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**THE JOURNAL OF THE REVEREND WILLIAM IMPEY (1838-1847):  
A CRITICAL STUDY OF HIS WORK AND THEOLOGY**

THESIS

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of  
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by

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William Impey  
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## ABSTRACT

William Impey (1818-1896) came to South Africa as a Wesleyan Methodist Missionary in 1839. He held various missionary and colonial appointments until 1860 when he succeeded William Shaw as Chairman of the Albany and Kaffraria District and General Superintendent of Wesleyan Methodist Missions in South-East Africa. Impey's major contribution was in the provision of education for the indigenous peoples of this region, especially as President of Healdtown (1868-1878). This institution eventually became one of the most highly thought of mission education academies in South Africa.

To date little has been known of the life and work of William Impey despite his senior position in South African Wesleyan Methodism. J Whiteside's *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*, the last comprehensive history of South African Methodism, published in 1906, only devotes a few lines to Impey. He does however make further reference to Impey's work in his section on education. The Methodist Archive at Manchester University, which contains the personal records of all 19th century Wesleyan Methodist ministers, also has very little information about Impey. The reason for this relative lack of information is that he resigned from the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1878 on doctrinal grounds.

Impey came under the influence of 19th century liberal theology and eventually drew the conclusion that he could no longer accept the doctrine of 'eternal punishment'. He believed that the only honest thing for him to do was to resign from the Wesleyan Methodist Church, which he believed required its ministers to adhere to this doctrine. He was accepted for ordination by the Anglican Church and served as a deacon in 1878 and then as a priest until his death in 1896.

Impey's journal affords the reader an opportunity to have a glimpse into what life was like for a 19th century missionary living and working in South Africa. Perhaps its particular value lies in the many detailed entries Impey made about his personal spiritual experiences.

The aim of this thesis is to place the life's work of William Impey in its historical and theological context in the belief that this will enable us better to understand the 19th century missionaries. It is hoped that this study will make a further contribution to our understanding of both 19th century missionaries and the times in which they lived and worked.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The staff of the Cory Library for Historical Research at Rhodes University were always willing to assist me in finding the many manuscript and other sources I needed. Special thanks are due to the Cory Librarian, Ms Sandra Rowoldt and her staff for their dedication in preserving the Methodist Archives Collection.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	-	African National Congress
AV	-	Authorised Version of the Bible (King James version)
BMS	-	Berlin Missionary Society
Cape Arch.	-	Cape Archives Depot, Cape Town
CMR	-	Cape Mounted Rifles
CNA	-	Commission on Native Affairs (1865)
Cory Lib.	-	Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown
DNB	-	Dictionary of National Biography
DSAB	-	Dictionary of South African Biography
DEIC	-	Dutch East India Company
GMS	-	Glasgow Missionary Society
Lit. and Phil.	-	Literary and philosophical Society
LMS	-	London Missionary Society
Min. A.D.M.	-	Minutes of the Annual District Meeting
Min. A.K.D.	-	Minutes of the Albany and Kaffraria District
Min.Fin.Com.	-	Minutes of the Finance Committee
Min. M.C.	-	Minutes of the Annual Methodist Conference
Min.MCSA	-	Minutes of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa
MM	-	Methodist Magazine
NBD	-	New Bible Dictionary
NCO	-	Non-commissioned Officer
NDT	-	New Dictionary of Theology
NIDCC	-	New International Dictionary of the Christian Church
NIV	-	New International Version of the Bible
NNW	-	North, north-west
PAC	-	Pan Africanist Congress
PEMS	-	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
SACP	-	South African Communist Party
WCC	-	World Council of Churches
WMC	-	Wesleyan Methodist Church

WMMC	-	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee (London)
WMMS	-	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
WMM	-	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary
WMN	-	Wesleyan Missionary Notices
WMR	-	Wesleyan Missionary Reports

PREFACE

Most western people have been brought up not to question the belief that Christian missionaries were courageous people who faced incredible obstacles and endured great hardship in order to take Christianity to 'the ends of the earth'.<sup>1</sup> Many have been shocked at the opinion expressed by some revisionist scholars who suggest that missionaries were rather instruments of colonial expansion who 'proletarianized' indigenous society into a source of cheap labour for western capitalist expansion. In all probability the 'truth' lies somewhere between these two extremes. Christopher Saunders writing about South African historiography generally comments:

A challenge to existing historiography initially passes too far in the opposite direction. It is, after all, easier to speak in either-or terms than with due concern for complexity, and those who see the error in another's position are tempted to stress, and over stress, the new truth and deny any truth in what is being attacked. But ... the pendulum usually swings back, as it becomes generally recognised that truth lies somewhere between the new position and the old.<sup>2</sup>

A great deal has been written about 19th century missionaries and the pendulum has been swinging to and fro. Recognising that historical 'truth' is a lofty ideal which might be different for different people, this study cannot claim to discover the 'truth' but rather attempts to find a balance between the two extremes.

No person comes to any study *tabula rasa*. Jon Nichol explains:

The historian brings to his work his 'second record', that is, his range of intellectual skills, his experience of life and his historical understanding. His 'second record' provides him with the mental equipment with which to handle the historical 'first record' - the sources of history: the evidence which the past has left behind.<sup>3</sup>

It is only fair to state what one's 'second record' is at the outset of any study because no matter how one might try to guard against the influences of one's paradigm, it is bound to influence the nature and outcome of the study.

My 'second record' includes the fact that I am a Methodist minister and a committed Christian. I was trained in secular history with a particular interest in the philosophy of history and historiography. I am committed to the need for every generation to re-write their own history for many reasons not least because our present reality poses new questions about our past. I also believe that there are a wide variety of different approaches to the study of the past which are not necessarily mutually exclusive but only

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1. Matthew 28:19-20.
  2. Saunders, C, *The making of the South African past: Major historians on race and class* (David Philip, Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1988) p. 186.
  3. Nichol, J, *Teaching History: a teaching skills workbook* (Macmillan Education, London, 1984) p. 15.

different. While trying to be as open as possible to a wide variety of approaches I am also committed to the sanctity of the 'first record' - the sources which the past has left behind. I do not believe that one can draw conclusions unless the evidence supports one's claims but I also recognise that this 'first record' needs to be handled critically, using the skills of both internal and external source criticism.

I chose to make the focus of my study a 19th century missionary because while considering myself a revisionist, I found it difficult to accept many of the generalisations made about the 19th century missionaries by some revisionist historians. I believe that 'revisionist' need not necessarily imply 'Marxist'. Jeff Peires is an example of a revisionist scholar who has revised conventional wisdom by writing from a African rather than a European perspective, but is not a Marxist in his approach. The objective of this study is to apply a similar principle by viewing a 19th century missionary from within the paradigm of the 19th century missionaries viz. to see them in both their historical and theological contexts.

Some of the critics of the missionaries have not taken cognisance of what the missionaries believed. Wilson writes:

But many people *do not* believe ... [the Christian message], and from their point of view the missionary effort was, at best, mistaken and, some think dishonest, for they do not admit the missionaries themselves believed.

It is hoped that the theological dimension of this study might add perspective to the debate.<sup>4</sup>

The journal of William Impey as well as his later writings contain information about his personal spiritual experience and so Impey provided an ideal focus for this study. Leslie Church explains that early Methodists often recorded their spiritual struggles in a journal as a means of grappling with their problems.<sup>5</sup> Impey initially questioned the wisdom of keeping a journal,<sup>6</sup> but did so, as instructed by his superiors in the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS). As a result we are given a glimpse into his spiritual pilgrimage and are thereby enabled to discern what he believed and how it motivated him in his work in South Africa.

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4. Wilson, M, *Missionaries: conquerors or servants of God? An address given on the occasion of the official opening of the South African Missionary Museum, 30 January, 1976* (The South African Missionary Museum, King William's Town) pp. 3-4.

5. Church, L F, *The Early Methodist People* (Epworth, London, 1949) p. 97.

6. Journal, 6.1.1839.

William Impey (1818-1896) was a Wesleyan Methodist missionary who ministered in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony from 1839 to 1878. In 1841 he married Mary Elizabeth (1821-1915), the daughter of the Rev William Shaw (1798-1872) and they had eight children.<sup>7</sup> In 1858 Impey succeeded Shaw as General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in the Eastern Districts of southern Africa and as Chairman of the Albany and Kaffraria Districts of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. In 1878 Impey resigned from the Wesleyan Methodist Church (WMC) on doctrinal grounds and was subsequently ordained Deacon and later Priest in the Anglican Church. Impey provides information about this move in his publication entitled *Why I leave the Wesleyan Methodist Church* (Grocotts, Grahamstown, 1878).

In recent years a number of studies have been made of the writings of missionaries working in southern Africa in the 19th century.<sup>8</sup> Many have been published as part of the Grahamstown and Van Riebeeck Series. Most of these studies have been approached from a secular historical perspective often resulting from post-graduate work done in history departments at South African universities.

This study differs in that in addition to placing Impey into his historical context, a major objective of this study has been to place William Impey into his theological context. An attempt has been made to critically examine Impey's work and theology within these contexts in order to 'cross the bridge back into the past'.<sup>9</sup>

By looking at both historical and theological contexts this study has also attempted to bridge the gap that some suggest exists between 'ecclesiastical history' and 'history'. Hinchliff and Cook claim that ecclesiastical history cannot be divorced from ordinary history<sup>10</sup> and that ecclesiastical history

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7. Ben Shaw Horton Impey, Marion Boyce Driver, Fanny Patton Stoyman, Mary Elizabeth Gordon, George William Impey, Anne Letitia Wood, Charles James Close and Harriet Langford Impey. (Death Notice, William Impey, Cape Arch., MOOC 6/9/357).
  8. Le Cordeur, B and Saunders, C, (Eds.), *Kitchingham Papers Missionary Letters and Journals, 1817 to 1848 from the Brenthurst Collection* (Brenthurst, Johannesburg, 1976), Sadler, C, (Ed.), *Never a Young Man: Extracts from the letters and journals of the Rev William Shaw* (Haum, Cape Town, 1967), Shrewsbury, J V B, (Ed.), *Memorials of the Rev William J Shewsbury* (London, 1867), Boyce, W B, (Ed.), *Memoir of the Rev William Shaw* (London, 1874), Hummel, H C, (Ed.), *Rev F G Kayser: Journal and Letters* (Maskew Millar, Cape Town, 1990).
  9. Donaldson, M E, 'Interpretation and Reinterpretation of English South African Church History', (Unpublished seminar paper, 1991) p. 11.
  10. Hinchliff, P B, *Ecclesiastical History: its nature and purpose* (Rhodes University inaugural lecture, 1960).

belongs in the historical world.<sup>11</sup> Some later writers suggest that ecclesiastical historians have been out of touch with the trends deemed significant by historians.<sup>12</sup> These critics suggest that much of the ecclesiastical history of South Africa has been 'irrelevant' because it has focused on recording the actions, words and experiences of clerics, church leaders, and subordinate groups of particular denominations or missions, taken more or less at face value. They claim that the work is generally descriptive and any reference to controversies has been mainly a reflection of the internal battles between the church itself or criticisms of state policy or public behaviour.<sup>13</sup>

Radical writers suggest that there is now a need for a socially critical study of the history of the church from within the radical (Marxist) historiographical tradition. They add that one should study the past with a view to understanding the present and to show the need for 'a church redeemed by the power of the gospel in order that it may become an instrument of liberation in a country that is being sucked into a whirlwind of death'.<sup>14</sup>

While there is a descriptive and narrative element which contextualises Impey's life and theology, this study also attempts to analyze the work of William Impey critically from within a revisionist but not a Marxist paradigm. It is not meant to be a reply to radical writings nor an apologetic for Christianity in South Africa. It seeks to examine the evidence in an attempt to understand a 19th century missionary within his own context and understand how and why perceptions of missionaries have changed over time.

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11. Cook, C W, 'The writing of South African church history: our appraisal of the English-speaking traditions' in *South African Historical Journal*, No. 2, 1970.
  12. Southey, N, 'History, Church History and Historical Theology in South Africa' in *Journal of Theology for South Africa (JTSA)* Vol. 68, 1989. p. 5.
  13. Cochrane, J, *Servants of Power: The role of the English-speaking Churches in South Africa: 1903-1930* (Ravan, Johannesburg, 1987) pp. 3-7.
  14. Villa-Vicencio, C, *Trapped in Apartheid: A Socio-Theological History of the English-Speaking Churches* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1988) p. 4

A NOTE ON MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1. IMPEY'S JOURNAL

William Impey's journal covers the period from October 1838 to October 1847. The journal was presented to the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown by Mr P S L Gordon of Knysna on 23 February 1979 for inclusion in the archive of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (MS 15 903). The late Professor Leslie Hewson, as Archivist of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, commissioned and proof-read a typescript of the original journal, which is also housed at the Cory Library (MS 15 109).

The journal is handwritten in a book 205mm x 165mm with a leather spine and leather corners. There are 261 pages of fine writing.

Impey made many detailed entries in his journal until July 1840, after which the entries become more sparse, although, when he does make entries, they remain reasonably detailed. However months go by with Impey recording nothing at all.

In 1841 and 1842 there are even fewer entries. In 1843 and 1844 Impey returned to a more disciplined use of his journal but again in 1845 only two entries are recorded. There is nothing for the year 1846. In September 1847 he resumed writing and made detailed entries until October of that year when the journal ends.

The relative sparseness of this journal made me think that another volume might be in existence. 19th century Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) material is housed at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London University. Correspondence with the archivist elicited information that the only Impey journal at the archive is a copy of the typescript version available at the Cory Library.

2. ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

There are a number of other manuscript sources available. Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) correspondence pertaining to South Africa is housed in the archive at SOAS and is available on microfilm in the Cory Library. The Cory Library also has relevant manuscripts which form part of the Methodist Archive and the Anglican Diocese of Grahamstown collections. There are a limited number of manuscript sources available at the Cape Archive in Cape Town. A computer search through the 'National Register of Manuscripts' (NAREM) reveals that there are no other manuscripts available that relate directly to William Impey, elsewhere in South Africa. There is however information on later Impeys which might be of interest to genealogists.

*A note on manuscript sources*

There is a limited amount of additional information in Great Britain. In addition to the SOAS collection, the Methodist Archive housed at the Rylands Library of the University of Manchester has two letters written by Impey and four photographs. The Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society has a few items of interest and the archive at the Bootham School in York has a limited number of references pertaining to William Impey. Details are recorded in the bibliography.

Much of the historical context for the period 1848-1878 is available from Impey's correspondence to the mission authorities in London. The reports from various mission stations are also available. Missionary correspondence and reports are published in the *Wesleyan Missionary Reports (WMR)*, the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices (WMN)* and the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, being a continuation of the Arminian or Methodist Magazine (MM)*. Impey also served as chairman of the Native Affairs Commission in 1865, the report of which was published as the *Cape of Good Hope Proceedings of, and evidence taken by the Commission on Native Affairs, appointed by His Excellency the Governor*.

In examining Impey's later theological journey, two small publications by him are available: (i) In 1868 Impey published *Memorial of Harriet Langford Impey who died at Healdtown, South Africa* following the death of his daughter. This work gives a detailed exposition of his daughter's spiritual experiences before her death as understood by Impey and therefore provides valuable insight into his theological position. (ii) In the 1870s Impey began to have difficulty with the doctrine of 'eternal punishment'. In 1878 this led to his resignation from the Wesleyan Methodist Church (WMC). This change in theological position is recorded in Impey's *Why I leave the Wesleyan Methodist Church*.

## FACSIMILE OF IMPEY'S JOURNAL

1838

Dec: 9 Oh that we could reach the hearts of these men. Lord, do thou open their eyes. Of late my own soul has been much quickened, & I have had some profitable conversation with Mr. Richards. May I never rest till lost in the image of my blessed Redeemer.

11 Caught two small sharks today, with the flesh of which was pretty good eating - rowed out in one of the boats -

12 Heavy Rain - Atmosphere oppressively close.

16 Sunday - Service in the afternoon, when some of the men attended. Mr. Richards read one of Bourne's Discourses to Seamen - Crossed the Equator about 7 in the evening in Long.  $23^{\circ} 30'$  West.

19 Lat. South.  $7^{\circ} 5'$  Long. West  $28^{\circ} 54'$

21 Lat. S.  $13^{\circ} 19'$  Long. W.  $30^{\circ} 33'$

23 Sunday - Lat. S.  $17^{\circ} 31'$  Long.  $31^{\circ} 56'$

Had public service & read one of the Lectures on Jonah - During the past week my soul has been much blessed, & led out in earnest prayer for

EDITORIAL METHOD

In editing the Journal of the Rev William Impey, I have tried to remain as true as possible to the original text. Alterations have been made only to facilitate the reading and understanding of the journal. The following alterations have been made:

*Punctuation.* Where punctuation is deficient or illegible, it has been provided. Impey often used the dash '-' in place of punctuation and '-----' at the end of paragraphs. These have been replaced by full-stops. Where the dash has been used for emphasis - it has been retained. Some unwieldy sentences have been broken up and paragraph breaks have been introduced where they seemed appropriate. Inverted commas are retained or included for reported speech.

*Abbreviations.* Impey used many of the conventions of Victorian England including '&' or 'α' for and, '&c' for etc, 'Bro' for brother, 'Evg' for evening, 'Rev<sup>d</sup>' for reverend, 'Mifs' for 'Miss', 'Mef<sup>rs</sup>' for Messrs. Most abbreviations for Mr, Mrs and Dr take on the superscript form of M<sup>r</sup>, M<sup>rs</sup> and D<sup>r</sup>. With the exception of titles, all other abbreviations, including the contraction of names and months have been expanded.

*Capitalization.* Impey used capital letters far more frequently than is presently the norm. In addition, the nature of Impey's handwriting is such that it is sometimes difficult to discern when Impey is using capital letters. All unnecessary capitalization in the manuscript has been eliminated. Where capital letters are necessary in the context of modern usage, they are supplied.

*Syntax.* Impey's syntax is questionable probably because many of the journal entries were hastily jotted notes. Wesleyan missionaries were required to write reports to the Methodist Missionary Committee in London. These notes were possibly memory-triggers for these reports. The syntax has largely been kept in its original form. Changes were made only to facilitate understanding of the passage.

*Spelling.* All spelling errors have been corrected. Where Impey uses a variety of spellings for proper nouns, these have been retained, as they give an indication of the development of the spelling e.g. Tembookies for Thembu people, Fingo/Fingoo for Mfengu people, Moshesh, Mosheshwe for Moshoeshoe etc. Impey often spells people's names incorrectly which has made identification very difficult in some instances.

*Bible references.* The citing of biblical references has been standardised to the modern form, e.g. Impey uses: 1 Thess II.7-8. This has been changed to 1 Thess 2:7-8. Unless otherwise indicated, the Authorised or King James Version has been used as this is the translation that would have been available to Impey.

*Date entries.* Impey makes his entries by writing the date in the top left corner of the page with an abbreviated month and date underneath, e.g.:

1838 Thursday (the day is not always included)  
Oct 25

This has been standardised to *25 October 1838*: Each entry therefore contains a complete date including the year.

*Numbers.* The modern standard of writing out numbers below 10 has been adopted. Where Impey has used fractions, the original has been retained.

CHAPTER 1: *Social, political, demographic introduction ...*

PART 2: PLACING THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM IMPEY INTO ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

**CHAPTER 1: A SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC INTRODUCTION TO SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF WILLIAM IMPEY IN 1839:**

In 1839 when William Impey arrived in South Africa there had been a long heritage of periods of conflict as well as peaceful interaction between the European settlers (whites) and the indigenous peoples (blacks) in this region. An area that posed particular problems was the eastern Cape. A variety of different methods had been used in an attempt to ensure the peaceful co-existence between the different peoples of this region since the first white settlements in the area in the latter part of the 18th century. By 1839 yet another frontier system, the 'Treaty System' had been in operation since the end of the war of 1834-1835.<sup>1</sup>

The eastern Cape frontier zone was to see many further changes in policy and a continuing advance of white expansionism and political control during the years of Impey's work in the area.

William Impey spent most of his ministry in the eastern Cape. The earliest inhabitants of this region had been the 'Stone Age' San hunter-gatherers, often referred to as 'Bushmen', and the Khoikhoi hunter-gatherer-pastoralists, also known as 'Hottentots'. The majority of these people had left the region after the arrival of the 'Iron Age' Southern Nguni people, who settled here at the very latest, by the mid sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The Khoisan, a term used to describe both the Khoi and the San<sup>3</sup> were forced into the less fertile regions of southern Africa. The Southern Nguni, with their superior iron technology became the dominant group living in the eastern Cape.

For many years the existence of these peoples has been ignored, some historians suggesting that history belongs exclusively to the period after the arrival of white people. The opinion of Hugh Trevor-Roper, Regius Professor of History at Oxford University was typical. In the 1960s he wrote:

... perhaps in the future there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none or very little: there is only the history

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1. Peires, J, *The House of Phalo: A history of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987) pp. 119 ff.
  2. Maylam, P, *A History of the African People of South Africa: from the Early Iron Age to the 1970s* (David Philip, Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1987) p. 33.
  3. Tobias, 'The Last Million Years in South Africa' in Cameron, T and Spies, S B, (Eds.), *An Illustrated History of South Africa* (Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 1986) p. 26.

CHAPTER 1: *Social, political, demographic introduction ...*

of Europeans in Africa. The rest is largely darkness ... And darkness is not a subject for history.<sup>4</sup>

There are many archaeological sites, rock paintings and engravings which provide information about where and how these people lived.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore possible to trace their history.

The ways of life of the San differed greatly according to the different environments of this region.<sup>6</sup> Despite these differences archaeologists suggest that one can still visualise 'stable populations living in well-defined territories over long periods of time'.<sup>7</sup> Thompson suggests that these populations increased slowly over the centuries but remained sparse by modern standards as health and life expectancy varied with the environment.<sup>8</sup> The San hunting culture was satisfactory as long as there was no competition for the hunting lands. When the Bantu speaking Nguni peoples came into the area from the north during the last 1000 years and the Dutch from the south-west in the 17th century, the San could not compete with these more sophisticated cultures. They were therefore either absorbed into the dominant culture, forced to retreat or they were destroyed by the white settlers or the Khoikhoi.<sup>9</sup>

The Dutch farmers held the San in contempt and some even hunted them as though they were animals. Despite desperate attempts to defend themselves, the San were killed in their thousands and many of their children were forced to work on white owned farms. Wilson comments:

Those San who grew up on farms, either as captive children or as the descendants of clients, were absorbed into the mixed Coloured community. Culturally, they were no longer hunters, they no longer painted, and they mingled in race with negroid and Indonesian slaves, with whites, as well as with the descendants of herders [Khoikhoi] who resembled them physically. It is not true to suggest that the San could not adapt; many individuals did. ... [but] only in the desert, where

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4. Smith, K, *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing* (Southern, Johannesburg, 1988) p. 10.
  5. Tobias, P V, 'The Dawn of the Human Family in Africa' in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 11 and Tobias, P V, 'The Last Million Years in Southern Africa' in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, pp. 20-27, Davis, N E, *A History of Southern Africa* (Longman, Harlow, 1987) p. 8, Inskeep, R R, *The Peopling of Southern Africa* (Cape Town, 1978), Klein, R G, (Ed.), *Southern African Prehistory and Paleoenvironments* (A A Balkema, Rotterdam, 1984).
  6. Thompson, L, *A History of South Africa* (Radix, Sandton, 1990) p. 7.
  7. Inskeep, *Peopling*, p. 94.
  8. Thompson, *History*, p. 7.
  9. Davis, *History*, p. 10.

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they could retain their hunting grounds and their isolation, did their language and way of life survive.<sup>10</sup>

The accounts of the early Portuguese explorers make no distinction between the hunter-gatherers (San) and the hunter-gatherer-pastoralists (Hottentots or Khoikhoi). Some scholars today would contend that these two groups have a common ancestry.<sup>11</sup> The differences between them came about because of the different way of life followed by the Khoikhoi. Initially they moved reasonably freely following the seasons in order to graze their herds.<sup>12</sup>

When the Bantu speaking Nguni peoples arrived many Khoikhoi were forced to leave the eastern areas and join Khoisan groups in the west. The arrival of Europeans in the west once again forced them eastward. While there had been periods of conflict between the Khoikhoi and Nguni in the east, through intermarriage and trade, an element of incorporation had occurred resulting in a reasonably peaceful co-existence between the two groups.<sup>13</sup> However the arrival and expansion of the European settlement at the Cape forced too many Khoikhoi eastward and incorporation no longer proved possible. They were caught between two contending forces, and were eventually reduced to the status of a landless people.<sup>14</sup> Elphick suggests that the Cape colonists 'dispossessed and subjugated the Khoikhoi with comparative ease'.<sup>15</sup>

When Europeans entered the eastern Cape in the period 1703-1780 the dominant group living in the region was the Southern Nguni or Xhosa.<sup>16</sup> The earliest historical event that refers to the Southern Nguni as the Xhosa people was the

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10. Wilson, M, 'The Hunters and Herders' in Wilson, M, and Thompson, L, (Eds.), *A History of South Africa to 1870* (David Philip, Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1986) p. 72.
  11. Morris, A G, 'Khoikhoi origins' in *The Phoenix: Magazine of the Albany Museum*, 1990, 3 (3), pp. 8-13.
  12. Oakes, D, (Ed.), *Illustrated History of South Africa: The real story* (Reader's Digest, Cape Town, 1988) p. 21.
  13. Giliomee, H, 'The Eastern Frontier, 1770-1812' in Elphick, R and Giliomee, H, (Eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1650-1820* (Maskew Miller, Longman, 1979) pp. 299 ff.
  14. Boucher, M, 'The Cape under the Dutch East India Company' in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, pp. 65-68.
  15. Elphick, R, 'The Khoisan to c.1770' in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.), *Shaping*, p. 34.
  16. Guelke, L, 'The White Settlers, 1652-1780' in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.), *Shaping*, p. 41.

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installation of Tshawe<sup>17</sup> as the paramount chief, sometime before 1695. Tshawe was believed to have usurped the chieftainship and destroyed the independence of a number of smaller clans, forging them into a united Xhosa group. After Tshawe there was a succession of chiefs about whom little is known. From the 1730s Phalo<sup>18</sup> was the paramount chief. From Tshawe's time the Xhosa considered themselves as subject to a single paramount chief but in practice the political system was not highly centralised. Most people offered allegiance to a local chief.<sup>19</sup>

In the late 18th century the Xhosa were divided into two major groups as a result of a succession dispute between Phalo's sons, Gcaleka<sup>20</sup> and Rharhabe.<sup>21</sup> The Rharhabe were for some time the dominant group in the eastern Cape. They had settled in what is today the Ciskei and consolidated Rharhabe power to the west of the Kei River subjugating the remaining San and Khoikhoi groups living in the region.<sup>22</sup>

Rharhabe was succeeded by a minor, Ngqika<sup>23</sup> and so Ndlambe<sup>24</sup> ruled as a regent. Ndlambe consolidated his power by conquering the neighbouring

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17. Tshawe, a Xhosa paramount chief while the Southern Nguni were still living in Natal. Took over paramountcy in approx. 1610. By 1620 had moved into the Umzimvubu river region. Many regard him the founder of the Xhosa people. (*Dictionary of South African Biography (DSAB)*, Vol. II, p. 752).
  18. Phalo (1702-1775) paramount chief of the Xhosa. During his reign, many independent clans came into existence which affiliated themselves to Phalo. During his reign there was also schism resulting in two major political groupings: the Gcaleka of the Transkei and the Rharhabe of the Ciskei. (*DSAB*, Vol. III, p. 684).
  19. Peires, *House*, pp. 13 ff.
  20. Gcaleka (c.1730-1792) paramount chief of the Xhosa and hereditary successor of Phalo. Tried to accede to the chieftainship before Phalo's death. Was defeated by alliance of Phalo and Rharhabe. Gcaleka was left in control of the people beyond the Kei river. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, p. 258).
  21. Rharhabe (c.1722-1787) first paramount chief of the Rharhabe clan after the schism. Settled in the Ciskei region and was succeeded by Ngqika. (*DSAB*, Vol. III, pp. 569-570)
  22. Peires, *House*, pp. 22 ff.
  23. Ngqika (c.1775-1829) Rharhabe paramount, son of Rharhabe. Involved in power struggle with regent, Ndlambe. Sided with the colonial authorities on a number of occasions in attempts to consolidate power. Eventually alienated himself from both Xhosa and colonists. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 590-592).
  24. Ndlambe (c.1740-1828) regent after death of Rharhabe. Involved in power struggle with heir, Ngqika. Wanted to seize power from Ngqika. Caused schism in Rharhabe. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 586-589).

chiefdoms by playing them off against one another and the Dutch frontiersmen.<sup>25</sup>

Ndlambe was forced to hand over leadership to Ngqika when he came of age in 1795. Ngqika's position was however constantly threatened by Ndlambe. These internal divisions came to a head in 1818 when Ndlambe defeated Ngqika at the battle of Amalinde. The Colonial forces came to Ngqika's aid and defeated Ndlambe. Despite colonial support Ngqika's power declined in the 1820s.<sup>26</sup> Xhosa society in the eastern Cape was not homogenous.<sup>27</sup> There were many different Xhosa clans which, while generally united by language and culture, were often quite different in their responses to colonial settlement and expansion.<sup>28</sup> Since Tshawe had united the southern Nguni into the Xhosa kingdom there had been a greater degree of unity but clan rivalries in all spheres, not least in politics and economics, tended to persist.<sup>29</sup>

The Xhosa were not static in their development and experienced many changes over time, though by western standards these changes were reasonably slow. Elphick stresses however, that their culture was flexible enough to change to meet the demands of new circumstances.<sup>30</sup>

The Xhosa freely recognised that other people might believe different things from them but their tolerance extended only to those who were outside their society. They would not allow people within their society to adhere to a different belief system because their beliefs formed the foundation of their society. It was therefore very difficult for the Xhosa to convert to Christianity as they would be ostracised from society.<sup>31</sup>

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25. Peires, *House*, pp. 57 ff.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 61 ff.

27. Elphick, R, 'Africans and the Christian campaign in South Africa' in Lamar, H, and Thompson, L, (Eds.), *The Frontier in History* (Yale University Press, 1981) p. 272.

28. The example of Ngqika's alliances with the colonists in opposition to Ndlambe is a case in point. (MacLennan, B, *A Proper Degree of Terror: John Graham and the Cape's Eastern Frontier* (Raven Press, Johannesburg, 1986)).

29. Peires, J, 'The Emergence of Black Political Communities' in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 50.

30. Elphick, 'Africans and the Christian campaign', in Lamar and Thompson, (Eds.), *Frontier*, p. 272.

31. Peires, *House*, pp. 74-78.

THE ARRIVAL OF EUROPEANS IN THE REGION

The indigenous societies of southern Africa remained isolated from the rest of the world until the end of the fifteenth century. Throughout that century Portuguese mariners explored further and further down the west coast of Africa. Eventually in 1487 Bartholomeu Diaz rounded the Cape peninsula and anchored in Mossel Bay before returning to Lisbon. Ten years later Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape again and sailed up the east coast reaching Malindi, the modern Mombasa, and then crossed to India. During the sixteenth century the Portuguese government sent annual fleets round the Cape of Good Hope to trade in India. They established bases on both the western and eastern coastlines. They did not settle in South Africa because they were afraid of the regions navigational hazards and the indigenous peoples.<sup>32</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth century Dutch, English, French and Scandanavian merchant mariners were also using the Cape sea route to the east. From time to time they landed at the Cape to take in fresh water and barter sheep and cattle from the Khoikhoi pastoralists. In 1620 the English government ignored a suggestion of an English ship's captain that it should annex the Cape. In 1649 Dutchmen who had spent the winter in Table Bay after losing their ship proposed that the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) should occupy the place. Three years later Jan van Riebeeck arrived to establish a refreshment station at the Cape.<sup>33</sup>

The DEIC wanted to establish a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope so that their ships travelling to India, would be able to stock up with fresh produce. This first settlement by the Dutch in 1652 was not intended to be permanent. Initially it was to be manned by Company employees who would return to Holland after completing a period of service.<sup>34</sup> However Company employees were unable to produce a sufficient surplus so the DEIC tried an early capitalist experiment. The DEIC allowed employees to resign from the Company and become independent producers who would sell their produce to the Company. This resulted in the creation of a permanent European settlement at the Cape. These settlers were known as *free burghers*.<sup>35</sup>

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32. Thompson, *History*, p. 32.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

34. Boucher, M, 'The Cape under the Dutch East India Company', in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 61.

35. Thompson, *History*, p. 35.

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After 1688 these Dutch settlers were joined at the Cape by a group of French Calvinists (Huguenots) who came to the Cape to escape religious persecution in Europe.<sup>36</sup> The French settlers were absorbed into the Dutch community.<sup>37</sup>

The European settlement relied heavily on slave labour. Many of the slaves at the Cape were not Africans but were brought to the colony by the Europeans from Madagascar and elsewhere.<sup>38</sup> The company controlled their slaves along military lines and they were generally harshly treated. Private slaves were treated slightly differently, their owners often being constrained because they did not want to damage valuable property. Thompson concludes:

Yet the threat of violence was always present, and many slave owners enforced their authority with frequent use of the whip.<sup>39</sup>

The European settlers realised that European style crop production was not as profitable in the region as herding livestock. They therefore traded with the Khoikhoi to acquire herds and eventually deprived them of their herds and drove them from the land.<sup>40</sup> Thompson comments:

Gaining confidence from their defeat of the peninsula people the settlers became increasingly brutal. They branded, thrashed, and chained Khoikhoi whom they suspected of theft and placed them on Robben Island ... Khoikhoi to the north of the peninsula put up the most effective resistance ... the European invaders established control with superior arms by exploiting internal divisions among the local people.<sup>41</sup>

Stock farming required vast tracts of land. In addition to this the Dutch inheritance system required the farm to be left to the eldest son in each family. The Europeans therefore began to require more and more land. Many also wanted to leave the area controlled by the Company in a bid to be more independent. Some of the burghers moved northward towards the Orange River and eastward on either side of the Great and Little Karoo. These burghers became known as *Trekboers*.<sup>42</sup> By the 1770s this expansion was checked in all

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36. Marquard, L, *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa* (Oxford, London, 1962) p. 4.
37. Boucher, 'Cape under DEIC', in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 66.
38. Armstrong, J C, 'The slaves, 1652-1795' in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.), *Shaping*, pp. 77-84.
39. Thompson, *History*, p. 42.
40. Oakes, (Ed.), *Illustrated History*, pp. 44-47.
41. Thompson, *History*, p. 38.
42. De Kiewiet, C W, *A History of South Africa: Social and economic* (Oxford, London, 1975) pp. 10-19.

directions, to the north by hunter-gatherers and in the east by the Bantu speaking mixed farmers (Xhosa) beyond Algoa Bay. As a result, from the end of the 18th century onwards the eastern frontier of the Colony was characterised by conflict between Khoikhoi, colonists and the Xhosa.<sup>43</sup>

As the 18th century progressed the trekboer families spread out thinly over a vast area. In order to establish some control over these trekboers the government established *drostdies* or government posts beginning with Swellendam, 192 kms east from Cape Town, in 1745. In 1786 the government inaugurated another one at Graaff-Reinet near the northeastern limit of trekboer expansion. Each of these drostdies were run by a *landdrost* who was a salaried government employee. These landdrosts had limited salaried staff and had to rely on the unpaid services of trekboers known as *heemraden* and *veldkornets*. In each district six heemraden were appointed by the government to administer the area. The landdrost and heemraden also formed a court of justice. The veldkornet was responsible for law and order in each subdivision of a district.<sup>44</sup>

As the trekboers moved into the interior they forced the indigenous peoples from their land. The hunter-gatherers often raided the cattle and sheep and even the homes of the incoming farmers. In response the trekboers formed *commandos*<sup>45</sup> which were a group of farmers who came together to fight against the raiders and retrieve their property. The commandos killed adults and captured children who were compelled to become slaves.<sup>46</sup>

To the north and northeast of the Cape there were therefore many scattered people of diverse origins including trekboers, San, Khoi, escaped slaves and burghers who had committed crimes and who had fled. By the end of the eighteenth century some of these groups were becoming organised into chiefdoms. At first they called themselves *Bastards* but later they became known as *Griquas*.<sup>47</sup>

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43. Thompson, *History*, pp. 45-52.

44. Thompson, *History*, p. 47, cf Hattersley, A F, *An Illustrated Social History of South Africa* (A A Balkema, Cape Town, 1969) p. 48.

45. Davenport, T R H, *South Africa: A modern history* (Macmillan, Johannesburg, 1977) p. 23.

46. Thompson, *History*, p. 49.

47. Legassick, M, 'The Northern Frontier to 1820: The emergence of the Griqua people' in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.), *Shaping*, pp. 243-275, Thompson, *History* and Davenport, *South Africa*, p. 25.

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In the east the situation was more complex. By the 1770s trekboers had reached as far as Algoa Bay and Graaff-Reinet and were pushing further eastward. This area had been part of a long-disputed frontier zone between indigenous pastoralists (Khoi) and Bantu mixed farmers (Xhosa). White encroachment further pressurised the region resulting in

... shifting alliances, cattle raids, and wars. None of the ethnic communities - Khoikhoi, Xhosa, or White - was able to establish hegemony, and the colonial government in distant Cape Town was also incapable of doing so.<sup>48</sup>

This led to the first of the many frontier wars beginning in 1779. There was another war in 1793, but none of these early conflicts resolved anything. These conflicts served to strain the relationship between the trekboers and the colonial government at the Cape because the government was seen as not offering sufficient support. In 1795 some prominent trekboers from the southern part of the Graaff-Reinet area drove their landdrost from the region and assumed control because they wanted 'the freedom to deal with the Kaffirs as they saw fit'.<sup>49</sup> The rebels were forced to give in when the government cut off their supply of ammunition 'demonstrating that they were dependant on their links with the Cape Town regime and the European economy'.<sup>50</sup>

Tension also continued along the eastern frontier in this period. The Burghers had to be forced into submission again in 1799 and there was a Khoikhoi rebellion and a number of conflicts with the Xhosa.<sup>51</sup>

The British captured the Cape from the Dutch late in 1795. The reasons for this arose out of the situation in Europe following the French Revolution of 1789. When the French invaded the Netherlands in 1793, the Dutch King fled to Britain and asked for British protection of the Dutch colonies. Britain herself had trade interests in India and was therefore willing to occupy the Cape to safeguard the trade route to the east. British forces occupied the Cape in 1795. Many of Dutch settlers at the Cape resisted this occupation believing themselves to be independent of the Dutch government in Europe.<sup>52</sup>

Whether or not the Cape would remain a British possession after the war was not yet clear in the minds of the British government. Being pre-occupied with

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48. Thompson, *History*, p. 50.

49. De Kiewiet, *Social and economic*, pp. 31-32.

50. Giliomee, H, 'The Eastern Frontier, 1770-1812' in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.), *Shaping*, pp. 291-326.

51. De Kiewiet, *Social and economic*, p. 32.

52. Davis, *History*, p. 31.

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the war in Europe it was therefore considered to be in their best interest to try to make their rule of the Cape uncomplicated and demanding of as little of their time and resources as possible. As Thompson puts it, 'the British regarded themselves as temporary custodians and had no intention of tampering with the status quo.'<sup>53</sup> In the *Articles of Capitulation* the British therefore allowed existing institutions to remain in tact.<sup>54</sup> As issues arose at the Cape the British authorities issued proclamations which tried to allow existing structures to continue to operate, e.g. in October 1795, 'Magistrates and Officers of Justice' were given permission to 'continue in their present employments and administer Justice in the name of His Britannick Majesty'.<sup>55</sup>

The conflict on the eastern frontier was by this stage a serious issue with no solution in sight. The British tried to maintain order in this area by being strictly authoritarian but with little success.<sup>56</sup> These problems on the eastern frontier contributed to British resolve to withdraw from the Cape as soon as the situation in Europe stabilised. In terms of the Treaty of Amiens of 27 March 1802, Britain handed the Cape back to the newly formed Batavian (Dutch) Republic in February 1803.<sup>57</sup>

This 'new' Dutch government at the Cape was no longer the Dutch East India Company which had been taken over by the Dutch Government in 1799. Under the influence of liberalism in Europe the Dutch had opted for a republican form of government. The new governor at the Cape was therefore a representative of the new Dutch 'republic'. The new Dutch governor, Jan Willem Janssens<sup>58</sup> was

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53. Thompson, *History*, p. 54.
54. The terms of the Capitulation of the Colony were issued on 16 September 1795 and are published in Theal, G M, *Records of the Cape Colony: February 1793-1796* (Printed for the government at the Cape, 1897) pp. 127-130.
55. Proclamation by General A Clarke, Vice-Admiral Sir G K Elphinstone and Major General Craig, 15 October 1795 in Theal, *Records*, p. 199.
56. Freund, W M, 'The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795-1814' in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.), *Shaping*, p. 213.
57. In article 3 of the Treaty of Amiens Britain returned all the areas (with the exception of Trinidad and Ceylon) she had occupied and which had formerly belonged to the Dutch to the Batavian Republic. This treaty was signed in March 1802 but the Cape was only restored to the Batavians almost a year later when the Lt Gen Francis Dundas issued a Proclamation to this effect on 21 February 1803. (Eybers, G W, (Ed.), *Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History: 1795-1910* (Routledge, London, 1918) p. 12).
58. Jan Willem Janssens (1762-1838) Dutch general and governor of the Cape Colony and commander in chief of the Colony. Took over Cape on behalf of the Batavian Republic on 21.2.1803. Responsible for many reforms and  
(continued...)

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aided by the Commissioner General Jacob de Mist.<sup>59</sup> They introduced many liberal ideas into the region including freedom of worship, equality of people before the law and a new emphasis on the extension of education to 'all' people. Davis qualifies what these new principles meant:

... it must be borne in mind that these ideas were meant to apply only to white men. ... white men regarded the Africans as inferior and none of these new ideas was considered to apply to them.<sup>60</sup>

The Batavians were intent on trying to resolve the frontier issue as they wanted to remain in control of the Cape permanently.<sup>61</sup> They tried as before to coerce the Xhosa to leave the Zuurveld, but without success. They therefore tried to impose a system of enforcing a rigid frontier between whites and blacks but this also did not resolve the problem.<sup>62</sup>

When war broke out again between France and Britain, British forces were sent to the Cape to resume control once more. The British again thought that their involvement in southern Africa would be of a temporary nature. Therefore, in the *Surrender of Cape Town to the British* of 10 January 1806, Article 8 stressed that Burghers and inhabitants 'shall preserve all their rights and privileges which they have enjoyed hitherto'.<sup>63</sup> This attitude was reinforced in the *Articles of Capitulation*.<sup>64</sup>

This second British occupation had much more dramatic impact on the lifestyle of the people of this region than the first. The conscience of the British people had been awakened by the 'Evangelical Revival' and the 'Enlightenment' and many people were now concerned about the plight of the indigenous societies in southern Africa. De Kiewiet explains:

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58. (...continued)  
the general reorganisation of the Cape government, working closely with Commissioner de Mist. (*DSAB*, Vol. III, p. 442).
59. Jacob Abraham Uitenhage de Mist (1749-1823) commissioner general of the Batavian Republic at the Cape. Inspired many reforms and published widely. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 174-179).
60. Davis, *History*, p. 32.
61. Freund, 'The Cape under the transitional governments', in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.), *Shaping*, p. 213.
62. MacLennan, *Proper Degree of Terror*, pp. 41-47.
63. Eybers, (Ed.), *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 15 ff.
64. *Ibid.*

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In the baggage of English army officers and in the libraries of missionaries came views to which Enlightenment and Romanticism, Wesleyanism and the Evangelical Revival, each contributed its share.<sup>65</sup>

The British people's humanitarian zeal put pressure on the colonial authorities to introduce a number of significant 'reforms' which were to impact greatly on all the people of the region.<sup>66</sup> Walker adds:

The coming of the missionaries did more than stimulate religious life in the Colony. It interested the organised, semi-educated, evangelically minded and entirely vocal British middle class, which was rising to influence on the wave of the Industrial Revolution, in the peoples of the colonies and above all in the aborigines ... The colonists had to take increasing heed of opinion in Britain, especially with reference to the formulation of native policy.<sup>67</sup>

With reference to the significance of these ideas for the Dutch settlers Davis comments:

In the first 150 years of white settlement the dominant cultural influences had been Dutch. All the whites shared the same religion, language and law. Any settler who was discontented with the government packed his bags and went into the interior where there was greater independence and fewer restrictions. ... This attitude was reinforced by confrontations with a new administration which was obviously foreign, spoke and imposed a foreign language, and which also did not agree with the main ideas and practices of the law and religion of the settlers.<sup>68</sup>

By 1808 British legislation abolishing the slave trade came into effect. This resulted in an alleged labour shortage at the Cape and many colonists looked to the Khoikhoi to supply the deficit. Most of the Dutch were only accustomed to dealing with slave labour and so the Khoikhoi were subject to the arbitrary exercise of authority by their masters. Some missionaries were sympathetic to the plight of the Khoikhoi and tried to have an influence on the governing authorities at the Cape. In 1809 when Colonel Collins<sup>69</sup> toured the region in order to advise Caledon as to how to improve the situation along the eastern frontier,<sup>70</sup> Dr Van der Kemp<sup>71</sup> tried to influence Collins' thinking. However

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65. De Kiewiet, *Social and economic*, p. 43.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

67. Walker, E A, *A History of South Africa* (Longmans and Green, London, 1947) p. 151.

68. Davis, *History*, p. 33.

69. Richard Collins (1774?-1813) British officer and commissioner for the eastern border districts of the Cape Colony. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 181-182, *Theal, Records*, Vol. 7, pp. 98-139).

70. Davenport, *South Africa*, pp. 97-98.

71. Johannes Theodorus Van der Kemp (1747-1811), Dutch officer, physician and missionary of the LMS. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 774-777).

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because there were no visible signs that the inhabitants at the Bethelsdorp mission station were making any progress in 'dress' and 'personal cleanliness' Collins concluded:

I cannot therefore perceive that the efforts produced by the zealous and unremitting labours of Dr Vanderkemp and his brethren during a period of seven years are such as to promise great benefits from the continuance of this institution, even to the members of it.<sup>72</sup>

The Caledon Code of 1809 nevertheless did introduce some reforms that served to improve the position of the Khoikhoi under the law. The proclamations of 1787 and 1803 had secured some legal rights for them, but now the Code of 1809 ameliorated their situation further by reducing the period of apprenticeship for children and allowing greater freedom of movement for them.<sup>73</sup>

Collins also made some suggestions for improving the situation along the eastern frontier. He suggested that the 'Kaffirs' be compelled to return to 'their own country' and that colonists should avoid contact with them. He added that the problem would be much alleviated if additional settlers could be brought into the region to settle along the frontier.<sup>74</sup> Cory states that most of these suggestions had been proposed before by everyone who had undertaken to set the Eastern Province in order, 'but under existing conditions had been found to be impracticable'.<sup>75</sup>

The situation on the eastern frontier continued to smoulder with sporadic bursts into violent confrontation.<sup>76</sup> Early governors had tried to drive the Xhosa beyond the Fish River and enforce a separation of colonists and indigenous societies by using coercion. Forts were built and the garrison towns of Cradock and Grahamstown were established. This did little to maintain peace. During the governorship of Lord Charles Somerset,<sup>77</sup> this rigid military approach was replaced by a more conciliatory use of treaties, but this also proved a failure. By 1819 there had been five frontier wars. Somerset eventually also concluded that the only viable possibility for peace

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72. Quoted by Cory, G E, *The Rise of South Africa*, Vol. 1 (Longmans Green and Co, London, 1910) p. 191.
73. Proclamation by Earl Caledon, 1 November 1809 in Eybers, (Ed.), *Constitutional Documents*, p. 17.
74. Report by Colonel Collins to Caledon, 6 August 1809 in Cory, *Rise*, Vol. 1, p. 190.
75. Cory, *Rise*, Vol. 1, p. 190.
76. Oakes, (Ed.), *Illustrated History*, p. 96.
77. Lord Charles Henry Somerset (1767-1831) British Cape governor from 1814-1826. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 685-691).

lay in establishing a close white settlement on the colonial side of the frontier.<sup>78</sup>

Somerset was not the first to consider such a settlement scheme as a possible solution to the problems on the frontier. In addition to people like Collins, Colonel Graham<sup>79</sup> had also made an attempt to implement a settler scheme. Graham had read the book written by Lord Selkirk on the settlement of Highlanders on Port Edward Island and another settlement conducted by the Hudson bay Company. Graham therefore suggested a settler scheme for the frontier to the Colonial Secretary, but nothing came of it. In 1817 Benjamin Moodie<sup>80</sup> conducted a private settlement scheme in which he settled 200 unmarried artisans. These settlers signed an agreement to serve Moodie for three years. Cory suggests that even though the majority bought their freedom from the contract and it did not go entirely as planned, it had been reasonably successful.<sup>81</sup>

Somerset's proposed settlement scheme had a three-fold purpose: firstly, it was intended to settle the disputed eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope with an agrarian farming community whose presence would discourage Xhosa pastoralists and cattle raiders from crossing the colonial boundary; secondly, it was intended to increase the English speaking population of a recently acquired colony that was still predominantly Dutch in its language and customs; thirdly, it was a gesture on the part of an insecure government in Britain to ease political tensions in Britain that had resulted from the post-Napoleonic war unemployment.<sup>82</sup> Nash suggests that the last object was the most urgent:

... faced with mass protest meetings, strikes and the threat of riots, the government was anxious to make a 'show of doing something for the people'. Emigration was seen by many as their chance for a better life, although radical critics of the government argued political reform, not emigration, was what Britain needed.<sup>83</sup>

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78. Le Cordeur, 'The Occupations of the Cape, 1795-1854', in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, pp. 79-85.
  79. John Graham (1778-1821) British officer in command of the garrison town of Grahamstown which is named after him. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 314-316).
  80. Benjamin Moodie (1789-1856) pioneer and coloniser. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 487-488).
  81. Cory, *Rise*, Vol. 2, pp. 6-7.
  82. Nash, M D, *The Settler Handbook* (Chamelion Press, Plumstead, 1987) p. 11.
  83. Nash, *Settler Handbook*, p. 11.

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In 1819 the Chancellor of the Exchequer voted £50 000 for the establishment of a settler scheme in the Zuurveld in the eastern Cape. Over 90 000 people from all walks of life applied, many unemployed, some professional and business people. Eventually 1000 families, from divergent backgrounds, were accepted and arrived in South Africa in 1820.<sup>84</sup> Nash states:

... a thousand families from all parts of Britain and all levels of society, many of them ill-prepared and ill-equipped, were set down on the 'savage and unpromising' shores of their new land.<sup>85</sup>

They were to establish farms and create a buffer between the Xhosa and the Colony. The settlement however failed to solve the problems along the frontier for a number of reasons, not least being the fact that most of the settlers were not originally farmers, compounded by the severe climate of this region. After three successive crop failures, many deserted their farms and moved into the towns and villages.<sup>86</sup> In the 1820s the Khoikhoi question received further attention. Dr John Philip,<sup>87</sup> Superintendent of the London Missionary Society (LMS), championed their cause.<sup>88</sup> Inspired to improve the lot of the indigenous peoples, Philip tried to get redress for them locally, but failed. In 1826 he travelled to Britain where he lobbied the Anti-Slavery Society arguing that the fate of the Khoikhoi was bound up with that of slaves. He enjoyed little success until he published a long polemic entitled *Researches in South Africa* exposing the injustices experienced by the Khoikhoi.<sup>89</sup> The *Researches* aroused a great deal of interest and Thompson suggests that as a result Philip's efforts finally proved fruitful.<sup>90</sup> He was finally able to convince those in parliament to listen to the case he made on behalf of the Khoikhoi. On 15 July 1828

... the House of Commons passed a motion that the colonial government was to "secure to all natives of South Africa, the same freedom and

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84. Bryer, L, and Hunt, K, *The 1820 Settlers* (Don Nelson, Cape Town, 1987) pp. 11-13, Maxwell, W A, *Reconsiderations*, (First H H Dugmore Memorial Lecture, Grahamstown, 1970).
85. Nash, *Settler Handbook*, p. 11.
86. Oakes, (Ed.), *Illustrated History*, p. 99.
87. John Philip (1777-1851) superintendent of the LMS in South Africa. Ordained minister in the Congregational Church. Worked to try to improve the lot of indigenous societies, especially the Khoikhoi. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 612-620).
88. Thompson, *History*, p. 59.
89. Galbraith, J S, *Reluctant Empire: British policy on the South African frontier 1834-1854* (University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1963) p. 83 and Donaldson, M E, 'The Council of Advice at the Cape of Good Hope' (Ph D, Rhodes, 1969).
90. Thompson, *History*, pp. 59-61.

protection as are enjoyed by other free people of that Colony whether English or Dutch".<sup>91</sup>

There must have been some earlier communication between the authorities in London and those at the Cape as two days later, on 17 July 1828, the Cape government passed Ordinance 50 which had as its stated intention:

For improving the Condition of the Hottentots and other free Persons of Colour at the Cape of Good Hope, and for Consolidating and Amending the laws affecting those Persons.<sup>92</sup>

Ordinance 50 replaced the previous proclamations of 1787, 1803, 1809, 1812, 1819 and 1823. This ordinance made it possible for Khoikhoi to own land; it afforded them protection against 'improvident contracts for service'; protected children against unfair apprenticeships; allowed families to live together without all members being forced to work and gave blacks and Khoikhoi the vote.<sup>93</sup> This controversial piece of legislation did not unequivocally guarantee the Khoikhoi complete legal equality but it did afford them greater freedom. However by this time Newton-King, suggests:

... the era of [Khoikhoi] anti-colonial resistance had passed. They had won their freedom in the eyes of the law but they had irrevocably lost their land.<sup>94</sup>

Lacking land and political power most of the Khoikhoi were effectively enserfed to white colonists. In 1799 the Dutch authorities had tried to make land available on the Gamtoos River for the Khoikhoi but by 1809, the local landdrost had found a way to force them off the land. In another attempt to help the Khoikhoi acquire land, the Kat River Settlement was established on the eastern frontier in 1829 where they could establish themselves as smallholders.<sup>95</sup> There was a problem. This land had previously been occupied by the Xhosa. So while this settlement prospered in the early years, the

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91. Thompson, *History*, p. 61, quoting from Ross, A, *John Philip (1775-1851): Missions, Race and Politics in South Africa* (Aberdeen, 1986) p. 109.

92. Ordinance 50 in Eybers, (Ed.), *Constitutional Documents*, p. 26.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

94. Newton-King, S, 'Khoisan Resistance to Colonial Expansion, 1700-1828 in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, (Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg, 1986) p. 111.

95. Le Cordeur, 'Occupations', in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, pp. 82-83.

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Khoikhoi frequently faced the problem of Xhosa cattle raiding and were involved in the frontier wars.<sup>96</sup>

In the period from 1820 to 1833 there were numerous incidents of violence on the frontier but a delicate peace was maintained although often threatening to erupt into war. In 1833, trying to keep pace with the progress of reforms in Britain, the new Governor at the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban<sup>97</sup> was instructed to introduce a new, more conciliatory system of treaties. His new system included the payment of subsidies and the appointment of white 'Residents' (magistrates) to advise and assist the chiefs in the administration of their people. However before this system could be successfully implemented, war broke out in 1834.<sup>98</sup>

In 1829, the eastern Cape had been ravished by a severe drought which continued into the 1830s. One of the few areas that was not affected by the drought was the basin of the Upper Fish River which formed part of what was called the Neutral or Ceded Territory, created in 1819 as a buffer zone between the Xhosa and the Colony. It was intended that this area be kept free of occupation by both the Xhosa and the Colonists. During the drought, both groups drove their cattle into the area and both groups were forced to leave. Commandant Henry Somerset,<sup>99</sup> realising that peace depended upon the Xhosa having grazing for their cattle, allowed one of the chiefs, Maqoma,<sup>100</sup> to return to the Ceded Territory. The Cape Governor Cole<sup>101</sup> reversed this decision and had Maqoma expelled once again. By now the Xhosa were frustrated,

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96. In the early wars, the Khoikhoi supported the British, but in the 1840s, the local magistrates made life so difficult for them that in the war of 1850-53, they sided with the Xhosa. After the war, the Kat River area was opened up for white settlement. With official support and relatively easy access to capital, they gradually edged the Khoikhoi out of their landholdings. (Thompson, *History*, pp. 62-63).
  97. Sir Benjamin D'Urban (1777-1849) British soldier and governor of the Cape colony from 1843-1838. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 205-207).
  98. Le Cordeur, 'Occupations', in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, pp. 87-88.
  99. Sir Henry Somerset (1794-1862) British soldier and administrator, eldest son of Lord Charles Somerset. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 691-693).
  100. Maqoma (Makomo, Makoma, Macoma) (1798-1873) eldest son of Ngqika of the 'right hand' house. When Ngqika died (1829) Maqoma ruled as regent as the heir, Sandile was too young. 1840 Sandile reached majority and took over control. Maqoma became jealous of Sandile but could do very little as by this time he had become addicted to alcohol. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, p. 439).
  101. Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole (1772-1842) British governor of the Cape from 1828-1833. (*DSAB*, Vol. III, pp. 163-165).

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feeling that they were deliberately being belittled by the Colonial authorities. In October 1834 Xoxho<sup>102</sup> defiantly pastured his cattle in the forbidden territory and was shot. Peires records the response of the Xhosa:

Every Caffre who saw Xoxo's wound went back to his hut, took his assegai, and shield, and set out to fight, and said 'It is better that we die than be treated thus ... Life is no use to us if they shoot our chiefs.'<sup>103</sup>

In December Hintsas<sup>104</sup> gave all the Xhosa regiments his approval to invade the colony in an 'out-and-out war of revenge'.<sup>105</sup>

After the war the Wesleyan missionaries were requested by the Governor at the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, to assist in negotiating peace, which they did. The governor's proposals involved the expulsion of the Xhosa from the area between the Kei and Keiskamma Rivers, an area called the Province of Queen Adelaide. D'Urban envisaged that this area should be reserved for white settlement.<sup>106</sup>

However Dr Philip of the LMS was touring England at this time and convinced many, including the Colonial Secretary in London, Lord Glenelg,<sup>107</sup> that the Xhosa had been incited to fight by the colonists and claimed that some of the Wesleyan missionaries had supported the colonists.<sup>108</sup> Lord Glenelg, under the influence of many philanthropists, rejected the D'Urban settlement and implemented a new treaty system. In 1836 Andries Stockenström<sup>109</sup> was

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102. Xoxho (c.1813-1877/8?) a son of Ngqika. A minor chief used by his people in negotiations with the British government at the Cape. (*DSAB*, Vol. V, p. 901).
103. Peires, *House*, p. 93.
104. Hintsas (c.1790-1835) paramount chief of the Gcaleka and theoretically the whole Xhosa. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 382-385).
105. Davenport, *South Africa*, p. 129.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-131.
107. Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg (1778-1866) British Colonial Secretary and philanthropist. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 270-273).
108. Le Cordeur, B A, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism* (Oxford, Cape Town, 1981) p. 68 and Slee, A T C, 'Some aspects of Methodism in the Albany District between 1830 and 1844' (MA thesis, Rhodes University). This post-war period is the subject of some debate and is being re-interpreted by those who are revising views on the origins of the Mfengu (see Webster, A C, 'Land Emancipation and Labour Extraction under Cape Colonial Rule: The War of 1835 and the Emancipation of the Fingo').
109. Andries Stockenström (1792-1864) Cape frontier administrator and politician. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 774-779).

appointed Lieutenant-Governor for the Eastern Districts and was given the task of implementing this new treaty system.<sup>110</sup> In addition to this the area between the Kei and Keiskamma was to be restored to the Xhosa. These treaties did not work well. When Napier<sup>111</sup> arrived in the colony as governor in January 1838 he found the colony in a dismal state. By May he had made significant alterations to the existing treaties. In 1839 Stockenström was forced to resign as he was unable to ensure order in the eastern districts of the Cape. Glenelg also resigned because he was thought to have bungled the situation at the Cape and other situations elsewhere in the empire as well.<sup>112</sup>

The Wesleyan Methodist missionaries were upset because they had been depicted as siding with the colonists against the Xhosa. William Shaw was in England at the same time as Dr Philip, and came out in defence of his colleagues in the eastern Cape.<sup>113</sup> The ill-feeling that developed between the LMS and the Wesleyan Methodists persisted for some time. In 1838 William Boyce published *Notes on South African Affairs with reference to the Civil, Political and Religious condition of the Colonists and the Aborigines* (Aldum and Harvey, Grahamstown) in which he argued the case for the Wesleyan Methodists. By the time of Impey's arrival in 1839, this tension between the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries and the LMS seemed to be waning.

The war and its aftermath was one of the many reasons why many Dutch settlers decided to abandon the colony and trek into the interior.<sup>114</sup> For some time the Trekboers were dissatisfied with being under British rule. On 2 February 1837, Piet Retief<sup>115</sup> one of their leaders published his *Manifesto* in the Grahamstown Journal in which he detailed their grievances and explained what they intended to do. These grievances included dissatisfaction with the government's dealing with the problem of vagrancy; the losses they had incurred from the abolition of slavery; the frequent cattle raids by the Xhosa

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110. Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, chapter 7.

111. Sir George Thomas Napier (1784-1855), governor at the Cape from 1838-1844).

112. Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, p. 155.

113. Details were later published in, Shaw, W, *A defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Southern Africa; comprising copies of correspondence with the Reverend John Philip DD* (Mason, London, 1839).

114. Le Cordeur, 'Occupations' in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 89.

115. Piet Retief (1780-1838) Voortrekker leader, trader and frontier farmer. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 585-589).

across the border and the way they thought they were being misrepresented by the English missionaries.<sup>116</sup> Trekker parties reconnoitred possible areas for settlement. Some crossed the Drakensburg and went into what today is Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Different parties decided to settle in different areas and by 1838 about a third of the Cape Dutch population had left on what has become known as the Great Trek.<sup>117</sup>

#### THE MFENGU

The final group of people that Impey came into contact with were the Mfengu. The Northern Nguni (Zulu) and Southern Nguni (Xhosa) experienced a period of turmoil in the latter decades of the 18th century and the first three decades of the 19th century. Until the 1980s, most scholars referred to this period as the Mfecane.<sup>118</sup>

Traditionally the Mfengu were believed to have come from Zululand as refugees from Shaka during the Mfecane. It was believed that they were mainly from the Hlubi, Bhele and Zizi clans of the Northern Nguni. Most of these refugees were believed to have moved south where they settled among the Gcaleka with whom they entered a client-patron relationship. It was believed that the Mfengu were poorly treated by their patrons. The missionaries, especially the Wesleyan Methodists, were depicted as the champions of their cause. Many Mfengu converted to Christianity during the 19th century. It has been suggested that amongst other factors, because the Mfengu were poorly treated by their patrons and because they were relatively rootless, being refugees, the Mfengu were more open to the missionary message than the Xhosa. Moyer suggests that the missionaries provided the Mfengu with a way out of their unfavourable circumstances by offering them protection and land for cultivation on the mission stations.<sup>119</sup> Moyer also suggests that the missionaries exploited the Mfengu by appealing to their desire for security. Moyer depicts the Mfengu as relatively passive in the whole process.<sup>120</sup>

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116. *Relief Manifesto* in Eybers, (Ed.), *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 143-145.
117. Thompson, 'Co-operation and conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal' in Wilson and Thompson, (Eds.), *History of South Africa*, pp. 355-363.
118. Hall, M, *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200-1860* (David Philip, Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1987), Maylam, *African People*, Peires, House, Wilson and Thompson, (Eds.), *History of South Africa*, Thompson, *History*, Omer-Cooper, J D, *The Zulu Aftermath* (1966), Davenport, *South Africa*, are some of the most prominent Africanist historians who have held to this thesis.
119. Moyer, R A, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape, 1835-1870' (Ph D, London University, 1976) p. 478.
120. *Ibid.*, pp. 478-480.

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Early radical historians have provided a different perspective. Bundy suggests that while vassals of the Gcaleka, the Mfengu were able to 'rehabilitate' themselves and were able to recover their morale and develop a group identity as well as a measure of material prosperity. The Gcaleka had allowed them a reasonable amount of freedom of movement and as a result the Mfengu had been able to develop an extensive trading system with the missionaries. Bundy suggests that the Mfengu exploited for their own gain, what the missionaries offered them. They were not passive but active.<sup>121</sup>

After the war of 1834-1835, 16 000 Mfengu entered the Cape colony at the bidding of governor D'Urban under the leadership of the Wesleyan Methodist missionary, John Ayliff. They had been vassals of the Gcaleka and this move into the colony was traditionally seen as their liberation from the Gcaleka. They had a reputation as hard and skilful workers and it was hoped that they would contribute to the general upliftment of the Peddie and Grahamstown regions. It was believed that the association of the Mfengu with the Wesleyan Methodists led to their rapid development of a successful peasant farming system. The Mfengu assisted the colonial government in the many frontier wars and because they did not participate in the cattle-killing in the period 1856-57, they prospered while the Xhosa influence in the region waned. The Wesleyan Methodists were credited with providing a transforming message that was compatible with capitalism and those who adopted Christianity were afforded the opportunity to exploit the advantages of a capitalist economy. The Wesleyan Methodist success story was the Mfengu.<sup>122</sup>

In the 1980s historians began re-interpreting this period, some suggested that the turmoil traditionally referred to as the Mfecane resulted from competition for the control of trade in the Delagoa Bay region and contended that it resulted from attempts to secure cheap labour for colonial capitalist expansion.<sup>123</sup>

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121. Bundy, C, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (David Philip, Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1988) pp. 32 ff.

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-37.

123. Webster, A C, 'Land Emancipation and Labour Extraction under Cape Colonial Rule: The War of 1835 and the Emancipation of the Fingo' (MA, Rhodes, 1991) and Maloka, E T, 'Mission Historiography and Ethnography: Cassalis, Arbousset and Ellenberger, and the history of the 19th century Lesotho' (University of Cape Town, African Studies Honours Dissertation, 1988) p. 109, Cobbing, J R D, 'The Case Against the Mfecane' (Seminar paper, Wits, 1984), 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo' (Seminar Paper, Rhodes, 1987), 'Jettisoning the Mfecane' (Seminar Paper, Wits, 1988)

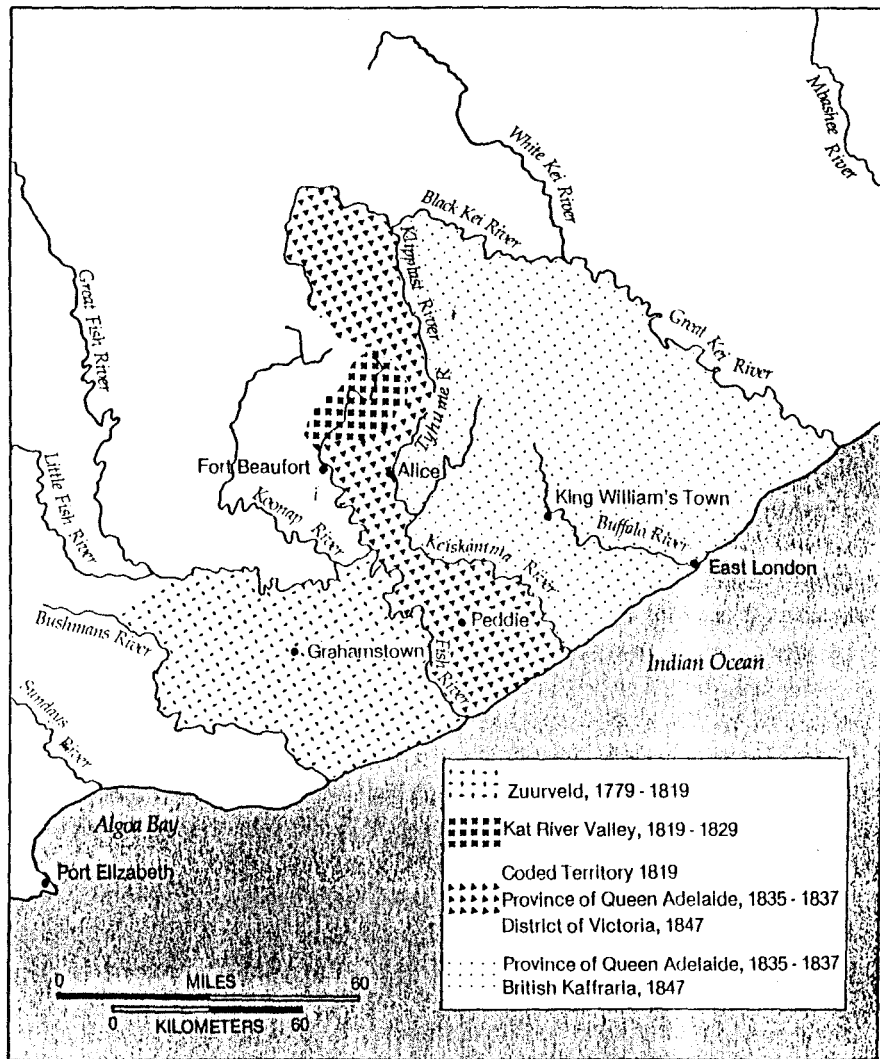
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Recent scholarship by Cobbing of Rhodes University in the 1980s and the 1990s has brought the notion of the Mfecane and the origins of the Mfengu into question. Cobbing has proposed that the 'Fingo' (a name he prefers above Mfengu) were largely Gcaleka and Rharhabe who were captured in 1835 to solve the colonial labour shortage. Cobbing suggests that these people were given a false identity in order to 'disguise' who they really were as their true identity would have caused an outrage within philanthropic circles.<sup>124</sup> Webster suggests that there were possibly some refugees from the Bhele, Zizi and Hlube who were called Fingo, but adds that there were also people in Gcaleka society who were reduced to a servile position and were also called Fingo. Webster writes:

... anyone who fulfilled a certain social requirement, or needed a disguise, was known as Fingo, no matter what his ancestry.<sup>125</sup>

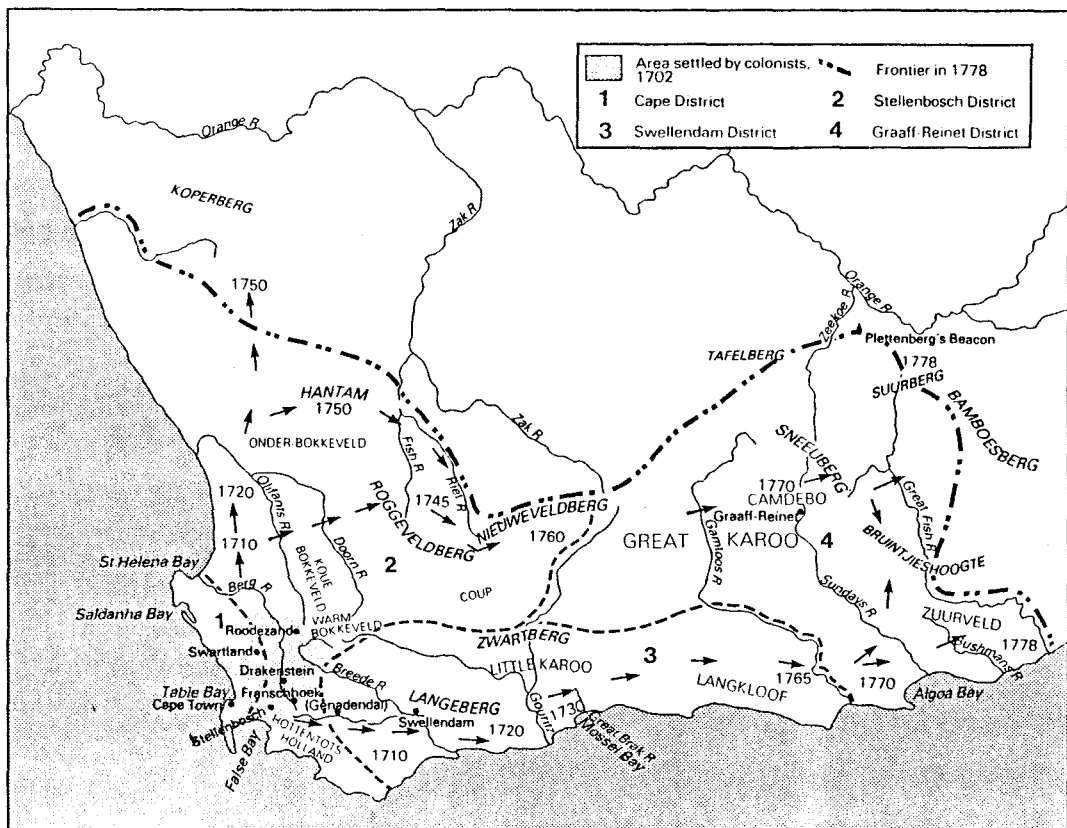
The debate on the origins and identity of the Mfengu is far from over. Suffice it to say that there were a significant number of Mfengu in the eastern Cape by 1839 and many of the residents on the Wesleyan mission stations were Mfengu.

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124. Cobbing, 'The Case Against the Mfecane', 'The Mfecane as Alibi' and 'Jettisoning the Mfecane'.
125. Webster, A C, 'Ayliff, Whiteside and the Fingo Emancipation of 1835' (BA (Hons), Rhodes University, 1988) p. 1. He expands on this in 'Land Emancipation'.

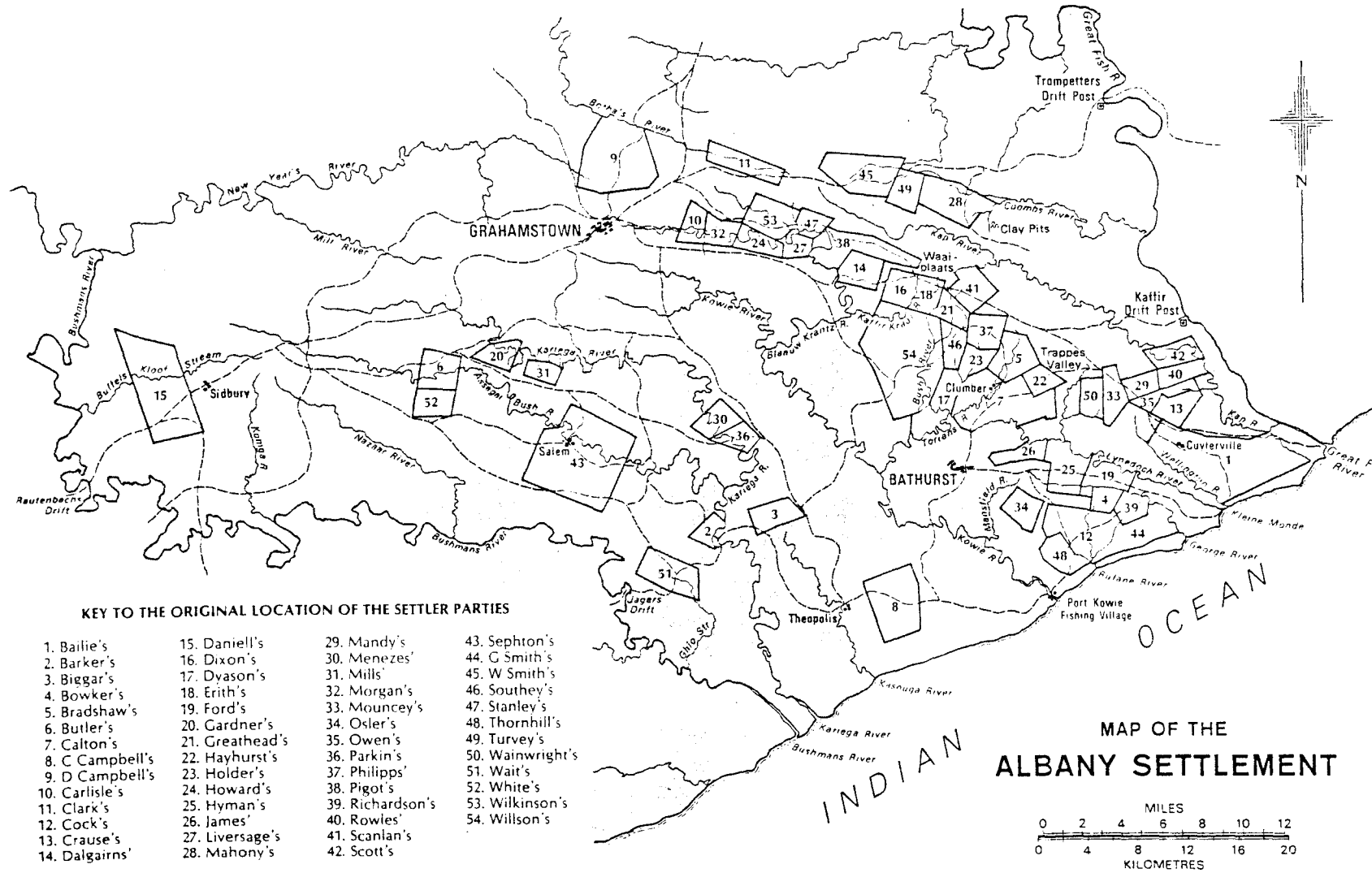


Xhosa land losses, 1795-1850  
 Ref.: Thompson, *History*, p. 74.

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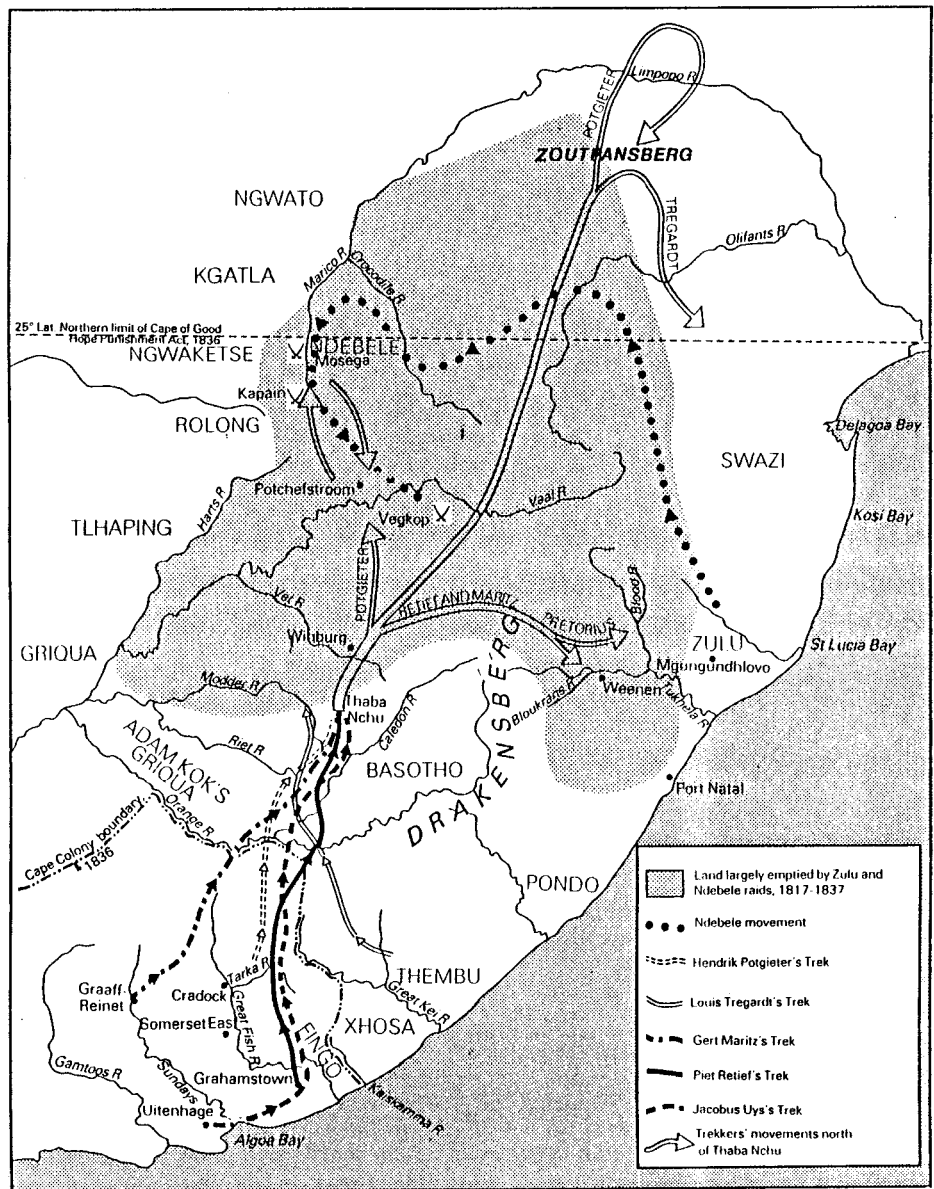
Trekboer expansion 1702-1780  
 Ref.: Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 67.



Ref.: Nash, *Settler Handbook*.



The Eastern Frontier, c. 1820  
 Ref.: Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 98.



The Great Trek

Ref.: Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 137.

PART 2: PLACING THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM IMPEY INTO ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

CHAPTER 2: A HISTORY OF METHODISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA TO 1839:

When William Impey arrived in South Africa both Christianity and Wesleyan Methodism had been well established in both the western and eastern districts of the Cape Colony. Pioneering work had also been done by Wesleyans in what today is the Orange Free State, which in 1838 had become a separate Methodist district known as the 'Bechuana District'. The work of the Wesleyan Methodists in Natal and the Transvaal however, was still to be established. Impey was therefore not a pioneer missionary in southern Africa.

Christianity had been introduced to the southern African region first by the earliest European explorers who planted crosses wherever they landed, symbolising that they claimed the land for Christ. The earliest of these was probably planted by Bartholomew Diaz<sup>1</sup> near the Bushman's River mouth in 1488.<sup>2</sup>

The first attempt to actively evangelise the South African region came from the Portuguese colonies in east Africa. In 1540 Ignatius Loyola<sup>3</sup> had founded the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), the largest missionary body in the Roman Catholic Church in this period.<sup>4</sup> In 1560 Father Gonzalo da Silveira landed at Sofala with two other Jesuits. They were to be the first known missionaries to the indigenous peoples of South Africa. At first da Silveira was well received but Islamic traders misrepresented him as a 'great witch-doctor' who wanted to acquire 'a malign influence over them'.<sup>5</sup> da Silveira refused to leave even when he learnt that the local chief was planning to kill him and he was martyred on 16 March 1561. Father Fernandes and a lay brother continued the work in the region. But because Fernandes insisted that people should change after baptism he became increasingly unpopular with the local chiefs. After two years he was recalled. Du Plessis comments:

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1. Bartholomew Diaz (c.1450-1500) Portuguese navigator, commander of expedition which disclosed South Africa to Europe and opened the sea route to the Indian Ocean. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 241-244).
  2. Wilson, M, 'The Nguni People' in Wilson and Thompson, (Eds.), *History of South Africa*, p. 78.
  3. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) Roman Catholic priest and founder of the Jesuit Order. (Bowden, J, *Who's Who in Theology* (SCM, London, 1990) p. 64.
  4. Du Plessis, J, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (Longmans, London, 1911) p. 8.
  5. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

## CHAPTER 2: Methodism in SA to 1839

As far as the establishment of a Christian Church among the heathen is concerned, the Jesuit mission of the 16th century left no trace upon South-east Africa.<sup>6</sup>

After the failure of the Jesuits, mission operations were in obedience until 1577 when the Roman Catholic Order of St Dominic arrived in Mozambique. In 1586 a mission was established at Sofala by Friar Joao dos Santos. In three years they baptised 1700 converts. The Dominicans made steady progress. Towards the end of this century the Portuguese began losing their supremacy of the sea and so were becoming less powerful. Nevertheless the Dominicans continued their work. Du Plessis suggests:

While the fortunes of the Kingdom of Portugal were rapidly falling, the power and influence of the Dominicans in South-east Africa were steadily increasing.<sup>7</sup>

However without the support of traders and the government the missionaries were eventually forced to withdraw. Du Plessis concludes:

... the duty and privilege of christianising the natives was in consequence, about to pass from the Roman Catholic to the Protestant Church.<sup>8</sup>

In the early days of the Dutch settlement there were no clergy stationed at the Cape. Spiritual duties were undertaken by 'sick-visitors' who were not permitted to preach their own sermons nor administer baptism or communion. For the sacraments, people had to wait for chaplains of ships which were detained in the harbour to administer them. The first clergyman appointed to the Cape was Johan van Arckel. He reached the Cape in 1655. He died at the beginning of 1666. Van Arckel was replaced temporarily by Johannes de Voocht.<sup>9</sup> As the century progressed Du Plessis concludes that efforts to spread Christianity

grew feebler, and whatever zeal there may have been in the direction of missionary effort, became confined to a few individuals of nobler sentiment than the rest.<sup>10</sup>

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6. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-35.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

## CHAPTER 2: Methodism in SA to 1839

The early Dutch settlers as well as the French Huguenots who joined the settlement after 1688<sup>11</sup> were predominantly Calvinists. Elphick and Shell point out that 'some strands of Calvinistic theology were indifferent or even hostile to missions'<sup>12</sup> and conclude:

... that in the Company period the spread of Christianity among slaves (other than Company slaves) was slow, and among the Khoikhoi negligible, and that its presence at the Cape did not narrow the social and cultural gulf between settlers and officials on the one hand and Khoikhoi and slaves on the other.<sup>13</sup>

There had been other attempts to do missionary work in southern Africa in the 18th century, but without success. Stephen Neill explains:

A few efforts had been made by the Moravians to evangelise the African peoples of the South; but their first pioneer, George Schmidt, who arrived in 1737, was driven out by the Dutch in 1744, and the mission lapsed until 1792.<sup>14</sup>

Missionary societies dedicated to working amongst the 'heathen' in foreign lands were only really a feature of European Protestantism towards the end of the 18th century. Oliver and Fage comment:

Protestant Christianity had in general been slow to recognise its duty of preaching the gospel to every human being. For the first two or three centuries of their existence, the various reformed Churches had been almost exclusively occupied with the problems of their own survival. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, ... there swept over northern Europe a concern, almost unprecedented since the early centuries of Christendom, for the conversion of the non-Christian peoples of the world.<sup>15</sup>

In 1792 the Baptists founded the first British missionary society dedicated to foreign work. Others followed e.g the London Missionary Society (LMS) (1795) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) (Anglican) (1799). Oliver and Fage add:

The early nineteenth century saw the foundation of many other Protestant missionary societies, of which the most important for Africa were the Methodist Missionary Society with missions in West and South

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11. Katzen, M F, 'White Settlers and the Origin of a New Society, 1652-1779' in Wilson and Thompson, (Eds.), *History of South Africa*, pp. 196 ff.
  12. Elphick, R and Shell, R, 'Intergroup relations: Khoikhoi settlers, slaves and free blacks, 1652-1795' in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.), *Shaping*, p. 118.
  13. Elphick and Shell, 'Intergroup relations' in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.) *Shaping*, p. 123 .
  14. Neill, S, *A History of Christian Missions* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1964) p. 310.
  15. Oliver, R and Fage, J D, *A Short History of Africa* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1979) p. 140.

Africa... the Basel Society, with missions in West Africa; the Berlin Society, with missions in South and later East Africa; the Universities Mission, a high Anglican society, with its field in the central part of East Africa; and the mission of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches in South Africa, West Africa, and East Africa.<sup>16</sup>

The most successful early mission was the Moravian station at the Baviaans Kloof, later called Genadendal. This station was established in 1792 and by the turn of the century became the 'centre of interest to all Christians in South Africa'.<sup>17</sup>

Christianity began to spread further into the interior of southern Africa with the LMS which began its work here in 1799.<sup>18</sup> By 1815 when the first permanent Methodist missionary the Rev Barnabas Shaw<sup>19</sup> arrived at the Cape, the Moravians and LMS were well established. Methodism however, had been informally introduced into South Africa before 1815.

The spread of Wesleyan Methodism was not dependent upon the creation of formal structures and set plans of action and therefore spread to many parts of the world before the establishment of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS). This was possibly because an integral part of Methodist tradition was (and still is) the use of laity in worship, preaching and organisation. The result was that wherever there were Methodists, there was Methodist worship, preaching and organisation. Therefore before the Wesleyan Methodist Church embarked on a formal missionary strategy in 1813, Methodism had spread informally through the deployment of British troops to various parts of the world. Where the British troops landed, the Methodists amongst them introduced Methodism.

The Methodist church only officially came into existence in 1795 when Methodists seceded from the Anglican Church. Before 1795 Methodism was officially only a holiness movement within the Anglican church. In practice even before 1795, Methodists had little to do with the Anglican church which had shunned Methodists, labelling them 'fanatics'. John Wesley<sup>20</sup> the Methodist leader, had hoped that it would never be necessary to break away

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16. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

17. Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, p. 82.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-107.

19. Barnabas Shaw (1788-1857) Wesleyan Methodist Missionary (WMM) and founder of the first Wesleyan Methodist mission stations in South Africa. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 709-711).

20. John Wesley (1703-1791) founder of Methodism. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 129).

from the Anglican Church. However even before Wesley's death it became evident that reconciliation between Methodists and Anglicans was unlikely. As a result a legal Deed of Declaration was drawn up in 1784 which ensured that on Wesley's death his authority would pass to the Methodist Conference.<sup>21</sup>

The nature of Methodist organisation was such that, by the close of the century, 'the Methodist Church was ready to spread across the world.'<sup>22</sup> Since its inception Methodism had many of the characteristics of a 'missionary' movement, most notably the way John Wesley and George Whitefield took the gospel to the masses through their open-air preaching. Many people especially from the working classes, were not attracted to the conventional Christianity as offered in the Church of England which had, to them, become staid and formal. They were attracted rather to the message preached by the early Methodists in the open air. Another feature in the 'missionary' nature of early Methodism was the emphasis on lay preaching. By 1744 there were 40 lay preachers who had pastoral oversight of societies. When people were brought to Christ and showed gifts of understanding and preaching, they were given authority to preach and spread the gospel without first having to go through a lengthy period of preparation. This served to nurture enthusiasm and allowed the work to expand.<sup>23</sup> This method of organisation was central to the extension of Christianity in southern Africa, especially in the eastern Cape. When William Shaw arrived with the Settlers, he was the only clergyman. But with the aid of lay preachers, Methodism was able to spread through all the settlements.<sup>24</sup>

Converts to Jesus Christ through Methodist ministry who wanted to become Methodists, were made members of a Class Meeting under the leadership of a Class Leader. The Classes were grouped together to form a Society, a term used to denote a Methodist 'congregation'. Most societies had their own buildings and were usually served by a minister. Each Society was governed by a Leaders' Meeting and the buildings and finances of the Society were controlled by a Trust Committee. A number of these societies together formed a Circuit. At the head of each Circuit was a Superintendent minister. The Circuits were governed

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21. Townsend, W J, 'English Life and Society, and the condition of Methodism at the death of Wesley' in Townsend, W J, Workman, H B, and Evers, G, (Eds.), *A New History of Methodism* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1909) pp. 371-372.
  22. Wood, A S, 'John and Charles Wesley' in Dowley, T, (Ed.), *The History of Christianity* (Struik, Cape Town, 1988) p. 452.
  23. Eayrs, G, 'Developments, institutions, helpers, opposition' in Townsend, et.al., (Eds.), *New History Of Methodism*, pp. 279-297.
  24. Eveleigh, W, *The Settlers and Methodism* (Methodist Publishing House, Cape Town, 1920).

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by a Circuit Quarterly Meeting (i.e. which met every quarter) which had jurisdiction over both spiritual and material matters of the societies within the Circuit. Circuits were in turn grouped into Districts. Each District held an annual Synod, which elected and was presided over by a Chairman who was responsible for the administration of the District. All the Districts together formed a Conference which met annually. All the Districts were united in what was referred to as the Connexion. Eventually, the world Methodist community would be divided into many autonomous Conferences together united in the worldwide Methodist Connexion.<sup>25</sup>

Methodist organisation today has retained all these structures. Any changes that have taken place have been of a minor nature.

The earliest Methodist missionary vision came from Thomas Coke<sup>26</sup> who in 1784, was one of the first Methodist ministers to go to America. Coke was convinced of his call to minister to the 'heathen', i.e people of non-European origin and who were not Christians. In 1786 the Wesleyan Conference approved his plan to take the Gospel to India. Coke's vision was to extend Methodist influence to many overseas countries.<sup>27</sup>

After the Conference of 1804 Coke was assisted in his superintendency of missions by a 'Committee of Finance and Advice'. However by this time 'the work was passing out of the stage of personal adventure into that of organised Church direction'.<sup>28</sup>

From 1804 the Conference authorised yearly missionary collections in all societies and required full missionary reports to be printed with balance sheets. But as yet there was no formal agency or organisation within the church for sustaining foreign missions.<sup>29</sup>

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25. Attwell, A F I, *The Methodist Church* (Methodist Publishing House, Cape Town) pp. 13-14.
  26. Thomas Coke (1747-1814) Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist minister and missionary. Ejected from curacy in Somerset for Methodist sympathies. Moved to London, offered services to John Wesley. Remembered for pioneering missionary work. 18 Atlantic crossings. Died at sea. (Rylands Library, Manchester, Catalogue of the Thomas Cook Papers).
  27. Wood, A S, 'Awakening' in Dowley, (Ed.), *History of Christianity*, pp. 454-455.
  28. Findlay, G G, and Holdsworth, W, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* (Epworth, London, 1922) p. 36.
  29. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

The successes reported by Coke, coupled with news of the work done by other societies especially the LMS, stimulated a great deal of interest in missions amongst the British people. This led to Methodists in the Leeds District forming a Methodist Missionary Society in 1813. Many other local societies followed suit. At the Conference held in Bristol the next year it was resolved that there should be 'the immediate establishment of a Methodist Missionary Society in every District'.<sup>30</sup> Findlay and Holdsworth comment:

The fact was that the people were eager for missionary action; the forward impulse came, in the first instance, from them. Had the Conference discouraged the movement because of domestic difficulties, and had the Leeds Ministers and lay captains failed to advance at the right moment, the rank and file would have taken up the march. If no Methodist channel had been opened for the rising tide, it must have found another outlet ...<sup>31</sup>

The Conference of 1815 called into existence a 'Committee of Examination and Finance' in order to centralise missionary organisation and strategy. In 1816 Conference approved the employment of a permanent clerk to assist the officers of the Missionary Society and to secure office space. This was the beginning of what was later referred to as the Mission House. In 1817 this Committee recommended that a permanent 'Constitution' for the missionary department be drawn up and Conference agreed that the Committee prepare a plan for a 'Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society' (WMMS). The final constitution of the WMMS was accepted by Conference in 1818.<sup>32</sup>

How to operate missions effectively in foreign lands was however a new venture for the Methodist Church and Methodist missionary policy was to develop over many years. In the early days all missionaries were appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee (WMMC) from the Mission House in London. These appointments were subject to approval by the annual meeting of the British Conference. All aspects of foreign missions including finance, funding and appointments were made by the WMMC controlled from the Mission House but was subject to ratification by the British Conference. The missionaries, through the Circuit Quarterly Meetings and District Meetings in the field, were able to make recommendations re. appointments, new stations etc. to the WMMC, but the final authority lay with the British Conference. It was only when missions grew to the point where they could support themselves and form separate

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30. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-73.

Conferences that they were able to take over control from the British Conference. This happened in South Africa only in 1883.<sup>33</sup>

The earliest history of Methodism in southern Africa can be traced to its informal introduction by British soldiers during the first British Occupation of the Cape (1795-1803). Hewson records that the *Christian Magazine and Evangelical Repository* of 1802 contains an account of a young soldier, John Irwin,<sup>34</sup> who was stationed at the Cape. Irwin had discovered a group of soldiers who called themselves 'Methodists'.<sup>35</sup> After this brief mention there is no information about Methodism in the area until 1808 during the second British occupation (1806-1910).

In 1808 the *Methodist Magazine* published an account written by one of the British soldiers at the Cape, George Middlemiss,<sup>36</sup> of the 72nd Regiment. Middlemiss explained that there was a group of Methodists who met regularly in a building belonging to Quakers in Cape Town. He requested the British Conference to send them bibles, hymn books and Wesley's *Works*.<sup>37</sup>

After this brief mention in 1808 there is no further reference until 1812 when Sergeant Kendrick<sup>38</sup> assumed leadership of the Cape Methodists. Kendrick wrote to a friend in England asking him to forward a request to the Methodist authorities for a preacher to be sent to the Cape. By this time the Cape Methodist Society numbered 142 members. Kendrick died in 1813 but his request had been favourably received and the British Conference agreed to send the Rev John McKenny<sup>39</sup> to the Cape. McKenny arrived in Cape Town in 1814.<sup>40</sup>

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33. *Min.MCSA.*, October 1991 (Methodist Publishing House and Book Depot, Cape Town) p. 554.
  34. There is no further information available on Irwin.
  35. Hewson, L A, *An Introduction to South African Methodists* (The Standard Press, Cape Town, 1950) p. 1.
  36. There is no further information about Middlemiss.
  37. Hewson, *South African Methodists*, pp. 1 and 2.
  38. John Kendrick (1779-1813) army sergeant and pioneer Methodist in South Africa. (*DSAB*, Vol. V, pp. 403-404).
  39. John McKenny, first WMM sent to the Cape and was one of the first to be appointed by the newly formed WMMS.
  40. Rist, H W, 'A review of beginnings' in Garrett, A E F, (Ed.), *South African Methodism: Her Missionary Witness* (Methodist Publishing House, Cape Town, 1966) p. 1 and Hewson, *South African Methodists*, pp. 2-3.

On arrival at the Cape McKenny requested permission from the governor, Lord Charles Somerset to conduct religious services. His request was turned down. Somerset was able to do this because the *Kerkorde* implemented by the Batavians in 1804 and honoured by the British, placed the church under the control of the state and paid clergy salaries.<sup>41</sup> The state therefore reserved the right to appoint ministers. In all cases therefore, government approval was required before any minister could work in the region.<sup>42</sup> If Somerset allowed McKenny to minister in the region both the official Church of England and the Dutch Reformed Church might have felt that their territory was being encroached upon. Du Plessis comments:

... the duly appointed chaplains of the Church of England would resent his labouring among the soldiers, and ... the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church would take his work on behalf of the slaves with an equally ill grace.<sup>43</sup>

McKenny was unable to secure permission to minister anywhere in the region, so after 18 months of inactivity, the WMMC in London sent him to Ceylon.<sup>44</sup>

The WMMC nevertheless still recognised the need for Methodist ministry at the Cape and so in 1815 made a second attempt by appointing the Rev Barnabas Shaw to the region. On arrival Shaw went through the process of making application to the governor for permission to minister and, like McKenny, was refused. Shaw ignored Somerset and continued to preach and hold services. However he believed that his calling was to work amongst the indigenous African peoples and not to the colonial population. Shaw had heard about the people of great Namaqualand from the Rev J H Schmelen<sup>45</sup> of the LMS. Shaw therefore approached the governor once more, now requesting permission to minister in the interior. This request was granted.<sup>46</sup>

Shaw travelled with Schmelen into the interior. On their journey they met a man called Cornelius of the Little Namaquas. Cornelius claimed to have heard

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41. Freund, 'The Cape under transitional governments, 1795-1814', in Elphick and Giliomee, (Eds.), *Shaping*, p. 235.
  42. Theal, G M, *History of South Africa from 1795-1828* (Swan Sonnenschein and Co, Paternoster Square, London, 1903) p. 119.
  43. Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, p. 167.
  44. Eveleigh, W, *A Short History of South African Methodism* (Methodist Publishing Office and Book-Room, Cape Town, 1914) p. 7.
  45. Johann Heinrich Schmelen (1777-1848) LMS missionary and later Rhenish missionary, Nama-Khoikhoi linguist and pioneer traveller in South Africa. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 691-692).
  46. Shaw, B, *Memorials of South Africa* (London, 1840) pp. 60-64.

of the 'Great Word', that other tribes had received it and stated that he wanted to have it. Shaw interpreted this as a meeting brought about by divine providence and felt that this was God's way of calling him to minister to these people. He and his wife therefore proceeded to the Kamiesberg, the summer residence of the Little Namaqua people, and settled at Leliefontein.<sup>47</sup>

Leliefontein became the centre of Wesleyan Methodism in the western Cape region. From this station the mission expanded back to Cape Town and into the interior of southern Africa.

Shaw and his wife initially tried to emulate the lifestyle of the Little Namaqua people (who were of Khoikhoi descent). They therefore lived in a typical Khoi shelter until they were able to erect a small cottage. The Shaws made their own furniture, soap, candles and butter and planted crops. Religious instruction took place in the evenings and on Sundays. Shaw believed that it was necessary to build a place of worship, which was completed in his second year on the station. He made progress in introducing western styled settled village life to these nomadic people and many were converted to Christianity.<sup>48</sup>

Shaw was committed to spreading the influence of the Christian Gospel further afield. In 1818 he was joined by the Rev E Edwards<sup>49</sup> and in 1819 by the Rev J Archbell.<sup>50</sup> These reinforcements and others that followed, enabled Shaw to consider the possibility of extending the Wesleyan mission into the Great Namaqua region. However owing to conflict between the Little Namaquas (Khoikhoi) and the Great Namaquas (San) there was not sufficient stability in the region to promote the establishment of a mission. This was only attempted

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47. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-80.

49. Edward Edwards (1793-1868) WMM and assistant to B Shaw at Leliefontein. Served in many appointments including Somerset West, George and Stellenbosch. (*DSAB*, Vol. III, pp. 264-265).

50. James Archbell (1798-1866), WMM. Arrived in the Cape in 1819 and settled at Rietfontein in Bushmanland. Moved to Bosfontein in Great Namaqualand north of the Orange River (1820-1823). Twice relieved Barnabas Shaw at Leliefontein. Returned to Cape Town in late 1823. Returned to the land of the Tswana (Bechuana). 1833 negotiated with Moshoeshoe for the purchase of a tract of land at Thaba Nchu to which 12 000 Rolong had recently migrated. While at Thaba Nchu witnessed the arrival of the 'Voortrekkers' and won their respect. Supplied the Trekkers with waggons and oxen after the battle of Vegkop in 1836. 1839 stationed at Salem and Farmerfield. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, p. 12).

again in 1825 when William Threlfall<sup>51</sup> volunteered to start a mission among the Great Namaquas. While journeying to the proposed new station, Threlfall and his companions were killed by their San guide.<sup>52</sup> Following the death of Threlfall nothing further was done to evangelise the Great Namaquas for the next eight years.<sup>53</sup>

The work in Great Namaqualand became a possibility once again in 1833 when a Methodist patron Josiah Nisbett<sup>54</sup> offered financial assistance for the establishment of a mission in the region. In 1834 the Rev Edward Cook<sup>55</sup> moved into the area. Initially he faced strong opposition but in time the people warmed to his message and were converted in increasing numbers. After nine years Cook's health began to fail and he died on his way to Cape Town for medical treatment.<sup>56</sup>

By the time of Cook's death, the Wesleyan Methodist mission was well established in the region of the Great Namaquas. By 1850 there were a number of thriving stations in Little Namaqualand, Great Namaqualand and Damaraland.<sup>57</sup>

Two of Shaw's assistants, the Revs Samuel Broadbent<sup>58</sup> and Thomas Hodgson<sup>59</sup>

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51. William Threlfall (1799-1825) WMM and martyr. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 792-793).
  52. Birtwhistle, N A, *William Threlfall* (Oliphants, London, 1966) pp. 128-137.
  53. Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, pp. 168-171.
  54. Josiah Nisbett, described by Barnabas Shaw in *Memorials* as being 'from India'. He chaired the missionary meeting held at the Cape in 1832 as was 'so much affected with the awfully dark description which was given of Great Namaqualand' that he offered to financially support the development of a mission in that area. (Shaw, *Memorials*, p. 169).
  55. Edward Boyer Cook (1806-1843) WMM in Great Namaqualand. Entered the ministry in 1831 and arrived in South Africa in 1832. First stationed in Cape Town. 1834 attached himself to the Bondelswarts clan, the most powerful of the Namaqua tribes. Eventually 400 people attended church and more than 1 000 children attended the various schools. (*DSAB*, Vol. III, pp. 174-175).
  56. Cook, (No initials), *The Modern Missionary as exemplified in a narrative of the life and labours of the late Rev Edward Cook in Great Namaqualand &c, South Africa, compiled from his journal and letters &c by his brother* (Thos Kay, Castle Street, Manchester, 1849). Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, p. 173.
  57. Holden, W C, *A Brief History of Methodism and Methodist Missions in South Africa* (Wesleyan Conference Office, London, 1877) pp. 252-253.
  58. Samuel Broadbent (1794-1867) WMM and first missionary to cross the Vaal River. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 122-123).

felt called to establish a mission in Bechuanaland. In 1824 they established a station at Maquassie and ministered to the Barolong people. The Barolong were under frequent attack by the Bataung and as a consequence the mission station was destroyed on a number of occasions. The Maquassie station was finally abandoned in September 1826 when the missionaries and their followers moved to Platberg.

In 1828 Hodgson left Platberg to establish a new station at Boetsap for the Griqua people. Owing to excessive drought both these stations were forced to close. Broadbent and Hodgson were replaced by the Rev J Archbell at Platberg and the Rev J Edwards<sup>60</sup> at Boetsap. When these stations were forced to close these men resettled the Barolong at Thaba Nchu and the Griquas at Lishuani which had been ceded by Moshoeshoe<sup>61</sup> and Sekonyela<sup>62</sup> in 1833.<sup>63</sup>

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59. (...continued)

59. Thomas Laidman Hodgson (1787-1850) WMM. Entered the ministry in 1815. Sailed to South Africa in 1821. Worked closely with Broadbent. Served at Maquassie, Platberg and Boetsap. (*DSAB*, Vol. III, p. 397).

60. John Edwards (1804-1887), WMM. Entered the ministry in 1829 and offered himself for overseas mission. Ordained in 1831 and appointed to the Tswana mission at Boetsap. 1832 joined James Archbell on an exploratory trip to negotiate a new site for the Tswana Mission. The illness of his wife induced Edwards to accept William Shaw's invitation to begin Methodist work in Port Elizabeth in 1839. (*DSAB*, Vol.V, p. 229 and Edwards, J, *Fifty Years of Mission Life in South Africa 1832-1882* (T H Grocott, Grahamstown, 1883)).

61. Moshoeshoe (Moshesh, Moshweshwe, Moshoeshwe, Mosiwesjwe) (c.1786-1870) founder and first paramount chief of the Basuto. Claimed that he had united 23 population units in forming the Basuto nation. Moshoeshoe encouraged his followers to listen to the missionary message but himself resisted their teachings. The 'Great Trek' enabled Moshoeshoe to extend his power as the 'Voortrekkers' defeated many of his enemies. The Trekker settlement eventually mushroomed into a land struggle between them and Moshoeshoe which lasted for the rest of his life. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, pp. 560-565).

62. Sekonyela (1804-1856), Tlokwa chief. Met members of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) in 1833 and later the Wesleyan missionary, James Allison. Sekonyela resisted the Christian message despite the efforts of these missionaries. Relations between the Basuto and the Tlokwa were constantly bedeviled by cattle-thieving and skirmishing. Moshoeshoe tried to gain control of the Tlokwa. There were also incidents between the Tlokwa and the Voortrekkers. There were many conflicts between the Tlokwa and the Basutos in the late 1840s and 1850s. (*DSAB*, Vol.II, pp. 647-649).

63. Wilkenson, C E, 'The Threefold Thrust from the Cape' in *Faith Marches On* (Methodist publishing House and Book Room, Cape Town, 1956/7).

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These mission settlements were well established when the Trekkers arrived in the region in 1835. In 1836 the Trekkers were attacked by Mzilikazi<sup>64</sup> at Vegkop and appealed to the missionaries for assistance. Archbell responded and began a regular ministry to the Boers who settled near Thaba Nchu.<sup>65</sup>

By 1838 mission work to both indigenous peoples and Boer Trekkers in the Orange Free State area was well established and the area became a separate Methodist District from the Cape District.<sup>66</sup>

After the departure of Barnabas Shaw from Cape Town in 1816 the British military units that had been stationed there were removed to India. As the majority of Cape Methodists were soldiers this meant that Methodism departed from the region with them. Shaw commented that he believed that the Cape Town Society would become 'altogether extinct'.<sup>67</sup> Hewson suggests that in essence Cape Town became 'merely a substation for the Namaqua Mission'.<sup>68</sup>

In 1822 one of Shaw's assistants at Leliefontein, the Rev E Edwards, went to revive the work in Cape Town. Since the official cession of the Cape to Great Britain by the Netherlands in 1814,<sup>69</sup> it was clear that the British intended to remain permanently in this region and not merely maintain a temporary settlement like their earlier occupation (1806). Since 1814 the English population at Cape Town had grown steadily and Edwards was able to open a chapel in Barrack Street in 1822. In 1826 the WMMC in London instructed Shaw to return to Cape Town. During the next few years Methodism flourished and many churches, chapels and preaching places were established throughout the Cape Peninsula, including the Wesley Chapel in Burg Street (1831) which became

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64. Mzilikazi (1770-1868) founder and first king of the Matabele. (*DSAB*, Vol. VI, pp. 386-390). During the Zulu-Ndwanwe conflict switched allegiance from Zwile to Shaka. After conducting a successful military campaign incurred Shaka's wrath by refusing to hand over to him a sufficient proportion of captured cattle. To escape punishment led a band of refugees across the Drakensburg, attacking other groups in their path. Moved through the eastern and northern Transvaal regions and eventually into what today is Zimbabwe. (Maylam, *African People*, pp. 54-55).
  65. Oakes (Ed.), *Illustrated History*, p. 116.
  66. Hewson, *South African Methodists*, p. 30.
  67. Quoted by Rist, 'A Review of Beginnings', in Garrett, (Ed.), *South African Methodism*, p. 2.
  68. Hewson, *South African Methodists*, p. 35.
  69. Deed of Cession of the Cape to Great Britain recorded as the *Convention between Great Britain and the United Netherlands*, 13 August 1814 in Eybers, (Ed.), *Constitutional Documents*, p. 19.

the centre of Cape Methodism. After the abolition of slavery, Methodists came under criticism for their open-air ministry to emancipated slaves. As a result the Sydney Street Chapel was opened in 1837. Later that year Shaw returned to Britain. He returned to the Cape again in 1843 and ministered in the Cape Town area until his retirement in 1854.<sup>70</sup>

METHODISM IN THE EASTERN CAPE:

In 1820 the British government made provision for a chaplain to be appointed for each 100 families of Settlers headed for the eastern districts of the Cape Colony. Each party could choose their own minister from the denomination of their choice. The colonial treasury was prepared to pay these ministers a stipend of £100 per annum if the appointment was sanctioned by the British government. A number of Wesleyan Methodist families under the leadership of Hezekiah Sephton<sup>71</sup> decided to avail themselves of this offer and advertised for a minister. William Shaw<sup>72</sup> responded, was accepted by the Sephton party, had his appointment approved by the British Government and the WMMC and was ordained in the St George's Chapel, London on 15 November 1819.<sup>73</sup>

The Sephton Party consisted of 101 families, making 344 individuals altogether.<sup>74</sup> They sailed in the ship Aurora on 6 February 1820 and arrived in Algoa Bay on 15 May 1820. After a journey of about 160 km and some early problems about their location, they settled in the Valley of the Assegai river. On Shaw's suggestion the settlement was named Salem, meaning 'peace'.<sup>75</sup>

Shaw had been appointed under certain conditions: firstly, he was to act as chaplain to the settlers and secondly, he was responsible to the WMMC and was therefore expected to engage in missionary activity among the indigenous peoples. Shaw decided to concentrate his initial efforts among the settlers

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70. Shaw, *Memorials*, pp. 176-229.
71. Hezekiah Sephton (b.1776) head of the Sephton Party of 1820 Settlers which founded the village called Salem. (Hockley, H E, *The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa* (Juta, Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1957) p. 242.
72. William Shaw (1798-1872) WMM. Came to the eastern Cape with Sephton's Party of 1820 Settlers. Established a chain of mission stations from the eastern Cape into the Transkei. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 711-714).
73. Hammond-Tooke, W D, (Ed.), *The Journal of William Shaw* (A A Balkema, Cape Town, 1972) pp. 2-5.
74. Nash, *Settler Handbook*, p. 114.
75. Hammond-Tooke (Ed.), *William Shaw*, entry for 15.8.1820.

and once that work was established, he would begin a mission to the indigenous peoples.<sup>76</sup>

From 1820-1822 Shaw was the only official minister in the whole area occupied by the British Settlers.<sup>77</sup> Two other ministers had travelled with the settlers, both Anglicans, but had come out in a private capacity. The only other minister in the region was the missionary at the LMS station at Theopolis.<sup>78</sup>

The various settler parties were scattered over an area of about 2400 sq km. Although Shaw was not officially responsible for the spiritual welfare of all the settlers, he tried to meet their spiritual needs. He therefore visited the various encampments and before long chapels were erected in many of the settlements.<sup>79</sup>

In December 1820 Shaw visited Grahamstown which was nothing more than a garrison town at the time. Here he met Sergeant-Majors Price and Lucas who had been converted under the ministry of Sergeant Kendrick at the Cape. They had been holding services in a private home but because of increased attendances at these meetings they had been forced to move to a number of larger venues until the first chapel was built in 1823.<sup>80</sup>

Shaw's ministry was very popular partly because he respected the different denominational traditions among the settler groups. He admitted all denominations to Holy Communion and avoided controversy by preaching only what he considered to be the essentials of the Christian faith. Services were

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76. Shaw, W, *The Story of my Mission in south eastern Africa* (London, 1806) pp. 95 ff.
77. Le Cordeur, *Politics*, pp. 67-68.
78. The Anglicans were the Revs F M McLelland and W Boardman. The LMS missionary was the Rev J G Ullbricht who, after his death in 1821, was replaced by the Rev George Barker. (Hammond-Tooke (Ed.), *William Shaw*, pp. 5-6).
79. Clumber, Green Fountain, Ebenezer, Trappe's Valley, Bathurst, Port Francis (Alfred), Reed Fountain, Collingham, Manley's Flats and Seven Fountains. (For details see: Shaw, *Story of my mission*, pp. 95 ff, Hammond-Tooke (Ed.), *William Shaw*, pp. 7 ff and Holden, *Brief History*, pp. 269 ff).
80. Details of the history of the early Methodist buildings in Grahamstown may be found in Hewson, L A, *They Seek a City: Methodism in Grahamstown* (ISER, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1981).

attended by Wesleyans, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Baptists (although the Baptists were the first to separate).<sup>81</sup>

Another reason for the success of Wesleyan Methodism in this region was that the ministry of this church was not exclusively the province of an ordained ministry. Hammond-Tooke comments:

It is true that in their pioneering period the Albany Methodists had but one minister, but they had ten local preachers, many as zealous as Shaw himself, and all prepared to undertake pastoral and preaching duties in various parts of the settlement.<sup>82</sup>

Methodist organisation also brought the ordinary person into active participation in the everyday running of the church. This gave them training in organisational, public speaking and literacy skills which were important in the development of the community.<sup>83</sup>

In June of 1823 having received permission from Lord Charles Somerset, Shaw moved across the frontier to establish missions amongst the Xhosa.

Mission work amongst the Xhosa had been pioneered by the LMS. In 1799 Dr Van der Kemp<sup>84</sup> had worked with the Xhosa on the lower slopes of the Katberg and Elandsberg, but without success.

The next attempt to evangelise the Xhosa took place in 1816 when the LMS sent the Rev Joseph Williams<sup>85</sup> and his wife to settle in the Kat River area. Williams died two years later after making little progress. In 1820 the LMS appointed the Rev John Brownlee<sup>86</sup> who became a government missionary.

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81. Shaw, *The Story of my Mission*, p. 89.

82. Hammond-Tooke, (Ed.), *William Shaw*, p. 6.

83. Le Cordeur, *Politics*, p. 68.

84. Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp (1747-1811) Dutch officer, physician and LMS missionary. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 774-777).

85. Joseph Williams (1780 - 1818) was the first missionary to establish a permanent station in Kaffraria. 1816 government gave him permission to be a missionary on condition that he act as a government agent. Died on the site of the mission. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, p. 848, Holt, B, *Joseph Williams and the Pioneer mission to the south-eastern Bantu* (Lovedale, 1954)).

86. John Brownlee (1791-1871) LMS missionary and founder of King William's Town. Ordained in 1816 and arrived in Cape Town in 1817 with Robert Moffat. Resigned from the LMS in 1818. 1820 took appointment as missionary and government agent. Ordained Congregationalist in 1822 and moved to the place where King William's Town now stands. 1825 Dr John Philip persuaded him to re-join the LMS. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, p. 129 and (continued...))

CHAPTER 2: Methodism in SA to 1839

Brownlee was joined later by the Revs William Thomson<sup>87</sup> and John Bennie<sup>88</sup> of the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) in establishing the Tyumie station. In these early attempts at establishing missions, the Xhosa remained suspicious and so progress was slow.<sup>89</sup>

William Shaw was keen to establish a chain of mission stations from the eastern Cape through into Natal. In December 1823 Shaw approached the Gcunukwebe who gave him permission to establish the first in his chain of stations, which he named Wesleyville.<sup>90</sup>

Later in the 1820s some of the settlers had candidated for the Methodist ministry and after in-service training supervised by Shaw, were ordained as missionaries. Shaw also received reinforcements from Britain. These developments allowed Shaw to spread the influence of Methodism further afield.

In 1827 the Rev Stephen Kay<sup>91</sup> founded the Mount Coke station among the Ndlambe people and the Rev W J Shrewsbury<sup>92</sup> established the Butterworth station for the Gcaleka people later the same year. In 1829 the Rev

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86. (...continued)

- Holt, B, *Greatheart of the Border: A life of John Brownlee; Pioneer Missionary in South Africa* (South African Missionary Museum, King William's Town, 1976)).
87. William Ritchie Thomson (1794-1891) Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) missionary, government agent among the Xhosa and N G Kerk minister. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 789-791). Ordained in London in 1821 by a mixed commission of Presbyterian and Dutch ministers. First appointment was to the Tyhume station where he was an assistant to John Brownlee. 1830 appointed by the Cape government as minister to the Kat River settlement. 1834 to 1868 worked at Balfour. (Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, p. xxxv).
88. John Bennie (1796-1869) GMS missionary and Xhosa linguist. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, p. 68).
89. Briggs, D R and Wing, J, *The Harvest and the Hope* (United Congregational Church of South Africa, Johannesburg, 1970) pp. 22 ff and Hewson, *South African Methodists*, pp. 20 ff.
90. Holden, *Brief History*, p. 284.
91. Stephen Kay (1796-1852) WMM and author. Published *Travels and Researches in Caffraria* in 1831 and in 1837 *A succinct statement of the Kaffer's case*. (*DSAB*, Vol. IV, pp. 270-271).
92. William James Shrewsbury (1795-1866) WMM. Entered ministry in 1815, served in the West Indies (1816-1824) and South Africa (1826-1835). (*DSAB*, Vol V, pp. 709-710).

William Shepstone<sup>93</sup> established the Morley station for the Mpondo and in 1830 the Rev William Boyce<sup>94</sup> founded the Buntingville station for the Thembu.<sup>95</sup>

There was good progress in the extension of the mission until the drought which began in 1829 and war of 1834-1835, both of which caused serious setbacks for the mission. After the war the stations that had been destroyed during the war were rebuilt and some new stations were established. However many Xhosa remained suspicious of the missionary message with the result that conversions were few. Whiteside comments:

... the brightness and hope of the early mission work had vanished, and the fear of the renewal of war hung over them all.<sup>96</sup>

The negotiated peace after this war proved unsuccessful. D'Urban did everything in his power to stall the implementation of Glenelg's treaty system and was recalled in August 1837.<sup>97</sup> In 1839 Glenelg was forced to resign and Stockenström was replaced six months later. These disagreements between the officials in southern Africa and those in Britain as well as divisions between colonial authorities and the local populations were some of many reasons why long term order could not be maintained in this region after the war.<sup>98</sup> It was into this situation that the Reverend William Impey arrived in 1839.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE REV WILLIAM IMPEY:

Impey arrived in southern Africa in January 1839. After visiting a few prominent Methodist places of worship at the Cape and a brief tour of the surrounding region he departed for Grahamstown, arriving in early February.

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93. (John) William Shepstone (1796-1873) WMM and 1820 Settler with Holder's party. 1822 went with William Shaw to establish the first Wesleyan mission station, Wesleyville. Served at Wesleyville as assistant missionary, builder and caretaker from 1823. Ordained in 1827. (DSAB, Vol.I, pp. 714-715).
  94. William Boyce (1803-1889), WMM. 1830 established Buntingville mission and remained for two years. Also worked at Mount Coke, Wesleyville, Newtondale and Grahamstown. Remembered for discovering the 'Euphonic Concord' governing the Xhosa language. Active in frontier affairs between 1834 and 1837. 1838 published *Notes on South African affairs from 1834 to 1838 with reference to the civil, political and religious condition of the colonists and aborigines*. Left South Africa in 1843. 1845 appointed superintendent of Wesleyan missions in Australia. (DSAB, Vol.I, pp. 109-110).
  95. Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, pp. 185 ff, Holden, *Brief History*, pp. 285 ff and Hewson, *South African Methodists*, pp. 21 ff.
  96. Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 210.
  97. Davenport, *South Africa*, p. 131.
  98. Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, pp. 150 ff.

It was decided that Impey remain in the Grahamstown region and assist William Shaw who was Chairman of the Grahamstown District and General Superintendent of Methodist Missions in south-eastern Africa.<sup>99</sup>

Despite the relative slowness of the progress of the Methodist missions after the war of 1834-1835 Shaw's administrative load had increased and he would have welcomed some assistance.

In addition to superintending the Grahamstown District and the missions in the eastern part of southern Africa Shaw had in 1838, created a Christian 'Native Settlement' near Salem. The blacks who had sought refuge near Grahamstown after the war of 1834-1835 requested grazing and land for cultivation. The WMMC agreed to allow Shaw to purchase 6 000 acres of land three miles below Salem. Shaw named the settlement Farmerfield, in honour of one of the General Treasurers of the Missionary Society. The land was divided into plots and leased out at rentals which were enough to cover the loan to purchase the land. Tenants built their own dwelling and enclosed their own lands. The area was occupied by the Xhosa, the Mfengu, Basutos and freed slaves.<sup>100</sup>

The Watson Institute<sup>101</sup> was also established near Salem and Farmerfield. It consisted of a small school of industry to train agriculturalists and schoolmasters. A similar experiment was tried at Haslope Hills on the northern side of the Great Winterberg. A farm was purchased for emancipated slaves, the Mfengu and the Thembu. The Haslope Hills settlement was unsuccessful.<sup>102</sup>

The centenary of Methodism was celebrated in 1839. There were many centenary meetings held both in southern Africa and in Britain. In Britain a thanksgiving fund was established and during this year, £350 000 was collected and was devoted to the expansion of foreign missionary work throughout the world. As a result southern Africa received additional missionaries and they

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99. Min. A.D.M., 7.3.1839, Cory Lib., MS 15 017.

100. Hewson, L A, *Farmerfield: William Shaw's Experiment in Social Rehabilitation* (H H Dugmore Memorial Lecture, 1981) pp. 1-4, Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 215.

101. The Watson Institute was named after one of the treasurers of the Methodist Missionary Society in England. Daniel Roberts, formerly a school teacher at Wesleyville was appointed teacher and manager of the Watson Institute in Grahamstown. (Sadler, *Never a Young Man*, p. 188) The WMR for 1840 states that it was originally designed 'for the training of Native Teachers, and the education of the sons of Chiefs and principal natives'. By 1840 it had expanded its enterprise to include 'Schools of Industry' and branches of it had been established at 'several of the Kaffir and Bechuana Stations ...' (WMR, p. 60).

102. Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 215.

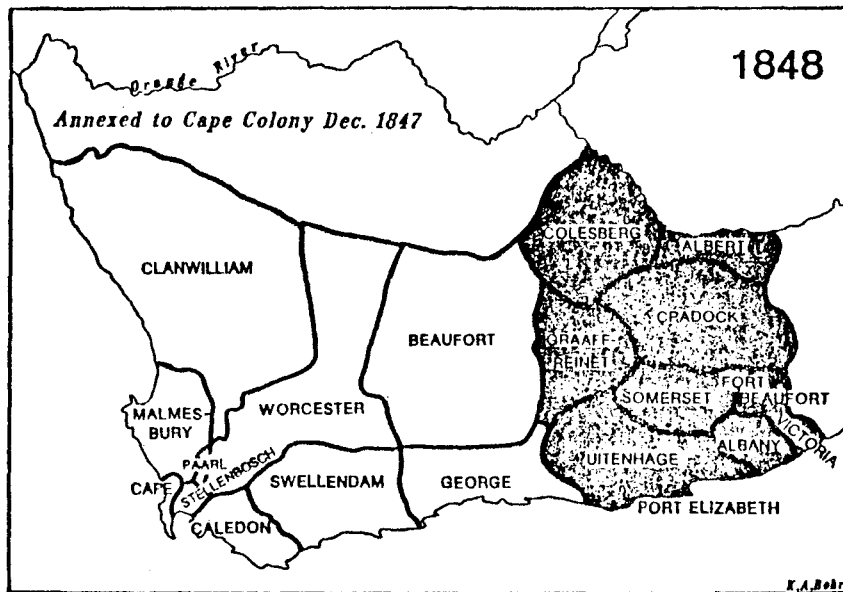
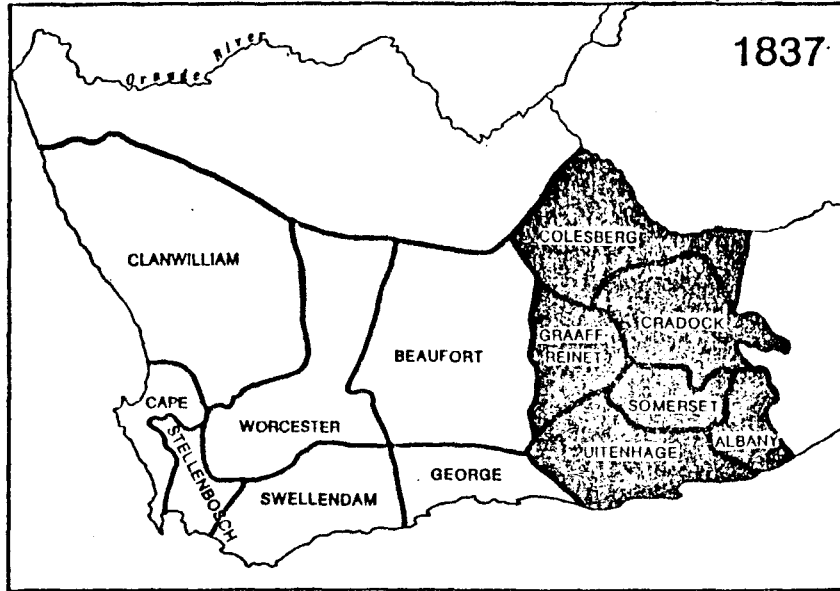
were able to establish new stations. Beecham Wood, Imvani and Shawbury were established with the funds that were made available for this region.<sup>103</sup>

In 1839 William Impey arrived in an area where Wesleyan Methodism had been active for 19 years. Under the leadership of William Shaw Methodism had gone through periods where it had flourished as well as a period of severe setback, as a result of the War of 1834-1835. By 1839 with the revival of interest generated by the centenary celebrations in Britain and in the colonies, it appeared as though Wesleyan Methodism was once again poised to develop and progress in the region.

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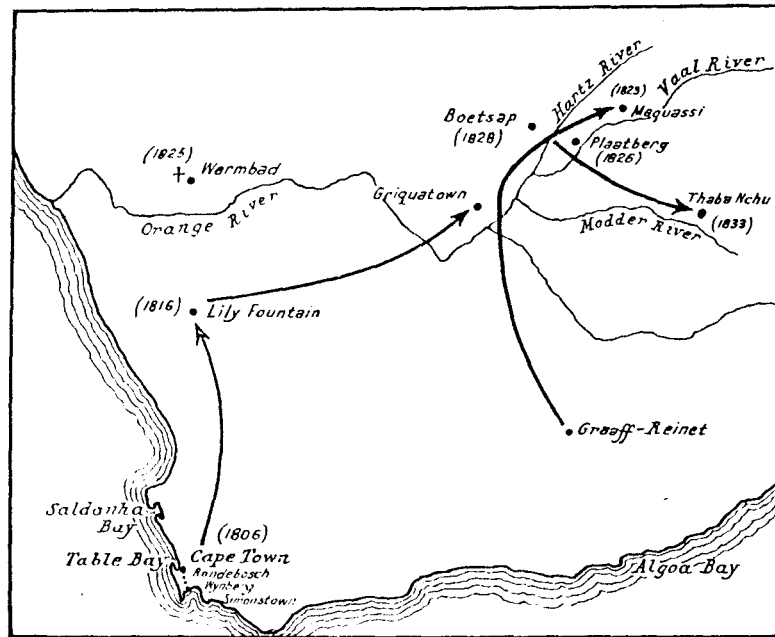
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 216-218.

THE CAPE COLONY



(Eastern Districts shaded)

Ref. le Cordeur, *Politics*, p. 29

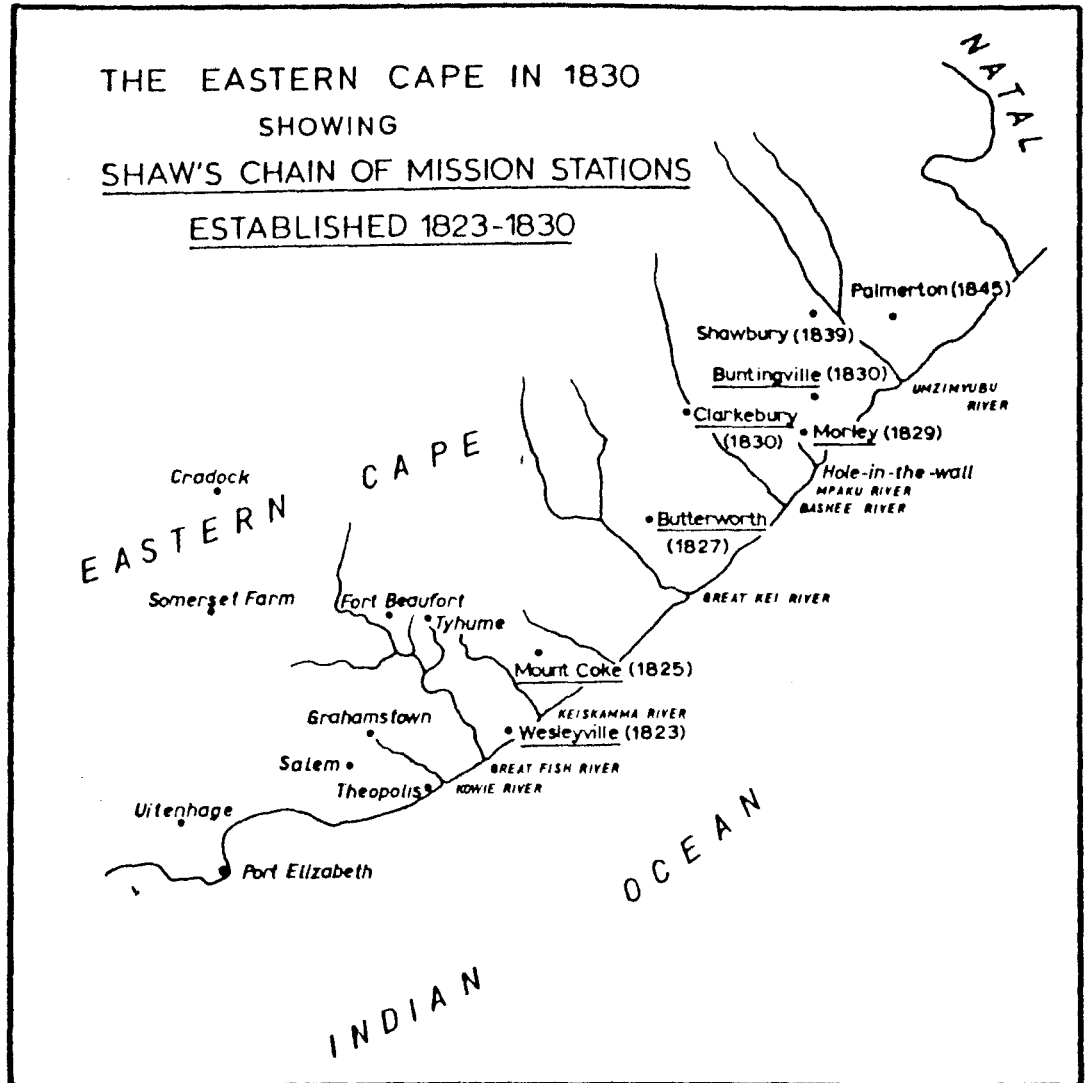


The spread of Methodism in the western Cape.  
Ref.: *Faith Marches On*, p. 12.



*Yours truly*  
*W. Shaw.*

William Shaw  
Ref.: Boyce, *Memoir*.



Ref.: Hammond-Tooke, (Ed.), *William Shaw*, p. 20

## PART 2: PLACING THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM IMPEY INTO ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER 3: IMPEY'S EARLY LIFE AND FAMILY TO 1839

On 22 February 1818 William Impey was born in Whitby, Yorkshire, England. He was the eldest son of George Impey (1795-1866) and Ann Francis (née Patton) (1792-1848). Their other children were George, Samuel Darten, Richard Pullman, Mary Ann, Sarah Catherine and Fanny.

While there is little information available about William's early life, we can discover something about his family by examining the information available on his father. George, Impey's father, was the second son of William-the-Baker and Sarah Deane of Bishopsgate, York. The Impey family were devout members of the Society of Friends (Quakers). At an unknown time the family moved to London. George left London when he was ten to attend the Ackworth Friends' School in Yorkshire where he remained for six years.<sup>1</sup>

George was orphaned at the age of 14 and after leaving school was apprenticed<sup>2</sup> to John Rowntree, a grocer in Scarborough.<sup>3</sup> George was placed under the care and oversight of the Pickering Friends who operated in the Scarborough area. Three years later George was in a position to establish his own grocer's business in the Flowergate, Whitby. He later left the grocer's trade and established a sailcloth and flax-spinning business. George remained in Whitby for twenty years.<sup>4</sup>

At the age of 21 George married Ann Francis Patton of Redcar in the Whitby parish church.<sup>5</sup> George's 'marrying out of the faith' made him forfeit his membership of the Society of Friends. This was a serious step for a Quaker.

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1. Ackworth School Admissions List, Ackworth School Archives, Green J J, (Ed.), *Quaker Records: being an index to "The Annual Monitor", (1813-1892)* (Edward Hicks, London, 1894) and Impey, E A, *About the Impeys* (Ebenezer Baylis, Worcester, 1963) pp. 84 ff.
  2. For insights into this sort of apprenticeship, see Brindley, L, 'Era of the family Grocer: warehouse and specialist departments: Tough and demanding work behind the scenes'. (*Scarborough Evening News*, 9.2.1983).
  3. For details of the Rowntrees of Scarborough, John Rowntree and Sons, Scarborough (Scarborough Library, Scarborough Room: Local Studies, S P/658.964 R58) and Holford, P I, *Regional Rowntrees* (Local History Archives Unit, Humberside College of Higher Education, Hull, 1988).
  4. Impey, *About the Impeys*, p. 84.
  5. The Whitby Parish Church Marriage Register records that they were married by licence which implies that they wanted a private wedding. If they were to be married publicly, they would have been married by banns. (Transcript at the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society, Whitby, Yorkshire England)

... up to 1859, ... the normal consequence of 'marrying out' - that is to say being so unwise as to fall in love with and marry a person who was not a Quaker - was disownment. ... The reason for this was that early Quakers had carried their disapproval of 'hireling priests' to the extent of refusing to be married by them, and had been successful in establishing at law the validity of a Quaker marriage ... the provision applied only if both parties were in membership. Hence if one wanted to marry a non-Friend, one could not marry according to the Quaker usage.<sup>6</sup>

After leaving the 'Friends' George became more and more actively interested in Wesleyan Methodism. John Wesley had often ministered in the area and Methodism had become firmly established in the region.<sup>7</sup> Chapels were opened and preachers were active.<sup>8</sup> George joined the local Methodist Society and eventually became known as a gifted Local Preacher. E A Impey records that George preached to a 'packed house ... his fame having gone before him' in the Wesleyan Chapel at Earls Colne while visiting his brother William.<sup>9</sup> George still maintained ties with the Quakers and sent some of his children to Quaker schools.

George's sons William, Samuel Darton and Richard Pullman were educated at the Bootham Friends' School in York.<sup>10</sup> His sister Fanny, was educated at her father's *alma mater*, the Ackworth Friends' School. The boys were sent to the Bootham school because it was considered to be 'at a considerably higher level' than the school at Ackworth.<sup>11</sup> This suggests that while acknowledging

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6. Geoffrey, H, *Quaker by Convincement* (Penguin, Middlesex, 1974) pp. 223, 225, 226.
  7. Dickerson, E W, *John Wesley's Eleven Visits to Whitby with Contemporaneous Facts* (Re-printed from the Whitby Gazette, Whitby, c.1925) and Dickerson, E W, *John Wesley's Visits to Whitby and Robin Hood's Bay with Contemporaneous Facts* (Whitby Gazette, Whitby, c.1925).
  8. Whitby Methodist Circuit Bicentenary Celebrations (Whitby Lit. and Phil. 287.109), Willis, E C, *Brunswick Methodist Church, Whitby, Centenary Year* (Ripon, 1992) and Vasey, G, *A Short History of the Introduction and Rise of Wesleyan Methodism in the Whitby Circuit for a Hundred years* (Horne and Son, Whitby, 1861).
  9. Impey, *About the Impeys*, p. 84. No date is given.
  10. *Bootham School Register* (Oyez Press, London, 1971) p. 199. Mr Clifford Smith, the school archivist suggests that George's children would have been considered Quakers by birth, even though George had been excluded by marrying out of the faith. The Bootham admissions register records William as a 'member of the Society of Friends', accepted immediately and admitted to the school in 1829. (Admissions List (1829-1858), Bootham School Archives, A 3.1)
  11. Impey, *About the Impeys*, p. 85. The Ackworth School was free to Quaker children. The Bootham School was a fee paying institution and even from its inception in 1823 was considered expensive. It had a good reputation as providing a high standard of education. (Smith. (continued...))

the need for education for all children, George Impey held the typically Victorian belief that boys needed a 'better' education than girls.<sup>12</sup>

Impey remained at the Bootham School for three years. There is little evidence to suggest what he did after leaving school. One presumes that he worked in the family business. In 1834 at the age of sixteen, Impey was accepted as a Local Preacher On Trial in the Whitby Circuit of the Wesleyan Methodist Church<sup>13</sup> and was fully accredited as a preacher in 1835.<sup>14</sup> The next available reference is Impey's Journal where we discover in 1838, that he was found acceptable for ordination as a missionary by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Britain. We know that he did not attend a seminary but as a Local Preacher and Candidate for the ministry he would have completed a number of assignments and examinations.

The 'laying on of hands' Impey mentions in his journal<sup>15</sup> was something different from the usual procedure of bringing men into the ministry. Findlay and Holdsworth explain:

All the ministerial Missionaries are ordained before they are sent to the field, though they are not 'received into full connexion' till they have satisfactorily completed their four years of probation.<sup>16</sup>

Impey was in effect a minister 'on trial'. This 'ordination' was ratified by the Annual District Meeting of the Albany and Kaffraria Districts on 7 March 1839.<sup>17</sup> Impey was received into full connexion in 1842.<sup>18</sup>

Even though William had a successful career as a distinguished minister in both the Methodist and Anglican churches in the eastern Cape, there is no other information available about his early life. Even attempts to contact his descendants failed to unearth any further details. Most of his descendants

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11. (...continued)  
pers.com., 1992 and Brown, S K, *Bootham School York (1823-1973)* (Morley and Sons, York, 1973))
  12. Impey, *About the Impeys*, p. 85.
  13. The Lord's Day Plan of the Wesleyan Methodist Preachers, in the Whitby Circuit, 1834-35 (Methodist Archives, John Rylands University Library, Deansgate, Manchester).
  14. Ibid., 1835.
  15. Journal, 25.10.1838.
  16. Findlay, and Holdsworth, *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, p. 173.
  17. Min. A.K.D., 7.3.1839, Cory Lib., MS 15 704.
  18. Min. A.K.D., 12.1.1842, Cory Lib., MS 15 017.

knew a great deal about his links with the family of William Shaw but nothing further about William. One can only assume that the family might have been embarrassed by his resignation from the Methodist Church and so have tended not to draw attention to him.

In E A Impey's family history, *About the Impeys* (Ebenezer Baylis, Worcester, 1963) there are three pages devoted to his father George and only ten lines to William. The author explains his emphasis on George by stating that, although William was the first Impey to come to southern Africa, George was the family 'leader' who brought the majority of the 'African' Impeys into this region. An earlier genealogy prepared by Robert Hart Impey entitled *Family History of Impey and Hart* (Mission Press, Palmerton, 1937) deals with the 'African' Impeys in detail but still has scant information about William. This work concentrates on the family of Richard Pullman Impey and his descendants and their connection with the Hart family through marriage. Richard Pullman was one of William Impey's younger brothers. He came to South Africa with George Impey in 1842. Robert Hart Impey was one of George Impey's grandsons.

George Impey and the rest of William's family had come to South Africa in 1842 after George's sailcloth and flax-spinning business in England had failed. George had made himself available to the WMMC for use in the mission field and the committee had asked George to re-open their boarding school at Salem. George had accepted and travelled for South Africa.<sup>19</sup>

R H Impey's work provides interesting pieces of information about William's brothers and sisters. William's brother, George was involved in the company 'Impey Walton and Co.' and the Eastern Province Herald, both in Port Elizabeth. Samuel Darton was a businessman in Fort Beaufort and was killed at the Koonap in 1850 during the Frontier War that began in that year. Richard Pullman was a farmer in the eastern Cape. Mary Ann married the Rev William Sergeant (a Wesleyan minister). Sarah Catherine married the Rev George Arthur Rose (a Wesleyan minister). Fanny never married. She was a teacher with her father at the Wesleyan School in Salem.

The official histories of the Methodist Church have also tended to ignore the contribution of William Impey despite the fact that he had been the most senior minister in the eastern districts of the Cape from 1856-1878. One can only assume that he has been neglected because of his resignation from the Methodist Church on theological grounds.

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19. Impey, *About the Impeys*, p. 85.



Bootham School, York, Lawrence Street School  
Ref.: Brown, *Bootham School York*, p. 13.

PART 2: PLACING IMPEY'S JOURNAL INTO ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

CHAPTER 4: WILLIAM IMPEY'S LIFE IN THE PERIOD OF HIS JOURNAL - 1838-1847

WILLIAM IMPEY: EARLY MINISTRY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:

William Impey arrived in Grahamstown in February 1839. He had a month in which to get acquainted with the land and its people before the Annual District Meeting decided on his future. He spent this time travelling in the region. He provided assistance for some of his colleagues by taking services for them and looking after their stations for them for short periods.<sup>1</sup>

While on 'trial', a missionary's position came up for review each year. Even when ordained into full connexion, missionaries could be moved to new appointments annually. As a general rule those in full connexion remained at appointments for longer periods. The Annual District Meetings were therefore important for Impey as they would decide his future for the following year. Because South African Methodism fell under the British Methodist Conference, the decisions of the District Meetings needed the ratification of the Conference. In March the District Meeting ratified Impey's 'ordination' and accepted him as a minister 'on trial'.<sup>2</sup> Originally Impey was intended to be a missionary to the 'Bechuanas'.<sup>3</sup> However, the District Meeting decided that:

It is not deemed expedient that Bro Impey should go to the Bechuana District this year as from peculiar circumstances exciting in that country: the Brethren now there and Bro Boyce who presided at their last District Meeting agree in opinion, that it is not desirable this year to increase the number of Missionaries in that district, altho' the opening prospects of the work in that country unquestionably require a reinforcement of their number next year when there is reason to believe the present unfavourable circumstances will not exist.<sup>4</sup>

The 'unfavourable circumstances' probably alludes to the disruption that had arisen from the arrival of Moletsane<sup>5</sup> in the area controlled by Moshoeshoe. This was an area where Wesleyan Methodists were working and was known by them as the 'Bechuana District' of the Wesleyan Methodist mission. The arrival of these newcomers in the 1830s created an air of instability in a region which had already for many years been the scene of power struggles. The situation

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1. Journal, January to March 1839.
  2. Min. A.K.D., 7.3.1839, Cory Lib., MS 15 704.
  3. Impey, *About the Impeys*, p. 85 records that a family member, Lorna Rose, the great-granddaughter of George Impey had in her possession a prayer book which had an inscription to this effect.
  4. Min. A.K.D., 7.3.1839, Cory Lib., MS 15 704.
  5. Moletsane was a Taung chief.

#### CHAPTER 4: *Impey's life 1838-1847*

was further complicated by the arrival of Trekboers and even 'Voortrekkers' in the latter part of this decade.<sup>6</sup> The local Wesleyan Methodist authorities therefore decided that it would be better for Impey to remain in Grahamstown.

Impey was to remain under the guidance of the Rev William Shaw and was required to 'share the labours of the circuit', study the languages he would require for his work and 'assist the Chairman in the correspondence and multifarious business at present devolving upon him'.<sup>7</sup>

For the remainder of that year Impey continued his travels in the region. Impey might have had some medical training. On many occasions, especially during outbreaks of influenza and measles, he was called on to tend to the sick.<sup>8</sup> There were also times when he was called out to tend to people who had been injured in accidents.<sup>9</sup>

Impey also attended many of the centenary meetings and services that were held in 1839 to celebrate the Centenary of the beginnings of Wesleyan Methodism.<sup>10</sup>

On 14 June he became engaged to be married to Mary Elizabeth Shaw, one of William Shaw's daughters.<sup>11</sup>

During 1839 Impey met some of the black chiefs and ministered to a broad cross-section of both colonial and missionary congregations. By November Impey felt that he had become 'a little more acquainted with Kaffer life ...'.<sup>12</sup>

1839 was a difficult year for Impey spiritually. He constantly battled with sin and temptation and even came to the point of doubting his salvation. However, at the end of the year after reflecting on his past experiences he wrote:

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6. Thompson, L, 'Co-operation and Conflict: The Highveld' in Wilson and Thompson, (Eds.), *History of South Africa*, pp. 402 ff
  7. Min. A.K.D., 7.3.1839, Cory Lib., MS 15 017.
  8. Journal, 2.6.1839 - 4.6.1839.
  9. Journal entry for 5.6.1839. Impey treated Mr Roberts who had overturned his wagon. One of the occupants was severely injured and was 'bled' by Impey. There are also other incidents recorded later in the journal when Impey's medical skills were used.
  10. Journal, 18.8.1839, 22.8.1839 and 8.10.1839.
  11. They were married in April 1841.
  12. Journal, 2.11.1839.

Oh how faithless, how backsliding, how far short have I come of the Standard of God - Once more I feel happy, accepted in Christ.<sup>13</sup>

Impey's journal reveals that he had suffered poor health early in 1840 and was given permission to travel to the Bechuana country to recuperate.<sup>14</sup> His colleagues on the journey, Messrs Shepstone and Archbell were travelling to their station.

On 24 June Impey visited Moshoeshoe the Basuto chief, at Thaba Bosiu and spent time in conversation with him. Moshoeshoe sent a warning through the missionaries to the Xhosa stating that he lived in a secure place and that it would be wise for all people to live in peace. Impey's journal has no further entries for 1840 after 19 July when he was still resident in Bechuana country.

Impey's journal resumes in January 1841 when he was once again working with Shaw in Grahamstown. On 15 January Impey accompanied Shaw, Dugmore<sup>15</sup> and Blaine<sup>16</sup> on a journey as far as Faku's<sup>17</sup> country in the region of the

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13. Journal, 31.12.1839.

14. Journal, 15.4.1840.

15. Henry Hare Dugmore (1810-1897) WMM and 1820 Settler with Gardner's party. Xhosa linguist, hymn writer, poet, author and gifted lecturer. Held various mission appointments. Translated portions of the Bible into Xhosa. Composed 150 Xhosa hymns. Contributed to Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (Mount Coke, 1858). Wrote many articles for the *South African Watchman and Missionary Magazine* on Xhosa history and customs. Ministered in colonial circuits including Grahamstown (1843-1845, 1850-1852), Salem (1860-1863). Best known for his work at Queenstown where he served two terms (1854-1857 and 1864-1871). After the death of William Shaw, published *The faithful servant and his reward: a memorial discourse ... delivered in Grahamstown, 9th February 1873* (Mount Coke, 1873). Wrote many other works including poetry. (DSAB, Vol.II, p. 203 and Crouch, E H, *Life of Rev. H Dugmore Poet Preacher 1810-1897* (Methodist Book Room, Cape Town, 1920)).

16. Probably Henry Blaine, wealthy merchant, justice of the peace and member of Pottinger's board of Kowie commissioners. He was a prominent member of the WMC in the Grahamstown District. (Le Cordeur, *Politics*, p. 225) Married William Shaw's daughter, Margaret on 24.6.1840. (Sadler, *Never a Young Man*, p. 187).

17. Faku (c.1780-1867) paramount chief of the Mpondo. Not a member of the 'Great House' and opposed by some of the people. Refugees from Shaka's wars flocked to Faku's territory and were followed by Zulu forces. Situation improved after Shaka's death in 1828 and Faku was able to consolidate power. Visited by William Shaw in 1829. 1830 Boyce established Buntingville. Faku became close friend of T Jenkins, who worked in this area from 1838-1868. This friendship secured the safety of the mission, but never led to Faku's conversion to the Christian faith. (DSAB, Vol. I, p. 283).

Umzimvubu river and visited many of the Wesleyan stations *en route*. At Buntingville they received news of the Voortrekker attack on Ncaphayi.<sup>18</sup>

Shaw had for some time been worried about the attitude of the Voortrekkers to the land-rights of the blacks. He was afraid that they might encroach upon the land belonging to the Mpondo. Shaw had warned Napier of Boer encroachment into Faku's territory, but the governor, Sir George Napier took no definite action until the Boers attacked Ncaphayi.<sup>19</sup>

Impey attended Shaw's interview with Faku. They discussed the protection given to the Mpondo by the Colonial authorities and Faku 'expressed himself in the strongest terms of thankfulness'.<sup>20</sup>

Napier agreed to station a British force in the area to maintain order. Napier was afraid that if the Mpondo were driven in on the Xhosa the eastern frontier would be endangered. Napier hoped that this force would be a warning to the Boers against trying to occupy land belonging to any of the southern Nguni groups.<sup>21</sup>

From Pondoland Shaw and Impey travelled to Butterworth for the District Meeting which decided to move Impey to his first mission appointment at

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18. Ncaphayi (1800-1845), Bhaca chief and son of the 'right-hand' house of Madzikane. Originated in Natal and fled from Shaka (c.1820). Joined by other remnants from Shaka's wars. Relationship with the Mpondo chief, Faku, varied with circumstances. 1834 Ncaphayi asked for a missionary. 1839 WMC sent the W H Garner to minister to these people. He was prevented from establishing a station owing to disrupted political circumstances. Ncaphayi never converted to Christianity. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, pp. 585-586).
  19. Cragg, D C L, 'The role of the Wesleyan missionaries in relations between the Mpondo and the colonial authorities' in Saunders, C, and Derricourt, R, (Eds.), *Beyond the Cape Frontier: Studies in the History of the Transkei and Ciskei* (Longman, London, 1974) pp. 148-149.
  20. Journal, 6.2.1841. See 'Copies of correspondence betwixt William Shaw, Wesleyan Missionary, and the Colonial Government at the Cape of Good Hope; - Relative to the attack made by the Emigrant Dutch Farmers on the Tribe of the Chief Ncaphayi with statements respecting the carrying off Native Children &c. &c. From December 30th 1840 to March 15th 1844', Cory Lib., MS 15 003.
  21. Cragg, 'The role of the Wesleyan Missionaries' in Saunders and Derricourt (Eds.), *Beyond*, p. 149.

Newtondale and D'Urban (Mfengu) Mission.<sup>22</sup> He was also given the responsibility for superintending the mission press.<sup>23</sup>

WILLIAM IMPEY: MISSIONARY TO THE XHOSA:

Impey's was to work with the Christian chief Kama.<sup>24</sup> In 1824 Kama and his wife had converted to Christianity under the ministry of the Rev William Shaw at Wesleyville.<sup>25</sup> It had been no easy decision for Kama to convert as he had been a young chief with great prospects. Hintsa, the paramount chief of the Gcaleka, tried to convince Kama to abandon his conversion but Kama persisted.<sup>26</sup> In 1835 Kama had left the area controlled by his people and settled on the Newtondale Mission with the Rev J W Shepstone.<sup>27</sup> Impey was therefore not appointed to a pioneer station, but afforded the opportunity to work in an established black Christian community.

Impey married Mary Elizabeth Shaw on 8 April and arrived at his new station on 24 April. Because this station was in the vicinity of Fort Peddie, Impey also had a white congregation comprising the military officials and troops stationed there.

Impey describes the white community as 'problematic' owing to the 'periodical changes of the troops'. But by the end of the year he was happy with the progress made in all the areas of his work.<sup>28</sup>

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22. Min. A.K.D., 16.2.1841, Cory Lib., MS 15 017.
  23. Impey was required to investigate the printing needs of the different stations and to forward a quarterly return to the Chairman of the District (Shaw) of the number of copies published of each work produced by the press and the number remaining in the store. Min. A.K.D., 16.2.1841, Cory Lib., MS 15 017. There is no information available as the Wesleyan correspondence from the eastern Cape between 1837-1857 has disappeared from the WMMS archives in London (Duff, 'Analysis of Wesleyan Missionary strategy' (Rhodes, MA, 1976) p. iii).
  24. Kama (c.1798-1875) Gcunukhwebe chief and the younger brother of Phatho and Kobi. Kama and his wife were early converts to Christianity under the ministry of the William Shaw. 1824, Kama was taken by Shaw on one of the missionary's journeys to the colony. During journey began seriously to consider the Christian message. At great cost to himself converted to Christianity on 19 August 1825. Kama's public profession of his Christian faith gave rise to tensions in his tribe. (DSAB, Vol. II, pp. 354-355).
  25. Shaw, *Story of my Mission, Holden, Brief History*, p. 314.
  26. Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, p. 174.
  27. DSAB, Vol. II, pp. 354 ff.
  28. The feeling manifested by the attendants on our ministry is such as leads us to hope that our labours amongst them have not been altogether in vain. (*Wesleyan Missionary Reports (WMR)*, 1842, p. 91).

The Newtondale congregation was affected by the prevalence of the small-pox in the neighbourhood and the rigid system of quarantine which it had been necessary to adopt.<sup>29</sup> Impey procured a vaccine from Mauritius which he successfully used on the station. He also tried to take it to the outlying areas where people had been infected.<sup>30</sup> After the disease was brought under control Impey records that there was 'an increased attendance, but also in gracious manifestations of the divine presence in our midst'.<sup>31</sup> This increased attendance was probably as a result of what must have appeared to the Xhosa as Impey's extraordinary healing powers. Kama continually encouraged the Impeys in their ministry.<sup>32</sup>

The following year (1842) Impey was ordained into full-connexion and moved to Wesleyville<sup>33</sup> as the District Meeting had decided to remove a portion of population living near the D'Urban Mfengu mission to Wesleyville.<sup>34</sup> However because of political disturbances between the chiefs Kama and his brother Phato, the move never materialised. Impey nevertheless moved to Wesleyville.<sup>35</sup>

The progress of Impey's work at Wesleyville was slow. He records that the vast majority of the people living in the vicinity of Wesleyville were not open to his teachings. This was probably due to the political pressure they were under from Phato who was opposed to the missionaries. Impey nevertheless resolved:

The word must be preached in season and out of season; there must be line upon line, precept, upon precept. Heedless of the coldness and apathy with which our ministrations are received on the part of many, we would not stagger at the promise of the Lord, but continue strong in faith, giving glory to God; not doubting but that in due time the word shall be accomplished ...<sup>36</sup>

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29. *WMR*, 1842, p. 91.

30. *Journal*, 30.8.1941.

31. *WMR*, 1842, p. 91.

32. *WMR*, 1842, p. 91.

33. *Min. A.K.D.*, 12.1.1842, Cory Lib., MS 15 017.

34. *WMR*, 1843, p. 90.

35. *WMR*, 1843, p. 90. Phato had been jealous of Kama's growing influence over their people. This resulted in strife between the two clans under their control. In the past, Kama had left the area traditionally occupied by his people (i.e. near Wesleyville) in an attempt to preserve the peace. Kama moved to many different settlements including Newtondale, Kamastone and finally Annshaw, where he remained (from 1853) until his death. (*Whiteside, Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 238).

36. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices (WMN)*, 1842, p. 149.

CHAPTER 4: *Impey's life 1838-1847*

During the winter months Impey was able to hold a regular day school but very few attended. Even the Sunday School was not well attended. He concluded:

Obstacles, which at present appear to be insurmountable, prevent us from rendering a more satisfactory report.<sup>37</sup>

In 1843 Impey was instructed to remain at Wesleyville but by May he was stationed at Mount Coke, where he was to remain until 1845.<sup>38</sup> One presumes that the situation at Wesleyville became untenable and he was forced to move. Mount Coke was a more prosperous station mainly because it had enjoyed a more favourable climate. Impey records:

... whilst in many parts of the country the crops have been almost entirely destroyed by the locusts, we have hitherto been preserved from that scourge, and there is every prospect of our people reaping an abundant harvest'.<sup>39</sup>

However converts were few and progress of the mission was slow. Impey was depressed by the slow progress and the amount of time he had to spend in what he considered trivial matters. In a letter to Dugmore he wrote:

From Mount Coke I have nothing of interest to communicate but building progresses slowly. I sometimes am inclined to think that we shall have but little enjoyment of our labours - well - I trust someone will. ... I often long to be placed in ... circumstances as to be able to devote all my time to the great work, and to have little or nothing to do with the people amongst whom I labour except to declare the unsearchable riches of Christ ...<sup>40</sup>

September 1844 brought rumours of war. The Treaty System that was introduced after the War of 1834-1835 was not working. There were sporadic incidents of unrest, especially in the period 1842-1844.<sup>41</sup> Sandile<sup>42</sup> was resisting the demands of the Colonial Government for compensation for thefts and fines for

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37. *WMR*, 1843, p. 90.

38. *Journal*, 29.5.1843.

39. *WMR*, 1844, p. 60.

40. Impey to Dugmore, Mount Coke, 28 August 1844, Cory Lib., MS 1184.

41. In 1844, Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland officially scrapped the system. (Peires, *House*, pp. 119-127).

42. Sandile (c.1820-1878) son of Ngqika, the paramount chief of the Rharhabe. Was about nine years old when his father died (1829). A regency was formed including his half-brother Maqoma. Acceded to the chieftainship in 1840 and gained power from Maqoma. Supported cattle-raiding and a central figure in the War of the Axe (1846-1847) and was briefly imprisoned. Urged by Sarhili to support the Cattle-killing Movement (1856-1857). After this disaster avoided conflict with the British. 1866 territory annexed part of the Cape Colony. 1878 reluctantly drawn into the last Frontier War (1877-1878) which primarily involved the Gcaleka. (*DSAB*, Vol.II, p. 614).

murder. Sandile sent a message to Mhala<sup>43</sup> who was living in the vicinity of Mount Coke, asking for his help. Mhala declined. Many people began fearing the probability of increased cattle raiding.<sup>44</sup>

On 18 September 1844, William Shaw met with the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland<sup>45</sup> and the Chiefs at Fort Peddie. Impey was requested to assist Shaw on this occasion as he had been appointed Secretary to the District Meeting.<sup>46</sup> The Governor proposed a new system of treaties.<sup>47</sup>

In the report to the Missionary Committee in London, presumably written by William Shaw, there is evidence that Maitland visited other areas as well. The result of these meetings was summed up as follows:

Order and quietness prevail; and the Missionaries pursue their beneficial labours without those interruptions to which they were formerly exposed; while the operation of the clause in the New Treaties for securing to the Natives the benefit of religious toleration, promises to be productive of the most important results.<sup>48</sup>

A tribunal was created to hear the appeals of settlers against chiefs and agents and the missionaries and Xhosa converts were given protection under the colonial law. Black converts were therefore placed above the jurisdiction of the chiefs and Xhosa law. Peires records that the chiefs agreed to everything except these last two articles, and prepared for war'.<sup>49</sup>

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43. Mhala (c.1800-1875) son of Ndlambe. 1828 succeeded to the chieftainship of the Rharhabe. Not the rightful heir but preferred by the ruling family to Mqhayi. Rharhabe were divided with Mhala ruling the major section. Participated in the war of 1834-1835 at the conclusion of which, signed a treaty with Andries Stockenström. 1840 signed an amended treaty with Sir George Napier and concluded yet another treaty in 1845. Involved in the war of 1846-1847. (*DSAB*, Vol.III, p. 608).
44. *Journal*, 12.9.1844.
45. Sir Peregrine Maitland (1777-1854) British soldier and governor at the Cape from 1844-1847. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 431-433).
46. In 1844, Impey was appointed Secretary of the District Meeting, a position which brought him into closer contact with William Shaw and the management of the mission.
47. The principle features of these treaties were accurately recorded by Impey (*Journal*, 18.9.1844, cf Peires, *House*, pp. 133).
48. *WMR*, 1845, p. 58.
49. Peires, *House*, p. 133.

CHAPTER 4: *Impey's life 1838-1847*

There was a sense of peace for a while. In this 'peace', congregations began to increase, schools were better attended 'and all things bear a cheerful aspect'.<sup>50</sup>

There was an uneasy calm throughout 1845 and progress on the mission was slow. There is little recorded in Impey's journal for this year and his report at the end of the year he concluded that there was 'but little matter for specific remark'.<sup>51</sup>

Early in 1846 there was an air of optimism, reflected in the *Wesleyan Missionary Reports* which recorded that

The year 1846 commenced with the most cheering indications of prosperity in every department of our work.<sup>52</sup>

The year began with the schools flourishing and the Press in active operation. But the *Reports* add that the missionaries had scarcely returned when war broke out.<sup>53</sup>

The treaty system had been under stress for some time, occasionally threatening to erupt into war which was avoided only after sensitive negotiations. In the period 1837-1845 there had been many raids in the region between the Fish and Sundays Rivers and over 100 people had been killed.<sup>54</sup> In 1846 a certain Tsili was caught stealing an axe from Mr Holliday of Fort Beaufort. Tsili's friends tried to rescue him but he had been handcuffed to a Khoikhoi fellow-prisoner. Tsili's friends hacked off the Khoikhoi man's hand and he died of his wounds. Sandile refused to give these 'murderers' over to the colonial authorities and the result was war. Peires comments:

The war which followed takes its name from this dramatic little incident. But it would have been more appropriate to call it 'The War of the Waters' or 'The War of the Boundary', which is what the Xhosa originally called it. For the war was not fought over the theft of axes, or the theft of cattle, or the theft of anything else. It was fought over the land, like the wars which had gone before it.<sup>55</sup>

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50. *WMR*, 1845, p. 58.

51. Min. A.K.D., 1845, Cory Lib., MS 15 017. Normally these reports were published in the *WMR* but this document went to the press in 1845 before the arrival of the correspondence from southern Africa.

52. *WMR*, 1847, p. 86.

53. *WMR*, 1847, p. 86.

54. Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, pp. 151-175.

55. Peires, *House*, p. 134.

CHAPTER 4: *Impey's life 1838-1847*

Soon after the outbreak of the war, Mount Coke, Wesleyville, Butterworth, Tamakha and Gwanga stations were totally destroyed.<sup>56</sup> The government required the mission families move to a place of safety before the outbreak of the war and no loss of life amongst the missionaries was recorded.

Impey's journal has no entries for 1846. We know that he moved to Fort Beaufort to fulfil the requirements of the Annual District Meeting.<sup>57</sup> Fort Beaufort and the Upper Albany Circuit area were far less seriously affected than many of the other circuits during the war. Attendance at both English and 'Native' services throughout the year were good although often disrupted by troop movements. Impey concluded that 'It is therefore difficult to mark the effect of the preached word on the people'.<sup>58</sup>

The war of 1846-1847 caused financial havoc for the missionaries. Not only was a great deal of money required to repair the damage caused by the war but the general cost of living increased as business activity had ceased for much of 1846. The WMMC resolved that those missionaries who were obliged to leave their stations and in the process had lost private property were to be given a form of monetary compensation. Impey was not one of these. The Committee also resolved to increase the grants to the missionaries to help meet the rise in the cost of living. Because costs differed in different parts of the circuit, the areas were classified as either Class 1 or Class 2 regions, depending on the cost of living in these areas.<sup>59</sup>

The missions also lost many cattle and oxen in addition to buildings. The missionaries appealed to the government for compensation. If compensation was forthcoming it was agreed that it be paid into the Treasury of the WMMC in London.<sup>60</sup>

The war lasted for 22 months until drought brought the Xhosa to their knees. After the war Impey remained in charge of Fort Beaufort, but moved his residence to a place selected as the site of the principal village or town of chief Kama.

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56. *WMR*, 1847, p. 89.

57. *WMR*, 1846, p. 65.

58. Min. A.K.D., 1846, Cory Lib., MS 15 017.

59. Min. A.K.D., 1847, Cory Lib., MS 15 023.

60. Min. A.K.D., 1847, Cory Lib., MS 15 023.

#### CHAPTER 4: *Impey's life 1838-1847*

The previous governor, Maitland, had offered Kama land in the Ceded Territory so that he might become immediate neighbours of the Colony as part of the defensive plan of the Colony, i.e. a 'Native Border Settlement'. Kama's land was situated between Fort Beaufort and Fort Wiltshire. His major settlement was near Fort Hare. Impey was to reside at Fort Hare and continue to administer Fort Beaufort from this new location.<sup>61</sup>

It had been Maitland's intention to have large settlements of Mfengu on the lands forfeited by the Xhosa in the Ceded Territory from Fort Wiltshire to the coast. The missionary societies were asked to provide pastors for these settlements.<sup>62</sup> Maitland was about to be replaced by Sir Henry Pottinger.<sup>63</sup> After a very short term, Pottinger was replaced by Sir Harry Smith<sup>64</sup> who abandoned the treaty system and annexed the area between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers as a separate Crown Colony of British Kaffraria. Magistrates were to be appointed in the place of diplomatic agents and the chiefs were to be reduced to salaried officials.<sup>65</sup>

Impey's work amongst the blacks continued 'to present a very encouraging aspect'. At one service 14 Mfengu were admitted into full membership of the church. The work in the English society was also progressing well in the town of Fort Beaufort.<sup>66</sup>

The situation on the outstations was very different. Impey explained that 'in consequence of the continuance of the war our country work is almost entirely laid aside'. Hostilities were still continuing and causing distress.<sup>67</sup>

Impey's journal ends in 1847. The entries for that year only begin in September and deal mainly with the admission of some Mfengu into church membership and other general matters like the employment of people on the station.

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61. Min. A.K.D., 1847, Cory Lib., MS 15 023.

62. Min. A.K.D., 1847, Cory Lib., MS 15 023.

63. Sir Henry Pottinger (1789-1856) Cape governor and High Commissioner in 1847. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, p. 557).

64. Sir Henry (Harry) George Wakelyn Smith (1787-1860), Governor at the Cape from 1847-1852.

65. Davenport, *South Africa*, pp. 132-133.

66. *WMN* Vol 6, April 1848, p. 25, *Methodist Magazine (MM)*, 1848, p. 233.

67. *WMN*, Vol. 6, April 1848, p. 25, *MM*, 1848, p. 233.



THE CHRISTIAN CHIEF KAMA.

Ref.: Holden, *Brief History*, p. 316.

PART 3: PLACING IMPEY'S JOURNAL INTO ITS THEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

**CHAPTER 5: AN INTRODUCTION TO WESLEYAN THEOLOGY AND A STUDY OF IMPEY'S THEOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE DURING THE PERIOD OF HIS JOURNAL (1838-1847)**

William Impey was a typical Wesleyan Methodist whose thoughts and theology had been shaped by the model of John Wesley himself. Impey's journal reveals his clear and detailed understanding of most aspects of Wesleyan theology but, a misunderstanding of the finer points of Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection, the central feature of Wesley's theological emphasis. As a result of this misunderstanding Impey experienced a tension between what he believed intellectually and what he experienced.

Impey knew that Wesleyan theology had dramatically changed the lives of many people during the Wesleyan and Evangelical revivals in England in the previous century. He also understood that this same message was still having an impact on the lives of many people in England and therefore accepted that this message was universally true. In theory Impey believed that the message that 'saved' England would be the message that could 'save' Africa. An understanding of Wesleyan theology and Impey's interpretation of it is therefore crucial to understanding William Impey in the period 1838-1847.

In substance Wesley's teachings contained nothing new. All Wesley wished to do was reintroduce what, in his opinion, had been forgotten. His objective was not to overthrow existing dogmas but to 'galvanize them into life'.<sup>1</sup> Wesley took the body of existing Anglican teachings as found in the bible, coupled with the liturgical framework, homilies and articles of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer of 1662 and gave new emphasis to certain old teachings which had, in his opinion, been 'sadly neglected'.<sup>2</sup>

Wesley accepted the traditional Christian doctrines of the fall and original sin. For Wesley, any attack on the doctrine of original sin was 'an attack on the whole frame of "Scriptural Christianity"'.<sup>3</sup> Wesley took no delight in speaking of the fall of man and man's reduced ability as a result. He referred to these matters

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1. Church, *Early Methodist People*, p. 95.
  2. Attwell, A F I, *The Growing of Saints: Determinative factors in the rise and development of Methodism* (UNISA, Pretoria, 1989) p. 64.
  3. Hulley, L D, *Wesley: A plain man for plain people* (Methodist Church of South Africa, Durban, 1988) p. 70

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... only because otherwise the announcement of God's grace would be made *in vacuo*; [and] he had to remind his hearers of the situation which elicited the divine mercy.<sup>4</sup>

Wesley believed that because of sin, humans outside of Christ are unable to please God and as a result Christ is the 'only hope of salvation'.<sup>5</sup> He suggested that as a result of sin it was blasphemy to suggest that man in any way deserves salvation as 'Grace is wholly unmerited'.<sup>6</sup>

Impey was very aware of the presence of sin in his life. His journal reveals the high standards he judged himself by. He was conscious of the 'inwardness' of his sin and quoted Scripture to express his perception of his natural spiritual state: 'The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked; who can know it?'<sup>7</sup>

Impey believed that through repentance and faith past sins were forgiven. During the period of his journal, Impey constantly battled against sin and temptation. He often gives the impression that he had difficulty in accepting subjectively that he had really been forgiven. Impey was also deeply troubled by the persistence of sin in his life.<sup>8</sup>

In speaking of sin Impey also makes frequent reference to Satan.<sup>9</sup> He often refers to Satan as the 'Enemy' and is conscious of the role of the Devil in leading people into sin through temptation.<sup>10</sup> There are many references to Impey's struggle to overcome temptation especially in his feeling that his thoughts were unsanctified and 'manifest in vanity and pride'.<sup>11</sup>

Impey's sensitivity to his own battle against sin and temptation made him sympathetic to those who succumbed and abandoned the faith. Commenting on the

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4. Davies, R, *Methodism* (Penguin, London, 1963) p. 99.

5. Dieter, M E, 'Wesleyan Theology', in Stacey, J, (Ed.), *John Wesley: Contemporary perspectives* (Epworth, London, 1988) p. 168.

6. Davies, *Methodism*, p. 99.

7. Jeremiah 17:9, AV see Journal, 6.1.1839.

8. Journal, 14.3.1839.

9. This was wholly in line with Wesleyan orthodoxy.

10. Journal, 6.1.1839 and 6.7.1839. Impey's understanding of the link between 'self' and the Devil is revealed in his entry for 30.8.1839: 'I have been cast down by the Enemy of my soul and the deceitfulness of my own heart'. See also 20.8.1839 and 16.9.1839. He also refers to Satan as the 'adversary' 23.9.1839.

11. Journal, 12.8.1839.

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experience of Tambo who was forced off the station because he had fallen into sin, Impey recounts:

I feel for him as though he were my own child - the Lord in great mercy restore him ...<sup>12</sup>

While accepting the universal problem of sin, Wesley also believed in the notion of 'preventing' or 'prevenient grace'. Wesley held that this was not an innate quality in man 'rather it is, though given to every man, a gift of God's grace'.<sup>13</sup> Although humankind were seen as sinners, Wesley believed that through prevenient grace people still retained their 'free-will'. Hulley quotes Wesley:

Natural free-will, in the present state of mankind, I do not understand: I only assert, that there is a measure of free-will supernaturally restored to every man, together with that supernatural light which 'enlightens every man that cometh into the world'.<sup>14</sup>

Wesley believed therefore that a measure of grace is given to every human being which enables that person to judge in moral matters.<sup>15</sup> Wesley believed that it was prevenient grace which enabled people to respond to the call of salvation.<sup>16</sup>

According to Wesley people are never in a position to claim credit for anything they do as they can only do all things through the grace of God.<sup>17</sup> For Wesley people in their natural state are dead to God and 'unable to move toward him or respond to him'.<sup>18</sup> Williams explains Wesley's understanding of prevenient grace as the God given power to respond or resist God's grace.<sup>19</sup>

Impey believed that an awareness of one's sin was a sign that God's grace is working in the life of an individual.<sup>20</sup> Impey believed when a person realised his/her need of forgiveness this was a sign that God's 'prevenient' grace was

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12. Journal, 20.9.1843.

13. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 389.

14. Hulley, *Wesley*, p. 68.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

16. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 389.

17. Hulley, *Wesley*, p. 69.

18. Williams, C W, *John Wesley's Theology Today* (Abingdon, Nashville, 1989) p. 41.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

20. Journal, 3.2.1845.

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active in the person's life. He held the Wesleyan notion that without the working of God's prevenient grace, no one could be saved.<sup>21</sup>

Impey believed that God's prevenient grace was a gift given to *all* people. Impey recounts the experience of a Xhosa who was condemned to death:

There was a time he said he thought he had no sin. Now he looked back on his past life and saw nothing but sin. He did not know how it was possible for one man to commit so much sin as he had done, his sins were grown taller than he - all men were sinners all were as with their heads downwards - In answer to a question proposed to him as to the manner in which he knew he was a sinner, he replied "The Kaffirs have no book of God. No law to read - but it is written inside".<sup>22</sup>

Impey also believed that God could bring people to salvation by the maturing of prevenient grace into saving grace, even though they had never heard the gospel preached. In his ministry to a condemned man in Grahamstown Impey logged the following entry in his journal:

He was nevertheless unacquainted with the Scriptures - He was nevertheless a fine monument of the power of Divine Grace, and a remarkable instance of those who are taught directly by the Spirit of God. We held many long and close conversations with him and the answers which he returned were at times most satisfactory.<sup>23</sup>

Impey believed that God had given of his prevenient grace to all people, but that further teaching and ministry were often needed to enable people to understand both their need of God and Christian conversion. He records an incident which confirmed this belief for him. On hearing the testimony of a Xhosa convert as to how he came to know Christ he writes:

... previously he did not know that he had a soul, but believed himself to be like the beasts that perish, but on being asked where his soul would go after death startled at the idea and began to enquire about his soul - 'A word fitly spoken how good it is'. Thus though there are diversities of operation, it is the same Spirit that worketh all in all.<sup>24</sup>

An understanding of these doctrines of sin and grace are imperative if one wishes to understand Wesley's doctrine of salvation by faith.

Wesley believed that in response to repentance for past sins, God justifies the individual. Wesley held that justification means pardon for past sins which is so complete that it is as if one has never sinned; the image of God

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21. Journal, 4.7.1841, 5.7.1841, 7.8.1844.

22. Journal, 28.5.1839, Impey's underlining.

23. Journal, 28.5.1839.

24. Journal, 12.9.1847.

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is restored to the person and they are 'born again'.<sup>25</sup> Wesley also held that through Christ's death God reconciled, not only the world to himself, but the justified believer also experiences 'a personal sense that this was done for me'.<sup>26</sup>

Wesley claimed that he 'differed not a hair's breadth from Calvin on justification ...'.<sup>27</sup> His views on justification were not anything new, he was 'just catching up on one of the most fundamental truths of scriptural salvation - justification by faith alone'.<sup>28</sup>

However as the reformers focused on the process of justification 'Wesley may be said to have focused on the way of sanctification'.<sup>29</sup> He believed that being 'born again' was not simply the moment of justification, a sudden experience but rather 'the whole process by which the believer becomes transformed from sin to holiness'.<sup>30</sup> Rack explains that for Wesley the true goal of Christian life was 'sanctification, holiness, even to the point of perfection'.<sup>31</sup> Although the process of becoming 'holy' might have been Wesley's major focus, it does not mean that 'sanctification' or 'being made holy' took precedence over justification. Wesley saw both processes as being possible only through faith in Jesus Christ.

Impey often describes the experience of salvation as finding 'peace'<sup>32</sup> or experiencing freedom from guilt, because one's sins have been removed<sup>33</sup> through the blood of Christ.<sup>34</sup> He also uses the term 'liberty'.<sup>35</sup> The terms

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25. Davies, *Methodism*, pp. 101-102.

26. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 390.

27. Oden and Longden (Eds.), *Heritage*, p. 67.

28. Dieter, 'Wesleyan Theology', in Stacey, (Ed.), *Contemporary perspectives*, p. 169.

29. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 381.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 394.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

32. *Journal*, 28.4.1839.

33. *Journal*, 20.2.1839.

34. *Journal*, 25.1.1839.

35. Two souls entered into liberty, one during the sermon and the other in the prayer Meeting. Others were seeking the Lord. Blessed be His Name - Lord keep me humble and holy. (*Journal*, 17.2.1839 and 12.11.1839).

'peace' and 'liberty' were Impey's way of expressing the Wesleyan doctrine of justification by faith.<sup>36</sup>

Bringing people into a saving knowledge of Christ was a powerful motivating force in Impey's early ministry. He felt that having experienced the grace of God himself, he had an urgent responsibility to bring others into a saving relationship with God.<sup>37</sup> He sometimes felt that he should be involved exclusively in this pursuit,<sup>38</sup> almost to the exclusion of everything else.<sup>39</sup> This is graphically expressed after his first District Meeting in March 1839 and remained a feature throughout the period of his Journal. He wrote:

I trust that now much of the bustle and excitement is over and that shortly I shall be able to settle regularly down to the great work of the Lord. Oh that I may be fitted for this, for being made instrumental in the Salvation of Immortal Souls. I want to live for this, to save souls.<sup>40</sup>

While Impey clearly understood the doctrine of justification by faith he had difficulty in experiencing the assurance of salvation that Wesley taught accompanied it.<sup>41</sup> Wesley taught that one was able to feel assured of one's salvation by observing the fruits of the spirit manifest in one's life after justification, i.e. sanctification. Throughout his ministry Wesley continued to teach that sanctification was a necessary proof of the reality of justification having taken place.<sup>42</sup> However he also stressed that when one did feel assured, this assurance was only of present salvation and that it was possible to lose one's salvation.<sup>43</sup>

Impey experienced moments of assurance:

I feel that I have nothing to do but to live to His glory, my soul is free from worldly care, I am a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem, a

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36. Journal, 6.7.1839. See also 9.8.1839 and 30.8.1839.

37. Journal, 6.1.1839. Impey states: 'I have felt at times the awful possibility of some of their souls being required at my hands'. See also 23.7.1839.

38. Journal, 9.8.1839.

39. Engaged great part of today in assisting the young ladies to arrange the new school room for the sale of the articles of the Missionary Repository and School of Industry - felt something condemned for spending so much time on trifles - Lord save me from trifling whilst mortal souls are perishing eternally. (Journal, 4.3.1839).

40. Journal, 5.3.1839.

41. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 393.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

CHAPTER 5: *The Journal's theological context*

subject of Christ's Kingdom, nay more a sent ambassador from Him, unto a world in which I am but a way faring man.<sup>44</sup>

But more often than not, these experiences were short lived:

My soul has at times been sweetly stayed upon the Lord, but at others has been much depressed. Oh for an even mind.<sup>45</sup>

Impey even came to the point where he doubted his salvation:

Oh how faithless, how backsliding, how far short have I come of the Standard of God. Once more I feel happy, accepted in Christ. Have I hitherto been really converted? Born again? Have I not been self deceived - "He that is born of God cannot sin." Now shall I not believe. If never yet saved, why not now? Blessed be God. ...<sup>46</sup>

Impey struggled with his own personal experience of sanctification and assurance. This insecurity was intensified by his misunderstanding of Wesley's doctrine of Christian Perfection. Impey's journal gives the impression that he thought Wesley taught that there was such a thing as sinless perfection. This was never so. Wesley never suggested that there was any such a state as 'sinless perfection' as his own experience was one of the persistence of sin in his own life.<sup>47</sup>

While never claiming the possibility of sinless perfection he nevertheless rejected the Reformation notion that believers would always remain imperfect in this life. Wesley urged his followers of the 'necessity of going on to the entire sanctification of their hearts and lives - to both inner and outer holiness'.<sup>48</sup>

Wesley arrived at a definition of perfection that was in itself imperfect 'a perfection that was blameless, but not faultless'.<sup>49</sup> In 1759 he described Christian perfection as follows:

The loving God with all your heart, mind, soul and strength. This implies that no wrong temper, none contrary to love, remains in the soul; and that all thoughts, words and actions are governed by pure love.<sup>50</sup>

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44. Journal, 1.1.1839.

45. Journal, 1.2.1839.

46. Journal, 31.12.1839.

47. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 397.

48. Dieter, 'Wesleyan Theology', in Stacey, (Ed.), *Contemporary perspectives*, p. 172.

49. Attwell, *Growing of Saints*, p. 85.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

CHAPTER 5: *The Journal's theological context*

Hulley adds that 'Perhaps the most characteristic Wesleyan term is 'perfect love'.<sup>51</sup> He quotes Wesley as summing up Christian perfection as follows:

... the sum of Christian perfection ... is all comprised in that one word, love. The first branch of it is the love of God; and he that loves God loves his brother also ...<sup>52</sup>

This perfect love, according to Wesley, is a gift from God which 'could be received at any moment and not simply before death'.<sup>53</sup> Once this gift had been received it could also be lost 'if not sustained by constant vigilance' and even the perfected 'depended at every moment, at every stage in salvation on grace and faith'.<sup>54</sup>

The perfection Wesley was calling for required a continual process of growing in grace 'both before and after "perfection" had been reached'.<sup>55</sup> Hulley explains that Wesley taught that 'Perfection is then seen merely as a point on a continuum, not a final objective reached'.<sup>56</sup> He explains:

Wesley never regarded perfection as a state, a position which a believer reaches or achieves. He saw it as a point in the experience of Christian growth which only took place in those who had faith, it was in that sense a gift of God not a human achievement. God is the agent, he does the sanctifying in response to faith ...<sup>57</sup>

Impey in the period of his journal, seemed to be striving for sinless perfection, which is therefore contrary to what Wesley taught. His struggles with sin demonstrate his impatience with himself for the slow progress he was making towards becoming perfect.<sup>58</sup>

Impey did record experiencing moments of oneness with God,<sup>59</sup> but it was more often than not of short duration, an experience wholly in keeping with the Wesleyan teaching on perfection.

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51. Hulley, *Wesley*, p. 75.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

53. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 397.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

55. Hulley, *Wesley*, p. 78.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

58. *Journal*, 9.12.1839.

59. '... my soul is free from worldly care, I am a citizen of the Heavenly Jerusalem, a subject of Christ's Kingdom ...' (*Journal*, 1.1.1839 and 3.5.1840)

## CHAPTER 5: *The Journal's theological context*

Oh how many of these beginnings - Nevertheless I must not, dare not rest thus, not until I obtain the pearl of great price - even Holiness unto the Lord I have tasted. I can no more doubt of this than of my existence - Once I loved, once I followed the Lord wholly - can it be again "Return unto thy Rest oh my soul."<sup>60</sup>

Impey's problem was that he was striving to reach a state of being continually perfect which is not in any way part of Wesley's teaching:

I have thought that I had cast my whole soul on Christ, that I had come to Him as unto one that cleanseth from all sin, and by faith I trusted that I had realised the blessings of Perfect Love through His Blood, but can this coldness, these wanderings be consistent with that **State of Perfection**, I am taught to expect even in this life.<sup>61</sup>

Impey's theological struggle, as revealed in the pages of his journal, was as a result of this misunderstanding. In all other respects Impey was a dedicated and devout Wesleyan. His primary motivation for being a missionary and for being in South Africa was the salvation of people's souls from the power of sin on this earth and from eternal punishment in hell after death. For Impey everything including culture, race and class were subservient to the truth of this Wesleyan message. Impey believed that all people needed to be saved and that salvation would result in a transformed life. While of prime importance to Impey he nevertheless enjoyed very limited success as relatively few people were spiritually converted under his ministry.

In time Impey came under the influence of the changing theological trends that characterise the later 19th century. These new theologies provided him with the freedom to explore radically different approaches. In the period after 1860 one can therefore discern a marked change in Impey's emphasis. He moved away from stressing the need of spiritual salvation to working for cultural salvation. In keeping with liberal theological trends Impey began to emphasise the need to transform society without necessarily insisting on individual salvation. In the post 1860 period Impey committed himself and the mission to providing education, so that the indigenous peoples might be given the necessary skills and so be enabled to take a place in a western capitalistic economy.

In 1878 he reached the point where he felt constrained to resign from the Wesleyan Methodist ministry. Impey decided that he would feel more at home in the Anglican Church. After the Oxford Movement the Anglican Church was far more open to diverse theological expression, at least in theory, and so Impey entered Anglican orders.

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60. Journal, 30.5.1839.

61. Journal, 16.1.1839. My emphasis.

CHAPTER 5: *The Journal's theological context*



John Wesley, founder of Methodism  
Ref.: Gonzalez, *Story*, p. 210

## PART 4: THE JOURNAL OF THE REV WILLIAM IMPEY

CHAPTER 6: JOURNEY TO SOUTH AFRICA - 1838

25 October 1838: Thursday. The vows of the Lord are upon me. Yesterday evening in the Great Queen Street Chapel, London I was solemnly ordained a minister of the holy gospel by the imposition of hands and by prayer.<sup>1</sup> Other nine of my brethren who are about to engage also in the work of the ministry in distant lands, were at the same time set apart thereunto, by the same service conducted by the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, viz. Dr Bunting,<sup>2</sup> Messrs Alder,<sup>3</sup> Beecham,<sup>4</sup> and Hoole,<sup>5</sup> also Dr Hannah,<sup>6</sup> Messrs Scott Fraser, Jones etc. The address was given by the Rev E Fraser,<sup>7</sup> a man

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1. Some churches, especially Anglican and Roman Catholic, believe that Apostolic succession is maintained through the laying on of hands by Bishops on those to be ordained. Although the 'Apostolic Succession' is not a key teaching of Methodists, the institution of the 'laying on of hands' as a sign of setting a person apart for ministry, was retained. Rather than ensure the apostolic succession, the Methodist usage was rather to emphasise the equipping of the person by the Holy Spirit for the task at hand. (Holden, *Brief History*, pp. 70 ff). Ordination by the imposition of hands was agreed to by the British Conference in 1836. (*Min. M.C.*, (8), 1841, p. 85).
  2. Jabez Bunting (1779-1858), Wesleyan Methodist minister. Ordained 1799. Served as Book Steward in 1803. Mission Secretary from 1814-1819 and 1824-1827. Chairman of the British Conference on a number of occasions, first appointment, 1820. 1821-1824 served as Connexional Editor. 1834-1857 first President of the Theological Institution in London. (Harmon, N. B., (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism* (The United Methodist Publishing House, 1974) 2 volumes).
  3. Robert Alder (1795-1870), Wesleyan Methodist minister. 1816 entered the ministry. Posted to Nova Scotia and Montreal, Canada. Returned to England in 1828 and served as Secretary of the WMMS from 1833-1851. 1853 resigned from the WMC and was ordained into the Anglican Church eventually becoming Archdeacon of Gibraltar. (Harmon, (Ed.), *World Methodism*).
  4. John Beecham (1787-1856) Wesleyan Methodist minister. Entered the ministry in 1815. 1831-1855, General Secretary of the WMMS, President of Conference in 1850. Published *An essay upon the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism* in 1829 as well as other works on mission history and strategy. (Harmon, (Ed.), *World Methodism*).
  5. Elijah Hoole (1798-1872), Wesleyan Methodist minister. Appointed to India in 1819 but was shipwrecked off Ceylon and eventually landed in Madras. Worked in Madras and Bangalore and became a fluent Tamil linguist. Distributed Scriptures and worked in the villages. Owing to ill health returned to England in 1828. Became one of the Secretaries of the WMMS in 1834, a position he held for 38 years. (Harmon, (Ed.), *World Methodism*).
  6. John Hannah (1792-1867) Wesleyan Methodist minister. Entered the ministry in 1814. 1834 became the first divinity tutor at the Theological Institution in London. President of Conference in 1842 and 1851. Later also Divinity tutor at Didsbury College, Manchester where he remained for 25 years. (Harmon, (Ed.), *World Methodism*).
  7. Not identified.

of colour, once a slave, now a Christian missionary, the subject thereof was 1 Thessalonians 2:7-8. Of the 10 thus ordained, brother Richards<sup>8</sup> and myself are destined for South Africa, some for Western Districts and the remainder to accompany Mr Fraser to the West Indies.

This morning I left London Bridge by steamer for Gravesend,<sup>9</sup> accompanied by my father, Messrs Alder Beecham and Hoole, and companions for the voyage, Mr and Mrs Richards, and Miss Tozer. The latter a young Lady going to Grahams Town to be married to Mr Green<sup>10</sup> one of our missionaries there.

At Gravesend embarked on board the Brig<sup>11</sup> Vixen under the command of Captain Palmer. Understanding we were not to sail until the following day, father returned to London in order to bring down a rifle, which I had not been able to procure in time. Shortly after he had gone, however, we were under way, and thus I was obliged to leave even without saying good bye.

16 October 1838: In the Thames<sup>12</sup> yet. A pleasant day, but we passengers begin to feel sick.

27 October 1838: We are now in the Channel<sup>13</sup> - very ill. Towards night the wind freshened considerably.

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8. John Richards, WMM. Sailed with Impey in 1838 and was stationed in Salem, Pietermaritzburg, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. Returned to England in 1849. Boyce describes Richards as 'I think, the first of the students from the Theological Institution ... whose services were given to South Africa.' (Boyce, (Ed.), *Memoir*, p. 180)
  9. Gravesend is a town in north west Kent, England, situated on the Thames River opposite Tilbury. It is a port with extensive docks and forms part of the London port system. (Seltzer, L E, (Ed.), *The Columbia Lipponcott Gazetteer of the World* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1952) p. 711).
  10. George H Green (d.1864) sailed for South Africa in 1836 and was stationed in Grahamstown, Salem, Cradock, Somerset East and Bathurst. (Gower, 'An index to missionary correspondence on South Africa in the major periodicals of the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society 1800-1880' (MA, London, 1976) p. 197).
  11. Two-masted square-rigged vessel, with additional lower fore-and-aft sail on gaff and boom to mainmast. (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 123)
  12. The Thames is the principal river of England. It rises on the eastern slope of the Cotswold Hills in Gloucester. (Seltzer, (Ed.), *Gazetteer*, p. 1902).
  13. The English Channel is the stretch of water between England and France. It is 350 miles long and 112 miles wide. (Seltzer, (Ed.), *Gazetteer* p. 578).

CHAPTER 6: *Impey's journey to SA - 1838*

28 October 1838: Sunday. This is the first Sabbath I have spent at sea, and feel not a little cast down in spirit. Very ill in body - but the Lord, rich in mercy and abundant in loving kindness has not left me destitute of the consolations of His Holy Spirit. Yet my soul longeth for the ordinances of the Lord's house,<sup>14</sup> for the blessings of the sanctuary.

29 October 1838: Monday. About midnight we had a complete storm, and were in no little danger. Lost our jib boom and are today obliged through stress of weather to put back into the Downs. Went ashore at Deal<sup>15</sup> and wrote two letters one to my dear mother and one to brother Horton.<sup>16</sup>

4 November 1838: Sunday. We are yet wind-bound in the Downs. This morning Mr Richards conducted divine worship on board, reading Mr Charles Wesley's Sermon on "Awake thou that sleepest etc."<sup>17</sup> Most of the men attended and were serious in their deportment. Oh, that our master may make us a blessing to these sea-faring people. During the past week I have been very unwell in body but have not been wanting in spiritual comfort. Lord may I live to thee alone. Have written again to my mother. Read Watson's *Life of Wesley*.<sup>18</sup>

6 November 1838: Left the Downs this morning.

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14. The 'ordinances of the Lord's House' refers to the opportunity to worship in a church, in fellowship with other Christians known to Impey. (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 773).
  15. The Downs are two parallel low chalk hill ranges in southern England. They extend east from mid-Hampshire to the English Channel coast across Surrey, Sussex and Kent. These two ranges enclose 'The Weald' and are cut by several small rivers including the Darent, Medway and Great and Little Stour (North Downs) and the Arun, Adur and Ouse (South Downs). Deal is a borough in east Kent, on the coast. (Seltzer, (Ed.), *Gazetteer*, p. 531).
  16. Presumably a Wesleyan brother minister as Impey did not have a sibling by that name.
  17. While on board ship many of the services included readings of the sermons of others. Charles Wesley was preaching on the text in Paul's letter to the Ephesians 5:14 which reads: 'Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.' (AV) In this sermon, Charles Wesley is at pains to prove that man can never win his own salvation, either by the works he does or by obedience to the law. (Picton, L, *Shorter Notes on Wesley's Sermons*, (Methodist Publishing House, Cape Town, 1980) p.16).
  18. Richard Watson (1781-1833), Wesleyan Methodist minister. Entered the ministry in 1796 but in 1800 withdrew on doctrinal grounds. 1803 became an itinerant in the Methodist New Connexion. Returned to the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1812. Published many works including his *Life of Wesley* (1831). Secretary of the WMMS from 1821-1825 and Honourary Secretary from 1827-1831. 1826 was President of Conference. (Harmon, (Ed.), *World Methodism*).

CHAPTER 6: *Impey's journey to SA - 1838*

11 November 1838: Sunday. A calm day. We were unable to have public worship, the crew being all busy, tightening the rigging, and putting the ship to rights etc. as since last entry we have had another storm, and lost our jib-boom.

15 November 1838: The captain had intended to put into some port in the Channel to refit, but a fair wind rising, we stood out to sea to do the best we can. Off the coast of Portugal caught a lark.<sup>19</sup> The captain and some others saw a whale today. Being below, I was not favoured with a sight of this sea monster, which I suppose was about 50 foot long.

19 November 1838: Saw two tolerably large grampuses,<sup>20</sup> one of which came alongside. A most splendid rainbow, such as I never saw on shore - the colours so brilliant and the reflection in the water so beautiful.

22 November 1838: Within sight of the Island of Madeira.<sup>21</sup>

25 November 1838: Sunday. The crew again so busy that we cannot have service as we wish. The weather is now much finer and beginning to be warm. We are all much better of our sea-sickness, which hitherto has been very violent. I yet remain very weak, but feel thankful to the Lord for all his mercies.

6 November 1838: Bled<sup>22</sup> the second mate today, who had some symptoms of determination of blood to the head. Found him much better in the evening.

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19. A small bird of the family Alaudidae with sandy-brown plumage and long hind claws. Important eating bird in medieval times.
  20. A blowing spouting blunt-headed dolphin-like cetacean, esp. *Grampus griseus*.
  21. A volcanic archipelago in the north Atlantic, over 600 miles south west of Lisbon. (Seltzer, (Ed.), *Gazetteer*, p. 1112).
  22. Bloodletting (cupping or venesection) was the practice of cutting open a vein and allowing approx. a pint of blood to be drained. The most common technique was to tie a bandage around the arm so the veins of the forearm would swell, and then open the exposed vein with a sharp knife. The blood would be collected in a bowl or basin. It was believed that by removing some blood, the patient's temperature might drop. It was also used to relieve headaches. The efficacy of bleeding was considered an established fact until the middle of the 19th century. (McGrew, R E, *Encyclopedia of Medical History* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1985) p. 33 and information from Dr R Naidoo, Rhodes University, Dept. Pharmacy).

27 November 1838: Came in sight of the peak of Teneriffe.<sup>23</sup>

28 November 1838: Wednesday. Passed between the Islands of Teneriffe and Canary and had a fine view of the former. This lofty island bears evident marks of its volcanic origin, consisting in many parts of bare calcined rocks. We were sufficiently near to distinguish the towns, farms etc. which formed a most beautiful scene, having the peak for a background sometimes lost in the clouds, at other times towering far above them, whilst for the foreground we had the calm unruffled surface of the deep, broken only by the appearance of a number of grampuses sporting in the sun and a flock of sea fowl that occasionally approached us.

30 November 1838: Was alarmed this morning as I was about to rise, by an unusual bustle on board, searchings for muskets, powder etc. and on going on deck found that this was occasioned by the appearance of a suspicious looking vessel which about daybreak had crossed our course, and was still within sight. All hands were accordingly called to quarters, the guns four in number shotted and every preparation made for fight, should the vessel attack us. However a good providence had otherwise ordered it and we saw no more of it.

1 December 1838: Crossed the Tropic.

2 December 1838: Sunday. Latitude 19° north, longitude 19° west. Had service on board this afternoon and read one of Young's<sup>24</sup> *Lectures on the Book of Jonah*. Caught a red locust though we are now 170 miles from the coast of Africa.

7 December 1838: This evening had much thunder and lightening, the latter the most brilliant I ever witnessed.

8 December 1838: Saturday. Latitude 8° north, longitude 20° 43' west. We were this morning once more alarmed by the appearance of a suspicious vessel behind us, and evidently gaining upon us. Our guns were accordingly loaded and other preparations made for action. With the glass we could perceive that the vessel

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23. Tenerife or Teneriffe is the largest of the Canary Islands in the north west Atlantic. It is of volcanic origin and is covered with masses of basalt and comparatively recent layers of lava. The highest mountain peak is Pico de Teide. (Seltzer, (Ed.), *Gazetteer*, p. 1892).

24. George Young (1777-1848), theologian, topographer and geologist. Graduated with a MA degree from Edinburgh in 1819 and was pastor of the United Associate Presbyterian Congregation in Whitby (1806-1848). Published theological works as well as other writings relating to Yorkshire. (*Dictionary of National Biography: Index and Epitome* (Smith and Elder, London, 1903) p. 1453).

(a schooner)<sup>25</sup> was full of men, and I could discern the flash of weapons in the sunshine. As she now drew near, our captain shortened sail, brought the vessel round, and hoisted the blue or Man of War's Ensign.<sup>26</sup> The schooner showed Dutch Colours, and was soon alongside, with apparently about 100 men on deck and set on the bulwarks, a no little formidable sight. Our captain asked the first question.

"Where are you bound?"

"Batavia?"

"Are you a Man of War?"

"No a Merchantman."

"What are you doing with so many hands on board?"

"Soldiers,"

replied the captain of the Schooner, and we now noticed a military officer on board, so that our fears vanished.

"We took you for a slaver,<sup>27</sup> or something worse."

"You are more suspicious looking than we"

was the answer we received, and indeed it was evident that they too had prepared for fight. After some passing compliments etc. they soon sailed away from us - thus again has the Lord been better than all our fears. Blessed and praise be His holy name.

9 December 1838: Sunday. Had service today, but none of the men were willing to attend, making various excuses. Oh that we could reach the hearts of these men. Lord do thou open their eyes. Of late my own soul has been much quickened, and I have had some profitable conversation with Mr Richards. May I never rest till lost in the image of my blessed Redeemer.

11 December 1838: Caught two small sharks today, the flesh of which was pretty good eating. Rowed out in one of the boats.

12 December 1838: Heavy rain. Atmosphere oppressively close.

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25. A fore-and-aft rigged vessel with two or more masts.

26. The white flag of the Royal Navy. (Blue was for government departments and the naval reserve and red was for merchant ships).

27. Britain banned the slave trade in 1807. In 1834 slaves were officially freed in British colonies. Other European countries were of the opinion that slavery could not be eliminated too quickly and that more harm than good would be done from too hasty action. In some countries therefore, slavery was still permitted at this time. (Neill, *Christian Missions*, p. 426).

CHAPTER 6: *Impey's journey to SA - 1838*

16 December 1838: Sunday. Longitude 23° 30' West. Service in the afternoon when some of the men attended. Mr Richards read one of Young's *Discourses* to the seamen. Crossed the Equator about seven in the evening.

19 December 1838: Latitude south 7° 3', longitude west 28° 54'.

21 December 1838: Latitude south 12° 19', longitude west 30° 33'.

23 December 1838: Sunday. Latitude south 17° 31', longitude 31° 56'. Had public service and read one of the *Lectures on Jonah*. During the past week my soul has been much blessed, and led out in earnest prayer for entire consecration to the service to the Lord.

24 December 1838: Passed in sight of the Island of Trinidad<sup>28</sup> about 54 miles to the westward. Had this day a blessed season in prayer. Glory be to God. Hitherto on the voyage I have read Mr Beecham's *Pamphlets on Colonization*, Watson's *Life of Wesley*, Krummacher's *Solomon and Shulamite*, Steedman's *Wanderings in South Africa*. Part of Addison's<sup>29</sup> *Works* etc. etc. I have made some little progress, at least a commencement in Greek.

25 December 1838: Christmas Day. Latitude south 21° 59', longitude west 30° 9', thermometer about 90° fahrenheit. The Captain, Mr and Mrs Richards out in the boat. Fired a salute of 4 guns.

26 December 1838: Very calm and hot. Had the boat out and afterwards bathed. I have this day been much blessed in spirit.

28 December 1838: A fresh breeze.

29 December 1838: Latitude 26° 58', longitude 29° 47' west.

30 December 1838: Sunday. None of the sailors would join us in our service today. We were therefore obliged to serve our God alone, but this to me has been very good.

31 December 1838: Monday. This being the last day in the year I have set it apart for fasting, self examination and prayer, and have been much favoured with a manifestation of the Spirit of the Lord. In reviewing the past year,

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28. Trinidad is situated in the Atlantic Ocean approx. 10 miles off the South American coast. It is the southernmost and largest of the Lesser Antilles. (Seltzer, (Ed.), *Gazatteer*, p. 1945).

29. Charles Greenstreet Addison (d.1866), historical and legal writer and barrister. (*DNB: Index and Epitome*, p. 7).

I am astonished at the grace and long-suffering of the Lord - so much unfaithfulness in my part, and so much love on His. Yet it has been the happiest year of my life, as well as the most important. I have been baptised both with water and the Spirit,<sup>30</sup> I have been ordained a minister of the blessed gospel of Christ, and have been sent out a missionary of that gospel to the heathen. What honour, for such a worm as I. May the remembrance of past omissions of duty and commissions of sin, but stir me up to greater diligence, to walk worthy of the high vocation wherewith I am called. Oh that now and forever I may be lost in God, knowing nothing upon earth but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.<sup>31</sup>

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30. This doctrine was based on John 3:5: 'Jesus answered, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God."' (AV).

31. 1 Corinthians 2:2, AV.

## PART 4: THE JOURNAL OF THE REV WILLIAM IMPEY

CHAPTER 7: ARRIVAL IN GRAHAMSTOWN AND EARLY MINISTRY - 1839

1 January 1839: Tuesday. South latitude 30° 57', west longitude 24° 26'. Thus have I commenced a new year on the bosom of the great ocean. I know not whether the opening year has ever presented to me brighter prospects, or more delightful anticipations of future happiness. How far these prospects may be realised, remains in the womb of providence:<sup>1</sup> it may be good in the eyes of Him who doeth all things well to blast them, but why should I take thought for the morrow, let the morrow take thought for itself.<sup>2</sup>

Yesterday I trust I was profitably employed in a retrospect of the last year. Today I think I may be allowed without indulging vain thoughts, to look forward and to meditate upon the field of labour and of usefulness that lies before me. New scenes, new employments, new friends, new everything await me. Yes, and blessed be God I may say new grace also, His grace. The saviours' love is ever new.

But though I am thus going to dwell in a land of strangers, with people of a strange language, though all who are most dear upon earth are left far away, yet I view the scene with lively emotions of joy. The great honour that has been put upon me by my Lord and master, not only in "counting me worthy, putting me into ministry"<sup>3</sup> but moreover in sending me "far hence unto the Gentiles."<sup>4</sup> This fills my heart with gratitude and my mouth with songs of praise. I have the blessed assurance that He himself hath said "I am with you always."<sup>5</sup> This leads me to expect the manifestation of his favour in my own experience, and also success in the glorious work to which He has called me. I feel that I have nothing to do but live to His glory. My soul is free from worldly care, I am a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem, a subject of Christ's

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1. 'Providence' refers to God's beneficial care for people. (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 894).
  2. Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. (Matthew 6:34, AV).
  3. Therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called. (Ephesians 4:1, AV).
  4. Be it known therefore unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and that they will hear it. (Acts 28:28, AV).
  5. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. (Matthew 28:20, AV).

Kingdom, nay more a sent ambassador from Him,<sup>6</sup> unto a world in which I am but a way faring man.

I must soon give an account of my message - the time is fast hasting away. Oh then what have I been doing? What shall I do? Away, away with the world, and the vanities of time. Henceforth I know them not; henceforth I know nothing but "Christ and Him crucified."<sup>7</sup> "Thy Glory" is now to be my motto, now and for ever. I am to live for this, speak for this, think for this, and this alone. Blessed Saviour, let this be the covenant<sup>8</sup> between us this day. Give me but thy grace and I will live to thy glory. Thou wilt, I know Thou wilt, for hast Thou not said "If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it"<sup>9</sup> and for this purpose "that the Father may be glorified in me and I in you."<sup>10</sup> Lord I ask, on the ground of this Thy own Word, I ask but one thing, to be filled with thy glory. Come then blessed Spirit of the most high God, seal Thou this covenant and abide the witness thereof for ever. Amen.

2 January 1839: Was much blessed last evening in prayer, and was enabled to plead with some earnestness for a blessing upon those dear friends whom I have left in England. Today my heart is sweetly stayed upon the Lord, and I trust that He has again entered into covenant with me, a covenant never to be broken throughout eternity.

3 January 1839: Thursday. South latitude 32° 17', west longitude 19° 50'. But very little wind today, and that little not very favourable. Having occasion to open one of my boxes this morning took out the *Life of H Martyn*<sup>11</sup> - and

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6. Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God. (2 Corinthians 5:20, AV).
  7. For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. (1 Corinthians 2:2, AV).
  8. Wesley encouraged people to renew their covenant with God regularly. (Curnock, N, (Ed.), *The Journal of the Rev John Wesley*, Vol. 3 (Charles H Kelly, London, 1909-1916) p. 328) The entering into a covenant with God was an important part of Methodist piety. People were encouraged to renew their promise to dedicate their lives to God. (Hinchliff, P, (Ed.), *The Journal of John Ayliff* (A A Balkema, Cape Town, 1971) p. 106).
  9. And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son. (John 14:13, AV).
  10. If God be glorified in him, God shall also glorify him in himself, and shall straightway glorify him. (John 13:32, AV).
  11. Henry Martyn (1781-1812), British missionary in India. Educated at St John's College, Cambridge, first appointed to Holy Trinity, Cambridge  
(continued...)

feel almost ashamed to read it again, so little am I like what that devoted man was. May the master sanctify the re-perusal of this memoir to the further quickening of my soul and to the revival of the flame of missionary zeal which I fear has burnt low on the altar of my heart.

We have had during our voyage, especially between the Tropics, the sight of such sun-sets as can I am sure be neither imagined nor described. At times the western sky, was the very gate of heaven - glittering with golden and silver hues, and colours of every shade, the beautiful tints of the rose and violet, the ruby and the emerald mingled in richest splendour. How glorious are all the works of the Lord, how they speak His master's hand. If such be the beauty of a setting sun on earth - what, oh what will be the transcendent glory of that sun which sets not in the kingdom above.

4 January 1839: Friday. Having come to the determination, through grace, to fast at least once a week. I have today begun to put this resolution into practice, so far at least as bodily strength will permit, for I find were I entirely to abstain from food I should be ill. What great need do I find I have for some such exercise of self denial and humiliation. Self and pride seem mingled with all my thoughts, words and deeds. During the early part of the day my soul felt much of the presence of God, but towards evening I have been much depressed, and variously exercised. Family prayer is a great trial. My heart is so cold, and my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth. How is it that I am so little at one stay. Now I feel ready to sink under this depression of spirit. My heart longs for the communion of my dear brother Horton, were he here. But why is not Christ my all in all?<sup>12</sup> Blessed Saviour, do thou cheer my drooping soul.

6 January 1839: Sunday. Latitude south 35° 16', longitude west 10° 8'. We are obliged to have our service alone, the men apparently with one consent refusing to join. Thus do these deluded ones sin against their own souls. I have felt at times the awful possibility of some of their souls being required at my hands.

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11. (...continued)

(1803). 1805 appointed Chaplain on Bengal. Opened a church at Cownpore for the indigenous peoples. Translated the New Testament and Prayer Book into Hindustani and the New Testament and Psalms into Persian. Translated the Gospels into Judeo-Persic. His *Journals and Letters* were edited in 1837. Martyn was a friend and disciple of Charles Simeon, a leader of the Evangelical Revival. The book *Impey* refers to is probably J Sargeant's *Life* which was published in 1819. (DNB: *Index and Epitome*, p. 849, Hinchliff, (Ed.), *John Ayliff*, p. 107).

12. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all. (1 Corinthians 15:28, AV).

I have had some doubts occasionally as to the propriety of keeping a religious diary. My office as a Wesleyan Missionary obliges me to keep a journal, but whether it should contain notices of my spiritual experiences or not I have some doubts. Will the doing so tend to humble my spirit? Have I the grace always to be faithful and sincere in making entries of my many sins and shortcomings? "The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked; who can know it?"<sup>13</sup> Lord do thou guide me in all my ways.

Yesterday, my soul was much exercised and tempted, but I trust it has been good for me. I have been given to see the necessity of the complete renunciation of self in so vivid a manner as has almost led me to despair. To be a fool for Christ's sake<sup>14</sup> - how my proud spirit starts from it. And yet there are times when I feel willing to be anything, or nothing in His service.

This morning my soul was sweetly led out after Him, but how soon was the bright sun clouded. I know not how, nor why, but suddenly is my spirit cast down unto the ground, my heart becomes cold and feels no delight in approaching unto God - then again a gleam of light appears, faith is in exercise, and my spirit rejoices in the Lord. How is this? It has not always been so. It must not be so. This is not "rejoicing evermore".<sup>15</sup> I fear lest Satan get an advantage over me - lest striving after perfect conformity to the will of God I lean at all to my own understanding, and seek either to grow in grace, or maintain my present standing therein by the works of the law. I feel if I would be holy, if I would remain holy, it must be by faith alone. Christ must be all in all. Blessed Jesus take Thou my heart as it is, (and Thou only knowest how vile), and make it all Thou wouldst have it to be.

9 January 1839: Wednesday. Latitude 36° 19' south, longitude 3° 5' west. The weather for the last day or two has been much colder - wind from the south etc. Have seen a great number of various species of birds amongst which were several albatrosses. In soul I trust I have prospered somewhat, and have been enabled to cast my whole case upon the redeemer for time and for eternity. Again I see that sanctification is by faith alone, both in the reception of the great blessing and in its retention. I can do nothing either towards obtaining or keeping it, but cling close unto the saviour. Here then I rest in His blood, for purity of life, of heart, for everything. Now I can say -

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13. The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it? (Jeremiah 17:9, AV).
14. Let no man deceive himself. If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise. (1 Corinthians 3:18b, AV).
15. 1 Thessalonians 5:16, AV.

"My beloved is mine and I am His".<sup>16</sup> Now I am determined by the Grace of God, no longer to trust in frames and feelings for an evidence of my state of grace, but at all times to trust in the Lord Jesus. Here am I, "I am nothing, I have nothing, I want nothing but One" and now the Lord does accept me, according to His promise, to be His, entirely His, body, spirit, soul, affections, will, in life, in death and through eternity.

This morning I had a blessed season in drawing near unto My Father, and had sweet communion with my heavenly friend. May such communion be more frequent, more close. O! may it ever be my life, my all, to be in Christ, not only near Him, but in Him.

11 January 1839: We are now I trust drawing near the conclusion of our voyage, being today to the east of the Meridian of Greenwich.<sup>17</sup> Yesterday saw a great number of black and white porpoises, today met with a sperm whale, which we passed at no great distance.

I have again been enabled in a measure to humble both body and soul before the Lord, and have found Him very near unto me. I feel ashamed that it should have been so hard for me to speak a word for Christ as it was to reprove Captain Palmer today for swearing, and that then it was not done with more solemnity. Oh God, give me greater jealousy for the honour of Thy great and Holy Name. May I be bold and fearless where that Honour is concerned. Reading Dymond's *Essays on Morality*<sup>18</sup> and *Memoir of H Martyn*.

13 January 1839: Sunday. At our private service today (for the men continue to refuse to attend) Mr Richards read Mr Wesley's Sermon on the Repentance of Believers.<sup>19</sup> My soul continues trusting in Christ alone for everything. Blessed be His name. He supplieth all my need.

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16. Song of Solomon 2:16, AV.

17. Greenwich is situated on the southernmost bank of the Thames River, has an observatory which has made meteorological and magnetic observations since 1838. This is the site of the official point from which longitude is reckoned. This was officially recognised by the Washington Meridian Conference in 1884. (Seltzer, (Ed.), *Gazatteer*, p. 719).

18. Jonathan Dymond (1796-1828), Quaker moralist. Chief published work was *Essays on the Principles of Morality and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind* (1829). (DNB: *Index and Epitome*, p. 378).

19. Sermon VII, 'The Way of the Kingdom: *The kingdom of God is at hand: repent, ye and believe the gospel* - Mark 1:15 (Wesley, *Sermons*, p. 73).

Yesterday evening had a conversation with Mr Richards on sanctification but I know not whether it was to profit or no. He also had some talk with Captain Palmer on the subject of religion. Sorry to find him so much a sceptic and felt deeply my inability to argue against such tenets as his. Oh Lord open thou the eyes of my understanding, and give me all the necessary knowledge, that I may declare Thy law. May I drink of Thee, the fountain of all wisdom. Finished the *Memoir* of H. Martyn. Shall I ever be so holy, so devoted? Lord Thou knowest.

16 January 1839: Wednesday. This morning between seven and eight the land became visible although the weather was at times very thick. Afternoon, nearly becalmed a few miles from shore. The shore-boat came off to us for letters etc. In the evening, cast anchor in Table Bay,<sup>20</sup> but too late to go on shore. Had a fine view of the Hills etc. as we drew near the Bay, but Table Mountain<sup>21</sup> was quite enveloped in clouds and mists. From the sea, the houses on Green Point<sup>22</sup> have a very picturesque appearance, most of them built in the Villa Style, with verandas etc. To the South of this Point the mountains appear steep and rugged, and totally barren.

Alas! that my soul should so soon wander and start aside from her rest. I fear lest the anxiety and excitement attendant on an arrival on a foreign shore should draw my heart away from Him in whom alone I have peace. Oh what a wretch am I,<sup>23</sup> how little after all of the life of God is there in me. At times I endeavour to force myself into something like devotional feeling, and then again how dead, how vain and trifling in heart, in conversation. I have thought that I had cast my whole soul on Christ, that I had come to Him as unto one that cleanseth from all sin, and by faith I trusted that I had realised the blessings of perfect love through His blood. But can this

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20. Table Bay is an inlet north of the Cape Peninsula, north east of Table Mountain. It was named Aguada da Saldanha in 1503 and renamed Tafel Baaij by Jeris van Spilbergen in 1601 because of its proximity to Table Mountain. The English name has been used since 1623. (Raper, P E, *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names* (Lowry, Johannesburg, 1987) p. 311).
21. Table Mountain is a flat-topped mountain 1 113 m high at the foot of which Cape Town is situated. It was named Taboa do Cabo by the Portuguese admiral Antonio de Saldanha in 1503. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 311).
22. Green Point is on the north-western extremity of the promontory at the northern end of the Cape Peninsula. It was known to the Portuguese as Ponta da Praia. It was named Green Point in 1675. It is the second oldest English place name in South Africa. The first lighthouse was erected here in 1824. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 130).
23. O wretch that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death? (Romans 7:24, AV).

coldness these wanderings be consistent with that state of perfection I am taught to expect even in this life? "Oh Lord create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me, Take not Thy Holy Spirit from me."<sup>24</sup>

17 January 1839: Came on shore this morning and breakfasted with Mr Hodgson - afterwards returned to the vessel for the ladies. In the afternoon, brought our luggage ashore and in the evening preached at the smaller of the two Chapels<sup>25</sup> we have in Cape Town - felt much discouraged. We met at Mr Hodgson, a young lady, Miss Metcalf who is proceeding to Jaffna<sup>26</sup> as a teacher to be under the superintendence of Mr Percival<sup>27</sup> one of our missionaries. Apparently she is a pious devoted young lady and we are sorry to lose her so soon. She re-embarks tomorrow.

18 January 1839: Friday. Rose early, but much cast down in spirit. Walked out of the town to read and meditate and felt somewhat comforted.

All seems strange here. In my walk noticed the various birds so different both in note and plumage to what I have been accustomed. Some mice too, with striped backs were enjoying themselves amongst the large leaves of an aloe. So, thought I, it is the same all the world over. All Nature rejoices in her God. All his creatures, save man only, show forth His praise and are happy in that state of existence in which an all-wise creator hath placed them. Lord, may not I learn from even the mice of the field, the lessons of Thy love. Engaged in the afternoon writing to my dear mother.

Mr Jones,<sup>28</sup> a missionary of the London society, lately expelled from

24. Psalm 51:10-11, AV.

25. On 15 February 1831 Barnabas Shaw opened the Wesley Chapel in Burg Street as 'the proud centre of Cape Methodism'. This chapel stood for 50 years when it was replaced by a church facing Green Market Square. The other chapel was in Sidney Street. Early in 1836, the Rev T L Hodgson held open-air services for the 'Coloured' people of Cape Town. He was severely criticised by the Dutch people of the area. He therefore decided to build a church. In 1837 the Sydney Street Church was opened. (Rist, H W, 'A Review of the Beginnings' in Garrett, A E F, *South African Methodism: Her missionary witness* (Methodist Publishing House, Cape Town, c. 1960) p. 3).

26. A town in the northern province of the Jaffna District of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). (Seltzer, (Ed.), *Gazatteer*, pp. 864-865).

27. Not identified.

28. David Jones (1797-1841) LMS missionary to Madagascar in 1817. 1818 wife and child died of Malagasie Fever. Jones also very ill, was forced to retreat to Mauritius in 1819. Returned Madagascar in 1820. Established a mission station at Antananarivo in 1821. Working with Mr D Griffiths,  
(continued...)

Madagascar,<sup>29</sup> and Mr Moffat<sup>30</sup> also a missionary of the same society called. Mr Moffat as been in Africa 22 years, and is now in Cape Town, superintending the printing of the Scriptures in Sichuana<sup>31</sup> into which language he has translated the blessed book. Oh to emulate such men as these! Mr Moffat spoke of the Bible as "That precious Book". Truly he hath the spirit of his work within him.

In the evening we had a prayer meeting in the adjoining chapel. A gracious season to my soul which has been much blessed the latter part of the day. "Grace, Grace, give me, Oh Lord, Thy Grace."

20 January 1839: Sunday. Oh, the loving kindness of the Lord: this is the first Sabbath I have spent in a foreign land. Once more am I brought to the Lord's house. Blessed be His name for ever. What a day of rich blessing has this been. Again has my Master been better, far better than all my boding fears. Again has He watered my soul with heavenly dew, and made my desert heart to rejoice and blossom as a rose. Glory to God. Surely my beloved friends in England have prayed for me this day - the Lord heareth the cries of his people, the intercessions of his saints.

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28. (...continued)  
translated the Bible into Malagasy. (Sibree, J, *London Missionary Society: A Register of Missionaries, Deputations Etc. From 1796-1923* (LMS, London, 1923) p. 18).
29. The rulers of Madagascar had wanted to stamp out Christianity from their region from the advent of the LMS missionaries in the region. Under the rule of Queen Ranavalana I, a full-scale persecution of Christians began. This campaign of persecution began in 1835 and reached a peak in 1837 when many Christians were condemned to death. The campaign continued until 1842. There were several outbursts of persecution in 1847-1852 and 1857-1861. (Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, p. 163).
30. Robert Moffat (1795-1883) pioneer missionary to the Bechuana people. Sailed for southern Africa in 1816, landed at the Cape in January 1817. 1818 travelled in the Damara country and settled in Kuruman in 1821. On a number of occasions he was forced to retreat to Griquatown as a result of unrest. (Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, pp. 154 and 280 and Sibree, *LMS Register*, pp. 14-15).
31. Moffat had begun printing part of the Tswana Bible in 1830. Initially he could not find a printer in Cape Town who could undertake this task. Eventually he was allowed to use the Government Printing Office and was given a printer to assist him in printing these sections already translated. He established his own press at Kuruman (1831). When the whole Bible was completed, he returned to Cape Town for the printing of it. He was given paper by the British and Foreign Bible Society for his early work. (Smith A, *The Spread of Printing, Eastern Hemisphere, South Africa* (Vangent, Amsterdam, 1971) pp. 54-55).

7 a.m. morning prayer meeting in Burg Street Chapel. 1 a.m. preached at Do. A blessed season. Afternoon visited the Sabbath Schools. Present at one about 35, at the other 87. Many of the latter, children of heathen parents. Spoke a few words to them. Evening at ½ p 6 preached at Sidney St Chapel. This also a blessed time. Afterwards held a prayer meeting - when one precious soul obtained the peace of God which passeth all understanding. Praise the Lord. He is the same in every time and place. Blessed Jesus, fill me with love for souls, with zeal for Thee. Oh to be always thus at work for Thee and yet more abundantly. Amen and Amen.

21 January 1839: Monday. Walked this morning with Mr Richards through the Kloof<sup>32</sup> round the Lion's Head<sup>33</sup> etc. a distance of about eight miles. From the top of the Kloof we had a fine view of the sea: on the left Table Mountain formed the commencement of a chain of noble mountains, and on the right a steep and almost perpendicular rock of the Lion's Head towered above us. A little way down the descent to the beach lay the ruins of a battery on which are still left several pieces of ordnance, dismounted and silent. Long may they remain so. During our walk I gathered several wild flowers, some of which I recognised as English hot house plants. The grasshoppers are innumerable, making an almost incredible noise. Noticed also one or two locusts.<sup>34</sup> I was not sorry to find near a well of water shaded by a clump of trees, a few plain black berries. My heart was carried back to the land of my Fathers, and from the association of memory this wild fruit was more grateful than even the grapes or the peaches, here so abundant.

On the other side of the hill before us lay the vessels in Table Bay. The Town with its rectangular streets and dazzling white houses. Far away in the distance was stretched a long chain of mountains, some peaked, and some with table land on their summits. How fair and how lovely, how noble and majestic are all the works of the Lord our God. In the evening attended the prayer meeting at Sidney Street. The wind from the south east was blowing violently. No rare occurrence here. The dust which is very troublesome, but like unto all

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32. Kloof Nek is a saddle connecting Lion's Head to Table Mountain. It refers to a ravine, col or saddle. The Kloof was named in 1653. The nek was formerly also known as Vlaggemans Hoogte. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 179).
33. Lion's Head is a peak adjacent to and north-west of Table Mountain, named for its resemblance to the head of a lion. It is possible that it was given this name because of the many lions that used to live in this area. It has also been known as 'Sugar Loaf' because it looked like the 'loaf' used by grocers to dispense sugar to the public. (Raper, *Place Names*, p.300).
34. During times of drought there were often locust plagues in the southern African region. Hummel gives a brief overview of the history of these plagues in Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, p. 79, note 24.

the works of the All Wise One, this wind is very beneficial to the Town at large, clearing it of noisome vapours and by this purifying the atmosphere, rendering the place much more salubrious than it otherwise would be.

22 January 1839: Tuesday. We went to day to visit Rev Haddy at our mission station, at Wynberg,<sup>35</sup> a distance of about eight miles; there not being room for all of us in the cart, I hired a horse at the rate of six Dollars<sup>36</sup> (9/-) per day. We had a most delightful ride, the road in many places being shaded by fine avenues of African oak, in others the Weeping Willows drooped over our heads, whilst the great and rich variety of plants and the novel character of the scenery, rendered our excursion most agreeable. We dined at Mr Haddy's and in the afternoon proceeded (I and Mr Richards) to Constantia,<sup>37</sup> four miles further, where we were shown over the gardens attached to the house where the Dutch Governor formerly lived.

The fruit appeared most abundant but scarcely ripe yet. We were afterwards shown the large wine vaults where the celebrated Constantia wine is made, some of which we tasted. In the large room in the house lay a stuffed tiger, shot by the present proprietor. This room also decorated with some splendid coloured engravings of the battles of Napoleon.

In the absence of the master, our guide was an English Boy, one who has been sent out by some Emigrant Society<sup>38</sup> at home. He complained of not being allowed to wear shoes. Some of these boys I understand have been shamefully treated by the masters to whom they have been apprenticed, being badly

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35. Wynberg is a suburb of Cape Town. The name is Afrikaans for 'wine mountain' and was derived from a vineyard planted there by Jan van Riebeeck. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 594).

36. The process of withdrawing the Rix Dollar began in 1825, but took almost 20 years to complete. In this period there was concurrent use of the Dutch currency and the pound sterling. (Walker, *History*, pp. 158-159).

37. Constantia is an estate named by Simon van der Stel after the daughter of Rijkloff van Goens. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 103).

38. In the 1830s approx. 750 children were sent out to South Africa as apprentices by the Children's Friend Society, founded in 1830 by Edward Brenton. The Society maintained a home for orphan children at Hackney Wick and proposed to send the children to the colonies to be indentured to 'respectable individuals' in the capacity of farm or domestic servants. John Fairbairn at the Cape was the secretary for the local committee. He arranged to assign them to farmers and others who were willing, in a period of grave labour shortage, to take these boys on. (Hattersley, *Social History*, p. 88).

clothed, and put quite on a par with the coloured people and slaves.<sup>39</sup> Representations of their condition have been made to the British Committee, these applied to the Local Committee, when the facts were contradicted so that their condition is nothing bettered.<sup>40</sup> Some little time ago a clergyman was sent out to superintend their religious instruction etc., but he can do but little among those who were scattered throughout the Colony, more-over he has been quite disgusted with the conduct of some members of the Local Committee, who ought to know and do differently.

We walked also on what are called the Cape Flats<sup>41</sup> stretching between Table Bay and Simons Bay.<sup>42</sup> This tract is not many feet above sea level of the sea, and from the appearance of it, it is probable that Table Mountain and the adjoining ridge were formally separate from the Continent. It consists of sandy soil abounding with numerous varieties of heath etc. and also produces some fine specimens of the orchid. We saw several large locusts and also many lizards darting amongst the grass. We returned in the evening, a fine moonlight night, but the south east [wind] blowing so strongly that it was not at all times easy to keep my seat.

23 January 1839: Wednesday. Employed this morning partly in preparing for service in the evening, and partly in visiting the schools. In doing the latter my heart was much softened. I could not refrain from tears at hearing the Saviour's praise sung by the children of the heathens - children of all

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39. These boys were subjected to 'a dismal sort of servitude, working out in a hot climate, their indebtedness to the farmer and learning little that could prepare them for a respectable livelihood in the future'. (Hattersley, *Social History*, p. 88) One of these boys, Trubshaw had complained of harsh treatment in letters to England. This caused an outcry in philanthropic circles. By 1838, most of these boys were scattered over a vast area of the country. (*ibid.*).
40. On 24 December 1839, a report was written by a committee of enquiry, set up by Sir George Napier. It revealed that the boys were required to live 'in the bush' and to sleep in kraals at night or in huts with coloured people. Those in the rural areas appeared to have little chance of improvement. Those in the towns could ultimately become tradesmen. It was found that 'masters are anything but tyrannical in respect of corporal punishment ...' (Hattersley, *Social History*, pp. 88-89).
41. Cape Flats is the region north of False Bay, linking the Cape Peninsula to the mainland. It extends from Green Point, Woodstock and Salt River to Bellville, Faure and the Strand. It was formerly known as De Groote Woeste Vlakte, Kaapsche Duinen and Zand Vlakte. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 87).
42. Simon's Bay is an inlet on the eastern shore of the Cape Peninsula on False Bay, north-west of Simon's Town and south of Makriel Bay. It was originally named Ijsselstein Bay after a ship that sheltered there in 1671. In 1687 it was renamed after Simon van der Stel (1639-1712), who was governor of the Cape (1691-1699). (Raper, *Place Names*, p.501).

shades of colour - and I looked forward to the time when I shall meet them before the Throne of the Lamb.<sup>43</sup>

In the evening preached in Burg Street Chapel. Oh to be faithful, more in soul-saving work. Mr Richards and I have arranged to take a few Dutch lessons, so long as we remain here.

24 January 1839: Thursday. Went this morning to visit our largest school at Sidney Street. There are 120 on the books and about 50 at the other school. The order was very great, and altogether a most pleasing sight. Mr Thompson,<sup>44</sup> a gentleman of this place, had kindly given a great number of reward books etc., which were distributed to the children. In the evening heard Mr Richards preach at Sidney Street.

25 January 1839: Friday. Occupied the whole of this morning in copying an arrangement of Dutch Grammar made by Mr Haddy. Mr Haddy dined with us today. A clever man. Afternoon visited a poor penitent woman and prayed with her, the same who professed to find peace last Sabbath. She is one of those whose state is difficult to understand, professing to believe in the Blood of the Redeemer and yet mourning over sin. The Lord enlighten the dark hearts of all such. Evening prayer meeting. Wrote a letter to my brother Horton.

26 January 1839: Re-embarked this evening on board the Vixen for Algoa Bay.<sup>45</sup>

27 January 1839: Sunday. Sailed about Noon out of Table Bay, with a light breeze. Felt disappointed at not being able to preach at Simons Town today.

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43. In Impey's early ministry, he was generally non-racial in his views of people and the efficacy of the gospel of Jesus Christ. However, there are early indications of some perceptions that the culture of the indigenous people was inferior. With the progress of time, he came to equate conversion to Christianity with conversion to western norms. Later in his ministry - in the 1860s, he advocated the use of the gospel to 'civilize' the Black peoples of southern Africa.

44. George Thompson (1796-1889) lived in Cape Town from 1818-1859. Began life as a sailor and in 1818 arrived at the Cape as a clerk for Messrs William Borradaile Sons and Ravenhill of Cape Town. Became a partner and ultimately took over control of the firm. He authored *Travels and Adventures in South Africa*. While in Cape Town he travelled a good deal, and recorded his experiences in his book. (Forbes, (Ed.), *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa by George Thompson Volumes 1 and 2* (Van Riebeeck, Cape Town, 1968) pp. viii and xvii).

45. Algoa Bay is the largest inlet on the Indian Ocean in southern Africa, on which Port Elizabeth is situated. It was originally named Algra da Roca by Bartholomeu Diaz in 1488, but was renamed Bahia da Lagoa which was eventually corrupted to Algoa Bay. The original Portuguese means 'march bay'. (Raper, *Place Names*, p.27).

1 February 1839: Friday. Came to anchor in Algoa Bay after a pleasant and tolerably quick passage from the Cape. During the voyage I was attacked rather severely by dysentery, but through the mercy of the Lord am much better. My soul has at times been sweetly stayed upon the Lord, but at others has been much depressed. Oh for an even mind.

2 February 1839: Landed at Port Elizabeth.<sup>46</sup> Mr Green arrived from Grahams Town to receive his espoused. Engaged during the day in landing our luggage etc. We took up our quarters at the house of a friend Mr Caldecott,<sup>47</sup> where we were very kindly entertained.

3 February 1839: Sunday. In the morning preached in Mr Caldecott's house, and in the evening heard Mr Richards. We had pretty good congregations. It is in contemplation to build a Chapel and establish a mission station at this place, there being not only many English people who would attend, but also a field of labour open, amongst the Fingoes who work upon the beach, and who have a village little more than a mile distant. In the afternoon we visited the village where a school is already held under the Superintendence of Mr Robson<sup>48</sup> a missionary of the London Society.

5 February 1839: Tuesday. This morning, the three waggons we had engaged for the conveyance of our luggage started with Mr and Mrs Richards, Mr Green and Mrs Tozer. I remained behind having arranged to ride Mr Bingham's<sup>49</sup> horses, he having come to the Bay on his way to Cape Town to marry. He embarked this day on board the Steamer which has lately begun to ply between Table Bay and Algoa Bay in company with many others amongst whom is Dr Philip of South African celebrity.

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46. Port Elizabeth is a city which grew from a military station called Fort Frederick which was established in 1799. The settlement grew rapidly after the arrival of the 1820 Settlers. In 1820, Sir Rufane Donkin (1773-1841), acting governor of the Cape, renamed this settlement after his wife, Elizabeth Francis. She had died in India two years earlier. (Raper, *Place Names*, p.447).
47. Caldecott (1803-1862), 1820 Settler in Sephton's Party. Settled in Port Elizabeth. (Nash, *Settler Handbook*, p. 20).
48. Adam Robson (1794-1870) LMS missionary. Appointed to South Africa in 1823. In Cape Town he married Elizabeth Williams (the widow of Joseph Williams). 1825 moved to Bethelsdorp. 1832 moved to Port Elizabeth. (Sibree, *LMS Register*, p. 24).
49. Du Plessis in describing the Wesleyan Missionaries and their stations in 1839, records the presence of George Bingham, and states that he was at Fort Beaufort. (Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, p. 433).

About four o'clock in the afternoon I started in company with Mr Howse<sup>50</sup> a resident at Grahamstown,<sup>51</sup> to make my first journey in Africa. We rode smartly away for about three hours when we overtook the waggons on the top of the Swartkops<sup>52</sup> hill, where they were out-spanned, with Messrs Richards, Green etc. We took our evening meal in travellers style. We sung and prayed and then slept an hour or so until the moon rose, when we again set forward leaving the boer to seek his oxen which had strayed away.

We again rested for an hour or two at Sunday's River<sup>53</sup> about 36 miles from Port Elizabeth, and spent the heat of the following day at Quaggas Flats<sup>54</sup>. We arrived in Grahams Town about three O'clock in the morning of the Thursday.

7 February 1839: Thursday. During our last stage my horse fell with me,<sup>55</sup> and though from the time of the accident I rode in great pain, yet providentially I am but little worse for my journey - fatigue of course excepted. Thanks to a good God. After remaining the night at Mr Howses, I removed my quarters to Mr Shaw's where I was most kindly received and where I suppose I must abide for some time at least. In the evening attended the prayer meeting held in the

50. James Howse (1799-1852), 1820 settler of Sephton's party. Left his original allotment at Salem and settled in Grahamstown, working in the building trade. Later changed to shopkeeping and opened stores in Grahamstown and some country branches. Bought farms in Albany and Fort Beaufort districts becoming one of the wool producers of the eastern districts. 1852 ambushed and killed during the frontier war. (Le Cordeur, *Politics, Whiteside, Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 226).
51. The settlement in Grahamstown grew from the military headquarters which were established in 1812 on the farm Rietfontein (some claim the name of the farm was Noutoe). Today it is called Table Farm. It was named Graham's Town after Colonel John Graham whose troops had expelled the Xhosa from the region. The town was laid out in 1815, and from 1837 it was administered by a board of commissioners. Grahamstown was given municipal status in 1862. The town was given a Bishopric in 1853. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 187).
52. Swartkops was a village on the Swartkops River, 11 km north of Port Elizabeth and 1,6 km from the Indian Ocean. The name is Afrikaans for 'black hills'. The name is said to refer to surrounding hillocks crested with dark shadows. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 309).
53. The Sunday's River rises south of Middelburg in the Sneeuberg range and flows southwards past Graaf-Reinet and Jansenville, entering Algoa Bay north of Port Elizabeth. The name is thought to have been derived from the Dutch surname Zondag. The Khoikhoi name was Nukakamma meaning 'grassy river'. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 520-521).
54. Named after the quagga which is a striped animal which resembles a Zebra. It is suggested that the name is onomatopoeic, being an imitation of the peculiar cry of these animals. (Botha, C G, *Place Names in the Cape Province* (Juta, Cape Town, 1926) p. 66).
55. Impey was not a great horseman. This is the first of a number of occasions when Impey fell off his horse.

chapel.<sup>56</sup> Our chapel here is a very commodious and elegant building. A large school room is nearly completed<sup>57</sup> adjoining on the one side, and the foundation for a new mission house<sup>58</sup> is laid on the other, which when completed will form a most excellent mission premises.

10 February 1839: Sunday. This morning heard Mr Green preach, and in the evening preached myself from Genesis 6:3<sup>59</sup> and afterwards held a prayer meeting, when five souls found peace. Blessed be the Lord who forsaketh not the most unworthy of his servants. Oh for more love - more zeal.

11 February 1839: Monday. This afternoon rode out to meet Mr Richards with the waggons, and engaged in the evening unpacking them.

12 February 1839: Tuesday. Mr Green married to-day. I had the honour of being bridegrooms man. Feel much the aptness of my soul to wander from her rest in the Living God.

13 February 1839: Took tea at Mr Cook's. Engaged in copying part of Mr Shaw's correspondence with Dr. Philip.

15 February 1839: Friday. Set out this afternoon to visit Beaufort<sup>60</sup> to supply for Mr Bingham, absent on leave taking to himself a wife. Rode between 20 and 30 [miles or minutes] to Tomlinson's<sup>61</sup> near the Fish River.<sup>62</sup> The new

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56. This building is referred to as *The School Chapel*, which was erected in the period 1837-1838. It is difficult to establish where the building was situated. Hewson suggests that it was in High Street, near Sole Memorial Church. (Hewson, *They Seek a City*, pp. 31-34).
57. When it was decided to build the chapel (1837) it was also decided to build a school house. But owing to financial difficulties it was decided to begin with the chapel. The school room was completed on 7 March 1839. (Hewson, *They Seek a City*, pp. 32).
58. The mission house was part of the project to build a new chapel and school room. (Hewson, *They Seek a City*, pp 21-33).
59. And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. (AV).
60. Beaufort was situated 80 km north of Grahamstown laid out in 1837 around a fort built in 1822 by Lt Col H Maurice Scott. It was named after the Duke of Beaufort, the father of Lord Charles Somerset. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 164).
61. Reference to an inn kept by George Tomlinson, 1820 Settler. The inn was situated near Koonap Drift. (Kennedy R F, (Ed.) *Journal of Residence in Africa 1842-1853* by Thomas Baines (The Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1961) p. 37n).

Military Road is an arduous undertaking but leading through the most sublime and romantic scenery I have ever seen, winding down the side of an immense ravine or valley covered with bush. This road is yet far from being completed but when finished will be a great acquisition to the Colony. After stopping at the Inn till near day-break, I again set out and reached Beaufort on Saturday about 10 o'clock - a distance of 60 miles from Grahams Town.

17 February 1839: Sunday. Preached at Fort Beaufort morning and evening when we held a prayer meeting. Two souls entered into liberty, one during the sermon and the other in the prayer meeting. Others were also seeking the Lord. Blessed be His name. Lord keep me humble and holy.

20 February 1839: Wednesday. Preached this evening. On Monday met the Class when a coloured woman gave a most satisfactory account of her receiving the blessing of pardon the week previous. Thus I trust the Lord is "forming a people for Himself who shall show forth his Praise."

21 February 1839: Set out this morning in company with Mr Wynne<sup>63</sup> (at whose house I am staying, not being able to sleep in Mr Bingham's house on account of the bugs which appear in this part to be peculiarly voracious) to visit the Kat River Settlement.<sup>64</sup> We rode across a corner of Kaffirland and again

62. (...continued)

62. The Fish River flows from Graaff Reinet, Cradock and Middelburg southwards then east and enters the Indian Ocean 60 km south-east of Grahamstown. The Little Fish River rises in the Tandjiesberg, 48km south-east of Cradock and joins the Great Fish River 56 km from Somerset East. The name is derived from the Khoikhoi name 'Oub'. It was also named 'Rio do Infante' by the Portuguese. This river played an important part in South African history as it was the border between the Xhosa and the Colonists. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 188)
63. Edward Wynne (d.1841) was involved in getting the Sephton party together in England. Did not travel to South Africa in 1820 but joined them in South Africa much later. (Family Files, Genealogy Department, Albany Museum, Grahamstown).
64. The 'Kat River Settlement' was established in 1829 mainly for settlement by Khoikhoi who were removed from the LMS stations of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis. The idea was that these settlers would form a buffer zone between the Xhosa and the Colonists. The land had previously been occupied by Maqoma, but he and his people had been expelled. Sir George Napier (Cape Governor 1837-1844) extended this settlement until there were about 4 000 people living in the area. As a result of the accumulation of numerous grievances, including the pressure of the British settlers on their lands, a large number of rebels joined the coalition organised by Maqoma in the Eighth Frontier War. The prime reason for the revolt was that the Khoikhoi of this region had fought as loyal British subjects in the two previous wars against the Xhosa and had received no reward. (Lewson, (Ed.), *A Cape Traveller's Diary*, p. 144, Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 253).

entering the Colony. Off saddled near the Blink Water.<sup>65</sup> Here we wandered down to the River to drink and on our return found that some kind though not remarkably honest person had relieved us of a bridle and sambok. We enquired at a neighbouring house and they informed us that they had seen a Kaffir about. However we were almost inclined to forgive the man in that he had taken the worst of two bridles and had spared our coats which he had left also. We dined at Fort Armstrong<sup>66</sup> and in the evening rode on to Philipton<sup>67</sup> about six miles further. The valleys in this part of the country are beautiful and the scenery in some part very fine. Nothing very remarkable in the far famed Philipton except its natural beauties.

Felt sorry that in thus visiting the station of a missionary anything should have occurred to prevent our calling upon his family. When shall we be all one?<sup>68</sup>

22 February 1839: Friday. Before breakfast rode out from Fort Armstrong to Balfour,<sup>69</sup> 2½ miles, to visit the Rev Mr Thomson. A delightful place<sup>70</sup> and

65. There is a settlement at the junction of the Blinkwater and Kat Rivers, 13 km north-west of Fort Beaufort, opened by the Rev Henry Calderwood (LMS) in 1839. The settlement takes its name from the Blinkwater river. The name is Afrikaans meaning 'shining water'. The skeleton of a 60 toothed prehistoric reptile was discovered there in the 1840s by the engineer Andrew Geddes Bain during road-building operations. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 57).
66. During the Sixth Frontier War (1834-1835) the governor of the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban (1777-1849), constructed a number of small forts in the Province of Queen Adelaide. Fort Armstrong protected the Kat River Settlement and was named after Captain A B Armstrong of the Cape Mounted Rifles. (Botha, *Place Names*, p. 140).
67. A mission station in the Kat River Settlement named after Dr John Philip of the London Missionary Society. James Read was stationed there in 1839. (Pettman, *Place Names*, p. 148, Botha, *Place Names*, p. 152).
68. Impey was an advocate of ecumenism. There was some tension between the LMS and the Wesleyans following the war of 1834-1835. These difficulties appear to have been resolved although there were some incidents, like this one, where animosity remained. One cannot be sure that this incident was linked to the earlier difficulties.
69. Balfour is a village at the foot of the Katberg, established as a station of the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1828 by John Ross McDiarmid and named after Robert Balfour, first Secretary of the society. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 41).
70. The original reads 'delightful and place'.

a kind man. During the day rode to Eland's River,<sup>71</sup> 8 miles, and in the evening returned to Beaufort. This is my birthday. This day I am 21. Oh to concentrate the remainder of my days more fully unto the Lord.

24 February 1839: Sunday. Preached morning and evening at Fort Beaufort. In the latter service made a Missionary Collection.<sup>72</sup> This was not such a season as the last sabbath. Oh Lord thou knowest my weakness.

25 February 1839: Returned from Fort Beaufort to Grahams Town. Was caught by a very heavy thunder storm in the bush and in consequence was completely drenched. I had also a fall with the horse but providentially in this second accident was not at all injured.

26 February 1839: Tuesday. Preached at Grahams Town this evening. To day most of the missionaries have arrived from their various stations. I felt it some task to preach before so many ministers and I fear that in somewhat it proved a snare to me.

2 March 1839: On account of Mr Shepstone not being able to come into the Colony to take his appointment to preach a missionary sermon at Salem, I was under the necessity of supplying his place, and therefore rode down in the evening in company with rather an eccentric friend of the name of Gush,<sup>73</sup> who from reading various books written by members of the Society of Friends has taken up most or nearly all of their principles and formed a curious compound of Quakerism and Methodism.

On our way we called upon a worthy man, a Class Leader who seems to be truly alive to God and to the church. Praise the Lord for all his faithful Servants.

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71. Named after 'Eland', a large African antelope of genus *Taurotragus*. (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 332).
72. The Grahamstown Journal of 21.2.1839 recorded that a collection was taken annually for missionary work throughout the world. Their reference was a missionary sermon delivered locally. (Sylva, 'The Diaries of Thomas Shone', p. 352 and Butler, F G, and Benyon, J, (Eds.) *The 1820 Settlers: An Illustrated Commentary* (Cape Town, 1974) p. 55).
73. Richard Gush (1789-1858), 1820 Settler and sub-leader of part of Sephton's party. Left the Wesleyan church and joined the Society of Friends. Strongly opposed to slavery, hunting and the use of force, refusing even to retrieve oxen stolen by the Xhosa. Refused to take part in the frontier wars. The Xhosa left his family and the Salem settlement unharmed. During the war of 1834-35, met the Xhosa and spoke to their leaders. The Xhosa agreed not to attack Salem. Known as the 'hero of Salem'. A simple stone cairn on a hill near Salem marks the place where he spoke to the Xhosa leaders. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, p. 338).

3 March 1839: Sunday. Preached at Salem in the morning and felt some liberty in prayer. Baptised a Child also, the first time I have performed this ceremony. Rode home in the afternoon - got very wet. Heard Mr Richards preach in the evening a missionary sermon from "This Gospel of the Kingdom shall first be preached unto all the world for a witness unto all nations, then shall the end come."<sup>74</sup>

4 March 1839: Engaged great part of the day in assisting the young ladies to arrange the new school room for the sale of the articles of the Missionary Repository and School of Industry.<sup>75</sup> Felt something condemned for spending so much time on trifles. Lord save me from trifling whilst immortal souls are perishing eternally.

5 March 1839: Tuesday. In the morning attended the sale of articles etc. the profits of which are to be devoted to the mission cause etc. I do not know that I have seen a better attended sale on the whole in England, the receipts for the missions exceeding £40 - and a similar sum for the School of Industry.

In the evening the usual Annual Missionary Meeting was held in the Chapel - well attended and a very good feeling prevailing through the whole. Ministers of nearly all denominations took part in the service of the evening. There were our own preachers of the District, Rev Heavyside<sup>76</sup> Chaplain of Grahams Town, Mr Owen<sup>77</sup> of the Church Missionary Society, Mr Locke<sup>78</sup> of the London

74. Matthew 24:14, AV.

75. The Watson Institute was established near Farmerfield and had branches on some of the other stations including Haslope Hills. (Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 215).

76. John Heavyside, first English (Anglican) priest ordained in India. Appointed chaplain in Grahamstown in 1837. (Lewson, (Ed.), *A Cape Traveller's Diary*, p. 143).

77. Francis Owen (1802-1854) Anglican Priest. 1836 left for southern Africa as representative of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). 19.8.1837 met Dingane. Tried to convert Dingane and his followers to Christianity, but without success. February 1838 witnessed killing of Piet Retief and his party at Mgungundlovo. Published pamphlet entitled *Zululand under Dingane*. Left Zululand and travelled to Algoa Bay arriving there in June 1838. Preached for a while in Cape Town before returning to Port Elizabeth. August 1839 he left Grahamstown for the interior. Stayed for a short time at Philippolis. Also worked at Campbell, Taung and Mosega until the CMS decided to abandon its work in South Africa in September 1840. Returned to Grahamstown in May 1841 and sailed for Britain the same year where he became a parish priest in Sheffield. (*DSAB*, Vol.II, pp. 527-528).

78. John Locke (d.1848), LMS missionary. Became minister of the Union Congregational Chapel in Grahamstown in 1838. (Briggs and Wing, *Harvest and Hope*, p. 49).

Do., Mr Aveline<sup>79</sup> of the Baptist Do., and Mr Lindley<sup>80</sup> of the American Society.<sup>81</sup> The Collections amounted to upwards of £21, being a large increase on last year.

I trust that now much of the bustle and excitement is over and that shortly I shall be able to settle regularly down to the great work of the Lord. Oh that I may be fitted for this, for being made instrumental in the salvation of immortal souls. I want to live for this, to save souls.

6 March 1839: This evening all the missionaries now in Grahams Town (with the exception of Mr Heavyside) and their families, such at least as could attend, took tea together in the large school room, and a most interesting meeting we had. Such a scene I have never witnessed, so many of those who have left their friends and homes, assembled in social intercourse and speaking of that what nearest to their hearts - the success of missionary enterprise. Expressions of mutual love and interest were exchanged between the missionaries of different societies and prayer was offered that great success might attend every effort.

7 March 1839: Thursday. To day our District Meeting commenced. Oh Lord do thou stay my heart on Thee alone.

10 March 1839: Sunday. Rode this morning to Nurney<sup>82</sup> and there interred the corpse of a child who was struck dead by the lightning on Friday. Afterwards preached to a few souls on "Prepare to meet thy God." Returned in the afternoon through the rain to Grahams Town. Evening heard brother Dugmore preach and at the conclusion of the service the sacrament was administered to

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79. Aveline, Baptist pastor in Grahamstown. Arrived January 1839 and within months established a school. (Batts, H J, *The Story of 100 years, 1820-1920 being the History of the Baptist Church in South Africa* (T Maskew Miller, Cape Town, c. 1920) pp. 18-19).

80. Daniel Lindley (1801-1880) missionary of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in South Africa. 1836 met Mzilikazi, the Matabele chief at Kapain to get permission to work with his people. Settled at Mosega. 1836 there were clashes between the Dutch and the Matabele. Moved to Thaba Nchu. Feared the Voortrekkers might hamper the missionary work and formed the opinion that Blacks were in danger of being decimated. Believed the only salvation for black people would be conversion to Christianity. Moved to Natal, reaching Umlazi by the end of 1837. Established himself on the Illovo River calling his station Imfumi.

81. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was one of the last missionary societies to send out missionaries to southern Africa. They arrived at the Cape in 1835. (Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, p. 162).

82. Not identified.

a goodly number of communicants many of whom were natives. My heart was touched to see these long despised ones kneeling at the table of Him who died for all. The Lord has been pleased this evening to manifest himself to my soul in an especial manner. I have felt more of the weight of souls than for some time. Oh that this were a constant burden, souls - perishing souls.

17 March 1839: Sunday. Preached this afternoon at Collingham<sup>83</sup> and interred the body of one of our society in that place. In the morning attended service in the Native Chapel and heard Mr Palmer<sup>84</sup> preach in English interpreted into Kaffir. The congregation attentive and some so deeply affected as to cry aloud. In the evening heard Mr Cameron<sup>85</sup> deliver a most excellent discourse on "Work out your own salvation etc."<sup>86</sup> During the week have been principally occupied in attending District Meeting. On Thursday Mr Green preached. On Friday took tea at Mr Godlonton's<sup>87</sup> and afterwards attended a temperance meeting held in the Independent Chapel.<sup>88</sup> I have thought seriously on this subject at times lately and have come to the conclusion to be an advocate of the principle of total abstinence and of course to maintain the same practice.<sup>89</sup> Lord, may I do all to Thy Glory.

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83. The farm 'Collingham' was the settlement of Clarke's Party of 1820 Settlers. It was a large undivided farm with small allotments in a rectangular strip. The farm is situated approx. 8 miles from Grahamstown. (Skead, C J, Card Index, eastern Cape farm research, Albany Museum).
84. Samuel Palmer (d.1846) WMM at Salem and Port Francis (1830-32) and from early 1833 among the Bomvana at Morley. Forced to abandon latter station during the war of 1834-1835. After the war was part of the team made up of Boyce and Shepstone who met Phatho, Kama and Kobi. 1836 returned to Morley. Went to Clarkebury in 1846. During the War of the Axe (1847) was killed leading people to safety. (Le Cordeur, B A, and Saunders, C, *The War of the Axe, 1847* (Brenthurst, Johannesburg, 1981) p. 191, Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, pp. 203, 209 and 223).
85. James Cameron (d.1875), WMM. Arrived in South Africa in 1829. Appointed to Cape Town, Buntingville, Platberg, Thaba Nchu, D'Urban and Pietermaritzburg. (Gower, 'Index' p. 194).
86. ... work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. (Philippians 2:12b, AV).
87. Robert Godlonton (1794-1884), 1820 Settler of Bailie's party, successful Grahamstown businessman and landowner. Best known as editor of the Graham' Town Journal and author of a number of works on the history of the eastern Cape. Advocate for the interests of the settlers. Member of the Legislative Council, 1850 and 1854. (Le Cordeur, *Politics*, p. 163, Lewson, (Ed.), *A Cape Traveller's Diary*, p. 143).
88. Union Congregational Chapel, Dundas Street, Grahamstown.
89. Total abstinence from alcohol was an important tenet of Methodist teaching.

19 March 1839: Last evening Mr Boyce preached an admirable sermon on the nature and institution of the ministry preparatory to the ordination of two of our preachers which took place this evening. The latter proved most interesting and at the same time most solemn. The Charge<sup>90</sup> was delivered by Mr Shaw who at the commencement was so far affected as scarcely to be able to proceed. I trust that for my own part, I have been profited by the remembrance of those vows which are upon my own soul; that henceforth I may be more than ever consecrated to the sacred office, and that by the grace of my Lord and master I may be enabled to make full proof of the same, is I trust my fervent prayer to Him whose grace is sufficient for these things.

24 March 1839: Sunday. In the morning heard Mr Bingham and in the evening Mr Richards preach. Today my soul has been deeply impressed with the sense of eternal things. Oh that this frame of mind may continue. The business of the District Meeting is now concluded and I hope soon to fall into a regular course of study and duty.<sup>91</sup> My determination is fixed to endeavour systematically (under the blessing of God) to promote a revival of religion in this place. I see that this is the way in which the Lord intends to spread His glory throughout this world, that now is an important time.

I feel at times that God is about to do great and glorious things and in the world that the coming of the Messiah's Kingdom draweth nigh - and though I may not see it (and yet He only knows) nevertheless it is my duty to hasten that time, by every means that lies in my power, by prayer, by faith, and by special effort for the conversion of sinners.

I want to impress this upon the people, I want to raise their expectations without which no good or at least but little good, comparatively speaking, can be done. We must make grand efforts, bold strokes. We must go up at once in the might of the Lord and possess the whole world. Lord quicken us, according to thy Word.

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90. The 'Charge' is the name given for the message given at an ordination service.

91. Impey was placed under the supervision of the Rev. William Shaw (Chairman of the District and General Superintendent of Missions) and was instructed to share in the 'labours of the circuit', study the languages he would require for his work and 'assist the Chairman in the correspondence and multifarious business at present devolving upon him'. (Min. A.K.D., Cory Lib., MS 15 017) Shaw believed that it was 'One of the most urgent duties of Missionaries in a heathen country ... to acquire the language of the people among whom they are sent to preach the glorious Gospel of the blessed God'. He added that 'Every Missionary ought, therefore, to commence learning the language at once; and as soon as he can utter, however imperfectly, a few sentences, he should employ them in conversation with the people'. (Shaw, *Story of My Mission*, pp. 535-536).

26 March 1839: Tuesday. Yesterday evening met one of the classes and was much blessed in so doing. It was a gracious season a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. I have also had an opportunity of seeing Kama one of the Kaffir chiefs - a fine specimen not only of his people but also of the power of grace over a savage<sup>92</sup> mind. Bland and gentlemanly in his manners, and placid yet animated in his countenance, he is indeed an interesting man, with a disposition I understand that perfectly agrees with his appearance, mild and amiable, but as might be expected wanting somewhat in that energy that in general characterises the Kaffir. He was amused at hearing my name, which in Kaffir literally signifies a host, an enemy. He said it was a light word to him - one to which he had been accustomed. In the evening heard Mr Boyce preach from "We know that we are of God and the whole world lieth in wickedness".<sup>93</sup> Oh to feel properly the weight of perishing souls.

29 March 1839: Good Friday. This morning attended service at Church and in company with several of the Wesleyan missionaries received the Communion. It was a very solemn season.

31 March 1839: Sunday. In the morning heard Mr Lindley of the American Mission preach on the subject of revivals. In the evening Mr Palmer on the same subject - had I preached my text would have been the same as Mr Palmer's. In the evening our Love Feast<sup>94</sup> was held when the subject of a revival appeared to be the leading theme. May we not take these as symptoms that God is about to pour out his Spirit upon us. Was grieved to find any feeling of disappointment in my own mind at being thus forestalled in the Pulpit. Lord cleanse every thought.

1 April 1839: We this evening opened the new high school room and had a social tea party - after which several ministers addressed the congregation. Of these

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92. The viewing of the indigenous people as 'savage' was common at this time. Most of the writings by the colonisers would describe the lifestyles of the indigenous peoples by comparing it with the lifestyles of the middle and upper classes of British society. Kama by this time, had been a faithful follower of Christ for 14 years. Impey's intention is to reveal the changing power of the Gospel in the life of all believers.

93. 1 John 5:19, AV.

94. The 'Love Feast' was a prominent feature of Methodist piety. In the early Church the Love Feast was an actual meal, but in 19th century Methodism it was a service at which persons present gave testimony concerning their conversion. (Hinchliff, (Ed.), *John Ayliff*, p. 105).

were Mr Heavyside, Mr Owen, Mr Locke, Mr Aveline, Mr Lindley, Mr Lemeu<sup>95</sup> of the French Society<sup>96</sup> and Mr Calderwood<sup>97</sup> who has but lately come out and is going to a station near Makomo. A deep and hallowed feeling pervaded the whole, and a more delightful meeting I was never present at. Union seems the order of the day. Ever may it be so, ever may it be united in the one great cause of truth, the Cause of God.

7 April 1839: Sunday. Heard Mr Shaw preach this morning. Afternoon met a class - evening preached from "Wilt Thou not revive us again etc."<sup>98</sup> Felt some liberty and spoke with freedom. Was afterwards not a little surprised, and thankful at the time that I was not aware of it, to know that I had Chief Justice, Sir John Wylde<sup>99</sup> for a hearer. Assisted in the administration of the Sacrament.

14 April 1839: Heard Mr Richards preach in the morning - preached at Collingham in the afternoon and heard Mr Palmer in the evening.

15 April 1839: Monday. In spirit very much cast down, overpowered with a sense of unworthiness and sin. Oh what a wretched sinner I feel myself to be, so ungrateful, so vile. Is it possible that I can ever bring glory to God. I feel great danger of yielding to a trifling spirit. Oh Lord lay eternity heavily

95. Jean Louis Prosper Lemue (Impey incorrectly spells the name) (1804-1870), PEMS missionary. With Isaac Bisseux and Samuel Rolland, Lemue came to southern Africa. Ordained 1829 and arrived at the Cape in the same year. Fell under the aegis of Dr John Philip. Lemue, Bisseux and Rolland travelled into the Ciskei with Philip hoping to establish a station there. They were unsuccessful. Decided to work amongst the Tswana (Bechuana). Using Robert Moffat's station at Kuruman as their headquarters, moved to work amongst the Hurutshe, a Tswana tribe who were living under Mzilikazi. Were forced by Mzilikazi to retire on two occasions. Encouraged by Moffat, established Mothitho (near Kuruman) in 1833, having gathered some of the fugitive Hurutshe together. Lemue continued in his work at Mothitho until 1848. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, pp. 469-470).
96. Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS).
97. Henry Calderwood (1808?-1865), minister in the Presbyterian church at Kendal, Westmorland. 1838 accepted as a missionary by the LMS. Reached the Cape in 1838 and acted for Dr John Philip in his absence. 1839 moved to Fort Beaufort and established the station called 'Blinkwater' on the Kat River. 1845 established the Birklands Mission (on the site of what became Healdtown). (*DSAB*, Vol. I, p. 148).
98. Wilt thou not revive us again: that thy people may rejoice in thee. (Psalm 85:6, AV).
99. Sir John Wylde (1781-1859) first Chief Justice of the Cape Colony. Arrived 1827. *Ex officio* member of the Council of Advice and adviser to the governor. Retired from bench in 1855. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, p. 862).

upon me, rather let me sink beneath the load than thus dishonour Thee a light spirit and conversation.

16 April 1839: Tuesday. Went with Mr Shaw, Mr Lindley, etc. to Salem. In the afternoon attended the meeting of the Bible Society,<sup>100</sup> at which were present Messrs Backhouse<sup>101</sup> and Walker<sup>102</sup> of the Society of Friends who had just returned from their tour through Kaffirland.

17 April 1839: Visited Farmerfield - one of our newly formed settlements for the natives, at which also the Watson Institution is established - a fine place. The country now is beautiful. I suppose that for 16 or 17 years it has never looked so rich. The late rains have clothed the hills with verdure and the valleys with beauty.<sup>103</sup> On our return to Grahams Town we killed a large Cobra de Capella measuring about four feet in length. Was amused the other day in visiting Mr Godlonton's farm to hear an account relative to a tribe of seven asses which we had met. The driver of these animals wished to stop all night at the farm and put the donkeys into the kraal the natives who had never seen such creatures imagined them to be some sort of wild beast and complained that they would pull the Kraal down. The dogs seemed to entertain the same estimate of their character and accordingly set upon them, the asses brayed and the dogs barked and a complete scene ensued. So easy it is to mistake character.

21 April 1839: Sunday. In the morning preached from "Break up your fallow ground, sow not among thorns"<sup>104</sup> I trust some feeling was produced. In the

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100. In 1804, the *British and Foreign Bible Society* was formed and 'gave a notable example of inter-Church cooperation, having a committee which was made up half of Anglicans and half Free Churchmen'. (Neill, *Christian Missions*, p.252).

101. James Backhouse (1794-1869) Quaker minister and missionary, nurseryman and botanist. Arrived in South Africa in 1838 and spent two and a half years travelling in the Cape Colony and the Transkei. 1840 published *Observations submitted in brotherly love to the missionaries and other gospel labourers in South Africa*. 1841 returned to England. Kept in touch with the Cape and sent books and other materials for the various schools of the different missionary societies. (*DSAB*, Vol. 1, p. 32)

102. James Walker was a local schoolmaster who travelled with Backhouse. Assisted Backhouse in the publication of his work. (Le Cordeur, *Politics*, p. 221).

103. The Grahamstown Journal of 11.4.1839 record that these rains were: 'One of the most violent storms of rain which has been experienced for many years'.

104. Jeremiah 4:3b, AV.

evening Mr Richards preached on the Deluge.<sup>105</sup> We afterwards held a prayer meeting at which Mr Lindley assisted. Now came the answer to our prayers - not less than 30 to 40 came forward under conviction of sin, many of these were backsliders<sup>106</sup> - some who had never tasted the grace of God, but all under deep conviction. It was a season of revival. Two found peace. A meeting is appointed from tomorrow evening when I trust that the work that has been thus begun, will be carried on never to cease. O that it may spread far and wide till all in this town and district feel the mighty workings of the Holy Ghost. For my own part I feel a danger in all this, temptation to self seeking, a want of jealousy for the honour of my master. I must have more faith, I must realise eternity more, more of God. This is the only way to sink self into its proper place.

28 April 1839: Sunday. During the past week the good work of the Lord has I trust been prospering amongst us. The prayer meetings have been well and increasingly attended, and many souls have found liberty. This morning Mr Shaw preached and myself in the evening. During the meeting at the close of the evening service, the spirit of God was powerfully present - and a deeper feeling than usual pervaded the hearts of those present. Again found peace. Thanks be to God for his Glorious Work.

I have been especially rejoiced to perceive that the spirit of revival has seized on the consciences of some further advanced in life, than the generality of those as yet have been affected. Oh that it may seize all ages, all classes - that multitudes may be born again. As usual we find that in this revival there are many things that require care and caution. We have resolved to hold no late meetings. We conclude at 9 - and though the people are unwilling to retire, yet the good effects of this system are already apparent - we must husband our strength.

29 April 1839: Monday. We have another prayer meeting this evening when several more entered into liberty - many yet remain unsaved and alas many unconvinced. O lord pour out the Spirit yet more copiously - that all may feel His blessed influence.

30 April 1839: Tuesday. Preached this evening on the subject of Prevailing Prayer - had not time to conclude the subject. Felt well. Leaders Meeting

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105. A reference to Noah's Ark and 'the flood'. (Douglas, J D, (Ed.), *The New Bible Dictionary (NBD)* (Inter-Varsity Press, Leicester, 1977).

106. 'Backsliders' were people who had made a commitment to Christ but who had not maintained a life of faith and obedience and were therefore regarded to have fallen from the faith.

afterwards profitable conversation on the subject of revival. Lord carry it on.

2 May 1839: Thursday. Prayer meeting. Two found peace. Smaller attendance, owing to the state of the weather.

3 May 1839: Friday. Fast day. Felt it very good to wait upon the Lord. Trust my soul has been much quickened during the past week. LECTURED in the evening to the young. I want to live more to the Glory of God - less for my own gratification. When will Thy kingdom come?

4 May 1839: Saturday. This morning received my first letters from home. Was much affected by them especially at hearing the sad declension of some professors in my native place.<sup>107</sup> My heart be ever tender on this point, my spirit jealous for the Lord of Hosts. May I prove faithful, and urge others to watchfulness and faith also.

5 May 1839: Sunday. Preached this morning on the 'prayer of faith'. Evening heard Mr Shaw - sacrament administered. Felt it to be a good season. Ready to enquire why I am not always thus? I want more stability. There are some things on which I find it no difficulty to be firm and unyielding. Why not in these best of things?

14 May 1839: Tuesday. Returned to day from the Bathurst<sup>108</sup> Circuit - On Sunday preached A.M. at Clumber<sup>109</sup> - afternoon at James Party<sup>110</sup> - evening at Bathurst. We had intended to have had the Anniversary<sup>111</sup> Sermon at Bathurst on this occasion - owing to the state of the weather and the darkness

107. Possibly a reference to the development of 'liberal' theology and scepticism. Impey later came to adopt a more liberal approach to theology, resigning from the Methodist church because Methodist doctrines were too conservative.

108. A town sited on the tributary of the Kowie River, founded by Sir Rufane Donkin (1733-1841) (Acting Governor of the Cape - 1820) as the seat of the magistracy for Albany. It is named after Lord Henry Bathurst (Secretary of State for War and the Colonies until 1827). (Hammond-Tooke, (Ed.), *William Shaw*, p. 191, *Raper, Place Names*, (1989) p. 45).

109. Clumber was a settlement in Lower Albany, the location of the Nottingham Party of 1820 Settlers. (*Whiteside, Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 106).

110. James Party was the settlement of James' Party of 1829 Settlers. It was situated 12 km NNW of Port Alfred and 2 km east of Bathurst. (*Skead, Card Index, Farm Research, Albany Museum, Grahamstown*).

111. The Wesleyan Methodist Church was celebrating John Wesley's Aldersgate conversion experience which took place on 24 May 1738. (*Attwell, The Growing of Saints*, p. 38).

of the nights, it was judged better to postpone it until the Monday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at which time we had a large congregation and most gracious season - not less than 20 penitents of whom then and in the evening seven found peace. One woman professed to experience the perfect love of God. The power of the Holy Spirit was so great upon her that she fell down as one dead. Blessed be the Lord God who only doeth wondrous things.

19 May 1839: Sunday. Preached at Grahams Town this morning from "Then ceased the work of the House of God." Evening heard Mr Ayliff<sup>112</sup> from "The Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost."<sup>113</sup>

24 May 1839: Wrote home. Last week wrote and sent plans to brother Horton and Mr Close.<sup>114</sup>

Of late have been much exercised in Spirit and feel that I am far from that state of mind which at all times becometh the minister of Christ. I feel a something hanging upon me that I am persuaded hinders my usefulness and consequently my happiness. Lord do thou search my heart. If this be but a temptation from the enemy of souls - may I not be ignorant of his devices. Oh that he may gain no advantage over me - but perfect Thy own good work, and make me a burning and a shining light, showing forth one thing alone, Thy glory.

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112. John Ayliff (1797-1862), 1820 Settler and WMM. Became the manager of the Government farm at Somerset East in 1822. 1825 assistant superintendent of Methodist missionary schools. 1826 assistant missionary on probation. 1829 appointed to Somerset East and 1830 transferred to Butterworth. Held various posts in the Transkei. 1830 ministered to the Mfengu who were living in the area controlled by Hintsa. After war of 1834-35 made representation to the governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban for 16 000 Mfengu to be released from Gcaleka and to be settled in the Peddie District (May 1835). 1839 took charge of the mission station at Haslope Hills in the Tarka on the northern base of the Winterberg. This settlement was an experiment in social rehabilitation of emancipated slaves and displaced Tswana, Thembu and Mfengu. 1845 moved to Bathurst. 1853 established a mission which eventually became Healdtown. (Hammond-Tooke, (Ed.), *William Shaw*, p. 202, *DSAB*, Vol.I, pp. 28-29).

113. Luke 19:10, AV.

114. Francis Close (1797-1882) was an evangelical Anglican minister who had studied at Cambridge University. He published sermons and pamphlets (1825-1877). (*DNB: Index and Epitome*, p. 252).

26 May 1839: Sunday. Morning attended service at the Native Chapel being anxious to acquire a knowledge of Dutch,<sup>115</sup> so as to be able to preach there - Evening preached from Prepare to meet Thy God - felt much liberty in prayer - but distressed in preaching. When shall I be humbled before God. Spoke with more comfort in the prayer meeting held after the service, two penitents - I fear lest our work should have ceased. Oh that we might be aroused again.

28 May 1839: Tuesday. This morning it has been my painful duty in company with Mr Richards to attend the execution of two criminals, both condemned for murder. One a Kaffir, the other a Hottentot. We have good reason to hope that they both died true penitents. The former gave the most decisive evidence of a work of grace in his heart and professed to feel his sins forgiven for some time before his death. At his trial he pleaded not guilty. The evidence was however strong. He was condemned and afterwards confessed himself a party in the murder of which he was accused. From the time of their condemnation both prisoners were frequently visited by several of our ministers who were occasionally in town, as well as by ministers of other denominations. The style in which the poor Kaffir expressed himself was at times truly surprising. In person, a fine, tall, well made figure, a good specimen of his people, apparently about 30 years of age, with an expression of countenance anything but savage. Prior to his imprisonment he had known but little of Christianity - a little he had heard during his occasional visits to one of the mission stations, and being quite unable to read, and of course totally unacquainted with the Scriptures. He was nevertheless a fine monument of the power of divine grace, and a remarkable instance of those who are taught directly by the Spirit of God. We held many long and close conversations with him and the answers which he returned were at times most satisfactory.

There was a time he said when he thought he had no sin. Now He looked back on his past life and saw there nothing but sin. He did not know how it was possible for one man to commit so much sin as he had done, his sins were grown taller than he - all men were sinners all were as with their heads downwards. In answer to a question proposed to him as to the manner in which he knew he was a sinner, he replied "The Kaffirs have no book of God. No law to read -

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115. There was at this stage therefore a distinction in places of worship between those for the Colonisers and the Colonised. It appears that the reason for this was not racial but rather because the indigenous people spoke a different language. The suggestion that the sermons in the Native Chapel were conducted in Dutch implies that the majority of this congregation were KhoiKhoi (Hottentots) as by this stage many of them used 'Frontier Dutch' as their means of communication.

but it is written inside" (Romans 2:15).<sup>116</sup> He had also a clear conception and appeared readily to understand the leading truths of the Gospel and his hope and confidence was in Christ alone. He professed to feel that all his sins were forgiven because that when Jesus Christ had no sin he died for the transgressions of men and from the time that he felt this, continued, looking forward with pleasure to the day when he should go to "his Father".

To the question as to how he felt - the answer universally was - "Nothing but God - no fear." He prayed for everybody, and expressed frequent and earnest desires for the preaching of the Gospel amongst his people that they might enjoy that which he possessed.

Once there were several towards whom he had angry feelings now he loved all - his desire was that the man who was about to take away his life might think that all must soon die and prepare for it. I asked him whether he expected to see Jesus in the world to which he was going.: "You look on me, but it is only looking on a dead body. I am with him - now." They might hang his body, not him, it was only mixing one earth with another. He had no desire for a reprieve he had prepared to die. Heaven was a holy place, no sin, no death, this world was rotten already. He should like to meet his Father's children in heaven, those who came to talk with him here.<sup>117</sup>

We spent the night preceding his execution with him and were with him again early on the morning of the same. I cannot remember all of what he said but his remarks were characterised by deep feeling - and Christian confidence. He exhorted some of his Kaffir friends who were with him in a most affectionate manner "to go to the mission stations and seek God. Not to run about the Bush weeping for him, but to think of the nearness of death, that though he was about to be killed yet any of them might die even whilst he was speaking, he

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116. 'Which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another...' This was not an isolated incident. Elphick records Moshoeshoe's comments after hearing the Decalogue, as follows: 'That is written in our hearts. We did not know the God you announce to us, and we have no idea of the Sabbath; but in all the rest of your law we find nothing new.' Elphick suggests that the differences that exist are not so much in the basic principles, but rather in the application of them; e.g. they had no urge to proselytize, groups and not individuals gave assent to values and systems, and although they seemed tolerant to different belief systems, they would not allow a person to remain in a society if they did not give assent to the belief systems of that society. (Elphick, 'Africans and the Christian Campaign in South Africa', in Lamar and Thompson, *Frontier in History*, pp. 275 and 276).

117. An interesting reference to the blending of traditional beliefs in the ability to communicate with those who had died before, and Christianity, where one will meet loved ones who have died in Heaven.

was going home etc. etc." Both of these poor criminals maintained their hope and faith to the last moment. The Hottentot had been much distressed and apparently without hope until the last night he spent in this world, when he said that during his prayer to God, he felt that he might hope for mercy, that the weight was in a measure removed from his heart, and we have reason to believe that this was the case.

They are gone - we trust to join the blood washed throng before the throne - fresh monuments of the power of saving grace through the ever blessed name of the Redeemer.

2 June 1839: Sunday. Came to Salem last night. Preached three times administered the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Returned to Grahams Town after evening service - feel condemned in this. How many times does thoughtlessness lead me into error and sin? Oh God give me that grace which will enable me to avoid even the appearance of evil.

4 June 1839: Tuesday. Preached this evening to a thin Congregation. Felt much liberty. Blessed be God. Our congregations of late have been very small. The measles have been very prevalent, and in some cases have proved fatal.<sup>118</sup> The influenza is also making its appearance amongst us.<sup>119</sup> Oh that the people may learn righteousness.<sup>120</sup>

5 June 1839: News having come this morning that the wagon of Mr Roberts<sup>121</sup>, Farmerfield, which had been to town for supplies was overturned on the Big Hill, about four miles from Grahams Town, and understanding also that two of

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118. The Measles epidemic of 1839 began in Cape Town. The Grahamstown Journal recorded the first Grahamstown cases on 7 March, 1839. (Sylva, 'The Diaries of Thomas Shone, 1820 Settler, 1838-39 and 1850-59' (MA, Rhodes, 1982) p. 353).

119. Cory records that 'The year 1839 is remarkable for one of those mysterious and widely spread outbreaks of disease which seem to have puzzled the medical fraternity ...' The disease was described by the medical fraternity as both measles and influenza. Cory concludes: '... it seems to have been something more serious than ordinary measles'. (Cory, *Rise*, pp. 346-347).

120. The Wesleyan understanding of righteousness is that it is consistent with 'rightness'. It is a fundamental attribute of God and is consistent with all God's actions - what he does is always right. The particular emphasis of Wesleyan theology is that God expects people who belong to him to manifest this same 'rightness.' (Harper, A F, (Ed.), *The Wesley Bible* (Thomas Nelson, Nashville, 1990) p. 26).

121. D Roberts of Salem, one of William Shaw's earliest missionaries. First employed in missionary work as a layman at the Wesleyville station. When Shaw established Farmerfield, Roberts was appointed manager. (Eveleigh, *Settlers and Methodism*, pp. 140-141).

the natives who were with it were seriously injured, I rode over to render what assistance lay in my power. And though I found that some little exaggeration had been used, as usual in such case, yet the poor men were seriously hurt. One of them I bled - his chest and back being injured, the other had his legs run over by the wheel, but not fractured - having done what I could in this matter I left them to remount the body of the wagon which was most decidedly dislocated, as well as they could, with the assistance of our own man.

14 June 1839: Friday. Forward letters to my father on the subject of a matrimonial engagement into which I have of late entered,<sup>122</sup> and to the Missionary Secretaries - on miscellaneous topics.

6 July 1839: Saturday. I have this week returned from a visit to Port Elizabeth, where I spent two Sabbaths, Mr Cameron not being able to take his appointments there this time, owing to the illness of his wife. I have been blessed with special seasons of liberty by my good and glorious Master - and some little good has I trust been effected. Six more are united to the infant society in that place, and during the week three found peace. Blessed be God. My own soul has been much quickened, fresh baptisms of the Holy Ghost have been vouchsafed. I feel that the Lord has sanctified my heart. I am his. I am at times much tempted on the subject of the evidence of this great blessing - and also on the subject of making a profession. The Lord help me to know my own heart, to triumph over Satan, and being founded upon the rock Christ Jesus, may I be bold to confess that His Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.<sup>123</sup> Glory to God. I feel a great nearness of communion, a greater Spirit of prayer - a greater weight of souls. Lord fill me with thy Glory, and with deep Humility. Thy word is sure, I rest upon the promise - upon the Blood, the Blood. Here may I remain and henceforth with greater earnestness, with greater power, preach a present, free and full salvation.

There will be opposition - lukewarm professors will shake their heads. But Ride on. Out of the mouth of babes and of sucklings hast thou ordained strength that thou mightest still the Enemy and the Avenger.<sup>124</sup> Let Thy

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122. Impey became married to Mary Elizabeth Shaw, the second daughter of the Rev. William Shaw on 8.4.1841.

123. Romans 1:16-17, AV.

124. Psalm 8:2, AV.

kingdom come Thy glorious kingdom of perfect love. Lord Jesus baptize us all with the Holy Ghost and with fire<sup>125</sup> - life for evermore.

15 July 1839: Monday. Spent yesterday at Salem, preached three times and was favoured with some liberty. I have suffered much from temptation during the past week, and not the least in the doubt that has been presented to my mind as to the sinfulness of certain thoughts and deeds. I find it difficult at times to discern the wiles of the adversary and to distinguish between temptation and sin. I hate sin more than ever. Oh that my heart may ever be filled with the Spirit of God.

22 July 1839: Monday. Preached yesterday morning in Grahams Town from "Oh do not the abominable thing that I hate."<sup>126</sup> Towards the latter part of the service felt freedom of speech, but yet I see nothing of that for which I am waiting, the glorious outpouring of the Spirit, the overwhelming influence from above. Lord am I right? What more must I do? Help, Oh, help me, give me of Thy fullness. I feel that my soul prospers a little, but why so little, why does not my faith become more a habit, an ever exercised faith, habitual communion. I feel too much troubled about trifles, I want to have one all absorbing end in view, one all prevailing principle, to see everything in the light of eternity. Oh God bring eternity to my soul, rather than not feel it, let my soul be as it has been in times past, wrapped in terrors; spur me into action, to do something more for the souls of men, and for Thy glory.

23 July 1839: I have this day felt my soul much blessed at seasons but feel at the same time that I am very weak and need constant supplies of grace to enable me to hold my way, to closely walk with God to heaven.

We have received a parcel of late periodicals etc. from England, but I must not read much of them. My heart is so much inclined to wander, without running into the path of temptation. And yet I am afraid lest I should under value the productions of those whom God has favoured with extraordinary talents. But I must be more than ever a man of one work, of one Book. Blessed be God, as my soul prospers I feel a deeper concern for the salvation of others.

This evening visited a drunken backslider, one who is indeed miserable. For a while, even several times he has abstained entirely from liquor, but again and again has yielded to temptation. He now promises by the grace of God to

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125. Luke 3:16. Scholars associate 'fire' with 'judgement' (v.17) Pentecost (Acts 2:3) and testing (1 Corinthians 3:13) (Barker, K, (Ed.), *The NIV Study Bible*, (Zondervan, Michigan, 1983)).

126. Jeremiah 44:4b, AV.

make one more effort. Lord do thou save his soul and body, by the power of thy Grace.

26 July 1839: Friday. Oh, how my soul has been watered during the last two or three days. Yesterday I visited Mrs Roberts a widow in Israel, but full of God. She was very ill on the day previous when I first visited her during her affliction, and in the evening when to her own expectation she was about to depart, she called a friend and drawing her down to the bed, kissed her and said, "Tell Mr Impey as my dying request to preach a present and full salvation." Glory to God I have to preach - I taste its fullness and through His Grace it shall be preached. I offered it in the name of my Lord and master at the prayer meeting last night, when we had a blessed season - and today, the fast day - what I have not received at the treasury of my Saviour. My soul has been filled with the sense of eternal things - and overwhelmed with a sense of the love and condescension of God that I, once a child of wrath, rebellious, a blasphemer, far, very far, oh how far from Him, should be brought so nigh and receive so much, not only a member of Christ's Church, but called to be a minister of His blessed gospel. Master, Lord and Master, make me very zealous, possibly jealous for thine honour, very faithful to Thy cause. Come into our midst and take the kingdom of each heart. Revive Thy Work.

30 July 1839: Tuesday. On Sunday morning rode to Nurney - preached and met the class. Only four members present. Three of whom were convinced of sin and seeking pardon - talked and prayed with them some time. In the evening preached in Grahams Town from "In Hell he lift up his eyes being in torments."<sup>127</sup> I was blessed with liberty and trust the sinner was faithfully warned to flee from the wrath to come. Held a prayer meeting afterwards but though some were much afflicted, none broke through the snare and openly professed their conviction. May the Lord send the Truth home to the hearts of many. During yesterday and today, my feelings have fluctuated much, whether from bodily indisposition or from Satanic influence or what I cannot tell. My trust is in my Redeemer, but a darkness comes over me at times, obscuring the bright light of evidence which of late I have enjoyed. Lord be Thou my helper a shield unto me, my glory and the lifter of my head.<sup>128</sup>

I have had some conversation with dear Margaret.<sup>129</sup> Why have I not had it before? She has no abiding sense of the love of God - she is miserable and in

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127. Luke 16:23a, AV.

128. Psalm 3:3b, AV.

129. One of William Shaw's daughters.

danger. Oh be merciful unto her blessed Saviour. Deepen her convictions, enlarge her views of thy love and of the gospel plan of salvation, and make a partner of the inheritance of the saints of light.

Poor B--! He is yet hard. On Sunday night he appeared at least thoughtful. Oh how these things feed my unbelief. Canst Thou not work mightily? Oh yes. The work is thine, come Holy Ghost, mighty to convince, mighty to convert. Come Lord, travel in the greatness of the strength, mighty to save.

Sister Roberts appears fast drawing towards the eternal world. But oh how calm, how sweet thus to fall asleep in Jesus.<sup>130</sup> Grave where is Thy victory? Death, where is Thy sting?<sup>131</sup>

7 August 1839: Wednesday. Returned yesterday from my appointments in Lower Albany.<sup>132</sup> On the whole I trust my visit has not been useless. On Sunday morning preached at Port Frances<sup>133</sup> at the mouth of the Kowie,<sup>134</sup> to a few persons gathered together in an uninhabited and almost ruinous house, the Chapel here having been burnt by the Kaffirs during the War. In the afternoon at Ebenezer,<sup>135</sup> took tea with Mr Usher,<sup>136</sup> and in the evening spoke at

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130. A reference in Paul's writings to Christians who have died. (1 Thessalonians 4:13-15, 5:6 and 10).
131. 1 Corinthians 15:55, AV.
132. There is a dispute as to the origins of this name. Some believe that this area is named after the Albany district in New York as the father of Colonel J Cuyler, Landdrost of Uitenhague, had been mayor of that city. (Botha, *Place Names*, p. 140) The more popular view is that this region is named after Duke of York. The region was established on 7 January 1814 by Sir John Cradock Governor of the Cape. It was formerly known as the Zuurveld.
133. Port Francis was the original name of Port Alfred (1825-1860). It was given this name after the wife of Colonel Henry Somerset, son of the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, or after the wife of Sir Lowry Cole. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 448).
134. According to Sir Walter Stanford, one time chief magistrate in the Native Territories, this name is derived from the Xhosa word 'Qohi' meaning 'a pipe'. The Xhosa are believed to have made their pipes from wood from the trees that grew on the banks of this river. (Botha, *Place Names*, p. 161).
135. The Ebenezer Chapel was situated on the James Party allotment. It was on the south bank of the Mansfield River near its confluence with the Kowie River. (Morse-Jones, *Lower Albany Chronicle*, Parts 2 and 3). It was razed to the ground in 1846. (Skead, Card Index, Farm Research, Albany Museum, Grahamstown).
136. James Usher, 1820 Settler and WMM. 1833 became one of William Boyce's assistants at Buntingville. Accompanied Mr Hulley (another Methodist  
(continued...))

Bathurst after which service we held a prayer meeting, one female anxiously seeking the Lord. The society here seems in a pretty good state, though they do not make much aggression on the world. One, who at my last visit to this place was amongst the number of penitents has taken her place before the Throne - safe for ever.

On Monday morning went over to Clumber, right glad to get into a peaceful, holy atmosphere at brother Peel's.<sup>137</sup> As no notice had been given on the Sabbath that there would be a service in the Chapel on Monday evening, we were obliged to send and inform as many as possible that such would be the case. A tolerably good congregation assembled, and I spoke on the words, "I am come a Light into the world that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness"<sup>138</sup> - and was favoured with much liberty. I then called on Mr Peel to pray and was then about to conclude the meeting, when one person fell down in a fainting fit, overpowered apparently with emotion. I called on another to pray and now a cry was heard, the cry of conviction which was speedily turned into the sound of praise for sins forgiven. Three backsliders were recovered and a mighty influence rested upon all - so much so that two others, one of whom was a recalled wanderer fell as though in fits. This is the Lord's doing, blessed be His Holy Name. I have been tried in my own soul, but glory to God.

"I only hang upon His Word  
The Servant shall be as his Lord"

More faith, more zeal, more love. Amen, Amen.

9 August 1839: Friday. Fast day. I have found it good at times this day to wait upon the Lord, and though I have been much more fully occupied with other matters than those which are strictly spiritual, yet I trust this will not prove a snare. May I ever be able to turn at a moment into the exercises of devotion and hold sweet converse with my Redeemer.

Visited to-day a Boy about 15 years of age who appears to be dying and expressed himself to be in despair - "I have long despised the offers of God. I have had time to repent and now I am going to die and there is no time, no pardon for me." I endeavoured to open his eyes to what I considered to be a

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136. (...continued)

Layman) on a visit to Dingane in 1837. (Eveleigh, *Settlers and Methodism*, pp. 148-149).

137. Thomas Peel, 1820 Settler of Hayhurst's Party. 1834 branch of the Temperance Society was formed with Peel as one of the committee members. (Morse-Jones, E, *Lower Albany Chronicle*, Part 2, 1824-1840, p. 71).

138. John 13:46, AV.

delusion and lie of the Enemy, but felt condemned that I did not feel more for his case and that in prayer my faith was so weak. When shall eternal things press with their due weight upon my soul? Evening - attended a meeting of the Centenary Committee.<sup>139</sup> Even in these things Lord stay my whole heart upon Thee alone.

12 August 1839: Monday. Yesterday was a blessed Sabbath to my soul and I trust not altogether was my labour in vain. Whilst preaching in Grahams Town in the morning, a woman cried out in the anguish of her spirit, unable to restrain herself before the congregation. In the afternoon I went to visit her but did not find her at home. Today however, I have seen her and she appears deeply convinced. Lord, send us many such. In the evening I visited the wife of an officer's servant who appears dying in a consumption - but her heart is at peace. I trust she is built upon the rock.<sup>140</sup> I have seen her again today. She is no better. Last evening, Mr Richards preached on the covenant with Abraham by faith only.<sup>141</sup> A prayer meeting was held afterwards. Tonight I attended prayer meeting at the home of Mrs Roberts. It was a good season to many. I for one felt low. How it is I can scarcely tell? I am not well in body, but I fear I discover the symptoms of a disease more to be dreaded than all beside - the carnal mind. I am afraid of vanity despicable as it is, hateful as I see it to be. I fear lest some vain thoughts should have disturbed my communion with God. I feel a desire to devote all to the service of the great master, and yet there may be somewhat of the Spirit. "Come and see my zeal for the Lord."<sup>142</sup> Perhaps even what is still more despicable - personal vanity. Shall I write the word? [Impey probably refers to the word 'sin'.] Is this temptation only? "Oh purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean, wash me and I shall be white as snow".<sup>143</sup> I cannot, will not rest but with half a thought that is not of the mind of Christ,<sup>144</sup> the mind of Jesus. Truly the thing surpassed all my thought but faithful to the Lord. Blessed master use me.

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139. A committee formed to make arrangements for the celebration of the Centenary of Methodism. The minutes of these meetings have not been traced.

140. Matthew 7:24, AV.

141. Romans 4:16, Hebrews 11, AV.

142. 2 Kings 10:16, AV.

143. Psalm 51:7, AV.

144. 1 Corinthians 2:16b, AV.

18 August 1839: Sunday. Preached this morning at Saxfold.<sup>145</sup> Felt cold and heartless. How is it that I cannot feel at liberty? Is my ministry a creature of circumstance? In the evening I heard Mr Thompson preach on the text "Then was a man sent from God whose name was John."<sup>146</sup> This was one of the Centenary Sermons. The other Centenary Sermon was preached by Mr Boyce in the morning. I was of course prevented from hearing it.

I have been again resolving to dedicate myself afresh to the service of the Lord, on this our great Centenary Festival. May He accept me and henceforth may I be more full of the love of Christ and of zeal for His cause. During the latter part of the past week I have suffered much from temptation. Let me not suffer from sin. Full deliverance, nothing less I seek. Lord Thy Arm is mighty.

22 August 1839: Thursday. Yesterday evening we held our Centenary Meeting and also this evening by adjournment. Yesterday about 400 people took tea in the new school house, where ample provision was made for the enjoyment of all in a superabundance of the good things of life. The public meeting in the Chapel commenced at ½ p 6 when a large congregation united in offering praise to the giver of every good and perfect gift for the blessings bestowed upon themselves and upon the world through the instrumentality of Methodism. Thank offerings were also presented to the service of God of the substance of those who felt they owed somewhat to their Lord (amounting to £1883).

This evening the native members of our society have taken tea together in the school house about 80 in number, when several of the friends attended for we are one family. At the adjourned meeting this evening a further amount of £246 was subscribed which with the sum of £20 collected after the sermons on Sunday makes a total of about £2150. A noble sum from a society of not more than 500 members.

At the public meetings several addresses were made on subjects connected with this great festival and a general feeling of gratitude and liberality pervaded the whole. This is much more than the most sanguine of us had dared to expect

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145. Probably a preaching place on the farm 'Little Saxfold' which was a short distance to the north-west of Grahamstown. (C J Skead, 'Index of Albany Farms (Suurveld Farm History)', unpublished collection in the Albany Museum, History Division Collection, Grahamstown). Skead records on in his card index that this farm lay between the eastern boundary line of Burnt Kraal and the western boundary of Brakkefontein. He also records that Jeremiah Goldswain referred to this place as Little Sefoulde.

146. A reference to John the Baptist.

- but "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof".<sup>147</sup> Alas I alone remain unwatered still and dry. I tremble at my state, what shall I do? Where shall I go? I cannot live in this heartless unctious state - a burden to myself. It may be a clog to the work of the Lord. Oh my God, break down this heart, melt it, mould it into love. In any way teach me the lessons of thy Kingdom. Only let me be taught, that I may glorify thy holy name.

25 August 1839: Sunday. Contrary to expectation it became my duty to preach twice today in the new chapel. I was not aware of this until breakfast this morning and felt a little embarrassed having prepared for one service only. However it has pleased my master greatly to assist me, insomuch that I do not know when I have had greater liberty - in this pulpit at least. In the morning spoke from the words "Strive to enter in etc."<sup>148</sup> In the evening on the subject of the "Judgement". My own soul has been blessed. The snare of the Enemy has I trust been broken - I am again free. Oh may I be watchful unto prayer, lest thinking I shall once more fall. Keep me humble. Here I find another snare laid for me. Thank God I am not altogether ignorant of Satan's devices. I have been cast down. Now he attempts to exalt above measure. Thine oh Lord be the glory. Blessed saviour give me deep humility.

30 August 1839: Friday. Forwarded letters to my dear mother and to Mr Horton. I have been much cast down by the Enemy of my soul and the deceitfulness of my own heart. When I am ready to ask shall I cease to be a Reuben "Unstable as water thou shalt not excel."<sup>149</sup> I am almost ready to despair when reviewing my past experience, so little stability a heart so "prone to wander". And shall it ever be otherwise. If so it will be indeed a miracle of power, a miracle of grace. But is not the gospel a word of power - the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth?<sup>150</sup> Shall I not begin again. Oh how many of these beginnings? Nevertheless I must not, dare not rest thus, not until I obtain the pearl of great price.<sup>151</sup> Even holiness unto the Lord I have tasted. I can no more doubt of this than of my existence. Once I

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147. Deuteronomy 10:14, AV.

148. Strive to enter in at the strait gate: for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able. (Luke 13:24, AV).

149. Genesis 49:4, AV. Reuben was the first son of Israel who had shown himself to be of immoral character and therefore unworthy.

150. Romans 1:16-17, AV.

151. Matthew 13:46, AV.

loved, once I followed the Lord wholly - can it be again? "Return unto thy Rest oh my soul".<sup>152</sup>

16 September 1839: Monday. Thus long a period has elapsed since my last entry in my journal - and why? Is it not because I have been unwilling to write my shame? How I have fallen. And yet now I can say that out of the dark and horrible pit, out of the deep and miry clay the Lord hath brought me - I am yet His. But oh what fierce and fiery trials<sup>153</sup> yet are my portion. The Enemy strives to get the advantage more especially in one point, and that such a one that I can seek no sympathy, no advice even from my dearest friends. But He knoweth my frame, He remembereth that I am - dust.<sup>154</sup> My confidence is in my Saviour. His grace shall be sufficient for me.<sup>155</sup>

Yesterday morning I visited the prison and spoke a few words to five or six of the prisoners principally English. A much larger number of natives were also assembled to hear of the "deliverance to the captives and the opening of the Prison doors to them that are bound".<sup>156</sup> May many become pardoned of the Lord.

In the evening, preached from Exodus 15:11 "Who is like unto Thee oh Lord, among the Gods etc." I have been too self confident, and consequently felt but little liberty except towards the latter part of the discourse. But oh how tame, and so little impression apparently made upon the hearers. This will not do. Lord God arouse me arouse them. Let the Spirit of power descend and again revive Thy work.<sup>157</sup>

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152. Psalm 116:7, AV.

153. Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened to you. (1 Peter 4:12, AV).

154. Psalm 103:14, AV.

155. 2 Corinthians 12:9a, AV.

156. The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised ... (Luke 4:18, AV).

157. O Lord, I have heard thy speech, and was afraid: O Lord, revive thy work in the midst of the years ... (Habakkuk 3:2a, AV).

23 September 1839: Monday. Yesterday morning preached at Union Chapel<sup>158</sup> for Mr Locke who is unwell. I had but few moments of liberty. In the evening heard Mr Boyce on the subject of the Barren Fig tree.<sup>159</sup> This day I have had some severe conflicts with the adversary - and yet some moments of a nearer approach to communion than for some time past - but again I feel bewildered. Where am I? What is right? What is sin and wherein does it in all cases differ from temptation? Am I always to be in this sort of spiritual bondage? How am I ashamed to have so often to record this experience - up and down even several times in a day, Oh fix my heart.

7 October 1839: Monday. Preached yesterday evening on Acts 5:31.<sup>160</sup> Heard Mr Dugmore in the morning. Again have I fallen - again am I dark, miserable. This morning somewhat cheered. Surely one day I shall triumph.

Started for the Bathurst Centenary Meeting but turned back on account of the weather.

8 October 1839: Tuesday. The morning proving fine rode down to Bathurst with Mr Attwell<sup>161</sup> - overtook Mr Shaw and party with the wagon. Held the Centenary Meetings, the amount of subscription about £222. Slept at night in wagon - heavy rain which came through the tent and sail and rendered it rather uncomfortable.

9 October 1839: Rode round by Clumber with Miss Shaw reached Grahams Town to tea. Margaret very tired etc..

11 October 1839: Friday. This afternoon I started in company with Mr Blaine<sup>162</sup> on a journey to the Winterberg<sup>163</sup> and through part of Kaffirland.

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158. The Union Congregation Chapel was situated in Dundas Street, Grahamstown until the building of Trinity Church in 1842 when the white members of Union Chapel moved there. (Sylva, 'Thomas Shone', p. 345).

159. ... I come seeking fruit on this fig tree, and find none: cut it down ... (Luke 13:7b, AV).

160. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a prince and a saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins. (AV).

161. Brook Attwell (1809-1892), son of Richard Attwell (1771-1852) 1820 Settler. Shoe shop owner and later was market master for 25 years. Methodist Local Preacher for 50 years and a trustee of Commemoration Methodist Church. (*South African Methodist*, 20 February 1889).

162. Henry Blaine and Margaret (who is mentioned in the previous entry) were later to be married.

We intended to cross the Fish River this evening on our way to Fort Beaufort - but after a ride of about 3½ hours along the new road through the most romantic scenery, we reached Hermanus Kraal or Fort Brown.<sup>164</sup> We found to our mortification that the Fish River was impassable and that the punt is kept exclusively for government service. The Commandant of the Post upon whom we called accordingly refused us a passage until the next morning when perhaps the boat might have occasion to cross and then we could avail ourselves of the opportunity. We were therefore under the necessity of spending the night at a miserable house of accommodation near the Post.

After partaking of such refreshment as the place afforded we walked down to the banks of the River, where a novel scene presented itself. A troop of the Cape Corps<sup>165</sup> (Hottentots) were encamped, or rather bivouacked under a large cactus hedge. They had kindled their fires around which they and their wives were seated in groups enjoying themselves. On the hedge were hung their accoutrements, arms etc. whilst on the other side their horses were tied for the night. Between these and the River we met with a party of Tambookie<sup>166</sup> Kaffirs, two of them chiefs. They were on their way to Grahams Town to seek advice on the subject of their losses of cattle by neighbouring [tribes] ... We had some little conversation with them through one of the party who spoke Dutch. He took care to inform us that one of the chiefs was "a great soldier." We asked if they had ever heard the great word of God. "Yes they had heard but the Kaffirs are so stupid".

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163. (...continued)

163. A range of mountains - 7770 ft extending east and west, halfway between Tarkastad in the north and Bedford, Adelaide and Fort Beaufort in the South. The name is Afrikaans for 'Winter Mountain'. During the winter months the peaks are covered with snow for three months. The Xhosa name is Ntaba yomoya 'mountain of wind'. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 590).

164. Fort Brown was erected in what was the Province of Queen Adelaide. Its original name was Hermanus Kraal after Hermanus Xogomesh, a Khoikhoi rebel. There had been a small military post on this location in 1835. (Botha, *Place Names*, p. 140).

165. In 1793 the Dutch had recruited Khoi and 'Coloured' men to serve in a standing military unit. They were known as Pandours (1793-1995), Cape Corps (1796-1803, 1817-1827), the Cape Regiment (1806-1817) and the Cape Mounted Rifles (CMR) (1820-1870). The rank and file and NCOs were mainly 'Coloureds' and the officers were from other regiments or from the local community. (Milton, *The Edges of War*, p. 60).

166. The Thembu, a branch of the Southern Nguni, came to be situated south of the Mpondo and Mpondomise. Maylam suggests that it is difficult to estimate the time of their arrival in this region and records that we do know that they were in this area around 1593 at the latest as survivors of the shipwrecked *Santo Alberto* encountered them at the mouth of the Mbashe River at this time. (Maylam, *African People*, p. 36).

The River was now falling rapidly, its red muddy waters murmuring along in the moonbeams, and we had good hopes that in the morning we should be able to cross without difficulty. On our return to the Inn we enquired for books. None but Mavor's<sup>167</sup> *Universal History* were to be found, which the landlord was also kind enough to offer for sale. After having had family worship with such as could attend we lay down to rest on the sofa and stretcher which stood in the room. But the wolves coming very near to the house, the dogs made such an uproar that our slumbers were not unbroken.

12 October 1839: Saturday. We crossed the Fish River this morning in the boat, (10 a.m.) giving our horses to a man to ride through the river, which although it had fallen very much during the night was still so high as to oblige the horses to swim in the middle of the stream. However we all got safely to the other side. After rewarding the men for their trouble (though one of them, an Irish soldier, professed to "be glad of the honour of bringing the gentlemen across") we pursued our way through the Fish River Bush till the banks of the Koonap<sup>168</sup> - which we also crossed near the junction of that river with the Fish. After a hot ride, without anything of interest to break the tedium of the way, we reached Fort Beaufort at about 5 p.m. and were kindly received by Mr and Mrs Green who are stationed at this place.

Fort Beaufort is now the head quarters of the 75 Regiment.<sup>169</sup> The drums and fifes were playing and all the parade and noise of military service tend to enliven this otherwise rather dull place. The Kat River<sup>170</sup> runs nearly round the town. The scenery on the banks of this river is in many parts very beautiful. We took up our abode for the night at the house of Mr Jno

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167. William Fordyce Mavor (1758-1837), compiler of educational works. He was an ordained priest in the Anglican Church.

168. The Koonap River is a branch of the Great Fish River. It appears that it was given this name in reference to the crookedness of its course. It is possible that the name is derived from the Khoikhoi word !onab meaning the crooked. The Xhosa refer to this river as Ikobongaba. (Pettman, *Place Names*, p. 19).

169. The 75th Regiment of Foot which served in South Africa in the period 1830-1843. They were engaged in operations between the Keiskamma and the Fish rivers. (See Index of British Regiments in South Africa, Albany Museum, History Division collection, Grahamstown).

170. The Kat River is a tributary of the Great Fish River. It rises in the Winterberg 30 km north of Fort Beaufort and flows south to enter the Fish north-east of Fort Brown. The name is a translation from the Khoi word 'Hunca' which probably referred to wildcats which were encountered there. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 172).

Smith,<sup>171</sup> Deputy Assistant Commissary General but he and Mrs Smith are from home.

13 October 1839: Sunday. This morning Mr Green and Mr Blaine rode across the Boundary to hold service with a party of Kaffirs who are residing a few miles from the Fort. I preached to the English congregation in the place, and in the evening heard Mr Green preach. The house or school room in which the service has hitherto been and is at present held was oppressively hot. We hope soon to have better accommodation. A chapel is now in progress and will probably be open in the course of two or three months.

My reflection on the present state of my own soul as compared with what it was the last time I visited Fort Beaufort are of such a character as ought to lead me to humble myself low in the dust before the Lord. Where is my zeal? Where is my love to God and to the perishing souls of men? Lord quicken thou me according to Thy Word. I once said "I too will be a revivalist." Alas *Tempora Mutantur* - is it too late? No.

14 October 1839: Monday. Rose in the morning to visit Chief Maqoma who resides little more than an hours ride from Fort Beaufort. Our road through the poorts of the Kat took us past the site of the old school where the remains of the labours of Rev Mr Williams, the first missionary who resided with his family in Kaffirland are still seen.

We turned out of our path a little to look at the tomb of this servant of the Lord. After passing through the poort we entered the valley where the streams of the Blinkwater and Kat rivers unite - a most beautiful country and at this season covered with rich verdure.

On riding through a Hottentot settlement we observed a girl sitting at the door of a remarkably well built hut. She was very neatly dressed and was holding a book in her hands. Being curious to know the character of her studies, we rode up and asked permission to look at the book. This was granted and the work proved to be Rollen's *Ancient History*.

On our arrival at Maqoma's Kraal, we found his wives (about 10 in number) seated along with several children around the door of his house. He possesses a Hottentot built house (though I have seen huts that were much preferable). On enquiring for the Chief we were directed to his kraal, where we found him engaged amongst his horses (of which he has a large stud). I suppose we did not see less than 50. It appears he was on the point of starting for Fort

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171. Government official, not identified.

Beaufort, but a heavy thunder shower fell which presently detained him. He did not go to Beaufort till the following day when we again saw him.

We were rather disappointed in his appearance though perhaps we saw him to great disadvantage. He was dressed in a rough jacket and trousers with a cloth cap - and a short pipe in his mouth. We made him a present of some beads, which he thrust into his pocket with the ungracious mutter of "Why did you not give me money?" Probably he wanted to drink at the canteen. He is very dissipated and his passion for liquor has, it is to be feared, of late led him to the commission of the most atrocious crime of murder. He put to death one of his counsellors principally to obtain possession of the murdered man's cattle. Not long ago he also killed a child of one of his wives. From Maqoma we went to Mr Calderwood's house, within a few hundred yards of the chief's place.

Here we met with Mr Read Junior<sup>172</sup> on his way to Grahams Town to attend a Sessional Meeting of the London Missionary Society missionaries. We dined with Mr Calderwood and then returned back to Fort Beaufort accompanied part of the way by Mr Calderwood and Mr Read, who struck off into the Grahams Town Road. In the evening we were visited with a very heavy thunder storm and a good deal of rain.

15 October 1839: Tuesday. The Kat River this morning was so swollen with the last night's storm that it was doubtful whether we should be able to proceed on our journey. However, at about 3 o'clock we proceeded in company with Mr O'Connor,<sup>173</sup> taking the foot path. We did not come to the Kat River until we had passed Mr Calderwood's Station. We found no difficulty at the drift but arrived safely at Fort Armstrong after a ride of about 3½ hours.

We had sent the boy round with the spare horse, but one which we had brought from Grahams Town fell ill on the road, and we were therefore obliged to leave him at Fort Armstrong until our return.

16 October 1839: Wednesday. We once more set forward, having bought one horse and hired another at the rate of 1½ Rix dollars per day. The latter horse I

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172. James Read Junior (1811-1894) son of the Rev. James Read (1777-1852) of the LMS. Also LMS missionary and admirer of Philip. Active in preserving the interests of the Khoikhoi. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 666 and 668, Hammond-Tooke, (Ed.), *William Shaw*, p. 191).

173. Robert O'Conner (d.1879), 1820 Settler of William Smith's Party, was later buried by William Impey. (Family Files, Genealogy Department, Albany Museum, Grahamstown).

mounted but, probably owing to his not being accustomed to spurs, he almost immediately threw me. Providentially I was no worse for the fall.

We rode through the valley of Buxton<sup>174</sup>, the head of the Blinkwater up to the mountain range separating the Kat River from the Winterberg. Richer country I scarcely ever saw. Fine grass ridges stretched from the valley up to the top of the hill. The intermediate Kloofs are filled with bush of every shade of green - whilst in the heart of the valley, the land seemed teeming with plenty.

After three hours we reached Post Retief<sup>175</sup> - a small military outpost, where the officer received us very kindly. After having refreshed ourselves and the horses we made Mr Jno Pringle's<sup>176</sup> farm on the Mancazana<sup>177</sup> - crossing the Koonap several times (of which river the Mancazana is a branch). We were delighted with the beauty of the valleys. As we rode along we reached Mr Pringle's at about eight in the evening. Although we were entire strangers, we were met with a most hearty reception. The family had just supped and after our ride we did justice to the provisions that were set before us. After some little conversation, the family assembled for prayer. Mr Pringle read a chapter and engaged in prayer, quite in the old Scotch style. I was much struck with the simplicity and yet the great comprehensiveness of the petitions offered. Truly pure religion and undefiled is the same world over.

17 October 1839: Thursday. We intended proceeding on our journey this morning, but at the pressing invitation of Mr Pringle we consented to remain the day with them and hold service in the afternoon. Our horses which were in the act of being saddled were accordingly turned loose again.

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174. Named after the philanthropist, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a supporter of Dr John Philip of the LMS. (Botha, *Place Names*, p. 152).
175. Named after the Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief in 1837. A military police camp was erected so that the farmers in the Winterberg district could be more easily protected. (Botha, *Place Names*, p. 143).
176. John Pringle (1787-1864), the elder brother of Thomas Pringle, whose party had settled in the Baviaans River valley in 1820. Was agricultural superintendent under Robert Hart at Somerset Farm (1822-1828). 1828 married Susan, sister of C L Stretch and developed the farm 'Glen Thorn' in the Mancazana valley which enjoined the Baviaans River valley. (Le Cordeur, *Politics*, p. 163).
177. The Mancazana River, a tributary of the Koonap River was also known as the 'River of Pretty Maids'. (Duminy, A H and Adcock, L J G, (Eds.), *The Reminiscences of Richard Paver* (A A Balkema, Cape Town, 1979) p. 52).

After walking in Mr Pringle's beautiful garden we rode a short distance to visit a Bushman's Cave, where we were informed, some paintings<sup>178</sup> of these rude sons of nature were to be seen.<sup>179</sup> On reaching the Kloof in which the cave is situated, we tied our horses to the trees and wound our way on foot up the path through the bush. After rousing a timid hare we reached the spot where these troublesome neighbours formerly had their abode. It was not as much a cave as a huge perpendicular rock, affording nevertheless very good shelter from the weather. On the flat surface of this rock were several figures of horses, deer, men etc. rudely drawn apparently with coloured chalks or clay.

In years past the Bushmen in this part proved a great annoyance to the surrounding farmers, committing real depredations on their flocks and herds. On one occasion they murdered the boy who was watching the flock. The wild Bushmen are not now found so far to the South as this place.

In the afternoon I spoke to a small congregation who assembled at the house of Miss Pringle on the "lack of wisdom so frequently to be met with in the sons of men." Spent a very pleasant evening in conversation on the subjects of the early settlers, the late Thomas Pringle,<sup>180</sup> Scottish authors etc. etc. On the following morning we took our leave of these kind hearted people, highly pleased with our visit.

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178. This area is known today as being rich in San rock art. According to Mr J Binneman (Curator, Archaeology, Albany Museum, Grahamstown) little research has been done on the art in this area. Many sites have been recorded by Mr E Pringle, a local farmer and descendant of these earlier settlers. There is some information available at the Albany Museum.

179. It was not uncommon for colonisers to refer to the San as 'specimens of nature' i.e. as part of the region's natural environment. When the Albany Museum was established in the 1850s, these people were studied by natural scientists and until 1991 were exhibited in the Natural Sciences Museum. This is also true of other Stone Age peoples in other areas. In America, the Natural History Museum of the Smithsonian Institute exhibits the indigenous Americans.

180. Thomas Pringle (1789-1834) was a poet, journalist and philanthropist. In 1820 he travelled to the Cape and worked as a librarian for the government in Cape Town. With John Fairbairn, he opened a school and edited newspapers and magazines. Together Pringle and Fairbairn fought for the freedom of the press and opposed slavery. He returned to Scotland in 1826. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 656-658)

18 October 1839: Friday. We had intended, from the Manczana, to have passed over into Glen Lynden<sup>181</sup> and visited the original Scotch location, but as we had already spent an extra day, and being informed that the road was bad, we pushed forward to the Zwart Kei<sup>182</sup>. Mr Pringle rode with us for about two hours. At first our path lay through the valleys thickly covered with grass, but after passing a farm occupied by an old Scotch soldier of the name of McKye<sup>183</sup> we began to ascend the mountains (part of the Winterberg range). We passed through a most singular defile where the masses of rock on either side of the kloof assumed the form of vast walls or fortification, corresponding to each other. Others had the appearance of ruined castles, tenanted only by the conies<sup>184</sup> and baboons. We now rose on to the high lands when Mr Pringle left us.

We met with a solitary hartebeest and a few smaller bucks, and also in crossing the head of the Tarka,<sup>185</sup> with a large yellow snake, which fortunately for itself escaped into a hold on our approach. We also saw a troop of quaggas or wild horses. We offsaddled by the side of a very large fountain, which though more than two hours ride from Mr Ayliff's Station, nevertheless is part of the estate which has been purchased upon which to form the settlement.

We arrived at Mr Ayliff's (about eight hours from Mr Jno Pringles) and having refreshed ourselves a little we walked out to see the land which is already under cultivation, although the station has not been formed many months is already very considerable, and the crops are looking very well. The Fingoes were hard at work, the only complaint is that they have not enough land allotted to them.

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181. Glen Lynden was a settlement of the Scottish Settlers on the Baviaans River between the Kagaberg and the Winterberg ranges. (Bergh, J S and Visagie, J C, *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone, 1660-1980* (Butterworths, Durban, 1985) p. 23).

182. The Kei River rises in a semi-circle of headwaters and flows into the Indian Ocean at Kei Mouth, north-east of East London. The major tributaries are the White Kei, the Black (Zwart) Kei and the Tsomo. The name is of Khoikhoi origin meaning 'sand'. The Transkei and Ciskei take their names from their proximity of this river. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 255).

183. Not identified.

184. A cony is a species of rabbit.

185. The Tarka is a tributary of the Great Fish River which it joins 19km south-east of Cradock. The name is of Khoikhoi origin and probably means 'place of many women'. The Xhosa name of this river is Umncumuba meaning 'willow-tree'. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 528).

A great number of these people have already located themselves on the spot and with the care of these, and the attention that can be paid to the numerous kraals of Tembookies immediately across the boundary, on which Mr Ayliff's house stands. There is little doubt that in every sense this will become a most interesting and prosperous station, especially as there are also a great number of Boers residing in the immediate neighbourhood who are two days journey with the waggon from their nearest Pastor who resides in Cradock. With the latter, Mr Ayliff is deservedly popular and likely to be made very useful.

*19 October 1839:* Saturday. Spent the greater part of the day visiting two or three Boer dwellings. Met with a most extraordinarily fat woman named De Bruin, at whose house Mr Ayliff held a short religious service - interesting scene - the various members of the family with their bibles - of all sizes - sweet singing etc. - some of them seemed much affected. In returning we crossed the boundary and visited two or three Tembookie Kraals. In the evening to amuse us, one of the Fingoes put on his war dress etc. Wonderful metamorphosis. Went through all the evolutions of battle, shielding himself and throwing his assegais with great dexterity.

*20 October 1839:* Sunday. In the morning Mr Ayliff held a first Dutch Service and afterwards a Kaffir one. He began in a shed which when furnished will form a temporary chapel. But the wind rising rendered it necessary to adjourn into the dwelling house, which was very much crowded. The Dutch congregation amounted to about 80, the Fingoo etc. to 100. Among the latter I observed two women who seemed to feel deeply. The tears stealing silently down their dark faces, betrayed their emotion. And shall not these also know the Lord? In the evening I spoke a few words to Mr Alexander, the assistant on the station. During the whole of the day we had the company of Mr Zeiler, an intelligent Dutchman and a Justice of the Peace in this part. He was very talkative and seemed full of anecdotes. He told us some marvellous tales, perhaps not altogether suited to the sanctity of the day. For my part I could only pick up a word here and there.

*21 October 1839:* Monday. We left Mr Ayliff's this morning taking with us two fresh horses (which Mr Ayliff had purchased for us, according to a request which we had made prior to our leaving Grahams Town). We left behind one horse that we had brought thus far. We called at the military post, and saw Mr H Fynn<sup>186</sup> the resident agent and also Mr W Fynn<sup>187</sup>, his brother, resident

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186. Henry Francis Fynn (1803-1861) explorer, trader and government servant. 1823 went to Delagoa Bay as supercargo for H Nourse and Company of Cape Town. Met Lt F G Farewell. Planned to establish a trading station at Port Natal. Reached Natal 1824. Met Shaka at his Bulawayo settlement (near Eshowe). Remained at the Kraal while Farewell returned to the  
(continued...)

agent at Butterworth<sup>188</sup> (now on a visit to his brothers). Mr H Fynn had been attacked with a fit of apoplexy on the Saturday previous, but was so far recovered as to be able to walk round his large and fine garden with us. Leaving the post we soon after parted with Mr Ayliff etc. who had accompanied us part of the way and proceeded to Shiloh<sup>189</sup> which we reached after about four hours ride from the Zwart Kei. Here we were hospitably entertained by the missionaries - Mr Geuth,<sup>190</sup> Mr Bonatz<sup>191</sup> and their wives.

This is a Moravian Institution and certainly great things have been achieved on the Station (which by the bye, the missionaries never leave to visit the neighbouring population). In the evening Mr Bonatz walked with us round the place and premises. They have several good houses, mission property, a large water mill, work shops etc. The chapel is a good substantial building, but it

186. (...continued)

bay. Won the confidence of Shaka through successful use of western medicine. Expedition to Pondoland looking for ivory. Made a detailed study of the indigenous peoples and their customs. After assassination of Shaka in 1828 and the rise to power of Dingane the position of whites became precarious at Port Natal. Fynn left in 1834 to join the government service in the Cape Colony. Employed as interpreter for Sir Benjamin D'Urban during the Sixth Frontier War (1834-1835). 1837 to 1849 diplomatic agent at Tarka Post on the upper Swart Kei. 1842 appointed Justice of the Peace in Cradock. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, pp. 305-306).

187. William McDowell Fynn (1806-1853) came to the Cape in 1808 with parents. From 1822 to 1827 worked for a Table Bay ship's chandler. 1828 was joined by Captain R S Aitcheson CMR on a trip to meet Shaka. Spent five years in Natal with his brother H F Fynn. 1833 left Natal and was appointed commissariat of the British forces on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. During the Sixth Frontier War (1834-1835) was made superintendent of the Mfengu clans on the eastern frontier and was also an interpreter in Alice. During this war was held hostage by Maqoma and Tyhali. At the end of the war was sent as diplomatic agent to conciliate chief Mhala. 1838 was appointed British Agent beyond the Great Fish River where he helped to settle disputes between Sarhili (Gcaleka) and Ncaphayi (Bhaca). Three years later went with an expedition to Pondoland to protect the tribes from white incursion in Natal. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, p. 305).

188. A station of the Wesleyan Missionary Society which was established in 1827 by the Rev. W J Shrewsbury and named after Joseph Butterworth, a former treasurer of the society. (*Raper, Place Names*, (1989) p. 80).

189. Shiloh was a station of the Moravian Missionary Society situated on the Klipriver in the Queenstown district. It was founded in 1818 to serve the Thembu. The name is of biblical origin (Joshua 18:1) and means 'rest'. (*Raper, Place Names*, (1989) p. 495).

190. Not identified.

191. Johann Adolph Bonatz (1808-1880) a Moravian missionary born in South Africa. Began his work among the Thembus at Shiloh in the territory of Maphasa. The mission was run for the benefit of the Xhosa and the Khoikhoi. Apart from compiling a Xhosa grammar, translated the liturgy, hymns and other devotional works into Xhosa. (*DSAB*, Vol.III, p. 78).

is in contemplation to build a new chapel and to turn the present one to its originally intended use as a school room. A new mission is also to be built. The population at present residing on the station is about 600 of whom 200 are Hottentots. The remainder are Tambookie Kaffirs and Fingoes, cultivating 150 gardens or plots calculated this year to produce not less than 1500 muids of grain, and possessing 2000 head of cattle, exclusive of sheep and goats. The greater number of the Hottentots are baptised but not more than 13 Kaffirs are in Church fellowship.

We visited the burial ground where the late Mrs Bonatz and her infant lay, the former dying a week after her offspring. Mr Bonatz expressed his emotion in visiting the place where he has "buried his dead."

We attended the Kaffir service in the evening and were not a little struck with the singing and still more so on the following evening at the Dutch service, at the latter the voice of one female was thrilling. Mr Bonatz gave us some very interesting accounts of the progress of the station and of the trouble that the neighbouring chief Mopassa<sup>192</sup> has at various times caused them.

The Moravians have everything very simple, very plain but very good. Great regularity is observed throughout the whole management of the house etc..

22 October 1839: Tuesday. This morning the fog hung heavily upon the hills, and occasionally fell in showers of rain. At about 10 am we started to cross the mountains over into the Kat River Settlement. After riding for nearly two hours we found, as we ascended the hills, the rain became snow which at last fell so thick and the cold became so piercing that our guide judged it advisable to return. We accordingly did, and thereby in all probability were saved from perishing on the mountains (as several have perished at various times).

We spent the afternoon in visiting various Kaffir and Fingoo huts, the latter in general much superior to the former though the Kaffir greatly despises the "Fingoo dog". We asked a Kaffir girl if she was a Fingoo when her fine and really handsome face assumed an expression of great scorn, and throwing back her head loudly exclaimed against the supposition. Cold as it was we were obliged to tie our horses to a wagon in the open air, there being no stable into which we could put them.

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192. Maphasa was a Thembu leader who constantly clashed with the colonial authorities. His target area was the small village of Whittlesea which lay three kilometres north of Shiloh. (Milton, *Edges*, p. 195).

23 October 1839: Wednesday. We once more took leave of our kind entertainers and made another attempt to proceed on our journey. The cold still continued bitter in the extreme; when we offsaddled among the hills, our guide kindled a fire which infused a little warmth into us. The view from the highest point of the Kat Berg which we crossed surpassed in grandeur all that I ever witnessed: leaving behind us the singular mountains to the North. Our view extended to the South far away over the Kat River Settlement into the District of Albany almost to the sea - to the right lay the winterberg, his embattled head covered with snow, while to the left the Windfogelberg<sup>193</sup> and Gaikas Kop<sup>194</sup> were also white with the past day's storm. The extent of the prospect was immense, mountain upon mountain, seemed to form an endless succession of hill and dale - The effect was overpowering, and we were not sorry to turn from so in some sense painful a sight. These also are Thy Works Father of all.

The descent into the valley of the Kat River was very precipitous and owing to the wet which had fallen not a little dangerous. The horses though we led them slipped and fell more than once - and the one which I rode proved at times rather unruly - The country here is very beautiful, plenty of fine timber in the Kloofs.

Reached Ft. Armstrong after six hours ride - after dinner visited Balfour - 3 miles distant. Took tea with Mr Thomson the Resident Clergyman. Mr Blaine remained all night whilst I returned with Mr O'Conner and held service at Ft Armstrong with a few Military and others that assembled together.

24 October 1839: Thursday. We rode round by Philipton, called on Mr Reed, visited the School, dined at Mr Whites<sup>195</sup> Elands River<sup>196</sup> and then

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193. Windvogelberg is a mountain approx. 8 km west of Cathcart. The name is derived from the Dutch 'Windvogelberg'. The name refers to a San chief called Windvogel who once lived there. This mountain and the nearby Thorn River are known to the Xhosa as Udaliwe meaning 'place of the paintings'. There are San paintings on a rock overhang next to the river. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 589).

194. Named after Ngqika (Gaika) (c.1775-1829) Xhosa chief of the Rharhabe division. On Ngqika's death he was succeeded his son Sandile. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, pp. 590 ff).

195. Charles White came to South Africa as a child of one of the 1820 settlers. Worked as a lay missionary. Converted at a young age, but only entered the ordained ministry in 1850. Confined himself entirely to work amongst the Xhosa. Stationed first at Wesleyville but also worked in Osborn and Tsomo. (Eveleigh, *Settlers and Methodism*, p. 130).

196. A minor river. Named after the Eland (*Taurotragus oryx*) which abounds in this region. A major river with this name is in the Warden district of the Orange Free State. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 104).

proceeded to the Chumie Station<sup>197</sup> in Kaffirland. We found a very difficult pass down the mountains and were obliged to turn out of our way, the road having been stopped by Kaffirs making their gardens in the vicinity. I gave a little Tobacco to an old Kaffir woman who was at work, when she expressed her joy in the most extravagant manner kissing my hand etc..

Mr Chalmers<sup>198</sup> the missionary at the Chumie received us very kindly, and walked with us round the Station. It is certainly one of the finest Stations we have visited. Abundance of fine water, running within a yard or two of the house and consequently vegetation of every kind is luxuriant. Here is a large Church which is not infrequently filled with Kaffirs from the surrounding Kraals. The population on the spot was much larger before the War.

25 October 1839: During these days visited the Chief Tyali<sup>199</sup> - quite a Kaffir, more open countenance and disposition than Maqoma. Drank milk with him - rode to Block drift.<sup>200</sup> Dined with Captain Stretch<sup>201</sup> - great improvements on his place - College building for the education of the Children

197. Tyhume (Tyume, Chumie) was a GMS station and was the precursor of Lovedale. (Briggs and Wing, *The Harvest and the Hope*, p. 22) It was established by John Brownlee in 1820 at the instigation of the Cape government, on the Gwali River, a small tributary of the Tyhume. In 1821 he was joined by William Thomson and John Bennie. (Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, p. 81).
198. William Chalmers was first a catechist and later a missionary at Chumie. (Shepherd, R H W, *Lovedale* (Lovedale Press, n.d.) p. 71).
199. Tyali (d. 1842) was one of Ngqika's sons. (Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, p. 110).
200. Block Drift was situated on the Gaza River upstream from the later town of Alice. It was named by a company of the 38th Regiment who, when cutting timber for Fort Willshire in 1819, got a large yellowwood tree trunk stuck in the river. (Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, p. xxxii).
201. Charles Lennox Stretch (1797-1882), soldier with the 38th Regiment. 1819 when Grahamstown was attacked by Ndlambe helped the Royal Engineers build fortifications. Reward for services, given a farm, Botmansgat in the Baviaans River Valley. 1820s government surveyor and engineer. War 1834-1835 officer in the Cape Corps. After the war served as commissioner under Colonel Harry Smith. Appointed diplomatic agent with instructions to improve relations with the Ngqika, Dange and Bala. Headquarters were at Fort Cox. After Lt Governor Andries Stokenstrom made formal treaties with the chiefs, Stretch was transferred to Blokdrif (Alice) on the Tyumie River. Given land by the Ngqika. Gave a portion of land to the Lovedale mission for their school. Became known as the 'philanthropic commissioner'. Corresponded with Dr John Philip and the Aborigines Protection Society and submitted regular reports on frontier conditions to John Fairbairn of the South African Commercial Advertiser. (*DSAB*, Vol.II, p. 721).

of the Glasgow Society's missionaries. Reached Burn's Hill<sup>202</sup> on the banks of the Keiskamma - detained here over the Sabbath (27th) by the heavy rains - Mr Laing<sup>203</sup> the resident missionary - Mr McDairmid<sup>204</sup> the assistant - Sutu's<sup>205</sup> place - Queen Dowager of Gaika - Sandile heir apparent, visited them, met with Sandile and Kama.

28 October 1839: Monday. The weather proving more favourable we pushed forward to Mr Ross<sup>206</sup> Station. Perrie<sup>207</sup> a most beautiful place, situated at the base of the mountains, covered with timber. Country thickly populated. Evening. reached Mr Brownlee's at King Williams Town<sup>208</sup> on the Buffalo

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202. Burnshill was a mission established by the Glasgow Missionary Society in the Amatola Mountains in 1831. It was named after the Rev. John Burns, minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow, one of the founders of the society. It was destroyed in 1851. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 80).
203. James Laing (1803-1872) Glasgow missionary. 1830 licensed to preach by the presbytery of Penpoint and ordained later that year and sailed for the Cape. went to Tyume where he was initiated into Xhosa language and customs. Moved to Burnshill and remained there for most of his missionary life. During the War (1834-1835) took refuge (with converts) in Grahamstown. 1843 moved to Lovedale. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, p. 458).
204. Alexander MacDiarmid (1801-1873) and James Weir were appointed the first artisan missionaries to teach arts and crafts at the Tyhume Mission Station of the Glasgow Society. (Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, pp. 111 and 212).
205. Suthu was Ngqika's Great Wife, the mother of Sandile. Sandile's regent until 1840. Staunch friend of the missionaries. (Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, p. 110).
206. John Ross (1799-1878) Church of Scotland missionary. Ordained 1823. First minister ordained by a presbytery of the Church of Scotland for missionary service in South Africa. 1823 arrived at the Tyumie station. Established printing press and began printing works in Xhosa. 1827 two artisan missionaries were sent to assist him. New station was founded called Balfour but had to be abandoned as the government insisted that it was in an area which was to be left unoccupied. 1830 Ross established the Pirie mission (about 30 miles east of Lovedale). (*DSAB*, Vol.I, p. 681).
207. Pirie is in the region of the Amatola Mountains, 25 km north-west of King William's Town, incorporating an indigenous forest reserve. The Pirie Mission Station was established in 1830 and named after Alexander Pirie, then Secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society and one of the society's founders. In the Sixth Frontier War Pirie was razed to the ground. It was rebuilt when peace was restored. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 444).
208. King William's Town is situated on the Buffalo River, 54 km north-west of East London. It was founded in 1835 on the site of a mission station established in 1825. It became the headquarters of the Province of Queen Adelaide, and in 1847 it became the capital of British Kaffraria. It is named after King William IV of England. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 261).

River<sup>209</sup>. Mr Blaine had a severe fall, but in the morning was much recovered. Here we visited Jan Tzatzue,<sup>210</sup> the chief who was in England some time ago. Talked over old English matters with him.

29 October 1839: Tuesday. We proceeded to Mount Coke<sup>211</sup>, about 2½ hours from King Williams Town, here we expected to meet Mr and Mrs Shaw, we being already a day past the time appointed. They were not there, and thus after visiting the intended site of the New Station on the Banks of the Buffalo, and spending the night with Mr Tainton<sup>212</sup> and his family - the assistant - we rode on the following morning to Wesleyville where we found Mr Dugmore, just arrived a day or two before from Grahams Town with Mrs Dugmore and Mrs Simpson.

We were much pleased with the situation etc. of Wesleyville. It must have been a delightful place before the ruinous war took place, during which the whole Station was burnt, and three of the cottages which were then in existence have never since been rebuilt - The Chiefs who resided on or near the place have removed and few persons now live on the Spot.

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209. The Buffalo River rises in the south-eastern parts of the Amatola Mountains and flows south and east to enter the Indian Ocean in East London. It was known by the Dutch as 'Eerste Rivier'. 20 survivors of the Stavenisse, wrecked between Durban and East London, were found there in 1686. The Afrikaans Buffelsrivier is a translation from the Khoikhoi 'Kauka'. The Xhosa name is Iqonce or Qonce. (Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 78).
210. Tshatshu (Jan or Dyani) (c.1791-1868) became assistant interpreter for John Brownlee at the Buffalo River Mission Station in 1826. 1836 accompanied Dr Philip to London to give evidence before the Aborigines Committee. War 1846-7 aligned himself on the side of the Xhosa against the colony. 1850-53 remained neutral. (Hummel, (Ed.), *Kayser*, p. xxix).
211. Mount Coke was the second 'link' in Shaw's 'chain' of stations. It was founded on the Mkangiso Stream, a tributary of the Buffalo River (near King William's Town), in July 1825 among the peoples of the Xhosa chiefs, Mdushane and Mqhayi, sons of Ndlambe. It was named after Dr Coke, a contemporary of John Wesley and one of the founders of the Methodist Missionary Society. Dr Coke had worked in India for 30 years and died in 1814. The Rev Stephen Kay, with Mr Tainton as lay assistant began the work at Mount Coke. (Hammond Tooke, (Ed.), *William Shaw*, p. 197, see also Raper, *Place Names*, p. 363).
212. Richard Tainton (1797-1862), 1820 Settler and one of Shaw's earliest assistants. Worked at Mount Coke in 1825 and prepared the way for the arrival of the first missionary to this station, Stephen Kay. Helped to establish the Butterworth station and also worked at Buntingville. After this, settled on a farm in the Fort Peddie district. Purchased a site for a church and contributed towards the building. Also catechist at the Gwanga station and worked under the supervision of Appleyard. (Eveleigh, *Settlers and Methodism*, pp. 139-141 and Frye, J, (Ed.), *The War of the Axe and the Xosa Bible* (The Journal of J W Appleyard) (Struik, Cape Town, 1971) pp. 3,6 and 21).

31 October 1839: Thursday. Rode to the Beka Station<sup>213</sup>, and in so doing crossed the Keiskamma and passed through several beautiful valleys - Took tea with Mr and Mrs Kidd<sup>214</sup>, and then proceeded to Fort Peddie<sup>215</sup>, confidently expecting to find Mr Shaw etc. there - however we were once more disappointed, and therefore resolved on visiting Newtondale<sup>216</sup> early in the morning and going from thence on to Grahams Town.

1 November 1839: Friday. We accordingly rode to Newtondale 1½ hours to breakfast. Found Mr R. Walker<sup>217</sup> and family residing in the Mission House. Walked through the garden etc. went into the Chapel neat but yet unfinished building, which is occasionally filled on the Sabbath - We were anxious to see Kama but he happened to be from home - he resides on this station.

When we arrived at the Main Road on the top of the Hill above the Fish River, whither Mr Walker accompanied us, we expected to find horses, which we had ordered to be sent on from Fort Peddie, but we found a man waiting with a note

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213. The Beka mission station is situated near the Bira River, south-east from Fort Peddie. (Bergh and Visagie, *Frontier Zone*, p. 47) The Bira River rises near Fort Peddie and flows south-east past Woolridge to enter the Indian Ocean at Madagascar Reef, south-west of Hamburg. The name is a Xhosa adaptation of the Khoi Bega, Begha, Becha, etc. meaning 'milk'. (See Raper, *Place Names*, p. 50).
214. James Kidd (b.1796), 1820 Settler and catechist at the Newtondale station. (Eveleigh, *Settlers and Methodism*, p. 143). Frye suggests that he was eventually ordained. (Frye, (Ed.), *Xosa Bible*, p. 39).
215. Fort Peddie was erected between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers. It was named after Lt Col John Peddie (d. 1840) of the 72nd Regiment who led his men against the Xhosa in the Sixth Frontier War. (Botha, *Place Names*, p. 141, Raper, *Place Names*, (1989) p. 436).
216. Newtondale was a Wesleyan station situated in the Lower Albany district. (Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, p. 432) It was established by the Christian Chief Kama after the Frontier War of 1834-35. He had requested a missionary but a shortage of funds would not permit one being sent. Kama remained a faithful Christian. His brother Phato persisted in trying to get him to abandon the faith and as a result there was friction between the brothers. Kama left the district in 1838. The government gave Kama land in the area of the Northern Thembu where he established the settlement called Kamastone. (Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*) Newtondale and D'Urban were situated on a branch of the Gualana River (York River or Xhosa - *Emtati*). It was here that the first complete Xhosa New Testament was printed (1846). Newtondale was named in honour of the Rev Dr Robert Newton, who had been a President of the British Methodist Conference. (Pettman, *Methodist Place Names*, p. 13).
217. Richard Walker (1791-1867), Wesleyan Methodist Local Preacher. Layman on many of the Wesleyan stations including D'Urban and Newtondale. Succeeded Mr Roberts at Farmerfield. For a time lay pastor at a church at Somerset East under the supervision of Edwards. (Eveleigh, *Settlers and Methodism*, p. 141).

from Mr Shaw who had arrived at the Post in the mean time, and thus we returned and spent the night with Mr Boyce etc..

Here I received letters from England, which were truly welcome. Fort Peddie is likely to become one of our most flourishing Stations, there are not less than 1400 Fingoes located in this immediate neighbourhood - a large Chapel is nearly completed, other buildings are in progress. The Society is I believe increasing and all the prospects are encouraging

*2 November 1839: Saturday* - We rode into town which we reached in good Tea Time, right glad to find ourselves once more at home, though Mr and Mrs Shaw remained in Kaffirland.

Our Journey has occupied three weeks, during which we have travelled about 600 miles, and visited not less than 16 mission institutions. We have seen much of the frontier scenery and perhaps the finest part of it. I have also become a little more acquainted with Kaffir life etc. But - I will here record a determination, more than once made in times past but little attended to. Never to take a Journey of mere pleasure, never to travel thus without some definite bid and that one of duty - Lord help me to keep this resolution. My time is short. Let me live to Thee and Thee alone. I have not been happy, and it was right that I should not be. My work is another thing to this. Again Lord help me.

*12 November 1839: Tuesday*. Returned from an appointment of Mr Boyce's at Bathurst etc. During the past week I have felt very unwell, and was scarcely able to get through the Sunday morning Service, but my strength increased with my work, so that though I had the sacraments both of Baptism and the Lord's Supper to administer at Ebenezer, and met the Society at Bathurst after the evening service yet I was much better than when I commenced my mornings work. To day my complaint has returned more violently principally affecting my head.

*13 November 1839: The medicine* which I have taken has with the blessing of God greatly removed my indisposition.

*24 November 1839: Sunday*. Mr Shaw preached for me this morning. In the afternoon I preached at Collingham. Of late my soul has been much quickened. I trust it may be a permanent yea and increasing revival of the work of God in my heart.

*1 December 1839: During the past week* I have been more than ordinarily engaged in business which must be done, but which nevertheless little accords with my taste. Matters of Pounds, Shillings and pence, Centenary Lists etc. These

things have pressed heavily upon me, but this day has been a day of rest. Attended the morning prayer meeting, where I trust the work is reviving. A.M. preached in the Grahams Town Chapel and scarcely ever felt greater liberty of speech. Afternoon visited the English Sunday School and spake plainly to the children of the Terrors of the Lord etc. Evening preached in the Native Chapel, interpreted both into Dutch and Kaffir, and afterwards assisted Mr Richards in the administration of the Sacrament - Why not more such days as these and better still. I begin to feel very anxious to be able to preach in Dutch. Oh Lord open Thou my lips and my mouth shall show forth Thy Praise.

*9 December 1839*: Monday. Returned from Salem where I spent yesterday. Preached twice. Felt much liberty in the evening in speaking from a text that I had not intended to take until the afternoon. Was much blessed in private prayer when I was enabled to wrestle with God. During the past week I have suffered much from temptation, and have yielded in some measure to my easily besetting sin, yet I trust I now believe to the full salvation of my soul, though it is believing against unbelief, weaker than the bruised reed.<sup>218</sup> All my hope is placed on Thee. We are now busy meeting the classes; may this exercise prove a mutual blessing both to the people and myself.

*19 December 1839*: Thursday. Returned this day from a visit to Port Elizabeth the purpose of which was to assist Mr Edwards in the observance of the Centenary Celebrations. Preached twice on Sunday 15th (the Centenary Sermon in the evening). The public meeting was held on Tuesday. On the whole, we did tolerably well - a good feeling seemed to pervade our assembly.

Feel much depressed, and accused (in conscience) for a want of faithfulness and for giving way to the fear of man.

*23 December 1839*: Monday. Returned from my appointment at Bathurst etc.

*25 December 1839*: Christmas Day. Preached twice in Town, Mr Richards and Mr Boyce having gone to open the new chapel at Fort Beaufort.

*31 December 1839*: Held our Watchnight.<sup>219</sup> Mr Richards not yet returned. Felt remarkably blessed, a precious opportunity to all I trust. The past year: oh how faithless, how backsliding, how far short have I come of the standard of God. Once more I feel happy, accepted in Christ. Have I hitherto been really

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218. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgement unto truth. (Isaiah 42:3, AV. See also Matthew 12:20, AV which ends '... till he send forth judgement unto victory'.)

219. A service held just before midnight on the last day of the year.

converted? Born again? Have I not been self deceived "He that is born of God cannot sin."<sup>220</sup> Now shall I not believe. If never yet saved, why not now? Blessed be God. I have confidence. Oh to begin the new year born of God, walking as a child of God. I feel I have error not knowing the power of God. Religion is a greater thing, conversion a greater change than I have thought. I have been a teacher of others and need to be taught. "I have not known these things." My God and saviour teach me. Take me. Not as in times past relying on my own strength but in Thy grace alone.

"Take me now possess me whole  
Who for me, for me hast died."

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220. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. (1 John 3:9, AV).

PART 4: THE JOURNAL OF THE REV WILLIAM IMPEY

CHAPTER 8: SOJOURN IN THE 'BECHUANA' COUNTRY - 1840

5 January 1840: Sunday. Preached this morning at Saxfold. There being no interpreter I was under the necessity of confining myself to the English service. Afternoon in Grahams Town, the Covenant was renewed. We had a tolerably large attendance and I trust that it was a solemn and profitable season to all. Evening - I preached on "My beloved is mine and I am His"<sup>1</sup> and towards the conclusion of the discourse felt much enlargement. Oh Lord wilt Thou not revive us again that Thy people may be joyful in Thee.<sup>2</sup>

6 January 1840: Rode to Salem to attend the Quarterly Meeting.<sup>3</sup>

6 January 1840: Love Feast at Salem a.m. Quarterly Meeting p.m. Mr Richards preached at night. This has not been such a day to my soul as to some others. I have been watchful - I have talked too much. Lord save or I perish.

8 January 1840: Returned home after spending the day with a party of friends in the bush near the Karega<sup>4</sup>.

12 January 1840: Sunday. Preached this morning on "Now faith is the substance ..." <sup>5</sup> etc. etc. Prayer meeting at 7 o'clock. Afternoon met the Cape Corps<sup>6</sup> Class.

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1. Song of Solomon 2:16a, AV.

2. Psalm 85:6, AV.

3. The Quarterly Meeting was the meeting of the various officers of each Circuit for dealing with the business of the Circuit. These officers included Class Leaders, Lay Preachers, Itinerant Preachers, Ordained Ministers and Society and Circuit Stewards. (The Society and Circuit Stewards took charge of temporal matters.) (Holden, *Brief History*, pp. 70 ff) The quarterly meetings began in 1752 in Coolalough. (Wesley, *Journal*, Vol. 4, p. 39).

4. The Kariega River rises north-west of Uitenhage in the Great Winterhoek Mountains and flows eastward to its confluence with the Sundays River, 8 km west of Kirkwood. The name is derived from the Khoikhoi word which means 'river of many steenbok'. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 171).

5. Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. (Hebrews 11:1, AV).

6. Impey was probably referring to a camp of Cape Mounted Riflemen. The Cape Mounted Rifles (CMR) were formed in 1827. This unit originated as the Cape Corps (1795) and was an attempt by the governing authorities to include 'non-European' people in a military unit. This principle was retained through the disbanding and reforming of a number of different units (see note 165 on page 128). (Index to British Regiments - Albany (continued...))

CHAPTER 8: *Sojourn in Bechuana country - 1840*

14 January 1840: Tuesday. I was this evening requested to visit a Fingoo, a member of Society who I was informed had been taken ill when returning from a private prayer meeting which some of them had been holding. Before I was at liberty to go, his wife came and stated that he was so ill that he could not speak. Accordingly I took an interpreter and went to see the case. I found the man sitting in his hut surrounded by a number of friends, the expression of his countenance indicating (to me at least) great and serious indisposition. I put many questions to him some of which he himself answered by signs and some his friends answered for him. At length I enquired whether his inability to speak arose from general debility or from some affection? Hereon he made an apparently strong effort and began to speak. The account he gave was nearly as follows

"I am not ill not worse than usual (he always has a cough) but when I was at the prayer meeting, at the conclusion of it my heart was so full. The Spirit of God was in me. I could not speak. I have not spoken to the people but my heart, my soul was full. The Spirit of God was in me. I could not speak. I have not spoken to the people but to my heart, my soul was full."

I told him I would send him some medicine.

"You dispute with me" said he "I am not ill. I am glad you came to see me because the Lord has enabled me to speak again but if you come afterwards, I do not know whether I can speak then."

He had been overwhelmed with the baptism of the Spirit and his organs of speech had been literally overpowered. I sent him a little medicine which relieved his cough, but he still maintains that it was no illness of body that made him for the time dumb.

I have now three native patients would to God I had many as Capai.<sup>7</sup>

This evening we held our Love Feast. Few, very few were present. Something must be done to arouse us from this lethargy. We are getting very low. Lord be Thou our help.

Of late I have endeavoured to do a little more in the way of pastoral visitation. I feel it beneficial to my own soul, may it be so to the souls of others.

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6. (...continued)  
Museum, History Division Collection, Grahamstown, MacLennan, *Proper Degree of Terror*, pp. 224-225)

7. Ncaphayi. See chapter 4, p. 60.

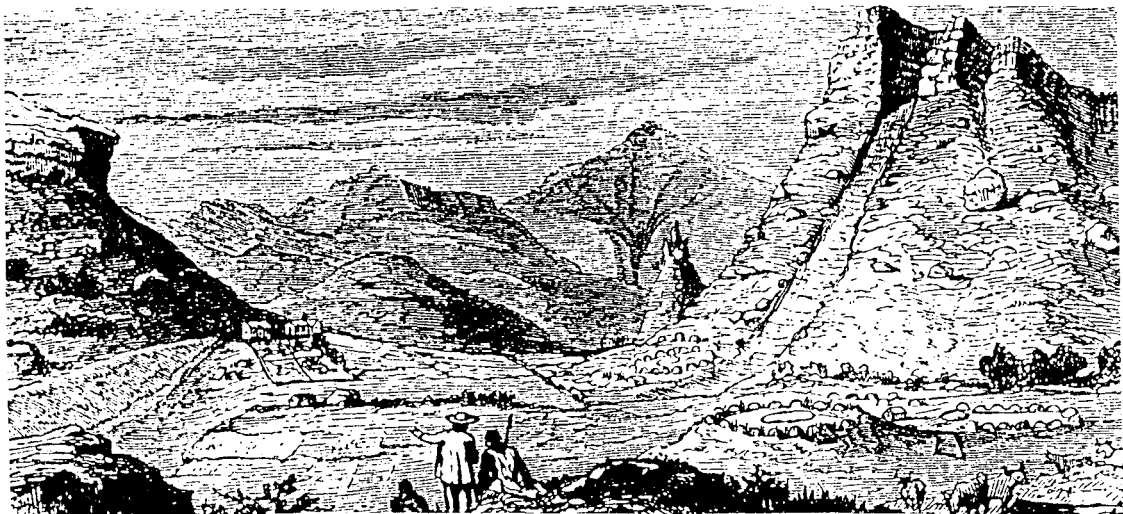
CHAPTER 8: *Sojourn in Bechuana country - 1840*

20 January 1840: Monday. Returned home from Bathurst. I cannot speak plainly, so plainly as I thought to do to Mr H---. He is either much deceived or a great hypocrite. I cannot think it possible that such conduct, such a business as his is consistent with true conversion. With the light that he possesses, I have thought of writing to him on the subject. Must I not deliver my soul.

24 January 1840: Friday. Yesterday received a letter from brother Horton which brought a gush of feeling to my heart. When I hear from him, I seem as though I were now without a friend. Why have I not a nearer friend in ----<sup>8</sup> and above all why is not Jesus all in all to me? I have again been much tempted and again in some measure yielded. Oh when shall I be delivered from the last remains of the carnal mind.

Last evening I spoke to our people on the subject of their long praying at our meeting and a manifest improvement was the consequence. Let us have more of the Spirit though we have less of the words and form of prayer.

31 January 1840: Friday. During the past week my soul has had some seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. On Sunday evening last preached from "They have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly saying 'Peace, Peace where there is no peace.'" Held a prayer meeting at the conclusion of the service, when I was enabled to speak with great freedom. One female fell down on her knees and burst in loud praises to God for the clear evidence of his love and for mercies vouchsafed to her children etc. We had few penitents, one of whom at the prayer meeting on Monday evening found peace. On Tuesday evening I felt much blessed in preaching. Thus I trust we are now rising from the dust. May the Lord quicken us yet more abundantly.



MOSHOESHOE'S mountain fortress of Thaba Bosiu was approached up the steep incline on the right.

Ref.: Oakes, (Ed.), *Illustrated History*, p. 139.

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8. Impey just draws a line. He presumably refers to a friend in southern Africa.

CHAPTER 8: *Sojourn in Bechuana country - 1840*

On Wednesday Mr Shaw returned from his journey to the Bechuana<sup>9</sup> country accompanied by Mr Giddy<sup>10</sup> etc. Yesterday I felt much cast down. I suffered sin upon my neighbour in allowing a soldier to take the name of the Lord in vain without reproof. Am I to be always thus. Where is my faith, my courage? Mr Giddy is very unwell - but I trust will soon be better. Oh Lord make me fully Thine.

15 April 1840: We have just returned from our Annual District Meeting held this year at Fort Peddie. I am to remain this year at Grahams Town<sup>11</sup> and am recommended to be appointed at the next Conference to Newtondale and Fort Peddie.

On account of my health which for some months past has been very precarious, I am to accompany some of our brethren to the Bechuana Country and to remain there a short time in order that I may acquire the Dutch language. Our reinforcement of 10 men has arrived and all were present at our meeting and prayer continually is offered that the Lord may abundantly bless their labours.

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30 April 1840: Thursday. After the many delays and hindrances which from the rule rather than the exception of the commencement of an African journey, our waggons started this day about noon i.e. Mr Shepstone's three waggons and my

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9. When the Bechuana district was first named, it designated the area north of the Orange River. Later it included the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and Griqualand West. Holden states that 'Bechuanaland proper is a small tract of country, as compared with the two Dutch Republics above described, and is peopled mostly by different tribes of natives. The only Mission Station the Wesleyans have in it is *Moshaneng*, the other Stations being partly in the Cape Colony, along the southern course of the Orange River. These are Colesburg, Burghersdorp, Wittebergen, Aliwal North, and Bensonvale. In the Orange Free State there are Bloemfontein, (the capital), Fauresmith, Thaba Nchu; and in Griqualand West, the Diamond Fields.' (Holden, *History of Methodism*, pp. 364-365).
  10. Richard Giddy (1806-1881), printer and WMM. While at Thaba Nchu saw to the printing of school books, portions of Scripture, the Wesleyan catechisms and a small hymn book in Tswana. (Frye, (Ed.), *Xosa Bible*, p. 33 and Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 338).
  11. The Annual District Meeting was held on 1 April 1840. It was recommended that Impey remain 'on trial' and that he was to have travelled 'two years'. He was to remain in Grahamstown under the Rev. William Shaw but it was recommended to the British Conference that he be appointed to Newtondale and Fort Peddie the following year. (Min, A.K.D., 1840, Cory Lib., MS 15 017).

one. In the evening rode after them and found them outspanned about four miles from Grahams Town where we spent the night.

1 May 1840: Friday. Started this morning about seven. Travelled through the Fish River Bush about 3½ hours - out spanned - people etc. amused themselves with preparing and trying their guns. After 1½ hours crossed the Fish River - little water. Waggon set fast and then nearly overturned in the drift. Two hours beyond the river outspanned for the night. Thunder, lightning and rain. Our party consists of Mr Shepstone and two of his children, James Archbell and myself - four waggons and twelve men, part Bastards<sup>12</sup> and part Bechuanas. Amuse myself by sitting over the fire and attempting to learn Dutch. Discussion amongst the Drivers as to what path we shall take, whether the old road or the one by Mr Ayliff's station at Haslope Hills?<sup>13</sup> The latter is the worse road, but in consideration of some of our oxen and provisions being there is decided upon.

2 May 1840: Saturday. Started this morning about ½ p 7 after a short delay occasioned by the fore wheel of one of the waggons falling off. Passed a Dutch Boer on the Road by whom we sent word to Mr Cameron which path we had taken; a little further on passed Mr Fitzgerald,<sup>14</sup> a military man, who with two companions is on a hunting excursion to the country beyond the Bechuana stations. They had lost some horses of which we were able to give them some information having seen them the preceding day.

Not finding a convenient place to outspan we travelled nearly seven hours and then outspanned on the banks of the river (the Kaka<sup>15</sup> I believe). Having made so long a mornings journey we determined to remain here over the coming Sabbath. Some of the people wandered by the river side with their guns and

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12. 'Bastard' was a word used to describe offspring from a union between people of European origin and Khoi (Hottentots) people. (Marais, J S, *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937* (Witwatersrand University Press, 1957) p. 10).
13. Haslope Hills was a settlement designed along similar lines as Farmerfield (1838). It was situated on the northern side of the Great Winterberg. The Rev William Shaw purchased a farm for the settlement of emancipated slaves, Mfengus and Thembus. The Rev John Ayliff left Wesleyville to take charge of the station. (Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, pp. 215-216).
14. Not identified.
15. Kaka, one of Maqoma's councillors or Amaphakhati. There was a settlement called Kaka's Mouth. The nearest river to this point is the Kaga which flows from the Koonap River. (Bergh and Visagie, *Frontier Zone*, pp. 36 and 46.) The name Kaka is possibly derived from the Khoi /axa meaning 'reedy' or 'abounding in reeds'. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 166).

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returned with a young duiker<sup>16</sup> buck part of which was roasted for supper. Whilst the men were sitting around the fire, a snake attracted either by the light or heat of the fire, made his way into it where he doubtless met with an unanticipated reception.

3 May 1840: Sunday. Mr Shepstone held service this morning under the shade of the trees by the river, and though not a place where "prayer is wont to be made" yet was it consecrated unto God by the voice of thanksgiving and praise, and by the preaching of that word which is able to make wise unto salvation. Oh how pleasant it is to worship God in that vast temple of nature, not to search for Him there unaided by the revelation of His word but to gaze upon the sacred page and there to mark how every leaf that flutters in the cooling breeze, every bird that whistles on the boughs, every insect that ruffles the placid surface of the stream, yea how every creature of His hand bears testimony thereto - all telling that God is Love.

I feel my soul quickened in the way. I see the beauty of holiness. I feel that nought is worth living for but the service, this blessed service of my Lord. Oh Consecrate me more fully to Thyself.

4 May 1840: Started early this morning. Called at a Dutch House (Girt Knell)<sup>17</sup> and bought some milk and butter outspanned for the night in a fine valley amongst the mountains - 8½ hours travelling.

5 May 1840: Tuesday. Nearly 8 a.m. before we inspanned, the oxen having strayed from the waggons. After an hours ride came to the bottom of the ascent called Bush Neck, which in many places is very steep and occupied about three hours. The country remarkably beautiful and romantic. Travelled nine hours today and stopped for the night near the house of an englishman on the banks of the Koonap which in its many windings we have more than once to cross.

6 May 1840: Crossed the heights of the Winterberg and descended into valley of the Tarka. Travelled 8½ hours. Called at the house of Cornelius Botman,<sup>18</sup> with whom Mr Shepstone has formed an acquaintance on his journey into the District. Hospitable treatment - present of Mutton, Peas, Onions etc. Observations on the omission of the passage "Thine is the kingdom etc." in the

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16. A small African antelope of the genus *Cephalophus*.

17. Probably Nel - not identified.

18. Not identified.

prayer book which Mr Shepstone had left with him - his surprise at finding the same omission in the Gospel of Mark!<sup>19</sup>

7 May 1840: Travelled down the Tarka which river we crossed not less than nine times in the course of seven hours travelling. Called at one or two Boer houses - drank coffee as usual etc.

8 May 1840: Friday. Started this morning about seven. Mr Shepstone and myself rode in advance to reconnoitre the path. Left Mr Shepstone on the top of the descent to the plain of the Zwart Kei and rode on to Mr Ayliff's which place I reached about 9 a.m. In descending two of Mr Shepstone's wagons were thrown over. Providentially the children had been removed out of the travelling wagon a few minutes before the accident occurred. Sent assistance from Mr Ayliff's by which means all the waggons reached this place in the evening. Visited the schools on the station under the care of Mr and Mrs Alexander.<sup>20</sup> Two children's schools, Fingoo and Hottentot are taught in the morning, the former from 9 to 11½ the latter from 11½ to 1¼ p.m. A sewing school is held in the afternoon and an adult one from 7 to 9 several evenings in the week. The progress both of the boys and girls is quite surprising. The latter have in the course of some 2 or 3 weeks learnt to sew tolerably well and are now clothing themselves very neatly.

The station received a visit yesterday from the Lieutenant Governor<sup>21</sup> and his lady, who were much pleased with what they witnessed. On leaving he gave Mr Ayliff £5 to be appropriated to the clothing of the scholars. "There" said Mr Ayliff pointing to a man having put on trousers perhaps for the first time in his life. He had reversed the order of things and had attired himself wrong side before, "There", said he, "is incipient civilization". One old man in the adult school was so much delighted with his success in acquiring the alphabet that he was unwilling to go further. "It was so pleasant and easy" said he.

9 May 1840: Saturday. This day has been spent by the people in repairing the damage sustained through yesterday's accidents. Wrote a letter or two. Evening - the rain which for some time has been threatening us descended.

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19. Reference to the Lord's Prayer. Impey probably refers to the omission of this portion in Luke's Gospel (chapter 11) as the Lord's Prayer does not appear in Mark's Gospel. The reference that includes 'For thine is the Kingdom the power and the Glory ...' is in Matthew chapter 6.

20. Not identified.

21. John Hare (d.1846), Acting Lt-Governor of the Eastern Cape in 1838. Appointment confirmed when Stockenström was relieved of this post in August 1839. Held this position until retirement in 1846. (DSAB, Vol.IV, p. 391).

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10 May 1840: Sunday. Very wet and very cold. Perhaps our accident with the waggons may prove a great blessing. Had it not occurred we should have been in the open field and consequently almost perished. Instead of which we are well housed and are enjoying the society of Christian friends and the privileges of the Christian Sabbath. Dutch Service in the morning. Kaffir in the afternoon and an English prayer meeting in the evening. The Last was a precious season to my soul. The Lord was with us and His Spirit was poured forth. Oh that I may be enabled to set a double watch over thoughts and words to "keep my heart with all diligence for out of it are the issues of Life."

12 May 1840: Tuesday. Started afresh this afternoon about two hours before Sunset. Yesterday having been a wet day we were unable to make any progress. Mr Ayliff and Mr Fynn accompanied us a short distance from the station.

13 May 1840: Travelled seven hours, out spanned on a Boer farm stead near the Honing Klip River.<sup>22</sup> Made one or two attempts to shoot Springbok which we saw on the flats - but did not succeed.

14 May 1840: Thursday. Travelled eight hours. Crossed the Class Smith's River, here the boundary of the colony. Outspanned for the night on the heights next adjoining the Pen Hoek.<sup>23</sup> Some Boers whom we had seen on the road had informed us that of late the lions have been very troublesome in this neighbourhood. We slept however in peace and safety.

15 May 1840: Descended this morning into a vast basin or plain amongst the mountains on which were grazing large herds of game principally quaggas which kept a great distance from us. About noon we began to ascent of the Pen Hoek a long and in several places exceedingly difficult ascent, so much so that none of the waggons were able to gain the summit without the aid of extra span of oxen. The sides of the hill are broken into huge precipices and spotted with vast masses of rock which have apparently been detached from the summit and have lodged themselves on the ledges below and now form shelter for a great number of partridges to be found here in exceedingly large coveys.<sup>24</sup>

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22. Probably the Heuningklip River which is situated near the town Honingklip. It was probably named this because a great deal of honey was found in this area. Near this river was a settlement called Honingklip. Impey probably confused these two names. (Bergh and Visagie, *Frontier Zone*, p. 37).

23. Mountain pass near Queenstown.

24. Collective noun for a group of partridges. (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 236).

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On emerging from the kloof we found ourselves at the extremity of a long valley of rich pasturage but altogether unoccupied save by the wild beasts of the field, some of whom had soon an opportunity of viewing for we had not proceeded far before a male lion was observed at some distance from the path. The servant had ridden on with the horses, on seeing whom, the lion couched in the grass; the man then wisely retreated towards the waggons, on which the lion rose and followed him. By this time he was seen by the drivers etc. of the party and who by shouting and the discharge of a couple of guns succeeded in so far alarming him that he made away over the rise on the side of the valley. We then proceeded some few miles further and outspanned for dinner. About 5 p.m. we again set forward our path laying through a poort or glen exhibiting the wildest scenery I ever witnessed. The rocks frowned on us from either side, leaving at times barely sufficient room for our passage along the banks of the small stream which we had several times to cross. The sun was set and the gloom of evening prior to the rising of the moon shed an air of savage grandeur over the whole which was not a little heightened by the flight of the large vultures over our head who had been feasting on the remains of a quagga we discovered near the road. From its appearance the lion himself had not long abandoned, alarmed probably by the reports of the guns which were exercised at a mark when we outspanned. Probably but for this we might have passed within a few yards of this terror of the field. Having no desire for an interview with the Governor in so dreary a place we pushed on and once more outspanned for the night near the end of the glen, not without some fear that he may pay us, our oxen or horses a visit in the course of the night.

*16 May 1840:* Passed on through a continuation of the same wild scenery for several miles. Left the waggons and rode forward on horseback, the path bearing the recent spoor of more than one lion, wolves, jackals, bucks etc. I also observed the track of a large bird probably the ostrich. As we proceeded we met with large herds of quaggas, wild beasts and other game. Two or three lions were also seen in the course of the day. Some military gentlemen with whom we met at Haslope Hills informed us that they had been out shooting a little to the eastward of where we now are, and though but absent 11 days from the post, they had killed not less than 50 head of large game, 1 ostrich and three lions. The lions were so numerous that they saw on the whole 83 and 19 of these at one time. One came and took a portion of their game from them!

*17 May 1840:* Sunday. We are spending this Sabbath on the banks of a stream which winds its way amongst some of the most singularly formed mountains, and

is skirted by rocks which bear evident marks of volcanic action.<sup>25</sup> Under some of these we are now outspanned; a shelter which has at some former period been selected by the Boers who have driven their cattle here for pasture during the summer season. These rocks which are moulded into the most fantastic forms are covered in some places with minute lichen, and bear very much that singular appearance observable in the refuse of iron works. Whilst a mountain at some short distance seems as though it had been the crater of a volcano, the boiling lava of which had suddenly cooled as it burst from its summit. In the morning Mr Shepstone held Dutch service.

18 May 1840: Travelled nine hours. No incident of interest.

19 May 1840: Tuesday. Started this morning with the intention of crossing the Orange<sup>26</sup> River to day distant about four hours ride. We had not however proceeded more than one hour before we were obliged to outspan in consequence of one of the waggons being set fast in the drift of a small stream and in extricating which two of the trek touws<sup>27</sup> broke. In the afternoon Mr Shepstone and myself rode forward on horseback to Buffels Vlei<sup>28</sup> and halted a short time to examine two remarkable fountains at this place. The larger one is about 30 ft. in diameter and the smaller about 20 both boiling up like a huge cauldron, the temperature about 90 so far as we were able to judge by the hand. We had some little difficulty in gaining access to the water owing to the sides of the pits being composed of a substance somewhat resembling ashes and which substance appears to be continually discharged by the waters of the springs and which in fact covers a space around them of many acres in extent. The evolution of gas in both cases is great of a slightly sulphurous smell

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25. Evidence of volcanic activity is present to the north of the Pen Hoek pass. Here pyroclastic volcanic debris and lava flows occur in the Jamestown Complex. There are also igneous rocks on the farm *Brosterlea* and surrounds. There are other bodies of igneous rock in the form of sills and dykes that are found in this area. These are thought to have been feeders to lava flows. These igneous rocks are all part of the Drakensburg formation which took place at the close of the Karoo sequence some 180 million years ago. (Dr W J de Klerk, Curator, Geology, Albany Museum, Grahamstown).
26. The Orange River rises on the Natal-Lesotho border in the Maluti Mountains, the Drakensberg and Thaba Putsoa, and flows westwards to enter the Atlantic Ocean near Oranjemund. The river was named by Colonel Robert Gordon in 1777 and again in 1779 after Prince William V of Orange. Earlier names were *San Eyn* or *Ein*, Khoikhoi *!Garib* or *Gariep* and Afrikaans *Grootrivier*. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 253).
27. Wagon ropes.
28. The buffalo appear to have roamed over the length and breadth of the Cape Colony. There were many places named after this animal examples being Buffels Vlei River, Buffels Valley, Buffelsjagt and Buffelsfontein. (Botha, *Place Names*, p. 96).

whilst the taste of the water is exceedingly saline and I think containing a large proportion of soda. As yet no bottom has ever been fathomed, and to gaze through the boiling fluid into the deep chasms undermining the banks seems to render a plunge anything but desirable.

We called at the house of a Boer named De Wet<sup>29</sup> living a short distance from the spring and over whose land the strong stream issuing from one of the fountains is led for the purpose of irrigation. By such irrigation corn can be cultivated but fruit trees utterly fail. The stream however is such as in the first place to water the corn and then to turn the mill to grind it. The Boer received us kindly, and his wife sold us a supply of fresh bread and butter and after chatting awhile we followed the waggons which in the mean time had passed us in the course of half an hour we arrived on the banks of the great or Orange River and being sunset we are outspanned for the night.

This is a fine broad stream though at present there is but little (comparatively) water. Paid a visit to a Dutch Jew residing here on the banks of the river; met with an english trader. News from Thaba Unchu - Mr Giddy's man passed this yesterday. Intended crossing early tomorrow.

20 May 1840: Wednesday. This morning when anxious to cross the river, both oxen and horses were all lost, and it was near 11 o'clock before we were able to inspan. We then crossed without much difficulty, the only trouble being with the goats, which having to swim returned to the side from which they started; the men eventually had to bring them through. The river here is not more than 200 or 220 yards broad, this passage being above the junction of the Caledon<sup>30</sup> whose waters must considerably augment the stream of the Orange River. I rode a short distance up the banks on the northern side to where the stream is divided by a long island or reef running obliquely across, partly studded with trees principally willow<sup>31</sup> (as is also the case on both banks)

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29. Probably P J de Wet who had lands in the Aliwal North, Albert and Wodehouse region. After the governor had abolished the Stockenström treaties, he planned to extend British control over areas beyond the frontier. De Wet lived in an area that he hoped would fall under British control. He requested this in 1842. (Cory, *Rise*, pp. 405-6).

30. The Caledon River is a tributary of the Orange River. It rises in the Drakensberg, north-west of Lesotho and flows west through the districts of Clocolan, Ladybrand, Wepener, Smithfield, Rouxville and Bethulie and enters the Orange east of the town of Bethulie. It was named by Colonel R Collins in 1809 after the Earl of Caledon who was governor of the Cape (1807-1811). It was formerly named *Prinses Wilhelminas Rivier* by Colonel R J Gordon in 1777. The Sotho name for the river is *Mogokari* from the word meaning 'middle'. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 69).

31. Tree or shrub of genus *Salix*.

and partly consisting of naked rocks amongst which the waters murmur pleasantly, in some places forming a small fall. On returning to the waggons met with a young Dutchman evidently intoxicated and who said some things which most probably he would have reserved had he been sober: he was candid enough to allow that the English and Boers were alike in this, that there was a mixture of good and bad, but said he "I will not hide it, the Boers hate the English". After inviting us to partake of his bottle which he carried with him (an invitation which of course we refused) and enquiring for a Dutch work entitled "A Thunderbolt for the Wicked" with which we were not provided he took his departure and we also proceeded passing the farms of several Boers who have taken up their residence on the northern side of the river.

21 May 1840: The frost during the past night has been rather severe, the pools on the road are sheeted with ice and the atmosphere is keen and piercing. Rode nearly seven hours and outspanned on the banks of the Caledon a no mean tributary of the Orange River. Here we met with a Boer who made the usual enquiries of us as to residence, profession etc., but seemed to doubt (as most of them do) the identity of the missionary's office, or *sendling* with that of their own *predikant*, or minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. Also met with some traders from the interior, one of whom, an old man, lately had a very narrow escape from the accidental discharge of his gun, the ball passing through his hat and grazing his head. They told us that four days ago they passed Mr Sephton's<sup>32</sup> station and passed by Thaba Unchu, but did not think that Mr Giddy had reached home. It is not impossible that we may arrive before him.

We are now outspanned a little to the North of the Caledon and about three hours journey from one of the French mission stations, which we hope to reach and pass early tomorrow.

22 May 1840: I was rather disappointed at finding that our road today left Mr Roland's<sup>33</sup> station considerably to the right and that though we passed almost

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32. Thomas H Sephton, 1820 Settler. 18 years old when came to South Africa with family. Began lay ministry among the Barolong people at the Platberg Station as an assistant to James Archbell. Participated in the 'trek' of the Barolong from Platberg to Thaba 'Nchu in 1833 and helped to establish the new station at Platberg. (Eveleigh, *Settlers and Methodism*, pp. 141-142).

33. Samuel Rolland (1801-1873) PEMS missionary. Lemue, Bisseux and Rolland belonged to the first team of missionaries sent out to South Africa by the PEMS in 1829. Established a station in Botswana. Owing to Matabele unrest moved to Lattakoo and then to Mothertho. 1835 Rolland went to Basutoland and established the mission at Beersheba. Remained there for the next 27 years. Baptised his first converts in 1837. Faced opposition from the Korana and other tribes but had the full support of Moshoeshoe. (*DSAB*, Vol.III, p. 719).

within sight, yet were unable to visit it. Supplied ourselves with several days stock of fuel as during the remainder of our journey little if any is to be procured. That which we now found is of different kind to what we have hitherto burnt, burning with a clear flame and making it a much more pleasant thing to sit over the fire in the evening than it has yet proved.

23 May 1840: Proceeded onwards. The scenery which for many miles has been of a gloomy cast now begins to open and brighten. In the afternoon saw large herds of game, of various kinds and during our noontide outspan counted in the distance a flock or troop of 10 ostriches. Some of our people came suddenly upon five other ostriches, but not sufficiently near to shoot them. Observed several Bastards hunting, galloping after quaggas, then suddenly dismounting and firing at them. As yet we have not been fortunate enough to procure any game larger than a bird or so. (Evening found a pup in the field).

24 May 1840: Sunday. The lion, who it appears is no stranger in the part where we are spending our Sabbath, was heard during the night, but being at some distance he did not roar loud enough to wake me. Our bread having nearly failed, we were under the necessity of making more today. This operation occupied the morning, and as a result, Mr Shepstone did not hold service until afternoon.

25 May 1840: After travelling a few hours Mr Shepstone and I parted company he striking off to the eastward whilst we continued our journey in nearly a direct line to Thaba Unchu. We spent the night about three hours distant from that place.

26 May 1840: Tuesday. Rode forward alone and reached the mission station about 10 a.m. the Waggon following after. Afternoon rode with Mr Giddy to visit part of the Town.

At several miles distance from the place, the country bears marks of a thick population, the roads having somewhat the appearance of the approach to a large town or city: the cattle grazing by the side in great numbers with natives passing to and fro, and others engaged in herding their flocks. The town itself stands near the foot of the mountain (Thaba Unchu) from which it takes its name, and is divided into two large and several smaller divisions the large ones being under the jurisdiction of two separate chiefs, the more extensive being the residence of Maroko<sup>34</sup> and his people, and the other of

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34. In the years 1833-1834 about 12 000 people migrated south from the area north of the Orange and west of the Drakensburg to Moshoeshoe's country. Maylam suggests that they were fleeing the disruptive effects (continued...)

an old chief Towani<sup>35</sup>, whom we visited. Maroko paid us a visit at dinner time.

The huts, dress, manners and general appearance of the Bechuanas is very different to those of the Coast Kaffirs<sup>36</sup> and in many points greatly superior.<sup>37</sup> Each hut stands in an enclosure which also includes the outhouses as kitchen and corn hut, and serves the purposes of thrashing floor, and drawing room, incompatible as these notions are to English minds.

The hut itself consists of two apartments, the exterior one being a ring surrounding the interior, which latter besides forming the sleeping apartment generally contains one or more of the large corn pots or vessels, somewhat in the shape of an inverted bell and capable of holding a great quantity. I was a little struck at the contrast which the scene presented to that of a Kaffir kraal, the men being busily engaged in stowing away the corn sacks, and the whole bearing evidence of an agricultural character not to be found amongst the Kaffirs.

28 May 1840: Have been occupied during the past two days in walking about the place; our chasing curiosities etc. the latter rather a troublesome affair from the clamour of the people. Some articles especially karosses of various kinds, we were obliged to pay for in money and at times very dear, certainly this is a nation of merchants.

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34. (...continued)

of the Mfecane. A large portion of this group were about 7 000 Tswana members of the Rolong chiefdom under the leadership of Moroka (note the correct spelling). They established a settlement at Thaba Nchu. (Maylam, *African people*, p. 111).

35. Probably Matiwane, chief of the Ngwane, who lived in the area of the present-day north-western Natal. They were attacked by the Ndwandwe and were forced to flee westwards towards the Hlubi region which was at the foot of the Drakensburg. In about 1821, the Ngwane attacked and defeated the Hlubi. The Ngwane were again attacked by the Zulu who drove them over the Drakensburg into the highveld. (Maylam, *African People*, p. 54).

36. The word 'Kaffir' appears to have been used when referring to the Xhosa and the Mfengu. Other indigenous societies were called by names depicting their tribal association. (c.f. Holden, *History of Methodism*, and Shaw, *Story of my Mission*).

37. Impey appears to have been comparing these people by western standards. Generally, converts to Christianity were 'expected to adopt western dress, to settle in recognisable village patterns and live in square houses, to reject traditional initiation ceremonies and to only have one wife'. (Davis, *History*, p. 115). If societies were closer to the western model, in their traditional state, they were considered superior to others.

Maroko, the chief, has paid us several visits. He is always accompanied by his chief counsellor, Nakentsi,<sup>38</sup> who is evidently a man of shrewd talent and possesses great influence in the tribe. He is a sort of solicitor general, head of police, and almost fac totum.

Yesterday Maroko went to Lishuani<sup>39</sup>, having been sent for by the Bastard captain to hold counsel on the subject of various grievances etc. between the Bastard Corannas<sup>40</sup> and Sekonyela's peoples. Maroko is too wise to commit himself. Mr Allison<sup>41</sup> arrived here on Thursday evening, having ridden from Mparani<sup>42</sup> to meet Mr Cameron and party, but not having seen them, returned this morning. As usual in his part of the country there are rumours of wars.

Bought two native musical instruments - one formed of a single string attached to a long stick and at one end fitted to a small piece of quill<sup>43</sup>, producing several notes very similar to the sound of an accordion. Another formed of a bow and string - with calabash fastened to the former and the latter being

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38. It should have been relatively easy to identify 'Nakentsi' because he held such an important position. It has, however, not been possible to identify him. It is probable that Impey has misspelt this name and that it has become completely unrecognisable.
39. Lishuani was the name given to one of the Wesleyan Methodist mission stations in this area. It is possible that the station was named after one of Moshoeshoe's brothers, 'Lesaoana'. Hewson suggests that it was named after one of the mountains in the area. (*Whiteside, Wesleyan Methodist Church*, pp. 335-6 and 338, *Maylam, African People*, p. 116, *Hewson, South African Methodists*, p. 18).
40. The Kora people were a Khoi community which conflicted with the Tswana peoples, especially the Rolong. The Kora allied themselves with the Tlhaping through marriage alliances in the mid 19th century. (*Maylam, African People*, p. 46).
41. James Allison (1802-1875), Wesleyan Missionary. Converted in 1831 and became a catechist under John Edwards at Boetsap (what is today Barkly West) and was later ordained. Did pioneering work amongst the Mantatee people at Mparani. One of the first missionaries in Swaziland. Was forced to leave Swaziland as a result of unrest and fled to Natal where he formed a settlement at Indaleni. (*Eveleigh, Settlers and Methodism*, pp. 116-121).
42. Mpharane is a mountain immediately west of Ficksburg. It has also been referred to as Imparani and Imperani. The name is of Sotho origin and is said to mean 'flat-topped'. (*Raper, Place Names*, pp. 228-229).
43. It is difficult to identify this instrument from Impey's description and because so many of the indigenous peoples used variations of the same basic instrument. This could have been a *umrube* or a *umgunge*. (*Kirkby R, The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa* (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1953) Plate 68).

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struck with a small stick sends<sup>44</sup> forth a low drumming sound to which the performer sings.

Elegance of the dress of some of the females, kaross and cap. Profusion of beads etc.

30 May 1840: This morning the two pack waggons arrived the drivers informing us that Mr Cameron will probably arrive at Plaatberg<sup>45</sup> this evening or Monday.

31 May 1840: Sunday. Mr Giddy preached this morning in Sichuan. Congregation rather small. School in the afternoon. Mr Robinson<sup>46</sup> one of the catechists, preached in Dutch in the evening.

2 June 1840: Tuesday. Sent the waggon with my own and some of Mr Cameron's goods to Plaat Berg. Rode on horseback with Mr Giddy and Mr Robinson to Lishuani. Illness on the path. Six hours ride called at the French mission station Mr Daumas<sup>47</sup> - kind reception, Mrs Daumas lively French lady. Invitation to remain all night and to spend a few days on my return; Mr Daumas showed me a copy of the French Roman Catholic Version of the Scripture published in Paris. Remarks of the translators on the versions of the various Bible Societies, as being destitute of spirit energy, unction etc. An hours ride in the dark to Lishuani, Mr Bingham's station.

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44. This type of stringed instrument appears to be quite common among the Bantu speaking peoples of southern Africa - both Nguni and Sotho speakers. Trade between the different groups occurred and so it is difficult to identify specifically the instrument spoken of here. Being in a Sotho-speaking region it seems probable that this was either a nkoka, dende or sekgapa. (Kirkby, *Musical Instruments*, plate 56).
45. The Platberg is situated near the Sundays River near the Sundays River Poort near the Suurberg. (Bergh and Visagie, *Frontier Zone*, p. 37).
46. Probably Thomas Robinson (1781-1841), 1820 Settler in the Sephton Party. (Nash, *Settler Handbook*, p. 30, Family Files, Genealogy Department, Albany Museum, Grahamstown).
47. Francois Daumas (1812-1871), PEMS missionary and Southern Sotho linguist. 1835 sent to Basutoland. 1836 opened a mission station among the Dogoya (Lihoya) a Taung clan at Mekuatleng (near the present day Ficksburg) near the Wesleyan station at Thaba Nchu. Some of these people began crossing the border into what was considered Orange Free State (OFS) territory. President J H Brand remonstrated with Moletsane and Moshoeshe and invoked the aid of Sir Philip Wodehouse as mediator. An award in favour of the OFS was made in 1864. (*DSAB*, Vol. 1, p. 208)

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3 June 1840: Mr Robinson proceeded to Mr Shepstones. Evening - Mr and Mrs Thackwray<sup>48</sup> (Catechist) arrived on their way to 'Mparane.

4 June 1840: Thursday. Rode over to Umpukane<sup>49</sup> spent the following day with Mr Shepstone's family, and returned to Lishuani on the Saturday. Saturday evening - Mr and Mrs Taylor<sup>50</sup> Mr and Mrs Hartley<sup>51</sup> called on their way to their respective stations.

7 June 1840: Sunday morning. Prayer meeting - Mr Bingham conducted the Basutu Service and Mr Hartley the Dutch with the Griquas in the afternoon. Alarm - chimney on fire etc. Visit of the chief Mopeli,<sup>52</sup> brother of the great chief Moshoeshoe.

8 June 1840: Mr Taylor proceeded to 'Mparane and on the following day Mr Hartley to the Koranna<sup>53</sup> station.

10 June 1840: Wednesday. Rode with Mr Bingham over to Plaat Berg. Romantic mountain scenery at the Leeuw Poort. Went aside a little to visit the site of our intended station with Mopeli, who will come to live on the place as soon as his missionary arrives. Fine stream of water and beautiful prospect. Country already thickly populated. Reached Plaat Berg after three hours ride.

16 June 1840: Tuesday. Spent the morning in wandering to the end of a long, deep ravine commencing a few hundred yards from the station. The scenery here

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48. James Thackwray (d.1841), WMM (layman) in the Bechuana district. Related to the famous hunter, John Thackwray. (Eveleigh, *Settlers and Methodism*, p. 143, *Min. M.C.*, (9) 1843, p. 313).
49. Umpukani was a station established for work among the Koranna people by Jenkin. This station was named after one of the mountains in the vicinity. (Hewson, *South African Methodists*, p. 18).
50. Francis Taylor (d.1844), WMM appointed to the Bechuana mission in 1840. (*Min. M.C.*, (10) 1848, p 166).
51. There were many Hartley's who came to South Africa with a number of different parties of 1820 Settlers. (Nash, *Settler Handbook*, p. 24) According to Mr Harry Hartley of Jeffreys Bay, Jeremiah Hartley was the only missionary in the family. (Pers. Comm. 1992).
52. Mopedi (Mopeli) (c.1788-1899) Kwena chief and was either a brother of half-brother of Moshoeshoe. Made chief of the Kwena-ba-Mokomade by Moshoeshoe between 1820 and 1830. Clashed with Moshoeshoe and as a result left Basutoland and lived first at Mabelela and then at Ladybrand. (*DSAB*, Vol.III, p. 628).
53. A minor Tswana group which were refugees of the *difaquane* (the Sotho word for *mfecane*.) They fell under the authority of Moshoeshoe. (Maylam, *African People*, p. 111).

at once beautiful and sublime. Masses of rock have been precipitated from the sides of this immense cleft which is about a mile in length and some 200 yards in breadth, the edges having in many places, partly from their natural formation and partly from the detachment of the loose rocks which have fallen. It has the appearance of a capital or cornice - the bottom and sides are also covered with a variety of shrubs and small trees whilst a fine stream of water murmurs along the plain below. We climbed over the rocks until we reached the extremity of the kloof where the water falls from a considerable height over a crescent of perpendicular rocks. With some difficulty we found our path up the precipitous side, which difficulty was considerably increased by an accident which happened to brother Cameron whereby he severely sprained his ankle. Nor was it with less difficulty that we descended on the opposite side into a kloof tributary to the main one. The rocks and mountains which are now tenanted only by pigeons, hawks, eagles and rock rabbits, have apparently had other occupants for we found several Bushman paintings in a place which had evidently been selected by these truly wild sons of men for their abode.

The situation of Plaat Berg under the mountain renders the place very cold in the winter season, and on the whole the station in comparison with Lishuani and Umpukani is much inferior in point of beauty and I should think not near so healthy. The land in the immediate vicinity is however very fruitful, and produced last year not less than 2 000 muids of wheat. The population of Bastards residing on the station is considerable perhaps about 500, great portion of whom attend the chapel and are also members of society. Brother Cameron is now busily engaged in renewing the Quarterly Tickets<sup>54</sup> - a portion of Wesleyan discipline, which owing to the many changes of late been much neglected. The singing in the chapel would be good were it not that the standard of perfection seems to consist in the greatest possible elevation of the voice.

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54. Quarterly Tickets were a token of membership of a Wesleyan Society. If a member was found not to have measured up to the standards of the society, they would be excluded from membership by having their Quarterly Ticket withheld which would mean that they were disqualified from all church privileges. The only official requirement was '... a desire to flee from the wrath to come ...' It appears that Wesley did not implement this system to impose his teachings on members. He suggested that they were to be seen like the commendatory letters mentioned by the Apostle Paul. Wesley stated: 'I have no more right to object to a man for holding a different opinion from me, than I have to differ with a man because he wears a wig and I wear my own hair; but if he takes his wig off, and begins to shake the powder about my eyes, I shall consider it my duty to get quit of him as soon as possible. Is a man ... a believer in Jesus Christ, and is his life suitable to his profession? are not only the main, but sole inquiries I make in order to his admission into our society'. Membership tickets which became quarterly tickets began in 1741. (Holden, *Brief History*, pp. 72-75 and Wesley, *Journal*, Volume 2, p. 429).

CHAPTER 8: *Sojourn in Bechuana country - 1840*

We have also a congregation of Bassutus in this station and the prospect appears very promising. The manners and customs of the people are in accordance with their station and rank in society in this part of the world being a connecting link between the more degraded natives on the one hand and the civilized Boers on the other. Many are in very comfortable circumstances but few can be said to be rich.

20 June 1840: Saturday. This evening Mr and Mrs Allison arrived on their way to the colony in order to seek advice for Mrs Allison who is in a very precarious state of health suffering from disease of the antrum.<sup>55</sup>

21 June 1840: Mr Cameron being very unwell Mr Allison took the morning services and I the evening. Mr Allison acting as interpreter.

22 June 1840: Monday. This day had been fixed on for paying a visit to Moshoeshoe the great chief of the Bassutus, and Mr Bingham was to have ridden over from Lishuani in order to accompany us. Owing to the indisposition of Mr Bingham, he was unable to come. He sent horses however, and tomorrow was fixed upon for the accomplishment of our purpose; in the mean time Mr Casalis the French missionary with the chief came to see Mr Allison and thus our plans were once more disarranged.

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Moshoeshoe  
Ref.: Oakes, (Ed.), *Illustrated History*, p. 161.



55. A cavity in the body, especially referring to the one in the upper jaw bone.

CHAPTER 8: *Sojourn in Bechuana country - 1840*

23 June 1840: Tuesday. Rode in company with Mr Casalis, Mr Dyke<sup>56</sup> his brother in law and a Mr Cole an artisan to Thaba Bossio.<sup>57</sup> Crossed the mountain to save distance but the sun setting we lost our path and at any rate saved no time. The station is about 3½ hours ride from Plaatberg, but the mountain path is very difficult. Was kindly received by Mrs Casalis etc.

24 June 1840: This morning was occupied in visiting the residence of Moshoeshoe. The accounts which have been given by some parties of his style of living are much exaggerated, nevertheless he is without exception the first chief of this part of Southern Africa. He has lately had a house built after the European model, which is not as yet quite finished; about 60 ft in length and 20 in width, comprising five tolerably good rooms. This house is built on the summit of an isolated mountain or rock quite inaccessible to waggons and of difficult ascent even for foot passengers. This mountain has however been the residence of the chief and his people and on account of the continual unsettled state of the country. He does not consider it safe to descend to the valley, though if he were to do this it would doubtless be very advantageous in many points of view and not the least so in approximating him to the mission stations.

On arriving at the top of the mountain (which reached by a path which assumes a curious appearance at a little distance, somewhat resembling an immense railway) we found Moshoeshoe standing at the end of his house surrounded by several of his people, this being a day on which he had called them together from the many neighbouring kraals in order to hold counsel on the present state of affairs.

He was well dressed, a blue superfine surcoat, green military jacket and trousers with cloth cap under which he wore a woollen cap of various colours,

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56. Hamilton Moore Dyke (1817-1898), PEMS missionary. Came to South Africa in 1832. Taught at a private school in Cape Town. 1837 under the auspices of the LMS, started a day school for 'Coloured' boys at Papendorp Estate. Although an Anglican, became a member of Dr John Philip's Congregational Church in Cape Town. His sister married Eugene Casalis of the PEMS. Dyke studied theology in order to join the French missionary society. Moved to Thaba Bosigo as a catechist, evangelist and teacher. Ordained at the request of the PEMS by the NG Kerk Synod in Cape Town in 1847. Founded the Hermon Mission Station on the bank of the Caledon River. Became the director of the teachers' training college at Morija. Played an important role in the negotiations between Moshoeshoe and the Cape Colony. (*DSAB*, Vol.III, pp. 260-261).

57. Thaba Bosigo is an isolated flat-topped hill, 18 km east of Maseru. It is venerated as the site where the Basuto nation was founded and where Moshoeshoe and other kings are buried. It was chosen as a fortress in 1824 by Moshoeshoe against attacks by the Ngwane, Batlokoa, the British, Boer and Zulu who were all repulsed. The name means 'mountain of might'. (*Raper, Place Names*, (1989) p. 530).

the only ornaments he wore, were a number of long eardrops and two or three finger rings.

We were courteously received whilst he seemed to take pleasure in showing us what he justly deemed his impregnable rock, in hearing and saying as much as the time would allow but evidently anxious to withdraw us from the midst of the vast concourse of people, whose noise, grease etc., he thought would prove disagreeable.

He pointed out the point of attack selected by Moselikatsi<sup>58</sup> and how he was repulsed.

After making several enquiries after the chiefs of Kaffirland, he intimated that he had a word to send them and though it was but a small word, perhaps they might hear.

"Tell them" said he, "I have built a house like unto the missionaries, but where? On the top of the rock, on the brink of the precipice, and this because of the wars of the land. How much better would it be could we live in peace. War is no respecter of persons, it comes alike through the windows of the missionary and the straw hut of the Kaffir. Would it not be better for you if you instead of stealing you would build houses. Sit still and listen to the Word of God. Why should we make war in the land when we have so great a war to carry on within ourselves, even war with our sins and evil propensities ..." etc. etc.?

He also remarked that would the Kaffir chiefs send into his land they could have what they chose on condition that he should be permitted to do the same by them.

During our visit a letter arrived from Peter David,<sup>59</sup> one of the Griqua Captains explaining why he had not come to the "Raad" though he was one of the chief instruments in having it called. Moshoeshoe did not appear satisfied and was the less so as the letter contained insinuations against the missionary's fidelity in reading all that was written. He spoke at length and apparently very eloquently, and is evidently a man not to be trifled with.

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58. Mzilikatsi. See chapter 2, p. 40.

59. Piet Davids Griqua chief who settled at Lishuane. The French missionaries claimed that Moshoeshoe was the ruler of all this territory and that Davids and all the other groups living in this region were his vassals. There was rivalry between these groups which 'set the stage for the politics of the Caledon valley area for a generation'. (Thompson, L, 'Co-operation and Conflict: The Highveld' in Wilson and Thompson, (Eds.) *History of South Africa* pp. 402-403).

CHAPTER 8: *Sojourn in Bechuana country - 1840*

People were arriving the whole of the day all armed and parties bringing cattle for slaughter; Many of Sikonyela's people were also there, and some from Thaba Unchu.

After sending a short time we descended the mountain and left the chiefs etc. to proceed with their business, and as we afterwards heard all that was done was that Moshoeshoe counselled his people to keep peace which if we may believe him seems to be his greatest object.

He shows no little contempt for the show of Captainship amongst the Bastards and is anything but republican in his principles. A Captain was last year elected at Plaat Berg. He said he could not understand that. He always thought that chiefs were born not made and as for authority, "If" said he "you order a man to do this, he is sick and cannot, another is sick also and will not, I speak and the Mountains move." He is strictly a temperate man. "It becomes not a wise man to drink folly" is one of his sayings.

The mission station of Thaba Bossio is pleasantly situated at the foot of the mountain on which the chief resides, but from its position amongst the mountains is very cold during the winter season. The church is well attended, and a great anxiety to learn and read is manifested by many of the natives. A rather large edition of various parts of scripture as translated into Sisutu by the French missionaries has been printed at the Cape, and are now rapidly disposing of to the Bassutus of his and other stations, they paying for them principally in Kaffir corn. Mr Casalis kindly presented me with an elegant copy of this version as a memento of my visit. Afternoon returned to Plaat Berg.

*25 June 1840: Thursday.* Returned to Lishuani passing the waggon on the road. Mr Cameron rode with me as far as the intended station with Mopeli. One of the people came to enquire what we were looking at and on being informed said he was glad a missionary was coming to live there for then he could earn some oxen. Our interpreter asked him if he was not glad to have an opportunity of hearing the word of God. "No," he said, "I care nothing about that. I want some oxen that is all I care for."

*26 June 1840:* Rode this afternoon and took tea with Mr and Mrs Daumas.

*28 June 1840: Monday.* This morning baptized Mr Bingham's little girl, Carolina Wilhelmina.

*1 July 1840: Wednesday.* Rode on horseback to Umpukane, Mr and Mrs Bingham intending to follow tomorrow.

CHAPTER 8: *Sojourn in Bechuana country - 1840*

2 July 1840: Thursday. Mrs Bingham much worse and therefore unable to proceed. Read Irving's *Christ's Holiness in Flesh the Form, Fountain Head and Assurance of Holiness in Flesh to us*. Some things therein are hard to understand, but on the whole I have been much profited. Mr Shepstone is a warm admirer of Irving and speaks of him in no qualified terms, but no allusion to the gift of tongues.

5 July 1840: Sunday. Mr Shepstone preached in the open air to the natives and in the evening. I spoke a few words to the English residents on the station. A note arrived from Mr Bingham requesting my attendance in the morning, Mrs Bingham's breast having gradually grown more painful until now when she is almost distracted.

7 July 1840: Returned yesterday and found Mrs Bingham considerably better, so much so that she is today able to comply with Mr Shepstone's invitation to visit Umpukane.

9 July 1840: Thursday. Left Umpukane today in company with Messrs Shepstone and Cameron to visit 'Mparane and to fix upon the site of the two intended stations not far from that place. After riding about four hours we reached 'Mparane where in the absence of Mr and Mrs Allison we found Mr and Mrs Taylor and Mr and Mrs Thackwray, Mrs Taylor having been confined a fortnight ago. The mission premises on this station far exceed any that I have yet seen in point of neatness and order. The chapel in this instance being not inferior to the stable and worthy to be called the house of God.

10 July 1840: In the morning prior to our starting on an expedition to Moto's kraal (the chief with whom one of the new stations is to be established) Sikonyela paid us a visit; his countenance is anything but pleasing and does not all belie his character. He said but little and indeed we did not feel disposed to pay him much attention.

A ride of about three hours, during which we crossed the Caledon, brought us the neighbourhood of Moto's residence, and prior to visiting him we spent some time in looking round for an eligible site for the station.

The principal obstacle that presented itself to the establishment of a mission here, when Mr Shaw visited the country was want of water, we however found plenty and ice also, the latter in one place so strong as to bear six of us standing on it at once.

Moto is living at some little distance from the foundations and on being requested to come and reside near them, objected and said he would show us the

place of his own choice, where there was plenty of water. He accordingly took us round back to the back of the mountain on which he is residing and pointed out a fine and as he said a never failing stream and a spot in every respect highly desirable for the residence of the missionary - a fine open valley in front closely flanked on the left by the Majestic Maluti<sup>60</sup> and on the right by some smaller eminences.

The chief is Sikonyela's brother but is a much more interesting man both in manner and appearance. Mr Taylor is to commence building a temporary house without delay and the chief and many of his people will move nearer the station. [Some indecipherable words deleted] There are several large kraals in the neighbourhood and the prospect of success is at present very pleasing.<sup>61</sup>

11 July 1840: Saturday. Mr Cameron, Mr Shepstone etc. went this morning to visit Umkatla where Mr Thackwray is to reside. I returned to Umpukani provided with a guide. Lost him on the road. Game, ostrich etc.

12 July 1840: Sunday. Mr Bingham went to Lishuani, held service and returned then preached in English in the evening.

13 July 1840: Heavy rain this morning. Cleared off 10 A.M. Ride to seek a lost horse. Speedy success. Messrs Shepstone and Cameron returned from 'Mparane.

14 July 1840: Tuesday. Took leave of Mr Shepstone and family and once more reached Lishuani in company with Mr and Mrs Bingham.

15 July 1840: Visit from Mr Daumas and Mr Dyke. Lanced Mrs Bingham's breast.

16 July 1840: Intended starting for Thaba Unchu to day - prevented doing so - high wind etc.

17 July 1840: Friday. Mr Bingham, J Archbell and myself rode to Thaba Unchu.

19 July 1840: Sunday. Yesterday afternoon one of the Bastards living about 2½ hours ride from Thaba Unchu came to request Mr Giddy's attendance on a woman

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60. The Maluti Mountains extend north-east and south-west, in the north-western part of Lesotho, forming the watershed between the tributaries of the Caledon River and those of the Orange River. The name means 'mountains'. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 210).

61. The original includes the following at this point. It is not clear what Impey is saying: 'Moto's "Apa" just here - Mr Shepstone's wish for six legs etc. My sleep on the grass, nearly forgotten. The Beer drinkers etc. etc.'

who was dangerously ill. I engaged to accompany him hoping that my little medical skill might be of some service, whilst he from his proficiency in Dutch would be much better able to administer spiritual consolation. The horses having to be brought up the sun had set before we were able to start consequently we had it both cold and dark long before we arrived at the place and then learnt that the poor woman had expired about the time we left home. From what I was able to gather she died of puerperal fever.<sup>62</sup> It was now too late to return, we therefore made up our minds to remain all night, and indeed had come prepared to do so, and it was well we had, for they had nothing but the shelter of a straw hut to offer us, having neither Kaffir nor Dutch corn on the place. Mr Giddy read a chapter, sang and prayed with them. We then had some tea made (ingredients brought from home) prayer again and then retired to rest in a small hut where a cold damp waggon sail was spread on a cartel for our bed the old woman prophesying that we should "get some".

A miserably cold night we passed and right welcome was the first break of day that called us from our broken slumbers. We returned home to breakfast. Service in the morning in Sichuan. Boers on the trek came in to kerk. Good congregation of Barolongs - about 300. Afternoon the Bastards brought the corpse of the woman who died yesterday, to be buried. Evening preached from "Prepare to meet thy God"<sup>63</sup> - Mr Giddy interpreting into Dutch.

How much has my soul been blessed of late. I seem to have entered a new stage of spiritual existence. Long may it continue. Christ is precious as my great High Priest, my Saviour, my example, my all. The passage "It is enough that the disciple be as his Master, and that the servant be as his Lord"<sup>64</sup> has been very sweet to me. "The Servant as his Lord", yes, it may be in temptation, in suffering, in much that is painful to flesh and blood, but it shall also be in triumph in glory in holiness. I would adopt the language of the hymn and say as I have said in times past but now again with renewed faith.

"I only hang upon his words  
The Servant shall be as His Lord".

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62. Puerperal fever (childbed fever) is a highly contagious haemolytic streptococcus infection which attacks the uterus of a woman after she has given birth. It is usually fatal. It is associated with unhygienic conditions at birth where those assisting have not washed their hands. (McGrew, R E, *Encyclopedia of Medical History* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1985) p. 291).
63. Therefore thus will I do unto thee, O Israel: and because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel. (Amos 4:12, AV).
64. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord. (Matthew 10:24, AV).

CHAPTER 8: *Sojourn in Bechuana country - 1840*

To be as Christ, the blessed Jesus. Oh what a different aspect this thought puts upon all the things of this life. The world, the flesh, pleasure, care, anxiety. What then? I am a follower of Christ, the word is, oh glorious Word. "As he was so are ye in the world." "Unto Him that is able to keep me from falling and to present me faultless before the presence of His Father's Glory with exceeding great joy Unto the only wise God our Saviour be all honour and glory dominion and power both now and for ever Amen."<sup>65</sup>

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65. Jude verses 24-25.

## PART 4: THE JOURNAL OF THE REV WILLIAM IMPEY

CHAPTER 9: NEWTONDALE AND D'URBAN - 1841

15 January 1841: Friday. Left Grahams Town in company with the brethren Shaw and Dugmore and Mr Blaine on a journey as far as Faku's Country. Heavy mist on drivers hill soon breaking into rain. Offsaddled under the bush. Loss of the boy's horse. Waited two hours for the boy's return and then proceeded without him. Thunder storm on the heights of the Fish River. Second off-saddle at the Brak River. Kaffirs brought milk. Reached D'Urban<sup>1</sup> about Sunset - very wet. Boy arrived a few hours later, the horse having never stopped until he reached town.

16 January 1841: Saturday. Finding it impossible for the waggons (which had been sent on before) to reach Mount Coke today. We changed our intended route of going direct to Mount Coke, and proceeded through the Beka station to Wesleyville, dining with Mr and Mrs Jno Smith, and Mr Shaw baptizing their infant.

17 January 1841: Sunday. This morning Mr Dugmore preached in Kaffir, after which four adults were baptized, having been consistent members of Society for many months. They answered the questions put to them satisfactorily. One of them on being asked if he would renounce all his evil customs and wicked ways, replied in the face of the congregation "I have done this long ago and you know it". At the conclusion of the service an old member of the Society (Jantje), now resident in the Kat River but on a visit to Wesleyville, was called on to pray. He prayed for most of the chiefs by name - some of his expressions were remarkable: "Thou carrier of the knife to cut the throat of every thing that is sinful."

In the evening Mr Shaw read an english sermon and baptized brother Thomas<sup>2</sup> child.

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1. Government financial support and encouragement led to the establishment of industrial departments or institutions. D'Urban (near Fort Peddie in the eastern Cape) was one of these. (Saunders, C and Derricourt R (Eds.) *Beyond*, p. 203) D'Urban was established in 1837 on land granted by the governor for the establishment of a mission for the benefit of the Mfengu. This mission was named in honour of Sir Benjamin D'Urban 'to whom the Fingoes were so largely indebted for their rescue from the hands of their oppressors' (Hints and the Gcaleka). (Pettman, *Methodist Place Names*, p. 13).

2. John Stewart Thomas (d.1856), WMM stationed at Morley and Clarkebury. (Gower, 'Index' p. 204) Killed by the Xhosa in a cattle raid on his station. (Boyce, *Memoir*, p. 180).

18 January 1841: Monday. Proceeded to Mount Coke, the new station which brother Dugmore is forming on the banks of the Buffalo. Sent for the chief Umhala<sup>3</sup> residing about 25 miles from the station. On our arrival at Mount Coke, we found that an express from Capai's country had passed the same morning. A boy was immediately despatched to bring back the letters, he soon returned having met the messengers who had been sent back by Mr Harvey from Fort Peddie. The express contained particulars of the late attack of the Boers upon Capai comprising a journal of Messrs Palmer, Jenkins<sup>4</sup> and Garner<sup>5</sup> during their visit to Faku and Capai.

Employed during the evening in writing letters and copying documents connected with this affair which have to be transmitted to the Governor.

19 January 1841: Tuesday. Bathed in the Buffalo - beautiful stream, rather too deep for non-swimmers. Today Umhala paid us a visit. Several of his warriors present including Tetu who is saluted by the Kaffirs as the "Heart of Stone". Conversation on Kaffir customs - battle between Amahlambi and Gaika tribes.<sup>6</sup> Challenge of the Gaika man appeared on the hill and cried "Tomorrow on the Flats of the Dibi - what will you do with the child on the bones of his Father". Small Pox<sup>7</sup> - means to prevent its spread.

20 January 1841: Started for Butterworth. Slept with the waggons which had been sent forward the previous day. Much rain. Uncomfortable night in the tents.

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3. Mhala, see chapter 4, p. 64.
  4. Thomas Jenkins (d.1868) WMM appointed in 1832. Served at Platberg, Mpukhane, Buntingville, Palmerton and Emfundisweni. (Gower, 'Index', p. 199).
  5. William Garner (d.1864), WMM appointed in 1835. Served at Buntingville, Shawbury and Morley. (Gower, 'Index', p. 196).
  6. See chapter 1, pp. 4 and 5.
  7. There were many outbreaks of small pox. A proclamation of February 1840 disallowed vaccination by lay men. A medical practitioner was to be employed and paid by the government in each municipality or within two miles of each parish church. The practitioner was to be the sole vaccinator. According to the South African Medical Society, 2 500 deaths occurred in 1840 from small pox alone. The disease was believed to have been introduced by Malayans at the Cape. (Laidler, P W, and Gelfand, M, *South Africa: Its Medical History, 1652-1898* (C Struik, Cape Town, 1971) pp. 273, 274 and 276).

21 January 1841: Thursday. Continued rain. Rode to Fort Warden<sup>8</sup> on the heights of the Kei 10 Miles distant from the river. Rode down and found the river impassable. Returned and took up our quarters with the trader formerly a sailor wrecked in the steamer. Hospitable treatment.

22 January 1841: Friday. Very rainy. Heavy storm of wind nearly burying me in the fall of the tent.

23 January 1841: Were proceeding to the river, but were stopped by a Kaffir (who appears to have attached himself to us in our difficulties) informing us that there was more water in the river than when we were at its banks on Thursday.

24 January 1841: Sunday. Mr Dugmore held two Kaffir Services - people very attentive. Some perhaps have never heard the Word of God before. Effect produced by Mr Dugmore's performance on the accordion on other Kaffirs: "It makes me think of home. When you play do you not wish to go back to your wife and children". One man on hearing it got up and went directly home a distance of 30 miles. Faku said "Give over, all the troubles of my life come upon me at once."

25 January 1841: River still impassable.

26 January 1841: Tuesday afternoon. Went down to the drift - heavy thunder storm. The lifting of the mist in the valley of the Kei - bivouac.

27 January 1841: This morning found the river fuller than on Thursday last, but as the swimmers were now present we got through. Mode of passage: Kaffir laying hold of each arm and springing forward carried down the river a great distance - horses swim through in deep water. Long ride to Butterworth - heavy rain.

28 January 1841: Thursday. Resting at Butterworth. Population of Butterworth - 700-800.

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8. Fort Warden was situated between from King William's Town and the Kei. (Frye, (Ed.), *Xosa Bible*, p. 116) It was built during the 1835 war and was named after Major Henry Douglas Warden of the Cape Mounted Rifles. Major Warden later became the British Resident in the Orange River Sovereignty. (Pettman, *Place Names*, pp. 107-108).

CHAPTER 9: *Newtondale and D'Urban - 1841*

29 January 1841: Rode to Clarkbury.<sup>9</sup> Almost first fine day and yet we did not escape a wetting for we found the Umgwali<sup>10</sup> very deep - population of Clarkbury - 1100.

30 January 1841: Saturday. Long and sultry ride to Morley<sup>11</sup> were again obliged to be assisted through the Bashee<sup>12</sup> by natives.

31 January 1841: Sunday. Large congregations at Morley more than the chapel will contain. Afternoon service out of doors. Population more than 2 000. Country from Butterworth to Clarkbury and from Clarkbury 50 miles in every direction, without an inhabitant. This area was once thickly populated as the sites of numerous kraals testify. Illness of Mr and Mrs Amm - catechist.

1 February 1841: Resting at Morley.

2 February 1841: Tuesday. Proceeding to Buntingville.<sup>13</sup> Precipitous descent of the Umtata.<sup>14</sup> Long grass, beautiful scenery between Morley and Buntingville. Near the end of our ride - lost myself and separated from my company. Station people came to meet us - war dance etc. etc.

3 February 1841: Wednesday. Waiting the return of the messengers sent to Faku and Capai. Post arrived. In the evening - service.

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9. Clarkbury commemorates Dr Adam Clark, a noted Wesleyan scholar. It was the fifth link in Shaw's chain of mission stations. The station was established by the Rev R Haddy in 1830 among Vusani's Thembu people. (Hewson, *South African Methodists*, p. 22).
  10. The Mgwali River flows into the Mbashe which flows through the Idutywa area in the Transkei and enters the Indian Ocean near the Dwesa Forest. (Bergh and Visagie, *Frontier Zone*, p. 63).
  11. The Morley station was established among Depa's Mpondomise by William Shepstone after his ordination in May, 1829. It was named after the Rev. George Morley, who was during this period one of the secretaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. (Hewson, *South African Methodists*, pp. 21-22).
  12. Bashee is a popular adaptation of 'Mbashe'. It is a river rising in the Drakensburg some 13 km north-east of Elliot and flowing into the Indian Ocean 125 km north-east of East London. The name is Xhosa, but it is uncertain whether it means 'dark river' or 'dangerous ravine', or whether it is named after a person. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 216).
  13. Buntingville commemorates Dr Jabez Bunting, one of the prime movers in the establishment of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. It was established by W B Boyce and was the first station amongst the Mpondo people. (Hewson, *South African Methodists*, p. 22).
  14. 'Umtata' comes from the Xhosa Mtata which is believed to refer to sneezewood trees which grew on its banks. A military post was established on the banks of this river. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 327).

5 February 1841: Friday. No messengers having returned we started to visit the Umzinvooboo<sup>15</sup>. Met the men returning from Faku, informing us that he was coming and would reach the station tomorrow. Crossed the small and the greater Umgazi.<sup>16</sup> After a long and wearisome ride, the country being much broken near the coast - reached the heights of the Zimvooboo - descended to a kraal. Intending to spend the night there but hearing that Faku had crossed the river and was not far distant we dispatched a messenger to acquaint him with our position, who soon returned with a message from the chief stating his wish to see us and to be spared the journey to the station. We therefore rode for some distance along the banks of the river through the maize gardens and woods midst scenery which in the bright moonlight was more than ordinarily romantic. We soon reached the kraal where the chief had taken up his residence. After having supped with him retired to a hut which was provided for us.

6 February 1841: Saturday. This morning was occupied by the interview between Mr Shaw and the chief on the subject of the late attack of the Boers and the protection now afforded by the Colonial Government for which latter he expressed himself in the strongest terms of thankfulness.

We intended returning at once travelling all night to reach the station, but a heavy thunder storm turned us back and obliged us to take refuge in one of the kraals situate on a ledge at some height from the river. Here we were very comfortably provided for in Kaffir style - mealies and milk. Sea cows in the river.

7 February 1841: Sunday. The chief hearing of our detention paid us a visit. Mr Dugmore preached to a large congregation assembled under the shade of the trees.

8 February 1841: Started on our return. So much rain having fallen, the roads were very slippery so much so as to oblige us to engage a man for each horse to lead them up the hill whilst we scrambled up as well as we could. On reaching the banks of the Greater Umgazi we found it quite impassable, and therefore rode up the banks of the river for three and a half hours to reach

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15. The Mzimvubu river rises in the Drakensburg near Mount Macdonald, near the point where the borders of the Transkei, Lesotho and Natal meet. It flows south and south-east to enter the Indian Ocean at Port St Johns. The name means 'home of the hippopotamus'. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 233).

16. The Umgazi is a river in Pondoland south-west of Port St Johns. Mpondo tradition suggests that the name arose from the bloody battles which took place on their banks. *Igazi* is a word for 'blood'. (Holt, B, *Place-names in the Transkeian Territories* (Africana Museum, Johannesburg, 1959) p. 25).

another drift. In some places we had no path and the whole ride was most fatiguing as well as in many respects dangerous. At the Upper Drift we were again placed at the mercy of the natives who however brought us through without any mishap. We had been so long detained by this circuitous route that long before we reached the station we were benighted on what in broad daylight is a most miserable road. Added to the thick darkness, it began to rain so that when we did at last after 14 hours travelling reach Buntingville we were completely "done up".

The character of the Scenery near the Zimvooboo<sup>17</sup> is magnificent - forest clad height - noble river winding at their foot, emptying itself into the sea through a vast fissure in the rocks called St John's<sup>18</sup> Gates - breadth of the river approx. 150 yards - smooth stream.

The District Meeting being held at Butterworth we made all haste to return thither. Leaving Morley to the left crossed the Umtata at a much better drift and reached Clarkbury on Saturday evening being again helped through the Umbashee which continues high. Indeed all the rivers have been more than ordinarily swollen by the heavy rains.

15 February 1841: Monday. Rode from Clarkbury to Butterworth. Held the District Meeting<sup>19</sup> and then "homeward bound". Dangerous passage of the Kei. Mr Appleyard<sup>20</sup> had a narrow escape from being carried down the stream.

Account of the introduction of the small pox into Kaffirland. Wilful act of a woman - disclosure of her son when near death.

8 April 1841: Thursday. My wedding day.

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17. Another reference to the Mzimvubu River. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 233).
  18. The name 'St Johns' comes probably from a translation of the Portuguese *Sao Joao* either after a ship which foundered or was anchored there, or after the outline of a face, resembling that of the apostle, against the mountain. (Raper, *Place Names*, p. 269).
  19. The District Meeting of the 16 February 1841 ruled that Impey was to remain 'on trial' and that he was to have 'travelled three years'. He was to be stationed at the Newtondale and D'Urban (Mfengu) Mission. In addition, Impey was given the responsibility of superintending the mission press. (Min. A.K.D., 1841, Cory Lib., MS 15 017).
  20. John Appleyard (1814-1874), WMM and Xhosa linguist. Gifted in acquiring languages, studied Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syrian and Chaldean. Formal theological training at the Wesleyan institution at Hoxton. Arrived in South Africa in 1840 and applied himself to studying Xhosa. Published works on Xhosa language but is best known for his translation of the Bible into Xhosa (1859) (*DSAB*, Vol I).

24 April 1841: Saturday. Reached my station (D'Urban Fingoo Mission and Newtondale) and now commence my more immediate work<sup>21</sup> in Kaffirland.

20 June 1841: Sunday. This day has been fixed on for the baptism of several of our members, who have been meeting in Class for some time past and have walked consistently with their profession. Kama arrived last evening to spend the day with us. I am glad of his presence on this our "high occasion". At the early morning service Kama preached. After preaching at the Fort I endeavoured simply to explain the nature and object of the sacrament of baptism and the Lord's Supper which later was also to be administered. Ten adult Fingooes were then baptized in the face of the congregation, and I trust the service was made a blessing not merely to them but to others also. Several were apparently deeply affected.

At the conclusion of the service we partook of the Lord's Supper, communicating 22 in number. Oh that the Lord would speedily enlarge our borders and bring many the benighted people to the knowledge of the truth.

26 June 1841: Saturday. Attended a meeting of the principle Fingooes of the settlement which had been called by Mr Shepstone for the purpose of laying before them a proposed scheme for the establishment of schools in various parts of the settlement. He proposed employing native agency but as this scheme involved an annual tax upon each head of a family, as was to be expected, it met with considerable opposition, many sheltering themselves by the assertion "We have the mission, that is our school that is enough". Whereas it is next to impossible to get them to send their children to school it is to be observed that the very parties who in the first instance at a conference with Mr Shaw held at the Beka some years ago, expressed their disinclination to the establishment of this mission, are now those who say "This is our School". Whilst the others who were then anxious for the residence of a missionary are now unwilling to co-operate in the plan of extension of schools.

Mr Shepstone is however determined to do his utmost and I have therefore great hopes of ultimate success.

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21. Impey is probably referring to his work of evangelism. However the District Meeting also expected Impey to 'forward by the earliest opportunity after publication a suitable number of copies for supplying the wants of the different stations and also forward a quarterly return to the Chairman of the District of the number of copies published of each work and of the number remaining in store at the end of each quarter'. (Min. A.K.D., 1841, Cory Lib., MS 15 017. My emphasis.)

27 June 1841: Sunday. Preached at Newtondale. Mr Shultheiss,<sup>22</sup> one of the German missionaries taking the native services at D'Urban. I hear that the attendance was so large that the chapel was unable to contain the people. The opposing chiefs who seldom come to the service, or if they do come slink behind, were to be seen on the front seats. There were children in abundance and I dare say that just now we might have as good week day schools but shall not hold one until this matter is settled as I see the duplicity of the people.

29 June 1841: I am now endeavouring to be regular in my visits to the neighbouring kraals and begin to feel greater pleasure in this portion of the work. The people are generally very attentive and I trust that the bringing of the gospel within their very doors will prove productive of great fruit eventually.

2 July 1841: Friday. On Mr Shepstones expressing to one of the Fingoes the disappointment he experienced in being opposed by some of them in his plans for their welfare, the man replied

"There are some of us beginning to creep and we know how it is with those who know nothing. You by your education and other things are so far above us that you cannot know how low a man is who has not yet begun to creep."

Today a Fingoe came to me for assistance stating that in drinking water some living creature had lodged itself in his throat which he was anxious to have removed. I explained to him the cause of the sensation he experienced, which was nothing more than some slight inflammation of the tonsil etc. but to no purpose. I therefore, to convince him, gave him at his own request a powerful emetic with injunction to bring me the animal when caught.

4 July 1841: Sunday. Was enabled to speak very plainly to our congregation at the post, and thought I perceived a feeling of distaste for the truth declared, in the countenances of several as they went away. To the ungodly the gospel, the pure gospel is at all times unpalatable.

5 July 1841: Left home this morning for a week's itinerating amongst the Kaffirs. My wife accompanied me in the waggon. Spent the first night in the Gcalekaland. Visited one of the Fingoe kraals and spoke to a hut full of people. One of two old men seemed much disposed to strive against the truth,

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22. Carl Friederich Julius Schultheiss (1815-1897), Berlin Missionary Society (BMS) missionary. Came to South Africa in 1837. Established a mission at Itamba in 1838, not far from Bethel in the Transkei. (Zöllner, L and Heese, J A, *The Berlin Missionaries in South Africa and their Descendants* (HSRC, Pretoria, 1984) p. 420).

contending that they were not sinners but had always loved and served God. How difficult to arouse the consciences of such.

6 July 1841: Reached Newtondale. Visited one of the kraals and preached.

7 July 1841: Spent the night at Bopi's kraal on the Gwalana.

8 July 1841: Friday. Made another attempt to cross the river, and after spending an hour in the bed of the stream, and fully expecting to be obliged to remain until assistance could be obtained, we at last succeeded and riding along the beach. We re-entered the land at the mouth of the Beka - spent the night near Kobi's<sup>23</sup> place.

10 July 1841: Saturday. Reached home, after losing ourselves in riding forward on horseback and reaching the Beka station instead of our own.

12 July 1841: Monday. Visited a poor Madman today bound hand and foot - who sings and prays continually. During our absence he would preach to the people and was guilty of many extravagances. How thankful I ought to be for the possession of a sound mind.

16 July 1841: Friday. Was pleased today to observe a manifest improvement in the experience of the members of the Catechumen Class.<sup>24</sup> Instead of general expressions of thankfulness for God's Word etc. etc. as has been their usual custom, and vague desires for the light of the Holy Spirit, several of them are I trust beginning to feel the value of their souls and the absolute necessity for a real change of heart these things I hope betoken good. One man observed on the love of God that it was very great. He gave his only Son for us - "Men did not ask this Son, He gave him."

18 July 1841: Sunday. Preached twice at the Beka today.

28 July 1841: Wednesday. The first of our intended Quarterly Meetings was held today, Mr Shaw taking advantage of his visit to commence them. The time was principally occupied in discussing the necessity, use and form of such a meeting, which is to be mainly of the character of a Circuit Quarterly Meeting, taking cognisance of everything connected with the state and progress of the Border missions.

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23. Kobe, the brother of Kama and Phatho, a Gcunukwebe leader.

24. A Class meeting to study the Methodist catechism in preparation for reception into full membership.

30 July 1841: Accompanied Mr Shaw and Mrs Dugmore to the Beka and Wesleyville.

31 July 1841: Rode to Mount Coke.

1 August 1841: Sunday at Mount Coke.

2 August 1841: Returned home, calling at the new station at the Tamara,<sup>25</sup> occupied by Mr Kidd and at Mr Taintons.

8 August 1841: Sunday. Mr Shaw preached at the post and in Dutch at the station to the Hottentot troops.

10 August 1841: Tuesday. Mr and Mrs Shaw started for town, Mr Appleyard remaining with us during Mr Shaw's absence in the Colony.

The vaccine virus procured from the Mauritius has succeeded on the post, and we are anxious to propagate it to the utmost of our power. About 40 cases of Small Pox are reported from one or two kraals and five deaths.

30 August 1841: Monday. Spent yesterday at Newtondale - rather thin congregations owing to the cold and wind. Read to Kama the account of his late affair with Nonchis people on the subject of a second wife (as published in the *Umshumayeli Nendaba*).<sup>26</sup> He appeared greatly interested - "okunene?" was his word.

Curious facts of Mr Walker's dog Toli. During Mr Walker's absence in the Colony he was all but inconsolable refusing for some time to eat. At night he lay by the fire in the kitchen, kindled by Mr Walker junior and actually covered up the embers every night (as he had done when the family were at home) to keep the fire in till morning. This he did regularly, throwing the cold ashes upon the living coals with his nose, and then sleeping by his work. Making a spek boom and geranium fence in front of the mission house.

5 October 1841: On meeting the Class at Newtondale and renewing the tickets, I was much pleased with the manner in which Kama spoke of his experience, expressing his constant need of divine aid and teaching. He concluded by observing that though a chief on earth he was but a man with God, his

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25. The Tamara River is a short tributary of the Keiskamma, which enters the river from the East. (Frye, (Ed.), *Xosa Bible*, p. 75).

26. *Umshumayelo Wendaba* which was 'a Kaffir periodical, ... published quarterly; not for gratuitous distribution, but for sale, to those natives who send in their names as subscribers to the work'. (*WMR*, 1840, p. 60).

chieftainship availed him nothing there. Therefore he comes to God, that from Him he might obtain another chieftainship in the kingdom of God.

6 October 1841: Wednesday. Wrote a short letter to Captain Maclean<sup>27</sup> on the occasion of his leaving Fort Peddie expressive of thankfulness for his past kindness and pressing upon him the weighty matters of religion.

7 October 1841: Captain Maclean called this morning to say good bye. He thanked me most cordially for my letter of admonition and hoped he should profit thereby. He is succeeded in command by Captain Campbell<sup>28</sup> 91st, accompanied by Lieutenant Savage.<sup>29</sup>

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27. John Maclean (1810-1874) British military officer. Arrived at the Cape in 1835 with the rank of Captain. Served under Colonel Harry Smith in the war of 1834-1835. 1845 seconded by Sir Peregrine Maitland to succeed Shepstone as the diplomatic agent with the Mfengu at Fort Peddie. During the war of 1846-1847 appointed native commissioner for the Ndlambe in lower Kaffraria. 1852 appointed chief commissioner of British Kaffraria as well as president of the Kaffrarian Board. During the cattle-killing (1856-1857) created food depots and was instrumental in saving many lives. German military settlers were introduced to Kaffraria in 1857, 1858 and 1862. Supervised their settlement at Stutterheim, Frankfort, Berlin and other centres. For the guidance of the special magistrates in the Ciskei, had a *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* compiled in 1858. 1860 appointed Lt-Governor of Kaffraria. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, pp. 491-492).
28. Probably Captain C Campbell. Campbell was court-marshalled during the war of 1846-7 for abandoning wagons and retreating to Trompetter's Drift. (Frye, (Ed.), *Xhosa Bible*, p. 76 and Cory, *Rise*, Vol IV, pp. 448-449).
29. Unidentified.

## PART 4: THE JOURNAL OF THE REV WILLIAM IMPEY

CHAPTER 10: WESLEYVILLE - 1842<sup>1</sup>

5 July 1842: Wesleyville Returned yesterday from a journey to the German mission station at the Cumakale.<sup>2</sup> On Wednesday last received a letter from Mr Dugmore mentioning the severe illness of Mr Liefeldt,<sup>3</sup> resident on the station and that messengers had been sent to Fort Peddie requesting the military surgeon's attendance. Late in the evening of the same day a man arrived from Mount Coke with a hasty line stating that the surgeon was unable to visit Mr Liefeldt and asking if I could render any assistance? I made immediate preparations, and waiting only for the rising of the moon started at half past eleven and reached Mount Coke very early the next morning. Breakfasting then, Mr Dugmore and I proceeded by way of King Williams Town where Mr Brownlee kindly offered us the loan of his horses, which by the way instead of affording us much relief almost shook the very life out of us. We arrived at the Cumakale about an hour before sunset and were gladly received by Mr Döhne<sup>4</sup> etc. Found Mr Liefeldt somewhat better than he had been but still dangerously ill - bled, blistered<sup>5</sup> and administered medicine to him.

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1. 1842 is considered an important date in the history of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in South Africa as it was in this year that their work began in Natal. The Rev James Archbell moved into this region. (Eveleigh, *Short History*, p. 27).
  2. The Kaffrarian Mission of the Berlin Missionary Society established a station on the banks of the Cumakala River which adjoins the present village of Stutterheim. The station was founded by J L Döhne who had arrived in South Africa in 1836. (Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, p. 215).
  3. Liefeldt was one of Döhne's assistants on this station. (Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, p. 215).
  4. Jacob Ludwig Döhne (1811-1879) BMS missionary. Produced text books for children in Xhosa. Published *Das Kaffernland und seine Bewohner* and from 1844 onwards was involved in translating the Bible into Xhosa. Fled his station during the war of 1846-1847. Answered Sheptone's call for missionaries to go to Natal and became a minister in Pietermaritzburg. 1849 joined the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and began the Tafelberg mission in Pietermaritzburg. 1858 published a Zulu-English Dictionary. Returned to the service of the Berlin Missionary Society in 1861. Worked full-time in translating the Bible into Zulu. Taught the new missionaries for Natal to speak Zulu. Resigned from the Berlin Society owing to differences between himself and Posselt. During the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 he fled to Fort Pine where he died. (Zöllner and Heese, *Berlin missionaries*, pp. 57-58).
  5. Blistering was employed in cases of acute and chronic inflammation. It was based on the principle that irritation of the skin causes congestion of the parts immediately below the skin, while it relieves congestion of deep-seated organs through an action upon the nerves that regulate the size of the minute blood vessels. (Havard, C W H, (Ed.), (continued...))

The following day (Friday) was one of heavy continued rains effectually preventing our return home. Saturday morning we started back having the satisfaction of leaving Mr Liefeldt considerably better than we found him. Called at Mr Brownlee's and found that the buffalo had been impassable in consequence of the heavy rain but was then rapidly falling. Came in sight of Mount Coke station after sunset and then found that the river was still so high at the drift where we must cross. The natives were obliged to swim through and that a small stream, the Cimera whose junction is above the drift was a complete torrent and presented anything but a safe passage. Stripped and crossed the latter on foot with the assistance of an active Kaffir. Then mounted my favourite white horse and swam the Buffalo gallantly - right glad to reach the kindly home of Mrs Dugmore though in such a plight and to avoid the disagreeable alternative of sleeping at a Kaffir kraal without a cloak and without provisions. Spent the Sunday at Mount Coke and reached home in good time on Monday finding the whole country almost deluged with the late very acceptable rains.

I am much gratified with the experience of some of the members of our native Class on this station, our society here though small alas is not, I trust, unlearned in the mysteries of the gospel of Christ. The other Sunday Old Leah, whilst I was catechising the whole congregation, pleased me with one of her answers. When speaking on the omnipresence of God, I asked for some direct proof of this doctrine. She replied: "We know that God is everywhere because wherever we are when we pray to Him we feel Him". Other manifest great anxiety for the salvation of those around who are still living in heathen darkness, but I fear we make but small aggression upon the kingdom of darkness. I generally visit once a week, a number of people residing near the coast amongst whom is Joseph Wesley, once a truly pious convert but now a fallen man having gone back to the heathen practice of polygamy. When remonstrating with him on this subject, he seemed disposed to defend his conduct and to maintain that it was no sin that he had committed, and even that he was still living in the favour of God. He asked where a positive prohibition of polygamy was to be found in the Bible and quoted the Old Testament saints as his precedents,<sup>6</sup> I found it useless to attempt to argue with him and can only

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5. (...continued)

*Black's Medical Dictionary* (Barnes and Noble Books, Totowa, New Jersey, 1987) p. 88).

6. Wesleyans agree that there are no specific commands in the Bible against polygamy but suggest that it is often assumed to be wrong. They suggest that it is clear that God's plan for marriage is that it should be between one man and one woman (Gen 2:24). They suggest that Jesus sanctioned the only right form of marriage as between one man and one woman (Matt 19:4-6). Polygamy, according to Wesleyans is best understood in the light of Paul's explanation of God's longsuffering (continued...)

hope for renewed convictions of the Holy Spirit to enlighten not his understanding but his heart.

13 July 1842: Wednesday. The day appointed for the Quarterly Meeting of the Border missionaries etc. With the exception of two all present.

14 July 1842: Thursday. This morning held our meeting. A good feeling prevailed. No business of particular interest. Mr Walker about to remove to Somerset, to be relieved by Mr Dennison.<sup>7</sup>

19 July 1842: Suffering from an attack of diarrhoea. Have lately enjoyed some seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord - but in general feel much spiritual deadness: "Whilt Thou not revive us again"?<sup>8</sup>

24 October 1842: Four years this day since my ordination in Queen Street Chapel, London during which how varied has been my experience. But alas, the prominent feature casting all other into the shade is that great unfaithfulness - vows broken and renewed Grace received, and cast away the light of God's countenance, rejoiced in and forfeited. Now a feeble effort in the divine work and then a long lapse into the lethargy of worldliness. But now - the past I may weep over but cannot change. Now shall it be. Return unto thy rest oh my soul. Shall it not be again Lord, if Thou wilt receive the wanderer. I come again if Thou wilt renew my commission. Behold the servant of the Lord. Take me, refashion me after Thine own mould. Yet make me a monument of Thy power and grace. Oh show forth in me Thy greatest glory Let all behold in me Thy true omnipotence. My saviour Thou canst do all things. Display then this thy highest power the cleansing of such a heart, the consecrating of such a vessel - and Thy work now let it be for ever mine, here in the land of the heathen make bare thine arm. As yet Lord, we have not yet proved Thee, but let the blessing come.

27 October 1842: Much indisposed in body - but blessed be God have of late been somewhat refreshed in soul. Marvellous are the operations of the Lord's Spirit. The wind bloweth where it listeth and we hear the sound thereof but cannot tell whence it cometh or wither it goeth.<sup>9</sup> My soul has been visited

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6. (...continued)  
with other shortcomings of ancient people (Acts 17:30). (Harper, *Wesley Bible*, p. 27).

7. Not identified.

8. Wilt thou not revive us again: that thy people may rejoice in thee? (Psalm 85:6, AV).

9. John 3:8a, AV.

by gracious influences from on high - but they have come I know not how almost unasked, unsought. Verily all is of grace, free grace. But alas! how cold yet. How little of the Christian life, not to say that high character of such life which a minister ought at all times to exhibit and enjoy.

7 November 1842: Monday. Yesterday Mr Dugmore conducted the Kaffir services. The members of society upon the whole attend well. But alas! How little we appear to be affecting in the great work. But few attend services and fewer still give evidence of any serious impressions. During the week have been "in great heaviness through manifold temptations"<sup>10</sup> - somewhat impressed with a sense of the importance of entire devotedness to the work but greatly weighed down with a sluggishness of spirit - the bane of all that is requisite for such devotion. "O Lord my soul cleaveth unto the dust quicken Thou me according to thy word."<sup>11</sup>

19 November 1842: Saturday. During the week Mr Shaw and Mr T Smith<sup>12</sup> paid us a visit on their way up to the District Meeting at Morley. Rode over to Mount Coke on business for Mr Dugmore.

10 December 1842: We have lately been visited with some refreshing rains the more acceptable as coming after a more than ordinarily long drought. One of the Kaffirs observed to me that he thought there was no more rain "not even in the place where God dwelt." The rain makers have got into some disrepute. Having set the people to work at the dam which during the last rain leaked much, these operations were considered by many as certain ceremonies connected with rain making and as the rain fell almost immediately, perhaps I might gain some credit as a Doctor were I so disposed! The country is yet however very dry and unless more rain falls shortly the crops will suffer materially.

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10. 1 Peter 1:6b, AV.

11. Psalm 119:25, AV.

12. Thornley Smith arrived in South Africa in 1840. He served in Grahamstown and Cape Town. (Gower, 'Index', p. 204).

PART 4: THE JOURNAL OF THE REV WILLIAM IMPEY

CHAPTER 11: MOUNT COKE - 1843-1845

29 May 1843: Mount Coke. Today Umhala with several attendants visited us on their way to Fort Peddie. Some of his people residing in this neighbourhood have been "eaten up" during the past week for supposed witchcraft. I remonstrated with him on the inhuman practice of torturing with ants, fire etc. in such cases. This led to an animated discussion on the main subject as to the reality of the power pretended to by many, of exerting evil influence over the persons and property of others and also of the pretensions of the doctors of the land. I could not conscientiously say there is no such thing as witchcraft - finding it, as I do, numbered in the Holy Scripture with the works of darkness and existing either really or affectedly in all heathen countries. There is no doubt that many of the individuals who are punished for this crime, whether they really possess the power of injuring others or not, imagine they do so and that such power is obtained by the use of certain ceremonies generally the hiding of some substance in the kraal or other places. These things then becomes the "ubutu" or bewitching matter.

The ground I took in the argument was this - either such things are true or they are not, if they are not how foolish to believe in or be afraid of them, but if they are true, they are amongst the works of the devil and must fall before the Word of God. That they can have no power over believers and that I was ready to test this whenever he would call me to any place where the "ubutu" was hid. Umhala argues well and displays great acuteness.

30 May 1843: Tuesday. Today several of our native members from the D'Urban station passed on a cattle buying expedition - they spent the night here and we had a very interesting service in the evening when several spoke of their Christian experience in a clear and satisfactory manner especially as to the reception of the great blessing of the pardon of sins. I trust it may have the effect of stirring up some on this station to seek the same blessing with greater earnestness. Being old acquaintances I made them a present of a few knives etc. with which they were highly delighted.

1 June 1843: Thursday. Engaged putting up a few rough slabs as seats for the people in our little chapel.

7 June 1843: Dr and Mrs Blaine<sup>1</sup> are with us on their way to Port Natal<sup>2</sup> now

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1. Benjamin Blaine (1815-1872) medical practitioner and magistrate. After obtaining a MB CM from Glasgow University in 1838 and a MRCS in England in 1841 he practised in Kent and Wiltshire before coming to South  
(continued...)

taken up by the home government as a British Colony. Mr Blaine is anxious to arrive before the departure of Commissioner Cloete.<sup>3</sup>

11 June 1843: Sunday. A good feeling was I trust experienced in our little congregation today when I endeavoured to preach Christ Jesus "The Way, the truth and the life."<sup>4</sup>

12 June 1843: Rode over to the Tamara to consult with Mr Kidd as to his removing to Wesleyville, his present station to be occupied by Mr Sargent<sup>5</sup> a young colonial man who is just coming out into the work. Hearing that Mr Shepstone<sup>6</sup> Royal Agent with Colonel Somerset<sup>7</sup> and a number of troops was

1. (...continued)

Africa in 1842. 1846 appointed Natal's first District Surgeon. 1852 appointed assistant magistrate for the Klip River (Ladysmith) area and four years later became the resident magistrate. (*DSAB*, Vol.III, pp. 70-71).

2. Port Natal was the early name for Durban. The name is derived from the Portuguese *Terra do Natal* meaning 'land of the birth (of Jesus Christ)' and was given to the area in 1497 by Vasco da Gama who reached it on Christmas Day. (*Raper, Place Names*, p. 269). Natal was annexed to the Cape in December 1842. (*Brookes, E H, and Webb, C, A history of Natal* (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1979) p. 48).
3. Hendrik (Henry) Cloete (1792-1870), lawyer. After studying in Europe and England, returned to South Africa and was appointed deputy secretary to the court of justice. Left government service and practised as an advocate. 1843 appointed special commissioner in Natal by Sir George Napier. Was to effect a settlement with the Voortrekker volksraad of Natal, to secure the submission of the Voortrekker volksraad to British authority, consult them on the form of their future government and register land claims. After negotiations with the Zulu king Mpande, recommended the new boundaries of the Natal colony and tried to make provision for the settlement of the Zulu population. Left Natal in May 1844, but returned a year later as recorder of the district court. Later appointed as the sole judge for Natal. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, pp. 171-172).
4. John 14:6, AV.
5. William Sargeant (d.1896), WMM. Reputedly the first baby born at Salem after the arrival of the 1820 settlers. Baptised by William Shaw, received into the church by him and later ordained by him. First appointment was to Port Elizabeth in 1844. Also served at Wesleyville, Annshaw, Grahamstown and Healdtown. (*Eveleigh, Settlers and Methodism*, pp. 127-128 Gower, 'Index', p. 202 and Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, pp. 238 and 269).
6. Theophilus Shepstone (1817-1893), Xhosa linguist and government official. Eldest son of the Rev (John) William Shepstone. Mission life enabled Shepstone to become fluent in Xhosa (and efficient in Zulu) and gave him a good knowledge of Xhosa life and customs. Attended the Salem Wesleyan school. Linguistic ability gave him his first government job in 1834 as interpreter to the governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. Hereafter constantly employed on the frontier. Commanded the Mfengu trek  
(continued...)

expected, waited until evening to see Mr Sargent. The troops have entered Kaffirland to demand stolen cattle in possession of the chief Tola.<sup>8</sup> He has fled and all the cattle were scattered about amongst the various tribes. Mr Shepstones present object is to obtain them from the chiefs of the respective tribes. He is accompanied by 200 of the Cape Mounted Rifles, 200 Fingoes and a force of European troops is in readiness at the drift<sup>9</sup> of the Keiskamma. Apparently all will be peaceably settled and it is to be hoped that such active measures will have the effect of stopping the now unbearable predatory excursions of the Kaffirs into the Colony.

Rode home by moonlight. Met a man despatched by the anxiety of my wife occasioned both by my absence and the sickness of our child.

16 June 1843: Yesterday and today the troops have been encamped here. Colonel Somerset and Major Armstrong<sup>10</sup> have spent the evenings with us. A few cattle

6. (...continued)

- organised by the Rev John Ayliff and acted as interpreter to Colonel Harry Smith in many of his negotiations. 1838 accompanied Major Samuel Charters on an expedition to Natal. Appointed resident agent and justice of the peace to the Mfengu at Peddie. There was an attempt on his life which resulted instead in the murder of the German missionary, Ernst Scholtz. Removed to Natal in 1845 and was appointed diplomatic agent to the Zulu people of Natal. 1856 appointed secretary for native affairs. 1876 became administrator of the Transvaal. He retired from this position in 1880. (*DSAB*, Vol.I, pp. 715-721).
7. Henry Somerset. See chapter 1, p. 17.
8. Tola was an imiDange leader who lived at Funah's Kloof, close to fort Victoria. It was one of his men whose theft of an axe at Fort Beaufort in March 1846 precipitated the outbreak of war. (*Le Cordeur and Saunders, War of the Axe 1847*, p. 74).
9. Peddie is situated nearer to the Fish River than the Kei and is in line with two important crossings over these rivers viz. Trompetter's Drift and Line Drift (over the Keiskamma). From Fort Peddie one could view and control the movements of people from its vantage point. (*Frye, (Ed.), Xosa Bible*, p. 1 and *Pollock, N C, and Agnew, S, An historical geography of South Africa* (Longmans, London, 1963) p. 77).
10. Alexander Boswell Armstrong (1787-1862) British military officer. Began military career in 1812 as Second Lieutenant in 21st Royal North British Fusiliers. Served in Europe and North America. Came to the Cape Colony in 1818 as adjutant of the Royal African Corps. Active in the defence of Grahamstown when the town was attacked by Ndlambe on 22.4.1819. Transferred to the Cape Corps. 1844 promoted to the rank of Major. 1833 employed in an important diplomatic mission to the tribes to the north of the Orange River. December 1833 appointed Justice of the Peace for Albany and Somerset and was given general superintendence over the Kat River Settlement. Supervised the building of forts after the Sixth Frontier War. (*DSAB*, Vol.V, p. 18).

have been given up by Xamli.<sup>11</sup> The troops march early in the morning on their return to Fort Wiltshire.

28 June 1843: A dreadful storm of rain. One side of the chapel washed down and the house has also suffered severely.<sup>12</sup> Umhala here on return home from Fort Peddie. He complains that Gazela<sup>13</sup> when directed by the government to seize the cattle of Tola took cattle belonging to Amahlambi. This course involved him with Gazela and he also wishes to remonstrate with the colonial government. It appears, Mr Shepstone would have no communication with him on the subject. As yet having heard but one side of the question I can form no judgement but Umhala seems to take the matter very ill.

6 July 1843: Forwarded Umhala's remonstrate to the government authorities but in answer it appears that this chief has been playing<sup>14</sup> a very dishonest part in the late occurrences, secreting instead of delivering up the cattle of Tola. I have had a long and serious conversation with Umhala on the more weighty concerns of the kingdom of God but as usual find him though consenting to all that is said, deplorably indifferent at heart.

13 July 1843: Have been much interested in an account given in the Missionary Notices<sup>15</sup> of the state of our missions in South Western Africa amongst the Damaras<sup>16</sup> and Namaquas.<sup>17</sup> I have some doubts as to the propriety of our

11. A minor Xhosa chief.
12. '... whilst in many parts of the country the crops have been almost entirely destroyed by the locusts, we have hitherto been preserved from that scourge, and there is every prospect of our people reaping an abundant harvest'. (WMR, 1844, p. 60).
13. A minor Xhosa chief. (Peires, J, *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7* (Ravan, Johannesburg, 1989) pp. 15-16).
14. The original says 'acting'.
15. Reference to the WMN (see bibliography).
16. The Damara were early inhabitants of the South West African region, living there before the Herero and Khoikhoi peoples. They were known to speak the same language of the Khoi, but had darker complexions. The general view is that the Khoi arrived in South West Africa and found the Damara as the indigenous peoples, subjected them and as a result the Damara adopted the Khoi language. (Vedder, H, 'The Berg Damara' in *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* (Cape Times, Cape Town, 1928) p. 40-41).
17. The Namaqua originated probably from the Nama, a so-called Hottentot group originally living in what used to be South West Africa. Many are believed to have moved into the region south of the Orange River. (Vedder, H, 'The Nama' in *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* (Cape Times, Cape Town, 1928) p. 113).

maintaining so large a missionary establishment amongst nations that are almost totally indifferent to the subject of the gospel message, evincing no desire for missionary instruction.<sup>18</sup> These Damaras express so great and apparently so sincere an anxiety for religious teachers and amongst whom in fact there are already numerous converts. Surely a people generally desirous of a missionary [like the Damaras] and who have already number a society of more than 100 ought to have one sent to them immediately.

*21 August 1843:* Returned last week from a visit to Grahams Town. On talking over with Mr Shaw the affairs of this station, we have decided on building a dam across the river to enable us to go on with the long intended watercourse. We are now only waiting to engage a suitable workman to undertake the job. On our way home, spent a Sunday at the Beka and persuaded Mr and Mrs Appleyard to accompany us to Mount Coke for a few days. They overtook us at the Tamara where we were detained one day by the rain.

*28 August 1843:* Heavy rains. Mr Appleyard prevented from taking his appointment at Fort Beaufort on Sunday last - weather permitting he will be there next Sabbath.

*5 September 1843:* The country has been visited with a most extraordinary rain - all the rivers completely flooded. The Buffalo has not been known to be so high for 14 years. My garden is completely under water and a large portion of strong bush fence has been carried away.

*7 September 1843:* Mr Appleyard returned from Fort Beaufort having, with some difficulty, crossed the rivers - being detained one day by the Keiskamma.

*10 September 1843:* Sunday. As yet my interpreter has not arrived from the Colony. I am therefore obliged to hold services by reading portions of Scripture and articles from the *Isibuto Samavo*.<sup>19</sup> With the latter the people seem greatly interested.

*17 September 1843:* A larger congregation today than we have seen since we came to Mount Coke. Boesac<sup>20</sup> not yet being here, I was constrained to use one of

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18. Impey is probably referring to the reluctance of the Xhosa for the gospel message and suggests that missionaries should go where they are more needed.
  19. The standard reference works on Xhosa publications do not have details about a publication of this name.
  20. Described as 'one of our native members at Mount Coke'. (Frye, (Ed.), *Xosa Bible*, p. 93).

the female members of the Society, who understands a little Dutch, as an interpreter.

*20 September 1843:* Wednesday. This day have been plunged into great affliction by the falling into temptation of poor Tambo. In an evil hour Satan has got the advantage over him and now he must not only be expelled the Society, but must (for a season at least) leave the station. I feel for him as though he were my own child. The Lord in great mercy restore him. Alas! how far am I guilty in this matter? Have I sufficiently watched over him? Have I warned him as I ought of the danger to which he was exposed? O my God humble me in all this. Cleanse Thou the thoughts of my heart and by Thy all sufficient grace enable me to deliver my soul of the sins of all men and oh grant that neither by this defection nor by any great unfaithfulness may Thy cause be hindered among the heathen.

*1 October 1843:* Sunday. A larger congregation today than I have ever seen at Mount Coke. Boesac (the interpreter) having arrived yesterday, we were able to conduct service with somewhat more of life and spirit than has been the case of late. Lord send now prosperity.

*2 October 1843:* Rode over to King Williams Town.

*9 October 1843:* Spent yesterday at Wesleyville. A tolerably good congregation. Met the Class for Tickets and administered the sacrament. The Lord was in our midst.

*15 October 1843:* Sunday. Mount Coke. Our congregations have of late considerably increased. Today five adults were admitted in full as members of the church by baptism and in the afternoon the sacrament was administered. Mr Sargeant and his sister from the Tamara joined us on the occasion.

*29 October 1843:* Sunday. At the Tamara. Preaching. Met the Class for Tickets - a tolerably good congregation.

*3 November 1843:* Today observed two inverted (one circular) rainbows near the sun. The inner one about 20 degrees distant and the outer about 40. The same phenomenon was observed by the Kaffirs - several of whom were assembled at a kraal feasting. They were much alarmed so much so as to disperse.

*5 November 1843*: Sunday. Good congregations and very attentive. When I exhorted them to lay up for themselves "Treasures in heaven where neither moth nor rust do corrupt and where thieves do not break through and steal ..."21

*16 November 1843*: Today Mr Webb,<sup>22</sup> artisan engaged to carry on the works at this station, arrived. Our first attempt will be to build a dam and complete a water course - then build a new house and chapel.

*17 and 18 November 1843*: Engaged making preparatory surveys of the river etc.

*20 November 1843*: Rode over to King Williams Town to inspect the water courses constructed by Mr Brownlee. In returning we followed the river down its course in order to examine whether a better site for the station might not be found a little higher up than the present. Although both above and below the present site there are greater facilities offered for leading out the water, yet the land would be in either case, of less extent and we have come to the conclusion that upon the whole this is decidedly the best spot we can find and certainly the most beautiful.

The congregations continue to increase but a sad indifference still prevails amongst all. We have now a service every morning at sunrise, the evening services being during the long days so very late.

*22 November 1843*: Umhala and his retinue have arrived on a few days visit - a tax on time, patience and provisions. I am sorry to consider the visits of the chiefs in this light but fear that little good is effected by our intercourse. Oh when shall the hearts of both chiefs and peoples be turned unto the Lord.

*25 November 1843*: Saturday. Umhala has today expressed a desire to go home and has asked for his presents which according to custom were given to him. I very much doubt whether this practice of continually making presents to the chiefs is productive of much good? On their part, it is frequently the occasion of extortionate demands which are anything but agreeable to the missionary. Tomorrow being the day appointed for a change with Mr Sargeant of the Tamara, to avoid Sunday travelling we make the exchange this evening.

*26 November 1843*: Sunday. At the Tamara station - tolerably good congregation.

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21. Matthew 6:19 and Luke 12:21, AV.

22. Joshua Webb - no further details available.

27 November 1843: Returned home early this morning. On my arrival found that Umhala still on the station and was much grieved to hear of his behaviour in my absence. It appears that on Sunday evening greatly to the annoyance of my interpreter he commenced a suit to the intent of obtaining his daughter to wife. Much time was spent in passing sundry messages until Boesac requested Mr Sargeant to interfere and put a stop to the discussion. I immediately sent for the chief and requested of him an explanation to know whether he was in earnest in the matter. He at once declared that he was and requested that I would aid him therein that the girl might be given him to wife that he might have "one to teach him school custom"!

I remonstrated with him on the absurdity of his entertaining such an idea. The father and mother of the girl, being both Christians, could never consent to marry their daughter to a heathen who has already numerous wives, and that it was still less likely that the missionary could sanction such a proceeding. We had a long talk but to no purpose. He still persisted in his demand and used every entreaty to engage me on his behalf. He had already offered several cattle and a horse to the father of the girl. At last I told him that he had better at once make up his mind to think no more about it for it was impossible that he could ever have the girl for the reasons stated. Besides, she was on the point of being married to a young man on the station. Knowing the custom in these matters, I informed him that after his return home it would be of no avail his sending messengers to talk further on the subject for they would not be listened to. He replied "I shall send!" I then answered "If you do, I shall consider the messengers come not on this ground but to annoy and drive me away. My answer is already given and is unalterable." Still he persisted "I shall send" and eventually took his departure in evident ill humour not even bidding his good byes.

From the well known disposition of Umhala I am assured that he will not readily be balked and I therefore expect that we shall have some trouble in the affair. Boesac talks of returning to the Colony to escape the chief's importunity and even seems to fear that force may be employed to obtain the girl. I shall be sorry to lose him and think that Umhala will scarcely proceed to such an extremity.

In the evening received a note from Mr Brownlee stating that a messenger had just arrived at King Williams Town bearing intelligence that the wife of the trader residing at the mouth of the Buffalo had fallen and injured her hand severely and was unable to speak. He begged of me, if possible, to go down and see her and render some assistance. Being too late to start today, tomorrow morning I shall go early.

29 November 1843: Returned from the mouth of the Buffalo about six hours ride. Found the trader's wife much better but sadly stunned and with remaining symptoms of derangement of the brain. A pleasant though long ride through a most beautiful country.

1 December 1843: Today (Friday) we have commenced our long talked of water-course. We began clearing the bush preparatory to making a dam across the river. The Lord prosper our undertaking.

2 December 1843: Saturday. This evening a man arrived from Umhala with a horse stating that the chief was at his cattle place with the cattle which he had said he would give Boesac for his daughter and intended being here on Monday. The Horse is also part of the payment. I told him I had nothing at all to say to him, the matter was already settled. Had he come on any other errand I should have talked with him, but today I did not know him.

4 December 1843: Monday. Today brethren Davis<sup>23</sup> and Appleyard paid us a visit for the purpose of considering and drawing up an answer to a circular received from Dr Irwin Mins, the Government Superintendent of Education in the Colony<sup>24</sup> requiring sundry information as to the state of missionary operations (especially in the educational department) amongst the tribes connected by Treaty with the Colonial Government. I was the more glad to see these brethren in order to obtain their advice in this matter of Umhala. I hoped the chief himself might have been here according to promise that he might have had a personal interview with them. When the messenger, who arrived on Saturday with the Horse, was about to return Boesac sent answer to Umhala that he had but one word. His daughter he could not have. The word was not his alone but that of all the missionaries, and so much was he convinced that the demand of Umhala was opposed to the laws of God that even were Mr Shaw, the chief of the missionaries to be consulted and he to say "Yes let the girl be given to the chief" by such a compliance Mr Shaw himself would fall and would cease to be a true missionary of God's Word. I am much pleased at the interpreter's firmness. When the chief tempted him with offers of cattle he replied "Were all the cattle of the Amahlambi collected and brought here for the purpose of obtaining the girl - it cannot be!"

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23. William John Davis, WMM stationed at D'Urban (Albany) (1842), Queenstown and Shawbury (1873) (Gower, 'Index', p. 195).

24. Impey is mistaken. The superintendent of education was James Innes. He was appointed in 1839 and served, at least until the 1850s. There is no mention of either 'Irwin' or 'Mins' in Malherbe's definitive work. (Malherbe, E G, *Education in South Africa (1652-1922)* (Juta, Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1925) pp. 71-84).

*5 December 1843:* Today we spent in surveying the intended watercourse and drawing up answers to Dr Irwin's enquiries. In the evening two of the work people (not resident on the station) on making a demand for tobacco and being refused, became very insolent to brother Davis. They went so far that brother Davis thought such conduct ought to be reported to the chief. He sent off a man to the "great place" for that purpose.

*6 December 1843:* The messenger has returned with the thanks of the chief that such insolent conduct to the missionaries is at once reported to him. The chief gave assurances that proper notice shall be taken of it.

*9 December 1843:* Saturday. This evening Tetu and several others from the chiefs residence arrived to enquire into the affair reported to him. On the people being called, a long investigation took place which resulted in the complete establishment of their guilt and a notice that they must pay cattle on that account.

*10 December 1843:* Sunday. A very large congregation who this day heard words "whereby they may be saved." But alas! how many will? Was somewhat encouraged this morning in speaking a few words to one of the residents on the station the wife of one of the members - she herself having been but a short time here. She evidently feels much, and is I trust, in a hopeful way for the kingdom.

*11 December 1843:* Having understood that one of the parties found guilty of insolent conduct to the missionaries had expressed great sorrow at what has passed and appears much humbled. I this morning interceded for him with Tetu and procured the remission of his sentence - he had already paid 3 head of cattle. Both he and his aged mother displayed no little gratitude at this interference on their behalf. He frankly acknowledged his fault and asked forgiveness. The other man I have not seen but hear that he has appealed to Umhala personally. If so and he continues to defend his conduct, the matter must of course be left to the decision of the chiefs.

The whole affair has given me much pain but I trust it will now be overruled for the good of the mission and the furtherance of the cause of Christ. An opportunity has been thus afforded of showing the people that though as servants of God we cannot willingly submit that He should be insulted in us. Yet as ministers of the gospel of Christ we are men of peace and lovers of concord and have learned of Him from whom we have received mercy, to show the same to others.

The Lord's name be blessed for ever. He ordereth all things aright - and even these our trials shall work together for our good and for the glory of his name.<sup>25</sup>

*13 December 1843:* Umhala arrived last evening and some disposition was manifested to recall the pardon obtained for Panie.<sup>26</sup> This of course I would not listen to and as the other man also acknowledged his faults and expressed his sorrow for past conduct, both were dismissed with a reprimand and this ends the matter.

When Umhala was about to start I requested him to take away the horse which had been sent as part payment for the girl whom he wishes to have to wife. This he refused to do and persisted in his request but at the same time expressed an unwillingness to talk further at this time. I therefore sent for the horse with the intention of delivering it to the chief, upon which he and his party made great haste and succeeded in taking their departure before the horse could be caught. His men however threatened any of my people who should dare to attempt to deliver the horse.

*20 December 1843:* Returned from a few days visit at Wesleyville. Preached, administered the sacrament and gave tickets to the Society there.

Tambo and his wife (the girl desired by Umhala married a few days ago to Tambo) accompanied us to be out of the way of any further annoyance, and from Wesleyville have gone into the Colony (it not being thought prudent or safe for them to remain in Kaffirland). Poor Tambo wept like a child at having to leave us.

*22 December 1843:* Umhala spent last night at the station but though Tetu came to see us he did not and is evidently much offended. A message or two were exchanged but he did not come near the mission house. Whether he will, now that the girl is completely out of his reach, let the matter quietly die away remains to be seen.

*25 December 1843:* This morning we held service in the chapel having announced our intention to do so yesterday (Sunday). A large congregation assembled unto whom I preached the "glad tidings of great joy which are unto all people that unto you is born a Saviour which is Christ the Lord".<sup>27</sup> About 80 people

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25. Romans 8:28 and James 1:2ff, AV.

26. Panie was probably one of the men whose punishment had been lifted. (See entry for 11 December).

27. Luke 2:10, AV.

CHAPTER 11: *Mount Coke - 1843-1845*

afterwards dined on the roast and boiled mutton, soup and plum pudding and in the evening the residents on the station drank coffee together in the chapel. All seemed to enjoy themselves much. Oh that many may come unto the "feast of good things" which the glorious gospel of the blessed God provides as for perishing sinners.

3 February 1844: Returned from Grahams Town where our annual District Meeting<sup>28</sup> has been held. By the heavy and continued rains all the rivers have been more than heavily swollen, such floods as have not been known for the last twenty years. Left Grahams Town on Monday last and rode down to Trompettors Drift<sup>29</sup> expecting to cross the Fish River on the boat, but found the post to which the rope is attached carried away. Seeing no probability of being able to cross there for many days, returned and slept at Mr Honey's,<sup>30</sup> Collingham. Next morning proceeded to Fort Brown, but hearing that the Koonap was also impassable spent another night there with Captain Maclean of the 27th who was exceedingly hospitable. Met with brother Ayliff also waiting for the assuaging of the waters. Brother Holden<sup>31</sup> [was trapped?] between the rivers, five days.

On Wednesday heard that the Koonap was fordable but that one man, a sergeant of the 91st, had been drowned in attempting to cross the preceding day. Pushed on in company with Mr Ayliff to Mr Warner's<sup>32</sup> residence on the Kat River, hoping to cross there, but found that also impassable. Next day rode to Fort Beaufort and spent the night with brother Holden. On Friday morning rode to Mr Stretch's at the Tyumie Vale. Dined with Captain Stretch. Met with Mr

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28. The District Meeting of 20 January 1844 appointed Impey to replace William Boyce as Secretary of the District Meeting and recommended him to continue at Mount Coke.
29. This fort was erected on one of the most important routes to the interior. The route gave traders access to 'Kaffir Land'. The drift crossed the Great Fish River and was named after a Khoi captain, Hans Trompetter. The first fort was established there in 1834. (Heaton, J R, 'Trompetter's Drift, Eastern Cape Province', in *Annals of the Cape Provincial Museums (Human Sciences)*, (1)2, 1982, pp. 27-53).
30. Probably, Jeremiah Honey (1783-1853) of Clarke's Party of 1820 Settlers. (Nash, *Settler Handbook*, p. 25).
31. William Clifford Holden (1814-1897), WMM and author. Africa. Arrived in Cape Town in 1840. Appointed to Colesberg from where he served both Cradock and the Beka Mission in Kaffraria. Moved to Natal in 1847. After the arrival of British immigrants in 1850 built new chapel to accommodate them. Moved back to the Cape Colony in 1853 and completed his first book, *History of the Colony of Natal*. 1866 published *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races* and 1877, *A brief history of Methodism and Methodist missions in South Africa*. 1879 published *British rule in South Africa, illustrated in the story of Kama and his tribe, and the war in Zululand*. Edited *Reminiscences of the early life and missionary labours of the Rev. John Edwards* which appeared in 1883. (DSAB, Vol.III, p. 408).
32. Joseph Warner was 12 years of age when his parents came out to South Africa with the 1820 Settlers. Appointed assistant to the Rev Richard Haddy at Clarkebury and was recommended for the ministry. Worked at Imvani and Lesseyton. Forced to retire from the ministry due to illness and subsequently accepted appointment as British Resident among the Tembus. Many called him the 'Uncrowned King of the Tembus'. (Eveleigh, *Settlers and Methodism*, pp. 128-129).

Charles Brownlee going home to King Williams Town and gladly availed myself of his offer of guidance through the country. In the afternoon rode to Mr Kayser's<sup>33</sup> station on the Keiskamma and spent a very pleasant evening with Mr Kayser and his family. Spoke a few words to the people at the usual evening service. Saturday reached home having been six days on a journey usually performed in one and a half. By the mercy of God found all well and now resume the labours of the station.

*12 February 1844:* Rode with Mr Webb to King Williams Town intending to proceed to the bush near Mr Ross's station in search of timber. We were advised by Mr Brownlee to cut it in the head of the Cimera. Returned accordingly. Mr Kidd came over from Wesleyville with the waggon to take Miss Kidd home.

*14 February 1844:* Started for the bush. Slept in the Cimera.

*15 February 1844:* With some little difficulty found the place spoken of by Mr Brownlee. Pitched our tent - took the body of the waggon off the wheels and made preparation for a commencement next morning.

*16 February 1844:* Found some beautiful timber and felled several blocks one measuring 45 ft.

*17 February 1844:* Rode over to Bethel, the German mission station to seek additional help for our timber felling. Found Mr Lange and Mr Döhne at home and in the afternoon went on to Mr Posselt's<sup>34</sup> station about 1½ hours ride. Returned in the evening.

*18 February 1844:* Sunday. Spent to day with Mr Lange. Mr Lange preached in Dutch and Mr Döhne in Kaffir. The latter is very fluent and very animated. Was much affected by the accounts Mr Döhne gave me of his privations when he first commenced the mission.

*19 February 1844:* Returned to the Bush and home. Mr Webb will come with the first load of timber.

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33. Friedrich Gottfried Kayser (1800-1868) LMS missionary. Arrived at Bethelsdorp in the last quarter of 1827. Later served as the missionary to Maqoma. (Hummel C (Ed.) *Kayser*).

34. Carl Wilhelm Posselt (1815-1885), BMS missionary and Lutheran minister. Arrived in South Africa in 1839 and for short terms served at Bethel (Stutterheim), Ithemba (1840-42), Emmaus (1843) and Indwe (1845). (*DSAB*, Vol. 1, pp.627-628.).

*11 March 1844:* We have commenced the foundation of the house, but have been obliged to give up the idea of cutting our own timber and have accordingly made arrangements for the purchase of it. Some of the people fell sick at the bush, others unaccustomed to the work grew faint-hearted. Perhaps on the whole we save by buying.

Today I have had a visit from a young chief a nephew of Umhala who wishes to have a missionary reside with him. I told him that it was out of the question our forming fresh stations at present but urged him to remove near us at Mount Coke. I fear his desire for God's word does not go so far as to induce him to take such a step. He seems a promising young man. May the Spirit of the Lord incline his heart to receive the truth and the knowledge and love thereof.

*July 1844:* [No specific date given] After a long visit to the Colony where I have had the pleasure of meeting my dear father and family on their arrival from England. I have been most unexpectedly called to undertake a journey to the Bechuana Country to assist in some settlement of brother Boyce's affairs. We are again settled at Mount Coke. My brother Richard accompanies us with the intention of commencing a trading establishment at Mount Coke.

Have received several visits from various chiefs begging as usual -- but I have almost come to the determination to desist from the practice of making so many presents to these unreasonable men. The young chief mentioned above has repeated his request for a missionary accompanied with a request for a trader and at the same time asking many gifts. I dealt plainly and faithfully with him, telling him that I somewhat doubted the sincerity of his application and the purity of his motives and again urged upon him the test of a removal nearer the mission station.

An affecting occurrence took place near the Tamara (Equgwala) a few days ago. The wife of a young man was taken ill and died. He felt the bereavement so severely that one morning, taking his gun and leaving his companions as if for the purpose of hunting, he deliberately placed the muzzle under his chin, his toe upon the trigger and in a moment was a dead man. Cases of suicide are very rare in Kaffirland.

*7 August 1844:* Having heard that Umhala has been ill for some time I believed it my duty to visit him, and accordingly started yesterday morning accompanied by the interpreter. A few miles from home we met a son of the chief with two attendants coming to the station to ask a blanket and a sheep. They turned back with us, offsaddled at a kraal in the Xarun<sup>35</sup> and had a little talk with

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35. Not identified.

the people there. These people truly sit in darkness and in the region of the shadow of death.

To make sure in the event of a hungry season shot a dove on the path and towards evening a paauw.<sup>36</sup> Arrived at the 'Great Place' a little after sunset and were shown to the house of one of Umhala's wives. After sitting awhile the chief himself came to us and entered into a conversation on the subjects of his sickness, the news of the country etc. The people of the place were then called together and listened attentively to a short address. Boesac prayed and they were dismissed. I cooked the dove upon the ashes, boiled the kettle for coffee and retired to rest - a mat for a bed and my saddle for a pillow. In the morning after breakfast we had again a small but attentive congregation whilst I endeavoured to explain and enforce our Lord's words "Ye must be born again etc."<sup>37</sup> We then saddled up returned home, calling to see the trader resident in the Xarun, read a chapter and prayed with him and his wife and received a commission to procure for them a large Holy Bible. Had my journey had no other object than to visit and pray with these English people, I trust it would not have been in vain. I cannot say I feel much flattered by my reception at Umhala's, for though civil and attentive, little or nothing was given us in the way of food. But such is their way - "give, give, give".

These visits to the Kaffirs at their own homes always depress me. The obstacles to their reception of the gospel and this civilization seem so many that unbelief cries out "How can these things be?" A few may be gathered into the fold, but shall we in our day behold any great and general turning of this people to the things that pertain unto their welfare "Thou God knowest".

*12 August 1844:* Our congregations during the past two sabbaths have been small owing to the inclemency of the weather. During the week we have been engaged in ploughing etc. Our building progresses but slowly. At some of our evening services I have had to deal plainly with the people, who are I fear careless and indolent in their souls' concerns as well as in temporal matters. How much we all need the reviving influences of the Holy Spirit. At our little English Class we have felt the presence of the Lord and master and are I trust devoting ourselves afresh to His service.

*12 September 1844:* We have again heard rumours of war between the Kaffirs and the Colony. Sandile appears disposed to resist the demands of the Colonial Government, as compensation for thefts and fines for murder, and as we understand sent a message to Umhala inviting the aid of that chief. Umhala

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36. Not identified.

37. John 3:3, AV.

refuses and refers him to Rili.<sup>38</sup> The troops yet occupy the Neutral Territory<sup>39</sup> and many of the young men of the various tribes are anxious to prove their guns in a second war. They foolishly consider themselves in a very different position to which they were in the last war then having no guns, but forgetting at the same time that the experience then gained by the British far more than counterbalances any questionable advantages the possession a lot of miserable guns can afford.

At Mount Coke however we continue all quiet and peaceable, though some of our neighbours have been discussing the probability of a sweep of cattle and horses from the stations. I do not fear any outbreak at present, but think it very likely that the unsettled affairs of the frontier will eventually be wound up by something of the kind.

Last Sabbath our little chapel was well filled at both services. We have just commenced an adult school at sunrise, at which the attendance promises to be tolerable good. Lord prosper us in all our undertakings.

18 September 1844: Yesterday a messenger arrived at about half past 1 p.m. from Mr Davis, stating that a meeting of the Governor and Kaffir chiefs was to take place at Fort Peddie today, at which Mr Shaw was to be present and requesting me to meet Mr Shaw on the occasion. I accordingly rode over to D'Urban and met Mr Shaw and Ben, Mr Blaine and others. Today the meeting has been held at which were present the chiefs Umqai,<sup>40</sup> Qenos,<sup>41</sup> Pato<sup>42</sup> and

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38. Sarhili (Rili, Kreli) (c. 1815-1892) became paramount chief of the Xhosa and chief of Gcaleka on the death of Hintsa (1835). Reaffirmed his father's treaty with the cape governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. 1844 signed a treaty of friendship with governor Maitland. As paramount was held responsible for the actions of all the Xhosa and as a result was drawn into the war of 1846-1847. (DSAB, Vol 1).
39. After the Battle of Grahamstown, Lord Charles Somerset declared that the entire country between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers was to be taken from Ngqika and his people. Somerset never had the terms of this arrangement reduced to writing and formally ratified by Ngqika, 'The result was to be that there would never be any certainty over what exactly was agreed to and decided that day'. It appears that Somerset intended that this area be 'ceded' by Ngqika to the Cape Colony and that it would be maintained by the British as a 'neutral' area, a buffer zone to separate people in the colony from the Xhosa. To ensure that the Xhosa did not encroach in this area, military posts were established. (Milton, *The Edges of War*, pp. 79-80) Many of the European settlers coveted this fertile area, especially after the commercialisation of east Cape agriculture through the sheep industry. This put new pressures on the frontier. (Le Cordeur and Sanders, (Eds.), *The War of the Axe, 1847*, p. 16).
40. Umqai (Umkye) was a Ndlambe chief. He had asked permission to reside in the colony and generally had cordial relations with the British and colonial authorities. He warned the people at Fort Peddie of the impending attack in 1846. (Cory, *Rise*, Vol. IV, pp. 450 and 544).

Kobi - Nonabi<sup>43</sup> and Siwani<sup>44</sup> arrived afterwards as also Letu<sup>45</sup> and his brother (Umhala and Gazela are both sick). The Governor proposed entirely new treaties. The principal features of these new treaties are that: colonists are to claim their stolen property wherever it can be found in Kaffirland; the onus of proving an honest possession resting with the parties; the thieves to be punished in person and not merely by fine as heretofore; protection secured to missionaries and traders - and to native Christians or others wishing to remove their property to mission stations, such to be exempted from all penalties inflicted by Kaffir Law for infringement of heathen customs etc. <sup>46</sup>I had the honour of an interview with His Excellency who appears a truly Christian man.

20 September 1844: Returned home to Mount Coke.

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41. (...continued)

41. Ngqeno (c.1770-1846), chief of the Mbalu clan of Rharhabe from 1794. Tried to maintain good relations with the Colonial government and even tried to use his influence to control other chiefs. November 1824, the Glasgow Missionary Society established a station among Ngqeno's people on the Nicera River. (This became known later as 'Old Lovedale' which was about three miles from Alice.) The incident that sparked off the war of 1834-35 occurred in his territory. 1838 war broke out between Ngqeno and Phatho who refused to return cattle that Ngqeno had given him for safekeeping during the war. Cape government intervened and a peaceful solution was found. 1845 signed a treaty which allowed the British authorities to build forts in the 'neutral' territory in exchange for Ngqeno's promise to control cattle theft. He and his son received £50 per annum between them. (*DSAB*, Vol.II, p. 515).
42. Phatho (c.1785-1869), chief of the Gcunukwebe. Despite trying to remain neutral, the British forces attacked his people in 1819 and confiscated some of his cattle. 1823 gave William Shaw permission to establish the Wesleyville station. 1824 Shaw arranged a meeting between the colonial authorities and some of the Xhosa chiefs at Line Drift. Here Phatho, Ndlambe, Mqhayi, Kobe and Kama were recognised as independent of Ngqika. 1844 Phatho and the others agreed with Sir Peregrine Maitland that Sir Andries Stockenström's treaties should be rescinded. Phatho and Kobe signed a new treaty with Colonel John Hare at Peddie which was ratified by Maitland in 1845. They were to control cattle thefts in return for £50 each per annum. (*DSAB*, Vol.III, p. 684).
43. Nonibi (Nonabi) was the great wife of Mdushani and regent of the ImiDushani clan on his death. (Frye, (Ed.), *Xosa Bible*, p. 73).
44. Siwani was a Mdushani chief and brother of Siyolo. (Frye, (Ed.), *Xosa Bible*, p. 77).
45. Not identified.
46. In addition, these treaties included a per annum payment by the government to the chiefs in return for their services. The amounts differed. The Ndlambe chiefs were to receive £200 p.a. (Cory, *Rise*, Vol. IV, p. 384).

23 September 1844: Col. Johnstone<sup>47</sup> and Mr Dalzell<sup>48</sup> of the 27th Regiment, paid us a visit and spent night at Mount Coke.

24 September 1844: Accompanied the Colonel and Mr Dalzell to the German Mission Stations.

25 September 1844: Climbed the mountain and visited Mr Posselt. Slept at Mr Shultheiss's station.

The chief Gazela is about to move down into Umqai's country. Mr Shultheiss informs me that nearly all the people with whom he has to do are Umhala's and that in the event of Gazela's removal he thinks it may prove necessary for him to be officially recognised as a missionary amongst Umhala's people. I have no doubt that such a step will be highly gratifying to that chief - his jealousy of Gazela is such that he will be glad of even this ground of boasting superior strength viz. that a mission once acknowledged as belonging to Gazela has become his.

26 September 1844: Returned home by way of King Williams Town. Smart rain which rendered travelling very unpleasant. The Colonel and Mr Dalzell proceeded to Fort Peddie.

30 September 1844: This evening a man arrived with three horses stating that he had found them straying near the old station. I recognised them as belonging to Mr Kidd of Wesleyville and shall send them over accordingly.

1 October 1844: Messenger returned from Wesleyville. The horses proved to be Mr Kidd's (a man arrived here in search of them). Mr Kidd and family intend paying us a visit next week.

6 October 1844: Sunday. This morning Gazela made his appearance with a great number of his people, cattle, horses, sheep, goats etc. etc. on the move down to Umqai's country. The chief himself continues very sick.

Our chapel being quite too small for so numerous a congregation - we held service in the open air - I standing under the shade of one of the large lemon

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47. Montague Cholmeley Johnstone (1804-1874), British military officer. Served in the war of 1834-1835 as a captain. Became Lt-Colonel in 1841 and was military commander in Grahamstown in 1846. 1847 commanded the 1st Division at Block Drift (Alice). Became a full Colonel in 1851, a Major-General in 1858 and a Lt-General of the 88th foot in 1865. (Le Cordeur and Sanders, *War of the Axe*, p. 74).

48. Not identified.

trees and the people seated around. They were (for Kaffirs) unusually attentive whilst I endeavoured to call them to the "Marriage Supper"<sup>49</sup> and to show the folly of their excuses, one to his farm, another to his merchandise etc. It may be that seed sown even on such a passing occasion as this shall bear fruit unto eternal life.

*20 October 1844:* The country continues to be visited with heavy rains. We have had Mr Kidd and family and Mr Lange detained for about a week. Such a flood has not been known for the last twenty years in the Colony. Much damage has been sustained. Here by the providence of God we have escaped with little more than a most uncomfortable house which from the rains above and the springs below was a complete pool.

*1 November 1844:* Mr Holden and family paid us a visit on their way to Wesleyville.

*3 November 1844:* Sunday. Our congregations continue good notwithstanding the cold and damp. The chapel is scarcely fit to hold service in, the floors being so excessively wet.

*3 December 1844:* We have had almost incessant rains during the last month - the rivers continuing for several days impassable. Mr Lange and family have been detained here for eight days. Mr Shaw spent a few days with us on his way up to the District Meeting of the Eastern Sections<sup>50</sup> and was joined by Mr Davis who accompanies him. Rode with them to the German Missions spent one night with Mr Döhne and one with Mr Posselt.

Busy harvesting and building have almost decided on roofing our houses with tin. Mr Kidd kindly volunteered to assist in this part of our work. Our congregations (notwithstanding the weather and uncomfortable state of the Chapel) have continued good. We have however been much hindered in our school and week day services.

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49. Matthew 22, AV.

50. For practical purposes, meetings were held for the Western and Eastern sections of the Grahamstown District. It is uncertain when this began.

1845

27 January 1845: On Saturday last returned from attending the District Meeting<sup>51</sup> in Grahams Town. Hearing from home that our little boy was suffering much from the whooping cough, I left earlier than I should have done and rode through in one day. A long weary ride. Was thankful to find the dear ones at home somewhat improving. To God be all the praise. For several days I have also been suffering under a severe cold which has rendered me incapable of conducting any religious service.

3 February 1845: Today I have had a long conversation with a Kaffir woman who appears much impressed with a concern for her soul and has of late attended the Sabbath services. She was formerly one of Dushani's wives, but upon his death married another man of some importance in the tribe. Until of late she never heard the gospel preached but once and that so long ago as Mr Shaw's residence at Wesleyville. She and her husband on one occasion visited that Station and then heard Mr Shaw preach. For many years she lived as other Kaffirs in all the abomination of heathenism but about five years ago, the Spirit of God began to operate on her heart, convincing her of sin and leading to an attention to some of the duties of religion, especially that of prayer and the observance of the Sabbath. Her husband also became seriously disposed and though neither ever visited a mission station or heard the words of a teacher, yet enquiring occasionally of the traders the day upon which the Sabbath was observed. They rested from their weekly labours and endeavoured to persuade their neighbours to do so likewise. In this they encountered some opposition and were subjected to many temptations. About eight months ago the husband was persuaded to go to a neighbouring kraal where a dance was taking place under the direction of one of the native doctors. He went but could not refrain from expressing his disapprobation of such things and seriously expostulated with the doctor on his wickedness. The Doctor became much enraged and the man then left the place. Immediately on his return home he fell sick, apparently some inflammation of the brain, and in the course of a day or two was no more - during the course of his illness he expressed a conviction that he was suffering punishment from God for having allowed himself to be persuaded to go at all to the witch dance. His last words were an exhortation to his wife and children to remove near to the mission station that there they might hear the words of life.

The woman accordingly came to visit a relative residing not far from Mount Coke and is now making arrangements for the removal of her family and cattle

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51. The District Meeting requested Impey to remain at Mount Coke. (Min. A.K.D., Cory Lib., MS 15 017).

CHAPTER 11: *Mount Coke - 1843-1845*

to the immediate vicinity of the station and will probably eventually reside on the station. Who then shall limit the Spirit of the most high. All this from parties who never but once (and that many years ago) heard the gospel of peace.

PART 4: THE JOURNAL OF THE REV WILLIAM IMPEY

CHAPTER 12: EPILOGUE: 1846 - 1847

There are no entries for 1846.

12 September 1847: Sunday. Fort Beaufort. Our Fingo Service this day was of more than ordinary interest. 14 Candidates were admitted into full membership of the church by the ordinance of baptism. After reading the morning service I explained the nature of the ordinance and addressed both the candidates and the congregation. I then called upon each one of those about to be baptised to state the circumstances of the first religious impression experienced and also the progress of the work of God in the soul. One and another declared the operation of the Spirit upon the heart and great feeling was excited amongst all present in which I richly shared.

One young man received his first convictions from being witness to a fatal accident in which a man was killed by a fall from his horse. Another couple, a young man and his wife were led to seek God by the death of a much loved child. Another by the death of her father. Some by the ministry of the Word - one in the school and one by a word casually spoken by a white man on the road to Grahams Town. Previously he did not know that he had a soul, but believed himself to be like the beasts that perish,<sup>1</sup> but on being asked where his soul would go after death startled at the idea and began to enquire about his soul - "A word fitly spoken how good it is".<sup>2</sup> Thus though there are diversities of operation, it is "the same Spirit that worketh in all."<sup>3</sup>

In the evening the sacrament of the Lords Supper was administered in the English chapel and the newly baptised converts there joined us at the table of the Lord. May God answer the prayers that were there offered that these new trophies of the Redeemer's grace may continue faithful unto the end and be admitted into his heavenly kingdom.

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1. It is interesting to note the experience of this person as it is generally believed that Bantu speakers carried a clear sense that no man dies as a beast dies as 'it says of the man that "the soul has gone out" but the beast is "dead"'. (Davies, H and Shepherd, R H W, *South African Missions* (Thomas Nelson, Cape Town, 1954) p. xi).
  2. Proverbs 25:11, AV.
  3. Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. (1 Corinthians 12:4, AV).

21 September 1847: John Paul (Fingo Member) has been to me to day to tell me of an adventure he met with on Sunday last. He and a Member of Mr Birt's<sup>4</sup> church agreed to visit during the afternoon of the day some of the Fingo kraals and there speak the words of life. At one of these kraals is an old man who has set up for a conjuror or doctor, professing to have intercourse with the Umlozi or spirit whereby he is able to predict future events and to discover lost or stolen property.

To the residence of the doctor, Jan and his companion bent their steps and on entering found many Fingoes assembled wondering at the "great power". They seated themselves and began to question the man concerning his craft. The Umlozi was heard to speak or rather whistle from a corner of the house near which the doctor sat and he then interpreted out of the language of the spiritual world. The purport of the discourse was that the gospel is a fable and that no truth is to be found in the word of God. Jan heard the strange sounds issuing from the corner and for a moment was staggered. He went out and walked round the house but could discover nothing, he then returned and requested again to be put into communication with the spirit. The sound was repeated and interpreted by the doctor as meaning some question as to where Jan came from etc. The spirit then spoke plainly "Jan! Jan!" Jan was puzzled but suspecting trickery desired the doctor to move and come near him. The doctor did so, and now the spirit's voice was moved also and by an attentive observation of the man, Jan perceived that though his lips did not move that his chest undulated in an extraordinary way - in fact that by an effort of ventriloquism this imposter was deceiving the people. He proceeded forthwith to explain this and the result was that the assembled Fingoes were convinced that they had been dupes of a vile impostor who only sought to gratify his wicked purposes and pride and to obtain their money. The Doctor himself was confounded, Jan and his comrades rose up and requested the assembly to follow them to another house where they should hear the words of the true and living God. The whole result has been that the doctor's craft has perished and many have with their mouths at least confessed unto God. I explained to Jan that the art of ventriloquism is no rare thing amongst us and thus the matter would not have been so wonderful as it proved to be.

14 October 1847: This morning after our school for the Fingoes which is held at sunrise, one of the boys came to me and said he was anxious that I should engage him as my servant. He gave as his reason for so wishing, that if he were hired by others, they might possibly refuse to allow him the time he was anxious to spend in the school. At our class meeting in the evening, the same

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4. Richard Birt (1810-1892) LMS missionary. Ordained 1838 and arrived in South Africa later that year. (Sibree, *LMS Register*, p. 43)

boy came with the members, and on my asking what brought him there, replied that he was anxious to have a place amongst the children of God. On enquiring further he stated that a short time ago he was taken ill and that he then began to think of God, and to be afraid to die, feeling himself to be a sinner he thought

"It will not do to put off serving God until I am a man, many are the things we propose and resolve to do in after life, but now I see that God may possibly cut me off before such times arrive. Therefore I must at once begin whilst I have the opportunity."

I was much pleased with his evident sincerity and trust that he is one who is seeking the Lord "early" will surely find.

*The rest of the book is blank.*

PART 5: THE PERIOD 1848-1896

CHAPTER 13: THE MINISTRY OF WILLIAM IMPEY - 1848-1859

MOUNT COKE - 1848-1854:

In 1848 Impey and John Wilson<sup>1</sup> were given the responsibility of looking after Mount Coke and King William's Town. They were also required to assist in visiting the port of East London. In addition Impey was to take charge of the Watson Institute which was to move from Farmerfield to Kaffraria and where he was to oversee the preparation of 'native' teachers and preachers.<sup>2</sup>

Impey's report at the end of the year reveals some of the difficulties experienced in trying to re-establish the mission at Mount Coke after the war. The area experienced 'unseasonable and long continued rains' which 'retarded the progress of the work of the erection of buildings requisite for the efficiency of the mission'.<sup>3</sup> They were only able to erect temporary residences and were unable to build either a chapel or school house. They were however encouraged by the return of some of the residents who had lived at Mount Coke before the war. Impey reported reasonable sabbath attendance under the circumstances. He added that East London had been visited and that they were taking preparatory steps towards the erection of a place of worship in this settlement.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of 1848 John Wilson moved permanently to King William's Town. Because of its central position it was thought that it would be the ideal place for the mission press.<sup>5</sup> Impey was encouraged by the progress of the work in King William's Town. There was regular attendance at worship, a Sunday School had started and the local people had begun building a 'commodious Chapel'.<sup>6</sup>

The re-establishment of the Mount Coke mission went especially well in 1849. Impey reported that 'it has assumed a position equal, if not superior, to any that it ever occupied ...'.<sup>7</sup>

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1. John Wilson, WMM arrived in South Africa in 1845 and was also stationed at Bathurst and Cradock. (Gower, 'Index' p. 206).
  2. Min. A.K.D., 1848, Cory Lib., MS 15 023.
  3. Min. A.K.D., 1848, Cory Lib., MS 15 023.
  4. Min. A.K.D., 1848, Cory Lib., MS 15 023.
  5. Min. A.K.D., 1848, Cory Lib., MS 15 023, WMR, 1849 p. 51.
  6. WMR, 1849, p. 51.
  7. WMR, 1850, p. 52.

The population at the Mount Coke mission village grew steadily and extensive fields were brought under cultivation. Some of the black residents acquired waggons, ploughs, oxen and horses and were described as presenting 'a marked contrast with the surrounding heathen population ...'<sup>8</sup>

In 1849 part of a new mission house had been completed, a building for use by the Watson Institute had been erected, a chapel, a cottage for use by an agriculturalist and other smaller buildings had also been completed.<sup>9</sup>

In 1849 while resident at Mount Coke, Impey was also given the responsibility of looking after the Wesleyville station. Temporary buildings were erected at Wesleyville but no blacks lived on the station. Phato's people lived near Wesleyville and Impey itinerated among them. Some of these people attended services at Wesleyville on Sundays.<sup>10</sup>

In 1850 the congregation on Mount Coke increased so much that the chapel that had been opened in 1849 soon proved too small. New lands were opened up for cultivation and several blacks erected small cottages.<sup>11</sup>

However the area began to experience drought conditions which resulted in much sickness and general scarcity. Yet, records Impey:

... the general condition of our people is far in advance of that of the neighbouring Kaffirs, and, in this respect, is an illustration of the benefits ever attendant on the introduction of the Gospel amongst the heathen people.<sup>12</sup>

The Watson Institution was making progress in the training of teachers and evening classes were introduced for the adult residents on the station who were taught by the Institution students.<sup>13</sup>

The Wesleyville station began experiencing progress although there were still no blacks living on the station. The blacks living in the vicinity however, began attending services on Sundays in increasing numbers. The mission press was now functioning from Wesleyville (having been removed from King Williams

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8. *WMR*, 1850, p. 52.

9. *WMR* 1850 p. 52. The chapel in King William's Town had also been completed and the printing press under J Appleyard (1814-1874) was in full operation. *WMR*, 1850, p. 53.

10. *WMR*, 1850, p. 53.

11. *WMR*, 1851, p. 54-55.

12. *WMR*, 1851, p. 54-55.

13. *WMR*, 1851, p. 55.

Town) and had received a grant from the British and Foreign Bible Society. They were preparing a large edition of a Xhosa New Testament, Proverbs and Psalms.<sup>14</sup>

Disaster struck again in 1851. Impey records:

Nearly all the missionaries of every Society labouring in British Kaffraria have during the past year been obliged to fly; some at the hazard of their lives, and some at the sacrifice of their property. For some time it was a matter of uncertainty whether the Wesleyan Missionaries at Mount Coke would not be involved in the same fate.<sup>15</sup>

After the 'War of the Axe' (1846-47) the Cape Governor, Sir Harry Smith had been determined to bring to an end the treaty system. Smith had won some notable victories in India and had been brought to the Cape as governor in the hope that he would be able to introduce a system that would ensure peace on the eastern frontier.<sup>16</sup> Le Cordeur comments:

At a given signal, a wagon loaded with gunpowder was blown up. "There go the treaties," he proclaimed to the chiefs. "Do you hear? No more treaties." It was the beginning of a new frontier policy of annexation and direct rule by magistrates. Officially, the frontier had disappeared and with it the enforced separation of black and white.<sup>17</sup>

However Smith failed to impose order on the Xhosa. The chiefs resisted the inroads Smith tried to make upon their authority and the tribesmen were deeply resentful of colonial encroachment upon their land and the attacks made upon their tribal customs. The Xhosa therefore welcomed the message of their prophet Mlangeni<sup>18</sup> and his call for a return to traditional Xhosa ways. When Smith tried to depose the chief Sandile and replace him with the government agent, Charles Brownlee, this was the spark needed to make the frontier area erupt into war once more. The Xhosa were joined by the Thembu as well as by sections of the Khoikhoi (referred to as 'Coloureds') living in the eastern Cape. About one third of the Khoikhoi living in the Kat River Settlement also joined in the rebellion. Referring to the Khoikhoi participation, Cory comments:

An extraordinary feature of this revolt was that many, perhaps the greater number of those who took part in it, were the educated or semi-

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14. *WMR*, 1851 p. 55, *WMN* Vol 8, 1850, pp. 162-163.

15. *WMR*, 1852, p. 54.

16. *DSAB*, Vol.II, pp. 673-677.

17. Le Cordeur, 'Occupations', in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 89.

18. Mlangeni (c.1830-1858) Xhosa prophet in the Ciskei region. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, pp. 475-476).

educated members of certain missionary institutions - even deacons and lay-preachers.<sup>19</sup>

Le Cordeur concludes:

The Eighth Frontier War, which lasted from 1850-1853, was the longest of the frontier wars, and as it dragged on, ... expense swelled. Smith was recalled, and the settlement at the end of the war was devised by his successor, General George Cathcart, and dictated to the chiefs in March 1853.<sup>20</sup>

Mount Coke was, with some loss, able to continue its ministry throughout the war. The congregations continued to be good but the Watson Institution was forced to close.<sup>21</sup>

By the end of the war the mission at Mount Coke was still in operation. Many of the people in the region had been wounded and many more had begun to suffer ill-health as a result of exposure and shortages of food. Impey concluded that the year had been one of 'great sorrow and perplexity'.<sup>22</sup> The services continued with 'increasingly large and attentive congregations, and the Sabbath School has been well attended'. The Watson Institution had been revived and under Impey's guidance had eight pupils.<sup>23</sup> The printing press was moved to Mount Coke and buildings were being erected to accommodate this facility on the station. Impey concluded:

On the whole, the brethren indulge the hope that this place, having weathered the storm which has wrecked so many kindred institutions, will again be eminently prosperous, and prove a blessing to the tribes around.<sup>24</sup>

By April 1854 the population had grown to be even larger than it had been before the war. Again the chapel could no longer accommodate the adults wishing to attend services. A larger building was also erected for the Watson Institution. The premises earlier used for the Institution were now to accommodate the printing press. Later in 1854 Impey left Mount Coke in the hands of John W Appleyard (Superintendent of the Press) and Francis P

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19. Cory, *Rise*, p. 326.

20. Le Cordeur, 'Occupations', in Cameron and Spies, (Eds.), *Illustrated History*, p. 90.

21. *WMR*, 1852, p. 54.

22. *WMR*, 1853, p. 48.

23. *WMR*, 1853, p. 487.

24. *WMR*, 1853, p. 487.

Gladwin<sup>25</sup> and moved to take over the Wesley Chapel (Kaffir Mission) in Grahamstown.<sup>26</sup>

IMPEY'S EARLY MINISTRY IN GRAHAMSTOWN:

On arrival in Grahamstown in 1854 Impey found that the black congregation in the city had decreased in number.<sup>27</sup> A year later however, the Native congregations in Grahamstown both Dutch and Kaffir, 'present an encouraging aspect'.<sup>28</sup>

In 1856 the Rev William Shaw returned to England. In the February of that year, before Shaw's departure, a deed was drawn up by George Jarvis, a Notary Public practising in Grahamstown, giving Impey

... sufficient power and authority to represent him [Shaw] and to manage and conduct all business affairs and concerns in which he may be interested in this Colony during his absence.<sup>29</sup>

Impey was given authority over the various Wesleyan Society Trusts and was empowered to act for Shaw in all business relating to the church in the colony and in the mission field.<sup>30</sup>

Impey did not inherit a stable and flourishing mission. The black congregations beyond the Kei were in a state of crisis. Writing to the WMMC in London from Grahamstown on 25 June 1856 Impey states:

We were sadly too weak there before, and now for the stations of Clarkebury, Beechamwood, Morely, Shawbury, and Buntingville we have only one Assistant Missionary, (Mr Charles White,) and one Catechist. It is impossible that these stations can be left to the sole charge of Mr White, even until the District-Meeting; and how we are to send a man there from this section I know not. Mr Davis has found it impracticable to reach his appointment by overland route through Kaffirland, as the Kaffirs, in consequence of the prevailing cattle disease, have peremptorily forbid all such travelling.<sup>31</sup>

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25. Francis P Gladwin (?-1855) arrived in South Africa in 1840. He also worked at Clarkebury and Butterworth. (Gower, 'Index', p. 197).

26. *WMR*, 1854, pp. 52-54 .

27. *WMR*, 1855, p. 40.

28. *WMR*, 1856, p. 47.

29. Deed granting William Impey authority to act for William Shaw, 1856, Cory Lib., MS 15 287.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *WMN*, 1856, pp. 156-157.

By April 1857 the situation in Grahamstown had improved.<sup>32</sup> A day school for blacks had been opened under the leadership of Mr Birkett with an average attendance of more than 60 children.<sup>33</sup>

THE XHOSA CATTLE-KILLING:

In the period late 1856 to early 1857 Kaffraria was ravished by one of the greatest tragedies in the history of the region, the Xhosa cattle-killing.

In 1853 Mhlakaza<sup>34</sup> entered Xhosaland as a 'Gospel Man'. He had lived in the colony and had learnt the rudiments of Christianity from the then Archdeacon N J Merriman.<sup>35</sup> On leaving the colony Mhlakaza abandoned Christianity and began preaching the cattle-killing message.<sup>36</sup>

Mhlakaza adopted a young girl called Nongqawuse.<sup>37</sup> Nongqawuse believed that she held conversations with spirits whom she called the 'new people' whom she believed were ancestors of the Xhosa living in the sea. Mhlakaza claimed to be able to interpret the messages Nongqawuse received. The message from the 'new people' was that the dead were preparing to rise again with their cattle. Before this could happen the people had to kill their cattle and destroy their corn because these had become contaminated and impure. The people were also to stop practising witchcraft. The people were not to cultivate for the new season, rather they were to build new cattle enclosures and dig deep grain pits for the things that would miraculously appear. The people were to build new houses and wear new ornaments to greet the new and perfect world.<sup>38</sup>

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32. *WMR*, 1857, p. 41.

33. It is difficult to find out more about this institution. It is also difficult to discover more about the establishment of Shaw College in 1856 which was the forerunner of Kingswood College. Hewson describes the information about Shaw College as being 'all too scanty'. It appears therefore that one will not be able to find out more about this institution for blacks. (Hewson, *They Seek a City*, p. 49, and *WMR*, 1857, p. 41.)

34. Mhlakaza (c.1800-1857) Xhosa prophet of the Mfene clan and instigator of the cattle-killing of 1856-57. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 540-541).

35. Nathaniel James Merriman (1809-1882) Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 535-537).

36. Peires, *Dead Will Arise*, pp. 311.

37. Nongqawuse (1841-1898) medium of the Xhosa prophet Mhlakaza at the time of the cattle killing of 1856-57. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 593-594).

38. Peires, *Dead Will Arise*, pp. 311-312.

Many Xhosa sold their cattle to the colonists. When the first prophecy failed in August 1856 those who had sold their cattle were blamed, and it was stressed that all cattle were to be ritually slaughtered if the prophecy was to succeed. A new date was set for its fulfilment, 18 February 1857. This day came and went - nothing happened!

As a result of the cattle-killing many Xhosa died. The population dropped by two thirds in the period January to December 1857. By December 1858 the remaining population had dropped by another third. Xhosa national, cultural and economic integrity collapsed. Many gave up and flooded into the colony seeking schooling or to work for the colonists.<sup>39</sup>

The report from Mount Coke for the year ending April 1858 gives us an indication of the extent of this tragedy:

The miserable infatuation which seized upon the Kaffir mind, and the manner in which they were carried onward in it, so as to deprive themselves of their food, and obstinately remain without making any provision for their future wants, has largely manifested itself during this year, and particularly during the last three months. Notwithstanding the aid rendered them, many have died from actual want, and many more have fallen by the power of disease, and in consequence of exposure. One result has been, that many needy persons have joined themselves as servants or dependents to those who did not believe in the word of the Prophet, and have thus become located upon this station.<sup>40</sup>

In early 1858 Impey toured the district<sup>41</sup> with re-enforcements for the mission received from Britain.<sup>42</sup> In March they had travelled towards the Kei and from King William's Town to Clarkebury and over this distance of 120 miles never encountered a single Xhosa. There were no homesteads and they did not see a single patch of cultivated ground. Impey records:

This tract of land is one vast wilderness, utterly depopulated by the fearful Allusion of which you have heard, whereby the Kaffir tribes slaughtered their cattle and destroyed their means of subsistence.<sup>43</sup>

The Cape Governor Sir George Grey<sup>44</sup> introduced a new 'native' policy after the cattle-killing. Xhosa labour was employed in public works, hospitals were

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39. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

40. *WMR*, 1858, p. 55.

41. Impey to WMMC, 7.6.1858, Cory Lib., MIC 408/2.

42. *WMR*, 1858, pp. 50-51.

43. Impey to the WMMC, 7.6.1858, Cory Lib., MIC 408/2.

44. Sir George Grey (1812-1898) was the Cape Governor from 1854-1861.

established and he encouraged the establishment of schools. Grey had offered teachers a salary of £25 p.a.<sup>45</sup>

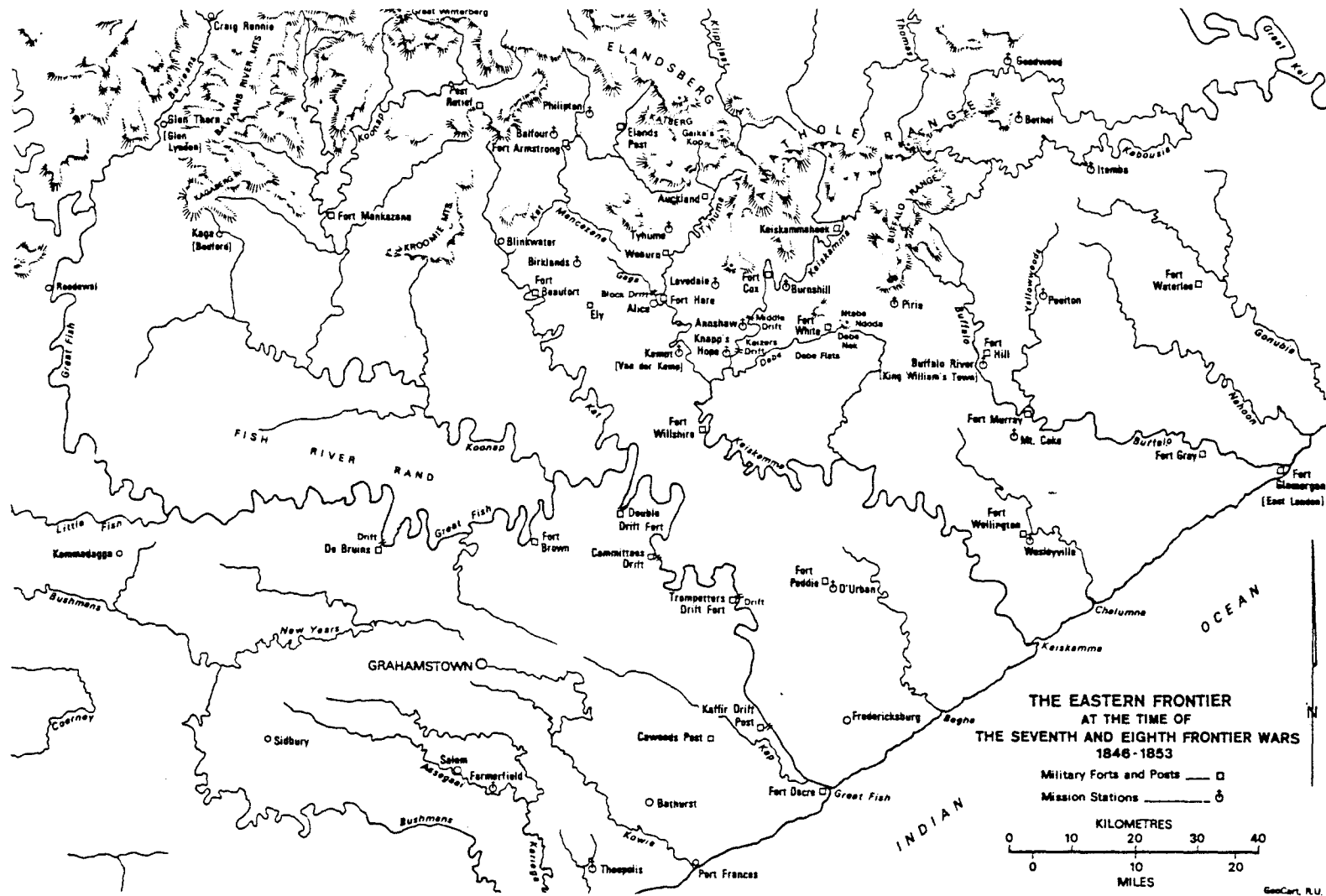
As the year progressed the Wesleyan mission in the colony made reasonable progress.<sup>46</sup> Impey proposed to the WMMC that a number of extra sub-stations be established near D'Urban (eastern Cape) under the care of a 'native' teacher. The station had a population of about 13 000 Mfengu with 300 church members and 90 on trial.<sup>47</sup> He also reported that the press was functioning effectively under Appleyard at Mount Coke and that the Watson Institution was making excellent progress. The area near the Kei however, remained 'one vast wilderness'.<sup>48</sup>

By April 1859 Impey was gratified by the progress made in the black circuit in Grahamstown. Many young people had converted to the Christian faith and after successfully serving twelve months on trial for membership, were admitted as full members. 81 adults and 7 children were baptised. In toto the membership had increased by 113.<sup>49</sup>

By this time financial concerns were uppermost in the minds of the members of the WMMC in London. While acknowledging the progress made by the mission in the colonial (white) circuits, the WMMC began applying pressure on Impey to make the mission (black) circuits more self-supporting. The WMMC stressed that unless black contributions increased 'we should hesitate to countenance any extension of our labours in that direction ...' as they were finding it difficult to maintain even the 'present agency'.<sup>50</sup>

Impey had been acting for William Shaw as chairman of the district and general superintendent of missions since 1856. He was about to be formally appointed in Shaw's place and was to face the challenge of administering the mission in a period of financial stringency.

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45. Du Plessis, *Christian Missions*, p. 289.
  46. Impey to WMMC, 7.6.1858, Cory Lib., MIC 408/2.
  47. Impey to WMMC, 7.6.1858, Cory Lib., MIC 408/2.
  48. Impey to WMMC, 7.6.1858, Cory Lib., MIC 408/2.
  49. *WMR*, 1859, pp. 45-46.
  50. WMMC to Impey, 3.10.1859, Cory Lib., MIC 284/1.



PART 5: THE PERIOD 1848-1896

CHAPTER 14: THE MINISTRY OF WILLIAM IMPEY - 1860-1896

IMPEY: CHAIRMAN OF THE DISTRICT AND GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF MISSIONS - 1860-1878:

In 1860 Impey moved to the Grahamstown colonial (white) circuit. Deciding to keep Shaw in Britain, the WMMC now officially appointed Impey as Chairman of the District and General Superintendent of missions in South-East Africa.<sup>1</sup>

Impey described the situation in the white circuit as being endowed with 'peace and prosperity'.<sup>2</sup> Improvements had been made to the English chapel<sup>3</sup> and progress was being made towards the erection of a suitable place of worship near the barracks.<sup>4</sup>

Initially the progress in the black circuit was slower. The Report states:

In the Kaffir Circuit, there has been a considerable decrease, some having died, and others turned again to folly; while others, driven by the exorbitant price of provisions in the town to seek employment in the country, are no longer reckoned among communicants. But many are still steadfast and exemplary; and a few of those who have been excluded for unfaithfulness are again seeking admission into the fold.<sup>5</sup>

The progress of education among the blacks was more encouraging:

Two pupil teachers, both members of the Society, have been engaged in the Day School, with the sanction of the Governor. And it is reported, that "in respect to numbers, regularity of attendance, order, diligence, moral conduct, and the attainments of the children generally, the improvement is very marked." An equally good report is furnished concerning the Kaffir Sabbath School; and both together supply a cheering pledge of "good things to come".<sup>6</sup>

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1. He had succeeded Shaw as Acting General Superintendent of missions in 1856. The following year Shaw thought of returning to southern Africa. As a result the WMMC re-appointed Shaw Chairman and General Superintendent. But this never materialised. The WMMC decided to keep Shaw in England and therefore Impey was reinstated in 1860. (*WMR*, 1858, p. 49, WMMC to Impey, 3.10.1859 and 31.8.1850, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1).
  2. *WMR*, 1860, p. 49.
  3. This is probably a reference to Commemoration Chapel. The foundation was laid by Ann Shaw in 1845 and the building was dedicated in 1850. Further improvements appear to have been made at this time. (Hewson, L A, *They Seek a City*, pp. 36-37).
  4. This is a reference to the Fort England Chapel. The foundation stone was laid in December 1860 and the first services began in 1861. (Hewson, *They Seek a City*, p. 38).
  5. *WMR*, 1860, p. 49.
  6. *WMR*, 1860, p. 49.

The state of the work in Grahamstown generally continued to improve in 1861. Impey went so far as to suggest that 'Seldom, indeed, have we equalled it, except in seasons of special revival. To God be all the glory!'<sup>7</sup>

The principal increase occurred in the Native Circuits and amongst the native members of the mixed circuits. Impey noted:

We rejoice that in this important - we had almost said primary - object of our Mission, the Lord is so signally blessing the work of our hands; but we are laying to heart the case of our countrymen in this land, our 'brethren according to the flesh.' and we trust the coming year may witness an abundant ingathering from them also.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile the progress of the mission in the District, especially beyond the frontier had been slow. The work in Grahamstown continued to improve, reaching a climax in 1863 when Impey was able to report that '... Steady progress is observable in every part of the work'.<sup>9</sup>

By the end of 1863 however, the work throughout the District, including Grahamstown, was once again in decline.<sup>10</sup> One of the major problems at this time was that the District had become too large to administer effectively. As early as 1860 the WMMC had realised this and began entertaining the idea of dividing the District.<sup>11</sup> This division was eventually realised in 1863. This meant that Kaffirland, with Queenstown as the 'capital' and the Bechuana area, with Bloemfontein as the 'capital', became independent districts.<sup>12</sup> The remaining area, over which Impey had charge, became known as the Grahamstown District. While this provided some relief, a general feeling of pessimism characterises the period 1864-1866.<sup>13</sup>

IMPEY: CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION - 1865:

In 1864 the Legislative Council of the Cape requested the Governor to appoint a commission to report on: a) the number of Mfengu and other native 'foreigners' living within the colony; b) their means of livelihood; c) the progress they were making in 'civilisation' d) the 'native' laws and customs

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7. WMR, 1861, p. 57.

8. WMR, 1861, p. 57.

9. WMR, 1863, p. 68.

10. WMR, 1863, pp. 70-71.

11. WMMC to Impey, 31.8.1860, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1.

12. WMMC to Impey, 4.9.1863, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1. Holden, *History of Methodism*, p. 295.

13. WMR, 1866, p. 57.

affecting them and their property; e) the sufficiency or otherwise of the superintendence of the government of these people and f) generally upon native affairs in the colony.<sup>14</sup> This resolution was endorsed by the House of Assembly on the same day.

The Commission was appointed by the Governor of the Cape Sir Philip Wodehouse.<sup>15</sup> In Impey's report to the Commission he stated that by 1863 there were no ordained black ministers within Wesleyan Methodism but that the Wesleyan schools were staffed by black teachers. When asked about the proficiency of the black teachers, Impey reported that they needed more adequate training and added that the Wesleyan church was committed to fulfilling these needs but was restricted owing to a lack of funds. He stressed however that the conduct of the teachers was such that the mission had 'every reason to be satisfied'.<sup>16</sup> Impey stated that the education offered in the mission schools was 'of the kind that would be called an ordinary English education for the poorer classes, except that it is in the Kaffir language'.<sup>17</sup>

Impey revealed that the mission was sponsored 'Principally by the funds of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, aided to some extent by local efforts'.<sup>18</sup> He added that the 'natives' themselves also contributed money and labour for the construction of mission stations and for the support of the mission. The mission had only received limited support from the government for school houses, specifically in the Peddie district.<sup>19</sup>

When asked if the blacks had abandoned 'heathenish customs' Impey compared them with 'the poorer classes of Europeans' suggesting that some might retain 'some small remains of their ancient superstitions'.<sup>20</sup> Impey added the opinion that the spread of Christianity lessened the chiefs influence for evil

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14. Cape of Good Hope proceedings of, and evidence taken by, the Commission on Native Affairs, appointed by His Excellency the Governor (Godlonton and Richards, Grahamstown, 1865) (CNA).
15. Sir Philip Wodehouse (1811-1887) was governor of the Cape from 1862-1870.
16. CNA, 1865, p. 102.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

but stressed that 'In all things not contrary to the gospel ...' people still held their chiefs in the same respect as before.<sup>21</sup>

Wesleyan missions had received government aid for schools but in 1861, government grants had been withdrawn with the result there was a real possibility that some of the schools might not survive.<sup>22</sup>

Impey reported that some blacks had benefitted from industrial education as several had 'established themselves as master tradesmen; they are in constant work, and have taken apprentices'.<sup>23</sup> Acquiring trades had afforded these blacks an enhancement in status and he deplored the withdrawal of government support.<sup>24</sup>

By this time Impey was convinced of the superiority of western culture and a western legal system. He equated the 'progress' made by blacks by the 'better style of dwelling', the wearing of European clothing and a variation in diet. Progress was also measured by the ability to read and write and acquire property.<sup>25</sup>

With reference to the legal system Impey regarded the 'Kaffir Law of Inheritance' to be unjust as it deprived widows and daughters of any share in the deceased man's property. Impey would 'greatly prefer that the natives should be brought entirely under the ordinary law of the land, and that their own laws be entirely ignored'.<sup>26</sup>

In General however, Impey had a high regard for the individual ability of black people and suggested that their progress was to be commended. He concluded his testimony before the Commission by stating:

... during the last 45 years the natives have progressed as much as might reasonably be expected - perhaps at a greater rate than the English nation at any similar period of its early history. We have certainly no reason to be discouraged; but I think that greater attention to their civil superintendence, increased facilities with regard to their educational and religious training, and a little more

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21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

encouragement for their efforts to embrace the improvements of civilised life, will help on the good work wonderfully.<sup>27</sup>

#### IMPEY AND EDUCATION:

We have seen that after the period of his journal, Impey began to lay greater emphasis on education. When Impey became General Superintendent of missions in 1860 he began to lay even greater emphasis on providing education for black people. Earlier, in the late 1850s Impey had been encouraged by the progress made in black education which was receiving government sponsorship under Grey's education scheme.<sup>28</sup> However after the government educational grants were withdrawn in 1861, the financing of Wesleyan Methodist schools reverted back to the WMMC in London. This forced the WMMC to reconsider their involvement in education as they could not afford to finance these ventures.<sup>29</sup> As a result of the reversal of Grey's educational policy therefore, many of the Wesleyan Methodist institutions were forced to close.<sup>30</sup> Impey however remained committed to stimulating the development and growth of education in this region.

Perhaps Impey's greatest contribution to education was his revival of the work at Healdtown after the loss of the government educational grants in the 1860s.<sup>31</sup> Healdtown had been under the superintendence of the Rev John Ayliff who retired in 1861.<sup>32</sup> There was some debate as to whether Healdtown should be saved as many believed that Healdtown, when compared with Lovedale, the Presbyterian institution, had been a relative failure.<sup>33</sup> Impey believed that

27. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

28. *WMR*, 1860, p. 49. For a detailed discussion on Grey's education policy see Wilson, 'Co-operation and Conflict: The Eastern Cape Frontier' in Wilson and Thompson, (Eds.), *A History of South Africa*, pp. 260 ff.

29. The following are some examples of schools that were forced to close or change to adapt to these new circumstances: the Salem institution was sold and later reappeared as a school for white girls; Lesseyton became a Collegiate school for boys and eventually a theological institution for training black candidates for the ministry. (Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, pp. 237-238).

30. In 1864 the WMMC were asking whether the Watson Institution' was 'worth the £100 per annum'. (WMMC to Impey, 5.10.1864, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1, Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 238).

31. After the cattle killing, governor Sir George Grey secured the sum of £3 000 for the school at Healdtown. (Findlay, G G, and Holdsworth, W W, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* (Epworth, London, 1922) p. 288.

32. WMMC to Impey, 3.9.1861, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1.

33. Hewson, L A, 'Healdtown: A study of a Methodist experiment in African education' (Rhodes University, D Phil, 1959) p234.

Healdtown would succeed if it had strong leadership and an adequate staff. In addition, following the Lovedale model, Impey believed that Healdtown should become more specialised and not try to offer a broad cross section of educational opportunities. Thus the local Wesleyan leadership decided that Healdtown should concentrate on training black teachers, evangelists and candidates for ordination to the ministry.<sup>34</sup>

While open to Impey's ideas to promote a black ministry at Healdtown the WMMC in London were initially of the opinion that blacks should receive training 'in the work' rather than academically.<sup>35</sup> They were especially concerned about the financial implications of reviving the work at Healdtown and the ability of the black community to support a black ministry. They wrote:

We very much fear the incidental ill-effects of academical training on the native mind and heart and we also see difficulties in the latter alternative. Care must be taken that this class of Native agents, even when admitted into the full Ministry must clearly understand that their support must be provided not on the European scale but on one suited to the social condition of the people to whom they minister, and by whom we expect it will in due time be wholly raised.<sup>36</sup>

In 1866 Impey travelled to London and was able to secure money for the work at Healdtown from Mr James Heald.<sup>37</sup>

While Impey was away in England, the Rev William Taylor<sup>38</sup> was conducting a successful mission in southern Africa.<sup>39</sup>

Taylor was convinced that the success of the mission in South Africa lay in the hands of an ordained black ministry. This confirmed Impey's resolve to get

34. Hewson, 'Methodist experiment', pp. 235-236.

35. WMMC to Impey, 9.10.1865, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1.

36. WMMC to Impey, 9.10.1865, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1.

37. James Heald was a wealthy Methodist layman from Stockport, England, who had been treasurer of the WMMC from 1861. (Hewson, 'Methodist experiment' pp. 237-238).

38. William Taylor was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America. He had worked in California but felt that God was calling him to be an itinerant evangelist. Travelled through the USA and preached at every opportunity. Visited Canada and Australia. In Australia, his son became very ill. It was recommended that they visit South Africa with its 'milder climate'. The family arrived in March 1866. Taylor travelled through the country holding evangelistic meetings. (Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, pp. 263 ff).

39. The Grahamstown District showed a net increase of 930 members, with 2 419 on trial, the Queenstown District an increase of 978 members with 1 137 on trial. Taylor, W, *Story of my life* (Hunt and Eaton, New York, 1896) chapter 21.

the work going at Healdtown. The success of the Taylor mission coupled with Impey's motivation while visiting the WMMC in London, caused the WMMC to endorse the idea of the theological training of a black ministry.<sup>40</sup> With reference to the Taylor revival the WMMC wrote congratulating Impey and the missionaries on the success of the mission:

... we are glad to take this opportunity of congratulating you and the assembled brethren on the remarkable revival of religion which has been reported to us as having taken place in your District and that adjoining during the last year ... and we trust that the fruit of the long labour of the servants of God now so suddenly caused to blossom and bud may be as enduring as it is beautiful.<sup>41</sup>

While endorsing the training of black ministers 'to the fullest extent' the WMMC insisted that

... the Native tribes must before long look for the supply of all spiritual ministrations and that for such a ministry the native churches must be expected to make competent provision.<sup>42</sup>

A year later, in 1867, the WMMC once again stressed the need for securing 'the full co-operation of the Native brethren and thus ensuring a more proportionate scale of contribution on their part'.<sup>43</sup> The WMMC stressed

... it is not only an injury to our Mission fund but to our people themselves if we neglect to train them (blacks) to give systematically and according to their ability to the support of the Gospel.<sup>44</sup>

In 1868 in order to ensure the success of Healdtown Impey took up the position of President of the institution in addition to his other responsibilities.<sup>45</sup> The Rev Robert Lamplough<sup>46</sup> was appointed superintendent of the Healdtown African Circuit and theological tutor at Healdtown.<sup>47</sup> This was a difficult time for Impey as he often had to leave Healdtown in order to administer the affairs of the Grahamstown Circuit and superintend the missions.<sup>48</sup>

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40. WMMC to Impey, 9.11.1866, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1.

41. WMMC to Impey, 9.11.1866, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1.

42. WMMC to Impey, 9.11.1866, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1.

43. WMMC to Impey, 9.9.1867, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1.

44. WMMC to Impey, 9.9.1867, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1.

45. At the start of Impey's work to revive Healdtown he had decided to head the institution. (WMMC to Impey, 9.10.1865, Cory Lib., MIC 384/1).

46. Robert Lamplough (?-1905) arrived in South Africa in 1856. Served at Annshaw and in Grahamstown. (Gower, 'Index', p. 200).

47. Hewson, 'Methodist experiment', p. 246.

48. In 1875, Impey returned to Grahamstown and the work at Healdtown subsequently suffered. (Hewson, 'Methodist experiment', p. 247).

1868 was a very difficult year for the Impey family as their one daughter Harriet, died after a long illness. Impey described her illness as 'hip disease'.<sup>49</sup> She died in October 1868. This event greatly affected Impey who published a memorial to Harriet soon after her death.

In this period, there was a continued decline in membership in Grahamstown.<sup>50</sup> But the work at Healdtown was very encouraging.<sup>51</sup> The students at Healdtown continued to progress with some being posted out in the early 1870s to fill both ministerial and teaching positions.<sup>52</sup>

In this later part of his ministry Impey was convinced that the key to a peaceful solution to the racial issue in this country lay in the extension of Christianity and education.<sup>53</sup> He continued therefore, to appeal for support from London:

To the Committees of Missionary Societies the success of a Mission brings with it increased responsibilities and cares. To use the language of the abstract of the Report read at the public meeting, 'the educational wants of this people are continually increasing, and the supply of this necessity is to the Committee an anxious subject of consideration'.<sup>54</sup>

Impey found it difficult to fulfil the responsibilities of Chairman of the Grahamstown District, General Superintendent of Missions and President of Healdtown while stationed at Healdtown. In 1875 he decided to return to Grahamstown while retaining control over Heald Town. The General Report of Heald Town Institution noted their regard for Impey:

The residence of the General Superintendent at Heald Town has been of great value to the Institution, and from this centre, and partly through its agency, he has been enabled to exert a great influence for good on the whole of the Native work in this District; and this Meeting rejoices to learn that though he will shortly remove to Graham's Town, he will still retain his official connection with it.<sup>55</sup>

Although the missions had been in a state of economic depression for some time, the new emphasis on training a black 'agency' continued at Heald Town.

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49. Impey to Boyce, 28.2.1868, Cory Lib., MIC/F 137(12) 428.

50. *WMR*, 1869, pp. 58-60.

51. The candidates who had undergone training had been examined 'with very credible results'. (*WMR*, 1869, pp. 58-60).

52. *WMR*, 1870, pp. 69-71.

53. *WMR*, 1874, pp. 70-71.

54. *WMR*, 1874, p. 71.

55. *WMR*, 1875, p. 78.

By the end of 1877 the financial crisis was so severe that the WMMC in London advised Impey that they might have to retrench some of the missionary staff in South Africa.<sup>56</sup> Attempts were made to improve the situation but little changed though the extreme measure of retrenchments were never realised.<sup>57</sup>

IMPEY LEAVES THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH - 1878:

Impey had for some time experienced difficulty in accepting all the doctrines of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He had particular difficulty with the church's teaching on 'eternal punishment'. In 1877 he travelled to England to discuss the matter with the WMMC, and felt that the only honest thing for him to do was to leave the church.

The Rev W M Punshon of the WMMC wrote to Impey's successor, the Rev John Walton stating that Impey's case had been 'exceptionally painful' and that the WMMC were 'sensible of the long and faithful services of Mr Impey and the influence which he had legitimately acquired in South Africa'.<sup>58</sup> The WMMC 'viewed his separation with much regret and concern'.<sup>59</sup>

At the local level, the Finance Committee of the Grahamstown District of the WMC resolved: 1) to pay Impey's travel expenses to London and his return fare; 2) that his allowance be paid to the end of the current year; 3) that he be paid the usual allowances for lodgings whilst in England; 4) that the furniture (with the exception of all fixtures such as carpets, mats, blinds, curtains etc in the Grahamstown house be given to Mr and Mrs Impey and 5) that in consideration of Mr Impey's family a grant of £200 be made to him.<sup>60</sup>

During his ministry, especially as General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, he had earned the respect of his peers in South Africa and the WMMC in London. Although most official histories of the Methodist Church in South Africa have tended to devote relatively little space to him, Whiteside, who wrote the only really comprehensive history of the church in 1906 concludes

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- 56. WMMC to Impey, 19 December, 1877, Cory Lib., MS 15 450.
  - 57. Attempts to improve the financial affairs of the Healdtown Circuit. (Hunter to Impey, 11.1.1878, Cory Lib., MS 15 450, Rosen to Impey, 14.1.1878, Cory Lib., MS 15 450).
  - 58. Punshon to Walton, 11.12.1878, Cory Lib., MS 15 173.
  - 59. Punshon to Walton, 11.12.1878, Cory Lib., MS 15 173.
  - 60. Min. Fin. Comm., Grahamstown District, WMC, Cory Lib., MS 15 538.

that 'He will always be remembered for the devoted character of his labours and the personal charm of his manner'.<sup>61</sup>

Impey did not leave the Christian ministry. Bishop N J Merriman, the Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown, agreed to admit him to Anglican Orders and he was ordained Deacon in 1878. As Impey had left Methodism on theological grounds his entry into the Anglican ministry was not without controversy. Some Anglicans had been sensitised by Bishop Colenso's<sup>62</sup> 'heresy' and the feud between Bishop Merriman and Dean Williams<sup>63</sup> of the Cathedral in Grahamstown. An article which appeared in the *Church News* revealed that some Anglicans held reservations over what Merriman had done in admitting Impey to Anglican Orders:

... Towards Mr Impey personally the feeling of English Churchmen generally, we believe to be one of entire cordiality and respect. And it would be hardly less than a slight to the Bishop of Grahamstown to suppose that in so peculiarly delicate a case, he had proceeded otherwise than with the fullest deliberation. But considering all the circumstances, and especially in view of past controversies within our own Communion, we can scarcely be accused of over sensitiveness when we avow that we could have wished for such delay as would have afforded the Province the opportunity of forming a more definite opinion that at present is possible ...<sup>64</sup>

Merriman was happy that Impey would be an asset to the ministry of the Anglican Church<sup>65</sup> and so in 1878, installed him as a curate in the Cathedral. The Cathedral Council agreed to pay Impey £400 p.a. from 'subscriptions and offertories'.<sup>66</sup>

Owing to the conflict between Merriman and Williams, Impey found himself in a difficult position. Merriman had denied Williams the right to preach or minister in the Cathedral. The controversy between these two clerics was no simple matter but suffice it to say that Williams rejected Merriman's

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61. Whiteside, *Wesleyan Methodist Church*, p. 116.

62. John William Colenso (1814-1883) controversial Church of England bishop of Natal and Zulu linguist. (*DSAB*, Vol. I, pp. 177-181).

63. Frederick Henry Williams (1829-1885) Dean of Grahamstown who had severe disagreements with Bishop Merriman. (*DSAB*, Vol. II, p. 847).

64. Merriman, to the Bishop of Cape Town, 1878, Cory Lib., MS 16 689(d) A 263.

65. Merriman, to the Bishop of Cape Town, 1878, Cory Lib., MS 16 689, A 261.

66. Cathedral Minute Book, March 1862 to October 1880, p. 210, Cory Lib., MS 16 604/2.

authority and expressed his dislike of Merriman in his own paper - *The Eastern Star*. Hinchliff comments:

The quarrel rapidly degenerated into personal spitefulness. ... Merriman was a man of strong, impetuous temper. He had a caustic tongue and was never afraid of speaking his mind. But for three years he dealt extraordinarily patiently with Williams, trying to win him back to his allegiance. ... But Williams became more intransigent and at last Merriman lost patience.<sup>67</sup>

There were obviously no difficulties between Impey and Merriman as Impey was ordained Priest at Christ Church on 1 December 1879. Merriman announced that Christ Church was to be pro-Cathedral pending proceedings taken under the ordering of the Diocesan Court regarding the Dean. The Grahamstown Journal records that 'There was a very large congregation to witness the ceremony' testifying to Impey's popularity in Anglican circles.<sup>68</sup>

In 1879 Merriman instructed Impey that if the Dean ever took to the pulpit or administered the sacraments 'it will be your duty to withdraw from all participation in any services conducted by the Dean in the Cathedral ...'<sup>69</sup>

Impey had become popular with the parishioners at the Cathedral and when, in 1879, Merriman finally removed Impey from the Cathedral over the defiance of the Dean, the parishioners objected. They wrote:

... this meeting deplores the action of the Bishop in using his power to deprive the congregation of St George's of the Spiritual services of the Rev William Impey as their curate, acting under the appointment and in connection with the Very Reverend the Dean, and that it considers such action equally cruel and unjust towards the Rev Mr Impey, in depriving that gentleman of the Living to which he was ordained.<sup>70</sup>

Impey explained the situation in a letter to R W Nelson, Secretary of the Cathedral Vestry:

... I can only say that so long as the Inhibition of the Bishop continues in force, it is impossible for me to resume the duties of Curate at the Cathedral. Were this removed, of which I fear there is little immediate prospect, it would be a pleasure once more to occupy a position which the generous and considerate treatment of me by both Dean and Vestry have rendered agreeable.

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67. Hinchliff, P, *The Anglican Church in South Africa* (Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 1963) p. 123.

68. Grahamstown Journal, 1.12.1879, p. 3.

69. Merriman to Impey (no date), Cory Lib., MS 16 708/3 A 361.

70. Copy of Resolution passed at a meeting of the seatholders, parishioners and congregation worshipping in St George's Cathedral held in the Cathedral Grammar School on Tuesday evening, August 12, 1879, Cory Lib., MS 16 783/1, Diocese of Grahamstown A 1451.

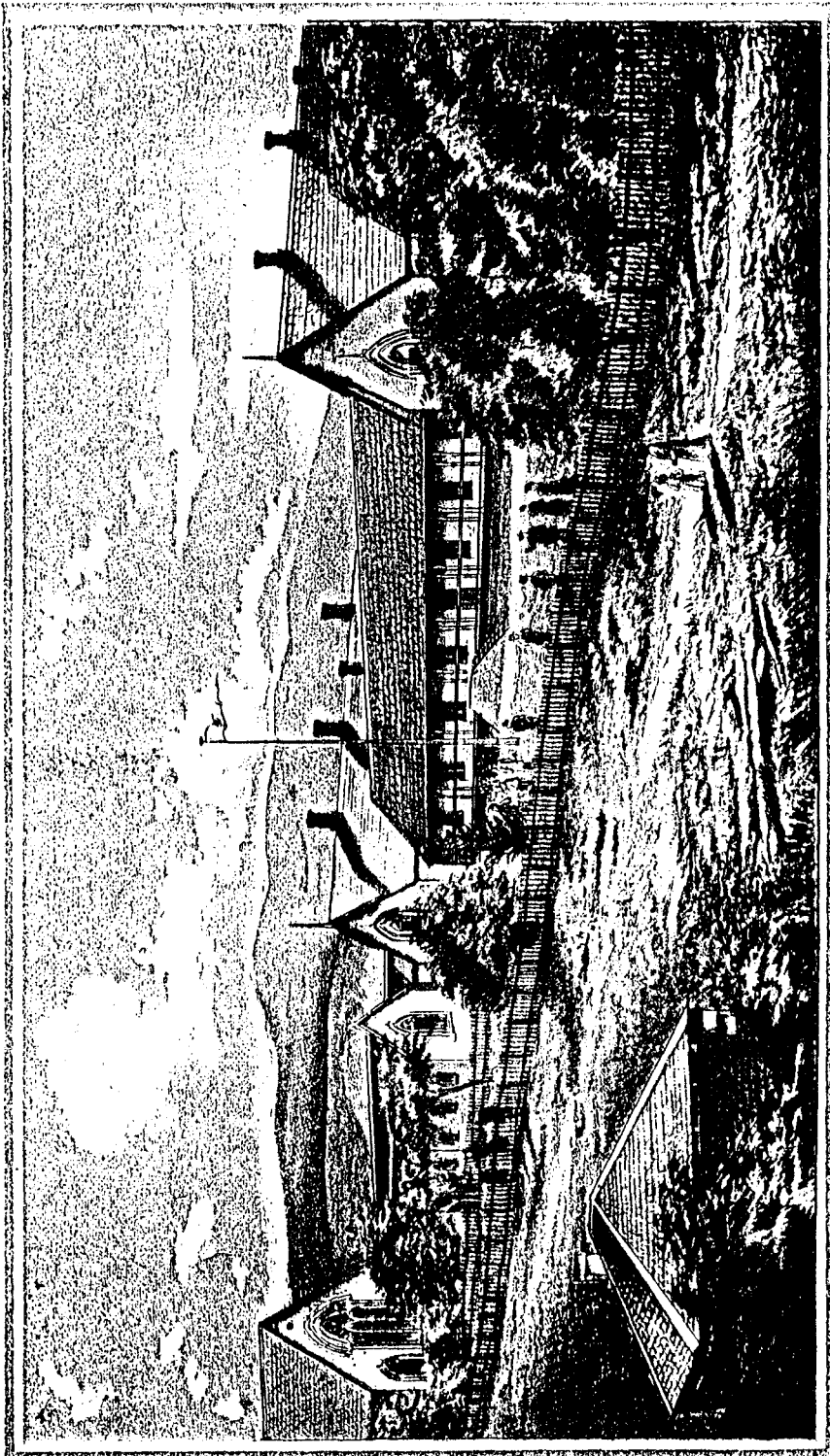
I most deeply lament the unhappy circumstances which have led to a severance of our brief connection, and trust that happier and more peaceful days for your Church may soon arrive.<sup>71</sup>

After leaving the Cathedral, Impey ministered in Christ Church, Grahamstown and in 1881 moved to East London. After a few years he returned to Grahamstown as priest-vicar of the Cathedral. He remained in Grahamstown until age and ill-health rendered him inactive. He died at his home in Oatlands Road, Grahamstown in 1896.<sup>72</sup>

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71. Cathedral Minutes Book, March 1862 to October 1880, p. 228, Cory Lib., MS 16 604/2. Minutes of the Meeting of the Grahamstown Cathedral, 19 February 1881 p. 11, Cory Lib., MS 16 604/3.

72. *DSAB* Vol.II, p. 328.



HEALD TOWN.

Ref.: Holden, *Brief History*.

PART 5: THE PERIOD 1848-1896

CHAPTER 15: THE THEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Theologically, in the period of his Journal Impey was a committed Wesleyan. At some time later Impey came under the influence of the 'liberal' theology that had been evolving in Europe in the 19th century. This chapter seeks to place Impey into the context of these evolving theological trends.

Generally speaking the 19th century was a period of unprecedented peace and prosperity in the western world. There were only relatively minor irruptions with the American Civil War being the only exception. Science and technology seemed to have solved many of the problems that had troubled humankind since time immemorial. González suggests that 'the natural world finally seemed to be coming under human dominion, and to prove itself malleable to human wishes and designs'.<sup>1</sup>

The transport revolution made distances seem shorter and ideas spread as never before. The industrial revolution and the resultant creation of a prosperous middle class, generated more leisure time for many people, and it was in these sections of society that 'most theological reflection took place'.<sup>2</sup> The crises of the 18th century had been largely overcome and the more settled 19th century became characterised by increased religious doubt. The religious 'enthusiasm'<sup>3</sup> of the last century was regarded by many as unnecessary and by some even excessive. Belief that one needed to enter into a personal relationship with God, the absolute authority of the bible in all matters, and other kindred evangelical doctrines were no longer considered worthy of belief by many in this period. González suggests:

It was a time when political, economic, and cultural circumstances seemed to spell doom [in Europe] for the Christian faith - at least in its traditional form.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the most significant contribution to the development of 19th century thought was the foundation laid by the 18th century philosopher, Immanuel Kant,<sup>5</sup> who questioned the possibility of being able to know anything about God. His influence is evident in that many later writers, both secular and

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1. González, J L, *A history of Christian thought Volume III* (Harper, San Francisco, 1985) p. 428.
  2. *Ibid.*, p. 428.
  3. Knox, R A, *Enthusiasm* (Collins, London, 1987).
  4. González, *Christian thought*, p. 347.
  5. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) German philosopher. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 69).

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theological, deemed it necessary to either conform, question or reject his ideas. Some found his writings liberating, enabling them to postulate either agnostic or even atheistic ideas and yet remain 'respectable'. Others modified their paradigm in order to satisfy the loopholes supposedly suggested by Kant.

German idealist philosophy reveals the influence of Kant and is a response to his theories.<sup>6</sup> G W F Hegel<sup>7</sup> suggested that God does not exist over and above the world but that God is the world spirit that is to be found in the depths of world processes. For Hegel all reality was the manifestation of this 'Absolute Spirit'. He stated that there was a three-fold process of being (thesis), descent into finite forms (antithesis) and reconciliation (synthesis). Hegel stated that life is not static but evolves through this dialectical evolution. For Hegel God was therefore not a person, but a process. Hegel held that Christian beliefs were little more than primitive conceptions of reality which needed to be interpreted and reformulated in terms of his own system.<sup>8</sup>

Karl Marx<sup>9</sup> adapted Hegel's 'dialectic' approach. Instead of talking in terms of dialectic idealism, he spoke of dialectic materialism. He rejected the idea of an 'Absolute Spirit' and the idea that 'nature' was the basis of reality suggesting rather that 'matter' was the basis of reality. For Marx therefore the history of humankind was the story of how people related to material things. Marx added that belief in God was irrelevant. He recognised that any religion could and often did, bring genuine consolation to sufferers but claimed that if one did away with the wretched conditions which evoked a religious response, religion would 'wither through disuse'.<sup>10</sup>

The respectability of secular, agnostic or even atheistic thought opened the door for advances in the biological sciences as well. Perhaps the most significant work in this period was the evolutionary hypothesis formulated by

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6. Bebbington, D, *Patterns in History* (IVP, Leicester, 1979) p. 118.
  7. Georg Wilhelm Friederich Hegel (1770-1831) German philosopher. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 57).
  8. González, *Story*, pp. 287-289.
  9. Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-1883) German economist, philosopher and one of the founders of communism. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 84).
  10. Bebbington, *Patterns*, pp. 121-124, *New Dictionary of Theology* (NDT) (IVP, Leicester, 1988) p. 413.

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Charles Darwin<sup>11</sup> in his book *Origin of Species* (1859). In fact the 19th century became known as the 'era of the theory of evolution'. Darwin's theory implied that humans were not the special creation of God but that they had descended from the animal kingdom through a process of 'natural selection' or 'survival of the fittest'. This theory implied that the world itself was not a creation of a god who had planned everything and as a result god became an 'unnecessary hypothesis'.<sup>12</sup>

Darwin's work initially met with a mixed reaction. The later work of Thomas Huxley<sup>13</sup> served to make this 'new' way of thinking more acceptable. Huxley coined the word 'agnosticism' to describe a state of not knowing. Rather than deny the existence of God (atheism) Huxley drew the conclusion that he simply did not know. Huxley worked as a scientist who claimed to face facts rather than indulge in speculative dogma. His work gave 'evolution' a stamp of scientific orthodoxy and the theory became more and more 'respectable'.<sup>14</sup>

In an attempt to reply to Kant, the theologian Friederich Schleiermacher<sup>15</sup> suggested that theology should be based on religious experience. He stated therefore that the basis of religion is neither activity or knowledge, but something that underlies them both, the feeling and awareness which we call self-consciousness. In interpreting the bible, Schleiermacher stressed the need for a psychological rather than a grammatical approach, emphasising that consciousness of the self as dependent is the primary locus of God's self-disclosure to his human creation. Man was therefore able to know God through his experience of him.<sup>16</sup>

The 19th century was also a period in which biblical scholarship was transformed. Old Testament scholars began to see the Scriptures as a patchwork

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11. Charles Darwin (1809-1882) English scientist. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 36).
  12. Bebbington, *Patterns*, pp. 84 ff, *NDT*, p. 178.
  13. Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895) English scientist. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 64).
  14. Brown, C, 'The ascent of man', in Dowley, (Ed.), *History of Christianity*, p. 539.
  15. Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768-1834) German theologian. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 111).
  16. González, *Story*, pp. 285-287, *NDT*, p. 619, *New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (NIDCC)* (Paternoster, Exeter, 1978) p. 884.

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of pieces which owed their shape and texture to outside influences.<sup>17</sup> Julius Wellhausen<sup>18</sup> held that Hebrew religion had developed from the primitive stories of nomadic times to an elaborate institutionalised ritualism before the birth of Jesus. He identified a variety of different sources of the Old Testament Law which he claimed was written during different periods in the history of Israel.<sup>19</sup>

The 19th century was also the period of the quest for the 'historical Jesus'. People searched for Jesus as he 'really was' behind the theology of the New Testament.<sup>20</sup> This quest began with the 18th century scholar, Herman Reimarus,<sup>21</sup> who saw Jesus as an amiable Galilean teacher who met an untimely death because he mixed up his moral teaching with the creation of a new political state in which God was king. He believed that the disciples put out the story that Jesus had risen from the dead and would come again. For Reimarus the gospel narrative was a fraud, perpetuated for material gain.<sup>22</sup>

There were also significant developments in general New Testament studies. David Strauss<sup>23</sup> dismissed all the supernatural and messianic elements of the Gospels as 'myth'. Joseph Renan<sup>24</sup> tried to eliminate the supernatural and to reduce Jesus to a mere 'magnetic teacher'.<sup>25</sup> Ferdinand Baur<sup>26</sup> worked on the presupposition of a conflict between Peter and Paul. Those New Testament books

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17. Brown, 'The ascent of man', in Dowley, (Ed.), *History of Christianity*, p. 544.
  18. Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) German biblical critic. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 128).
  19. Harrison, R K, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1977) pp. 21 ff.
  20. Marshall, I H, *I believe in the Historical Jesus* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1977) pp. 109 ff.
  21. Herman Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768) German deist and biblical critic. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 104).
  22. Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 104.
  23. David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874) German theologian. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 117).
  24. Joseph Ernst Renan (1823-1892) French philosopher and theologian. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 104).
  25. Guthrie, D, *New Testament Introduction* (Inter-Varsity Press, Leicester, 1970), Brown, 'The ascent of man', in Dowley, (Ed.), *History of Christianity*, p. 544.
  26. Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860) German church historian and dogmatician. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 14).

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which revealed this assumed 'conflict' were considered genuine, those that did not were all considered later creations.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to developments in the theological world, there was also a significant renewal within the Church of England. This renewal has become known as the Oxford Movement and saw the Anglican church return to a more overtly Roman Catholic form of worship and theology. The adherents to this approach became known as 'Anglo-Catholics'. These reformers published their views in the form of tracts and therefore also became known as 'Tractarians'. They emphasised the authority of tradition and apostolic succession in addition to Scripture and saw Holy Communion as the centre of Christian worship. One of their leaders John Newman<sup>28</sup> eventually converted to Roman Catholicism and was made a Cardinal. But most of the members of this movement remained within the Church of England and gave the church a renewed devotional life.<sup>29</sup> The first Bishop of Cape Town Robert Gray,<sup>30</sup> was a member of the Oxford Movement and after his arrival in 1848, South African Anglicanism took on a predominantly Anglo-Catholic character. Bishop Merriman who ordained William Impey into Anglican orders, was also an Anglo-Catholic.<sup>31</sup>

By the second half of the 19th century there had therefore been significant developments in the philosophical, theological and scientific worlds, all of which influenced the way in which people perceived themselves, others, God and the world around them. While these trends were easily discernable in Europe it is important to examine the impact of these influences on missions in southern Africa.

### THE IMPACT OF 19TH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS ON PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The missionaries in the early 19th century saw as their main function the conversion of all non-Christians to the Christian faith. They believed that the death of Christ on the cross earned salvation for all people and was

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27. Ladd, G E, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Lutterworth, London, 1975) pp. 13 ff and Kümmel, W G, *The Theology of the New Testament* (SCM, London, 1973) pp. 13 ff.
  28. John Henry Newman (1801-1890) English theologian and leader in the Oxford Movement. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 90).
  29. González, *Story*, p. 272, Faber, G, *The Oxford Apostles* (Penguin, Middlesex, 1954), Hennell, M, 'The Oxford Movement' in Dowley, (Ed.), *History of Christianity*, p. 524-525.
  30. Robert Gray (1809-1872) first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan. (DSAB, Vol. I, pp. 316-324).
  31. Hinchliff, P, *The Anglican Church in South Africa* (Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 1963).

intended for every person. The missionaries were impatient to take this message to the ends of the earth.<sup>32</sup>

The scepticism of both 19th century theological and biblical scholarship does not appear to have had a marked effect on the message of missionaries, at least before the 1860s. These 'liberal' ideas initially only influenced those who enjoyed the privilege of a formal education, especially a university education, a luxury enjoyed by very few of the early missionaries. The majority of the early missionaries were 'men mostly without the privilege of what we would call even secondary, let alone higher education'.<sup>33</sup> Most of the missionaries were 'inner directed men', fundamentalists who got their education the hard way.<sup>34</sup>

Some scholars<sup>35</sup> do not believe that being 'unlearned' was a disadvantage suggesting that because they held fast to traditional doctrines,

Missions gave the churches an opportunity to escape the moral, theological and social problems faced by individuals and churches at home (i.e. in Britain).<sup>36</sup>

The conditions on the frontier fostered their theological conservatism. Contrary to the relative peace that was enjoyed by the rest of the western world in this period, the missionaries in southern Africa often had to face instability and even war.<sup>37</sup>

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32. Beyerhaus, P, *Missions: Which way? Humanization or redemption* (Zondervan, Michigan, 1971) pp. 17-18.
  33. Warren, M, *Social History and Christian Mission* (SCM, London, 1967) p. 38.
  34. Warren defines 'inner directed' as 'to know an overwhelming compulsion to follow some course of action which to others may seem wildly opportune, extremely dangerous and possibly subversive to the "natural order of things"'. (Warren, *Social History*, p. 44) He explains 'education the hard way' in the phrase 'eating Greek and meals together' (*Ibid.*, p. 47).
  35. Hattersley, *Social history*, and Warren, *Social history*, Lewis, R and Foy, T, *The British in Africa* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1971).
  36. Kent, J, *The unacceptable force: The modern church in the eyes of the historian* (SCM Press, London, 1987) p. 178.
  37. Many missionaries knew that their accepting the missionary challenge might mean physical danger for themselves and their families. Lewis and Foy note that 'Between 1795 and 1820 martyrs' crowns were won by many of those who went to west Africa; by 1812 some dozens had died and all there was to show for it was a few churches and a school with 120 pupils'. (Lewis and Foy, *British in Africa*, p. 59).

## CHAPTER 15: 19th century theological context

Before the Xhosa cattle-killing of 1857 the missionaries enjoyed little numeric successes in bringing people to a spiritual conversion. Their teachings were strongly contested by the indigenous peoples.<sup>38</sup> The protestant missionaries were however not really perturbed by the small number of converts as they insisted rather on the authenticity of conversion according to the New Testament 'rather than the bulk conversion of later church history'.<sup>39</sup>

The missionaries often had to endure the repeated material destruction of their stations which had taken them many years to establish. Frequently after years of work, the missionaries and their families were left with just the clothes on their backs. Missionary life was therefore not a soft option which ensured a life of privilege and luxury. Hattersley suggests that 'the difficulties against which the missionaries had to contend might have daunted even men of the utmost zeal and resolution'.<sup>40</sup> Despite what happened most missionaries were prepared to return and begin all over again. All these factors led to the conservation of fundamentalist evangelical theology.

The situation changed in the second half of the century when more missionaries were drawn from the ranks of those who had a formal education. Warren suggests that even though there were relatively few of them, 'they stamped the whole character of the missionary movement'.<sup>41</sup> These later missionaries changed the emphasis of the missions to not just preaching the gospel of salvation and eternal life, but to stress the importance of education and later, scientific medicine.<sup>42</sup> By the 1870s one can perceive therefore, the influence of 19th century scientific and philosophical thinking. This was also evident in the writings of some of the missionaries who gained increased respectability for the missionary movement because of their scholarly works on the natural history and the 'native' peoples of foreign lands which reflected these modern intellectual trends.<sup>43</sup>

Many of these missionaries captured the imaginations of the public at home through these romanticised accounts of their 'travels and adventures' in

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38. '... the teachings of Christianity were in direct conflict with tribal conceptions. Converts were called upon to dissociate themselves from the ideas and institutions of tribal life'. (Hattersley, *Social History*, p. 126).

39. Lewis and Foy, *British in Africa*, p. 59.

40. Hattersley, *Social History*, p. 126.

41. Warren, *Social History*, p. 55.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

'strange' and 'dangerous' lands. These writings not only generated interest in the missions but also inspired other 'respectable' and educated people to offer themselves for missionary service. Warren concludes that 'most missionaries from Britain in the second half of the 19th century, certainly all the leaders, were far more highly educated men'.<sup>44</sup>

Many missionaries had for some time believed that indigenous African culture was inferior to European culture, but would have been loathe to be overtly vocal with this viewpoint. The influence of evolutionism is clearly perceived in the way in which some later writers, including some missionaries, openly declared the view that the indigenous peoples and societies were inferior to the British. Some people had by this time begun using Darwin's thesis of 'natural selection' to explain how some cultures had evolved to a higher level than others. Noble writing in 1877 reveals this tendency. Writing about the people living in the Cape Colony, he describes them as consisting of various races 'widely differing from each other in character and in the progress they had made in civilisation' referring to the British as 'the least numerous, although the most active and intelligent class'.<sup>45</sup> Carlyle writing in 1878 with reference to the Xhosa suggests that 'they are physically of a higher formation than the other South African races' but still claimed that 'the European is generally their superior'.<sup>46</sup>

These later missionaries had been 'prepared to find their subjects plunged in heathen darkness, but their books and reports back indicate that they were frequently taken aback by African primitiveness'.<sup>47</sup> While the earlier missionaries had believed that 'Africans were individually capable of attaining any heights'<sup>48</sup> many later missionaries were less confident about the ability of blacks. They were completely appalled by the cattle-killing of 1857 and the aftermath which had devastated the Xhosa. This, compounded by everyday incidents of what the missionaries considered to be the 'brutality of African life' and African witchcraft, might have had the influence of opening their minds to ideas of social evolutionism.<sup>49</sup>

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44. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

45. Noble, J, *South Africa, past and present: a short history of the European settlements at the Cape* (Longmans, London/Juta, Cape Town, 1877) p. 176.

46. Carlyle, J E, *South Africa and its mission fields* (James Nisbet, London, 1878) p. 52.

47. Lewis and Foy, *British in Africa*, p. 67.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-70.

## CHAPTER 15: 19th century theological context

While theology in the 19th century in South Africa remained predominantly conservative, in the latter part of the century people became more open to new ideas.

In the early 1860s Bishop J W Colenso of Natal, who had embraced liberal protestant theology and biblical scholarship, had been branded a heretic on a number of issues, not least his questioning of the authorship of the Pentateuch and Joshua. His ideas scandalised the church in South Africa culminating in his deposition as Bishop of Natal by Bishop Gray of Cape Town in 1863 who declared his theological position as unacceptable.<sup>50</sup>

William Impey was also at the centre of controversy when in 1878 he resigned from the Wesleyan Methodist Church on the grounds that he could no longer adhere to the doctrine of eternal punishment. Even though it was only 15 years after Colenso, Impey was accepted by Bishop Merriman of the Anglican Church and was ordained deacon in that year which is possibly a testimony of the increased rate at which new theological developments were becoming acceptable by the church at this time.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the message of the church in South Africa was different to its emphasis in the early 19th century. The way missionaries were perceived had also undergone a significant change. Gone were the days when missionaries were considered fanatics. The missionary movement had now become respectable and the new missionary message reinforced rather than opposed colonial attitudes because liberal theology was compatible with the liberal political philosophy that was also becoming more popular. The new emphasis was on the 'individual'. Many now believed that through education, even if one rejected the Christian faith, one could be liberated from 'barbarism' and could become effective and productive participants in social, economic and political life. Cultural conversion had now taken precedence over spiritual conversion.

Impey was in many respects a person before his time. However because the position he held came to characterise an ever increasing number of people, Impey's experience provides us with an interesting glimpse into the dynamic of the Church, its teaching and the consequences for society.

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50. NIDCC, pp. 238-239.

PART 5: THE PERIOD 1848-1896

CHAPTER 16: IMPEY LEAVES THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH

In the early days of his ministry Impey believed fervently in the truth of the doctrine of 'eternal punishment' and was motivated by it to be faithful and loyal to his calling to bring people to Jesus Christ. Writing on 22.7.1839 Impey states:

... I want to have one all absorbing end in view, one all pervading principle, to see everything in the Light of Eternity. Oh God bring Eternity near to my soul, rather than not feel it, let my soul be as it has been in times past, wrapped in terrors; spur me into action, to do something more for the souls of men, and for thy Glory.

But by 1878 Impey's position on this doctrine had changed drastically to the point where he stated emphatically, 'This doctrine I do not "believe," and therefore cannot preach'.<sup>1</sup>

Impey's new position was consistent with late 19th century 'liberal' theology as expressed by people like Schleiermacher and which stressed the importance of experience over the bible as a source for spiritual authority.

While it is difficult to know why Impey was open to these new ideas, it is possible to make some reasoned deductions. The importance of subjective experience can be traced back to Impey's Quaker roots. His father came from a long line of 'Friends' and Impey and some of his siblings were educated at Quaker schools. The Quaker teaching on the 'inner light'<sup>2</sup> is not dissimilar to the Wesleyan doctrine of prevenient grace; the Quaker stress on divine inspiration is not dissimilar to the Wesleyan stress on experiencing God personally, 'enthusiastically'.<sup>3</sup> While there are some profound differences between these two movements there is sufficient similarity to explain why Impey's father opted for Methodism when expelled from the Quaker movement. It is possible that the Quaker influence during Impey's childhood as well as the Wesleyan emphasis on the personal experience of grace made him open to the 'new' more experiential approach of liberal theology.

Impey had always struggled with the persistence of sin in his life. This seems to have made him sympathetic towards others to the point that he could not

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1. Impey, *Why I leave*, p. 7, Impey's emphases.

2. González, *Story*, pp. 200-204.

3. Knox, *Enthusiasm*. While Knox does not make this comparison, his discussions on both Quakerism and Wesleyanism would tend to support this hypothesis.

accept that a loving God could condemn any person to eternal punishment.<sup>4</sup> He was profoundly affected by the cattle-killing of 1856-1857, which might have influenced his thinking further to question whether God would force a people who suffered so much on this earth, to continue to suffer for all eternity.

An incident that definitely had a marked affect on Impey was the death of his 12 year old daughter in 1868. In his book entitled *Memorial of Harriet Langford Impey* he describes her as confessing traditional evangelical theology, but includes a vivid description of a period of severe doubt experienced by Harriet just before her death. While he never categorically states that this influenced his thinking on eternal punishment, it is clear that he was deeply moved by the experience. It is also interesting to note that he outlived four of his eight children.<sup>5</sup>

While some might have disagreed, Impey held that his new theological position was consistent with the mainstream of Christian teaching. He stated that many orthodox Christians, from the early Church Fathers onwards, denied the doctrine of eternal punishment.<sup>6</sup>

Impey cites the names of Justin Martyr,<sup>7</sup> Ireneo<sup>8</sup> and Arnobius<sup>9</sup> as examples of early church fathers who denied the validity of the doctrine of eternal punishment. He includes the famous hymn writer, Dr Isaac Watts<sup>10</sup> as well as a number of influential contemporary 19th century theologians, all as people who had exercised an influence on his thinking.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the contemporary scholars cited by Impey formed part of the 19th century trend to move away from doctrinal specifics and the hereafter, to concentrate more on the present and the moral improvement of humankind. These

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4. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

5. Death Notice, William Impey, Cape Arch., MOOC 6/9/357.

6. Impey, *Why I leave*, p. 7.

7. Justin Martyr (c.100-165) Roman apologist. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 68).

8. Ireneo<sup>8</sup> (c.115-190) church father. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 65).

9. Arnobius (active c.304-310) Christian apologist. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 8).

10. Dr Isaac Watts (1674-1748) Anglican hymn writer. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 126).

11. Impey, *Why I leave*, p. 7.

people were part of what became known as the 'Broad Church' movement.<sup>12</sup> Welch comments:

... while the transcendent world was of course to be affirmed, the main question was how to make man's life here and now as perfect as possible. God's aim was also the happiness of man and religion was justified by its contribution to the well-being of society.<sup>13</sup>

In this period, Bebbington suggests that 'No specific doctrinal change was more marked than the decline of hell'.<sup>14</sup>

While some of the theologians cited by Impey are reasonably obscure, he also mentions some who were major contributors to the theological debate in this period. Of special significance is Robert Dale.<sup>15</sup> By 1874 Dale had publicly separated himself from the current eschatology of his denomination which advocated that 'eternal life is a gift to believers in Christ, with the consequent annihilation of the impenitent'.<sup>16</sup>

Impey's mention of the Rev Edward White is also of significance. In Bebbington's opinion, White had led the way among the Congregationalists by arguing in his *Life of Christ* (1846) that 'immortality is conditional on faith in Christ'. Those who do not have this faith 'face extinction, not punishment'.<sup>17</sup>

Impey was not only under the influence of Congregationalists. He also cites Isaac Taylor an influential Baptist layman and John Foster an essayist and Baptist minister.<sup>18</sup>

As Impey joined the Anglican Church, it is important to examine briefly, the influence of Anglicans on his thinking. Impey mentions Renn Hampden, one time

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12. Welch, C, *Protestant thought in the 19th century, Vol.1, 1799-1870* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1974) p. 186.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

14. Bebbington, D W, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (Unwyn Hyman, London, 1989) p. 145.

15. Robert William Dale (1829-1895), a congregational minister and lecturer in philosophy and homiletics at Spring Hill College, Birmingham. (*DNB: Supplement and Vol.II*, p. 105).

16. *DNB: Supplement and Vol.II*, p. 105.

17. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 145.

18. Isaac Taylor (1787-1865), Coleridge (1772-1834) and John Foster (1770-1853). (*DNB: Index and Epitome and Vol.XXIV*).

Fellow of Oriel College Oxford, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and finally Bishop of Hereford. Both Hampden's appointment to the Chair at Oxford and as Bishop were surrounded by controversy because he was believed to hold unorthodox views. He was challenged by some for holding the evangelical position that 'the authority of the Scriptures was of greater weight than the authority of the church'. This was a time when the Tractarians were moving towards the latter position in their shift closer to Roman Catholicism. While eventually modifying his theological position, Hampden remained evangelical in his approach and opposed the Oxford Movement, especially those who went over to Rome. The Tractarians accused Hampden as one who undermined the historic dogmas and categorised him as being in the same camp with Schleiermacher. He was a prolific writer who published many philosophical and theological works.<sup>19</sup>

Impey also mentions Richard Whately who represented the opposite extreme to Hampden. Whately is credited with being instrumental in initiating the Tractarian movement through his writings. Whately had also been a Fellow of Oriel College Oxford, and tutor at Oxford before being appointed Archbishop of Dublin. Early in his writings (1821) his views tended towards agnosticism. He was however considered one of the 'Broad Churchmen'. He denied the necessity of the death of Christ and concentrated more on Christ's life and he 'made no attempt to attenuate the significance of the doctrine of eternal punishment'.<sup>20</sup>

Impey therefore seems to have mentioned theologians from across the spectrum of denominational and theological traditions in order to substantiate the validity of his position, rather than suggest why he specifically chose to move to the Anglican Church.

What appears to have been attractive to Impey was the emphasis of these writers on the importance of addressing current social issues. Impey's cooperation with the Colonial authorities and his later support for the spread of British colonial authority into the interior of South Africa could have been a result of his new theological understanding.<sup>21</sup> The influence of the 'Broad Churchmen', who advocated that the Church and State should work together and 'have the object of promoting the improvement of man and his

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19. Renn Dickson Hampden (1793-1868), Bishop of Hereford (1848-1868). (*DNB: Index and Epitome and Vol. XXIV* p. 264 ff, Welch, C, *Protestant thought*, p. 211).

20. Richard Whately (1787-1863). (*DNB: Index and Epitome and Vol. XL*, pp. 425-428, Welch, C, *Protestant thought*, p. 187).

21. cf *CNA* (1865).

culture'<sup>22</sup> is clearly visible. Impey's concentration on the stimulation and development of education in the latter part of his ministry, as the most effective way of improving the lot of blacks, coupled with his move away from the earlier concentration on things 'eternal' is therefore in keeping with late 19th century liberal theological trends.

Finally Impey decided that he could no longer remain part of the WMC which required him annually to declare his willingness to uphold its teachings. In a letter written to the Rev Dr W M Punshon (one of the Secretaries of the WMMC) dated Grahamstown 7.9.1878 Impey writes:

I do not believe that the general teaching of God's word warrants such a doctrine [eternal punishment], nor do I believe that this doctrine is consistent with the revealed character of God.<sup>23</sup>

Impey however was not as sceptical as many (though not all) of those that had an influence on him. In concluding his writings on why he left the Wesleyan Methodist church he stressed that he did not feel that he had 'made shipwreck of the Faith ...' stating that 'I accept in its integrity the noble "Apostles Creed"'.<sup>24</sup>

By 1878 Impey stated that he held the position of John Erskine who wrote: 'Orthodoxy or right opinion is but a very slender part of religion, if any part at all'.<sup>25</sup> Finally he concluded that the only honest thing for him to do was to resign from the WMC as he felt that he differed too drastically with this church on doctrinal grounds.

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22. Welch, *Protestant thought*, p. 187.

23. Impey, *Why I leave*, p. 10.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

PART 6: CRITICAL ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 17: CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF MISSIONARIES

In analyzing the work and theology of William Impey and other 19th century missionaries it is important to heed the warning of the British Historian G M Trevelyan who wrote:

Individual character, variety and an urge to change were marked features of the English over whom Victoria presided; and the end of her reign was very different from the beginning ...<sup>1</sup>

With specific reference to missionaries Hinchliff warns:

It ought to be perfectly obvious to anyone that a Tory high churchman would have ideas about nature and the Church's mission and of its political implications quite different from those of a conscientious free churchman.<sup>2</sup>

The diversity which categorises the 19th century is also evident in the way missionaries were perceived. Commenting on contemporary 19th century attitudes Denoon et.al. suggest:

Whether the missionaries realised it or not (and at first they seem not to have realised it) they came as evangelists but were regarded as diplomats and educators and westerners. Though colonists regarded them as dangerously pro-African, many African leaders ... regarded them as dangerously pro-settler and pro-Imperialist.<sup>3</sup>

How then does one evaluate or assess the work of a 19th century missionary?

Some suggest that the missionaries were agents of conquest, others that they were servants of God. Monica Wilson states that the choice one makes depends on the way one sees Christianity and the Christian Gospel. She writes:

Is it indeed good news? A channel of communion with God? A means of grace? A source of power of the Spirit? Missionaries believed passionately that it was. That belief was the driving force that moved them. ... But many people *do not* believe it, and from their point of view the missionary effort was, at best, mistaken and,

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1. Trevelyan, G M, *English Social History* (Longmans, Green and Co, London, 1946) p. 96.
  2. Hinchliff, P, 'Voluntary Absolutism: British Missionary Societies in the 19th Century' in Sheils, W J, and Wood, D, (Eds.), *Voluntary Religion: Papers read at the 1985 summer meeting and the 1986 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, published as *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 23, p. 364.
  3. Denoon, D, et. al. *Southern Africa since 1800* (Longman, London, 1972) p. 65.

CHAPTER 17: *Changing perceptions of missionaries*

some think dishonest, for they do not admit the missionaries themselves believed.<sup>4</sup>

The significance of working from within a paradigm of belief is explained by Kent who makes a distinction between 'committed' and 'uncommitted' historians (in the religious sense) suggesting that 'committed historians' are those that take a specifically 'Christian' view of their material and who say in effect that 'religious' events require a 'religious' explanation.<sup>5</sup> 'Uncommitted' historians, according to Kent's definition, are those who are indifferent to the religious content of events.<sup>6</sup>

It is however feasible to be a 'committed' historian and yet be highly critical of the missionaries. Dr James Cochrane of Natal University is a case in point. In his book entitled *Servants of Power* published in 1987 he stated aim was to employ 'the tools of historical materialism [a radical Marxist approach] within a framework of committed Christian values'.<sup>7</sup> He claims that 'What requires elucidation is why missionaries (and the Church) did their best to "inculcate a way of life which bears no necessary relationship [in his opinion] to biblical Christianity" ...'<sup>8</sup> Cochrane questions therefore that the missionaries' expression of Christianity was valid.

Dr Daryl Balia is an ordained minister in the Methodist Church of Southern Africa. In his book entitled *Black Methodists and White Supremacy* he is critical of the work of the missionaries and claims in his preface to address 'the discrimination and oppression of black people in a church that is by its own definition one and undivided'.<sup>9</sup>

Another important 'committed' scholar who comments on 19th century missionary activity, (though not an historian) is Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio of the University of Cape Town. His expressed purpose, in his book entitled *Trapped*

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4. Wilson, M, *Conquerors or servants*, pp. 3-4. See also page ix, f/n 4 in the 'Preface' to this thesis. These are two extremes. There are many positions between these poles.

5. Kent, *The unacceptable force*, p. 26.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

7. Cochrane, J, *Servants of Power: The Role of English-speaking Churches in South Africa: 1903-1930. Towards a Critical Theology via and Historical Analysis of the Anglican and Methodist Churches* (Raven Press, Johannesburg, 1987), comment on the back cover.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

9. Balia, D, *Black Methodists and White Supremacy* (Madiba, 1991) p. 5.

## CHAPTER 17: *Changing perceptions of missionaries*

in *Apartheid* published in 1988, is to be critical, do a detailed assessment of the English-speaking churches using Marxist methodology and in the process 'seek to show solidarity with the oppressed'.<sup>10</sup> Villa-Vicencio therefore, also questions the validity of the missionary expression of Christianity.

To suggest that one's perceptions of missionaries will be determined by whether or not one is a Christian is therefore an oversimplification as there are many Christians who hold very different yet equally valid views on what it means to be a Christian.

Christianity is not static. It is dynamic, responding to the challenges facing each generation. People like Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and John Wesley would contend that the essence of Christianity remains the same and that all that changes in each generation is the emphasis e.g. Luther emphasised justification by faith in Jesus Christ and Wesley emphasised sanctification by faith in Jesus Christ. Even though their contexts called for different emphases, they were in agreement on the basic fundamentals of the Christian faith.

There have been others who would contend that even the basic essentials of the Christian faith change to meet the challenges of each generation. Throughout church history one sees periods when the Church has formulated new theologies that were not directly biblically based. All the Luthers and Wesleys claimed to do was call the Church to return to their New Testament roots. They never introduced anything new. They only reminded the church of what the church had always believed but had forgotten.<sup>11</sup>

Early 19th century Protestant Christianity taught by people like William Impey was fundamentally biblical, New Testament Christianity and no different in essence to the teachings of Paul, Luther and Wesley. Dr Arthur Attwell in his book entitled *The Methodist Church* sums up the Methodist position as follows:

There is nothing in Methodist belief which is not basic to Christianity, but we do hold four special emphases. Traditionally these are stated as follows: i) ALL ... need to be saved ... ii) All ... CAN be saved ... iii) All ... can KNOW they are saved iv) All ... can be saved to the UTTERMOST.<sup>12</sup>

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10. Villa-Vicencio, C, *Trapped in Apartheid: A Socio-Theological History of the English-Speaking Churches* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1988), p. 8.
  11. Wesley was 'just catching up on one of the most fundamental truths of scriptural salvation - justification by faith alone'. (Dieter, 'Wesleyan Theology' in Stacey, (Ed.) *Contemporary perspectives*, p. 169).
  12. Attwell, *The Methodist Church*, pp. 11-12, Attwell's capitals.

## CHAPTER 17: *Changing perceptions of missionaries*

It is possible to be critical of the missionaries, while agreeing with the missionary paradigm, if the missionaries were not being consistent with what they taught, i.e. if the evidence suggests that they behaved in a manner that was inconsistent with their stated position. But if one acknowledges the validity of the missionary message one will be sympathetic in one's analysis of them.

It is only possible to label the missionaries as 'agents of conquest' or 'instruments of imperial capitalist expansion', and still claim to be working from within a Christian premise, but only if one has moved away from traditional New Testament orthodoxy and begins to work from within a different paradigm.

One's views of missionaries will largely be determined by whether or not one accepts the validity of the particular expression of Christianity that both motivated the missionaries and formed the essence of their teaching and ministry.

One's perceptions of missionaries will therefore be determined by a number of factors including one's philosophical presuppositions and the theoretical framework applied to the study. It is important to examine therefore, the developments that have taken place in historiography and theology over the 19th and 20th centuries.

### AN OVERVIEW OF MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The earliest historical writers were generally British who justified the British takeover of the Cape. They believed that British culture and values were far superior to any others in the region. Blacks were seen as 'children' who needed the British to look after them. These writers suggested that blacks should obey the British rulers as this would be beneficial to them. Inspired by the evangelical revival of the 19th century, many of the early missionaries opposed the colonial government and stood up for the rights of the indigenous peoples. These early historical writers considered the missionaries a nuisance and enemies of the cause of British Imperialism.<sup>13</sup>

There were many similarities between the British and the later Settler school. Both concentrated on the history of white people and their efforts to bring

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13. One of the most prolific of these writers was John Centlivres Chase who wrote a book entitled *Some reasons for opposing the author of the South African Researchers, the Reverend John Philip*. In this book Chase refuted the charges brought against the British government at the Cape by the missionaries and came out on the side of the government and the settlers. (Smith, *The changing past*, pp. 19-22).

## CHAPTER 17: *Changing perceptions of missionaries*

civilisation to a wild and untamed country. Blacks were depicted as part of the background and 'the British philanthropic missionaries ... who took up the case for Blacks, were enemies of the Whites'.<sup>14</sup> The main difference between these schools was that the latter wrote from a settler perspective and not that of the British authorities. The two most influential writers of the Settler school, were George Theal<sup>15</sup> and George Cory.<sup>16</sup> Both depicted the missionaries as those who 'interfered' in South African affairs.<sup>17</sup>

Early in the 20th century saw a major break with past historiography and saw the development of the early liberal school. One can discern some similarities between liberal theology and liberal historiography. Liberal historians were also optimistic that blacks could improve their lot through western education and cultural conversion and were generally more sympathetic in their portrayal of missionaries.

W M Macmillan<sup>18</sup> challenged the accepted version of South African history and seriously questioned whether the missionaries, and Dr John Philip particularly, was the major devil in the drama of South African history. Macmillan's work served to atone for what Philip was supposed to have done. Macmillan formed the opinion that the key issue in South African history was the role of the blacks and their relationship with whites. He concluded that the conflicts on the frontier were far less important than the many periods of peaceful interaction in the 19th century.<sup>19</sup> This led Macmillan and other liberals to concentrate on social and economic issues rather than political history.<sup>20</sup>

Many later liberals returned once again to the writing of political history as they felt the need to defend liberal principles against the extreme

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14. Smith, *The changing past*, p. 38.

15. George McKall Theal (1837-1919) historian. (*DSAB*, Vol. IV, pp. 645-648).

16. Sir George Edward Cory (1862-1935) historian and professor of Chemistry. (*DSAB*, Vol. II. pp. 142-145).

17. Smith, *The changing past*, p. 47 and Cory, *Rise*, Vol. III.

18. William Miller Macmillan (1885-1974) historian. (*DSAB*, Vol. V, pp. 484-485).

19. Macmillan, W M, *South African Years* (Cape Town, 1975) pp. 162 and 167 referred to in Saunders, *The making of the South African past*, p. 65.

20. One of Macmillan's students, C W de Kiewiet wrote a book entitled *A history of South Africa: Social and Economic* which is still widely used by historians today.

conservatism that followed the National Party victory in the general election of 1948.<sup>21</sup>

The early liberals nevertheless tended in varying degrees, to perpetuate the idea that white 'civilisation' was superior to black 'barbarism'. Though much more empathetic than earlier writers towards blacks, this basic understanding remained. This attitude is revealed in the work of people like Marquard who believed that whites found the Africans to be heathen, barbaric and 'whose progress in the scale of civilization had been painfully slow; a people whose lives were dominated by witchcraft and superstition.'<sup>22</sup> In addition liberals are criticised for portraying pre-colonial black society as static and unchanging.

In post-war South Africa some political activists began using the South African past as a tool to gain support for black independence. In the 1950s these radical writers depicted the colonists as outsiders, conquerors and exploiters, who robbed the legitimate original inhabitants of their culture and land. No distinction was made between English and Afrikaner as all whites were depicted as sharing in the rape, plunder and exploitation of the country.<sup>23</sup> Even the English missionaries were portrayed as agents of capitalism and white control and not as 'friends' of the black people. This particular view was articulated in Nosipho Majeke's *The role of missionaries in conquest*. Majeke (Dora Taylor writing under a pseudonym) also claimed that the missionaries were responsible for the policy of racial segregation claiming support for this by stating that the missionaries segregated their reserves.

The South African government in the 1950s used legislation to silence radical resistance to white rule. They banned the liberation movements including the South African Communist Party (SACP), the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). In the process many of these radical writers went into exile.

The liberal response to these radical writings came through the work of Monica Wilson<sup>24</sup> and Leonard Thompson who embarked on the *Oxford History of South*

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21. Writers in this genre include E A Walker and T R H Davenport.

22. Marquard, L, *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa* (Oxford, Cape Town, 1952) p. 176.

23. Smith, *The changing past*, pp. 155-157.

24. Monica Mary Wilson (1908-1982) social anthropologist and historian. (*DSAB*, Vol. V, pp. 892-893).

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*Africa* which was published in two volumes (1969 and 1971). Wilson and Thompson stated that the history of South Africa did not begin with the arrival of whites and that blacks had played a vital role in the South African past. They implied therefore that blacks could play a vital role in the present and future.<sup>25</sup>

The *Oxford History* was written within the liberal tradition, seeing 'race' as the determining factor in South African history. In contrast many of the liberation movements had adopted a radical Marxist approach which stated that 'materialism' and 'class struggle' were the determining factors, and therefore rejected the *Oxford History*. Despite these criticisms the *Oxford History* played an important part in changing people's perceptions as it portrayed blacks as active participants and not merely passive recipients, as being capable of initiatives of their own and as important as whites in the development of South African society. To liberals the *Oxford History* had succeeded in meeting the challenge for a seminal Africanist history of South Africa. Although it was a distinctly 'Africanist' work it was rejected because it was not a 'radical' work.

Most of the later radical writers focused their attention on what they considered to be the weakness of the *Oxford History*.<sup>26</sup>

Martin Legassick is considered 'the single most important figure in the radical challenge of the 1970s ...'<sup>27</sup> He and other radicals saw the British and the missionaries as merely 'wearing humanitarian garb' and that in reality the black people were subjugated in the interests of British capitalism.<sup>28</sup>

In effect the missionaries have only ever been favourably portrayed by the liberal historiographic tradition.

THE EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY IN THE 20TH CENTURY

A C Thiselton suggests that:

The 20th century has seen an astonishing diversity of theological thinking, from the speculative thought of liberalism to radical new approaches and painstaking biblical scholarship.<sup>29</sup>

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25. Saunders, *The making of the South African past*, p. 155.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

28. Smith, *The changing past*, pp. 175-179.

29. Thiselton, A C, 'An age of anxiety' in Dowley, (Ed.), *History of Christianity*, p. 594.

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One of the most important contributions to the theological debate was the work of Walter Rauschenbusch whose major work was entitled *A theology for the social gospel*. Rauschenbusch's work was an expansion on the liberal trend that had begun in the 19th century. He claimed that when Jesus spoke of the 'Kingdom of God' he did not mean 'the community of the redeemed' but the transformation of society on earth.<sup>30</sup> To Rauschenbusch this meant social reform and political action and as a result he called upon the working classes to transform the social order. He distinguished his brand of Christian socialism from the socialism of Marx by adhering to Christian concepts like 'sin' which are rejected by atheist socialists.<sup>31</sup>

While there were some early attempts to return to a more traditional orthodoxy through the work of Karl Barth<sup>32</sup> and Dietrich Bonhoeffer,<sup>33</sup> their work was only popular until the end of World War II.

One of the most significant theologians of the 20th century was Paul Tillich.<sup>34</sup> Tillich tried to marry the Christian faith with secular thought. He tried to make connections between theology and philosophy, religion and culture, Lutheranism and socialism and German and American thought.<sup>35</sup> In his *Systematic Theology* he attempted to offer answers to theological questions using existentialist philosophy and depth-psychology. He was particularly concerned with the problem of the 'ultimate' which he believed should be located only in God. He suggested that the unbeliever thinks he has thought about God and rejected him, but in reality he had never confronted the 'ultimate' - which is not he whom we reject and forget, but some distorted picture of him. Tillich believed that the only way of encountering the ultimate is through experience. He challenged the theological creeds and traditional church structures and questioned whether God may still be

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30. Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918). Rauschenbusch, W, 'The Social Principles of Jesus', in Pelikan, J, (Ed.), *The World Treasury of Modern Religious Thought* (Little, Brown and Company, London, 1990) pp. 586-592.
  31. *NIDCC*, p. 827.
  32. Karl Barth (1886-1968). Barth, K, 'Faith as Confession', in Pelikan, (Ed.), *World Treasury*, pp. 123-129.
  33. Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) German protestant theologian. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 20).
  34. Paul Tillich (1886-1965) philosopher and theologian. (Bowden, *Who's Who*, p. 121).
  35. Lake identifies the sources of Tillich's philosophical theology as going back to Platonism, medieval mysticism, German Idealism and existentialism. (*NIDCC*, p. 975.)

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conceived of in traditional terms at all.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps one of the most important contributions of Tillich to modern theology was his idea that *all* religions share a common ground of being and are therefore to be understood as different cultural expressions and developmental states of that same transcendent ground of being.<sup>37</sup> Man knows this 'ground of being' as 'ultimate concern'.<sup>38</sup> As a result of Tillich's work ecumenism could take on a new form - not only all Christians coming together, but all religions, because each religion, according to Tillich was an expression of the same god (ground of being).

A popular trend in South Africa today is Liberation Theology.<sup>39</sup> This school of thought arose first in Latin America and was greatly influenced by Marxism. Salvation was seen largely in terms of political and economic liberation. Many believed that the gaps between rich and poor could not be bridged in a capitalist society and that China and Cuba demonstrated that Marxism held the key to the future. They argued that theology must not begin with the bible, but with one's place within the world and one's own attempts to change the situation (praxis).<sup>40</sup> They suggested that the bible is only relevant when it addresses these questions derived from the world. They criticised western Christianity claiming that this brand of Christianity comes to the bible with capitalist presuppositions. They suggested that western Christians read the bible theoretically rather than with practical questions (praxis).<sup>41</sup>

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36. Tillich, P, *Systematic Theology, Volume 1* (Chicago, 1973) p. 211 in Church, F F, *The Essential Tillich* (Macmillan, New York, 1987) pp. 11-12.
37. Beyerhaus, *Missions: Which way?*, p. 20.
38. Tillich, P, *The New Being* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York) pp. 152-160, Church, *Essential Tillich*, pp. 32-38, *NIDCC*, p. 75.
39. Two of the most significant publications in recent South African church history have been *The Kairos Document: Challenge to the church* published in 1985 by Skotaville in Johannesburg and *The road to Damascus: Kairos and Conversion* published in 1989 by Skotaville, Johannesburg.
40. Theology is to be done, not just learned and this is done by seeing theology as a critical reflection on historical praxis. Theology follows praxis as a second stage. Phase 1, praxis commits one to the renovation of society on behalf of and alongside the oppressed poor. Praxis is a term borrowed from Marx and describes a two-way traffic that is always taking place between action and reflection. It is a dialectic engagement with the world in transforming action. This is a necessary precondition of knowledge in which people seek not merely to understand the world, but also to change it. (*NIDCC*, pp. 389-390).
41. Thiselton, 'An age of anxiety' in Dowley, (Ed.), *History of Christianity*, pp. 609-610. *Kairos Document* p. 17. The authors suggest that there is a need to move away from Biblical academic theology which deals with all biblical themes in a systematic manner and formulates (continued...)

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South Africa Liberation Theology has also been influenced by Black Theology of the United States of America which arose from the response of black church leaders to the civil rights issues of the 1960s. In the United States Black Theology was the product of black Americans seeking to define the scope and meaning of black existence in what they saw as a white racist society.<sup>42</sup>

South African Liberation Theology blends aspects of these two traditions together by advocating the need to find meaning and identity as well as adopting the non-violent example of Black Theology but retaining the methodological approach of Latin American Liberation Theology.<sup>43</sup>

### THE IMPACT OF 20TH CENTURY THOUGHT AND DEVELOPMENTS ON PROTESTANT MISSIONS

Despite theological developments in both the 19th and 20th centuries, missionary movements and many missionaries remained reasonably theologically conservative. This conservatism was evident in the statement of the first General Assembly of the World Council of Churches held in Amsterdam in 1948:

If the Gospel really is a matter of life and death, it seems intolerable that any human being now in the world should live out his life without ever having the chance to hear and receive it.<sup>44</sup>

However in the post World War II period the situation began to change. In this period the churches faced a challenge from their Afro-Asian members which was to eventually cause them to re-think this position. Western reluctance to grant independence after the war and missionary sanction of the west or their non-involvement made many feel that missionary activity was 'a disguised attempt to prolong the West's spiritual domination of Asia (and Africa)'.<sup>45</sup>

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#### 41. (...continued)

general Christian principles and doctrines. They suggest rather that by making the actual situation in which people find themselves as the starting point, a *prophetic theology* develops which '... speaks to the particular circumstances of a particular time and place - the Kairos'. Kairos is the Greek word often translated as 'opportunity'. They quote from Luke 19:44 to illustrate this point: '... and all because you did not recognise your opportunity (KAIROS) when God offered it'.

42. NIDCC, pp. 103-105.

43. The 'Preamble' to *The Road to Damascus* records that the signatories to this document come from the Philippines, South Korea, Namibia, South Africa, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala. The authors claim that the situations in all these areas are similar as in all these countries there are situations of 'violent political conflict'.

44. Beyerhaus, *Missions: Which way?*, p. 18.

45. Beyerhaus refers specifically to Asia, but his statement is also applicable to Africa. (*Ibid.*, p. 19.)

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In this post-war period some Afro-Asians felt free to reassert the validity of primal and other indigenous faiths as liberal developments in western theology sanctioned this process. They were attracted to Tillich's notion that 'all religions share a common ground of being' and that the different religious expressions in the world are various culturally and historically conditioned expressions and developmental states of the same ground of being.<sup>46</sup>

Tillich's ideas also began to take root within the established churches. In this period the church had to face the challenges of prejudice and racism. Many Christians tried to fight these evils by affirming the value of other cultures and beliefs. This encouraged some to assert the equality of all cultures which led to the belief in the equality of all religions. This new trend can be summed up in the statement which many Christians began to identify with:

We have our way to God and they have theirs. Ours is true/works for us, and theirs is true/works for them.<sup>47</sup>

Another important development within the church was the gradual 'supplanting of all basic religious issues, by political concerns'.<sup>48</sup> Many mainline churches adopted various forms of *Social Gospel* teaching.<sup>49</sup> This led some of these churches to re-assess their 19th century missionary strategies.<sup>50</sup>

By the late 1960s these developments became evident in the deliberations of the WCC which also began to critically examine earlier missionary doctrines, theories and methods. They drew the conclusion that to be obedient to God the Church needed to become more actively involved in national political struggles. They concluded that the theological understanding of mission must no longer proceed from Christ's great commission, but rather from God's sovereign activity in the world. They acknowledged that God would lead the world towards its goal which was the establishment of His kingdom on this earth, through a series of divine interventions and revolutionary acts. To be a Christian therefore meant 'to desire the new and participate actively in change'.<sup>51</sup> The task of the church was defined as reaching transformingly into

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46. See Tillich *Vide Supra*.

47. Lamb C, 'The claim to be unique' in Beaver R P, (Ed.) *The World's Religions* (Struik, Cape Town, 1989) p. 358.

48. Beyerhaus, *Missions: Which way?*, pp. 20-21.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

50. Kent, *The unacceptable force*, p. 200.

51. Beyerhaus, *Missions: Which way?*, pp. 35-36.

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world events and if it did not do this, it was considered a useless instrument.<sup>52</sup>

The WCC therefore no longer made any distinction between the 'saved' and the 'unsaved', between 'belief' and 'unbelief' as it was believed that God had already reconciled himself to the world in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The work of Christ saved everyone. As a result it was no longer considered necessary to preach 'personal salvation'. (While the council was formulating these ideas, one of the delegates brought forward the news that research had revealed that two billion people existed who had never heard the Gospel of Christ. The conference agreed that this information was no longer significant). God was now portrayed as being active in the great revolutionary movements, in the fight for racial equality and attempts towards educational reform. If the church was to remain relevant it would have to become involved in the same areas of concern.<sup>53</sup>

These developments opened the door for theological thought to venture into new, previously closed areas. With the new found respectability of Marxist social analysis within the church people began to formulate their socially orientated gospel in a language and philosophy which appealed to the struggling masses, hence the development of liberation theologies.

CONCLUSION

It would appear therefore that the way one perceives missionaries can be influenced by a wide variety of factors, not least being the norms and values of the times. One's perceptions of missionaries will also be influenced by one's own presuppositions about Jesus Christ and the Christian gospel. If one adheres to traditional, evangelical, biblical views of Jesus one would be more inclined to be sympathetic towards the 19th century missionaries than if one were to reject these traditional notions as dated and irrelevant. If one were to go further and suggest that what the missionaries believed was a distortion and never a valid expression of Christianity one might well be more critical of them.

Because of the great diversity that characterises the 19th century one needs to avoid making generalisations and rather take cognisance of the diversity of missionary enterprise and the sometimes dramatic changes that occurred within the missions over time. One also needs to recognise that the people the missionaries ministered to were not static entities. African culture was multiform and flux with the result that their responses to missionary work

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52. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

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often differed. Elphick recommends therefore that in order to understand missionary activity in southern Africa, one needs to take into consideration the variety of both African and missionary cultures.<sup>54</sup>

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54. Elphick, 'Africans and the Christian campaign in South Africa', in Lamar and Thompson, (Eds.) *The Frontier in History*, p. 273.

PART 6: CRITICAL ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 18: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF WILLIAM IMPEY AND 19TH CENTURY CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

One of the main reasons why Protestant missionaries have come under attack is because they required people 'change' after converting to the Christian faith. In the period before 1870 the majority of missionaries expected people to change because they believed that the Holy Spirit transformed all believers into the image of Jesus Christ. Being 'different' after conversion is a crucial tenet of orthodox Christianity and is fundamental to the teachings of Christ. It was therefore not an innovation introduced by the missionaries.

19th century Protestant Christianity taught by Impey for most of his early ministry, contended that the process of salvation has two basic elements, viz. justification and sanctification by faith in Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup> It was believed that in response to repentance, God justifies the individual, a process whereby a person is pardoned for past sins and the image of God is restored to the person and they are 'born again'. After justification God was believed to make people what He had declared them to be, i.e. restore them to the image of Christ. This typically Wesleyan view held by Impey was nothing new.

Writing about this evangelical understanding of conversion, Nida contends that the change that God brings about in people and the way God uses people as ministers, especially to indigenous societies, is a process that is

... far more complex than we have ever imagined. It is claimed that even when we can describe what has happened, we are often at a loss to explain the dynamics of the change.<sup>2</sup>

Nida concludes that in addition to the change that is physically discernable 'we must quite naturally try to face up to still other factors: the role of the Holy Spirit, the supernatural involvement in conversion, the nature of repentance, and the function of the community of faith'.<sup>3</sup>

Because an evangelical conversion to Christianity is a life changing

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1. There are many entries in Impey's journal that bears testimony of this. Impey believed that both justification and sanctification were both only possible through faith in Jesus Christ. (c.f. 6.1.1839 for an example).
  2. Nida, E A, 'New Religions for Old. A study of culture change in religion in Bosch, D J, (Ed.) *Lux Mundi 3, Church and Culture Change in Africa* (Papers read at the Third Annual Meeting of the South African Society for Missionary Studies) p. 10.
  3. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

experience it is also a society changing experience.<sup>4</sup> It is true therefore that as a result of missionary activity, converts to Christianity changed allegiance from their chief to Christ because when people are converted to Christianity they go through what Kraft calls 'a paradigm shift'.<sup>5</sup> Kraft explains that conversion means 'turning' away from old ways to new ways,

... a basic reorientation in premises and goals, a wholehearted acceptance of a new set of values affecting the 'convert' as well as his social group, day in and day out, twenty-four hours a day and in practically every sphere of activity - economic, social, religious.<sup>6</sup>

Sometimes this could have appeared to have been a change from allegiance from the chief not to Christ, but to the local missionary. In some cases it is not impossible that real and meaningful conversion, in the evangelical Christian sense, had not taken place. Some moved on to stations for other reasons. We know that missionaries were invited to establish stations in certain areas because the chiefs believed that they would be acquiring political capital in the process as well as affording the opportunity to use the missionary as a channel of communication with the colonial authorities.<sup>7</sup> But the earlier missionaries saw their main function as the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the one divine Lord and Saviour to all people and all lands, to convert all non-Christians and to establish churches.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the biggest mistake made by some missionaries was to equate conversion to Christianity as conforming to 'the moral ideals of their variety of western culture on the assumption that this is nearly synonymous with "Christian culture"'.<sup>9</sup>

Requiring 'cultural conversion' has been a mistake made by the church from the earliest times. Some of the early Jewish converts to Christianity taught

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4. Elphick, 'Africans in the Christian Campaign' in Lamar and Thompson (Eds.), *The Frontier in History*, p. 271. Hattersley suggests that the missionaries represented and tried to convert others to a 'new social order in which the salvation of the individual believer was of paramount importance'. (Hattersley, *Social History*, p. 169).
  5. Kraft, C H, *Christianity in Culture* (Orbis Books, New York, 1988) p. 344.
  6. *Ibid.*, p. 344.
  7. Faku is an example of this. He agreed to the establishment of a Wesleyan mission station as he believed that the presence of White people in his region would enhance his status and provide a link with the Cape government. (*DSAB*, Vol.I).
  8. Beyerhaus, P, *Missions: Which way?*, p. 17.
  9. Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, p. 342.

Gentile believers that conversion to Hebrew culture was a pre- or co-requisite with conversion to Christ; Peter originally equated conversion to Christianity with adopting Hebrew culture until God convinced him otherwise;<sup>10</sup> missionary bodies have frequently erred in this way requiring the members of the other cultures to show that they had converted to Christ by converting to western culture as well.<sup>11</sup> Kraft suggests that this often led to people only converting to the culture of the missionaries and not developing a real saving relationship with Jesus Christ.<sup>12</sup> This undoubtedly also happened on occasions in southern Africa.

Impey was guilty of requiring converts to 'change' culturally as a sign of their coming to know Christ. However while Impey might have confused cultural change with Christian conversion, spiritual conversion to Jesus Christ remained his main priority in the early part of his ministry. Spiritual conversion was also of paramount importance to the majority of the early missionaries.

It was the British government's desire to 'civilize' the indigenous peoples. Because many missionaries insisted on new converts adopting western culture, people have been inclined to think that the missionaries were merely agents of the government. The missionaries first priority however, was the spiritual conversion of the indigenous peoples. If they served the interests of the colonial government, it was incidental and not part of their deliberate strategy.<sup>13</sup> The fact that the missionaries needed government permission does not necessarily mean that they were merely agents of the government, e.g. while it is true that William Shaw was only allowed to cross the Keiskamma because the government allowed him to, this did not alter the fact Shaw entered 'Kaffirland' not as an agent of the government but because of his Christian motivation, to save lost souls.<sup>14</sup>

In the early part of his ministry Impey actively opposed purely secular attempts to introduce western 'civilisation' apart from Christian conversion. The change in Impey's theological position later however, resulted in a change

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10. Acts 10:34-35.

11. Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, pp. 339 and 341.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

13. Wilson, *Conquerors or Servants*.

14. Duff, A E G, 'An analysis of Wesleyan missionary strategy in the Eastern Districts of the Cape Colony and "Caffreland" between 1823-1838, and an attempt to determine how far it reacted to government policies in the Cape' (MA, Rhodes, 1969) p. 138.

in his perceptions of the indigenous peoples of South Africa. By 1865 Impey was actively emphasising the need for cultural conversion above spiritual conversion. This is evident in his testimony given to the Commission on Native Affairs that year where he stresses black cultural advancement and makes no reference to their conversion.

They [the Mfengu] have generally a better style of dwelling than formerly. They begin to wear European clothing, and to use various articles of food to which in their barbarous state they were not accustomed. Their general demeanour is improving, and they are making progress in education, great numbers being able to read and write ...<sup>15</sup>

In this later period Impey was committed to changing society and the structures within it. From the 1860s onwards therefore, Impey concentrated on providing people with western education. He believed that through learning the people could be liberated from their cultural backwardness and advance to the heights attained by the British even if they never embraced the Christian faith through a personal encounter with Jesus Christ.

Evidence of Impey's change of emphasis is revealed in his concluding remarks to the Commission on Natives Affairs where he stated that, in his opinion, the 'natives' had made good progress in their 'elevation and civilization' over the previous 45 years. Impey expressed the belief that they would advance even further if provision was made for their 'civil superintendence', 'increased facilities' with regard to their educational and religious training were provided and they were encouraged to 'embrace the improvements of civilised life ...'<sup>16</sup>

In recent years however, missionaries have also been criticised for the education they made available to the indigenous peoples of South Africa. The critics of the missionaries claim that missionary education was part of the process of breaking down traditional society and therefore served the interests of imperial expansion.<sup>17</sup>

But one cannot make generalisations. Just as people's theology and perceptions of society changed during the course of the 19th century, so did their motivation and therefore also the philosophy and style of education change in this period. One needs therefore to examine what motivated the missionaries to be involved in education throughout the century.

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15. CNA, p. 104.

16. CNA, p. 111. For full quotation see p. 224.

17. Mills, W G, 'The role of African Clergy in the reorientation of Xhosa society to the plural society in the Cape Colony, 1850-1915' (Ph.D thesis, UCLA, 1975) pp. 2 and 3.

Many early missionaries believed that they had been 'liberated' from heathenism and barbarism through the Gospel and education, in that order. They believed that African society could also be 'liberated' in the same way. They expected to encounter heathenism and barbarism in Africa not for any other reason but because they knew that the progress of the Gospel in this part of the world had been slow and that many still had not heard the message of Jesus Christ.<sup>18</sup> This did not mean that they believed that African society was any more or less barbaric than any European society which, if not Christian, and therefore outside the sanctifying power of Christ, was also both heathen and barbaric. They believed that 'Africans were individually capable of attaining any heights'.<sup>19</sup>

The early missionary philosophy is captured by De Kiewiet who states that when the earliest missionaries arrived in southern Africa they brought with them the idea that 'savages had souls and were fit, through God's word, to be civilised'.<sup>20</sup> References to 'heathen', 'barbarism', 'uncivilised' may therefore be misleading. It is important to stress that the early missionaries believed that outside of Christ, all people were in the same degenerate state. In 1848 William Shaw stated clearly that he was of the opinion that 'there is no other hinderance to progress in the Mission, but what arises from the natural wickedness of the human heart'.<sup>21</sup> In Impey's journal we have already seen many examples of Impey's non-racial feelings in his early ministry, and how he believed that through Christ, all could be 'liberated' spiritually.

Education was of paramount importance to the missionaries because central to their teaching was the importance of the bible - the Word of God. Many believed that conversion and especially spiritual growth or 'sanctification' relied very heavily upon one's knowledge of the Scriptures.<sup>22</sup> An important motive behind missionary education was therefore to equip people to be able to read the bible for themselves.

Impey was initially convinced that one's conversion and growth in the faith was of paramount importance and was committed to promoting literacy and the training of ministers, preachers and teachers. Even when he began to question

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18. Lewis and Foy, *British in Africa*, pp. 67-68.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

20. De Kiewiet, *Social and Economic*, p. 31 - my emphasis.

21. A letter written by William Shaw in 1848 recorded in Boyce, *Memoir*, p. 19 - my emphasis.

22. Romans 10:17, AV.

the need for spiritual conversion,<sup>23</sup> he never doubted the liberating role that education could have for all people. This was one of the reasons why he fought to keep the Healdtown Institution open and running after government grants had been withdrawn in 1865 stating that the work here was 'Of great importance in its bearing upon the future interests of our Native Ministry and of our educational agency'.<sup>24</sup>

In later years Impey's emphasis changed. By the 1870s, Impey was convinced that Christian education even without spiritual conversion, was the key to peace in the region.

By the 1870s mission education had been accepted by many black people. From this time onwards education was cherished and nurtured by an increasing number of blacks. In the early 20th century there were few Africans who denied that the road forward was through western education. Most of the black political leadership in this period had been educated in mission schools and began fighting for the extension of educational facilities and opportunities to more and more of their people. Cook writes:

Experience elsewhere was beginning to show that once the door of educational opportunity was opened, it was impossible to control further advances: the balance of power might shift in unpredictable ways but always in the direction of greater participation. The wider the educational net was thrown the more likely it was to bring up democracy.<sup>25</sup>

Many people today believe that 'education in the widest sense gave Africans their best possible chance of greater economic opportunity ...'<sup>26</sup> and has enabled them to survive in a new and irreversibly changing society.

Even the most radical critics of the missionaries agree that once the point of no return had been reached, the point where circumstances no longer permitted a return to traditional African lifestyle, the only way forward was through western education. In retrospect most agree that the missionary education institutions provided an education to blacks that was of a high

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23. It is interesting to note that Impey, while away during the Taylor revival (1866) collecting funds for Healdtown, hardly makes any mention of the revival at all. Taylor preached a standard evangelical message, calling people to repent and accept Christ as their personal saviour. It is not impossible that Impey's silence is an indication that he had already moved away from the theological position that saw the need for spiritual conversion above all else.

24. *WMR*, 1868, p. 44.

25. Cook, 'Christians and Education in South Africa' in Prozesky, M, *Christianity in South Africa*, (Southern, Bergvlei, 1990) p. 173.

26. Davies, *History*, p. 118.

standard. Theal was of the opinion that the missionaries made greater efforts to give a good school education to coloured children than to white.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1930s and 1940s liberal thinkers argued that African culture had irreversibly broken up under the impact of the Europeans and in their view:

'... a modern, secular, scientific society had to be forged in which ethnicity, religion or race played little or no part'. Liberal Christians held the view that '... the universal thrust of the Christian faith had swept away differences of race, culture, language and religion.'<sup>28</sup>

Urban African leaders demanded English medium instruction for all people in the model of the mission schools for all blacks. The closing of mission schools and the introduction of Bantu Education of 1953 has been one of the major grievances of all black liberation movements.

CONCLUSION:

Probably there is no subject on which more diverse opinions are felt and expressed than the subject of Christianising the native races.<sup>29</sup>

It is clear that it is not possible to view the missionaries in the 19th century as static and make generalisations. The church was dynamic and constantly changing to meet the new demands and challenges of the times. Even individuals, people like William Impey, often moved from one position to another within relatively short periods of time.

It is however possible to suggest that the missionaries in the first half of the century were generally evangelical in their approach while recognising that there were exceptions. With the passage of time, while the majority of missionaries retained their evangelical position,<sup>30</sup> some began to move towards the 'new' liberal theology, especially in the latter decades of the century. The remaining evangelicals responded to this challenge by becoming more and more conservative, to the extent that many began to stress eternity and the life hereafter and almost ignored the often unpleasant realities that many blacks had to face on earth. At the other extreme some stressed the need

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27. Theal, *South Africa*, p. 425.

28. Giliomee, H, and Schlemmer, L, *From Apartheid to Nation-building: Contemporary South African debates* (Oxford, Cape Town, 1989) p. 50.

29. *A question of Colour* (William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1906) p. 83.

30. Elphick, R, 'Mission Christianity and Interwar Liberalism' in Butler, J, Elphick, R, and Welsh, D, *Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: its history and prospects* (David Philip, Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1987) p. 66.

to change society and almost ignored the need for spiritual conversion. There were also those who held varying positions between these two extremes. By the 1920s an increasing number began to adopt the more liberal position of showing concern for education, health and social welfare above spiritual conversion.<sup>31</sup>

William Impey was a man of conscience. He began his ministry as a committed evangelical Wesleyan, dedicated to saving souls from a lost eternity. In time he absorbed the new thinking which stressed the need to do something more tangible to improve people's present reality and so he began working to afford people the opportunity to acquire the skills needed to liberate themselves, through education and the adoption of western culture.

By this time Impey came to accept the notion that indigenous African culture was inferior to European culture. He adopted the belief that if blacks adopted western culture, even if they did not embrace the Christian faith, they too would benefit and experience a fuller more 'civilised' existence.

Whether one agrees with Impey or not should not be the issue. This study has attempted to enable the reader to understand William Impey and the times in which he lived and worked.

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31. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

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Dr A F I Attwell  
Dr L A Hewson (Tape recording of interview is at the Albany Museum)

Discussed various aspects of 19th century medicine with Dr R Naidoo of the Pharmacy Department at Rhodes University.

Gained information about the geography and archaeology of the areas visited by William Impey from Dr W de Klerk (Curator, Geology and Mammals) and Mr J Binneman (Curator, Archaeology) of the Albany Museum.

Discussed Quaker history and education with Mr Smith, Archivist, Bootham School, York.

The following Impey descendants were contacted:

Cecile Gardener of Rosebank  
A N Impey of Port Elizabeth  
M Impey of Port Elizabeth  
T L Impey of Port Elizabeth  
Iris Peplin of Hermanus

Details are recorded in the footnotes.

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