a failure but a

success; as the proponent of a new way of life for others, as the harbinger of new mores and values he was, in common with other missionaries, less successful, but in no way can his mistakes and shortcomings be seen as out and out failure. An impartial assessment of William Shaw and his work in southern Africa can only be favourable; there exists no evidence to the contrary - neither personal evidence or evidence of others. He was a man of his times which in some contemporary circles has become a crime, but in historical analysis must be seen as inevitable. The question must be asked, what did a man like Shaw make of his background? In this instance it can safely be said that he used it creatively, in the best possible way open to him. Shaw was in every instance a pioneer, and a statesman. He commanded the immense respect of his contemporaries and all evidence regarding him must, of necessity, command a similar respect today.

A P P E N D I X

A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
ABERDEEN, K.C.B.
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF
STATE, ETC.

My Lord,

The recent painful intelligence from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the irruption of the Caffres into the British Settlement of Albany, and to the disastrous circumstances connected therewith, has excited much surprise and sympathy in this country. No doubt your Lordship's attention, as His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, has already been turned to this subject; and I am persuaded your Lordship will receive, with your accustomed courtesy, any information which may assist in devising means for preventing the recurrence of so serious an evil.

That your Lordship may at once perceive I am not an officious meddler with a subject on which I have no claim to be heard, I beg leave to state, that I left this country in 1820, in the capacity of Wesleyan Minister to the largest party of British settlers which emigrated to Algoa Bay in that year; that I remained thirteen years in Africa, during the whole of which period I resided in Albany or in the Caffre country - my time almost equally divided in the discharge of my duties as a Minister to the settlers, and my labours as a Missionary to the Caffres. From the situation which I held I was on terms of friendly intercourse with all classes of the settlers, and I acquired the confidence of several of the border Chiefs in a high degree. I had also the honour to be consulted on various occasions by the Colonial Authorities on several important points connected with the border policy. These circumstances afforded me opportunities for acquiring information on the subject on which I now address your Lordship, which very few British subjects have enjoyed in an equal degree.

Having made these prefatory remarks, it will be unnecessary for me to dwell on the principal facts connected with the recent irruption of the Caffres. The distressing intelligence is confirmed beyond all doubt, that the Caffres have carried desolation through the Albany District, destroying the insulated farms, carrying off tens of thousands of cattle, murdering many of the settlers, and compelling the remainder, reduced to destitution and distress, to seek refuge for their lives in Grahamstown. Thus has a

most flourishing and important British settlement been brought to the verge of ruin; and, unless some plan can be devised for preventing similar disasters in future, it must necessarily be abandoned.

Everyone asks. What has been the cause of this ruthless attack by the Caffres? Doubtless your Lordship would be glad to obtain a satisfactory answer to this question. I will endeavour to give it. But before I do so, permit me to perform an act of justice to the British Settlers of Albany. Some of the public prints, in reporting these occurrences, have charged the settlers with exercising cruelty and injustice towards the native tribes, and have more than insinuated that the Caffres have thereby been goaded into retaliation. Now, my Lord, I wish most distinctly to state, that I believe this to be an unfounded calumny. I profess myself, and am very well known to be, a devoted friend of the native tribes; but I will not be a party in the advocacy of their rights, on principles which involve an aggression on the character and claims of others. *Fiat justitia, ruat coelum.* I cannot perceive that true philanthropy requires me to blacken my white friends, for the purpose of making my black friends white.

I admit it is possible that instances of flagrant injustice exercised by individual settlers towards Caffres may have taken place; nay, I believe some such cases have actually occurred; but it is manifestly unjust to charge upon a whole community the faults of individuals. The ready co-operation of a very large and influential portion of the settlers in every religious and benevolent institution, established by the Missionaries of various denominations, with a view to the propagation of the Gospel, and the general improvement of the native tribes, ought in justice to be taken as full evidence of their friendly feelings towards the aborigines, and of their being incapable of the cruel conduct which has been so thoughtlessly and unfairly imputed to them.

That our border policy - if such a designation can be given to the most changeful and contradictory course of proceeding ever adopted by any civilized government - has been full of errors, and has sometimes placed those who have had to execute its arrangements in the painful situation of appearing the champions of injustice and cruelty, are truths that cannot be denied: but I do not sympathize with those who charge the evils now deplored either upon the military officers, on whom the duty of enforcing the border policy devolved; or upon the settlers, who have for years

suffered the mischiefs resulting from it, and who have long and loudly called for the substitution of a more just and efficient system.

I am the more anxious to disabuse your Lordship of the unfavourable opinion which may have been induced by the statements contained in various recent publications on this subject, because they are calculated to deprive the settlers of that sympathy and help which British subjects have a right to expect from their own countrymen and Government, when they are, as in this instance, suddenly, and without any fault of their own, plunged into distress and trouble; and I have good reasons for believing, that, in defending the settlers from the gross imputations which have been cast upon them, I am expressing the sentiments of my brethren the Missionaries, and also of the highly respectable Clergymen of the Episcopal church now resident in that country.

In most inquiries as to the cause of those frequent collisions between the Caffres and the colonists, which have gradually produced the late terrible catastrophe, it appears to me that the principal source of the evil has been almost, if not altogether, overlooked by many persons who have otherwise very distinctly pointed out various concurrent circumstances which have tended to give it, greatly augmented force; I refer to the moral state and habits of the Caffre tribes. From the days of Vaillant, it has been the practice of various writers to give such glowing descriptions of the noble and generous-minded Caffres, that many persons, after reading their publications, find it difficult to believe that a Caffre Chief would degrade himself by sanctioning robbery and murder. Nothing can be more misleading than statements which produce this impression. That there exists in the minds of many of the Chiefs a proud self-respect, which sometimes produces a noble bearing, and magnanimous conduct, I can testify; and it is a quality which might be turned to advantage by a skilful agent of Government. But they have very indistinct notions of the rights of property, and they are fearfully reckless of the destruction of human life. They are not wholly ignorant of the science, or destitute of a form, of government; but that which has been established amongst them from time immemorial is something like the ancient feudal system of Europe - a kind of government which unhappily is very favourable to the doctrine, that "might gives right". All nomadic tribes are robbers, unless the propensity be checked by religion, or by circumstances which they cannot control.

Within these limitations the Caffres may be regarded as coming under the general rule; for, while the Chiefs protect in a considerable degree the rights of property among their own vassals, the tribes have ever been addicted to engage in war with one another for the purpose of carrying off the cattle of their neighbours. The frequent robberies committed by them, within the colony, ought not therefore to be attributed wholly to any aggressions of the colonists; but may fairly be ascribed, in a great degree, to their own imperfect moral perceptions, deeply-rooted habits, and defective mode of government.

Let me not, however, be misunderstood. The Caffres have not been exclusively, and in every instance, to blame. Our border policy is extremely bad; and by this means we have often undesignedly excited the cupidity, and exasperated the feelings, of a people who, although naturally prone to make inroads upon their neighbours, were, during the last few years, beginning to cherish the opinion that it would be to their interest to cultivate peace with the Colony. It is but recently that attempts to improve their moral state, by the diffusion of Christianity, have been encouraged by the Colonial Government; and, long before the Missionaries established themselves in the country, various deadly feuds betwixt the Caffres and the border Dutch farmers had been engendered, the effects of which could hardly be expected to be speedily obliterated.

Not only has our Government pursued no efficient measures for the improvement of the Caffre tribes, but the plan adopted for the regulation of the affairs of the frontier has been extremely injudicious. Instead of a regular system, well-defined, properly adapted to the local circumstances of the country, and steadily acted upon, there has been nothing like a system at all. Sometimes the mode of treatment has been harsh and severe, at other times mild and conciliatory. Occasionally the Caffres were almost frightened into the belief that we intended their destruction: and at other periods they were suffered to carry on their depredations with such impunity as to tempt them into the opinion that we were afraid of them: threatenings have occasionally been denounced, which were never intended to be executed; and promises have been made which were never fulfilled. The effects of this contradictory mode of proceeding upon an untutored, but warlike, race, strong from their number, may easily be imagined.

I cannot within the limits which I have prescribed to myself, enter into details in proof of these statements. Indeed they need no proof; the facts are notorious, and they have for years formed the subject of complaint by the Missionaries, by the settlers of all classes and of every variety of opinion on other points, and even by not a few of the officers of Government, civil and military, who have found themselves embarrassed and thwarted in their zealous efforts to promote the peace of the frontier, by the contradictory and inappropriate regulations which have been from time to time prescribed to them.

In consequence of certain difficulties and scruples respecting international law, no direct and official mode of communication betwixt the Chiefs and the Colonial Authorities has been established. There does not exist a single written treaty, to which, after due explanation, the Caffre Chiefs have become contracting parties. I beg leave to furnish the following statement, as an illustration of the evils arising from this source.

A kind of agreement was made with Gaika in 1819, by which our Government understood that he ceded the lands, now called the "Neutral Territory"; but the Chiefs of the Amagonakwaybie tribe, Pato, Kama, Cobus, etc., affirm that they were not parties to that treaty, although they lost by it the whole of their ancient territory, and that, by the usages of the Caffre nation, Gaika, the Chief of another tribe, had no right to dispose of their lands without their consent. Some time afterwards, Makomo, the son of the late Gaika, re-established his clan on a certain tract of the Neutral Territory, by the connivance of the Colonial Government. At length, however, this land, a very fine and beautiful tract, was wanted for the purpose of forming a Hottentot settlement, and Makomo, whose people were charged with committing various depredations on the Colony, was warned to remove with his clan from the lands in question; but he refused, alleging that they had never been ceded by his father, and entering into a dispute as to the boundaries fixed in 1819, which he maintained preserved a portion of the Kat River Mountains, as Caffre territory. The Colonial Government, however, notwithstanding the mediation of some of the Missionaries, persisted in its claim, and the Caffres were forcibly expelled by our troops, their huts being burned to prevent them from returning to re-occupy the lands.

I have the more especially detailed this proceeding, because I believe it has a very close connexion with the causes of the recent irruption into Albany. The Caffres may have been chafed by the foolish, not to say unjust, practice, of pursuing stolen cattle beyond the boundary, and making reprisals not always upon the guilty parties, but frequently upon those who had no connexion with the transaction, nor any means of preventing it - they may have been vexed in this way; but I am persuaded that the "sore place in the heart", as they themselves would phrase it, was occasioned by the forcible seizure of their lands. Residing in Caffraria at the time, I had opportunities of observing how greatly the Caffres were exasperated; and if Makomo could have persuaded the other Chiefs to unite with him, I have no doubt that disasters, similar to those we now deplore, would have happened some time ago.

It was doubtless every way just and expedient that lands should be granted to the industrious and deserving portion of the Hottentots at the period to which I have alluded, but it always appeared to me, and to many other persons, that the friends of that race placed themselves in a false position when they concurred in the acceptance by the Hottentots of lands, the title to which, to say the least, was of a very equivocal nature. For, assuming that Makomo and his Chiefs were mistaken as to the question of boundaries, still the ground had been ceded as "Neutral Territory"; and we certainly could have no right to occupy the country with British subjects, without the consent of at least the Chiefs who had been parties to the original arrangements in 1819.

In making these statements I beg leave to disclaim the slightest intention of imputing blame to any individual. These border affairs were originally rendered obscure and difficult to be understood, by the want of system; and as no regular method of conducting them has ever yet been introduced, they have, of course, become gradually so entangled, that no Governor of the Colony, resident in Cape Town, and constantly receiving from the frontier the most conflicting statements, how great soever his talent and tact for business, can possibly obtain a thorough acquaintance with them. If therefore serious errors have been committed, instead of imputing them to highly distinguished persons who have held the reins of Government at the Cape, I would account for them by referring to the impracticable nature of their duties, so far as concerns our border policy; occasioned

principally by the great distance of the seat of Government (six or seven hundred miles) from the boundaries of the Colony.

Thus your Lordship will perceive that I attribute the present disturbed state of the Caffre border, not to any cruelties perpetrated by the British settlers upon the Caffres; not to any want of humanity in the British officers in their treatment of the native tribes, or of zeal and activity in the protection of British lives and property; but to the moral state and predatory habits of the Caffres, the evil tendencies of which have been aggravated by the exceedingly mischievous character of our border policy.

But is there no remedy for these evils? Must that fine and lately flourishly Settlement be abandoned? These are weighty questions; but I conceive that whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the cause of the present state of affairs in Albany, there will be found much unanimity as to the principal remedial measures proper to be adopted. I pretend not to an acquaintance with the science of government, but I am persuaded your Lordship will not disdain to take into serious consideration any practical suggestions that are offered by an individual, who, although of humble rank in society, nevertheless solicits your attention on the ground of possessing local knowledge, and of being wholly uninfluenced by the spirit of party.

The course which I beg most respectfully to suggest, as desirable to be pursued at this crisis by the British Government, may be considered as referring, first, to the past; and, secondly, to the future.

I. As to the Past. I have no doubt that the military have ere this succeeded in driving the Caffres out of the Colony. If so, there will be great danger, in the excitement produced by the late events, that a war of retaliation will be carried into the Caffre country; this, however, would cause humanity to shudder, and Christianity and sound policy alike forbid it. It is not for me to say that the Caffres ought not to be chastised; but whatever offensive measures are adopted, they ought to be regulated with the view of inflicting a just and salutary measure of punishment only, and not of wrecking an ungovernable and undistinguishing vengeance. The earliest favourable opportunity should be taken of obtaining a conference with the Chiefs, and of re-establishing peace. The cattle

account should then be fairly adjusted; an indemnity of a fixed number of cattle should be demanded of the tribes who commenced the war; and it should be clearly understood, that upon the payment of the indemnity all hostilities shall cease. As to the Settlers, I take it for granted that, when their case is fully brought before your Lordship, something will be done, either to compensate their losses, or at least to relieve the distress which must inevitably press upon them, for some time to come, in consequence of the recent occurrences.

II. As to the Future. I would respectfully offer the following suggestions: Declare the Keiskamma River to be the boundary of the Colony, thus including the whole Neutral Territory within its limits; let this form one of the articles of the written treaty of peace, to be signed by all the principal border Chiefs; and thereby confirm the rights acquired by British, Dutch and Hottentot settlers in the neighbourhood of Fort Beaufort and the Kat River.

2. Offer to the Amagonakwaybie tribe under Pato, Kama, Cobus, etc., their entire ancient territory within the neutral ground, on condition that they place themselves under the protection of the British Government, and become responsible to the Colony for all stolen cattle actually traced into their District; in recapturing which they should be assisted, when they require it, by a British force, from one of the military posts in their neighbourhood.

3. Offer other portions of the neutral ground to any other friendly clans, who will comply with the same conditions; and thus fill up the unoccupied part of the neutral ground with friendly natives who will form a good barrier betwixt the other tribes and the Albany settlement.

4. Let a separate written treaty be made with the Chiefs to whom portions of the Neutral Territory are granted, distinctly stating what the Colonial Government expects them to do - reserving a right of interference by the Government in their internal affairs, in certain specified cases; and also providing that such of their people as commit aggressions upon the persons or property of British subjects, shall be amenable to the Colonial Courts of Law. Let these treaties be translated into the Caffre language, and copies be given to the Chiefs.

5. Let a Government Agent be appointed to reside in some part of Caffraria,

or on the immediate border. This officer should be duly authorised:

(1) As the medium of communication, in all ordinary cases, betwixt the Caffre Chiefs and the Colonial Government. (2) As the protector of British subjects, who cross the boundary for the purposes of trade or otherwise, under the sanction of proper passports. (3) As a Magistrate, with full power to arrest and send into the Colony, for trial, any British subject who may commit aggressions upon the persons or property of the natives beyond the boundary of the Colony.

6. Let an officer, with powers analogous to those exercised by the late slave protector, be appointed to reside in Albany; who shall be regarded as the protector of the native tribes: Let him act as counsel in the Colonial Courts of Law, on behalf of the natives, in all cases where the subjects of the native Chiefs are parties concerned: Let this officer be placed in an independent situation, as to the Local Government; and let him report his proceedings regularly and directly to the British Government.

7. Let the jurisdiction of the local courts be extended, so as to admit of the trial of offences committed by British subjects beyond the boundaries; or, otherwise, establish a court under proper regulations specially for this purpose.

8. Let a Lieutenant-Governor be immediately appointed for the eastern province of the Colony, which includes the border districts; Let him be assisted in the management of the Government by a Legislative Council; Let the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, and consequently the seat of Government, be fixed at Grahamstown, which is admirably suited with reference to the Caffre border, and is also sufficiently central for the convenience of the other districts included within the limits of the eastern province, as defined by the late Commissioners of Inquiry.

9. Let the Local Government be instructed to aid the Missionaries of the various denominations in their attempts to promote the conversion, moral improvement, and education of the Caffre tribes. The Missionaries could greatly extend their usefulness by the establishment of schools, if they had the means of employing more school-masters; therefore let annual grants be made to the various Missionary Societies in that country, and let the sums so granted be distributed in fair proportions, with reference to the number of schools established, and of natives instructed, by each

Society.

I have not ventured to offer any suggestions as to the plan that should hereafter be adopted, for the better defence of the frontier, and for recapturing from time to time the cattle which may be stolen by the Caffres. Details of this kind it would be desirable to leave to the management of the Lieutenant-Governor and Council residing on the spot, aided as they of course would be by the long experience of the present Commandant of Caffraria.

Several of the principal points, suggested in the above outline, have already been recommended to the British Government by the Commissioners of Inquiry, who visited the frontier districts in 1824. The principal objections to those proposals will arise from the increase of the public expenditure which would be occasioned by their adoption. With proper arrangements however, the additional charge upon the colony need not be very great; and as the trade betwixt Albany and Caffraria has already become valuable, and promises to create a rapidly increasing demand for the manufactures of this country, - as this settlement may also, under proper management, become a powerful instrument in promoting the civilization of a large portion of South East Africa, - it is to be hoped that the British Parliament may be induced, at least for a limited time, to make grants in aid of the establishment of good government, without which the colonists will be ruined, our settlements will become a scourge to the surrounding tribes, and its history will constitute a blot upon the fair character of the British nation.

That the Caffres are susceptible of moral improvement, and that a judicious policy will powerfully aid Christianity in checking their marauding propensities, are statements which do not rest upon mere theory. Happily I can furnish facts in proof of them. I resided as a Missionary with the Chiefs Pato, Kama, etc., more than six years. The truths of the Christian religion made a deep impression upon many of their people; the Chiefs regularly attended divine worship; some of their won children learned to read and write; Kama and his wife, a daughter of the late Gaika, embraced the Christian faith, and were baptized; and my successors have continued to report favourably of the progress of Christianity amongst that tribe. Before the establishment of this Mission (Wesleyville) the tribe had been notorious for its predatory habits; but, after I took up my abode in the

country, I speedily discovered that the Chiefs were dissatisfied with the loss of their lands as explained in a former part of this letter. I therefore promised, if they would stop all marauding in the Colony by their people, that I would represent their case to the Colonial Government. They did so, and I kept my promise; and ultimately the Colonial Government, with the sanction of Earl Bathurst, allowed them to re-occupy about one-half of their former lands in the Neutral Territory, only however upon the precarious tenure of their good behaviour.

Your Lordship will doubtless be desirous of knowing the result of this measure, and I have great satisfaction in stating that a good understanding was thus obtained with these Chiefs; that they have prohibited their people from plundering in the Colony for nearly ten years past; that I possess and can produce documentary evidence which proves that they have frequently recaptured, and returned to the Colony, cattle stolen by other tribes; and that during the recent irruption, they have manifested a strong disinclination to join the aggressive tribes.

On this last point I beg leave to quote the statement of the Graham's Town Journal of the 2nd of January:

"It appears that the Chiefs, Pato, Cobus and Kama, have not as yet declared against the Colony, but on the contrary have expressed a strong desire to continue with it on terms of amity. They have shown the sincerity of their professions by undeviating kindness to every European within their territory, and by invariably affording them protection whenever it has been claimed. It seems that many of their people are dissatisfied with this line of policy, and ardently desire to share in the pillage of the Colonists. These refractory persons are daily deserting from their Chiefs and joining the ranks of the enemy; and Pato who exercises the supreme power is exceedingly apprehensive of being deserted by his subjects, and thus left exposed to the vengeance of the confederate Chiefs. It is affirmed confidently, that were some little aid afforded to these Chiefs from the Colony, they would not hesitate to fall immediately upon the enemy's rear, and thus completely check their further progress; on the other hand, one word from these Chiefs, and the whole of these tribes immediately enter the Colony, and join in the general plunder and massacre. No one, not fully acquainted with the customs of the Caffres, can form a correct opinion of the power which several Chiefs exercise over their vassals.

An instance of this has just occurred in the case of Mr. Roberts, a trader residing on the Beka. This young man was deservedly respected by the Caffres of that neighbourhood; but when about to fly to the Colony from the general danger, he was immediately surrounded by the very people with whom he had been living on terms of friends intercourse; their assegais were uplifted to dispatch him, and he would in a moment have been put to death, had he not urged that Pato had pledged himself for his security. Execution was accordingly stayed until this point had been ascertained; and the answer returned was, that the lives of the aggressors should be the penalty of any infraction of his promise, thus given to the individual in question. No sooner had his will been delivered, than the very persons so ready to act as the ministers of vengeance, were at once changed to warm and zealous friends and protectors, and actually escorted him safely within the colonial boundary."

I will not trespass further upon your Lordship's time and attention. Indeed, I am aware that an apology is due for the freedom of my observations; and I am not insensible, that, as a Minister of religion, I may be accused of having travelled beyond the limits usually assigned to men of my profession, in reprobating our border policy, and presuming to sketch the outline of an improved system. I rely, however, upon your Lordship's candour, which I trust will discover in the peculiar circumstances of this case a full vindication of the course I have pursued. I am not, I never was, and I hope I never shall be, an officious inter-meddler with the politics of this world. I have a higher calling, the duties of which I greatly prefer: but in this extraordinary case, I felt that I owed a debt of justice and of kindness, both to the British settlers and the Caffres, which I have striven to discharge by placing my testimony on record, and thus conscientiously endeavouring to promote at once the cause of religion and humanity, and the interests of my country,

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and very humble Servant,

William Shaw

Leeds. April 7th 1835

Postscript Having just received the "Graham's Town Journal" of January 23rd, I copy from it the following letter:

Sir,

To the Editor

In your 158th Number, in the fourth column of your leading article, on the Chiefs Pato, Kama and Kobus, you observe, 'that it was supposed they might be induced to declare in favour of the Colony if security were afforded.' Are you aware, that, previous to any serious rupture, or before they knew its extent, they sent a manifesto to the Commandant, declaring their views to be the same, and their determination equally firm, as in October 1833? Are you aware that Pato reinforced the Gualana Post, at the call of that officer, with two hundred men; that he remained in the service of the English, until that Post was vacated; that since then these three brothers have been employed night and day, and many of their men, sending messages to every part of Caffreland; that they have patrolled their own boundary - taken cattle and horses from marauding parties, and seized all such cattle amongst their own people, some of whom (I believe chiefly of one branch of the tribe) have broken loose from the very formal declaration of the Chiefs, and have plundered? On these no punishment has as yet been inflicted; but I believe the Chiefs only wait to know from the British Government, how they wish them to act towards such, and they are ready to comply. I will add I have witnessed the conduct of these Chiefs: they have stood without wavering, surrounded by threats from the hostile tribes in every direction. They have protected every Englishman within their power; and I believe no colonist has been more anxious to see the British cause prosper than they have been and still are. I am, Sir, yours etc. W. Shepstone."

Wesleyville.

January 13th, 1835.

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