

THE HISTORY OF THEOPOLIS MISSION  
1814 - 1951

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS  
OF RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

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January 1983

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## PREFACE

The history of racial contact on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony from 1814-1851 was epitomised by an infinite variety of problems created by communication gaps, by maladministration, by cross-cultural misunderstanding and by sheer human greed. The story of Theopolis Mission 1814-1851 presents in microcosm both these problems and the reaction of the ordinary people, black and white, to the total situation.

The history of the Mission is contained variously in the Journals of George Barker (missionary at Theopolis 1816-1819 and 1821-1839), in mission correspondence, in newspaper reports and in official papers. When taken in conjunction, these documents present a commentary of the emergence of the Khoi, from pastoralists and soldiers, to people able to take an active and vocal part in community life. As a commentary on the weaknesses and strengths of the administration of the London Missionary Society, the papers are invaluable. They present, in addition, a picture of stoical persistence in the face of untold hardship, of the complex inter-personal relationships of an evolving community and of the immense upheaval involved in socio-political and socio-cultural change.

This thesis is an investigation of the part played by Theopolis Mission on the Frontier, in the community (both secular and religious) and in the context of race relations. The Journal itself provides the terse, sometimes angry, core of commentary on the total situation; and an attempt has been made, by setting it in a broader context, to dispel some of the myths which persist about the role of the Christian missionary, about Khoi Missions (in sharp contrast to Xhosa Missions) and about Dr John Philip. A clear picture has emerged of a people whose life-style, antecedents and history have been inadequately researched in the period subsequent to 1800.

The Appendices, it is accepted, are unusually lengthy but the multiplicity of Settler and official contact required more than cursory foot-noting and the L.M.S. material is neither readily accessible nor is it easily decipherable (as gaps clearly indicate). Information about the Barker family was needed to complete the picture

of the abilities of the mechanic missionaries and the sketches of the Mission give an idea of a centre where today farm fields surround a lonely ruin.

The Journal itself, in Volume II of this thesis, provides the background core of all the research and foot-noting. Illustrations and Appendices are included with it for ease of reference and to complete the total picture.

It is hoped that a further investigation may be undertaken by researchers, both of Khoi history and of the multiplicity of Settler families about whom so little is known.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My very sincere thanks have to be extended to a multiplicity of people who have made this thesis possible.

Professor W.A. Maxwell inspired me first with the idea of editing the Journal (with which I was already familiar) and using it as a core for a thesis on Theopolis Mission. In inimitable style she gave freely of advice and guidance, as did Professor Guy Butler.

I am very appreciative of the wise advice given to me by Professor Rodney Davenport, who willingly shared his extensive knowledge of cross-cultural contact and race relations.

To Professor Keith Hunt I extend my gratitude for endless patience, for cheerful encouragement, for stern control of my more exuberant essays into historical prose and for sharing his own detailed knowledge of frontier history.

My thanks go, too, to Professors Cook and Hewson for help in matters ecclesiastical, to Professor Kerr and Mr N G Hutton in matters legal and to my brother-in-law, Dr Andre Kaltenrieder, whose experience in mission work and in technical matters was invaluable.

Reference work was made much easier by the patience and efficiency of all the librarians, archivists and curators at the various institutions to which I made application for help: the Archivist at the Library of the School for African and Oriental Studies (London); the Secretary of the Council for World Mission (London); the Archivist at the Government Archives in Cape Town; the Staff at the South African Public Library (Cape Town); the Friends of the South African Library; the Librarians at the Jagger Library, University of Cape Town; the Librarians at the Rhodes University Library and, in particular, the Staff of the Cory Library, Mrs Gough and Mrs Meyer; the Librarians at the Grahamstown Public Library, the Port Alfred Library and the Bathurst Library; Mr Gordon Haddon, Genealogical Research; the Curators at the 1820 Settler Museum in Grahamstown, at the Missionary Museum in King Williamstown and at the Sending-gestig Museum in Cape Town.

I am particularly indebted to Mr Don Monro, who drew my maps, and to Dr John Clement, who gave me free use of his library, thus not only enriching my research but also easing my path. Both are members of the Lower Albany Historical Society.

To Hilda Wells and Sheila Bray, who jointly typed my thesis, I am more grateful than I can say. To Sheila Bray, too, goes my gratitude for helping me decipher the writing on endless documents, for sage advice and for cheerful patience.

I would particularly like to record my thanks to my father, the late Rev Dr John McDowall who, as Minister-in-Charge of the preaching place at Theopolis, aroused my interest in the history of the Mission. To him and to my mother (whose wide personal knowledge of mission was so helpful), I pay tribute as striking examples of those whose life is dedicated to the service of God.

To my nieces, Antoinette and Denise Kaltenrieder, I pay tribute for painstaking reference work and checking, and latterly to Denise who made it possible for me to complete my task. To my husband and all the Kaltenrieders go my thanks for proof-reading. Without Rosie Dizi this thesis could not have been completed. Not only did she relieve me of the load of household chores but she willingly shared her first-hand and traditional knowledge of Theopolis and its people.

To all these people my gratitude is great. However, above all, I thank my husband.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES

Apart from the usual abbreviations like vol, ibid and op cit, the following have been used:-

- A.N.N. : Africana Notes and News.  
 AYB : Archives Year Book for South African History.  
 CA : Cape Archives.  
 C.O. : Colonial Office.  
 D.N.B. : Dictionary of National Biography.  
 D.S.A.B. : Dictionary of South African Biography.  
 G.M.S. : Glasgow Missionary Society.  
 G.F.C. : Grahamstown Journal.  
 L.M.S. : London Missionary Society.  
 P.P. : British Parliamentary Papers.  
 R.C.C. : Records of the Cape Colony.  
 G. Theal  
 S.A.M.S. : South African Missionary Society.  
 S.A.P.L. : South African Public Library.  
 W.M.S. : Wesleyan Missionary Society.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE

Initials of authors appear in the Bibliography but are omitted in foot-notes. Where essays are quoted from an Anthology, the name of the essayist and the title is given but the Anthology is referred to by author only.

- e.g. Trapido The friends of the natives  
 in Marks and Atmore, pp. 249-250.

## LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY MATERIAL

London Missionary Society Correspondence is carefully filed and, in quoting and foot-noting, this reference is made as follows:-

- L.M.S. Correspondence: Barker to Directors 6.12.25 (6/2/D).  
 The code in brackets refers to the L.M.S. files.

NOTE

1. In addition to underlining book titles (in accordance with common practice), the names of writers and recipients of letters have been underlined, as have Appendix numbers. This has been done for ease of reference in view of the great number of this type of reference.
2. All the correspondence used in the thesis (and much more which was investigated) is photo-copied and filed with an index in the Cory Library at Rhodes University.
3. Spelling errors occurring in L.M.S. documents are copies of the original.

## CHAPTER I

CONSTRUCTION AND DESTRUCTION : FRONTIER  
HISTORY IN OVERVIEW 1814-1851

The history of Theopolis Mission (1814-1851) and of the men who served there coincides almost exactly with the period during which were formed many of the social and political attitudes prevalent in southern Africa today. It appears to be the custom in recording mission history either to deal with the individual institutions as holy enclaves from which religious - and moral - sorties were made into the outside world,<sup>1</sup> and over which the outside world extended a rather condescending and critical surveillance; or to lump all institutions and men together under a generic title "Missions", which collectively or individually are held responsible for the destruction of tribal life<sup>2</sup> or for the upbuilding of the people in the ways of God<sup>3</sup> depending on the angle of the observer. None of these approaches, in fact, gives a full picture of the work done at grass-roots level, nor do they give a picture of missionary institutions as an integral part of the community at large. At national level, the influence of the societies and in particular of Dr John Philip<sup>4</sup> has probably been exaggerated,<sup>5</sup> while on the eastern frontier and in the local situation the quite considerable influence of individuals and mission institutions in the community has been ignored. Then, too, not nearly enough attention has been focussed for example on the role of mission Khoi in the community of the Eastern Cape Colony. Indeed, it is imperative that these Khoi missions should

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<sup>1</sup> Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape.

<sup>2</sup> Trapido, The friends of the natives, in Marks and Atmore, pp.249-50.

<sup>3</sup> du Plessis, Christian Mission in Southern Africa.

<sup>4</sup> List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>5</sup> Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.vii.

not be regarded merely as part of the total mission scene, for the majority of Khoi had lived for years in the context of white society and had lost much of their tribal affiliation.<sup>6</sup>

Lucien Lefebvre, quoted by Marks and Atmore,<sup>7</sup> made an impassioned plea for the inclusion of sociology, psychology, ethnology and geography in the historians approach, "at the frontiers [of the subjects] astride the frontiers with one foot on each side, that is where the historian has to work."<sup>8</sup> Adding religion to this list the statement has great relevance where the history of Theopolis is concerned. The mission represented the base from which the Khoi were moving "from one mode of production and social life to another",<sup>9</sup> and the importance of Theopolis (or Bethelsdorp) cannot be over-emphasised. It is only in this type of context that Theopolis can be considered. Geographically it was placed in the eye of the storm which was to rage on and over the frontier. The origins, inter-relations and attitudes of this multi-racial group at Theopolis have to be observed and in addition the historian must take cognisance of their contribution to the economic life and to the political development taking place. Above all, the purpose and motivation of the missionaries and the religion which they taught are of great significance and throw considerable light on the Khoi, a group too little regarded, except as fine horsemen, as an available labour force or as potential trouble-makers and vagrants. Detribalisation had started with the landing of the Dutch in 1652 and what the Khoi needed in 1814 was "interpreters-cultural brokers"<sup>10</sup> who would train them for the new world of which they were already citizens - legally recognised or not. They needed to be established as important individually, with potential as good citizens. This was the role of the mission - a role which aroused distrust and difficulty.

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<sup>6</sup>See Chapter III, infra.

<sup>7</sup>Marks & Atmore, Introduction, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa, p.3.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p.5, quoting Godelier.

<sup>10</sup>Wilson, The Interpreters, pp.18-19.

Lord Durham,<sup>11</sup> in his report on Canadian affairs in 1839 said, "The complete and unavoidable ignorance in which the British public and even the great body of legislators, are, with respect to the real interests of different communities, so entirely different from their own, produces a general indifference, which nothing but some great colonial crisis ever dispels."<sup>12</sup> The dispatch of several parties of British settlers to the Cape in 1819-1820 exposed both the ignorance and to some extent the indifference of the British government to colonial affairs; it certainly signalled the beginning of a period when the problems of the Eastern Frontier and the need for a clearly defined frontier policy were to lead to a "great colonial crisis" at the Cape.

The crisis consisted of change, of the drawing of boundaries, the working out of relations between conqueror and conquered, the distribution of power between the various groups, and the formulation of racial attitudes. The change consisted largely of wars and conquests, the annexation of territory, and the partial land dispossession of indigenous peoples, the large-scale movement of peoples both within the area and from abroad as immigrants, the destruction and creation of states and eventually the forging of a single major state under white control. In 1828 there was no entity 'South Africa' - it was not even a geographical expression!<sup>13</sup> The assumption then can be made that such political, social and ethnographical disturbance would impinge immediately on Theopolis.

The position was exacerbated by the fact that, for the first time, there were frontiersmen and their friends who were vocal and who had

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<sup>11</sup>Durham, John George Lambton. Earl of (1792-1840). Educated at Eton. Served in 10th Hussars. Raised to the peerage in 1828, he became a Privy Councillor and Lord Privy Seal (1830-34) in Grey's cabinet. A strong supporter of the Reform Bill, he was Ambassador to Russia in 1835 and Governor-General of Canada in 1838 where he investigated discontent and reported his findings to the British Government in 1839. (cf. Coupland, The Durham Report.)

<sup>12</sup>Quoted by Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, p.28.

<sup>13</sup>Bromberger, N., The Past 150 Years. Highlights of Change, p.50, in Nürnberger, K. (ed.).

contact with the newly-awakened giant of the press.<sup>14</sup> Through increased publicity, the problem became no longer parochial, but was heard in the corridors of power in London; and the presence of Theopolis and Bethelsoorp in the frontier zone focussed the attention of the humanitarian group on the area.<sup>15</sup>

The occupation of the Cape by the Dutch in 1652 had been an exercise inspired by logistics. A depot, a centre for supplies, had to be set up somewhere on the long voyage to and from the Eastern Possessions.<sup>16</sup> The Dutch had no colonial ambitions in southern Africa and legislation indicates clearly abrogation of responsibility<sup>17</sup> for the non-Christian and, to them therefore, uncivilised Khoi.<sup>18</sup> It was only with Dundas<sup>19</sup> and his insistence on labour contracts,<sup>20</sup> and Janssens<sup>21</sup> with his Proclamation of May 1803 that the rights of the Khoi as 'born free' were recognised.<sup>22</sup> Incompatible issues faced the early governors; the protection of the Khoi and the placating of the farmers. Sporadic contact with the Xhosa on the steady eastward journey of the farmers compounded the problem for the authorities.

Like the Dutch, the British occupation was inspired by the strategic significance of the Cape in its position on the trade route to her greatest possession - India.

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<sup>14</sup>Frye, John, The South African Commercial Advertiser & The Eastern Frontier, p.6 (unpublished thesis).

<sup>15</sup>see infra, Chapter IX.

<sup>16</sup>Davenport, South Africa. A Modern History, p.18.

<sup>17</sup>ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Legassick, The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography (p.53 in Marks and Atmore).

<sup>19</sup>List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>20</sup>Elphick & Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1820, p.221.

<sup>21</sup>List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>22</sup>Proclamation, 10 May 1803, quoted by MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, p.155.

At the Cape then the British were unwilling colonisers<sup>23</sup> and Duly has suggested<sup>24</sup> that in legislation the role of government was to keep up with what it could not prevent. Implicit in this statement is corroboration of the view expressed in The Times<sup>25</sup> of London in 1853 when reference was made to the "fatal policy of establishing a frontier in South Africa and defending that frontier by force." In addition social and political change which flowed from the increasing industrialisation of Britain was not without relevance to southern Africa through the settlers.

Other factors which must have exercised considerable influence at the Cape were the political changes which took place in Britain itself during the years when Theopolis Mission was in existence (1814-1851). There were nine Prime Ministers in Britain,<sup>26</sup> thirteen Secretaries of State for War and the Colonial Department,<sup>27</sup> and in the Cape itself there were ten Governors, six acting Governors,<sup>28</sup> and six Secretaries to the Colonial Government.<sup>29</sup> The Tories controlled the British government from 1812-1830 and in the period from 1830-1852 Tory and Whig governments alternated. This naturally led to changing shifts in emphasis on colonial policy which in turn had its effect on frontier policy at the Cape. The Colonial Office itself was in a process of reorganisation and the officials were no longer young aristocrats holding down a pleasantly vague position.<sup>30</sup> The new officials realised that machinery for colonial legislation was unwieldy and often embarrassing to the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies who was responsible to the parliament for the administration of the colonies.

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<sup>23</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, pp.2-3.

<sup>24</sup>Duly, British Land Policy at the Cape, p.3.

<sup>25</sup>Quoted in Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.3.

<sup>26</sup>See Appendix B(i).

<sup>27</sup>See Appendix B(ii).

<sup>28</sup>See Appendix B(iii).

<sup>29</sup>See Appendix B(iv).

<sup>30</sup>Galbraith, op.cit., p.11.

There were eight steps for reviewing proposed colonial legislation,<sup>31</sup> which as James Stephen<sup>32</sup> indicated, led to the acts remaining at the Colonial Office without any steps being taken about them.<sup>33</sup> James Stephen was, in fact, the driving force behind the Colonial Office. From 1817 to 1836 he was Permanent Counsel to the Colonial Office and from 1836 to 1848 he was Permanent Under-Secretary, bringing to the office a wealth of experience of colonial affairs and a great discretion, industry and intelligence. His influence is clearly indicated by a letter from Bell<sup>34</sup> to D'Urban<sup>35</sup> in 1835<sup>36</sup> suggesting that no minister dare oppose Stephen.

The complex situation at the Cape required wisdom, tact and diplomatic handling. The Dutch farmers had apparently acquired a reputation with the more sophisticated Cape Town residents of "being more like Hottentots than Christians".<sup>37</sup> thus supporting Jordan's contention that civilisation and Christianity were equated.<sup>38</sup> Their pastoral, hunting life-style possibly gave credence to this belief, but what was underrated (perhaps until the establishment of the Graaff Reinet Republic)<sup>39</sup> was the retention of European cultural patterns and the sturdy independence produced in the survival economy. Madden has

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<sup>31</sup>Young, Colonial Office in the Early Nineteenth Century, pp.198-99.

<sup>32</sup>James Stephen (1789-1859). Lawyer, philanthropist and civil servant, who was later Professor of History at Cambridge University. His father, James Stephen (Snr.), was a notable member of the Clapham Sect. (See Knapland, James Stephen.)

<sup>33</sup>Young, op.cit., p.199.

<sup>34</sup>See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>35</sup>See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>36</sup>Quoted by Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.115.

<sup>37</sup>Elphick & Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, p.157.

<sup>38</sup>Legassick, The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography (p.53 in Marks and Atmore).

<sup>39</sup>Marais, Maynier and the First Boer Republic.

suggested that, schooled by a harsh and unenlightened pioneering life, but with strict adherence to Bible teaching,<sup>40</sup> they were a power to be reckoned with. Certainly their influence over their Khoi servants must have been considerable before the missionaries arrived. Neither group abandoned cultural affiliations; both used features of the other's way of life as matters of expediency, seen among the farmers, for example, in the use of Khoi mat houses and among the Khoi in the use of Dutch names and guns and, finally, patois. Government was represented on the frontier by field cornets who exercised only very nominal control because of the vast size of the wards to be supervised. Friction undoubtedly resulted from clashes between land-hungry farmers who regarded 6 000 morgen farms as a birthright for their sons and the Khoi whose birthright the land was. An attitude similar to that of the Dutch farmers with regard to their sons was prevalent among the Xhosa<sup>41</sup> who in this way, dispatching their sons before them, moved steadily down the coast creating a further complication on the frontier.<sup>42</sup> Their claim to the Zuurveld was borne out by Stockenström<sup>43</sup> who pointed out that they were alleged to have bought the area from the Dutch for 800 cattle. Coupled with the recorded residences of the Gqunukhwebe chief,<sup>44</sup> this could well be the reason why they remained in the area even after the 1809 meeting with Collins.<sup>45</sup> As Theopolis was situated on the probable site of the chief's kraal,<sup>46</sup> that could well account for the frequent attacks on the institution.

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<sup>40</sup> Madden, The Attitude of the Evangelicals to Empire & Imperial Problems, 1820-1850, p.389.

<sup>41</sup> Peires, House of Phalo, p.10.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.11.

<sup>43</sup> See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>44</sup> Peires, op.cit., p.11.

<sup>45</sup> Davenport, South Africa. A Modern History, pp.97-98. See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>46</sup> Peires, op.cit., p.11.

With no experience or adequate militia<sup>47</sup> other than the Khoi to back any declaration of frontiers, there was free crossing back and forth for trade and cattle dealing and stealing, and for acquisition of grazing. The 1812 truce between Boer and Briton led to their joint attack on the Xhosa and the clearing of the Zuurveld and also to the establishment of Grahamstown as a sub-drostdy<sup>48</sup> of Uitenhage with frontier block-houses<sup>49</sup> as a defence against Xhosa inroads. The incursions continued however, and in 1817 Lord Charles Somerset<sup>50</sup> met Ngqika.<sup>51</sup> The delicate balance of power across the Fish between Ngqika and Ndhlanbe<sup>52</sup> was the result of the complex patrilineal system of inheritance practiced by the Xhosa.<sup>53</sup> It was certainly beyond the comprehension of the British, and Somerset might well be excused for regarding Ngqika as paramount. By 1817 Ngqika's period of ascendancy over his uncle Ndhlanbe was waning and he accepted Somerset's offer of military help in suppressing his rivals, in return for which he agreed to keep the Zuurveld clear - a promise which he was quite unable to keep.<sup>54</sup> Matters between the two deteriorated further until they finally met in battle at Amalinda (1818) with Ndhlanbe emerging as victor.<sup>55</sup> In spite of appeals to the colonial authorities to recognise his position Ndhlanbe was first ignored and then attacked in December 1818 and 23 000 head of cattle taken. The result for Grahamstown was disastrous, for the Xhosa swept in to the attack and in 1819 the town was besieged.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Maxwell & McGeogh, Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, pp. 147, 180.

<sup>48</sup> Hunt, Development of Municipal Government (A.Y.B. 1961, p.137).

<sup>49</sup> See Map of Barker's Travels.

<sup>50</sup> See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Peires, House of Phalo, pp.27-44.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp.60-61.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp.61-63.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p.63.

The superior fire power of the British led to victory but a tragic pattern of attack and counter-attack was set up which was to persist sporadically for the next three decades. Implicit in this contretemps was British ignorance of Xhosa customary practise leading to intervention in the power politics of a neighbour. That Ngqika was greatly to be censured for his part in the situation is undoubted, but the position is clear. The Eastern Frontier's fortunes lay in the hands of two powers - British and Xhosa - whose internal political quarrels and cultural confrontations were to compound an already complex fracture of good relations.

From the British point of view the solution appeared to be a closely settled area on the colonial side of the frontier in the Zuurveld but even the most favourable offers of land<sup>57</sup> tempted no one to gamble with death. Adequate defence was impossible with a diminished garrison,<sup>58</sup> and the only solution appeared to be the importation of a large party of Britons to people the depopulated area.

Governors at the Cape were faced with the administration of these conquered peoples, both indigenous and alien, forming an amorphous entity with little idea of imposed discipline and less of a central and controlling government. A strong hand was needed. The governors certainly had considerable power for from 1811 to 1854 the governors commanded the military force. As Fryer shows clearly, if these powers were supported by a powerful Secretary of State<sup>59</sup> the governor was, to all intents and purposes, a despot. On the other hand D'Urban without this support experienced considerable difficulty and frustration.<sup>60</sup>

One of the men who exerted the civil and military power (1814-1826) was Lord Charles Somerset (1767-1831), a son of the Duke of Beaufort. He was the product of the society in which the dictum "Throw your

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<sup>57</sup> R.C.C. XI, pp.297-99, Letter Bird to Cuyler, 29 Mar. 1817.

<sup>58</sup> R.C.C.XI, p.404, Somerset to Bathurst, 12 Nov. 1817.

<sup>59</sup> Fryer, The Government of the Cape of Good Hope 1825-1854 (A.Y.B. 1964, Part I, pp. 26, 27).

<sup>60</sup> Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, pp.113-115.

heart over and your horse will follow" was a rule which applied to life.<sup>61</sup> Politically a high Tory, he held office longer than any other governor and during which time he was forced to defend himself against attacks in Britain<sup>62</sup> and at the Cape. He had a high sense of duty but his upbringing prevented him from making concessions to the newly-developed ideas of equality and he believed that men fulfilled the role assigned by birth. A reputation as a gentleman was valued and any blot on the escutcheon had to be obliterated. Sandhurst<sup>63</sup> aimed at producing "not corporals but gentlemen - the kind of leaders Englishmen would follow."<sup>64</sup> Such was Somerset, with an unwavering idea of his birthright as a leader. What he did not observe with sufficient care was caution in the exercise of power. The British, essentially a pragmatic people, obsessively hated overt power and by the time the settlers arrived, Byron's<sup>65</sup> fiery dicta concerning personal freedom were already directly or indirectly influencing the British public. Although only a small percentage of the people enjoyed a parliamentary<sup>66</sup> vote, no power could be openly exercised without provoking a reaction and with this attitude the settlers were well imbued.

Somerset hoped to settle Albany with a substantial community of small farmers but in fact as Nash<sup>67</sup> has shown in an analysis of one settler party, these were no mild inoffensive farmers. Occupations filled in on official lists were chosen at random to suit colonial office requirements and Barker's<sup>68</sup> comment on the men on board the

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<sup>61</sup>Booth, Bits of Character. A Life of Henry Hall Dixon, p.32.

<sup>62</sup>Millar, Plantagenet in South Africa, p.2.

<sup>63</sup>Sandhurst was the result of a combination in 1813 of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich (founded 1799) and the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, Camberley (founded 1741).

<sup>64</sup>Bryant, Protestant Island, p.157.

<sup>65</sup>Byron, Letters and Journals, numerous references.

<sup>66</sup>Betty Kemp, King and Commons, several references.

<sup>67</sup>Nash, Baillie's Party of 1820 Settlers.

<sup>68</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

Chapman<sup>69</sup> shows them in their true colours as "first rate trades-people!"<sup>70</sup> which statement was borne out in a letter from Cuyler.<sup>71</sup> These were tradespeople brought up in a framework of law where they were free to act in defence of their own property while those settlers who were middle-class made respectability their aim and aspired to lead society.<sup>72</sup> The new colonists, more articulate than the Boers, were as strongly conscious of their rights and liberties and as British citizens they were totally unprepared for and ill-equipped to deal with drought and flood, with inadequate farms, with a commercially primitive infrastructure and with the inroads of fierce tribes whose customs and language were unknown and apparently barbaric. Slave labour was forbidden and Dr Philip was raising his voice about the iniquities of the conditions of Khoi labour. Against this background the Theopolis missionaries controlling a reservoir of labour and skills were cast in the unenviable roles of legal advisers, arbiters, peace-makers and interpreters.

A boundary is only as effective as those who control and patrol, make it. The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony was long, unwieldy and largely uncontrolled. An area of territorial adjustment<sup>73</sup> where cultures should, and possibly would, have been accommodated; it was instead an area of disintegration.<sup>74</sup> Theopolis, that microcosm of frontier life, illustrates clearly the possibilities of co-operation in existence and the blundering uninformed actions which destroyed the tentative bridges of contact. Eyewitness accounts of frontier life appear to have been united in their condemnation of clashes between the Xhosa and colonists,<sup>75</sup> and as newspaper reports indicate,

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<sup>69</sup>Ship arrived Algoa Bay as first settler ship, 9 Apr. 1820.

<sup>70</sup>Barker's Journal, 13 Apr. 1820.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid. List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>72</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), Thomas Phillips, 1820 Settler.

<sup>73</sup>Legassick, The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography (p.44 in Marks and Atmore).

<sup>74</sup>Wilson, The Interpreters, pp.1-7.

<sup>75</sup>Frye, The South African Commercial Advertiser & The Eastern Frontier (unpublished thesis), Chapter I.

colonists were blamed for aggression and provocation; troops for atrocities; the Khoi for disloyalty; the Xhosa for thieving incursions, and Cape Town for the whole situation.

On the colonial side of the frontier were the Khoi with a precarious mission-supervised loyalty to government,<sup>76</sup> the politically-aware settlers with their vociferous free press,<sup>77</sup> and independent nomadic Dutch farmers and a rapidly developing commercial group,<sup>78</sup> whose trans-frontier trade<sup>79</sup> and energetic export market had altered the balance of financial power between Eastern and Western Cape. On the other side of the Fish was a people whose political activities were marked by instability and segmentation<sup>80</sup> and by power politics among chiefs. The multiplicity of tribes and Xhosa and Zulu dynastic ambitions increased the extant pressures and confusion.<sup>81</sup> Ample living room was required, for cattle not only represented tribal wealth but were vital to the individual for 'lobola'.<sup>82</sup> Smaller tribes including Khoi (and their cattle) were often absorbed because of "reciprocal social relations",<sup>83</sup> but the refugee Mfengu from Natal were a community who were victims of dynastic change and were not thus absorbed, perhaps because the frontier was too crowded, or, perhaps, as Lancaster suggests, because they were used in frontier manipulation by D'Urban.<sup>84</sup> An imponderable was the effect of overcrowding in a rural economy not geared to cope with it. The

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<sup>76</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 30 Jun. 1835 (14/4/B).

<sup>77</sup> Freedom of the Press was finally established in 1829.

<sup>78</sup> Le Cordeur, Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, pp.38-39.

<sup>79</sup> Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.136.

<sup>80</sup> Hammond Tooke, Segmentation and Fission in Cape Nguni Political Units (Africa, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, 1965, p.149).

<sup>81</sup> Peires, House of Phalo, p.109.

<sup>82</sup> Dowry paid for a woman on marriage.

<sup>83</sup> Peires, op.cit., p.44.

<sup>84</sup> Lancaster, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban (unpublished thesis), pp.126-127.

paramount chiefs exercised a delicate but clearly demarcated control. They could mobilise the whole nation<sup>85</sup> to fight but, in addition, might authorise independent action of chiefs without involving the whole nation<sup>86</sup> - a point probably not fully realised by the British in 1835 when Maqomo<sup>87</sup> and Tyali<sup>88</sup> launched their attacks<sup>89</sup> with permission of, but not supported by, the paramount chief.

Frontier politics appear to have been marked by a disastrous under-estimation of the forces at work on both sides of the Fish, and a total ignoring of the role played by human greed for cattle or trade. A further complication was a communication gap between the frontier and Cape Town, between Cape Town and London (well illustrated in the D'Urban contretemps of 1834-1835)<sup>90</sup> and more important, between the multiplicity of groups, black and white, political and commercial. Customary practice of black or white must have been very strange each to the other, and neither could be said to be "wholly innocent nor wholly culpable."<sup>91</sup>

Legally and politically the Khoi on the frontier were in an anomalous position. Caledon<sup>92</sup> and Cradock<sup>93</sup> had both introduced legislation<sup>94</sup> which they probably genuinely felt, in spite of Dr Philip's strictures,<sup>95</sup> would protect the Khoi from exploitation. They

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<sup>85</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, p.29.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p.109.

<sup>87</sup>List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Peires, op.cit., p.109.

<sup>90</sup>Lancaster, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban (unpublished thesis). pp.146-155.

<sup>91</sup>Peires, op.cit., p.53.

<sup>92</sup>See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>See infra, Chapter III.

<sup>95</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, appendices in Vol. II.

represented the first clear codification of the laws regarding the Khoi and they did contain protective clauses which, as Newton King observed, were in fact ignored.<sup>96</sup> Cognisance should be taken however of the abysmal ignorance of the British with regard to colonial affairs and in particular of the situation on the frontier. Added to this was constant pressure from London for economy. To the credit of the governors they had reinforced the importance of this legislation with the establishment of circuit courts where masters could appear as the result of charges laid by servants.<sup>97</sup> The missionaries within the boundaries of the colony, and particularly perhaps at Bethelsdorp<sup>98</sup> and Theopolis, were instrumental in interpreting the law to the Khoi. Until 1828<sup>99</sup> the institutions were 'cities of refuge' to the Khoi and useful bases from which they could ply their mission-acquired trades, or from which they could answer the seasonal calls for labour on farms or on public works.<sup>100</sup> In spite of the services performed by the institutions there was, even in Cradock's time, a strong disinclination to increase the missions within the colony either in number or in extent, and it is clear that the feeling was that had the Khoi been too much occupied through the institutions either with their trades or with their own farming, the itinerant labour force would have ceased to exist. The government, too, would have felt the lack of Khoi labour for they were used extensively in the commandos and in the building of blockhouses as well as serving in the Cape Regiment.<sup>101</sup> Additional urgency was possibly given both to the future of the Khoi themselves and of a

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<sup>96</sup>Newton King, Labour Market of the Cape Colony (1807-1828) (in Marks and Atmore, pp. 177, 178).

<sup>97</sup>Walker, History of South Africa (1935), p.156.

<sup>98</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers.

<sup>99</sup>Ordinance 50 of 1828 gave the Khoi their 'freedom' as citizens.

<sup>100</sup>Correspondence quoted by Philip, Researches in South Africa, appendices in Vol. II.

<sup>101</sup>See infra, Chapter III on Khoi.

labour force<sup>102</sup> with the foreshadowing of the emancipation of slaves in the ordinance of 1826.<sup>103</sup> In fact this ordinance highlighted the significance of Ordinance 50 of 1828<sup>104</sup> which gave the Khoi their freedom, their rights as citizens and the ability to offer their labour where they chose to move. As Marais says, "a labour supply which had been regular both under Khoi contract and slaves now became intermittent",<sup>105</sup> and was also dependent on the good will and the desire of the Khoi to offer their services. It was thus that an attempt was made to introduce a vagrancy law<sup>106</sup> which was overruled by D'urban with Aberdeen<sup>107</sup> concurring. At this point the Theopolis Khoi showed the advance in sophistication which they had made over the years when a protest meeting was held at which dignified objection was made.<sup>108</sup>

Rustling, a feature of frontier life in cattle country, had presented a problem to successive governors. Each had tried to formulate a system of recovery and control. The reprisal system of Cradock (originally set up by Collins in 1809) was clearly formulated by Somerset<sup>109</sup> in his conversation with Ngqika in 1817<sup>110</sup> after prolonged discussion. Under these proposals the farmers could follow the spoor to a kraal where they could take an equal number of Xhosa-

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<sup>102</sup>Newton King, Labour Market of the Cape Colony (1809-1828) (in Marks and Atmore, pp.177-181).

<sup>103</sup>19th Ordinance of 1826. R.C.C. Vol. XXVI, pp.468-91.

<sup>104</sup>50th Ordinance of July 1828 (in Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.86); Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, p.242.

<sup>105</sup>Marais, Cape Coloured People, p.192.

<sup>106</sup>Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, pp.246-47.

<sup>107</sup>Aberdeen, George Hamilton Gordon (1784-1860), 4th Earl. Ambassador at Vienna, 1813. Foreign Secretary in Wellington's cabinet, 1828-30; served under Peel, 1834-35 and again 1841-46. Became Prime Minister in a coalition, 1852.

<sup>108</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 6 Oct. 1834 (14/2/B).

<sup>109</sup>Walker, History of South Africa, p.161.

<sup>110</sup>R.C.C. Vol.VI, pp.310-16; Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. 1, pp.169-179.

owned cattle. It was the responsibility of the headman to find the missing cattle which he then retained. Very much open to abuse, the scheme was based on a misapprehension of Xhosa custom. Their system was to free a headman from responsibility if the spoor should go through his kraal and tracking continued to the end of the spoor.<sup>111</sup> The Theopolis Khoi were frequently involved as members of groups following cattle and in their own hot pursuit operations.<sup>112</sup>

The Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, Andries Stockenstrom, disagreed with this system but could not at first formulate a viable alternative. As he groped for a better understanding of the black peoples it is clear that he moved away from settler sympathy and also from sympathy with the settlers.<sup>113</sup> It is, however, surprising (but possibly characteristic) that Somerset did not take cognisance of Stockenstrom's experience, for the governor was impressed by the order (1819) in the Graaff Reinet area where Stockenstrom was landdrost.<sup>114</sup> In fact Somerset moved to compound the frontier problem by establishing a neutral territory between the Fish and Keiskama rivers in 1819.<sup>115</sup> This was done in an attempt to dislodge the Xhosa from a safe refuge in the riverine bush on the banks of the Fish. Added to the loss of the Zuurveld, this further deprived them of grazing land. Somerset was motivated in this unwise step by a full realisation of the danger of non-enforcement of regulations and also the need for a strong stand. In contravention of this neutrality, however, he allowed Ngqika to retain the Tyhume valley and built British forts - themselves an intrusion.<sup>116</sup> In a subsequent letter

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<sup>111</sup>Lancaster, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, p.130; Peires, House of Phalo, pp.91-92. (These statements contradict Walker's statement above.)

<sup>112</sup>Barker's Journal, Oct.-Nov. 1817 and 21 Nov.-1 Dec. 1818.

<sup>113</sup>Dracopoli, Sir Andries Stockenstrom (between pp.52 and 53, The Aquila Cartoons).

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p.40.

<sup>115</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, p.79.

<sup>116</sup>Theal, History of South Africa since 1795, Vol. 1, pp.328-44.

to Bathurst<sup>117</sup> he referred to the area as "the country thus ceded", hence the subsequent unfortunate misnomer 'the Ceded Territory'.<sup>118</sup> Neutrality was further destroyed in 1821 during Somerset's absence on leave. Sir Rufane Donkin,<sup>119</sup> the Acting Governor, set up a village for retired military men at Fredericksburg and later allowed Maqomo and other chiefs to graze their cattle in the Kat River area. Finally, farmers were permitted to claim land between the Koonap and the Fish.<sup>120</sup>

The gradual erosion of the neutral belt was completed by Lieut.-Governor Bourke<sup>121</sup> who forbade crossing of the frontier by a commando without prior magisterial permission and unless the cattle were plainly visible.<sup>122</sup> In addition, he legalised trade fairs<sup>123</sup> and by Ordinance 49 of 1828<sup>124</sup> he sought to solve the perennial labour problem by legalising the already common use of Xhosa as farm labourers. Patently these laws once more opened the frontier area to free crossing for the essence of effective tracking was speed as shown by the Theopolis Khoi.<sup>125</sup> It appears strange, however, to note that the laws operated only one way, for as Stockenström observed, there were unscrupulous farmers quite willing to rustle Xhosa cattle.<sup>126</sup> His opinion of the people in the Albany area was most unfavourable

<sup>117</sup>Bathurst, Henry (1762-1834). 3rd Earl. Moderate Tory. Held office as Master of the Mint, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, President of the Board of Trade, Secretary for War and the Colonies, 1812-1827.

<sup>118</sup>Du Toit, The Cape Frontier 1847-1866 (A.Y.B. 1954, I), p.61.

<sup>119</sup>See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>120</sup>Lancaster, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, pp.132-33; Peires, House of Phalo, pp.79-81.

<sup>121</sup>See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>122</sup>King, Richard Bourke, p.111.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p.114.

<sup>124</sup>Donaldson, Council of Advice at the Cape of Good Hope (unpublished thesis), pp.378-402.

<sup>125</sup>Barker's Journal, 21 Nov.-1 Dec. 1818.

<sup>126</sup>Dracopoli, Sir Andries Stockenström, p.78.

and he considered that the only answer to cattle rustling was close settlement of the neutral territory and firm control of Grahamstown where rumour was rife. Bourke's policy had failed, no firm action was taken and neither Xhosa nor settler had fully realised the need for an adequate guard on their cattle. On the arrival of Sir Lowry Cole,<sup>127</sup> Stockenström suggested that patrols led by military men or selected civilians be allowed to track stolen cattle but not to claim compensation if the cattle were not recovered.<sup>128</sup>

Stockenström then advocated a move which was materially to alter the situation at Theopolis. He proposed the removal of Maqomo from the Kat River and the immediate establishment of a Khoi location.<sup>129</sup> The experienced Khoi soldiers from the disbanded Cape Regiment<sup>130</sup> would make good frontiersmen and at the same time it would remove the problem of providing land for the Khoi,<sup>131</sup> freed by Ordinance 50.<sup>132</sup> With approval of the British government this action was taken, but incursions continued and while Colonel Henry Somerset<sup>133</sup> led patrols to recover cattle, Stockenström strove for peaceful understanding and for careful herding of settler stock for he allocated blame equally to settlers, Boers and Xhosa.<sup>134</sup> While the Theopolis Khoi were involved in commando action it is interesting to observe that at the institution adequate guards and immediate hot pursuit obviated many problems experienced elsewhere.

In this whole situation the Theopolis missionaries tried to fulfil their prime object which was the preaching of Christian doctrine to

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<sup>127</sup>List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>128</sup>Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.101.

<sup>129</sup>Lancaster, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, pp.136-37.

<sup>130</sup>See infra, Chapter IV on Khoi.

<sup>131</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, The War of the Axe, p.77.

<sup>132</sup>Hunt, op.cit., p.86.

<sup>133</sup>See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>134</sup>Dracopoli, Sir Andries Stockenström, pp.77-78.

the Khoi and, in so doing carrying out the injunction of Jesus Christ, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations."<sup>135</sup> Further than this they were required by their faith and by Christ's example to involve themselves in the whole life of their community. Moreover, their teaching was usually done in the context of the society and customs with which the missionaries were familiar, thus overtones of Victorian morality were added to the Bible teaching they brought. As Pauw<sup>136</sup> has it, "For brevity we sometimes speak of interaction between the two traditions, but it should always be remembered that we are actually referring to the cumulative results of what many different individuals have done with ideas, customs or cultural objects which formed part of either of the two traditions."

The history of Christian missionary enterprise can be traced to the Council of Jerusalem when St Paul called the converts together and issued what has been called the "Charter of the Gentiles"<sup>137</sup> which in turn led to St Paul's own pioneer missionary work. The story the missionaries had to tell was of an unknown Jew, crucified by the Romans for unlawful activities. He was a man moreover who rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, leaving a legacy of an uncompromising religion with a stern moral code. This religion, aided by Roman religious tolerance, ease of communication in the Roman world and world peace, spread rapidly and Christian missionary enterprise on a global scale was launched.<sup>138</sup> The Word of God, in succeeding centuries was carried by travellers, by soldiers and, until the Reformation, by missionary activity controlled by the Papacy through the Congregazione de Propaganda Fide.<sup>139</sup>

With the Renaissance came a period of emphasis on intellectual enquiry which resulted in voyages of discovery and new worlds to which the message of Christ could be carried. Within the church itself vigorous

<sup>135</sup> Holy Bible, Gospel according to St Matthew, Ch. XXVIII, v.19 (A.V.).

<sup>136</sup> Pauw, Christianity and Xhosa Tradition, p.336.

<sup>137</sup> Barclay, New Testament Studies, p.77.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., pp.70-75.

<sup>139</sup> Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p.431.

debate gave rise to the formation of the Protestant group led by such men as Martin Luther,<sup>140</sup> Zwingli,<sup>141</sup> John Calvin,<sup>142</sup> and in the Roman Church, to the Counter Reformation.<sup>143</sup> Roman missionary enterprise was given fresh impetus by these movements and the newly discovered lands opened up by the voyages of discovery were the targets of their teaching.<sup>144</sup> The Protestants meanwhile sought converts at home, until the German Pietists<sup>145</sup> aroused overseas missionary zeal and the Moravian Brothers<sup>146</sup> set out, the first group to carry the Protestant message (1737) abroad.

In England the eighteenth century was not a period of vigorous religious activity. The appeal of the Church of England was restricted largely to the upper classes and, suffering from a surfeit of prosperity, displayed little understanding of the working classes.

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<sup>140</sup> Martin Luther (1483-1546). Trained as an Augustinian priest, was neither a great scholar nor a great politician but a man who conveyed profound religious experience. He led the Reform movement in Germany which gave rise to political division and a break with Rome. His output of religious tracts was extraordinary.

<sup>141</sup> Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531). A brilliant student and humanist, he was very much more politically orientated than the other Reformers. Famous for his education system he swept away many of the remnants of Roman Church rule. Zurich became his centre of reform.

<sup>142</sup> John Calvin (1509-1564). A graduate of the University of Paris. As a result of the humanist movement, he broke with the Church of Rome and living in Geneva he published the Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536), and went on to found the highly organised basis for the Calvinist churches.

<sup>143</sup> Walker, History of the Christian Church, pp.321-325; 422-430.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., pp.429-30.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., pp.496-501.

<sup>146</sup> Du Plessis, History of the Christian Missions in South Africa, pp.50-60.

Revival came with the Wesleys<sup>147</sup> and Whitefield<sup>148</sup> who brought simple fervour to their preaching and, while the sword militant defeated Napoleon's forces the crusades in England reached and conquered the outcasts of industrial Britain. This was a religion of involvement and men and women like Wilberforce,<sup>149</sup> Hannah More,<sup>150</sup> Zachary Macaulay<sup>151</sup> and John Howard<sup>152</sup> manifested the forward looking philanthropy of the Revival and awoke the sleeping conscience of Britain, leading to considerable reform. However, as Hobsbawm<sup>153</sup> has clearly shown they were not revolutionaries and the organisation of Methodism was authoritarian with strict rules for members - a system which effectively was adopted by the Trade Union movement.<sup>154</sup> The

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<sup>147</sup> Wesley, John (1703-1791). Educated at Oxford, he was a priest in the Church of England. With his brother he formed a group which followed Anglican Church rules very strictly and were called Methodists. Under the influence of the Moravians, Wesley set up an independent society and was particularly successful with the poorer classes. At his death his followers numbered 100 000 Methodists or Wesleyans.

Wesley, Charles (1707-1788). He worked with his brother but his main contribution to the cause was writing over one thousand hymns expressive of the new approach to religion.

<sup>148</sup> Whitefield, George (1714-1770). A deacon of the Church of England, he joined the Methodist movement and was famous as an open-air orator. He broke away from the Wesleys and formed the highly disciplined Calvinist Methodists.

<sup>149</sup> Wilberforce, William (1759-1833). A controversial figure he entered parliament when he was twenty-one. An ardent humanitarian and philanthropist he devoted himself to working towards the abolition of slavery. He was founder of the Clapham Sect.

<sup>150</sup> More, Hannah (1745-1833). As member of the blue-stocking coterie in London, she later turned to Sunday School work and was instrumental in helping to found the Religious Tract Society.

<sup>151</sup> Macaulay, Zachary (1768-1838). A philanthropist and great supporter of Wilberforce and his movement to abolish the slave trade. He was father of the historian, Lord Macaulay.

<sup>152</sup> Howard, John (1726-1790), famous for his prison reform as a result of his office as High Sheriff of Bedford. His extensive writing focussed interest, and a Howard Penal Reform League is still in existence (1982).

<sup>153</sup> Hobsbawm, Methodists and Threat to Revolution in Britain (in History Today, 1957, pp.115-124).

<sup>154</sup> E.P. Thompson, Rise of the English Working Class, pp.116-117.

Unitarians or Independents (from which group the L.M.S. men were drawn) were anti-government with strongly democratic leanings,<sup>155</sup> which it appears Dr Philip did not share. They did represent a moral force which should not be underestimated and while Christianity, civilisation and commerce might be promoted together by its supporters cant and nobility went hand in hand.

The Evangelical movement, which so greatly influenced the Clapham Sect,<sup>156</sup> was not noted for great intellectual endeavours. It was destitute of a philosophical basis and produced few theologians and apologists. Its strength lay in religious emotion - like the religion of Luther and not in intellectual organisation like the religion of Calvin. It gave rise to the first missionary enterprise, but it was not until the Exeter Hall<sup>157</sup> meetings that a united Christian front in England was presented to the world.

The message which the early Revivalists preached must have seemed puerile and inadequate to the intellectuals, yet with its literal stress on the validity of all Bible teaching, with its apparent belief in a system of heavenly rewards and hellish punishments, and on an urgent desire to share the gospel with the less fortunate, it drove converts to missionary enterprise and to valiant evangelisation throughout the world. The movement's limited intellectual appeal, however, probably accounted for the predominance of artisan missionaries before Exeter Hall. The power behind the movement - the Saints<sup>158</sup> as they were called - exerted some considerable influence in the abolition of the slave trade and after emancipation turned their not inconsider-

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> The Clapham Sect (Humanitarians, Saints), a coterie of evangelical humanitarians (most of whom lived in the village of Clapham) who were led by Wilberforce. A small group, it was remarkable for its unanimity of thought and honesty of purpose (Howse, Clapham Sect). They were, however, much criticised for their neglect of the poor at home.

<sup>157</sup> Exeter Hall. The hall in London where after 1840 annual revival meetings were held which gave a new impetus to mission enterprise and enabled the societies to raise adequate funds.

<sup>158</sup> The Clapham Sect included such men as James Stephen (snr.) (1758-1832) and Zachary Macaulay (1768-1838).

able attention to the so-called backward races. Their power, however, should not be exaggerated.<sup>159</sup> Without real financial power their pronouncements often lacked force and the disunity of the missionary societies, the contradictory political advice of rival religious leaders,<sup>160</sup> and ill-advised statements made them less impressive than Christian teaching requires. "It is our office to carry civilisation and humanity, peace and good government and above all, the knowledge of the true God to the uttermost ends of the earth" was a statement approvingly quoted in the Select Committee on Aborigines (in 1837).<sup>161</sup> Yet the implication of this statement can hardly have been considered and it is likely that George Barker of Theopolis might have said "It is our office to carry religion to our people and to act as interpreters to them in their new dispensation." Many actions of the Evangelicals were not expedient and were motivated by zeal rather than by cerebration. Nowhere is this more true than in the Cape Colony where Christianity presented a woefully disunited front and where public polemic and private intrigue could well have ruined a less powerful cause.

To a modern intellectual the message of incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension with eternal damnation for those who consciously reject the teaching, may seem difficult to accept and it is unfortunate that in some cases scepticism has led them to misunderstand the strong motivating force of the power of God, no matter how ignorantly conveyed. C.E.M. Joad<sup>162</sup> has pointed out that incarnation, resurrection and ascension are in fact strictly unbelievable on the grounds of reason alone. To accept them is an act of faith, yet faith must be justified at the bar of reason. How then can Christianity be judged and accepted by men of reason?

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<sup>159</sup>Galbraith in his analysis of financial and humanitarian influences shows clearly that the dominance of economic policy in government circles circumscribed the activities of the group. (Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, Ch. IV).

<sup>160</sup>Philip and Shaw in southern Africa. (cf. Shaw, A Defence of the Wesleyan Methodists in Southern Africa.)

<sup>161</sup>The Aborigines Committee was appointed in 1835 to consider the relations of whites with 'Aborigines' in all parts of the British Empire. (cf. British Parliamentary Papers, 1836, VII(538).)

<sup>162</sup>Joad, The Recovery of Belief, pp.243-248.

It is impossible to accept the unbelievable history of Christianity without an acceptance of supernatural and divine backing. The handful of men, Christ's disciples, who shook Judaism, the Roman Empire and Europe with their teaching were many of them simple and ignorant, unlikely proponents of a new philosophy which was to last for over two thousand years; the handful of missionaries, many simple, unlettered souls who faced unbelievable odds in the Cape Colony, were not cranks but crusaders with a divine cause and their memorial and justification is the fact that they have not been dismissed as nonentities but give cause for argument to the present day, thereby giving credence to the power of the message carried. The acceptance of Christian faith is justified too by the fact that nowhere has man's inhumanity to man risen to greater heights than within the church, and no sin in the whole calendar (including those specifically forbidden in the New Testament) has been committed more flagrantly and more continuously than by members of the Church of God, but in spite of this the church has survived.

In the modern world with all its complex technology a new industrial revolution is unfolding which has extraordinary parallels with the world of George Barker. Coulsen<sup>163</sup> has suggested that the Evangelical Revival failed to convince the masses because it was isolationist and exclusive and, as a result contact was lost with the world and the appeal of Marxism with its emphasis on social justice (which in many ways are so similar to those of Christians) gained ground.<sup>164</sup> Of some this is undoubtedly true, but it is not a criticism which could be levelled at Theopolis men. With them the problem lay in interpretation and they endeavoured by involvement to preach the word of God. A spiritual revolution was under way and total social identification was needed and was not found among the humanitarians who selected certain areas for benevolence and neglected others.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup>Coulsen, Science Technology and the Christian, p.106.

<sup>164</sup>Kniefel, Theo. (O.M.I.), Dialogue between Christians and Marxists, pp.291-92 in Nurnberger (ed.).

<sup>165</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, Chapter IV.

Los Alamos scientists,<sup>166</sup> inventors of destruction on an unreamed of scale, were faced with moral problems or, as the Evangelicals would say, with sin.<sup>167</sup> So many issues - racial discrimination, war, use of atomic power, and hunger - are essentially both moral and religious, compounded of science, technology, politics and faith. "The role of the Christian community as such is not to do the science or devise the technology or form some political party; it is to see the need of all these things, to welcome them as gifts of God; and then to think creatively, bringing all aspects of human toil together."<sup>168</sup>

Unsophisticated, confused with the problems of changing government policy, disturbing settler politics, a frontier fraught with danger and a people poised between two cultures, yet the Theopolis missionaries still fulfilled their role as interpreters and endeavoured by involvement, precept and example to convey the great truths of Christianity to their people.

<sup>166</sup>The group of scientists at the Los Alamos settlement in New Mexico who helped develop the atomic bomb.

<sup>167</sup>Coulson, Science Technology and the Christian, p.107.

<sup>168</sup>ibid., p.109.

## CHAPTER II

## BEGINNING : THE ORIGINS OF MISSION

The sturdy growth of charity<sup>1</sup> in Britain had its foundations in the ferment of the eighteenth century, and was characterised by both transition and change. In a society where monopolistic trade and benevolent despotism were being displaced, religion escaped from the "tyranny of intellect"<sup>2</sup> to the possibly equally dangerous free expression of emotion. The psychological phenomena which gave rise to the change are impossible to define but there was an increasing awareness of nature, a new sensibility, a recognition of the common man, and a new attitude to that "child of nature", the noble savage. The sluggish conscience having been stirred, it was further roused by the voyages of exploration with all the implicit possibilities of missionary enterprise. Missionary renaissance began with the founding of the Baptist Society in 1792, followed by the London Missionary Society (1795) and the Glasgow Missionary Society (1796) and the Wesleyan Missionary Society (1813).<sup>3</sup>

The London Missionary Society had its roots in a meeting held at George Whitefield's Tabernacle<sup>4</sup> in Bristol in 1794. At this meeting a letter from Carey<sup>5</sup> (a missionary in India) was read and which inspired David Bogue<sup>6</sup> of the Independent Church at Gosport to write an article for the Evangelical Magazine urging the Independent Church to become active in missionary work.<sup>7</sup> A small group of ministers decided

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<sup>1</sup>Charity: "natural affection", "love of fellow men" and "beneficence". O.E.D. (Concise), 1964.

<sup>2</sup>Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, p.19.

<sup>3</sup>Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p.523.

<sup>4</sup>Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, Vol.I, p.5.

<sup>5</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Evangelical Magazine, September 1794.

EARLY DIRECTORS  
and  
MISSIONARIES OF  
the  
L.M.S



DAVID LIVINGSTONE



DAVID LIVINGSTONE



WILLIAM FETTES (1851)  
(Madagascar)



MR. DUFF  
(Madagascar)



J. J. FROUDE  
(Madagascar)



MR. JAMES GRANT



DR. ANDREW ROSS  
(Kobon)



MR. J. RUCHERER

(from Lovett's History of the London Missionary Society)

BRIEF  
van het  
ZENDELINGS GENOOTSCHAP  
te LONDON.  
Aan de Godsdienst-lievende ingeze-  
tenen  
van de CAAP DE GOEDE HOOP  
uit 't Engelsch vertaald,  
en door V. A. SCHOONBERG ge-  
drukt voor 't  
ZUID-AFRICAANSCH GE-  
NOOTSCHAP  
ter uitbreiding van CHRISTUS ko-  
ningryk.  
MDCXCIX

The letter, brought by Van der Kemp to the Cape, and printed for circulation, is the oldest remaining printed item at the South African Library, (apart from a fragment of the Almanack of 1796)  
(vide S.A.L. Quarterly Bulletin Vol I no 7 p12)

to accept the challenge and at a meeting in Change Alley, Cornhill in November 1794, decided to establish an interdenominational mission. This decision was affirmed at a public meeting on 23 September 1795, and a subscription list was opened.<sup>8</sup> The objective of the new society was "the spreading of the knowledge of Christ among the heathen", and a sermon subsequently preached by George Burder,<sup>9</sup> was published and widely distributed.<sup>10</sup>

A series of missionary meetings followed and evangelical fervour waxed strong as appeals were made for devoted men and for money to send them to the mission fields.<sup>11</sup> A board of directors was elected,<sup>12</sup> and included many men later to be involved in both the Tract Society and the Bible Society.<sup>13</sup> The disastrous failure of the first mission expedition to Tahiti and Sierra Leone<sup>14</sup> showed clearly two weaknesses experienced in subsequent enterprises: a lack of informed planning, and a shortage of financial backing. The initial emphasis was on "godly men"<sup>15</sup> who were, as Bogue subsequently suggested, unaccustomed to the task of religious instruction.<sup>16</sup> Rigorous training, tolerance, ingenuity, diplomatic skill, linguistic talents, all were ignored. After the Sierra Leone débâcle, brisk debate ensued and the inadequacy of the training and the unsuitability of the candidates was recognised, hence a seminary under Bogue was established (1802) though its success was limited.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, p.13.

<sup>9</sup> List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>10</sup> Lovett, op.cit., pp. 18, 23.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p.39.

<sup>12</sup> L.M.S. First Annual Report: Board of Directors, 1796.

<sup>13</sup> The Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804) were both interdenominational organisations aimed at the spread of the Gospel.

<sup>14</sup> L.M.S. Second Annual Report: Board of Directors, 1797.

<sup>15</sup> Rules for the Examination of Missionaries, Appendix C(i).

<sup>16</sup> L.M.S. Report, Board of Directors, 1801.

<sup>17</sup> L.M.S. Report, Board of Directors, 1802.

Financial organisation was equally uninformed. A totally unrealistic appreciation of the conditions in southern Africa, for example, coupled with poor planning led to the establishment of missions which the Society could not adequately support. The result was earnest prayers for the establishment of auxiliary missionary societies at the new institutions to enable them to support their own work.<sup>18</sup> As early as 1803 expenditure exceeded income, although the only reported salary was that paid to the secretary.<sup>19</sup> The result of this policy is clear in letters from Africa<sup>20</sup> which describe the penury to which many missionaries were reduced. Yet it was this financial link which bound directors to men in the field, in contrast to the Wesleyans, for example, who received extensive local support at the Cape, and who served in the highly organised structure of a district. The Independent philosophy with its emphasis on local autonomy might well have been a contributory cause for the many difficulties experienced. They lacked leadership and good central organisation.

Long before the Evangelical Revival, the way for missions in southern Africa had been prepared by George Schmidt<sup>21</sup> of the Moravian Society<sup>22</sup> (1737-1744). The jealous territorial imperative of the local Dutch Reformed Church and the fact that Schmidt baptised Khoi led to an outcry and the mission lapsed until 1792 when the Genadendal institution was re-opened. The real herald of the missionary era was, in fact, H.R. van Lier (1764-1794)<sup>23</sup> a brilliant Dutch theologian who became minister of the Dutch Church in Cape Town in 1786 at the age of twenty-two. Although he ministered to a white congregation, he believed and taught that the message of Jesus was for all men including the

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<sup>18</sup>Madden, The Attitude of the Evangelicals to the Empire and Imperial Problems 1820-1850 (unpublished thesis), p.30.

<sup>19</sup>L.M.S. Report, Board of Directors, 1803.

<sup>20</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Read to Directors, 2 Oct. 1807 (3/4/B); Evans to Directors, 14 Nov. 1817 (7/3/C).

<sup>21</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>22</sup>Walker, A History of the Christian Church, pp.501-507, 511-14; du Plessis, Christian Missions in South Africa, Chapters VII, IX, X, XXV.

<sup>23</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

slaves and the Khoi. His teaching, reinforced by the precept and example of M.C. Vos,<sup>24</sup> was undoubtedly the reason for the warm reception accorded the L.M.S. men when they arrived at the Cape. Vos was also instrumental in the retention of the Moravians when the old theological dispute of Schmidt's day recurred in 1792. Vos had stirred deeply rooted prejudices against non-whites and his sincerity carried so much conviction that when Vander Kemp<sup>25</sup> arrived, a report could be sent to London that "a thousand heathen were receiving instruction in the Christian religion."<sup>26</sup>

Johannes Theodorus Vander Kemp offered himself as a missionary to the directors in a letter dated 24 April 1797.<sup>27</sup> This extraordinary, controversial character arrived in the British-occupied Cape on 31 March 1799. Army officer, doctor, writer, "deist blaspheming Christ" (his own words),<sup>28</sup> he was converted after a great personal tragedy involving the loss of his wife and only child by drowning. The warm reception given him by Vos and his coterie was surprising. Vander Kemp represented a British society in an occupied colony where irritation with the British rulers and hostility to other denominations prevailed, and where opposition to the conversion of the Khoi was strong, as baptism would enable them to claim rights as citizens.

Bearing a letter from the directors addressed to "all believers at the Cape",<sup>29</sup> the new missionaries were delighted with their reception and were even received by Dundas, and by Van Ryneveld,<sup>30</sup> who listened with interest and promised aid and protection to Vander Kemp and his

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<sup>24</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 16 Jul. 1899 (1/2/A).

<sup>27</sup>Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, Vol. 1, p.483.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>The only known surviving copy of this letter is housed in the Africana Library at the South African Library in Cape Town.

<sup>30</sup>See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

companions J.J. Kircherer,<sup>31</sup> John Edmonds<sup>32</sup> and William Edwards,<sup>33</sup> The letter was printed and circulated to the various Dutch churches<sup>34</sup> where it was read aloud from the pulpits, with the result that subscriptions were opened, meetings were held, and the South African Missionary Society was set up on 22 April 1799.<sup>35</sup> The articles of the society were approved<sup>36</sup> and directors were appointed, among whom were M.C. Vos and C.P. Slotsboo.<sup>37</sup> Two articles are particularly noteworthy: the decision that God's Kingdom was to be preached within and without the boundaries of the Cape Colony, and another, emphasising the Christian's duty to uphold the State. It is significant that the word missionary was omitted for, already, as the Moravian contretemps showed, a distrustful attitude existed to those who baptised the Khoi. Furthermore, the rule of the Batavian Republic (1802-1805) brought its own problems to the embryo society. While adopting a laissez-faire attitude to religion,<sup>38</sup> Commissioner de Mist<sup>39</sup> adopted a severely critical attitude to missions within the framework of an already settled community. Hence, the mission building, nearly completed, in Cape Town, could not be dedicated. However, during de Mist's absence on tour, Janssens relented and the dedication took place on 15 March 1804.<sup>40</sup> When de Mist returned the opposition re-opened and so much discouraged the local society, that they

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<sup>31</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>This Dutch translation is of considerable interest as it is one of the earliest examples of printing at the Cape. Appendix C(x).

<sup>35</sup>Du Plessis, History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p.91 seq.

<sup>36</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, to Directors, 22 Apr.1799 (1/1/C).

<sup>37</sup>See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>38</sup>Engelbrecht, Geschiedenis van die Hervormde Kerk, Vol.1, p.8.

<sup>39</sup>See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i). The Minutes of the South African Missionary Society contain the record of the dispute with de Mist (1802-1805).

<sup>40</sup>Du Plessis, op.cit., p.95.

did not open the church with a regular minister until 1819.<sup>41</sup> A study of the society, however, showed a steady growth at Wellington, Stellenbosch, George, and Roodezand,<sup>42</sup> and in addition, active co-operation with the L.M.S. whose directors used the local society as their agents. The latter arrangement was not successful as the London directors demanded a strict, not to say parsimonious, financial policy and the cautious and conservative approach of the Dutch did not appeal to many of the more liberal-thinking men of the L.M.S.<sup>43</sup>

As matters continued to deteriorate the directors of the L.M.S. decided to send out one of their number to the Cape in 1813. The Rev. John Campbell<sup>44</sup> was an experienced minister and was sent as a one-man deputation to investigate complaints and to put into action the plan to appoint a local superintendent.<sup>45</sup> Vander Kemp was the directors' choice, but unknown to them he had died even before they had taken the decision to appoint him,<sup>46</sup> and the alternate nominated, James Read,<sup>47</sup> appears never to have assumed full command.<sup>48</sup> Campbell, after an extensive tour,<sup>49</sup> returned to Cape Town where a petition awaited him, signed by 640 soldiers of the Garrison<sup>50</sup> and requesting that Campbell's travelling companion on the voyage to the Cape, the

<sup>41</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Directors, 19 May 1820 (8/2/B).

<sup>42</sup>Du Plessis, History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp.97-98.

<sup>43</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Letters from S.A. Society, 27 Oct. 1806 (3/3/C) and 10 Dec. 1806 (3/3/D).

<sup>44</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>45</sup>Resolution of Board of Directors of L.M.S., 16 Dec. 1811, quoted by Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, Vol. I, p.517.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>48</sup>Du Plessis, op.cit., p.139.

<sup>49</sup>Campbell, Travels in South Africa (First Journey).

<sup>50</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Soldiers to Campbell, 9 Jan. 1813 (5/2/A).

Rev. George Thom,<sup>51</sup> be allowed to remain their minister. Soon actively involved in the work of the society,<sup>52</sup> Thom was appointed as organiser of the L.M.S. and thus de facto superintendent. The task was difficult, and obviously distasteful, involving as it did discipline,<sup>53</sup> administrative work,<sup>54</sup> preaching commitments,<sup>55</sup> and co-operation with the local society.<sup>56</sup> Extremely critical of many of the missionaries, Thom organised a meeting of missionaries at the Cape in 1817 to discuss supervision, morality, mixed marriages, and other related matters.<sup>57</sup> Consideration of the minutes of this meeting led the L.M.S. directorate to appoint Dr John Philip and the Rev. John Campbell as a commission of enquiry (1819). Thom resented this apparent censure, resigned and joined the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>58</sup>

The difficulties confronting all the men in these early days of mission work were manifold. Faced with translating an emotional Christian revival in London into practical work in the field, they grappled with communication gaps (in terms of time and understanding) with abysmal ignorance of the customs of black and white residents of the Cape and with totally inadequate salaries and household goods. Thom's problems were simply a reflection of the difficult situation existing for the administrator of mission policy at the Cape.

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<sup>51</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>52</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Thom to Directors, 11 Jan. 1813 (5/2/A).

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., Thom to Directors, 19 Feb. 1818, 14 Apr. 1818 (7/4/C).

<sup>54</sup>Ibid. (examples), Thom to Directors, 10 Apr. 1817 (7/1/C) and 29 Apr. 1817 (7/1/D).

<sup>55</sup>Ibid. (example), Thom to Directors, 22 Aug. 1815 (6/2/A).

<sup>56</sup>Ibid. (example), Thom to Directors, 23 Dec. 1815 (6/2/D).

<sup>57</sup>See infra, Chapter V.

<sup>58</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Thom to Directors, 28 Sep. 1818 (7/5/B).

The initial warm reception given by people living in the Western Cape<sup>59</sup> had suggested to Vander Kemp a community enthusiastic for and sympathetic to mission. He did not realise that the influence of Van Lier and Vos was limited and that the frontier farmers with little education and a strict adherence to literal scriptural precept would oppose preaching to the Khoi, for a baptised Khoi could request citizenship which was morally and socially unacceptable to them.<sup>60</sup>

The arrival of the missionaries from London could not have been more ill-timed when taken in the context of Eastern frontier affairs. The Khoi, joining with the Xhosa, rose in revolt over the loss of traditional grazing lands and of their free nomadic way of life (1799 and 1801),<sup>61</sup> while the frontier Boers, already resentful of government control, rose in revolt in 1799 and again in 1801.<sup>62</sup> Fiscal Van Ryneveld, who submitted a report on the frontier situation, stated that the Khoi were bent on armed revenge<sup>63</sup> but he freely acknowledged administrative problems, biased officials and labour-hungry farmers as contributory causes.<sup>64</sup>

As a result of the turbulent frontier conditions Vander Kemp's stay among the Xhosa was curtailed (1799-1801)<sup>65</sup> and his return was unfortunately timed for he was not only treated with "uncommon civility"<sup>66</sup> by Commissioner Maynier<sup>67</sup> (who was most unpopular) but

<sup>59</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 13 May 1799 (1/1/C) and 16 Jul. 1799 (1/2/B).

<sup>60</sup> Madden, The Attitude of the Evangelicals to the Empire and Imperial Problems 1820-1850, p.30. (Unpublished thesis.)

<sup>61</sup> Elphick & Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, p.213.

<sup>62</sup> Walker, History of South Africa, pp.137-139.

<sup>63</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Van Ryneveld to Directors, 26 Nov. 1801 (1/4/E).

<sup>64</sup> Marais, Cape Coloured People.

<sup>65</sup> Martin, Dr Vander Kemp, Chapters XI and XII.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p.102.

<sup>67</sup> List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

he was also suspected of plotting with the Xhosa.<sup>68</sup> The mission to the Xhosa had failed, but the lines of communication were laid and in 1818 Joseph Williams was able to set up a mission to the Xhosa at Kat River.<sup>69</sup>

The indefatigable Vander Kemp, with the help of Maynier, set up a Khoi congregation at Graaff Reinet.<sup>70</sup> Feeling, however, ran so high against him that, at the suggestion of Dundas, he removed the group to Fort Frederick, there to await allocation of land.<sup>71</sup> Listing the aims of his new institution Vander Kemp envisaged Christian instruction, discouragement of laziness, cattle management and "little manufactories" producing soap, candles, thread and cloth. Journeymen, trained by mechanic missionaries would produce an income for the mission and for themselves, as they plied their trades.<sup>72</sup> This was an idyllic picture with good practical foundation for, as Neumark pointed out, soap would have been a most valuable trading and exchange item. The directors, impressed by this view sent letters of thanks to Maynier<sup>74</sup> and Dundas<sup>75</sup> for their help.

Leaving his colleague Van der Lingen<sup>76</sup> to continue the school in Graaff Reinet, Vander Kemp was accompanied on his new venture by Read<sup>77</sup> whose name was to become synonymous with L.M.S. work among

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<sup>68</sup>Martin, Dr Vander Kemp, p.102.

<sup>69</sup>Holt, Joseph Williams, pp.18-104.

<sup>70</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 29 Jul. 1801 (two letters) (1/4/C).

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Dundas, 11 Nov. 1801 (1/4/E).

<sup>73</sup>Neumark, South African Frontier, p.62.

<sup>74</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Hardcastle to Maynier, 20 Mar. 1802 (2/1/B).

<sup>75</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Hardcastle to Dundas, 20 Mar. 1802 (2/1/B).

<sup>76</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

the Khoi. Until 1803 they remained at Fort Frederick but in that year, Janssens, on a visit to the frontier, gave instructions that a place was to be found "where the Khoi could receive instruction in the Christian faith" but which place would not "violate the property of others."<sup>78</sup> A site was selected and Janssens' adviser on local affairs, Dirk van Reenen,<sup>79</sup> reported that it was suitable for grazing eight hundred head of cattle and that it was "good land for corn."<sup>80</sup> He did not mention the erratic water supply but spoke of building dams. The soil was clay and stone and supported only scrub while wind swept constantly across the area.<sup>81</sup> With the fruitful Genadendal mission in mind, Janssens looked forward to great things, a hope shared by Vander Kemp. A name had to be found and Vander Kemp, thinking of Jacob who said "I shall make an altar to the Lord [at Bethel] who answered me in the hour of my distress and accompanied me on my journey",<sup>82</sup> proposed the name Bethelsdorp.<sup>83</sup>

Situated near Fort Frederick (for safety) the village was built about two squares, named in honour of Dundas and Janssens who had been instrumental in establishing the village. Houses and a cruciform church were built of reeds and an orchard and vegetable garden planted. By July 1803 the work was complete but in August heavy rains fell, flowing through the flimsy houses, destroying property, gardens, and high hopes.<sup>84</sup> Hopes were further dashed by the irresponsibility and dependence of the Khoi and also by their laziness, "the most prevalent evil among them."<sup>85</sup> A sad picture, in marked contrast to the busy

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<sup>78</sup>Schauder, Bethelsdorp, pp.8-11.

<sup>79</sup>List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>80</sup>Van Reenen, Journal, p.67.

<sup>81</sup>Schauder, op.cit., p.11.

<sup>82</sup>Holy Bible, Genesis XXXV, Verses 2 & 3.

<sup>83</sup>London Missionary Society Transactions, 1803, Report by James Read on Bethelsdorp.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 1804.

industrious society envisaged by Vander Kemp in his report to Dundas and indicating perhaps the need for a practical training for missionaries which Vander Kemp, a true academic and visionary, lacked.

Tenure was insecure, for it had been suggested that a more suitable situation might be found. Meanwhile flood and drought plagued the mission. Small wonder, then, that Lichtenstein,<sup>86</sup> showing remarkably little insight into the problems of an embryo settlement in the hands of ignorant farmers, should have made scathing comments on the buildings and the lands,<sup>87</sup> while he described Vander Kemp as "negligent and filthy".<sup>88</sup> This attitude was confirmed when Philip and Campbell (1819) in their retrospective report on Vander Kemp, suggested that he was "not sufficiently practical for the commonplace duties of a missionary."<sup>89</sup> They suggested, too, that Read, described by them as "a feeble successor to Vander Kemp",<sup>90</sup> was a man who, while writing glowing reports, "yet expected a crop where he had neither sown nor bestowed labour."<sup>91</sup> This contention was confirmed by Brownlee's comment on Read's claims for Kat River and Williams's statement, "The state of that Mission falls infinitely short of what you might expect by reading Mr Read's Journal."<sup>92</sup> Yet retrospective judgments of Read suggest that the later settlement at Kat River (1829) was "an important social experiment among the Khoi" and that Read was more significant than previously thought.<sup>93</sup> In fact,

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<sup>86</sup>M.H.C. Lichtenstein (1780-1857), traveller, physician and naturalist, was born in Hamburg. From 1802 to 1806 he travelled extensively in southern Africa writing copiously on a wide variety of subjects.

<sup>87</sup>Lichtenstein, Travels in South Africa, Vol. 1, pp.294-95.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Memorial of Philip and Campbell to Directors, 1819 (8/1/3), Appendix C(iv).

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Brownlee to Directors, 3 Oct. 1817 (7/3/A).

<sup>93</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.21.

conflicting views of this sort characterise (and complicate) much of the commentary on the missionaries of the L.M.S.

Vander Kemp's letters over the next few years<sup>94</sup> imply a steady growth of bitter feeling against legislation dealing both with Khoi<sup>95</sup> and slaves.<sup>96</sup> It was during this period that Vander Kemp and Read answered a summons to Cape Town to answer personally to Governor Janssens for their outspoken criticism of government attitudes to non-whites. Their stay at the Cape was prolonged until after the British occupation of 1806, of which Vander Kemp wrote a graphic description.<sup>98</sup> Baird<sup>99</sup> soon sent him back to Bethelsdorp with a letter to Colonel Cuyler in which Vander Kemp was described as "this venerable and good man" to whom every assistance should be given. Baird warned, however, of a penchant for exaggerated tales of ill-treatment of Khoi, for whom too much partiality was displayed. He suggested nevertheless that the authority and influence of the missionary could be used in establishing contact with the Khoi.<sup>100</sup> Unfortunately, Vander Kemp could not maintain a conciliatory attitude to Cuyler,<sup>101</sup> and conditions once more deteriorated.<sup>102</sup> The Khoi were required to serve in the army and also on public works under the supervision of the local Landdrost. To this Vander Kemp took great exception and

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<sup>94</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence and Journals, 1805-1808.

<sup>95</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Janssens, 19 Apr. 1805 (3/1/B).

<sup>96</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Janssens to Vander Kemp/L.M.S., 9 May 1805 (3/1/C) and 16 May 1805 (3/1/C). Vander Kemp to L.M.S., 8 Dec. 1805 (3/1/D). Vander Kemp to L.M.S., 25 Jan. 1808 (3/5/A).

<sup>97</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Janssens to Vander Kemp, 16 May 1805 (3/1/C).

<sup>98</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 13 Jan. 1806 (3/2/B).

<sup>99</sup>List of Governors, Appendix A(i).

<sup>100</sup>R.C.C. Vol. V.

<sup>101</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 20 May 1808 (3/5/A).

<sup>102</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Read to Directors, 7 Jan. 1811 (4/4/A). Vander Kemp to Directors, 4 and 8 Jan. 1811 (4/4/A).



MRS MATILDA SMITH.

OF CAPE TOWN, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

who died Nov 16 1851, aged 72.

[From the Memoir of Mrs Matilda Smith: J Philip held in the Grey Collection: South African Library]



Graaff-Reinet's first church - 1798

[From Walton: Villages and Homesteads in South Africa]

it was clear that he wanted the power to by-pass the landdrost and make direct appeal to the governor<sup>103</sup> - a position untenable for all.

George Barker<sup>104</sup> serving both at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis (1816-39) had a completely different relationship with Cuyler, as did Pacalt at Hooge Kraal.<sup>105</sup> A fighter for the rights of the Khoi, Barker nevertheless managed to establish a good working relationship with Cuyler who, in fact, gave the missionary a testimonial, with which he was delighted.<sup>106</sup> Here again is clearly illustrated the problem which existed at all levels : Barker, a practical man trying to work within the parameters of the existing order thus gaining the confidence and help of the authorities for his people, and Vander Kemp, idealistic but also unrealistic and creating, as Philip did after him,<sup>107</sup> a climate far from favourable for the man in the field.

This tension led too to the severing of bonds with friends of the society in the Cape. Mother Smith<sup>108</sup> (Mrs Matilda Smith) came to Bethelsdorp to help while the two missionaries (Read and Vander Kemp) were in Cape Town (1804-1805). According to her niece the time was happy and fruitful. She established a school to teach knitting and sewing, and soon a healthy market had been found at Fort Frederick thus enabling the children to make enough money to continue with their schooling.<sup>109</sup> At the school, which was noted for its neat, clean appearance, many students were converted and, according to Dr Philip were "ornaments to their profession and living proofs of the blessing of God on her [Mrs Smith's] zealous endeavours."<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Clinton, South African Melting Pot, pp.58-59.

<sup>104</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>105</sup>Newton King, Labour Market of the Cape Colony 1807-28, p.181 in Marks and Atmore.

<sup>106</sup>Barker Journal, 13 Dec. 1820.

<sup>107</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.81.

<sup>108</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>109</sup>Philip, Memoir, Mrs Matilda Smith (held at S.A.P.L.).

<sup>110</sup>Ibid.

Her stay was happy, but accompanied as she was by her personal (and devoted) slave, she no longer felt herself able to remain after hearing Vander Kemp's strictures on slave owners,<sup>111</sup> thus highlighting a perennial problem in Christian thinking - the difference between two convinced believers with genuinely held, but opposing, ideas.

At this time too, Vander Kemp's marriage to a seventeen-year-old, former slave<sup>112</sup> was announced. That he himself was dubious of the wisdom of this move was shown when he said, "I hope this alliance will not prove a stumbling block to my work." Read and later Wilbricht<sup>113</sup> followed his marital example, and there can be little doubt that these marriages created further tension with the Boers. Mission records contain no reference of the attitude of the directors to these marriages but it would appear that married men were preferred when selection was made in England - perhaps a tacit avoidance of the issue. Certainly the rôle of the missionary's wife was important, and social and domestic skills were invaluable to her and to her husband, living as they did in a hostile environment.<sup>114</sup>

Bethelsdorp continued to grow and by the time John Campbell arrived, the need for a second missionary institution had become obvious.<sup>115</sup> Invited to visit several sites he described his journey through "a beautiful valley between the mountains [which were] covered with Caffre gardens from whence they [the Caffres] had been driven by the military."<sup>116</sup> - a clear reference to the campaign of 1812 to clear

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<sup>111</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 25 Jan. 1808 (3/5/B).

<sup>112</sup>Clinton, South African Melting Pot, p.42.

<sup>113</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>114</sup>The diaries and letters of both Barker and Moffat show clearly the importance attached by them to a wife with housewifely and teaching skills.

<sup>115</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Campbell to Directors, 1 Apr. 1813 (5/2/B) and 7 Apr. 1813 (5/2/C).

<sup>116</sup>Campbell, Travels in South Africa (First Journey), p.100.

the Zuurveld.<sup>117</sup> In this area Campbell found deserted Boer homesteads and hospitality was provided at military posts.<sup>118</sup> A beautiful country, but Thomas Pringle, describing the rounded hills and the deep ravines made by the rivers, commented too, on the temperamental nature of the waters and on the impervious forest or jungle.<sup>119</sup> Animal life abounded for Campbell spoke of "flocks of hartbucks" and recorded seeing the holes of wolves and jackals, while signs of elephant were everywhere in the Kariega valley.<sup>120</sup>

The Indian Ocean and the low, tree-studded hills made a pleasing prospect and reminded Campbell of England<sup>121</sup> - a resemblance which probably caused George Barker to describe it as "the beautifullest country in Africa."<sup>122</sup> It was in this area that Cradock made a grant to the mission,<sup>123</sup> calling the new station Theopolis or City of God. With the development envisaged on the frontier,<sup>124</sup> Theopolis would be an important centre, providing labour and a large well-populated farming area on the road to Uitenhage. This was crucial. Many of the frontier Boers were not slave owners and the British settlers when they came in 1820 were forbidden to buy slaves. In fact the Khoi were not anxious to work for the indigent Boers who offered little or no grazing for Khoi cattle and paid meagre wages, often in kind.<sup>125</sup> At the institutions, the Khoi could keep their cattle and ply their trades. The choice was easy. Thus, before ever Theopolis came into being, a ready-made situation of tension existed.

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<sup>117</sup>Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, pp.96-97.

<sup>118</sup>See supra, Chapter I and Map of Journeys.

<sup>119</sup>Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, pp.104-5.

<sup>120</sup>Campbell, Travels in South Africa (First Journey), p.107.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p.108.

<sup>122</sup>Barker Journal, 16 Feb, 1816.

<sup>123</sup>See Map of Journeys.

<sup>124</sup>Hunt, Development of Municipal Government at the Cape, in A.Y.B., 1961, p.1.

<sup>125</sup>Marais, Cape Coloured People, p.74.

An area of 6 000 acres was granted (later to be hotly contested)<sup>126</sup> where, Philip stated,<sup>127</sup> extensive pasturage was available. In addition, there was a potential fishing industry at the mouth of the Kasouga<sup>128</sup> and burning lime from shells would enable the Khoi to carry on remunerative trades.<sup>129</sup> Gottfried Wilbricht and John Bartlett<sup>130</sup> were to take charge and were permitted to invite to Theopolis those Bethelsdorp Khoi who wished to move.<sup>131</sup> The lay worker was Verhoogd,<sup>132</sup> a former slave who was baptised<sup>133</sup> and later emancipated by Vander Kemp.<sup>134</sup> By July 1814, Read described the new station, with abundant grass, water for cattle, and game to shoot.<sup>135</sup> The spot chosen by Cradock for the village was unfortunately in a hollow, hot in summer and cold in winter and, as they were later to discover, easily flooded. The mat houses were built about a square and the gardens were on the banks of the river, and although a church had been built there were complaints from the mission about a general lack of enthusiasm. Read suggested that Wilbricht's ordination should be hastened to enable him to conduct communion services which might engender more interest in the Christian message.<sup>136</sup> The mechanic missionaries were in an anomalous position, for, while taking charge of an institution, they were not ordained, thus many functions had to

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<sup>126</sup>See infra, Chapter IX, Theopolis Land Dispute.

<sup>127</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. 1, p.255.

<sup>128</sup>See Map of Journeys.

<sup>129</sup>Philip, op.cit.

<sup>130</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>131</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1813, Bethelsdorp.

<sup>132</sup>List of Khoi Names, Appendix A(v).

<sup>133</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 5 Sep. 1809 (4/1/C).

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., 5 Nov. 1810 (4/3/B) and 8 Jan. 1811 (4/4/A).

<sup>135</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Read to Directors, 20 Jul. 1814 (5/4/A).

<sup>136</sup>Ibid.

be performed by visiting ministers. As a result of Read's report Ullbricht was ordained in October 1814, and Theopolis mission assumed a more important aspect.<sup>137</sup>

Established at a time when poor planning, ignorance of the Cape, and financial problems were plaguing missions at large, Theopolis did not have a propitious start. Legislative confusion and alleged hostility of Boer farmers added to an already gloomy scene. Yet, in spite of these problems Theopolis became, for a time, a busy centre of religious life, Khoi trade and cottage industries : in fact, it became a microcosm of western culture in a new setting. Whether the eastern frontier of the Cape be considered a turbulent frontier or one of co-operation and cultural change<sup>138</sup> Theopolis helped to shape the changes that took place.

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<sup>137</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Read to Directors, 10 Oct. 1814 (5/4/B).

<sup>138</sup> Legassick, The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography, in Marks and Atmore, pp.44-80.

## CHAPTER III

## THE PEOPLE. A BACKGROUND PICTURE OF THE KHOIKHOI

Herbert Butterfield once argued that "The men of a given generation are generally unaware of the degree to which they envisage their contemporary history within an assumed framework. They may be sublimely unconscious of the way their minds are constricted by their routine formulation of events."<sup>1</sup> It is only with hindsight that a new generation can see the limitation of the framework and even then they themselves are limited by their own framework. Before his arrival at the Cape in 1815 George Barker must have heard a great deal in London about the people among whom he was to work. On arrival at the Cape further views must have presented themselves so that the framework for his observation was thus formed. Like so many of the missionaries he probably did not realise that he was working with a crumbling society; among people who were the remnants of clans of hunters and herders who had lived in southern Africa before the arrival of other groups, and who were caught in a conflict between the black and white races who had intruded on their homeland. The picture presented to Barker then probably consisted of garbled travellers' tales and residents' observations, often coloured by the angle from which they approached the Khoi.

In order fully to understand the problem inherited from the Dutch by the British (and also by the missionaries filled with evangelical fervour) it is essential to appreciate the complexity of the situation at the Cape. The Khoi were not in any way comparable with the Xhosa. Their customary practice, their long contact with whites, and their life at the edge of the law must be seen in perspective if the magnitude of the missionary's task is to be understood.

Of all the pre-literate peoples in Africa the Khoi were the most observed, as they were easily accessible to travellers. Imaginary

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<sup>1</sup>Butterfield, Christianity and History, p.140.

pictures of Eastern potentates with elaborate retinues must have suffered a severe setback when a skin-clad Kaptein with his, apparently, rag-tag followers appeared on the beach. Travellers were disgusted by the smell of the protective layer of grease on the Khoi bodies, at the animal gut often carried round their necks, at the horrific tales of infanticide practised if a mother died or twins were born.<sup>2</sup> Their habits seemed revolting<sup>3</sup> and their speech - uncouth guttural with weird clicks.<sup>4</sup> Above all, so little was customary practise understood, they were labelled liars and thieves.<sup>5</sup>

Elphick, quoting Nienaber, pointed out that the seeming lack of religion and the uncouth sounds of the language, led to the assumption that "if there's a medium between a Rational Being and a Beast, the Hottentot lays the fairest claim to that Specimen."<sup>6</sup> To scholars this would mean the adoption of the Khoi as a link in the great chain of being. As a result the word Hottentot was a synonym for brute or boor in many Western languages.<sup>7</sup> Defined as a "person of inferior intellect or culture",<sup>8</sup> in the English dictionary, a Dutch definition is "a rough un-mannerly person."<sup>9</sup> People as various, and distinguished, as Dame Edith Sitwell, Lord Chesterfield and Lord Salisbury, used the word as the ultimate insult. Yet this objectionable label was probably derived from a chorus "Hot-an-tot" used in a Khoi song-dance.<sup>10</sup> The name by which they called themselves was, in the Cape dialect, Kwekwen, more commonly Khoi-Khoi or men-of-men.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p.194.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Nienaber, Hottentots, pp.79-84.

<sup>5</sup>Raven-Hart, Before van Riebeeck, p.140.

<sup>6</sup>Elphick, op.cit., p.195.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>O.E.D.

<sup>9</sup>Elphick, op.cit., p.196.

<sup>10</sup>Raven-Hart, op.cit., p.112.

<sup>11</sup>Kahn, Tsuni Goan, p.2.

The breakdown of these people, of their tribal system, of their land tenure and their herds, has been dismissed by De Kiewiet as undramatic and simple with "little of the tragedy which lies in the last struggles of a dying race."<sup>12</sup> Yet an anonymous British army officer, stationed at the Cape during the first British occupation (1795-1803) and who made a close study of the Khoi, spoke of their tragic loss of independence as a people and attributed it to "the powerful engines of brandy and tobacco."<sup>13</sup> Their numbers were diminished, he claimed, and their captains had lost their authority so that the people were "more dependent, more in a state of slavery than if actually slaves."<sup>14</sup> He also stated that punishment meted out to them was out of proportion to 'crimes' committed on the farms - a contention borne out to some degree by J.S. Marais.<sup>15</sup>

The Khoi, Elphick suggests,<sup>16</sup> were brown-skinned, short with peppercorn hair, while the anonymous British commentator spoke of them as handsome and noted for their gaiety and mirth.<sup>17</sup> Conversation was conducted in "corrupted Dutch" which was apparently their own language by this time (1795-1803), and the observer concluded that they had no religion, that they disliked the cruel Boers and had a higher idea of the British character and justice.<sup>18</sup> He found that they had a "powerful inclination to inactivity and repose" and marvelled at their ability to lie in total relaxation in the sun coupled with a gift for incredible speed.<sup>19</sup> As a soldier he admired their gift for "irregular,

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<sup>12</sup>De Kiewiet, A History of South Africa, p.20.

<sup>13</sup>Anonymous, Gleanings in Africa, p.228.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>J.S. Marais, Maynier and the First Boer Republic, p.73;  
Anonymous, Gleanings in Africa, p.233.

<sup>16</sup>Elphick and Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, p.4.

<sup>17</sup>Anonymous, Gleanings in Africa, pp.229-231.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp.233-37.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p.237.

halting warfare" and their uncanny skill in finding cover in open country.<sup>20</sup>

Undoubtedly a man of keen perception, he noted the "principles of industry inculcated by the Missionaries"<sup>21</sup> where mild treatment and adequate pay had apparently motivated them to hard work. In a strong attack on the Boers he suggests that non-Christian and uneducated Khoi suited them well as they (the Khoi) would be ignorant of the value of the services they rendered.<sup>22</sup> It is of interest to observe value judgements when he speaks of "virtuous" and "vicious" behaviour, applying as he does so a western moral code to people ignorant of its existence. The Lord of Mydrecht,<sup>23</sup> like the soldier, took care to establish his facts and spoke with admiration of their ability as soldiers and of the fact that "manslaughter, adultery, incest and lying were forbidden."<sup>24</sup> Unlike the soldier, he realised that a belief in a Supreme Being did exist.<sup>25</sup>

As these travellers' tales (probably often garbled), reached Britain this must then have presented the confused and confusing "assumed framework" in which the missionaries saw the Khoi. Yet it would appear that all observers made the same error. Seeing the Khoi through western eyes they interpreted their behaviour as deviations from, or conforming with, their own standards of behaviour.

The Khoi were hunters who became pastoralists and their tribal lands extended from Namibia to the Fish River in the east. Cattle were the basis of their value systems, and the leaders were those with large herds.<sup>26</sup> So great was the prestige of owning large herds that if a

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Presumably at Genadendal as he makes reference to Baviano (Baviaans ?) Kloof.

<sup>22</sup>Anonymous, Gleanings in Africa, p.242.

<sup>23</sup>List of Governors, Appendix A(i).

<sup>24</sup>Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p.198.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Wilson and Thompson, Oxford History of South Africa, I, p.55.

Khoi fell on hard times, he left his tribe, reverted to hunting and preyed on the herds of others in an endeavour to restore both his self-esteem and his political standing.<sup>27</sup> While the cattle were individually owned, the land, never divided, was traditional, communal ground over which the clan exerted a form of territorial imperative.<sup>28</sup> A plentiful supply of cattle was available to the earliest visiting ships, but the Khoi, ever-mindful of their prestige, never jeopardised their herds although the cattle were exchanged for much-coveted iron. At first neither herds nor independence were threatened, but as the power of the Dutch East India Company declined (+/- 1782) coercion by the whites increased, and the Khoi, tough bargainers that they were, were often hard-pressed when iron was in short supply.<sup>29</sup>

Their tribal organisation was as simple as their camps. The groups or patrilineal clans were controlled by a senior clansman, who was also an important cattle owner, and who presided over a group of Kapteins to administer justice.<sup>30</sup> There were no real institutions, no elaborate organisation of inheritance (as with the Xhosa)<sup>31</sup> which would have been a bulwark against white infiltration and Xhosa conquest.<sup>32</sup> The very mobility of their lifestyle did not encourage the growth of institutions; and vendettas, endemic among them,<sup>33</sup> militated against a permanent structure as did the linking of cattle ownership and leadership.<sup>34</sup>

Wilson has suggested that the Khoi thought in terms of lineages,<sup>35</sup> which contention is borne out by the form of nomenclature which is

<sup>27</sup> Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p.62.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p.64.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Elphick and Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, pp.5-6.

<sup>31</sup> Peires, House of Phalo, pp.25-44.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.23.

<sup>33</sup> MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp.27-29.

<sup>34</sup> Elphick, op.cit., p.68.

<sup>35</sup> Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., p.62.

one of the few sources of genealogical information<sup>36</sup> in a race largely extinct in pure-blooded groups.<sup>37</sup> As the system was complicated, nicknames were used to prevent endless confusion and this custom was continued when Dutch names were adopted, giving rise to names such as Ruyters Vader, Hans Broer and, at Theopolis, Thys Jager, Swartbody, Konstabel and others.<sup>38</sup> As the British officer had noted, not only names were altered, but in addition their difficult language was abandoned (Drakenstein found no white person who had mastered Khoi (1685)) for as Nienaber shows, Khoi had died out as a language in the Western Cape by the mid-1700s,<sup>39</sup> and a Dutch patois was used.<sup>40</sup> Inaccurate and biased reporting and the lack of a written tradition make it necessary to rely for information on data obtained by linguists like Bleek and Hahn and on archaeologists and anthropologists so that much material is fiercely controverted.<sup>41</sup> However, official reports and legislation provide a picture of the Khoi reaction to conquest and, together with mission records, a picture of a people emerges.

Leendert Janssen<sup>42</sup> reported amicable contact with the Khoi after the wreck of the Haarlem (1647) at the Cape, but stated that friction was caused by the ungrateful conduct of the whites - which he condemned.<sup>43</sup> Jan van Riebeeck<sup>44</sup> in 1652 was more cautious and it is possible that the ambivalent attitude of many of the people arriving at the Cape sprang from the difference between ideas based on observation, and opinion based on travellers' tales. This was the ambiguous legacy of

<sup>36</sup> Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p.208.

<sup>37</sup> MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, p.29.

<sup>38</sup> List of Khoi names, Appendix A(v).

<sup>39</sup> Nienaber, Hottentots, pp.97-98.

<sup>40</sup> Elphick, op.cit., p.6.

<sup>41</sup> Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., Vol. I, p.45.

<sup>42</sup> Leendert Janssen was on board the Haarlem when she was wrecked 1647. His diary gives a lively account of events.

<sup>43</sup> Raven Hart, Before van Riebeeck, pp.166-67, 177-78.

<sup>44</sup> List of Governors, Appendix A(i).

the Cape and there is little doubt that had Khoi opinion of the incomers been recorded it would probably have presented a picture as confusing and inconsistent. Undoubtedly Barker must have heard these tales. Also he was probably unaware of the events from the coming of Van Riebeeck to his own arrival.

Van Riebeeck's hedge, the original eastern frontier of the embryo colony, was soon penetrated by Free Burghers<sup>45</sup> seeking labour for their land grants (1657) and the Khoi seeking a market for their cattle. In spite of the introduction of slaves (1658)<sup>46</sup> Khoi were still needed as auxilliary labourers. Here lay the roots of South Africa's multi-racial society and here the seeds of future dissension were sown. Land and water rights were contested and the increasing and far-reaching demand for cattle exceeded the supply as the Freeman established their own herds at the expense of the Khoi, who in their turn were losing cattle through internecine war (which was endemic). The Khoi-Dutch War (1658-60)<sup>47</sup> caused a further loss of cattle and the Khoi (ravaged by diseases of European origin - notably dysentery)<sup>48</sup> in desperation sold more cattle. Traditional wedding or funeral killings took a further toll but a more subtle breakdown of the Khoi way of life came with the support of tribal chiefs by government in the inter-clan vendettas. The protected chiefs could not follow the customary method of increasing herds - by conquest - nor could the inland chiefs attack the coastal chiefs for fear of Dutch intervention. Dutch protection did not however extend to the peripheral fringe of hunters, whose depredations further decimated the herds. Another influence to which Peires draws attention was the power of the Xhosa chiefs who exacted tribute,<sup>50</sup> and, where the need arose, attacked their neighbours, adding to the break-up of Khoi tribes.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Elphick and Giliomee, Shaping of South African Society, p.45ff.

<sup>46</sup>Davenport, South Africa. A Modern History, p.20; Elphick and Giliomee, op.cit., pp.75-108.

<sup>47</sup>Elphick and Giliomee, op.cit., p.20.

<sup>48</sup>Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p.171.

<sup>49</sup>Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., pp. 65, 194.

<sup>50</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, p.22.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p.23.

For a variety of reasons then the Khoi clans were broken in the 17th and 18th centuries but those who were left were not assimilated into white colonial society. Many Khoi continued to live a nomadic life beyond the control of the government in Cape Town<sup>52</sup> or its officials in the districts and there they eked out a meagre existence. They had no understanding of the value of their labour, hence they could be easily exploited by white farmers in need of labour. Those who moved further east were defeated or assimilated by the Xhosa. Peires suggests<sup>53</sup> that they were a distinctly inferior group at first in the Xhosa system, but after a period of 'apprenticeship' in the tribe they were totally integrated and left an inheritance in the clicks of the Xhosa language.<sup>54</sup> The subordination of the Khoi then was structural, in the break-up of their tribal system, but it was also cultural as they adopted, superficially at any rate, both the language and the customs of the Xhosa or of the Dutch.

As a labour force the reception of the Khoi by the Dutch was mixed. The Van Riebeeck Journal records (in 1653) that the Khoi despised the Dutch and labelled them effeminate as they "go into the field with a piece of iron to dig onions."<sup>55</sup> However, Adam Tas<sup>56</sup> reported harvesting, harrowing, pruning, pressing grapes, as well as ox wagon haulage.<sup>57</sup> The Dutch cattle farmers, lawlessly independent,<sup>58</sup> moved steadily east constantly shaping and reshaping frontiers over which the Company exerted very little control. To them the Khoi were useful - as herdsmen - for the farmers did not wish to be burdened with a dependent group of slaves, and the Khoi were knowledgeable with cattle.

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<sup>52</sup> Elphick, op.cit., p.35.

<sup>53</sup> Peires, op.cit., pp.22-25.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Van Riebeeck Journal, May 1653.

<sup>56</sup> Adam Tas (1668-1722). From 1697 he was a Free Burgher who led the movement of complaint against Willem Adriaan Van Der Stel's use of monopolistic trading. His diary has provided valuable information both political and agricultural.

<sup>57</sup> Adam Tas Diary (ed. Leo Fouche). Examples, pp. 129, 131, 189.

<sup>58</sup> Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., pp.208-213.

This, then, was initially the background of the people with whom Barker had to work, but their customs, their pride in ownership of cattle, their free-ranging life, were possibly not clear to him. Added to this was the fact that willy-nilly they had become part of a community governed by a legal system which added a further dimension to the complexity of the situation faced by the missionaries.

In the eyes of the law the position of the Khoi was anomalous. The Company, in setting up a refreshment station,<sup>59</sup> did not wish to become involved with the local inhabitants. In theory they were regarded as foreigners, who supplied meat; and the labour problem was solved by slaves. Thus, technically, the Khoi were 'free' and the Company hoped that intercourse would be avoided, to which end they issued sixteen placataen (1658-80) forbidding trade; but these were systematically disregarded.<sup>60</sup> In practice, this was the only feasible solution as the whole supply of meat depended on barter and, if need be, theft,<sup>61</sup> and the welfare and existence of the Cape depended on meat! But the 'free' Khoi remained a problem.

The Company itself, despite its own laws, used the Khoi as a labour force,<sup>62</sup> and in this way indigenous people and settlers integrated, a circumstance emphasised by the fact that the Free Burghers' farms and the traditional grazing lands of the Khoi were contiguous. Then, too, the Free Burghers thought the Khoi were better herdsmen than the slaves.<sup>63</sup> Thus segregation failed before it started. The decimation of the tribes, the Company's blind economic policy and the uncontrolled expansion of the frontier all added to the impetus towards integration. Protection of Khoi rights was difficult for the governors.<sup>64</sup> Policing was totally inadequate as the population was

<sup>59</sup>Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., pp.187-89.

<sup>60</sup>Walker, History of South Africa, pp.47-48.

<sup>61</sup>Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., p.64.

<sup>62</sup>Leibbrandt, Precis of Cape Archives 1652-1662, Vol.1, p.380.

<sup>63</sup>Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., p.209.

<sup>64</sup>Letter from Van Plettenberg to Landdrost at Stellenbosch, 31 Jan. 1772, in Moodie, The Record, p.18.

so mobile and the officials so ignorant of the terrain that no rule of law could be enforced. All these Khoi then were part of the social and legal system in spite of the Company.

Four groups of Khoi could be clearly identified by the time the British arrived at the Cape. A small number still maintained a modified form of clan life in the colony and under a kaptein who, if recognised by the Company, received a copper-headed staff of office.<sup>65</sup> Some of these men made government recognition a reality if they lived near enough to the seat of power and if they understood the law. One, Wildschut, had his kraal and well-developed lands claimed by a settler in the Stellenbosch area in 1772. Appeal to the landdrost resulted in the restoration of his lands.<sup>66</sup> The second group of Khoi were the detribalised farm labourers, representing a normal development in a mixed community and were in the majority, but no definition of status was registered and references make it clear that their position was extremely insecure.<sup>67</sup> They were paid in kind, often stock, and if they wished to move, their stock was withheld or, failing stock, the labourer's wife. Under such pressure they were forced to remain. Appeal to landdrosts might lead to the farmer being forced to pay the workers and release them, but apparently no punishment was meted out to the farmer for interference with the freedom and property of supposedly free people.<sup>68</sup> There appears to have been no contractual basis in the relationship, probably because there was no one to administer the laws had they existed; with the consequence that evidence concerning employment is difficult to find. It should be stated that the absence of material might suggest that such cases were by no means universal. Cory stated<sup>69</sup> that no doubt the unstable Khoi had added problems to the lives of often poverty-stricken and seldom secure, farmers.

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<sup>65</sup>Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., p.67.

<sup>66</sup>Moodie, Records of Landdrosts of Swellendam 1772, pp.14-28.

<sup>67</sup>Marais, Cape Coloured People, p.8.

<sup>68</sup>Moodie, Records of Landdrosts of Swellendam 1771, pp. 8, 42.

<sup>69</sup>Cory, The Rise of South Africa, i, p.198.

One law, demanded by farmers and accepted by the Company, concerned children born on farms and reared there until they were eighteen months old if they were the progeny of Khoi and slaves. The law of 1775 granted permission to the farmers to keep such children until their twenty-fifth birthday.<sup>70</sup> As there was no registration of births and no officials to check, the twenty-fifth birthday became a very flexible date.

These two groups - the clans and the farm labourers - were accorded grudging official recognition. A third group, granted merely half-recognition, were those who moved beyond the shifting northern boundary. Mixed with run-away slaves, Korannas and refugee whites, they formed the tribe later called Griquas or Bastards,<sup>71</sup> and led a roving and often plundering existence. If they were caught raiding they were regarded as vagrants<sup>72</sup> and were handed over to farmers who were suffering from an acute labour shortage.<sup>73</sup> The same uncontrolled position applied to these Khoi as to those of mixed birth indentured to the farmers from birth; for, in spite of official platitudes<sup>74</sup> no real limit was set to the period of their stay and they may well have been regarded as slaves. The fourth group were those of mixed parentage who had no defined position or rights.

The Company's attitude to all these groups was ambivalent. Nominal protection for some, an apathetic attitude to others, and a masterly ignoring of those who presented a major problem. Such a system would have endangered the rule of law even if the integrity and justice of the majority could be guaranteed. In a community where there was contempt for aboriginal races, where all men regarded themselves as

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<sup>70</sup> Elphick and Giliomee, *op.cit.*, p.29.

<sup>71</sup> MacMillan, *Cape Colour Question*, pp.27-28; Wilson and Thompson, *op.cit.*, pp.68-70.

<sup>72</sup> Moodie, *Record of Landdrosts of Swellendam*, p.10; MacMillan, *op.cit.*, p.35.

<sup>73</sup> Newton King, *Labour Market of the Cape Colony 1807-1828* (pp.171-20 in Marks and Atmore); Marais, *op.cit.*, pp.83-100.

<sup>74</sup> Moodie, *op.cit.*, pp.14-28.

their own masters and where the attitude of employers made cheap labour a sine qua non it would be foolish to expect an absence of abuses. They were the natural outcome of inefficient government so that the British and the missionaries arrived to a situation both confused and confusing and, as shown in the Khoi/Xhosa uprising of 1799, potentially explosive.

For half a century before the conquest of the colony by the British (and the first British occupation) the problem of defining legal status of Khoi had escalated and with action postponed, created a complex legacy for the future. Sporadic uprisings, like the one on the farm of Adrian Louw (1772)<sup>75</sup> were pointers to a new direction in Khoi thinking which culminated in the violence of 1799.<sup>76</sup> Dundas, recognising the potential for trouble, took action and ordered registration of Khoi (1800),<sup>77</sup> not realising how little would be achieved in the huge districts with farmer-orientated field-cornets. Before this law was fully operative the Batavian authorities took over (1803-1806). Janssens, showing an immediate appreciation of the situation, insisted that the Khoi were victims of ill-usage, inadequate payment, insecurity of property, and unfair detention. Khoi settlers had to prove means of sustenance while contracts had to be registered to make them valid in law.<sup>78</sup> Yet neither did more than scratch the surface of the problem. The missionary was ill-equipped to handle the situation thus created. The new British government had to make the colony pay its way; and, as Newton King shows clearly, this greatly influenced its thinking on all subjects.<sup>79</sup> The British, with assumption of permanent government, took steps to reorganise the whole legal standing of numerous 'unfree' workers who did not come under the new British dispensation for slaves. Approval was given by Castlereagh<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Moodie, The Record, p.14.

<sup>76</sup>Marais, Maynier and the First Boer Republic, p.107.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p.118.

<sup>78</sup>Wilson and Thompson, op.cit., p.228.

<sup>79</sup>Newton King, op.cit., p.172.

<sup>80</sup>Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount Marquess of Londonderry 1769-1822. Educated in England, he took his seat in the Irish Parliament in 1790 and was Chief Secretary by 1798 and an active

for the education of the Khoi in the principles and duties of Christianity, but he added a rider, pointing out that, in order to succeed, the governor would have to convince the whites of the colony that "ignorance and barbarism" were not essential to subordination.<sup>81</sup>

The whole question of a free labour market at the Cape is complicated by the lack of documentation regarding the Khoi involvement in agitation. At Theopolis, as at other L.M.S. stations, the evolution of a reasonably articulate and independent group of Khoi might well have influenced government thinking far more than has been formerly credited. Many of the men at Theopolis not only owned property and plied trades, but had been N.C.O.'s in the Cape Regiment.<sup>82</sup> They were thus in a position to understand the implications of legislation. Implicit in Newton King's essay on the labour problem<sup>83</sup> is criticism of government intervention in the labour market by any legislation. In theory, from the economic view of a free market, such criticism is justified and morally on the grounds of Christian principle no defence can be made. But what has to be considered is that the majority of the Khoi needed the training and education offered at Theopolis in order to offer labour in an increasingly competitive and keen market and on an equal footing with their white counterparts. Until this was so, the legislation was needed to help their evolution and to educate their employers to a less regimented and limited view of the black worker. For this argument both economic and moral justification can be found for government regulation of labour. What should not be ignored is that in evolution and education the need for the legislation (if it was effective in its purpose) would have fallen away. It was this legislation that the missionaries had to interpret to the Khoi who must, over the years of Dutch rule, have developed an attitude to authority so ineptly administered.

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supporter of Union with England. By 1812 he was Foreign Secretary in Liverpool's cabinet. He was a harsh and unpopular ruler but a brilliant diplomat.

<sup>81</sup>Quoted in Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, p.230.

<sup>82</sup>List of Khoi Names, Appendix A(v), and protest by Khoi in Cole's Dispatch of 1831 (CO 48/144).

<sup>83</sup>Newton King, op.cit., pp.170-200.

Khoi legislation under the British started with the Proclamation of 1809.<sup>84</sup> The preamble is instructive as it made quite clear that earlier laws regarding the Khoi were ineffective; the desire to limit vagrancy (which in itself militated against white sympathy) and the fact that the labour force should be used more effectively. To these ends contracts were registered in triplicate with the landdrost or field cornet, and in cases where problems arose, recourse was either to landdrost and heemraden or to the Council of Justice in Cape Town. A farmer found guilty of breaking the law was punished as befitted the offence, while a Khoi was to "suffer correction as the nature of the case shall require" if he laid a false complaint. The law would come into operation if there was ill-treatment of a serious nature. It was this legislation which introduced the Pass System. A Khoi going about the country had to be provided with a pass from his employer or from the missionary at the station where he resided.<sup>85</sup> A pass was required from the field cornet if he wished to move about the district and from the landdrost if he wished to move to another district.<sup>85</sup> Administratively it caused many problems both for Khoi and for those issuing passes<sup>87</sup> while, as Dr Philip pointed out, it left no freedom of movement and was obviously designed to force Khoi labour on to farms or, as Bigge suggested (1830) the Khoi were in the power of every inhabitant of the colony.<sup>88</sup>

The weakness of the legislation was that it left all Khoi still at the mercy of an unscrupulous master. Provision for protection was made on 16 May 1811 in a second Proclamation<sup>89</sup> whereby a Circuit Court would

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<sup>84</sup>R.C.C. Vol. VII, p.211, Proclamation of 1809.

<sup>85</sup>Barker Journal, 6 and 7 Oct. 1816.

<sup>86</sup>R.C.C. Vol. VII, p.211. The landdrost was the chief administrative and revenue officer of a district and president of the Court of Heemraden. He was a salaried official. The heemraden (six in each district) were unsalaried and were chosen from among the most respected citizens. The field cornet represented the landdrost in the wards and when called upon, would call out the commandos.

<sup>87</sup>See infra, Chapter VI; and Marais, Cape Coloured People, n.116.

<sup>88</sup>P.P. 1830 XXI, 584. Bigge and Colebrooke Report on Khoi, p.17.

<sup>89</sup>Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, p.232.

tour the districts. The first circuit reported (1811)<sup>90</sup> on the restriction of movement and the work done by and through the missionary institutions - their comments on Bethelsdorp were not favourable. They also observed that the administration of justice, away from the land-drost's eye was most imperfect.<sup>91</sup>

Sir John Craddock who took over from Caledon in 1811 issued a further proclamation in 1812. Lists of Khoi were to be submitted with oppaaf returns and births and deaths registered. In addition, children maintained by a farmer until their eighth year could be apprenticed to the farmer for ten years, provided that he was a suitable person.<sup>92</sup> The decision regarding "suitability" must have rested in the hands of a field cornet and was obviously open to abuse. In July 1819 Lord Charles Somerset completed the legislative process by arranging for the apprenticeship of orphans, reiterating the pass laws and re-emphasising contractual labour.<sup>93</sup>

Bearing in mind the judge's circuit of 1811, the missionaries at Bethelsdorp made a lengthy list of abuses of the system, upon which the British government ordered an enquiry. The colonial government had anticipated them and already the later notorious "Black Circuit" was under way (1812). "Seventeen Boers were severally charged with murder and fifteen with violence. Of the charges of murder, three were referred to the High Court and two were postponed. One man was found guilty of assault and the rest were acquitted. Of the charges of violence seven were found guilty, the cases of two were held over for lack of evidence and there were six acquittals."<sup>94</sup> The atmosphere generated was not at all what the legislators anticipated. They had obviously wanted justice to be seen to be done. Instead, ill-feeling against the London Missionary Society built up and it is a reflection perhaps of Barker's ability to make friends that in spite of arriving

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<sup>90</sup> R.C.C., Vol. VIII, p.288, Report 28 Feb. 1812.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. II, Appendix III, p.378.

<sup>93</sup> Eybers, Documents in South African History, p.12.

<sup>94</sup> Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, pp.233-34.

to such tense relations, he nevertheless recorded cordial contact with Boers. Implicit in entries his journal is a further commentary on the effect of the legislation. In the early days (1816-1818) considerable tension existed with regard to cases of ill-usage. This decreased markedly in later years.<sup>95</sup>

However, the legislation produced predictable reactions. The farmers now had a legal claim on the labour they coveted. The Khoi realised that they must hire themselves or be hired.<sup>96</sup> This implied a loss of personal freedom, and persecution was inevitable because of the lack of a police force. Pay for the Khoi was poor and there was insecurity of moveable property and, to a large degree, difficulty in obtaining justice. The philanthropists considered that the provisions of the law were a betrayal of the liberty of a free people; that it was, in fact, oppression. One aspect of considerable interest in the context of missionary enterprise was the silence of the Khoi during this period, and their very vocal protest at Theopolis in 1830 against the proposed vagrancy law<sup>97</sup> and their articulate and violent revolt in 1851.<sup>98</sup>

In fairness to the British, they inherited one and a half centuries of exploitation and with one or two notable exceptions,<sup>99</sup> inefficient administration in matters concerning the Khoi. There were bound to be repercussions. The situation was further complicated by the abolition of the slave trade which enhanced the value of the Khoi labour force. The Khoi were in fact a group to be reckoned with, for at Theopolis alone the protest against the proposed vagrancy act (1830) was initiated by 104 people, all ex-members of the Cape Corps<sup>100</sup> and

<sup>95</sup>Barker Journal, 1815-1819. Cases of ill treatment were numerous. In 1820-1828 very few are mentioned.

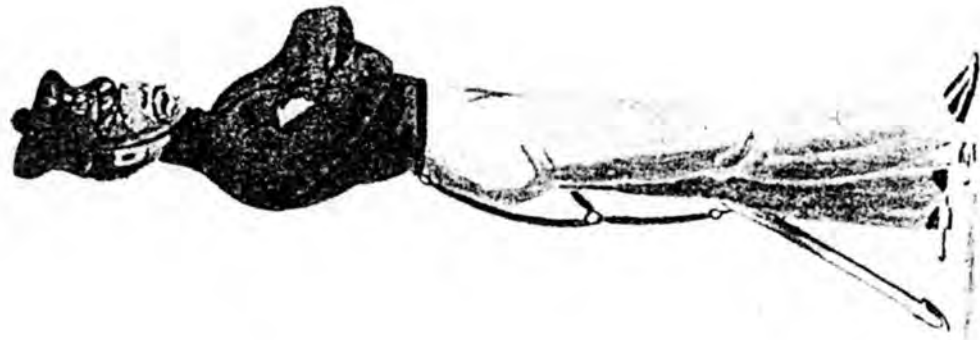
<sup>96</sup>Harais, Cape Coloured People, pp.121-131.

<sup>97</sup>Theopolis Lands Dispute. Cole's Report 1831. (C.O. 48/144, p.215.)

<sup>98</sup>See infra, Chapter X.

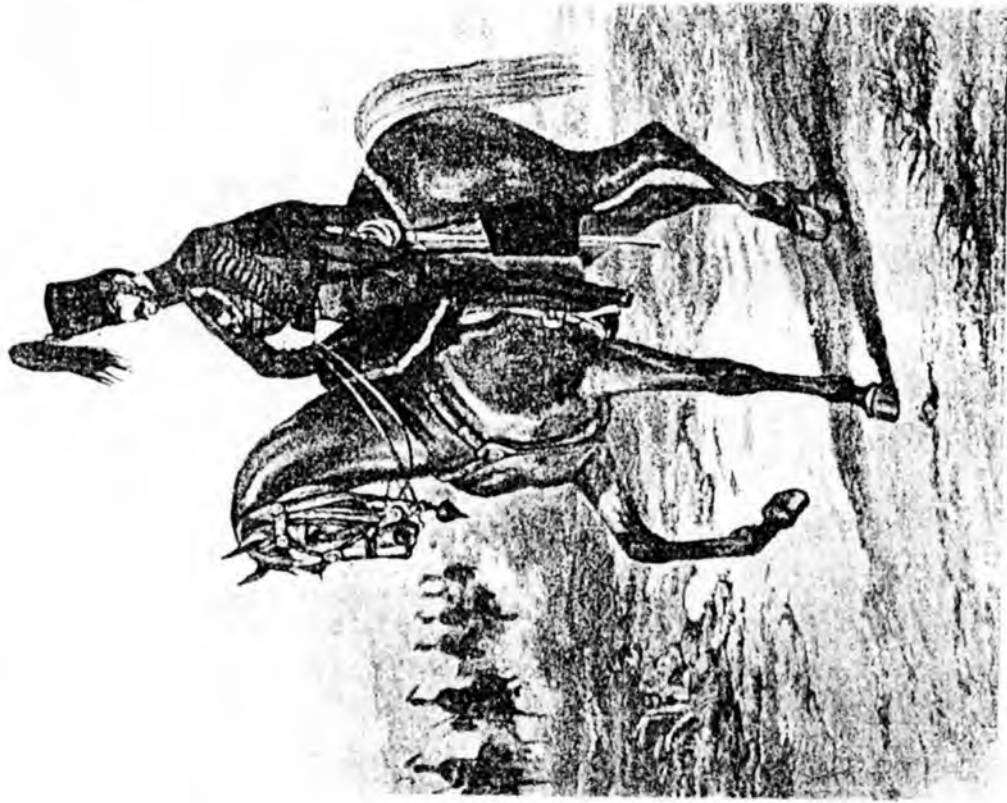
<sup>99</sup>Maynier and Stockenstrom at Graaff-Reinet.

<sup>100</sup>List of Khoi Names, Appendix A(v).



Uniform of the Cape Corps. Original watercolour, c. 1850, attributed to J. Walker. In the African Museum.

(from Tylden A.N.N. 7(2)1950)



Print. Cape Mounted Rifles' (Uniform of the British Army Painted by Henry Martens. Aquatinted J. Harris No. XXXVIII)

Published Ackermann, London, 2 May 1853.  
(Exact size of original)

it should be borne in mind that by that date the Theopolis population was much reduced as many of their most independent men had moved to Kat River in 1829. In fact not enough cognisance is taken of the fact that many of the Khoi had served under the Dutch and subsequently under the British in the militia groups founded in 1793. The Pandours (1793-96)<sup>101</sup> and the Hottentot Light Infantry (1803-06)<sup>102</sup> were the first units of Khoi mercenaries officered by white men in southern Africa. This example, set by the Dutch, was followed by the British who created successively the Cape Regiment (1806-07),<sup>103</sup> the Cape Corps, Cavalry and Infantry (1817-27)<sup>104</sup> and the Cape Mounted Riflemen (1827-70).<sup>105</sup> These regiments were led by white men, many of whom gave distinguished service to the Cape but some of whom joined solely because Africa offered the possibility of hunting adventure.<sup>106</sup>

What has to be clearly remembered is that the Khoi N.C.O.'s were men who had achieved this rank in a British army and were expected to conform to the high standards of discipline and efficiency imposed by the best officers. These men then had had years of experience of the rigours of frontier life in the army and it was to them that Sir Harry Smith<sup>107</sup> awarded a special medal for gallantry<sup>108</sup> - an award which must have been deserved for Sir Harry had a detestation of easily-won medals,

<sup>101</sup> Theal, History of South Africa before 1795, Vol. III, p.234.

<sup>102</sup> Theal, History of South Africa after 1795, Vol. I, p.106.

<sup>103</sup> ibid., p.149.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p.267.

<sup>105</sup> Tylden in A.N.N. Vol. VII, No.2, March 1950, pp.37-59. Colonel John Graham and Colonel Henry Somerset were among these men, as were J. Cuyler, A. Stockenstrom and Van Ryneveld. (See Lists of Military and Officials in Appendix A(ii) and (iv).)

<sup>106</sup> A. Gordon Brown (ed.), The Diary of Private Buck Adams, p.577 sqq. in which Adams relates the story of a young officer motivated entirely by love of sport [Roualeyn Gordon Cumming 1820-1866. D.S.A.B., II, 151].

<sup>107</sup> See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>108</sup> Tylden, The Cape Coloured Regular Regiments 1793 to 1870, in A.N.N. Vol. VII. No.2, March 1950, p.38.

saying indeed, "Every ass in India is covered with medals."<sup>109</sup> While of the Khoi he said, "No nation in the world, with the exception of the inhabitants of the South of France have such a natural turn to become soldiers."<sup>110</sup> Wonderful horsemen and horse-breakers, they were also extremely good shots and did sterling service in the various wars. These were the men, good and bad, who went to Theopolis and it is small wonder that after gaining the experience of the army that the constraints of institution life sometimes bore heavily upon them. These were men who had acquired knowledge of and some insight into the way of the military elite, hence they were able to take their place within a western-orientated community. Too little has been said of their ability.

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<sup>109</sup>Hutton (ed.), Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith, Vol. II, p.396.

<sup>110</sup>Quoted by Tylden, op.cit., p.39.

## CHAPTER IV

## ICH DIEA : THE MISSIONARIES WHO SERVED AT THEOPOLIS

In considering the men who became missionaries and, more specifically, those who served Theopolis mission, it is necessary to take cognisance of methods of training and recruitment in principle; to compare these with the methods employed, and then, using contemporary comment and letters, to attempt an assessment of the men. In spite of the fact that Theopolis ceased to operate as an L.M.S. centre in 1851, and in spite of a strong contemporary press campaign against missionaries<sup>1</sup> in general, they appear to have achieved far more, through the Grace of God, than their meagre training, and (in some cases) rather inadequate personalities would have suggested.

"The effective utilisation of people in organised human effort has always been a pressing problem. The Pharaoh building a pyramid faced problems fundamentally the same as any director or board in any organisation."<sup>2</sup> All managers must decide how to organise and allocate workers; how to recruit, train and manage the workers; how to create working conditions which will maintain high, effective and sufficient morale to remain effective; how to enable the workers to adjust to a changed environment, and how to cope with external influences. Above all, in the running of the organisation there should be a definite goal; but Schein<sup>3</sup> has suggested that a goal can only be reached if there is good co-ordination and considerable mutual help. Each worker in a smaller unit must have work and goal clearly defined within the framework for which his talents and training have equipped him.

Arguments about authority will always rise unless it is clearly understood who the authority is and what rôle individuals play in the total system. The responsibility of the ruling body is great. Jobs

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<sup>1</sup>Grahamstown Journal, 1832-1835. Numerous letters illustrate.

<sup>2</sup>Schein, Organizational Psychology, p.1.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p.18 ff.

must be adapted or created to suit the recruits, and pay and rights clearly defined, as security is vital, particularly to a man in a strange environment and who has a family to consider. To add to this security one authority should be designated to whom a worker can turn for support and advice. The training of a man is crucial. He should be given the knowledge, skills and attitudes to enable him to orientate himself to his new task and the needs of the work situation should be identified and then designed to fit the different workers. Ultimately the training must be evaluated. Beyond training, and if the training is successful, he will take pride in his work and in membership of the organisation of which he is part, but will probably feel, too, the need of support and help from his peers. A man who is competent and esteemed for his competence will work well - a sense of achievement and a measure of praise will "revitalise both his thinking and his enthusiasm."<sup>4</sup>

Setting these principles against the training, organisation and administration of the L.M.S. will show how far the measure of success achieved can be attributed to the Society or to the men.

The motivation of the men initially was excellent, for their goal was to convert the heathen to the Christian faith - a motivation defined by Barker when he said "We are the servants of the heathen for Christ's sake."<sup>5</sup> But this motivation was not enough to enable the men to overcome their problems in the field. The L.M.S. directors had no idea of the task facing their men - their geography was not even very secure for a suggestion was made that Mauritius and Bethelsdorp be run together.<sup>6</sup> At their initial meeting the directors of the newly established London Missionary Society drew up "Rules for the Examination of Missionaries",<sup>7</sup> finally minuted on 28 September 1795. In preparation for their task the directors required "that [candidates] should be in

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<sup>4</sup>M.D. Dunnette and W.K. Kirchner, Psychology applied to Industry, p.134.

<sup>5</sup>Barker Journal, 4 Feb. 1815.

<sup>6</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1802.

<sup>7</sup>See L.M.S. Rules for the Examination of Missionaries, Appendix C(i).

possession of the grace of God and have a true sense of vocation." - obviously of prime importance - but this was followed by a vague statement regarding "a competent measure of that kind of knowledge which the mission requires"<sup>8</sup> and that the recruits should be "godly men who understood the mechanic arts."<sup>9</sup> They went on to explain that every man should be made aware of the hazards of his calling and be willing "through divine help to encounter them." This last clause was vital for little help would be forthcoming from the directors, nor did they have any idea of the hazards which faced the men.

A desire to serve the mission had to be expressed in writing by the candidate, and a letter or certificate regarding his Christian life was to be sent by the congregation of which he was a member.<sup>10</sup>

Approval by the committee had to be unanimous. This was sometimes a lengthy process. In the case of Joseph Williams it took eight years of letters of application before he won unanimous approval. During this time nothing was done to improve his qualifications. Once he was chosen the committee undertook to do all they could to prepare him for the tasks ahead, but as the time was only three months, little could be done.<sup>11</sup> No mention was made of payments; of pensions; of widows and orphans; of action in the case of illness. In brief, there was no basic security and it is significant that all these points were subsequently subjects of controversy.

At first job assessment was made by the London directors who were in no position to give real direction to missionaries prior to their departure from the United Kingdom. Hence missionaries arrived at their destinations ill-equipped to tackle the new environment and the effectiveness of their mission was severely hampered.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>While the letters of the candidates are not available in the L.M.S. records, the letters of recommendation and the Minutes are there, e.g. Kitchingman, 2 Dec. 1815; (letter) Barker; Minutes July 1814; also J.S. Moffat quoted in Holt, Greatheart of the Border, pp.19-27. These are only available in the Archives in London.

<sup>11</sup>L.M.S. Minutes of Committee of Examiners, 1806-1814.

The first expedition (sent to Tahiti in 1797) had been a total disaster for the L.M.S.<sup>12</sup> with the result that a special committee was set up in 1800 to reconsider the qualifications and training needed.<sup>13</sup>

A very different atmosphere prevailed for remarks were made concerning the needs of different missions and the fact that a wide spectrum of talents might be required at one institution. The conclusion was reached that if the Society were to continue "to act upon an extensive scale"<sup>14</sup> then academical (sic) instruction would have to be limited as they were "incompetent as to funds."<sup>15</sup> No consideration appears to have been given to a limitation of the field of endeavour to coincide with training needs and limited funds.

The new rules made provision for one year of training during which the character and stability of candidates would be proved and their minds "enlarged" by appropriate instruction,<sup>16</sup> but the year might be waived if the applicant's qualifications were deemed adequate. Agriculture was included in the curriculum and simple mechanical techniques would be taught. The mechanic missionaries were regarded as "unqualified for the higher branches of missionary endeavour" and therefore they were not ordained.<sup>17</sup> This last decision was one which impinged sharply on the early days of Theopolis as Ullbricht realised the full implications of his predicament in running a mission but unable to function as a minister.<sup>18</sup>

As the mechanics were regarded as men of "limited talents" little "intellectual improvement" could be brought about and thus their training could be curtailed. A few men of superior talent would be

<sup>12</sup> Moorhouse, The Missionaries, p.40 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Report of Special Committee of the L.M.S., 5 May 1800.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Transactions of the L.M.S. 1814, p.181.

needed to preside over the inferior brethren<sup>19</sup> and their training would be more substantial. Scripture was felt to be crucial and this might account for George Barker's ease in dealing with scriptural questions and his apposite scriptural preaching.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the candidates for mission work were to be patient and submissive, persevering and hard-working. As an example of academic pedantry, intellectual arrogance and total impracticality, the finding of this committee would be hard to beat but it was the first step towards itemisation of training needs and as such, highly significant,<sup>21</sup> for it represented an advance on the original "Rules for the Examination of Missionaries."

A missionary seminary was set up at Gosport at the chapel where the Rev. Dr David Bogue was minister and where he trained Independent Church students.<sup>22</sup> The full three-year course prescribed for ministers included Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Antiquities and Pastoral Office,<sup>23</sup> but it becomes clear that those who had received little or no previous education were not expected to do such a course. The case of Joseph Williams<sup>24</sup> illustrates this for he arrived at Gosport in August 1814 and sailed for Africa in March 1815.<sup>25</sup> Moffat's<sup>26</sup> lecture notes, preserved by the L.M.S. offices,<sup>27</sup> indicate some of the subjects handled, apparently in ONE lecture each on such practical topics as: Office and qualifications of a Missionary; On Setting up Schools; On Studies of a Missionary; Behaviour of Missionaries to each other (a much needed lecture) and Conduct and Doctrine of Missionaries

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<sup>19</sup>This view was shared by the Methodists. cf. Williams, The Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony 1799-1853, (unpublished thesis), p.36.

<sup>20</sup>See Chapter VII on Religion and Religious Contacts.

<sup>21</sup>Report of a Special Committee of the L.M.S., May 1800.

<sup>22</sup>Holt, Joseph Williams, p.7.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Barker Journal, 2 Mar. 1815.

<sup>26</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>27</sup>Holt, op.cit., p.8.

concerning Civil Government. Practical skills such as the making of soap, candles, tiles, bricks and shoes were added.<sup>28</sup> It would appear, however, that most of these lectures were delivered by Dr Bogue whose learning could hardly have encompassed all these topics and whose knowledge of African conditions must have been minimal. On paper, however, and measured against the cited criteria for training they appear to be just adequate but the experience of the lecturer is questionable and the quality of the lectures cannot be assessed.

By comparison both the Glasgow and the Wesleyan societies had far more enlightened programmes, benefitting no doubt from the earlier experience of other societies, while the Church Missionary Society dispatched J. Lewis Krapf<sup>29</sup> to pioneer the missionary road in Africa<sup>30</sup> as a result of which much valuable information was gathered before the missionaries were sent. Carey, missionary in India, gave guidelines<sup>31</sup> which, intelligently followed, would have benefitted all missions. He suggested possible dietary problems, language barriers,<sup>32</sup> and the absence of comforts in an alien climate. Two married men, he felt, should support each other (a contention borne out by Kicherer)<sup>33</sup> at each station and that suitable clothing, knives, powder, shot, fishing tackle and agricultural implements should be provided. The letters sent by Barker and others indicate clearly that this was not done.<sup>34</sup>

Assessment of a prospective missionary's ability to tackle the job was not easy, for reactions and questions in London might not be germane

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<sup>28</sup>Minutes of Committee of Examination of L.M.S., Aug. 1814. It appears that the Moffat notes are no longer available. The Archivist at S.A.O.S. in London made exhaustive enquiries from the L.M.S. (now known as the Council for World Mission) and found no trace.

<sup>29</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>30</sup>Moorehouse, The Missionaries, pp.48-61.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp.37-40.

<sup>32</sup>Courses in Dutch would have been invaluable to missionaries among the Khoi.

<sup>33</sup>Zak River Report, Transactions of L.M.S. Vol. II, 1802-04, pp.170-175.

<sup>34</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 4 Oct. 1809 (1/4/D); Albrecht to Directors, 27 May 1806 (3/2/D).

to the African situation; nor would the candidates have been through a period of isolated and difficult living under stressful conditions. Men of widely varying talent and training were sent to missions with inadequate training and with limited and unsuitable equipment for home and farm. Some, like Moffat, Brownlee and Livingstone,<sup>35</sup> were unusual and outstanding personalities but the others, the ordinary men, often managed better than might have been expected, as missionaries.

A facility with words, a flair for publicity, a fancy-catching enterprise, a forceful manner made a great man known. The "middling class missionaries"<sup>36</sup> who, often unsung, were the pioneers of mission work, laboured under hard conditions of great financial stringency. It was only with the great revival meetings at Exeter Hall in June 1840<sup>37</sup> that funds flowed and recruits followed. The path had been pioneered by a mixed bunch (of whom the Theopolis men were a good cross-section) and the future was made easier (though never easy) for their more knowledgeable, better equipped, and more highly qualified successors.

Five men, Gottfried Ullbricht, George Barker, Christopher Sass,<sup>38</sup> R.B. Taylor<sup>39</sup> and N.H. Smit<sup>40</sup> controlled the destiny of Theopolis Mission from 1814-1851 and in them is clearly shown the inadequacy of their training, the weak organisation and the appalling financial policy of L.M.S. directors. Yet four of these men overcame the problems imposed by physical, mental or policy handicaps and within their own capacity achieved much for the work of the Lord whom they served so faithfully.

Gottfried Ullbricht ( ? - 1821) was described by Sales as "a quiet

<sup>35</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>36</sup>C.P. Williams, Middling Class Missionaries, p.301 in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 1, July 1980, pp.301-305.

<sup>37</sup>MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp.55-62.

<sup>38</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

reserved man."<sup>41</sup> His contemporary tells us that he was a sick man unable to cope with the heavy pressure of work, especially when alone.<sup>42</sup> A German, he trained in Rotterdam at the Dutch Seminary,<sup>43</sup> but was probably a blacksmith or wheelwright by trade. He was sent out as a mechanic missionary which implies that he lacked pastoral training, hence the note of surprise in Barker's comments on his preaching: "more to the purpose"<sup>44</sup> than previously, and that he spoke on the Bible Society "with more than usual fervour."<sup>45</sup> He was probably intended as an artisan missionary to train the journeymen envisaged by Vander Kemp,<sup>46</sup> but circumstances forced him to take charge at Theopolis and the Conference of Missionaries at Graaff Reinet (1814) decided on his ordination.<sup>47</sup> His mechanical skill must have been considerable as he built a water wheel at Bethelsdorp when the tools he requested from Britain were sent.<sup>48</sup> At Theopolis he built a mill driven by a water wheel which in turn was fed by a dam,<sup>49</sup> and it was he who erected "with great labour, a fortification, composed of strong palisades, eight or nine feet in height and capable of containing the whole population with their cattle."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p.66.

<sup>42</sup>Transactions of the London Missionary Society 1802-1804, p.181.

<sup>43</sup>Letter from Ullbricht in Transactions of the London Missionary Society 1802-1804, p.171.

<sup>44</sup>Barker Journal (note after 1 Jan. 1817).

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 6 Mar. 1818 (note after 7 Feb. 1818).

<sup>46</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Dundas, 11 Nov. 1801 (1/4/E).

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., Read to Directors, 10 Oct. 1814 (5/4/B).

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., Ullbricht to Directors, 8 Jan. 1810 (4/2/A).

<sup>49</sup>Barker Journal, 1817 (in note).

<sup>50</sup>Campbell, Travels in South Africa (Second Journey), p.378; Diagram/Sketch, Theopolis Mission 1818, Appendix D.

Ullbricht's arrival at Bethelsdorp on 3 March 1805<sup>51</sup> was hardly auspicious as almost immediately Vander Kemp and Read left for Cape Town in response to a request by the Governor<sup>52</sup> and Ullbricht was left in charge. It is a reflection, possibly on his character, that Mrs Smith, who helped out during this period,<sup>53</sup> merely records his presence. His marriage to a Khoi woman, Elizabeth Windvogel took place on 18 September 1807,<sup>54</sup> and like so much else about Ullbricht, little further information is available. A son, Jacobus,<sup>55</sup> was born in 1812 and a daughter in 1817.<sup>56</sup> The only other mention made of the Ullbrichts was when Mrs Hamilton and Mrs Williams saw them, both drunk, at Theopolis,<sup>57</sup> an incident which highlighted many of the problems experienced by an unqualified man ruling a mission.

Ullbricht's health appears to have been poor. His letters carrying thanks for money for building materials and cattle are interspersed with accounts of poor health and failing sight,<sup>58</sup> of lack of communication with the directors, and of financial problems. In 1814, notwithstanding general infirmity, he was sent, presumably by Campbell,<sup>59</sup> to start the station at Theopolis where he was ordained.<sup>60</sup> As Theopolis had been

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<sup>51</sup>The letter dated 6 Mar. 1805 is misfiled in the L.M.S. correspondence under Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket D, 1803. This was written by Vander Kemp to Directors.

<sup>52</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 6 Mar. 1805 (misfiled 2/3/D); ibid., Janssens to Directors, 16 May 1805 (3/1/C).

<sup>53</sup>See Chapter II.

<sup>54</sup>Transactions of L.M.S., 1807, p.199.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 1812, p.19.

<sup>56</sup>Barker Journal, 5 Mar. 1817 (in note after J Jan. 1817).

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 16 Dec. 1818.

<sup>58</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Directors, 12 Dec. 1808 (3/5/C) and 8 Jan. 1810 (4/2/A).

<sup>59</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Campbell to Directors, 30 Jul. 1813 (5/2/D).

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., Read to Directors, 24 Nov. 1814 (5/4/C).

granted by the colonial authorities<sup>61</sup> to take the "overflow" from Bethelsdorp, Ullbricht took with him to the new station two deacons<sup>62</sup> (not named) and at least one member of the Boesak family.<sup>63</sup> The annual report for 1814 showed that Ullbricht had got the people working and had set up the village "on the banks of the Kasuka River."<sup>64</sup> In the same report it was suggested that its position on a main road might make it "one of the most important stations in Africa",<sup>65</sup> but Ullbricht was not the man for the job. He was dogged by ill-health, "suffering from gravel, hemorrhoids, rheumatism and the flux." Nevertheless, it was said of him that he had been a blessing to many souls "as likewise to their bodies."<sup>66</sup>

In March 1816 Barker was sent to Theopolis to aid the ailing Ullbricht with the school and temporal affairs only, as Barker was not yet ordained.<sup>67</sup> Both Barker's journal<sup>68</sup> and the report drawn up by Ullbricht<sup>69</sup> show the negative aspects of Ullbricht's attitude. But who can blame him? In 1819 he wrote,<sup>70</sup> "We sowed 104 muids [of seeds] whereof we have been unable to use but little on account of 6 weeks continual rain destroyed much and the Caffres for full two months surrounding the place when no-one, not even the cattle, could go outside on the grazing ground unless within sight of us with 20 armed men." On the other hand there were two tailors, a shoemaker, a carpenter and

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<sup>61</sup> MacMillan, Cape Coloured Question, p.149 (MacMillan wrongly refers to Allbrecht).

<sup>62</sup> Transactions of the L.M.S., 1814, p.186.

<sup>63</sup> Barker Journal (note after 15 May 1817).

<sup>64</sup> L.M.S. Annual Report 1814, p.17 and Ch. II.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p.17.

<sup>66</sup> Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p.67.

<sup>67</sup> There is no letter by which this appointment is made.

<sup>68</sup> Barker Journal, Mar.-Dec. 1816.

<sup>69</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Campbell, 17 Jul. 1819 (B/1/C) in Appendix C(iii).

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

a smith; the trade in lime<sup>71</sup> was carried on and clothes and soap were made; the catechism class flourished and there were two hundred and thirty five children in the school.

In 1819 when Drs Philip and Campbell visited Theopolis they were startled by the temerity of Uilbricht who crossed the river by the simple expedient of dashing into the water "when instantly nothing more than his own head (and not even his horse) were to be seen above the water." Perhaps this serves to illustrate Uilbricht's character. His action was brave but foolhardy and was necessitated by the fact that in daylight he had lost his way on a path to the sea which had been used since the inception of the mission in 1814. On the other hand, it was undoubtedly his forethought in building the palisade which enable Theopolis to withstand the full fury of a siege in 1819 when the Xhosa endeavoured to take back the Zuurveld.<sup>72</sup> The mission station's resistance to Xhosa attack won for them, according to Dr Philip,<sup>73</sup> the warm approbation of the colonial authorities<sup>74</sup> and Thomas Pringle wrote a lively account<sup>75</sup> of the bold part played by the buffalo hunter Boezak in the defence of Grahamstown in 1819 when that city was attacked by Makana.<sup>76</sup> The defence of Theopolis, heroic though it was, left horror in its wake, as much was destroyed and many cattle were stolen.<sup>77</sup> Hence in the last year of his life (1820) Uilbricht had the unenviable task of starting afresh, and not surprisingly, his mood alternated between great optimism and deep depression.<sup>78</sup> As with all the

<sup>71</sup>Chapter II supra and Chapter VIII infra.; Campbell, Travels in South Africa (Second Journey), p.39.

<sup>72</sup>Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.98.

<sup>73</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. 11, p.259.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, pp.282-83.

<sup>76</sup> See List of Wardoctors: Appendix A(i)(a).

<sup>77</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report 1819.

<sup>78</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Uilbricht to Campbell, 17 Jul. 1819 (8/1/C).

missionaries the heavy load was increased by the intolerable addition of the tasks imposed by vagrancy and pass laws and the requirements regarding labour on state undertakings.<sup>79</sup>

Ullbricht's life illustrates many of the anomalies and weaknesses of the L.M.S. system. He was sent out as a mechanic missionary, presumably because he was not regarded as suitable for ordination. At the Cape a director, John Campbell, approved the establishment of a new station for which no missionary was available. Ullbricht's position proved to be very difficult until he was ordained by decree of a group of men (many not ordained themselves) because there was no alternative. As a blacksmith, training apprentices, preaching and teaching, he might well have been more successful and enjoyed better health.<sup>80</sup> Yet fulfilment might always have eluded him since he never possessed an adequate supply of tools. His letters concerning financial problems,<sup>81</sup> the fate of Vander Kemp's children,<sup>82</sup> and his loneliness,<sup>83</sup> accentuated the fact that the directors of the L.M.S. did not consider personal (and family) security and job satisfaction, nor did they appreciate the complexity of life in Africa. With the meagre information available, Ullbricht emerges as a gentle man thrust into a situation which was too much for him and which led to depression, illness and indulgence in drink on occasion. Yet his journal and letters<sup>84</sup> show that progress was made and that to the best of his ability, he achieved much in his task for the Lord.

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<sup>79</sup> Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. II, p.301.

<sup>80</sup> Many of his earlier illnesses can be classified as psychosomatic complaints and there can be little doubt that isolation, tension and unwanted responsibility must have taken their toll. His health was broken and he quickly succumbed to tuberculosis.

<sup>81</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Report to Campbell, 17 Jul. 1819 (8/1/C), Appendix C(ii).

<sup>82</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Directors, 27 Jan. 1819 (8/1/A).

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., Ullbricht to Campbell, 17 Jul. 1819 (8/1/C), Appendix C(ii).

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

GEORGE BARKER 1786-1861



SARAH BARKER 1790-1836



George Barker (1789-1861) was born in Cambridgeshire<sup>85</sup> where he trained in the family smithy and played an active rôle in the local Congregational (Independent) Church. Feeling called to the ministry, he trained at Gosport for a year under Bogue after acceptance by the directors (January 1814).<sup>86</sup> It is assumed that while at Gosport he met Sarah Williams (1790-1836) of Terling, Essex, for the records show that she was "a servant with the Rev. Mr. Waters"<sup>87</sup> in London, where her fellow-servant was Elizabeth Rogers who was to marry Joseph Williams, also of the L.M.S.<sup>88</sup> Sarah Williams and George Barker were married at the Silver Street Chapel on 4 February 1815.<sup>89</sup> The L.M.S. Register of Missionaries records his ordination on 7 December 1814. In fact, together with Hamilton and Williams, "he was commended to God in prayer" in a service of designation at Silver Street Chapel,<sup>90</sup> the L.M.S. having decided that their qualifications did not justify ordination.<sup>91</sup>

Hamilton,<sup>92</sup> Barker and Williams<sup>93</sup> sailed together on the Alfred from Portsmouth in March 1815.<sup>94</sup> All three men were artisans, yet after a brief period in Africa all three were ordained men ruling mission institutions in order to fulfil the tasks assigned to them there. Barker's ordination in January 1819<sup>95</sup> was necessitated by the fact

<sup>85</sup> See Barker Family Tree, Appendix E(i).

<sup>86</sup> L.M.S. Minutes, Committee of Examiners, 1814.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 23 Jan. 1815.

<sup>88</sup> Holt, Joseph Williams, p.8. Holt has assumed that Joseph and Sarah Williams were related but neither research in British records nor Barker's journal give cause for this assumption.

<sup>89</sup> Barker Journal, Introduction, 1815.

<sup>90</sup> Sibree, A Register of Missionaries 1796-1823, No. 41.

<sup>91</sup> L.M.S. Minutes of Committee of Examiners, December 1814.

<sup>92</sup> See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Barker Journal, 2 Mar. 1815.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 10 Jan. 1819.

that he was needed to take over as ruling missionary<sup>96</sup> at Bethelsdorp while Ullbricht was left alone at Theopolis, ailing and faced with the defence against Xhosa inroads in addition to all his other tasks.

Barker's diary, and in particular his letters, give a picture of a brisk, humorous man, quick-tempered, gregarious, and most dedicated to his calling. The Journal (Diary), a copy of which missionaries were required to send to the directors,<sup>97</sup> is a factual account of his work but there are warmly human comments concerning the scenery near Theopolis,<sup>98</sup> a letter from his wife,<sup>99</sup> his children,<sup>100</sup> and his disappointment and sorrow concerning his own shortcomings.<sup>101</sup> He was loyal to his colleagues, though possibly irascible, but he was deeply distressed over Ullbricht's drunkenness and in particular over the publicity attendant on this incident which was widely discussed by Mrs Hamilton and Mrs Williams.<sup>102</sup>

One of the major difficulties facing all ruling missionaries serving in such isolated conditions was the maintenance of good relations among the staff. Barker appears to have been particularly irritated by colleagues who came, under the patronage of Dr Philip, and who then communicated directly with Philip instead of through Barker. Thomas Edwards<sup>103</sup> and his wife both wrote many and voluminous letters to their patron and the contents, mainly petty complaints,<sup>104</sup> would appear to justify Barker's annoyance. The whole problem of the

<sup>96</sup> See Vander Kemp, Memorandum, Appendix C(iii).

<sup>97</sup> Schapera (ed.), Apprenticeship at Kuruman, pp.xiii-xiv.

<sup>98</sup> Barker Journal, 16 Feb. 1816.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 22 Feb. 1816.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., numerous references.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., final comment, 1817.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 16 - 18 Dec. 1818.

<sup>103</sup> See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>104</sup> Examples: L.M.S. Correspondence, Edwards to Philip, 20 May 1819 (11/3/C); Mrs Edwards to Philip, 4 Nov. 1819 (11/4/B); Edwards to Philip, 28 Mar. 1834 (14/1/8).

compatibility of men living in such isolated conditions appears to be one which the directors ignored as no record of concern can be found, yet the success of the mission might have been much influenced by petty quarrels. Barker, it would seem, did not stand on his own dignity but was jealous for the reputation of the station in this regard,<sup>105</sup> and also for the reputation of the mission as a whole. When a dispute arose over the Distressed Settlers Fund<sup>106</sup> in which Dr Philip was very much involved, he wrote "It would have been better if he had nothing to do with the Settlers and for all if the Society had not been made a political thing of."<sup>107</sup> This was the beginning of the dispute between Philip and the authorities and which led to vituperative attacks on Barker, both in the Settlers Memorandum opposing Philip and also in the press.<sup>108</sup> To a man who had joyfully involved himself in settler affairs the rebuffs suffered as a result of Dr Philip's attitude must have been hard to bear. There can be little doubt that Philip's 'political' activities did impinge on the lives of the men in the field, for Moffat, like Barker an outspoken man, said "We do think his [Dr Philip's] interference in higher points of government has done the mission no service."<sup>109</sup> This dissension, in which Dr Philip's name figured so much, might well have been avoided had the directors issued clearly defined contracts with precise instructions as to the duties of ruling missionaries and of the Cape Town superintendent.

Barker undoubtedly disliked interference but, as Philip said to Kitchingman after a dispute with Barker over Bethelsdorp, "I think Barker will receive you in peace - he will have time to cool before

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<sup>105</sup>Barker Journal, 16, 1/ Dec. 1824; 20 Dec. 1824; 30 Jan. 1825. (Problem with Maskell, the shop-keeper.)

<sup>106</sup>A charitable fund launched to provide help for needy settlers - it became a political football when Somerset refused patronage to the organisation of which Dr Philip was an active member.

<sup>107</sup>Barker Journal, 25 Oct. 1824; 16 Nov. 1824.

<sup>108</sup>See Chapters VIII and IX, *infra*.

<sup>109</sup>Schapera, *op.cit.*, pp.202-207.

you get there."<sup>110</sup> Barker's letter to the directors,<sup>111</sup> outlining a plan for missions and protesting vigorously against the treatment of widows and orphans, was angry but controlled. It shows a masterly command not only of his facts but also of language. This same facility is shown in a series of letters, described by Le Cordeur and Saunders as "lively and individualistic",<sup>112</sup> in which he describes reactions at Paarl to the emancipation of slaves; and again in vigorous protest when he was moved from Bethelsdorp (1821) (where he had only just put his house in order) to Theopolis (where his old house was in ruins). In this letter he exclaimed, "Gentlemen is there any reliance to be put in your word in your bond? Come and reside, Come and behold!"<sup>113</sup> A home thrust! for it was ignorance of African conditions which led to so many bad decisions. There is little doubt that Barker's own reading<sup>114</sup> must have extended his command of language as the diary and his letters clearly show. In fact, by 1823 the children at Theopolis were singing hymns with words composed by the missionary.<sup>115</sup>

Courage in time of adversity is clearly shown. Illness was obviously handled with great fortitude but it should be noted that, unlike Ullbricht's prevailing delicate health, Barker's problems arose from externals - an infection,<sup>116</sup> an allergy caused by horse hair,<sup>117</sup> an accident to his foot.<sup>118</sup> The fact remains that British societies gave no thought to health, as witness the chronicle of the Scottish

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<sup>110</sup> Philip to Kitchingman quoted in Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.57.

<sup>111</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Aug. 1820 (8/2/C).

<sup>112</sup> Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, pp.124-128.

<sup>113</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 12 Dec. 1820 (8/2/E).

<sup>114</sup> See List of Books, Appendix E(ii).

<sup>115</sup> Barker Journal.

<sup>116</sup> ibid., from 18 Mar. 1823 to 2 May 1823.

<sup>117</sup> ibid., from 10 May 1820.

<sup>118</sup> ibid., Sept. 1827.

missionaries whose ill-health makes sad reading;<sup>119</sup> as well as the cases of Ullbricht and Mrs Barker for whom little or no medical aid was at hand. Barker's own personal courage must have been fully tested when in the 1835 war he refused to leave Theopolis but stayed with his people to defend it, rejoicing afterwards in the fact that their presence there probably saved the village, if not the cattle.<sup>120</sup> It certainly prevented the people from abandoning their post and joining the Xhosa.<sup>121</sup> This latter point does suggest that Barker's influence over the people was considerable, but there is little from the records which gives direct evidence except the fact that congregations both at Paarl (1839-1856) and at Theopolis did not diminish but grew<sup>122</sup> under his care.

He was ruling missionary at Theopolis from 1821 to 1839 when he resigned and was sent to Paarl. The loss of his wife in 1836 was a severe blow to him from which he did not appear to recover until 1844 when he married Hilletje Smuts.<sup>123</sup> At Paarl "he laboured, beloved and respected by all sections of the community until total blindness compelled his retirement in 1856. He remained in the village, the guide and friend of all until his death in 1861."<sup>124</sup> It was during his ministry that the Paarl church and its outstations became self-supporting.<sup>125</sup>

Barker was a man, gifted in language, in practical construction work, in farming, in handling his people. At times, too outspoken, he

<sup>119</sup>Williams, The Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony 1799-1855, pp.89-90.

<sup>120</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, pp.116-117.

<sup>121</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 17 Apr. 1837 (14/3/C), 30 Jun. 1837 (14/4/B); Kayser to Directors, 14 Jul. 1837 (14/4/C); Barker to Directors, 22 Dec. 1837 (14/5/B).

<sup>122</sup>L.M.S. Annual Reports, 1821-1839 (Theopolis), 1839-1856 (Paarl).

<sup>123</sup>See Barker Family Tree, Appendix E(i).

<sup>124</sup>Ferguson, C.U.S.A., p.93.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid.

incurred the wrath of his friends, but even Read, who was critical<sup>126</sup> of him, came to regard him as "second on his list of friends."<sup>127</sup> His first wife Sarah (his "friend and counsellor, the guide of my youth and the solace of my riper years")<sup>128</sup> in spite of numerous pregnancies,<sup>129</sup> shared his involvement in mission. She started a needlework school,<sup>130</sup> entertained a never-ending stream of visitors, went, with her husband, to dine with newly-wed couples, and kept in constant touch with her children at Matthew's School.<sup>131</sup> Even on her death-bed her concern was for the people at Kat River to whom her husband had gone to minister.<sup>132</sup> Her life and faith were "like a light - steady and reflective,"<sup>133</sup> and "her death was severely felt not only in the domestic circle but by the people of the Institution, generally,<sup>134</sup> to whom she had been a valued friend and to whom she had very much endeared herself."<sup>135</sup>

Touchy, tough, tactless, loving, caring, George Barker achieved more than he ever dreamed for the tradition of Christian service has been handed down to the descendants of his congregation.<sup>136</sup> Given his

<sup>126</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.136.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., p.230.

<sup>128</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 11 Jan. 1837 (15/3/A).

<sup>129</sup>Fourteen between 1816 and 1836 (cf. Diary and Barker Family Tree, Appendix E(i)).

<sup>130</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report.

<sup>131</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>132</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 11 Jan. 1837 (15/3/A).

<sup>133</sup>Ibid.

<sup>134</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1837.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid.; L.M.S. Correspondence, Monro to Directors, 29 Dec. 1836 (15/1/E).

<sup>136</sup>Oral evidence: A schoolgirl at Theopolis in 1968, Rosie Dili, was able to bear witness to her descent from Manoek Stuurman, "one of the old people from the mission." Other members bore similar witness.

gifts it is possible that Barker, had he received adequate equipment and had he been wisely led and well trained, might have achieved even more.

Christopher Sass (1772-1849) was a Prussian, educated in Berlin, who as a result of the Vander Kemp mission campaign,<sup>137</sup> volunteered for the L.M.S. After he had married Mary Gordon, the sister of an L.M.S. missionary working in India, he took up a ministry in Namaqualand<sup>138</sup> in October 1811. No permanent institution could be built as the land was barren and the people eked out a living in summer and winter camps.<sup>139</sup> This was a turbulent area where intertribal warfare was endemic<sup>140</sup> and Sass clearly felt very cut off from civilisation. He complained of the difficulties of travel, the drought, and the high cost of living.<sup>141</sup> Yet both Sass and his wife were enterprising people who made their own shoes which were described by Campbell as "the best imitation of English shoes I have seen in Africa."<sup>142</sup> Campbell apparently enjoyed the company of this lively couple and spoke of Mrs Sass as a well-informed person, "remarkably qualified to be the wife of a missionary."<sup>143</sup> But the story had a tragic end, for after listening to Campbell preach and discussing his sermon "with no ordinary degree of good sense", Mrs Sass went to bed, was taken ill in the night and died the next morning (29 Sept. 1813).<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Directors to Vander Kemp (undated) (1/1/A); Examination Committee to Vander Kemp, 18 Oct. 1799 (1/1/A); Vander Kemp to Directors, 21 Dec. 1797 (1/1/A).

<sup>138</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Sass to Directors, 17 Oct. 1811 (4/5/C).

<sup>139</sup> Campbell, Travels in South Africa (First Journey), p.322.

<sup>140</sup> Wing and Briggs, The Harvest and the Hope, pp.27-28.

<sup>141</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Sass to Directors, 20 Jan. 1812 (5/1/A).

<sup>142</sup> Campbell, op.cit., p.323.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

Sass himself moved about in the Northern Cape staying at Silverfontain, Bethesda, Campbell and Griquatown.<sup>145</sup> In a letter written in 1816 he reported his marriage to Catje, the Orlam chief's daughter<sup>146</sup> at Bethesda. His limited and stilted style of writing was not explained until 1831 when he confessed that his English was inadequate,<sup>147</sup> a problem mentioned again when he spoke of interpreters who could not understand when he preached at Campbell.<sup>148</sup> It is an extraordinary commentary on the L.M.S. directors that Sass was allowed to come to Africa and allowed to stay before he had mastered English or Dutch which must have been an additional hardship in a life dogged by misfortunes.

Melville,<sup>149</sup> who was government agent in the Northern Cape, confirmed Sass's suggestion that the work at Campbell was hopeless (1822).<sup>150</sup> By 1824, Melville's reports included the dangers of Sass's situation and his illness. Invasion by the Bergenaars was imminent and great anxiety was felt but Moffat reported as follows: "The venerable Sass entered the camp of the ruthless and lawless banditti [Bergenaars]. He had no sling, no stone, his humble, devout and persuasive address saved the inhabitants [of Griquatown] from impending destruction."<sup>151</sup> There can be little doubt that his presence gave safety to his people yet as Moffat pointed out, hard labour, terrible conditions and many vicissitudes had taken their toll and he was too weary to be there alone.<sup>152</sup> Peter Wright,<sup>153</sup> who served as temporal worker at Theopolis

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<sup>145</sup>Sibree, Register of Missionaries, No.123. (Information about Sass is very limited, even his own letters being unrevealing.)

<sup>146</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Sass to Campbell, 17 Jan. 1816 (6/3/A).

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., Sass to Directors, 13 Jan. 1831 (12/4/A).

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., Sass to Directors, 6 Dec. 1821 (8/3/C).

<sup>149</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>150</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Sass to Directors, 16 Oct. 1822 (8/5/C).

<sup>151</sup>Schapera (ed.), Apprenticeship at Kuruman, p.226.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., pp.225-27.

<sup>153</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

(1821-1825), was sent to relieve Sass in 1828, and the old man went first to Uitenhage from whence, in 1830, he moved to Theopolis.

From this time little was said of him and he wrote few letters. Bishop Merriman referred to him as "the aged Sass"<sup>154</sup> in 1849, and a sad obituary was written by Freeman<sup>155</sup> in 1850 when he said, "the aged missionary, Mr Sass (since deceased) lost all the few cattle he had in both the last wars."<sup>156</sup> Sass, bright, interested in helping Campbell in 1814, Sass quelling a violent mob, and the gently decaying failure - contradictory pictures which might reasonably be explained by referring to L.M.S. policy. He needed to learn English, he needed equipment and encouragement, he received nothing.

Robert Barry Taylor (1810-1876) was an ordained minister who had served in Demerara (1835-1840) where his first wife died. He arrived in Cape Town in 1841 with his second wife Marianne (née Rabbeth).<sup>157</sup> He went first to Kat River<sup>158</sup> and then, in 1842, to Theopolis. Almost immediately the annual reports reflected some of the force of this remarkable man. An early letter comments on the improved attitude of the people<sup>159</sup> after extensive visitation. The annual report of 1842 showed clearly that the community was no longer exclusively Khoi, referring, as it does, to "Fingoes, Basutoos, and Mantatees."<sup>160</sup> By 1843 improved church attendance was noted and Taylor was able to use "the Caffre language without an interpreter"<sup>161</sup> to preach to the

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<sup>154</sup>Varley and Matthew (eds.), Merriman's Cape Journals, 1848-55, p.34.

<sup>155</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>156</sup>Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, pp.75-76.

<sup>157</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Taylor to Directors, 18 May 1841 (18/1/C).

<sup>158</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.233, fr.123,

<sup>159</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Taylor to Directors, 11 Aug. 1842 (18/4/A).

<sup>160</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1842.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid., 1843.



Fingoes and Basutos. Separate services were held for the Khoi. Impressed by the industry of the Xhosa, Taylor found the Khoi lazy, an opinion shared by Barker earlier<sup>162</sup> when he pointed out that the best men had moved to Kat River.<sup>163</sup> The war of 1845 took its toll when only four hundred cattle remained out of one thousand five hundred, and Taylor continued to doubt the viability of the mission<sup>164</sup> as had Barker and Philip before him. In 1846 he moved to Cradock, originally an outstation of Theopolis founded by Barker in 1821. With characteristic energy he went to work with the idea of founding a church organisation for the Independent Congregations.<sup>165</sup> By 1858 the Evangelical Voluntary Union had been formed, and in 1875 the Congregational Union.<sup>166</sup> Taylor illustrates clearly the 'new' type of missionary - well educated, experienced, forceful, he was equipped to lead and to act decisively - but he did not suffer with his people in a lost cause as Sass and Barker did, nor did he stay the course of the war of 1845 as Sass did then and as Sass and Barker had done earlier (1835).

As Sass was considered too old to carry the load of administration, N.H. Smit (1817-1881)<sup>167</sup> was appointed in 1848 to supervise Theopolis from Grahamstown where he ministered to the coloured community. Born in Cape Town he was brought up in Andrew Murray's Dutch Reformed Church in Graaff Reinet. A printer by trade, he first taught in the Mission School in Grahamstown (1839-43) where apparently he quarrelled with the minister, John Locke,<sup>168</sup> giving rise to considerable controversy concerning the position of the coloured congregation.

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<sup>162</sup> See *infra*, Chapter X.

<sup>163</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Taylor to Directors, 15 Sept. 1842 (18/4/B); 9 Oct. 1844 (20/CA).

<sup>164</sup> L.M.S. Annual Report, 1846.

<sup>165</sup> Wing and Briggs, The Harvest and the Hope, p.37.

<sup>166</sup> *ibid.*, pp.112-121.

<sup>167</sup> Wrongly called Smith in L.M.S. Annual Reports. See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>168</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Minutes of Meeting in Grahamstown, 21/22 Jun. 1843 (19/2/B).

With James Read actively supporting him he moved first to Tambookieland among the Bushmen, then to Kat River (1843-1848). He returned to Grahamstown's Union Chapel in 1848 after John Locke's death, and continued there as minister until his own death in 1881.<sup>169</sup> As a result of divisions in the church he was already regarded with some doubt by some of the missionaries and was given the unenviable task of supervising a mission which was no longer viable. Living in Grahamstown, with a full task there, he had to ride the thirty miles to Theopolis where great resentment had built up. Considerable publicity was given to the demise of the mission and Smit himself was much criticised but, judging by reports, he handled the affair with dignity and restraint.<sup>170</sup>

These men together laid the foundation of much Christian work among the Koi and the Xhosa within the colonial boundary. From Theopolis men went out to help found Cradock Union Chapel (1821),<sup>171</sup> Trinity Church and Union Chapel in Grahamstown (1827)<sup>172</sup> and the Presbyterian Church in Somerset East (1842).<sup>173</sup> No mean achievement! Industry, education, agriculture and trade were taught in conjunction with the great truths of Christianity.

In fact, it is essential to ask what was expected of these men. Cuyler, writing to the Colonial Secretary, wanted "a proper missionary, of education",<sup>174</sup> while Philip and Campbell in their Memorial of 1819 spoke of "a man of talent and address well acquainted with human nature" who could be magistrate, father, minister of the Gospel, and friend.<sup>175</sup> Philip himself in his riper years, writing to his son,

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<sup>169</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., pp.235-36, 240-44, 247, 269.

<sup>170</sup>See infra, Chapter X.

<sup>171</sup>Wing and Briggs, op.cit., p.49.

<sup>172</sup>Barker Journal, 1 Jul. 1827.

<sup>173</sup>Minutes, Presbyterian Church, Somerset East, 1842.

<sup>174</sup>C.O.2599 (Letters Received), Cuyler to Colonial Secretary, 1 Sept. 1815.

<sup>175</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Campbell and Philip to Directors, 18 Dec. 1819 (8/1/D), Appendix C(Iv).

made it clear that he considered that the whole welfare of the station depended on the man in charge. Piety and management skills were highly rated, and he pointed out that the best men in the mission were those mechanics who had

...comprehensive minds and common sense. To conduct the process of civilisation from savage life through all its intermediate stages, up to the state in which we see it at some of our missionary stations requires what few Philosophers or Christian ministers possess. Nine tenths of the fellows at Oxford or Cambridge would look at the thing and abandon it in despair. We are here oblig[e]d to change our instruments to carry it on. The men who succeed in one of the stages may often fail in the others. The talent that suits for the initial part of the process general[ly] fails when it proceeds beyond a certain point. Several of our missionaries after rejoicing in the fruits of their labours, have abandoned them in hopeless despair and left their stations desolate simply because they had not mind enough to adapt themselves to the new state of things. They were like Fathers who persist in treating their grown up sons as children. You will not infer from what I have said that I undervalue education...Our men who have done much in Africa would have been greatly the better of a more liberal education; but I mean that you should understand this, that all the learning and scenes of Glasgow will not be worth one penny to you in Africa, without that common sense which proves the basis of all minds of the highest class. Without it genius is a mere meteor, and eloquence an empty word. It is a kind of instinctive capacity, in its most splendid institutions [?] it is to be seen in the writings of Bacon, of Locke, of Newton etc, and you will see more of it in the guidance of the Peasantry of a country such as Scotland collectively considered, than is to be found among its literary men, or among its clergy. <sup>176</sup>

The type of knowledge envisaged would have vindicated the appointment of men like Barker and Moffat. Yet Philip, particularly with regard to these two, had allowed prejudice to cloud his judgment and thus failed, especially possibly in the case of Barker, to support sterling work.

In spite of the fact then that expediency and not ability was the criterion in early L.M.S. appointments, the appointments were often

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<sup>176</sup>Una Long, Index to Authors of Unofficial and Privately Owned Manuscripts : Letter Dr Philip to his son, 21 Nov, 1838.

good. These men, detached as they were from a familiar world were dependent on God for their hope, their endurance in the face of great vicissitude, and their courage. Collins, writing of the missionaries said "Of numerous men who have exercised the divine calling in South Africa, few have gained the reward which their devotion to so sacred a cause entitled them to expect."<sup>177</sup> Yet the missionaries themselves, like Mr Valiant-for-Truth,<sup>178</sup> probably felt that they handed to their successors the weapons they had forged, but "My scars and marks I carry with me to be a witness for me, that I have fought His battles Who will now be my Rewarder."<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>177</sup>Moodie, The Record, 1809, p.55.

<sup>178</sup>John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress, p.145.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER V

## THE HAND OF AUTHORITY

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LONDON MISSION SOCIETY

Between 1799 and 1820 the L.M.S. at the Cape was noted more for dissension, discontent and divisions among its members than for the unity of the organisation. In part this was owing to the fact that the administration was inefficient. There was no machinery to control the local organisation, so far from base, and essentially so inaccessible to the directors in London. The contretemps with the South African Society,<sup>1</sup> Vander Kemp's impractical and idealised approach, and the religious fervour of the directors led to the creation of a totally false conception of the situation. In fact, the directors in London made all decisions concerning new stations; they appointed workers and only then considered the financial implications. Numerous examples can be cited which arose from over-centralisation in London; yet the missionaries themselves were well motivated and there were men in Africa who, if given the authority required in good management, could have instituted a far more efficient local machinery for running the mission. As it was, financial stringency and, presumably, an inadequate clerical staff, led to a communications gap which was disastrous for the men, given the ignorance of the directors concerning African affairs. Religious conviction alone from their point of view was justification (and excuse?) for what followed. Numerous letters containing agonised appeals, records of tragedies, unhappiness, and much hard work, did not appear to alter their attitude though ignorance of conditions could hardly be pleaded in mitigation after the first few years. Albrecht<sup>2</sup> and Tromp<sup>3</sup> not only could not build, but were also short

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<sup>1</sup>See supra, Chapter II.

<sup>2</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

of basic necessities as they lived in isolation in Namaqualand.<sup>4</sup> A communication gap in time inevitably existed but this does not explain why J. Evans<sup>5</sup> by the end of 1817 had received no reply to letters written in 1816.<sup>6</sup> It could not even be argued that the letters were not received as they are on the files. A letter from Joseph Williams in 1815 in similar vein held the remark, "Dr Sir I hope you will remember the labourers in the Wilderness in the midst of your bustle."<sup>7</sup> Perhaps in these words Williams highlights the cause of the problem - the directors, like Martha,<sup>8</sup> were "busy about many things" and had no time. However, it is interesting to note that by 1820 a basso profundo had joined the chorus when Dr Philip wrote, also complaining:<sup>9</sup>

By 1814 the administration of the mission in Africa had produced a vast array of problems. Vander Kemp's death in 1812 left Read as superintendent,<sup>10</sup> and Read was too insecure to take a firm lead, especially in face of mounting opposition to a superintendent - an appointment totally contrary to the Independent tradition. Another major problem was the question of salaries. The amount per annum set by Vander Kemp<sup>11</sup> was Rd.245<sup>12</sup> with Rd.70 extra for a wife and Rd.35

<sup>4</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Albrecht to Directors, 3 Mar. 1806 (3/2/B), 26 May 1806, 27 May 1806 (3/2/D).

<sup>5</sup> List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>6</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Evans to Directors, 25 May 1816 (6/3/C), 7 Nov. 1816 (6/4/C), 25 Dec. 1816 (6/4/D), 20 Feb. 1817 (7/1/B), 7 Jul. 1817 (7/2/B).

<sup>7</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Williams to Bogue, 11 Dec. 1815 (6/2/D).

<sup>8</sup> Gospel according to St Luke, Chapter 10, verses 38-42.

<sup>9</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Directors, 2 Dec. 1820 (8/2/E).

<sup>10</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, L.M.S. to South African Society, April 1812 (5/1/D).

<sup>11</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Rules for Regulation of Mission vander Kemp, 10 Nov. 1811 (4/5/C). Appendix C(iii).

<sup>12</sup> Rixdollar was Dutch coinage which remained in use at the Cape until March 31 1841. The value was approximately 1s3d or +/- 15 cents.

for each child. This was to be merely a temporary ex-gratia (!) payment until the mission institution should become self-supporting.<sup>13</sup>

Campbell was sent to the Cape in 1812 as a one-man deputation<sup>14</sup> to cut expenditure; to examine established missions; to open new missions and to make contact with the government.<sup>15</sup> Surely a striking example of their lack of knowledge when they were planning new work before consolidating the old. Campbell's commission was of crucial importance for, as he himself said, "it would be of amazing consequence to the prosperity of our Institutions to have an agent of missions here [in Africa], who has experience of mankind, who would not treat Government with jealousy and suspicion - I am persuaded the Government would go hand-in-hand with such a man."<sup>16</sup> Thus, in spite of protests from missionaries, there was certainly a rôle for an agent to liaise with government, to report back to and act as mouthpiece for the directors, and to exert discipline as needed. As Campbell pointed out to the directors, "Were you a few months here you would be surprised how inaccurate our printed reports are - but it cannot be otherwise without a suitable agent to draw them up."<sup>17</sup> Official prejudice against missions remained and the importance of the agent's rôle is emphasised in Cradock's letter<sup>18</sup> in which he points out the official disinclination to increase or even maintain the institutions already in the Cape as this would cause a public outcry, for Khoi labour was vital to the economy. The chief rôle of the institutions as seen by Cradock was to support the aged and the infirm and to train the Khoi in trades and handicrafts. This latter view was partly, at least, endorsed by Barker who felt that, had the missions trained far more craftsmen and mechanics their position would have

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<sup>13</sup>From L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp's Rules, Appendix C(iii).

<sup>14</sup>Campbell, Travels in South Africa (advertisement, p.vi).

<sup>15</sup>Clinton, The South African Melting Pot, p.84.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p.94 (quoting Campbell).

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p.86.

<sup>18</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. II, pp.380-81.

been assured by the time the settlers arrived in 1820.<sup>19</sup> Instead, however, many of the settlers took up the trades they had practised in the United Kingdom, hence a spirit of competition developed between these two elements of colonial society.

When Campbell left in 1815, Thom appears to have been de facto superintendent though historians have differed regarding his standing.<sup>20</sup> He was in fact secretary of the South African Society.<sup>21</sup> It was an unenviable task. The marriage of certain missionaries to Khoi women was a cause for discussion among the other missionaries. In addition there was still dissatisfaction over unanswered letters,<sup>22</sup> and also financial policy. Added to this was an unsympathetic governor in the person of Lord Charles Somerset who clashed with Anderson<sup>23</sup> over the Griqua mission (1814). Recruits were called for from Griquatown, and Anderson refused to send them on the grounds that he was not prepared to upset his delicately balanced relationship with his people by appearing as a government agent. He argued, too, that war was endemic on the northern frontier and fighting men were needed at home and finally that, as the people were extra-territorial inhabitants, conscription did not apply.<sup>24</sup> Somerset's reply was to close extra-territorial missions temporarily. In addition, Somerset clashed with Smit and Helm<sup>25</sup> over the Bushman mission (1815)<sup>26</sup> and

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<sup>19</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Aug. 1820 (8/2/C).

<sup>20</sup>MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, p.92; Du Plessis, History of Christian Missions, p.148.

<sup>21</sup>Clinton, op.cit., p.99.

<sup>22</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Read to Directors, 7 Jul. 1815 (6/1/C), with a note added by Campbell.

<sup>23</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>24</sup>Clinton, op.cit., p.100; Schapera (ed.), Apprenticeship at Kuruman, pp. 5, 7, 9; L.M.S. Correspondence, Anderson to Directors, 29 Oct. 1818 (5/4/B), 15 Nov. 1814 (5/4/C), 1 Dec. 1814 (5/4/C), 2 Dec. 1814 (5/4/C).

<sup>25</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>26</sup>MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp.138-142; Moodie, The Record, Part V, p.23.

with Joseph Williams over the Xhosa mission.<sup>27</sup>

The meeting between Thom and Somerset, under the circumstances, was hardly likely to be an auspicious event. Speaking with scorn of the "interference of Methodist teachers",<sup>28</sup> Somerset must have cut Thom - a proud Presbyterian - to the quick. (His opinion of Presbyterians was no better for he, inaccurately, called them "those Scotch Independents"!)<sup>29</sup> In addition he spoke roundly against any church other than the Anglican order echoing in essence Lord Thurlow's comment to a Nonconformist delegation in 1788, "I'm against you by God, I'm for the Established Church, damme! Not that I have any more regard for the Established Church than for any other church, but because it is established. And if you'll get your damned religion established I'll be for that too!"<sup>30</sup>

Against this background of conflict with civil and mission authorities is set a general disturbance among the missionaries. A conference was called at Graaff Reinet by the missionaries themselves as "consultation would be conducive to the welfare of the work."<sup>31</sup> (August 1814). Read, Ullbricht, Kicherer, Anderson, E. Smit<sup>32</sup> and Corner<sup>33</sup> were present. Read was elected chairman. They agreed to the appointment of Jan Goeyman<sup>34</sup> as assistant to Erasmus Smit; to the ordination of Ullbricht, and they upheld Anderson's attitude to

<sup>27</sup>Holt, Joseph Williams, pp.57-73.

<sup>28</sup>Clinton, The South African Melting Pot, p.110.

<sup>29</sup>MacMillan, op.cit., p.198, quoting Philip.

<sup>30</sup>Crabb Robinson, Diary, Vol. I, p.378.

<sup>31</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Minutes of Graaff Reinet Conference, August 1814 (5/2/F).

<sup>32</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>A Khoi catechist, he was appointed to the Bushman mission with Erasmus Smit. After the closure of that mission he moved to Philippolis. He is not listed in the L.M.S. Register, but information is contained in Schapera (ed.), op.cit., pp. 19, 75, 89, and in Quarterly Bulletin of S.A.P.L., Vol. 29, No. 3, p.104.

the government. In addition they discussed schools, the appointment of Khoi as preachers to relieve the pressure on the missionaries, the problems of Bethelsdorp and the construction of buildings. All these were questions which had been raised with the directors to no avail. The discussion on schools was particularly lively and Read reported the successful introduction of the Lancastrian method of teaching at Bethelsdorp. This was on the recommendation of Sir John Cradock.<sup>35</sup> Probing the questions of the success of the schools and of possible improvements, they agreed that education was a rewarding part of their work and that the new method was "of great advantage."<sup>36</sup> It seems a pity that minutes showing so clearly that amicable and fruitful discussion was rewarding to men living in such isolation, were not observed in London, and appropriate action taken. At such a gathering the ruling missionary at each station, meeting with his peers, could have been advised and led without the implications of dictatorship, so repugnant to the "Independent" mind. The meeting highlights not only the psychological need for similar gatherings, but also for an agent to deal with matters such as Anderson's confrontation with government, unanswered letters, building problems, salaries, ordination, and also ecclesiastical and moral irregularities.

By 1817 the matter of meetings once more featured in correspondence. George Thom, described by Clinton as "an irascible, self-important man",<sup>37</sup> and by Du Plessis as "a man of education and sound judgment",<sup>38</sup> had reached a point of desperation. His authority was limited, major decisions had to be made in vacuo, and no replies to pleas for guidance were received from London.<sup>39</sup> His letters contain comprehensive reports yet as he himself stated, in two years he had

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<sup>35</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Minutes of Graaff Reinet Conference, August 1814 (5/2/F). [For details of Lancastrian System, see infra, Chapter VI.]

<sup>36</sup> ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Clinton, op.cit., p.110.

<sup>38</sup> Du Plessis, History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p.139.

<sup>39</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Thom to Directors, 16 Feb. 1814 (5/3/C), 27 Dec. 1814 (5/4/C)\*, 14 Jan. 1815 (6/1/A), 22 Apr. 1815 (6/1/B) and 22 Aug. 1815 (6/2/A).

received only two replies,<sup>40</sup> and he was official representative of the L.M.S. He therefore decided to call a meeting in Cape Town which was to last from 12 to 22 August 1817.<sup>41</sup> Issues raised included supervision and conduct of missionary work, salaries, and the most unfortunate 'immoral' behaviour of James Read which caused the meeting to exclude him from the mission.<sup>42</sup> Discussion generally was obviously brisk and covered the inadequacy of Vander Kemp's rules which needed to be updated; ecclesiastical and personal irregularities and the marriages of missionaries to Khoi women (who were often ill-equipped to cope with the various demands made on them).<sup>43</sup> Ullbricht's condemnation of Mrs Vander Kemp illustrates the point well, especially in view of the fact that he was himself married to a Khoi.<sup>44</sup> There was considerable controversy about the governing of the society, some feeling that as Independents each congregation should govern itself, while others appreciated the validity of the argument for an agent who would have the authority to conduct negotiations with the colonial government,<sup>45</sup> settle disputes, and take decisions on financial and disciplinary matters which usually needed prompt attention.

Shortly after this meeting Thom, Brownlee, Taylor and Evans left the society. Implicit in the resignations and the agenda of this meeting is a commentary on the communication gap, for matters raised in 1814 at the Graaff Reinet meeting were still unresolved in 1817. It was to this state of "grievous disorder"<sup>46</sup> that Philip and

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<sup>40</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Thom to Directors, 27 Dec. 1814 (5/4/C).

<sup>41</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Thom to Directors, 22 Aug. 1817 (7/2/C) and Thom to Directors (notes of meeting), Aug. 1817 (7/2/C).

<sup>42</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, pp.22-23, 37-38.

<sup>43</sup>Schaperø (ed.), Apprenticeship at Kuruman, pp.40-41.

<sup>44</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Directors, 27 Jan. 1819 (8/1/A).

<sup>45</sup>The Anderson case illustrates.

<sup>46</sup>Moffat, Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat, p.62.

Campbell came as commissioners (1819), just in time as Barker showed<sup>47</sup> to save mass resignations. Drought, Xhosa inroads, inadequate equipment and too much work added to the gloomy picture.

Making confusion more confounded, a meeting of Brownlee, Ullbricht, Messer<sup>48</sup> Hooper<sup>49</sup> and Evans<sup>50</sup> was held at Bethelsdorp<sup>51</sup> to oppose the propositions put by Thom to the meeting at the Cape. They considered (thinking, no doubt, of Graaff Reinet) that meetings should only be organised for "their own [the missionaries'] edification", that no outsider had jurisdiction over any institution,<sup>52</sup> and that no one need pay attention to regulations drawn up by any meeting and which were destructive to the liberty of individual congregations. Such authority they claimed was "unknown in the Word of God."<sup>53</sup> They re-raised problems of disciplinary action unconsciously emphasising the need for just such a body (or agent) as that to which they expressed so much opposition. Barker apparently disapproved of both meetings, neither of which he attended, though it appears that he had sympathy for Thom's position.<sup>54</sup> The anomalous situation of men like Read and Thom was indicated by Legassick when he pointed out Read's total involvement with the Khoi and Thom's recognition of the need for governmental approval for missions with implications of decisions of individual conscience for each missionary.<sup>55</sup> Moffat,

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<sup>47</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Aug. 1820 (8/2/C), Appendix C(vii).

<sup>48</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Report on Meeting, 5 Jun. 1817 (7/2/A).

<sup>52</sup>The implication here is clear. No missionary had jurisdiction over institutions other than his own.

<sup>53</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Report on Meeting, 5 Jun. 1817 (7/2/A).

<sup>54</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 9 Jun. 1817 (7/2/B).

<sup>55</sup>Quoted by Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., p.23.

writing later to Philip (who had referred to the Cape meeting as seditious) pointed out that the brethren acted "conscientiously and faithfully" and that however much the directors might disapprove of such meetings, time would show whether the directors or the local men were right.<sup>56</sup>

The directors added to difficulties by drawing up a new set of regulations<sup>57</sup> for the missions in Africa. Vander Kemp's post of ruling missionary<sup>58</sup> was abolished and a director, in charge of all stations was to be appointed in Cape Town. Subject only to the control of the directors in London, he was to regulate missions in Africa and his authority could not be questioned. A salary, in place of the parsimonious ex-gratia payments, was to be paid to missionaries but the directors had indicated clearly that the missionaries should be aware of "their obligation of finding support from the people among whom they labour."<sup>59</sup> They considered that this was insurance against lax work among the missionaries. What they did not realise was that an unprincipled missionary (or a missionary near starvation!) might devote all his energies to the temporal affairs of the station in order to ensure a living for himself.<sup>60</sup> This Barker pointed out in 1820 in a Memorial of protest regarding the new regulations.<sup>61</sup> The directors displayed an unwillingness to consider new buildings but stipulated that if L.M.S. funds were involved then such buildings were to be secured to the society which accounts for the fact that Barker had to buy Messer's house at

<sup>56</sup>Schapera (ed.), Apprenticeship at Xuruman, p.4.

<sup>57</sup>Clinton, The South African Melting Pot, p.113.

<sup>58</sup>See Instructions to Missionaries (Vanderkemp), Appendix C(iii).

<sup>59</sup>Clinton, op.cit., p.113. A clear indication of their complete misconception about and misunderstanding of the total situation in Africa.

<sup>60</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Aug. 1820 (8/2/C), Appendix C(vii).

<sup>61</sup>Case of Messer illustrates. Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities in the Eastern Cape, p.72.

Bethelsdorp to secure it to the society as a mission house.<sup>62</sup> With regard to widows and orphans, they offered only what Barker regarded as "cold charity",<sup>63</sup> consigning them, as they did, to the general care of the institution or to friends.

The first reaction to the new regulations was, on the part of Barker and Ullbricht, one of hurt disbelief and they felt unfitted for work for several days.<sup>64</sup> Barker, while confessing his own too-quick reactions, pointed out the hardships of a missionary's life and added that should the new regulations stand they would make life impossible at the institutions. Even a cursory examination of the minutes of the meetings at Bethelsdorp, Graaff Reinet and Cape Town, and of the correspondence (between 1799 and 1817) from southern Africa suggests that the directors, in drawing up the new rules, were unaware of the doleful chorus from Africa which was contained in their files.

The unhappy situation with regard to widows and orphans had been emphasised by the plight of the Vander Kemp children as described by Ullbricht,<sup>65</sup> and even more by the situation of Mrs Williams. After a singularly harrowing experience, when her husband died at Kat River (1818),<sup>66</sup> she was taken in at Theopolis where Barker built her a house.<sup>67</sup> Quoting both Mrs Hamilton and Anderson, Barker wrote<sup>68</sup> to the directors asking if it were true that support from the society would be forthcoming only if she remained in South Africa at an institution. He added that the Vander Kemp children were "ruining for

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<sup>62</sup>Barker Journal, 11 Jan. 1819.

<sup>63</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Aug. 1820 Appendix C(vii).

<sup>64</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 1 May 1819 (8/1/B).

<sup>65</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Directors, 27 Jan. 1819 (8/1/A).

<sup>66</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Mrs Williams to Directors, 17 Sep. 1818 (7/5/A).

<sup>67</sup>Barker Journal, note after 22 Oct. 1818.

<sup>68</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 15 Sep. 1818 (7/5/A).

want of an education" and that this discouraged any missionary especially those who, like Williams and himself, had had a trade by which they could make an excellent living. Mrs Williams's case - she was alone in the midst of an alien people when her husband died - illustrated Barker's condemnation of the situation of a man alone at an isolated institution.<sup>69</sup> The whole problem worried many of the missionaries and the impersonal tone of the circular cannot have cheered them. In 1819 Evans, Barker and Moffat confronted the deputation at Bethelsdorp,<sup>70</sup> and from them learnt that the problem of security for families had exercised the directors for some time and that in the meantime "Christian patience and dependence on God" must fortify them. In addition, both commissioners pledged themselves to help. They said that widows and children could be sent to England (but no mention was made of subsistence) and that orphan children could be sent to board at the proposed academy for mission children (which in fact was never established) or at an ordinary school at the expense of the society. Barker was unimpressed, considering this a pledge in which he could place little confidence.<sup>71</sup> It is possible to suggest that indecisiveness and a too easy recourse to pious platitudes marked many of the actions of the directors.

Another reaction came from a reasonably unbiased source. John Melville, who subsequently joined the society, knew the work of the mission well as he worked as a government agent among the Griqua. His letter<sup>72</sup> contained a detailed analysis of the situation starting with the fact that there were ten missionaries and fourteen widely scattered stations. He pointed out that the Moravian stations were governed by a board elected by the missionaries and which administered

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<sup>69</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 15 Sept. 1818 (7/5/A).

<sup>70</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Campbell and Philip to Directors, July 1819 (8/1/B), Appendix C(iv), and Campbell to Directors, 23 Nov. 1819 (8/1/D).

<sup>71</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Aug. 1820 (8/2/C), Appendix C(vii).

<sup>72</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Melville to Directors, 18 Dec. 1819 (8/1/D).

the regulations of the society. "Peace and quietness" characterised these stations. Referring to the fact that the deputation had serious doubts about certain of the new regulations from London, he suggested that the local men lacked neither judgment nor sense and should be consulted. He criticised the deputation for handing a copy of their own memorandum<sup>73</sup> to the governor as the memorandum contained a suggestion that money and not service of the Lord was the prime concern of the missionaries. Melville's major criticism, however, concerned the appointment of one director (with virtually dictatorial powers) instead of a board. Such a man would need to be an experienced missionary, a man of common sense and not a philosopher or a person who had had no time to acquire local knowledge - a view supported by Barker. The whole question of the ruling missionary at a station and a board or director in Cape Town was a vexed one, particularly perhaps to those men whose own personalities enabled them to take decisive action, to govern well, to deal with local crises - such men as Moffat,<sup>74</sup> Brownlee,<sup>75</sup> and Barker,<sup>76</sup> all of whom lodged protests.

Barker's letter<sup>77</sup> is a stinging and well worded criticism of the directors and mission policy, in which he wondered "how men of sense could compose so much non-sense", and pointed out, "even your deputation are against it." To him it appeared crucial to the whole issue that the deputation, appointed to settle mission affairs, should actually disown "any power vested in them whatever." He asks, "What utility is it?" Putting his finger on the crux of the matter, as it would seem, he points out that indecision and contrary actions mark mission policy. He attacked the imposition of rules without

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<sup>73</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Campbell and Philip to Directors, July 1819 (8/1/B), Appendix C(iv).

<sup>74</sup>Schapera (ed.), Apprenticeship at Kuruman, p.69.

<sup>75</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Brownlee to Directors, 1 Nov. 1818 (7/5/B).

<sup>76</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Aug. 1820 (8/2/C), Appendix C(vii) -

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

consultation with the local men and went on to ask, "If this is reason I would like to know at whose school you studied Logic." He pointed out that democratic votes were exercised in Britain and should be in the mission at the Cape; that they needed "civil" rules for a "civil" community - a point which the deputation found hard to accept. He quoted both Colonel John Graham<sup>78</sup> and the Moravians in support of his argument. He went on to suggest that the ruling minister be concerned only with the school and matters religious, while a temporal manager could be magistrate, organiser of trades, correspondent with the government - a man who could work with the people as they needed supervision and example. Moffat's agreement<sup>79</sup> with Barker's views is obvious and Brownlee<sup>80</sup> while agreeing too, was more concerned about a problem which Barker avoided - the discipline of a back-sliding brother. A surprising supporter was Dr Philip.<sup>81</sup>

It can hardly have been a happy situation for the two visitors but they immediately found time, after collecting evidence to send a report to London containing many of Barker's ideas.<sup>82</sup> They suggested that a man in charge at a mission should have great adaptability, talent and address and be well acquainted with human nature. Mature men were needed, with trained mechanics and Khoi apprentices to help them. They recurred several times to this theme, unconsciously echoing a view held by Cuyler.<sup>83</sup> Plans were made, and blueprints were drawn for the proposed academy to educate the missionaries' children. Nine years later Foster<sup>84</sup> the man appointed to resolve the problem departed to England (1828) declaring that the

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<sup>78</sup>List of Military, Appendix A(iv).

<sup>79</sup>Schapera (ed.), op.cit., p.69.

<sup>80</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Brownlee to Directors, 1 Nov. 1818 (7/5/B).

<sup>81</sup>Schapera (ed.), op.cit., p.69, note 42.

<sup>82</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip and Campbell to Directors, Nov. 1819 (8/1/D), Appendix C(iv).

<sup>83</sup>C.O.2599 (Letters received), Cuyler to Colonial Secretary.

<sup>84</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

education of missionaries' children presented a problem.<sup>85</sup>

Research suggests that the ideas contained in Barker's memorandum with its breadth of vision and practical detail formed the basis of the next regulations<sup>86</sup> sent out by the directors. Recognition was given to the selection of men with far greater emphasis on the personality and not only on religious conviction. Ruling missionaries were to be helped by temporal supervisors and mechanics who would train the Khoi. A teacher-supervisor was to be appointed over all missions - an innovative step - which, after the Foster fiasco, appears not to have been repeated. The salaries set by the deputation were confirmed (thus obviating the need for missionaries to devote their energies to fund-raising activities), but the unfortunate widows and orphans were to be given still further consideration - in other words, no decision was taken. A model mission was to be built at one station (possibly as a showcase for the society to counter adverse criticism) and as soon as funds would permit (a new way of thinking!) the other stations would follow suit. Missionaries in service were to choose which rules they elected to follow, while the deputation were given power to sever connections with those who proved recalcitrant.<sup>87</sup>

To put these rules into force a superintendent was appointed. The position of the directors was delicate. The moral fibre of the British people was being renewed after the spiritual exhaustion of a prolonged state of war. Shelley, Blake, Keats, Jane Austen, Wordsworth, Lamb were combining to shape the outlook of the new classes of entrepreneurs and artisans. The wrongs and injustices of those without land, capital or birth were exposed. Liberty and nationalism became watchwords and debate on the rôle of the Christian in politics was heated. "If we are a Christian nation", wrote Coleridge, "we must learn to act nationally as well as individually as Christians...

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<sup>85</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Foster to Directors, 8 Feb. 1825 (11/2/A).

<sup>86</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Memorial on South Africa, 24 Jul. 1820 (8/2/B), Appendix C(vi).

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

Let us become a better people and the reform of all public grievances will follow of itself."<sup>88</sup> Implicit in this dictum was the idea that British public opinion had moved to consider that a Christian should concern himself with grievances which may be political. Conversely, did a politician concern himself with religion and with missions? A further problem was the identification of the Christian church with any specific political group. These were, in fact, the problems which faced many people in accepting or rejecting the new superintendent, John Philip. They were the problems which faced John Philip himself.

Born in Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire in 1775, he was the son of a weaver, one of a proud, independent group, many of whom, like Philip's father, being literate and intelligent were widely read.<sup>89</sup> At the age of eleven, Philip was at work as a weaver giving the lie to those who suggested later that he was ignorant of working conditions in Britain.<sup>90</sup> Like Livingstone, with energy and enterprise, he gained further education, and a partnership, in Philip's case, in a spinning mill. It was during this period that the wave of the evangelical revival swept him to a decision to enter the ministry and so, in 1799 he went to study at the Independent (Congregational) College at Hoxton near London, there to enlarge his knowledge of working conditions in the slum churches. It was at Hoxton that he made contact with John Campbell and T.F. Buxton<sup>91</sup> whose political power was later used in the cause of Khoi freedom. A prestigious appointment to a large church in Aberdeen set the seal on Philip's career in the ministry but in 1819, in spite of vociferous opposition from his congregation,

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<sup>88</sup>S.T. Coleridge, Essays of his Own Times 1850. This was copied from a script in London in the British Museum. No more accurate identification is available.

<sup>89</sup>MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, p. 87.

<sup>90</sup>Nosipho Majeke.

<sup>91</sup>Buxton, Sir Thomas Fowell (1789-1845). A brilliant student and businessman, he was M.P. for Weymouth (1818-1837). A reformer by conviction he was a member of the Clapham Sect and a leader of the movement to abolish slavery. (cf. R.H. Mottram, Buxton the Liberator.)

he resigned to join John Campbell in the L.M.S. deputation to Africa. His background gave him knowledge of abuses of child labour; the Clapham Sect made him sharply aware of social and political abuse. Neither "a finished or an exact scholar", he must have been a powerful intellect and received from his businesslike and able wife strong support in all he did. The daughter of well-to-do Aberdeen citizens, she was financial supervisor of L.M.S. affairs in Africa (1820 - 1847).<sup>92</sup>

MacMillan suggests that nearly all his actions were misrepresented,<sup>93</sup> yet there is little doubt that polished diplomacy was not one of his attributes and it would appear that he soon clashed with men like Barker and Moffat who were not afraid to speak out, while meeker men like Kitchingman, and to a certain extent Read, met with his approval. Barker, speaking of Philip's political activities in 1824 wrote, "I perceive more and more the effect of Dr Philip's conduct, Lord give me grace to bear and forbear",<sup>94</sup> while Moffat wrote in 1825, "He has lately been involved in political controversy which according to the testimony of friends and foes has done, and will do, injury to our society's missions. A man in his position requires to be prudent."<sup>95</sup> J.J. Thomas,<sup>96</sup> writing to Kitchingman in 1822, indicated clearly that Philip abandoned enterprises in which his immediate involvement was not required, "...he will not trouble himself [about a financial matter]." He always worked with great energy, however, at those things in which he felt he was needed and said to Kitchingman, "There is not a Hottentot...half the slave I am and have been for some time past."<sup>97</sup> He was undoubtedly an overbearing person

<sup>92</sup> MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, p.97.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p.102.

<sup>94</sup> Barker Journal, 28 Jan. 1824.

<sup>95</sup> Schapera (ed.), Apprenticeship in Kuruman, p.197.

<sup>96</sup> John Thomas of the East India Company's Civil Service. He travelled to missions throughout the country when he was at Cape Town en route to Madras (1822).

<sup>97</sup> Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.63; Clinton, The South African Melting Pot, p.148, footnote contains a description of Philip's day.

as George Champion<sup>98</sup> showed in a letter to Secretary Anderson<sup>99</sup> when he said, "He has been of unspeakable assistance to us...but we must say on the other hand that we think Dr P is not the man, that from your instruction we should judge you expected him to be. We have usually gone to the Dr and after a long string of valuable remarks have felt like coming away, finding that even if we could put in a few words edgeways, it were of no consequence for the Dr must be right in all things to the contrary notwithstanding."<sup>100</sup> As MacMillan points out,<sup>101</sup> he had an exaggerated idea of his importance and little sense of humour, but he was undoubtedly a man of powerful presence of whom it was said, "...he was conspicuously free from the persistent habit of thought that makes an abstraction of Colour."<sup>102</sup> A strong man, with much power in his hands, he succeeded in focussing attention on the cause of Khoi freedom but in so doing he brought the mission into disrepute and, seen from a missionary point of view, was certainly an "uncomfortable" director who created tensions in which the local men were inevitably involved.

It would appear that his administration of society affairs and his travels around the colony enabled Dr Philip to stop the long flow of letters of complaint.<sup>103</sup> Certainly, those which stand on the record might be termed "normal" administrative problems,<sup>104</sup> but not hopeless pleas for relief, nor do "discipline" problems drag on with no action taken, Philip himself did not find the directors any easier than had the individual missionaries. When he returned to England in 1826 to further the cause of Khoi freedom, he "found his

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<sup>98</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>99</sup>Secretary of American Board of Missions.

<sup>100</sup>George Champion to Rufus Anderson, 29 May 1835, quoted in Quarterly Bulletin, S.A. Library, Vol. II, p.131.

<sup>101</sup>MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, p.104.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

<sup>103</sup>On this it is difficult to judge as the letters, addressed to him personally, were destroyed in the fire at the University of the Witwatersrand (1931).

<sup>104</sup>Example, Letters from Barker re school texts in 1824.

labours were not known"<sup>105</sup> when he met the directors, and "I found very little sympathy with my object in returning to England." Later he discovered that the directors were not prepared to "enter into a contest with the government."

It would be wrong to omit, in a chapter on Philip and administration, the much maligned and possibly much misunderstood, James Read. Doubtless both Philip and Campbell made use of Read's knowledge and skills when they toured on deputation,<sup>106</sup> and it was undoubtedly Read, who with his letters<sup>107</sup> and reports in Transaction of the London Missionary Society, first raised the whole question of the Khoi's legal standing, which in turn gave rise to the Black Circuit (1812). He was, possibly, not always tactful, but as for example at Trepolis when he roused Barker's wrath, he was carrying out Philip's instructions.<sup>108</sup> It should be remembered too that Read was the man who made Williams's mission in Kaffraria a reality.<sup>109</sup> He was not a leader and negotiator but was "happiest when with his poor Hottentots"<sup>110</sup> and came as close as possible to identifying totally with them. He could justly be called Philip's eyes and ears in the field and was, thus, an important part of the administration as well as being a father in God to his people.

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<sup>105</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, quoted in MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp.215-16.

<sup>106</sup>Campbell, Travels in South Africa. On both journeys he was much helped by Read's knowledge both of country and people.

<sup>107</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.249, n.200.

<sup>108</sup>Barker Journal, 22 Apr.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., 29 Feb. 1817, 9/10 May 1817, 24 Jun. 1817.

<sup>110</sup>Saunders, James Read, Man of Conscience, in S.A. Outlook, March 1976, p.40, quoting H.A. Reyburn.



(From the Missionary Sketches)

probably (ornfield)

VIEW OF THE NEW MISSIONARY VILLAGE AT THEOPOLIS, SOUTH AFRICA, 1826



Ornfield

## CHAPTER VI

## A MISSION ON A HILL

## THEOPOLIS IN THE COMMUNITY

"Theopolis is set upon a hill,"<sup>1</sup> wrote George Barker. The village in fact clustered up the slope of a hill but metaphorically speaking he was setting Theopolis in the context of public awareness, for the judgments passed both by visitors and by secular observers was based, not on religious progress, but on outward appearance. While the prime concern of the missionaries was religious change, they were compelled to take cognisance of these externals not only because adequate housing and education were part of their own customary practice but also because they were part of their work (as they saw it) to aid the Khoi in their adjustment to new circumstances, circumstances created by events which had nothing to do with the missionaries.

Visitors like Thomas Philipps<sup>2</sup> who commented on rags and ruins,<sup>3</sup> George Thompson<sup>4</sup> who observed industry, markets and lands<sup>5</sup> and Thomas Pringle<sup>6</sup> whose interest lay in the school<sup>7</sup> bore out the missionaries'

<sup>1</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 14 Dec. 1822 (8/5/D).

<sup>2</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>3</sup>A. Keppel Jones (ed.), Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, p.62.

<sup>4</sup>George Thompson (1796-1889), merchant and traveller who explored the Eastern Cape in 1821 with a view to establishing trade there. He remained in Africa for forty years, a leading figure in the commercial world at the Cape.

<sup>5</sup>Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, Vol.II, p.77.

<sup>6</sup>See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>7</sup>Letter from Pringle to Philip, quoted in Philip, Researches, Vol.I, pp.164-65.

contention that appearances mattered. In fact the interaction of externals with Christianity might produce a subtle mingling of social and religious change and those who viewed mission work as a lonely strutting on a mission stage<sup>8</sup> detached from the audience, were grossly underestimating the communication and encounter of the market place and the garden. The missionaries to the Khoi were not architects of socio-cultural change; they took part instead "in the subtle relationship of continuity and change in the cultural and social history of an African society."<sup>9</sup>

"Civilisation is to Christian religion," wrote Dr Philip, "what the body is to the soul and the body must be prepared and cared for if the spirit is to be retained on earth."<sup>10</sup> While this view is one commonly used (especially by critics of mission)<sup>11</sup> to denounce the westernisation implied, the judgment is then superficial. Missions were neither agents of destruction of customary practice nor were they merely easing transition to a new dispensation. They were compelled to take their part in an adapting society and to many missionaries the adaptation was as difficult as it was for their converts.

In any society consideration has to be given to shelter. The village at Theopolis was set on the banks of the Kariega River, the missionaries making the same error as many of the settlers; neither group realising the potential for flooding in the sluggish stream in its deep bed. As Robert Hart<sup>12</sup> later advised, it should have been built on an east-facing hillside.<sup>13</sup> With grass, water, trees and game in abundance it was undoubtedly "superior in situation"<sup>14</sup> to Bethelsdorp,

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<sup>8</sup>Strayer, Mission History in Africa (in African Studies Review, Vol.XIX, No.I, p.1).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p.12.

<sup>10</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol.II, Ch.XIX.

<sup>11</sup>Atieno-Odiambo, quoted by Strayer, op.cit.

<sup>12</sup>See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>13</sup>Ayliff, Harry Hastings, p.71.

<sup>14</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.116.

though frosty in winter and extremely hot in summer. The houses were built in this, nevertheless, most attractive situation. Most missionaries in Africa made use of the indigenous building material easily available and enabling them to combine their own skills with those of their parishioners. Thus in Natal the Americans used mud and stone,<sup>15</sup> in the Transkei the Greens used round thatched huts,<sup>16</sup> and at Theopolis reed and poles were used to make either the mat houses favoured by the Khoi or the more advanced wattle and daub. The compact plan of Theopolis with its eight-foot tall encircling palisade (built by Ullbricht) was echoed by Brownlee at the Tyhunie station<sup>17</sup> and, at first, such villages sufficed.

The mat houses, ideal for a nomadic people who took their houses with them, soon proved inadequate and were replaced with more stable structures. George Barker, who was sent by the directors to Theopolis to help the ailing Ullbricht (1816),<sup>18</sup> set up a smith's shop as soon as he arrived, after which he went to work on his own home.<sup>19</sup> Tools presented a problem for those requested did not arrive and the five anvils and one pair of bellows sent were not really needed.<sup>20</sup> However, ingenuity prevailed and the work forged ahead. Some enthusiasm was generated among the people, who helped Barker by cutting poles and thatch, giving rise no doubt to the claim that "idleness will be wiped away."<sup>21</sup> Sophistication in building came later, as Barker put to work his many skills and learnt how to make full use of local materials, but even in his first house reference was made to a brick chimney, and to doors, windows and ceilings<sup>22</sup> -

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<sup>15</sup> Kotze (ed.), Letters of American Missionaries, 1835-38, pp. 95 and 156.

<sup>16</sup> Green, A Pondoland Hilltop, pp.4-6.

<sup>17</sup> Keppel Jones (ed.), Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.283.

<sup>18</sup> Barker Journal, 31 Mar. 1817.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 20 May 1817 - 25 Jun. 1817 (detailed account).

<sup>20</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 1 Apr. 1818 (7/4/C).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 1 Apr. 1818 (7/4/C).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., and Journal, 20 May 1817 - 25 Jun. 1817.

a far cry from the circle of limber branches tied with thongs<sup>23</sup> described by both Moodie<sup>24</sup> and Pringle.<sup>25</sup> Whitewash certainly added greatly to the appearance of the house and an apparently transparent window made of sheepskin was in contrast to Shaw's "stretched calico."<sup>26</sup> On his return to Theopolis after a period at Bethelsdorp (1819-21) Barker progressed further and built a house of brick with a separate kitchen complete with mantle-tree, brick chimney and oven door.<sup>27</sup> The main house had a skirting board and latticed windows (with glass) were set in colour-washed walls.<sup>28</sup> Furniture was apparently bought at local sales for reference was made variously to the purchase of a cask, a tea canister and two plates.<sup>29</sup>

Certainly, if precept and examples were required, Barker did not lag. His skill as a builder was not restricted to providing only for the needs of himself and his family. His diary bears witness to the amount of time he spent repairing the church building<sup>30</sup> and to supervising the manufacture of forms and tables by the men to whom he ministered. Since preaching the Word of God was the raison d'être of the missionary, the construction of a preek-stoel, first used on 2 March 1818, must have given immense satisfaction to Barker. Like Moffat, Barker could call himself "a carpenter, smith, shoemaker, miller and gardener",<sup>31</sup> and nothing from a wheelbarrow to a wagon, a spade to a ploughshare, a nail to a cross-beam baffled his clever hands. To these achievements were added Ullbricht's skill in building

<sup>23</sup>Moodie, Ten Years in South Africa, p.155.

<sup>24</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>25</sup>Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, p.41.

<sup>26</sup>Shaw, My Mission, p.40.

<sup>27</sup>See Plan, Appendix D.

<sup>28</sup>Barker Journal, 15 Nov. 1817 - 17 Apr. 1818.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 27 Nov. 1816.

<sup>30</sup>The building of wattle and daub requires patient "layering" of mud and manure, and an unwanted shower at a crucial time can lead to constant patching and rebuilding.

<sup>31</sup>Schäperla (ed.), Apprenticeship at Kuruman, pp.41-2.

a dam to drive a water mill where it was hoped corn could be ground,<sup>32</sup> and the Theopolis community was advancing well.

The coming of the settlers in 1820 had given rise to a new prosperity for the missions whose workers could offer goods and services much needed by the newcomers. Barker, in fact, had always considered that far more emphasis should have been laid on training Khoi journeymen whose position would have been assured before the settlers arrived.<sup>33</sup> It was at this time that Dr Philip, according to Sales,<sup>34</sup> made careful and fully annotated plans for new villages to be built at Theopolis and at Bethelsdorp.<sup>35</sup>

Barker's view, often expressed, was that from interest in the church sprang interest in work, and in Dr Philip and Moffat, he found allies.<sup>36</sup> During Philip's visit to the Eastern Cape in 1821 he exhorted the Khoi to even greater efforts, using as his text, "By their fruits ye shall know them", and giving further impetus to this he spoke of legal reform and the Khoi's "fitness for freedom."<sup>37</sup> This sermon was significant for it marked the start of Philip's public concern, not only for religious affairs but also with the secular affairs of the Khoi people.

After these plans and exhortations the journal indicates clearly an immediate surge of work, the cutting of timber and thatch, the opening of a stone quarry and the extensive use of lime from the kiln set

<sup>32</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Directors, 1 Apr. 1818 (7/4/C).

<sup>33</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Aug. 1820 (8/2/C).

<sup>34</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p.84.

<sup>35</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, pp.65 & 68.

<sup>36</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol.I, p.213; Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa, pp.495-96.

<sup>37</sup>Philip, ibid., p.215.

up by Ullbricht.<sup>38</sup> The arrival of Campbell<sup>39</sup> a stone mason, and of Clark,<sup>40</sup> certainly relieved some of the administrative and executive pressure on Barker for, since Ullbricht's death in 1820, the whole burden of the vastly increased work had fallen on him (Barker).<sup>41</sup> Philip's encouragement was further felt when Shepstone<sup>42</sup> prepared an engraved stone lintel to commemorate the fact that Valentyn was the first Khoi to complete a brick house at Theopolis.<sup>43</sup> The handing over of this stone was clearly an event of importance and emphasises the significance of this type of Khoi/white encounter. After this high point enthusiasm must have waned a little and the missionaries were discouraged. In addition, Xhosa raids on cattle continued, meaning not only continual watchfulness in defence of Theopolis herds, but also the absence of some of the best men on commando<sup>44</sup> - a complaint echoed by Kitchingman at Bethelsdorp. At times, near starvation faced not only the Khoi and the settlers but missionaries as well, both in Albany and elsewhere.<sup>45</sup>

In spite of problems, their largest building project at Theopolis - the school - went on apace and at a ceremony attended by three hundred people the foundation stone was laid in February 1822,<sup>46</sup> and a year later, the building was ready for use. Barker wrote an enthusiastic description to the directors in London, of a white-washed brick and stone building with rows of benches and a dome in which a bell, cast

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<sup>38</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Campbell, 17 Jul. 1819 (8/1/C).

<sup>39</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Barker Journal, 29 Dec 1821, 14 Dec 1822.

<sup>42</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>43</sup>Barker Journal, 10 Jun. 1822.

<sup>44</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 14 Dec. 1822 (8/5/D).

<sup>45</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Directors, 26 May 1806 (3/2/D).

<sup>46</sup>Barker Journal, 18 Feb. 1822.

in the smithy at Theopolis, was to be hung. His excitement over the achievement led him to describe the school as "the best building in Albany, the best school in the Mission - the best in Africa!" A ceremony attended by all the people and by the Revs. Shaw and Threfall was followed by a great feast which was paid for "by subscription" so that the poor of the mission benefitted to the tune of Rd.25.<sup>47</sup> It is important to observe that disparaging remarks made about the claims to success of the missionaries when set against their achievements,<sup>48</sup> did not take into account the tremendous effort involved in such isolated circumstances and with primitive tools and raw apprentices. Events like the school dedication, though they had no direct bearing on religion, must have helped the Khoi and the missionaries; for united in pride of success they surely learnt not only to know each other better but also the limitations which the new life imposed on them all.

Yet their joy was followed by great sorrow.<sup>49</sup> Drought, rust, locusts and caterpillars<sup>50</sup> having taken their toll of the harvests, a final blow was struck in October 1823. A phenomenal storm caused rivers to rise and overflow the valleys. The rain wrought havoc on flimsy houses and half-built brick homes.<sup>51</sup> Theopolis mourned with the rest as 100 000 bricks, many of the houses and the beautiful new school lay shattered.<sup>52</sup> Immediate help was urgently needed and it was at times like this that Dr Philip's position in Cape Town proved invaluable to the mission, this time through the Distressed Settlers Fund.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Barker Journal, 17 Feb. 1823 - 20 Feb. 1823.

<sup>48</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.62.

<sup>49</sup>Butler (ed.), The 1820 Settlers, pp.152-55.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Barker Journal, Oct. 1823.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Nash, Baillie's Party of 1820 Settlers, pp.61-64.

When the settlers landed in 1820 the captain of the Menai, Captain Fairfax Moresby,<sup>54</sup> was much struck by the poverty and distress of certain of the settlers. To alleviate the suffering he persuaded Admiral Sir Jaheel Brenton,<sup>55</sup> Mr Henry Ellis,<sup>55a</sup> Deputy Colonial Secretary and others, to found a society under the patronage of Sir Rufane Donkin<sup>56</sup> and with headquarters in Cape Town. A steady flow of money reached Albany but the floods of 1823 not only emphasised the parlous position of many settlers, but also drew public attention to their plight. The fund was of great importance to Theopolis. Not only was generous help forthcoming for flood relief,<sup>57</sup> but the political implications were manifold. Somerset, suspecting the society of being Whig and Radical in sympathy (because of Donkin's patronage of Philip's active involvement) set up his own fund to be administered in Albany by the much-disliked landdrost, Henry Rivers.<sup>58</sup> Dr Philip's eloquent and moving speech at the annual meeting of the fund in August 1824<sup>59</sup> (when what might be called a take-over bid by the Somerset fund was made) led to a public confrontation between the governor and Philip. This contretemps (for the first time in southern Africa) received full press coverage,<sup>60</sup> and the furore caused Barker at Theopolis great distress.<sup>61</sup> The furore continued until in 1825 Rivers was transferred and Albany had entered the political arena.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Moresby (1786-1877), entered the Royal Navy in 1799 and was officer commanding the Menai in 1819 and served under Sir Jaheel Brenton, the Naval Commissioner. He made a survey of the south eastern cape coast from Cape Recife to the Keiskama after helping the settlers to land.

<sup>55/55a</sup>See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>56</sup>See List of Governors, Appendix A(i).

<sup>57</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Mrs Philip to Directors, 26 Jan. 1824 (9/2/A).

<sup>58</sup>See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>59</sup>R.C.C. XVI, pp.170-77, Report of the Committee for the Relief of Distressed Settlers in South Africa, 1823.

<sup>60</sup>This topic is fully covered in Butler (ed.), The 1820 Settlers, pp.162-73.

<sup>61</sup>Barker Journal, 25 Oct. 1825, 2 Nov. 1825 and 16 Nov. 1825.

<sup>62</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.256,300.

Philip and H.E. Rutherfoord<sup>63</sup> visited the Eastern Cape shortly after the floods to survey the damage and to report back to the Distressed Settlers Fund. At the same time Philip took the opportunity to urge the people at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis to even greater efforts<sup>64</sup> for, with the commission of enquiry<sup>65</sup> appointed, Philip was anxious that the best possible impression be conveyed. He even offered to pay opgaaf for those who agreed to return to work, for, discouraged by the tribulations imposed by natural happenings, many had slipped back to indolence.<sup>66</sup> An impassioned letter to Kitchingman at Bethelsdorp concluded with the statement that "everything related to the Khoi depends on the way in which we [Philip and the commissioners] find things."<sup>67</sup> There in a nutshell Philip showed the importance of "externals" - building, garden, school, trades - these were the outward and visible signs of assumed inward progress. The report of the commissioners gives substance to this belief. Their praise for the progress at the Moravian mission was tempered by reservations regarding housing.<sup>68</sup> At Pacaltsdorp they discussed the ground plan<sup>69</sup> while the descriptions of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis employ the same criteria.<sup>70</sup> Thus we find that by external appearances the cause of Christianity was judged.

After the flood, progress was slow, but a report in Missionary Sketches<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>64</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.68.

<sup>65</sup>This Commission was appointed in 1823 to investigate affairs at the Cape generally (great expense was being incurred there) with particular reference to the people of colour. For a detailed account see Le Cordeur, The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, pp.12-14 and 21-25.

<sup>66</sup>Barker Journal, 4 and 5 Jun, 1822.

<sup>67</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., p.68.

<sup>68</sup>P.P.1830 XXI, 584. Report of Commission of Enquiry, p.33.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p.43.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., pp.44-47.

<sup>71</sup>Missionary Sketches, 1825.

and Barker's own journal (1825)<sup>72</sup> showed that the Khoi had occupied six brick houses in the "new village" and the annual report for 1825 contained a glowing report from "two English gentlemen."<sup>73</sup> The buildings were commended as they "contributed much towards the improvement of the people" and provided not only shelter but also employment for the Khoi who thus learned a trade in action.<sup>74</sup> Dr Philip's comments contained an equally glowing report and a remark on the evaluation of the houses at Rd.35,000 (1826)<sup>75</sup> while Thomas Pringle spoke of good houses set in gardens which "embellished the prospect."<sup>76</sup>

Shelter and food being basic requirements for any people the missionaries had also turned their attention to the cultivation of the land - an act foreign to the nomadic Khoi. A further reason for this diligence was the injunction from the L.M.S. that institutions were to be self-supporting and that "no charity was to be given."<sup>77</sup>

Cradock had indicated in 1814 that he thought the lands at Theopolis were fertile and well watered, and that there would be no excuse for failure.<sup>78</sup> No doubt Ullbricht shared this bright hope when he planted twenty bushels of corn in 1814 but his hopes were dashed when "little was gathered" on account of drought.<sup>79</sup> The pattern recurred for little or no irrigation was available though in 1815 60 bushels were sown and 608 gathered in.<sup>80</sup> Inexperience, ignorance and ill-health dogged poor Ullbricht who made dejected comment about the futility of wooden spades plied by old women; the despoiling raids of the Xhosa who stole crops ready for harvest; the "trampling of the beasts, and

<sup>72</sup>Barker Journal, observations 1825.

<sup>73</sup>L.M.S. Twenty-First Annual Report, 1825, pp.125-29.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., pp.128-29.

<sup>75</sup>L.M.S. Twenty-Second Annual Report, 1826, p.79.

<sup>76</sup>in Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol.I, p.264.

<sup>77</sup>Vander Kemp Report, Appendix C(iii).

<sup>78</sup>Cradock to Campbell, quoted in Philip, Researches, Vol.II, p.382.

<sup>79</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht Report to Campbell, Appendix C(ii).

<sup>80</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1817, Theopolis, p.28.



JOHN BROWNLEE  
1791 - 1871

(Pictures from Holt: *Greatheart of the Border*)



THE BROWNLEE MISSION STATION 1832

Key

- 1 The new church, built of stone, but not yet finished
- 2 Dwelling-house of one of the missionaries
- 3 Dwelling house of missionary Kayser, alongside a store room. At the upper right corner of the sketch the same house from the opposite side. No. 1, Kayser's study. No. 2 the wife's and children's rooms.
- 4 The old church, which is still used for services, with the bell at its side.
- 5 The dwelling house of the native teacher. To its right other houses inhabited by natives.
- 6, 7 Lands and gardens. The lands mainly planted with maize. The orchard.
- 8, 9, 10 Native kraats and huts.
- 11 The Buffalo River.
- 12 The road leading to Grahamstown.

Translation from the German by the Rev. Dr. J. F. Souter

the destruction wrought by rain when it came."<sup>81</sup> After Barker's arrival a different approach became apparent. A country man himself, Barker made ploughshares and coulter in preparation for harvest.<sup>82</sup> He cleared the fields of thorn and anthills while the cattle, driven on to the lands before ploughing provided the manure.<sup>83</sup> Communal ploughing was carried out and the fields were, for the first time, fenced. Cattle had always been regarded as essential for the welfare of the missionaries<sup>84</sup> though Barker makes mention too of sheep<sup>85</sup> brought from Bethelsdorp, and also of the building of henhouses.<sup>86</sup>

With a more realistic approach to farming, crops became more varied and mention is made of potatoes, Indian corn, beans and "lettices".<sup>87</sup> Tobacco, grown by Ullbricht, was ruined by Xhosa raids.<sup>88</sup> It is interesting to observe that similar crops were grown, after 1820, by Philipps at Lampeter,<sup>89</sup> while Brownlee at Tyhumie<sup>90</sup> (a much more fertile and well watered region) had considerable success with similar crops.<sup>91</sup> Like Barker, he also grew figs and peaches. Birds which stole the peas, the frost in the low-lying areas, and the drying winds ruined many of the Theopolis gardens,<sup>92</sup> and there can be no doubt of the Christian fortitude of the missionaries who not only

<sup>81</sup>Account of flood in Barker Journal, Oct. 1823.

<sup>82</sup>Barker Journal, 20 Jun. 1816.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 16 Sep. 1816.

<sup>84</sup>See Vander Kemp Regulations, Appendix C(iii).

<sup>85</sup>Barker Journal, 19 Jun. 1816.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 20 Jun. 1816 (in note after 25 Jun. 1816).

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., Jul. 1816 (in note after 21 Jul. 1816).

<sup>88</sup>Ullbricht Report to Campbell, 1819, Appendix C(ii).

<sup>89</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.71.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p.285.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>Barker Journal, Sept. 1816.

fought their own battles but urged on their flagging flock who, by tradition, despised agriculture.<sup>93</sup>

Possibly pastoral farming was more profitable for, in 1817, there were 612 cattle at Theopolis, 300 in calf.<sup>94</sup> No doubt excellent use was made of the cattle as described so vividly by Mary Moffat<sup>95</sup> in a letter to her parents. She speaks of the excellence of sour milk (and how to make it!) and of the difficulty in obtaining good milch cows.<sup>96</sup>

Horses were, of course, essential to the missionaries for transport as, unlike the Khoi and the Xhosa, they were not skilled riders of oxen.<sup>97</sup> However, horse-sickness was prevalent in the Eastern Cape as indicated clearly, both by Barker<sup>98</sup> and by Philipps who described it as a "fatal distemper."<sup>99</sup> In fact, Barker became something of an authority on the treatment of horse-sickness and wrote an article on the subject which he submitted to Fairbairn for publication in the Commercial Advertiser. He considered it to be a disease of the lungs irritated by damp, and he discovered<sup>100</sup> that a clean wide and dry stall helped considerably.<sup>101</sup>

An unfortunate result of the presence of horses and, in particular cattle, was the persistence of Xhosa raids with considerable loss both

<sup>93</sup> Van Riebeeck Journal, Chap. III, May 1653.

<sup>94</sup> Barker Journal, introduction, 1817.

<sup>95</sup> J.S. Moffat, Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat, pp.89-92.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Butler, (ed.), 1820 Settlers, p.141; Barker Journal, 11 Dec.1825.

<sup>98</sup> Barker Journal, 13 Jan, 1821.

<sup>99</sup> Keppel Jones (ed.), Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.307.

<sup>100</sup> Barker to Fairbairn, 27 May 1830 (in Mears Papers, B.C.312, Jagger Library, U.C.T.). It is impossible to establish whether Barker's article was published as several similar letters/articles appear all under pseudonyms.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

to the missionaries and to the Khoi. The war of 1835 was particularly disastrous when five hundred and fifty-two head of cattle were taken.<sup>102</sup> The letters of Barker and Sass make frequent mention of both scouting and raiding groups near the mission.<sup>103</sup>

Education in agriculture went hand in hand with the work of the school. A Zulu pastor felt very strongly on this topic when he said, "the school as handmaiden of the Church was a great instrument in achieving change. The Church was on the side [my emphasis] of education and progress, and the gospel taught that new wineskins were needed to hold the new, powerful ferment of ideas."<sup>104</sup> Education at both Bethelsdorp and Theopolis was extended to adults, and lively discussion took place.<sup>105</sup> Adult literacy on the whole was geared to the reading of the Bible and of hymns, though it was recorded at Bethelsdorp that Jan Speelman kept the accounts at the salt pan.<sup>106</sup> It is however obvious that literacy for the children and young people did give them a key to the new life. The sophisticated protest lodged in 1834<sup>107</sup> against the Vagrancy Act, the quality of letters written to the newspapers, and the extraordinary document found at the Khoi camp near Theopolis in 1851<sup>108</sup> all bear mute witness to the success of education leading to an additional means of communication.

Initially the children were taught to read and write and repeated references<sup>109</sup> to the school make it clear that Barker must have spent

<sup>102</sup>L.M.S. Forty-First Annual Report, 1835, p.86.

<sup>103</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 17 Apr. 1835 (14/3/C), 30 Jun. 1835 (14/4/B), 22 Dec. 1835 (14/5/B), and Sass to Directors, 15 Oct. 1835 (14/4/E).

<sup>104</sup>Quoted in Sundkler, The African Pastor, p.124.

<sup>105</sup>Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, p.89.

<sup>106</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape 1800-1852, pp. 74 and 98.

<sup>107</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Oct. 1834 (14/2/A) and 6 Oct. 1834 (14/2/B).

<sup>108</sup>G.T.O. 1832-1836, numerous letters, see p.240 infra

<sup>109</sup>Barker Journal, 1816/1817/1818.

considerable time there during his first years at Theopolis (1816-1819). In the 1817 report Barker stated that the older children had progressed from the use of slates to paper and that reading in the New Testament and also arithmetic were being taught,<sup>110</sup> The Lancastrian method of education<sup>111</sup> introduced in the Raikes schools<sup>112</sup> in England was used. Employing monitors to teach the younger children it was ideal in a context where teachers were in short supply - Barker for example in 1825 had 230 children in his school.<sup>113</sup> At Bethelsdorp, and almost certainly at Theopolis, the monitors were young men, who at weekends itinerated among Khoi farm workers.<sup>114</sup> Mrs Thomas Philipps wrote enthusiastically of the system in practice at Theopolis, "where so many little black creatures...were brought into a state of civilisation and improvement"<sup>115</sup> and where English was taught which would make them useful servants<sup>116</sup> and help them in their trades. It is notable that while the lingua franca at Theopolis and among the Khoi was a patois of Dutch, as early as 1824 reference is made to English lessons in the schools,<sup>117</sup> and documents subsequently written were in English.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> L.M.S. Twenty Fifth Annual Report, p.81.

<sup>111</sup> A group of senior pupils were taught by the teacher. They then went to groups of junior pupils and taught them. For a detailed account of this monitorial system, cf. Kötze (ed.), Letters of the American Missionaries, p.106.

<sup>112</sup> Walker, History of the Christian Church, p.242.

<sup>113</sup> L.M.S. Thirty First Annual Report, p.123.

<sup>114</sup> Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p.75.

<sup>115</sup> Koppel Jones (ed.), Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.286, and List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Barker Journal, 21 Jan. 1824, note.

<sup>118</sup> Example: Memorandum on Vagrancy Act written by Khoi at Theopolis. L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Oct. 1834 (14/2/A).

The recurring problem of teaching material was emphasised<sup>119</sup> and aggravated in the case of the Methodist and Scottish missions by the lack of Xhosa orthography and translations.<sup>120</sup> At Theopolis, they probably made use of the instructions for the Lancastrian method which had been translated by Hooper at Bethelsdorp.<sup>121</sup> The early printing press used by Vander Kemp to make his spelling list at Graaff Reinet (1801) had apparently fallen into disuse and although the arrival of Helm,<sup>122</sup> who was a printer, had raised hopes of further school material, the hopes were dashed when Helm went to join Moffat, taking the press with him.<sup>123</sup>

A series of letters in 1824 present a picture of the desperate straits of those trying to teach with no tools and with vast classes. The children at Theopolis used small pieces of board instead of slate and forays were made to surrounding farms to find suitable material.<sup>124</sup> Writing practice was hindered by the lack of copy books and the directors were asked to get "two complete sets of material for a school of two hundred children without delay."<sup>125</sup> Considering that Mr Edwards<sup>126</sup> was the one and only teacher (helped by monitors) the need must have been urgent indeed! The same need was felt at Tyumie where sand-trays were used for writing<sup>127</sup> - educationally sound but sadly evanescent when no other material was available. Their problem

<sup>119</sup>Barker Journal, note after entry 21 Jun. 1824 and 10 Oct. 1824; L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 24 Jul. 1824 (9/2/C).

<sup>120</sup>Williams, Where Races Meet, p.71.

<sup>121</sup>List of Ministers and Missionaries, Appendix A(iii); Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Frontier, p.75.

<sup>122</sup>List of Ministers and Missionaries, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>123</sup>Sales, op.cit., p.75.

<sup>124</sup>Barker, Journal, 21 Jun. 1824 (note).

<sup>125</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 24 Jul. 1824 (9/2/C).

<sup>126</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>127</sup>Williams, op.cit., p.71.

was solved with the arrival of a printing press and by the genius of Bennie<sup>128</sup> who mastered orthography and wrote books. Frustration must have been enormous for when slates arrived at Theopolis from Bethelsdorp, there were no pencils!

Shaw made it quite clear that indigenous material and well trained teachers solved the manifold problems of mission education. This was clearly shown by Daniel Roberts<sup>129</sup> who was trained at Theopolis and learnt there how to run a school. Shaw, having seen the Theopolis school in operation, was delighted with his trainee and Roberts progressed well in the W.M.S.<sup>130</sup> Moffat, like Shaw and Barker, was much involved with education and expressed a similar anxiety concerning the wants of the teachers.<sup>131</sup>

School attendance, at first enthusiastic, was later a major problem. Sales observed that at Bethelsdorp,<sup>132</sup> various strategies had to be used to induce the children to come to school. One method used at Bethelsdorp and at Tyumie was to issue tickets for which awards were subsequently given. At Theopolis a meeting of parents was called and they were exhorted to encourage their children to attend regularly,<sup>133</sup> To reinforce this, Barker preached a sermon on re-birth and its importance to Christians.<sup>134</sup> A further problem was the additional rôle of boys as herdsmen, while the school's fortunes were closely linked too to events such as harvests and Xhosa raids when men were

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<sup>128</sup>C.M. Doke in Bantu Studies, XIV, p.217, reported that a reading sheet printed by Bennie was the "oldest piece of printed continuous Xhosa."

<sup>129</sup>List of Ministers and Missionaries, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>130</sup>Shaw, Journal (ed., Hammond-Tooke), p.119.

<sup>131</sup>Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa, pp.315-16.

<sup>132</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Frontier, p.91.

<sup>133</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 10 Sep. 1824 (9/2/C).

<sup>134</sup>Barker Journal, 24 Jul. 1824. Text: St John's Gospel, Chap.iii, Verse 4.

required for ploughing or reaping and for commando duty so the boys took over the stock.

Philip believed that if the missionary's own children attended the mission schools they would set an example.<sup>135</sup> This idea, however, was received with contumacy. Roger Edwards spoke of depraved morals and shocking language,<sup>136</sup> while Barker spoke of the shocking "state of society among the native children. As things now stand your missionaries are employed in civilising the natives of Africa and making Barbarians of their own children."<sup>137</sup> Edwards complained too of a lack of parental support and of their complaints over corporal punishment. As the method employed involved the older boys holding the girls down "to facilitate flogging"<sup>138</sup> one can hardly wonder that gently nurtured mission children did not attend. The problems experienced at Theopolis were echoed in many journals and letters,<sup>139</sup> and, to this day, the problem of mixed classes exercises even the most earnestly committed integrationist.

Yet the Khoi were appreciative of education. A man working for "Mrs General Campbell"<sup>140</sup> refused to bring his numerous children with him as they would miss school. This in spite of the fact that Mrs Campbell was compelled by law to feed them if they lived on her farm.<sup>141</sup>

Descriptions and sidelights on education abound. Moffat, despairing of teaching the alphabet to adults, got the children to sing it to

<sup>135</sup> Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Frontier, p.92.

<sup>136</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Edwards to Directors, 9 May 1828 (11/1/B).

<sup>137</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1828 (9/3/C).

<sup>138</sup> Barker Journal, 5 Feb. 1825 - 14 Feb. 1825.

<sup>139</sup> Sundkler, African Pastor, p.70; Williams, Where Races Meet, p.71.

<sup>140</sup> List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>141</sup> Barker Journal, 12 Aug. 1825.

the tune of "Auld Lang Syne."<sup>142</sup> Thomas Pringle was charmed by the adult Sunday-school at Theopolis with old men in spectacles and emaciated Bushmen listening "with gratifying attention."<sup>143</sup> The "English gentleman" found the monitors efficient and the English language lessons interesting, while he claimed that at Theopolis the problem of irregular attendance had been overcome,<sup>144</sup> and the children were decently dressed. Both his travelling companion<sup>145</sup> and Foster<sup>146</sup> concurred. While Roger Edwards's criticism was sharp and contradicted the view of outsiders, it should be noted that he was unhappy at Theopolis, apparently a born grumbler,<sup>147</sup> and that his remarks may be regarded as biased.

Further extensions in education included a sewing school set up by Mrs Barker and Mrs Peter Wright, and which promoted "habits of cleanliness and industry"<sup>148</sup> - a precursor surely of Lovedale<sup>149</sup> and of Snaw's School of Industry.<sup>150</sup> By 1829 infant schools had been introduced at the Cape by a Miss Lyndall<sup>151</sup> and one of trained mission teachers in the running of such schools using such avant garde methods as singing and rhythmic games to teach three-year-olds.<sup>152</sup> One of

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<sup>142</sup>Moffat, Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa, p.602.

<sup>143</sup>Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in Southern Africa, p.89.

<sup>144</sup>L.M.S. Thirty-First Annual Report, 1825. Unfortunately no record is available of how this was done.

<sup>145</sup>ibid.

<sup>146</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>147</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Edwards to Directors, 9 Feb. 1828 (11/L/B), 20 Sep. 1828 (11/3/C).

<sup>148</sup>L.M.S. Thirty-First Annual Report, 1825, p.141.

<sup>149</sup>Williams, Where Races Meet, pp.66-68.

<sup>150</sup>Snaw, My Mission, p.108.

<sup>151</sup>Elizabeth Lyndall, an Englishwoman and trained infant school teacher, set up model infant schools at the Cape. She later married Samuel Rolland of the Paris Evangelical Mission, cf. Kitchingman Papers pp. 18, 117, 197(n.32)

<sup>152</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p.104.

the most successful proponents of this new approach was Barker's daughter Sarah<sup>153</sup> who, with 120 on the roll had an average attendance of 115 children in 1833.<sup>154</sup> A further testimonial to the efficiency of her methods was given by the missionary Kayser who sent his own children to her school during his sojourn at Theopolis during the war in 1835 and described the school as "excellent".<sup>155</sup>

Other descriptions of Theopolis school include Shaw's delight in the singing of Watts's Divine Songs,<sup>156</sup> a collection of extremely moral verses very popular in England; and the children's delight in what would be called today (1982), a Sunday School Picnic<sup>157</sup> for which Barker himself helped prepare food.<sup>158</sup> Even when the rest of the mission was in a state of disaster and decay (1850), Bishop Merriman<sup>159</sup> was able to write of the excellence of the teacher, Miss Sass, "an excellent Xhosa scholar" and zealous worker.<sup>160</sup> The mission school lapsed in 1851 when the work went into a period of recess, but was revived in 1868 by Trinity Presbyterian Church, Grahamstown,<sup>161</sup> and to this day the children at Theopolis School (some direct descendants of the "old people")<sup>162</sup> delight visitors with their melodious singing.

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<sup>153</sup>See Barker Family Tree, Appendix E.

<sup>154</sup>L.M.S. Thirty-Ninth Annual Report, Theopolis 1833, p.82.

<sup>155</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Kayser to Directors, 4 Jan 1836 (15/1/A); List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>156</sup>Scholes, Companion to Music, p.244.

<sup>157</sup>Barker Journal, 2 Feb. 1826.

<sup>158</sup>ibid.

<sup>159</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>160</sup>Varley and Matthews (eds.), Merriman's Cape Journal, p.115.

<sup>161</sup>Trinity Church (Grahamstown) Records, 1868-1982.

<sup>162</sup>Oral evidence, Guthrie Hoyi, Theopolis, 1961.

Shelter, food and training had been provided when Philip decided that, to introduce the Khoi to the commerce of their "new" world, shops should be set up at the missions.<sup>163</sup> He argued that there they would learn the value of goods and services and also that the problems of visiting a more sophisticated centre (such as Bathurst!) would be avoided. To this end Mr Kemp of Cape Town stocked a shop at Bethelsdorp to be run by his brother,<sup>165</sup> while Rutherford set up a similar store at Theopolis to be run by a Mr Maskell<sup>166</sup> as shopkeeper. Philip considered that, tempted by the goods displayed, the residents at the missions would be aroused to industry to earn the money to buy the goods. An interesting comment on this new consumer society was made by Barker after the appointment of a black storekeeper in 1836.<sup>167</sup> The people, he suggested, knowing that this man had had to pay for the merchandise himself, would consider that he would be unable to give them credit and so they would be prepared to pay cash! In him (the shopkeeper) they saw commerce in action - a supplier, a middle-man, and a consumer. In this way, perhaps, the instruction to Vander Kemp by the directors was fulfilled for not only was industry promoted but also social order in a free enterprise system.

Theopolis and Bethelsdorp were not the only mission institutions where shops were established. Shaw shared the view that a shop was a place of instruction in the new life<sup>168</sup> and applied in 1825, through Thomson as government agent, for a shop at Wesleyville.<sup>169</sup> Thomson's reluctance to get a permit was based on his strongly felt view that a

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<sup>163</sup> Barker Journal, 23 Sep. 1822.

<sup>164</sup> List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>165</sup> Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape, p.87.

<sup>166</sup> See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi). This man is referred to as Maskell both by Sales and in the Kitchingman Papers. However, the List of British Settlers before 1820 (Peter Philip), gives the name clearly as Maskell, as does Barker.

<sup>167</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, 16 Dec. 1836 (15/1/E).

<sup>168</sup> Williams, When Races Meet, pp.57-58.

<sup>169</sup> ibid.

sion, run on or by the mission, might "breed hostility and suspicion" though he too considered that such a venture might promote civilisation and encourage the adoption of better habits.<sup>170</sup> In the same way Moffat discovered that as clothing was generally used "the want of a merchant was greatly felt" (1838), and a shop was opened at Kuruman. In every case the shopkeeper was a man deeply involved in Christian work,<sup>171</sup> but the shop itself was an independent commercial venture, and there can be little doubt that each played a part in helping the Khoi to adjust rapidly to the new life.

Even in the early days of the mission commercial and industrial enterprise on a small scale was a feature of mission life. At Bethelsdorp Campbell cited eighteen such activities in 1813,<sup>172</sup> while MacMillan made reference to wood-cutting, work at the salt-pans, and the collection of aloe juice.<sup>173</sup> At Theopolis, the carpenters "sold planks in Grahamstown",<sup>174</sup> and the masons made lime (from shell and stone) and such excellent bricks that there was a wide and ready market for them<sup>175</sup> and plenty of work for the builders.<sup>176</sup> Barker's smithy was kept busy making, among other things, a mill for Dietz<sup>177</sup> at Algoa Bay, a pair with "bails and ears"<sup>178</sup> for Captain Bogle,<sup>179</sup> and numerous ploughshares, coulters and nails.<sup>180</sup> Sales

<sup>170</sup>Williams, When Races Meet, pp 57-58

<sup>171</sup>Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa, p.205.

<sup>172</sup>Campbell, Travels in South Africa, Vol.I, p.79.

<sup>173</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, pp.48-49.

<sup>174</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ulbricht to Campbell, 17 Jul. 1819 (8/L/C), Appendix C(ii).

<sup>175</sup>Ibid.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid.

<sup>177</sup>Barker Journal, 31 Jan. 1816, note.

<sup>178</sup>Ibid., 23 Feb. 1816.

<sup>179</sup>See List of Military Men, Appendix A(iv).

<sup>180</sup>An iron hook made at Theopolis is still in use at Barville Park (1982).

has suggested that mats, baskets, cord, furniture and builders' materials were needed by the settlers,<sup>181</sup> and it is certain that the women busied themselves with weaving mats and with curing cord<sup>182</sup> for thatching. A shoemaker, two tailors, smiths and carpenters also plied their trades and, said Ullbricht, "the men can help themselves in wood-work, as coopers and as waggon-makers."<sup>183</sup> In addition, they made clothes and soap, hired out wagons, for which Barker made name boards,<sup>184</sup> and pursued their trade as professional hunters. Boezak,<sup>185</sup> one of these hunters, "shot elephants for their tusks"<sup>186</sup> and provided a service in guiding white hunting parties. In addition a brisk trade in hides and skins was carried on with men like Mr Gush<sup>187</sup> who "brought merchandise and bought up all the hides."<sup>188</sup> In addition as Cape coral trees were planted in great numbers,<sup>189</sup> it is surely not idle to speculate that shingles, made of this fire-resistant wood,<sup>190</sup> were sold too.

As sophistication in agriculture advanced reference to the sale of oats and vegetables on the market in Grahamstown is made (1836) - an advantageous advance for the Khoi who received set cash payments instead of the rather inadequate payment in kind often received from settlers.<sup>191</sup> A further excellent lesson could be learnt by the Khoi

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<sup>181</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p.88.

<sup>182</sup>Ibid.

<sup>183</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Campbell, 17 Jul. 1819 (8/1/C), Appendix C(ii).

<sup>184</sup>Barker Journal, 14 Dec. 1820.

<sup>185</sup>See List of Khoi Names, Appendix A(v).

<sup>186</sup>Butler (ed.), The 1820 Settlers, p.204.

<sup>187</sup>See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>188</sup>Barker Journal, 20 Sep. 1822.

<sup>189</sup>Ibid., numerous references. Example: Note, 13 Aug. 1824.

<sup>190</sup>Walton, Villages & Homesteads in South Africa, p.67.

<sup>191</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 16 Dec. 1836 (15/1/E).

whose idea of the market value of goods and services was totally inadequate thus making them easy targets for the unscrupulous.

The Khoi undoubtedly had much to offer in the way of goods and skilled services, and so Theopolis from its humble start had grown into an active community catering for the physical and spiritual needs of the community, providing just those things cited by Neumark as crucial to frontier trade.<sup>192</sup> If it be accepted that one of the roles of the missionary was as interpreter of the new and complex life, then Theopolis can be accepted as successful. It should be remembered that while the first Christian missionaries worked among people with complex religious and social organisation, those who came to Africa were in a totally untried milieu which made their task greater. In 1836 the American missionary Aldingrout told James Kitchingman<sup>193</sup> the Zulus saw the tools that the missionaries used but asked no questions about them, watched them at work, building and in the gardens but expressed no desire to help. However, it seemed inevitable that the people would become involved in the process. To those who criticise the missionary for the breakdown of the tribal system, for acting as agents of government, for trading, it is suggested that had the people of Africa not been introduced to the trappings of the western way of life and left to develop their tribal systems, the same critics would have been as vocal in their criticism. The criticism is levelled at men whose devotion to duty was undoubted, whose energy and enterprise opened new doors and who cannot be held responsible either for the folly of some of their colleagues or for the crass stupidity of their descendants.

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<sup>192</sup>Neumark, Economic Influence on the South African Frontier, 1652-1836, pp. 79-90; 155; 182-183

<sup>193</sup>Le Cordeur & Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p. 182

## CHAPTER VII

WE BELIEVE : THEOPOLIS IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE  
ON THE FRONTIER

"What is now called the Christian religion existed among the ancients and was not absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh : from which time the true religion which existed already began to be called Christian."<sup>1</sup> Implicit in this statement by St Augustine<sup>2</sup> is an idea which, if implanted in the minds of early missionaries might well have enabled them to accept, more complacently perhaps, the ideas and religious feelings of their Khoi parishioners. In fact a missionary tendency to ridicule the ancient customs of potential converts might well have led to the reticence experienced among the Khoi or in fact to passive resistance.<sup>3</sup> Moffat was disappointed in his lack of communication with his convert, the chief Africander.<sup>4</sup> Yet his own attitude of implied criticism might well have led Africander to hide what he could have regarded as his shameful past.<sup>5</sup> The whole tendency to despise is shown in Barker's tetchy comment about the "nonsense of witchcraft"<sup>6</sup> so clearly indicative of a negative approach. "The religious instinct should be honoured even in dark and confused mysteries",<sup>7</sup> wrote Schelling and, had the missionaries accepted such a dictum, far greater communication

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted from The Confessions of St Augustine, in Hahn, Tsuni - Goam : the Supreme Being of the Khoikhoi, p.51.

<sup>2</sup>St Augustine (354-430). Born at Tagaste in Numidia he was the son of a heathen father and a Christian mother. At first a heathen he soon turned his powerful mind to Christian teaching at the University at Carthage. His contribution to Christian teaching was invaluable.

<sup>3</sup>Hahn, Tsuni - Goam, pp.43-44.

<sup>4</sup>Africander; See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>5</sup>Hahn, op.cit., p.51.

<sup>6</sup>Barker Journal, 6 Oct. 1821.

<sup>7</sup>Hahn, op.cit., quoting Schelling, p.36.

might have resulted to the benefit of all and particularly to the cause of religion.

Consideration then should be given to the religious beliefs which motivated the missionaries; to the training and preparation they were given; to the pattern of worship adopted; all seen in the context of mission institution society and of Khoi beliefs and practice.

Theophilus Hahn<sup>8</sup> in a fascinating survey of Khoi language pointed out that, within that framework was contained many words implicitly religious in connotation; and indicative of an unusual degree of abstraction - unusual that is in the context of primitive people. Such words, relevant to the Christian ethos, were truth, love of truth, mercy, forgiveness of hatred and full of purity.<sup>9</sup> Khoi religious verse, too, was expressive of deep religious feeling containing prayers of invocation and songs of praise.<sup>10</sup>

Hahn quoted Dapper<sup>11</sup> at the Cape in 1671 who spoke with conviction about Khoi belief in one who sends rain, wind, heat and cold, and whom Hahn called Tsuni Goam - the Supreme Being. At the opposite end of the scale there was an equally firm belief in the powers of darkness,<sup>12</sup> whose prince appeared in verse and in ceremonies.

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<sup>8</sup>Theophilus Hahn (1842-1905). Born and brought up on Rhenish missions in Namaqualand he became a trader and agent with Nama as his second language. He studied at Halle University and while still a student he published learned papers on Philology and anthropology. His extremely colourful life and extensive contact with the Khoi enabled him to collect much interesting (and irreplaceable) material, though scholars are inclined to doubt some of his deductions.

<sup>9</sup>Hahn, Tsuni - Goam, pp.24-25.

<sup>10</sup>See Appendix F.

<sup>11</sup>Olfert Dapper (1636-1689). A Dutch writer on Africa, he is invaluable for the huge quantity of material which he collected from a wide variety of sources. His descriptions of Khoi life are very detailed and well authenticated.

<sup>12</sup>Hahn, op.cit., quoting Dapper, pp.37-38.

These findings were confirmed by the experience of Schmeelen,<sup>13</sup> an L.M.S. man married to a Namaqua and who spoke the Khoi language fluently,<sup>14</sup> though Hahn deplores the lack of notes left on his findings. Perhaps this is the nub of the problem - the missionaries had been taught to despise "heathen" custom, so naturally did not feel them to be worth recording. The Khoi realised the attitude and the result was, to a certain extent an impasse. Their sensitivity to implied stricture is well illustrated in the following extract from the annual report of Theopolis in 1844 regarding potential church members:<sup>15</sup>

"Of the spiritual state of four of them I had scarcely any knowledge until very recently; so that, when we were informed of the actual state of their minds, we were rather taken by surprise. But though, at first, somewhat inclined to doubt, we now feel constrained to hope, from the statements made by one of the deacons, that they are indeed under the gracious operations of the Holy Spirit. We watch, and hope, and pray for their souls."

In the foregoing statement, Mr Taylor mentions the very partial knowledge he possessed for some time of the hopeful spiritual state of the four Hottentot inquirers; and, in the following observations, he explains the reason of his comparative unacquaintance with this encouraging fact:-

"There is," remarks Mr T., "a peculiarity in the Hottentots in the early stages of their religious impressions - they cannot bear to be thought under concern for their souls. We have often been grievously disappointed owing to this feature in their character. Actuated by a desire to foster the germs of incipient piety, we have sought and improved opportunities of encouraging and drawing out those whom we have observed usually attentive in the use of the means of grace. To our no small grief and surprise we have perceived from that moment an almost total withdrawal. It is only very lately we have ascertained the cause. Mrs Taylor had observed that, for several successive weeks, the meeting she holds with the females for prayer had been attended by a woman, for years noted as one apparently destitute of the least regard for religion - a plague and grief to her husband, and to all the pious females in the Institution. With this woman I had had some close conversation on the state of

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<sup>13</sup> See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>14</sup> Hahn, Tsuni - Goam, pp.49-50.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in L.M.S. Transactions, 1845.

her soul, but she appeared as unimpressible as a statue. Mrs Taylor, cheered at observing her regular attendance, and anxious that the impressions, which, from this circumstance, she supposed had been made on her mind, should be deepened, spoke to two of the elder females, advising them to take a suitable opportunity to enter into conversation with her and encourage her. They smiled, but remarked, 'No, Madam, that we must not do! Our eyes are upon her, but if we take the least notice of her we shall lose her. We must not be the first to speak: we must quietly look on and wait till she shall feel disposed to talk. This may seem strange to you, Ma'am, but it is always the way with our nation. The woman is feeling now that all is not right with her - she is conscious that she ought not to be accounted a good woman: if we speak to her, she will say in her heart, These people have been deceived by me: they think to make me fast - I must keep away from them, otherwise I shall add to my guilt by encouraging their favourable views of my state.' We have by this means learned a lesson - a valuable lesson perhaps; but it is one which we find very difficult to practise."

The religion of the Independents (Congregationalists) was characterised by autonomy. They did not subscribe to any credal statement<sup>16</sup> and their problem is made articulate in the following: "The Church is the community of all those who, believing in God as Heavenly Father, accepting Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour and depending on the Holy Spirit seek to live in God's presence according to all that He has made known or will make known to them,"<sup>17</sup> Strong emphasis was laid on the total autonomy of each congregation with the church deacons and minister making all the decisions for polity and policy.<sup>18</sup> Effectively this left the missionaries free to decide what would best suit their own situations.<sup>19</sup> While possibly an effective method used where priest and congregation had a measure of sophistication it was actually a source of discomfort in southern Africa for the opportunity to meet and talk was limited and desperately needed. The loneliness of the south African missionary both in terms of physical isolation and ecclesiastically might lead one to believe that they would need

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<sup>16</sup>Briggs and Wing, The Harvest and the Hope, p.302.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Walker, A History of the Christian Church, pp.460-63.

<sup>19</sup>Briggs and Wing, op.cit., pp.1-2.

to trust imperturbably in the appointment and choice of the Upper Powers."<sup>20</sup>

In spite of the emphasis on independence consensus did seem to exist on such subjects as conversion, baptism, the conduct of worship and communion. Other aspects of religious life apparently similar at all institutions were public profession of faith, large services of celebration of religious events and preaching as a means of reinforcing moral precepts. Problems which exercised all ministers and figured regularly in their preaching were witchcraft and polygamy. Contrary to contemporary practice, George Barker appeared to keep contact with a wide spectrum of divines which moved Shaw to comment that he was received by Barker "in the most affectionate manner although of different societies" (my emphasis).<sup>21</sup>

Fundamental to all mission work was conversion. This, however, was no simple matter as Taylor's comments show,<sup>22</sup> for the missionaries' ignorance of the Khoi's own basic acceptance of a Supreme Being led them to assume a far greater ignorance than existed. The "converting grace" might enter the heart of an individual but the road to adult baptism was a long one and the road to confirmation more difficult still.<sup>23</sup> Vander Kemp distinguished three classes of converts, the Hearer (those who came to listen to the word of God), the Catechumens (those under religious discipline and instruction) and, finally, the Christians (those who "bring forth the fruits of conversion").<sup>24</sup> That the road to conversion was not easy is borne out by numerous references in Barker's diary and particularly vividly in the story of Africander's conversion as told by Moffat,<sup>25</sup> or in

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<sup>20</sup>Attributed to Thomas Carlyle on a tombstone in Macclesfield churchyard in England.

<sup>21</sup>Hammond Tooke (ed.), Journal of William Shaw, p.35.

<sup>22</sup>Vide p.129 supra.

<sup>23</sup>Clinton, The South African Melting Pot, p.35.

<sup>24</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 3 Feb. 1806 (3/2/B).

<sup>25</sup>Moffat (ed. Schapera), Apprenticeship at Kuruman, pp.589-95.

the sermon preached by Cupido in the presence of John Campbell. Moffat's assumption however that all vestiges of religious impression had disappeared from the minds of the Khoi might well have accounted for the multiplicity of difficulties experienced.<sup>26</sup>

In a letter reporting on a service at Hoogekraal (Pacaltsdorp),<sup>27</sup> Barker observed that the baptism of adults was preceded by intense preparation of the candidates and that due consideration was given to the quality of the conversion. Barker's own first active participation in an adult baptism service was at Bethelsdorp, where he heard five adults examined before they were confirmed. To his disappointment none ascribed their conversion to preaching but all to the influence of other Khoi.<sup>28</sup> Hysteria often attended such services as Joseph Williams's description of the Pacaltsdorp service clearly indicates with its reference to "the whole congregation of 200 at once crying out for mercy", some of whom were not able to stand after the service.<sup>29</sup> The same hysteria attended a service at Kuruman,<sup>30</sup> and there, too, Moffat commented on the influence of other Khoi on the converts.<sup>31</sup> Shaw found such hysteria indecorous and spoke severely of the physical effects as "evils incident to a state of great excitement."<sup>32</sup> This view was not supported by Dr Philip who took as a sign of great piety Messer's report on a tearful service accompanied by lusty singing and praying<sup>33</sup> when twelve adults were baptised.

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<sup>26</sup>Moffat (ed. Schapera), Apprenticeship at Kuruman, p.244.

<sup>27</sup>Barker Journal, 10 Aug. 1815; L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 14 Aug. 1815 (6/2/A) and Evans to Directors, 30 Oct. 1815 (6/2/C).

<sup>28</sup>Barker Journal, 10 Feb. 1816.

<sup>29</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Williams to Directors, 11 Dec. 1815 (6/2/D).

<sup>30</sup>Moffat (ed. Schapera), op.cit., p.496.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p.40.

<sup>32</sup>Shaw, Story of my Mission, p.188.

<sup>33</sup>John Philip to James Kitchingman, 19 May 1831, quoted in Kitchingman Papers, p.107.

On Sunday afternoon at Bethelsdorp and later at Theopolis, an experience meeting was always held.<sup>34</sup> This was a class meeting at which public profession of faith was made and where lively discussion took place<sup>35</sup> - undoubtedly the source of the Khoi influence on converts. This was always followed by agape (a love feast) where a simple meal was shared - probably a precursor to full communion. It was at these meetings that new converts learnt to express their faith publicly, shared their spiritual struggles and gave general expression to their thoughts on religion.<sup>36</sup> Public witness was an important feature of conversion as when a woman gave "a clear exposition of the change wrought in her by the spirit of God."<sup>37</sup> Some of the converts waited for a sign (which would be equated with pre-Christian ideas of portents) before accepting baptism. One such was Elizabeth Buys<sup>38</sup> who was moved by a sermon at Bethelsdorp in 1813 but decided "not to embrace Christ until he was offered to the Caffres." Seeing Khosa at a service at Theopolis in 1827 she made a public confession of her faith and asked for baptism.<sup>39</sup>

The rôle of dreams in religion was extremely important, though possibly less typical in conversion. Dreams were traditionally regarded as omens by the Khoi and it would appear natural that at a time of great change in their spiritual lives, they would use dreams as decisive factors. Typical of the dreams quoted by Barker is one in which a man saw the world on fire and melting and he could not reach a small group who stood peacefully and safely beneath "a thatch".<sup>40</sup> Another, quoted by Moffat, saw a high mountain, a

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<sup>34</sup>Campbell, Travels in South Africa, Volume I, p.70.

<sup>35</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 21 Jan. 1824 (9/2/A).

<sup>36</sup>Pierce, Principles & Policy of the Wesleyan Methodists, p.79; L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 21 Jan. 1824 (9/2/A).

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>See List of Khoi Names, Appendix A(v).

<sup>39</sup>Barker Journal, 4 Apr. 1827.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 1 Sept. 1816.

valley filled with smoke and one who stood shining and beckoning above him. It would be acceptable to attribute this type of dream either to the influence of attendance at Boer prayers<sup>41</sup> where the doctrine of hell-fire and damnation might well have been a component; or to attribute them to Khoi religious ideas if Hahn's interpretation is correct. This latter explanation would be most acceptable where it concerned those whose contact with the Christian church must have been minimal. From this initial period of dreams, and resultant discussion they passed on to the Catechumens class which so much delighted Pringle<sup>42</sup> and where serious Bible study was undertaken.

The next step, as prescribed by the Committee of Examiners in 1818,<sup>43</sup> was a public confession of Christ as Saviour and of themselves as sinners redeemed.<sup>44</sup> This public confession was a solemn moment and many had difficulty in expressing their feelings, especially in the face of a large congregation.<sup>45</sup> In a letter Barker recorded that at the baptism of Elizabeth Nimmo<sup>46</sup> her expression of her faith was a moving experience<sup>47</sup> accompanied as it was by an exposition of scripture.

The foundation for this knowledge was laid in Catechism classes. The Catechism classes formed an integral part of mission life for they involved, not only adults, but also children baptised in infancy and who wished to become full members.<sup>48</sup> Philip and Campbell, in the memorial written as a result of their deputation work (1819-

41 <sup>41</sup>Barker Journal, 30 Aug. 1815.

42 <sup>42</sup>Annual Report quoted in L.M.S. Transactions, Vol. II, pp.178-79.

43 <sup>43</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Directors to Missionaries, 1817/1818 (7/5/C).

44 <sup>44</sup>Ibid.

45 <sup>45</sup>L.M.S. Thirty-First Annual Report, 1825, pp.126-27.

46 <sup>46</sup>See List of Khoi Names, Appendix A(v).

47 <sup>47</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

48 <sup>48</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Memorial of Campbell and Philip, (no date) (8/1/D).

1820)<sup>49</sup> pointed out that missionaries should make extensive use of published Catechism books which were based on an excellent question/answer system which would encourage thoughtful acceptance of religion.<sup>50</sup> Starting with the creation, the questions range through to the birth of Christ then to the concepts of good and evil and, finally, to the examination of conscience. Barker, in fact, recorded the use of Palmer's Scripture Catechism<sup>51</sup> "in both formal and informal manner" (1825).<sup>52</sup> This simplified form of the Catechism included questions on scripture knowledge and was popular in Sunday schools. Moffat used the Church of Scotland Assembly's Shorter Catechism (which he translated) and he also used the Borough Road Scripture Lessons<sup>53</sup> which were recommended by Miles.<sup>54</sup> Vander Kemp had written a short Catechism in the Gona (Khoi) language,<sup>55</sup> but there is no record of the use of this book at other institutions, nor is there any detailed account of how Catechism was used except at Bethelsdorp.<sup>56</sup> Philip, having initially recommended the use of Catechism remained enthusiastic about it, pointing out that the study of such work had led to a different atmosphere in the church - more studious and less volatile.<sup>57</sup> An important adjunct to Catechism classes were literacy lessons so that the nomadic Khoi could "take the Church with them" as they travelled.

The quality and qualifications of the men who conducted classes, expounded scripture, exercised church discipline and made judgments

<sup>49</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Memorial of Campbell and Philip (no date) (8/1/0).

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Palmer's Catechism was one commonly used.

<sup>52</sup> Barker Journal, 29 Jun. 1825.

<sup>53</sup> Lessons used first in the Borough Road slums in London.

<sup>54</sup> See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>55</sup> Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape, p.38.

<sup>56</sup> L.M.S. Transactions, Vol. III, pp.292-93.

<sup>57</sup> Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. I, p.220.

was a crucial factor. The fever of the early days of evangelical revival gradually gave way to a cooler calculation of the tasks of the missionary and the great responsibility of a man, who living in isolation had by precept and example to teach the great truths of religion. It would have been perilously easy (given the Khoi's interest and enthusiasm) to swell the numbers in annual reports by admitting too many to the privileges of baptism and communion.<sup>58</sup>

In fact both at Bethelsdorp and at Theopolis "convincing proof of conversion"<sup>59</sup> was needed and this view was shared by other societies.<sup>60</sup> It should be remembered, however, that the Methodists had a circuit president to whom reference could be made, and the Scottish missionaries worked in the framework of a presbytery, while the L.M.S. men, because they were Independents, had to take the ultimate decision themselves.

Controversy had raged for some time on the mission with regard to the rôle of the mechanic missionary as opposed to the academic,<sup>61</sup> and there was little doubt that the status and commitments of the ordained man had great significance not only for the people but also for the self-esteem of the missionary.<sup>62</sup> As a result of numerous requests the Committee of Examiners drew up new regulations to operate in Africa (1818).<sup>63</sup> At every ordination service at least two ordained men were to be present though it was stated "of any Protestant denomination",<sup>64</sup> thus making it easier to arrange an ordination in an isolated place. Ordinands were to be referred to "the fundamental principle of the Society (Independent philosophy)

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<sup>58</sup>Clinton, The South African Melting Pot, p.38.

<sup>59</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1812 (Bethelsdorp).

<sup>60</sup>Shaw, The Story of my Mission, p.64.

<sup>61</sup>Williams, When Races Meet, p.87.

<sup>62</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. I, p.207; L.M.S. Correspondence, Minutes of the Graaff Reinet Conference, 25 Aug. 1814 (5/4/A), 24 Nov. 1814 (5/4/C).

<sup>63</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Committee of Examiners, 1817/1818 (7/5/C), Appendix C(vii).

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

which admits of a difference of opinion as to the mode of administering ordination." For those whose ordination had taken place in "irregular fashion" the typical broad options of the Independents were given. Re-ordination could be required by the southern African brethren but the missionary himself would have the final say.<sup>65</sup>

A case in point would be the "irregular" ordination of Ullbricht who was appointed to Theopolis by the Graaff Reinet Conference and there ordained although he had been dispatched by the L.M.S. as a mechanic missionary.<sup>66</sup> No permission was sought for this action.

Barker's own ordination (1819) is set out in some detail<sup>67</sup> and shows clearly the pattern which was followed by others. Commencing at 9 o'clock in the morning the service, conducted by Rev. Evans<sup>68</sup> and Rev. Messer at Bethelsdorp, was very long. A scripture passage<sup>69</sup> was read by Barker and it was well chosen, calling on the Lord for help and guidance and at one point for aid in times of "drought, pestilence, caterpillars and locusts." Singularly apposite! Messer's sermon was based on a text calling on the Lord to "keep his promises to His servant."<sup>70</sup> "An appropriate discourse," said Barker,<sup>71</sup> The actual ordination service began at eleven o'clock with Evans reading a passage dealing with the attributes of a minister.<sup>72</sup> This was followed by a prayer and then the following questions were posed. "How do you intend to exercise the office of minister among the people?" "What are the doctrines you believe to be contained in Holy Scripture?" To these Barker endeavoured to

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<sup>65</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Committee of Examiners, 1817/1818 (7/5/C), Appendix C(vii).

<sup>66</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Minutes of Graaff Reinet Conference, 25 Aug. 1814 (5/4/A), 24 Nov. 1814 (5/4/C).

<sup>67</sup>Barker Journal, 10 Jan. 1818 (first entry under this date).

<sup>68</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>69</sup>Holy Bible, I.Kings, VII, 36 (Moffat translation).

<sup>70</sup>Holy Bible, II;Chronicles, VIII, 15-16 (Moffat translation).

<sup>71</sup>Barker Journal, 10 Jan. 1819.

<sup>72</sup>Holy Bible, I.Timothy, III.

give good answers<sup>73</sup> - prepared in advance in Dutch, presumably to enable the congregation to understand. Regrettably neither in his diary nor in letters concerning the service<sup>74</sup> is there any record of his answers. Messer then offered up an ordination prayer and Evans gave "a very appropriate and affectionate charge based on II.Timothy, 4-5, "Whatever happens be self-possessed, flinch from no suffering, do your work as an evangelist, and discharge all your duties as a minister."<sup>75</sup> - a charge which, it can fairly be suggested, Barker endeavoured to fulfil. This was followed by a sermon from Messer after which Barker baptised five children and administered the Lord's Supper.<sup>76</sup>

Wright's ordination at Theopolis in 1826 followed the same pattern but neither the readings nor the questions were recorded.<sup>77</sup> The main difference lies in the fact that, with Barker's numerous clerical contacts in the post-1820 era, various ministers came making it a considerable ecumenical event including as it did Ayliff,<sup>78</sup> Robson,<sup>79</sup> Helm, Duxbury,<sup>80</sup> and a party of singers from Grahamstown, "who conducted that part of worship and had two instruments of music."<sup>81</sup> This is the first mention of instruments in the church at Theopolis. Mr Wright concluded the ceremony by baptising a child - apparently public recognition of ordained status. In a letter to the directors<sup>82</sup> Barker considered that the service

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<sup>73</sup>Barker Journal, 10 Jan. 1819.

<sup>74</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Hooper to Directors, 11 Jan. 1819 (8/1/A); L.M.S. Annual Report, 1819 (Bethelsdorp).

<sup>75</sup>Barker Journal, 10 Jan. 1819.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 14 Mar. 1826.

<sup>78</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Barker Journal, 14 Mar. 1826.

<sup>82</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 31 Mar. 1826 (10/1/B).

was edifying to the congregation as Wright in answer to the questions posed, made clear the struggle involved in reaching the decision to seek ordination. One member of the congregation commented that he would "thank God more than ever for the missionaries as I now know why they came to serve us."<sup>83</sup> The same theme was continued at Brownlee's ordination (1826)<sup>84</sup> (when he was re-admitted to the L.M.S.)<sup>85</sup> in Barker's sermon on "the best way to preserve our duty as missionaries."<sup>86</sup>

While most of these men had done a course of sorts at Gosport,<sup>87</sup> it seems strange that with the Independents' emphasis on intellect in religion<sup>88</sup> no mention is made of further preparation or reading for ordination. It is additionally strange in view of a declaration in 1832 which maintained that a distinctive principle of the Congregationalists (Independents) was the "scriptural right of every separate church to maintain perfect independence in the government and administration of its own particular affairs."<sup>89</sup> The implication is clear; the minister's rôle was crucial and for this, preparation, it is suggested, was of paramount importance. Even the Creeds and Confessions were regarded by the Independents simply as "useful declarations of faith,"<sup>90</sup> this attitude possibly explaining the absence of set formulæ for services and certainly explaining the titles "Independent" or "Congregationalist".

<sup>83</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 31 Mar. 1826 (10/1/8).

<sup>84</sup>Barker Journal, 14 and 15 May 1826.

<sup>85</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>86</sup>Barker Journal, 14 May 1826.

<sup>87</sup>Vide Chapter IV, Joseph Williams, supra, p.

<sup>88</sup>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (1957), p.339.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p.330.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p.680.

C.P. Williams writing about the missionaries from 1850-1900,<sup>91</sup> has suggested that artisans who were "not quite gentlemen" were encouraged to go into the mission field where they could attain ordination, a salary, and status, denied to them at home.<sup>92</sup> The implicit intellectual and social snobbery in this attitude is clear and certainly between 1800-1850 could only be justified if one argued the total ignorance of the men concerning conditions in Africa. They had to face isolation, physical danger, starvation and poverty. While there were men who came to Africa and left - perhaps disillusioned by their lack of status - there were others like Brownlee<sup>93</sup> and Moffat<sup>94</sup> and Barker<sup>95</sup> who, with a more "gentlemanly" background, would have been totally inadequate to meet the exigencies of Africa.

Theologically speaking the early part of the nineteenth century was "a winter in which all sorts of theological seeds were hibernating"<sup>96</sup> and few attempts were made to organise thinking." In the midst of this "winter sleep" Philip was posing theological questions which required political answers.<sup>97</sup> These disturbing questions were opposed by Barker and Moffat not, the writer suggests, because they liked official policy but because, in the field, their position, already very difficult, was further complicated by such questions. Here, perhaps, the lack of higher education and "gentlemanly" qualities was a handicap especially in face-to-face contact with British senior officialdom and petty bureaucrats. However, Moffat was known for his scholarly study of language while Barker's theological and general reading list<sup>98</sup> indicates an intellect above the

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<sup>91</sup>C.P. Williams, Middling Class Protestant Missionaries, 1850-1900, in Journal of Ecc.History, Vol. I, No.3, Jul.1980, pp.301-315.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p.303.

<sup>93</sup>Vide Holt, Greatheart of the Border.

<sup>94</sup>Vide Moffat (ed. Schapera), Apprenticeship at Kuruman.

<sup>95</sup>Vide Barker Journal illustrates.

<sup>96</sup>Oral evidence, quoting C.W. Cook.

<sup>97</sup>Vide infra, Chapters VIII and IX.

<sup>98</sup>See Appendix D(ii).

average; and certainly social contact with men like Thomas Philipps must have tended to social polish. Philip himself with a working-class background, had had an excellent education in the Scots tradition, had served in a large and wealthy church in Scotland and had married well. It was thus, possibly, additionally hard for him to value at their true worth men like Barker and Moffat - rough diamonds that they probably were.

Worship at Theopolis appeared to follow the pattern set at Bethelsdorp and carried by Ullbricht to Theopolis.<sup>99</sup> There were morning and evening prayers, love feasts on a Sunday, and experience meetings. While Sales stated that there was communion every week at Bethelsdorp,<sup>100</sup> Ullbricht's report on Theopolis mentions a monthly communion.<sup>101</sup> By 1824 reports on services suggested enthusiasm for church attendance and a witness of genuine understanding of preaching expressed at the prayer meetings held on Sunday evenings.<sup>102</sup> A minor point which must have been cheering after early comments (such as that of Lichtenstein) was that the congregation was "decently clothed."<sup>103</sup> In 1824 the annual report<sup>104</sup> mentioned congregations of 500 people with 90 communicant members. The week-night meetings for prayer and study, held on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, drew a congregation of 150. Dutch was the lingua franca and the Congregational order of service was used in 1824, but by 1825 English was being used, at least in the Catechism classes.

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<sup>99</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. I, p.70.

<sup>100</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p.35.

<sup>101</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Directors, 17 Jul. 1819 (8/1/C).

<sup>102</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 22 Jan. 1824 (9/2/A).

<sup>103</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 24 Jul. 1824 (9/2/C) and Brownlee to Directors, 14 Dec. 1837 (15/3/D).

<sup>104</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Annual Report 1824 (Theopolis), 11 Nov. 1824 (9/2/E). This report was filled in on a comprehensive new questionnaire. Vide Appendix E(viii).

Sales has emphasised the important rôle of music at Bethelsdorp,<sup>105</sup> and gradually more and more mention is made of music at Theopolis, at the dedication of the school, hymns were sung<sup>106</sup> and requests were made for hymn books.<sup>107</sup> A remark by Barker that he "gave out the hymns all day"<sup>108</sup> suggests that a precentor was used to give the note. It is probable, as Sales points out, that traditional tunes were adapted to fit the new words. This was a common practice at missions.<sup>109</sup> There was some opposition to music by those who found music a distraction,<sup>110</sup> but on the whole the Khoi, like the Coloureds today (1982) enjoyed music and it played a very important rôle in their religious life.

Multiracial services appear to have been generally accepted for many references are made to the attendance of other racial groups at services, and indeed Barker commented in surprise on the fact that a Boer family encamped near Theopolis on one occasion did not attend the service.<sup>111</sup> Barker's first experience of a multiracial service was on a Boer farm at Brak River when he was travelling from the Cape to Bethelsdorp (1815). Sixty whites and seventy coloureds worshipped together and while he indicated that this was a weekly event he did point out that it was possibly unusual.<sup>112</sup> Moffat, like Shaw,<sup>113</sup> experienced the prejudice against this kind of mixing when he was entertained at a Boer farm and the Khoi, described as "baboons or dogs" by the farmer, were excluded. Exercising rough diplomacy he

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<sup>105</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, pp.34-35.

<sup>106</sup>Barker, Journal, 19 Jan. 1823.

<sup>107</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1825 (Theopolis).

<sup>108</sup>Barker Journal, 20 Jun. 1824.

<sup>109</sup>Vide music scores from Nkanga Mission, Pondoland.

<sup>110</sup>Evangelical Magazine, 1805, p.610.

<sup>111</sup>Barker Journal.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 30 Jul. 1815.

<sup>113</sup>Shaw, The Story of my Mission, p.302.

preached on the text "even dogs eat of the crumbs"<sup>114</sup> and was interrupted while the Khoi were summoned. Moffat was subsequently informed by the farmer that he took a hard hammer to break a hard heart.<sup>115</sup>

After public confession of faith at baptism and regular attendance at the services, communicant membership was considered but no record appears to exist of any special extra classes for these people. Certainly once more "public profession of faith was required"<sup>116</sup> and a clear account is given<sup>117</sup> of the cases of Elizabeth Buys<sup>118</sup> and Catharina Scheepers.<sup>119</sup> The former, who was literate, was converted at Bethelsdorp as a result of a sermon preached by Read.<sup>120</sup> Her public confession included expression of a fear that her delay in coming forward to church membership might be construed as a "reproach to the cause of religion" and she proceeded to expound the rôle of grace in her life using scriptural references to re-enforce her arguments.<sup>121</sup> Catharina Scheepers was converted by sermons preached by Ullbricht and Barker<sup>122</sup> which made her afraid of death and judgment but her marriage to a soldier took her to the barracks in Grahamstown where she lost touch with the church. However, when Barker obtained permission to preach there<sup>123</sup> she was convinced that she must make public account of her faith and, to do so, she gave an exposition of a text on belief.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>Moffat, The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat, pp.32-33.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Minutes of Committee of Examiners, 181/-1818 (7/5/C), Appendix C(viii).

<sup>117</sup>Barker Journal, 11 Feb. 1825, 19 Jun 1825, 11 Jul. 1825, L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

<sup>118</sup>List of Khoi, Appendix A(v).

<sup>119</sup>Ibid.

<sup>120</sup>Text used quoted by Buys, St Matthew, 19, v.14.

<sup>121</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

<sup>122</sup>Ibid.

<sup>123</sup>Barker Journal, 12 Dec. 1824.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 19 Jun. 1825.

There was obviously careful scrutiny of prospective members<sup>125</sup> as in the cases of Dits Trompetter<sup>126</sup> and Antje Veldman.<sup>127</sup> After being proposed (presumably by other members) they were visited by two senior deacons who reported back to the missionary and the deaconate (though this is not specified). Only after this were they received.<sup>128</sup> Meitje Kleinveld, a church member from Bethelsdorp who transferred to Theopolis, was also closely questioned before she was accepted at Theopolis church.<sup>129</sup> These cases lend support to the theory that church membership was highly valued, borne out perhaps by the figures for 1825 "500 attended - 90 communicants."<sup>130</sup>

A.D. Martin in his *Life of Vander Kemp*<sup>131</sup> gives a dramatic account of a communion service at Bethelsdorp by conflating the information contained in the Bethelsdorp letters and journals. The rough table, the earthenware cups, the dried pear "bread" (there was no flour at Bethelsdorp), and the congregation seated on the floor with, looming above them the gaunt figure of Vander Kemp come vividly to life. As Martin says, "the place of worship is bare but the Holy Catholic Church is here in all the opulence of Spirit."<sup>132</sup> There is no reason to doubt that the service at Theopolis was any different except that Barker was probably a better carpenter and that in 1825 cups were bought for communion.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

<sup>126</sup> List of Khoi, Appendix A(v).

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

<sup>129</sup> Barker Journal, 2 Sept. 1826.

<sup>130</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Annual Report, 1825, 25 Nov. 1825 (9/4/B).

<sup>131</sup> A.D. Martin, Doctor Vander Kemp, pp. 128-29.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

Practice at other missions did not seem to differ much. Brownlee recorded early morning prayers on Sunday followed by a service in the morning and Catechism in the afternoon.<sup>134</sup> Shaw, more inclined to comment<sup>135</sup> on the congregation, speaks of "great devotion" and of "singing with much sweetness."<sup>136</sup> An excellent record of a service at Kuruman was left by John McKenzie.<sup>137</sup> Knots of people stood in quiet discussion before the service, dressed in a great variety of clothes and carrying bags containing Bible and hymn-book. The minister - true to the Independent tradition - dispensed with robes, and the singing appeared to have impressed by its volume rather than by its unison! Reading, exposition of scripture and a sermon were included. The evening service was attended by cattle-herds and bird frighteners whose work kept them away from the other services, and one of these was appointed to snuff guttering candles in the wall sconces or on the great chandelier.<sup>138</sup>

Finding the "inner history" of the services is extremely difficult. Sermons, the clue to the doctrine preached, are not clearly explained. Texts are carefully listed,<sup>139</sup> but there is no way of knowing, except in isolated cases, how they were interpreted. The doctrine of atonement was almost certainly preached and although there was no theology of experience formulated at the time it was undoubtedly the basis of much of their preaching. The importance of the experience meeting, the climate of religious thought in Britain and comments by Barker and the witness of the Hottentots suggest this.

In the early years Barker did no more than mention a text and offered such comments as "preached with freedom" or "felt dead in preaching today". A similar type of comment is found in other diaries as

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<sup>134</sup>Holt, Greatheart of the Border, p.28.

<sup>135</sup>Shaw, The Story of my Mission, p.297.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid.

<sup>137</sup>McKenzie, Ten Years North of the Orange River, pp.72-75.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid.

<sup>139</sup>Barker Journal (throughout).

Kitchingman said that he "preached from the parable of the Prodigal Son and felt more liberty in preaching than usual."<sup>140</sup> Shaw is equally uninformative though he did comment on the reaction of his congregation who were much affected. Many men must have been sadly hindered by an interpreter; indeed both Shaw<sup>141</sup> and Moffat made this clear. An interpreter said Moffat, "might introduce an oxtail or a cartwheel into some passage of simple sublimity of Holy Writ"<sup>142</sup> just because two words were similar; while for Moffat the use of the word "sack" instead of "subject" had disastrous results.<sup>143</sup>

Particular topics were often introduced to drive home truths, or reproaches which the missionary had dealt with during the week. Sabbath observance was very important and after catching a woman "at work on her mat"<sup>144</sup> and reproaching twelve men who rode away to see the Lieut.-Governor,<sup>145</sup> appropriate sermons were delivered! Barker did not neglect sermonising about his own problems, for, in 1825, after writing a series of letters about the education of missionaries' children, he preached a sermon<sup>146</sup> in which he discussed a proposition in the negative. "Can a person know when he has done his duty in bringing up his children?" Letter and diary both give a clear indication of this fiery sermon.<sup>147</sup> The missionaries had struggled to get a school for their own families against Dr Philip's insistence that they use mission schools and Barker, reaching breaking point, asked for a passage to England, "that my children

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<sup>140</sup> Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.72.

<sup>141</sup> Shaw, The Story of my Mission, p.276.

<sup>142</sup> Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa, p.294.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Barker Journal, 23 May 1820.

<sup>145</sup> ibid., 16 Sept. 1827.

<sup>146</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C); Barker, Journal, 7 Aug. 1825.

<sup>147</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C); Barker Journal, 7 Aug. 1825.

may enjoy the privileges of British education and be trained up in British society."<sup>148</sup> At Bethelsdorp in 1820 to encourage attendance at afternoon worship Barker took to performing marriages and, as the congregation increased, preached about those who came for bread rather than spiritual food.<sup>149</sup> Ridsdale<sup>150</sup> wrote of a practical demonstration of the story of David and Goliath when he "had pleasure in illustrating outside the sanctuary anything they might have heard within, and rendering it more vivid to their perceptions."<sup>151</sup> A small Bushman boy was urged by Barnabas Shaw<sup>152</sup> to remove a skin, entered a race. Little Bushman won. Shaw preached<sup>153</sup> on laying aside encumbrances for the race of life! Arbousset<sup>154</sup> of the Paris mission used equally telling methods.

In 1826 Barker recorded his first sermon preached in English to the Khoi.<sup>155</sup> This must have been an important advance and a tribute both to school and Catechism classes conducted in English. In 1827<sup>156</sup> for the first time he wrote his sermon down, suggesting that the ex tempore method of speaking from the heart as moved by the spirit, had been used as it was much loved of evangelicals and later by charismatics. "A method" as one cynical divine put it, "only to be employed if the heart is in the right place, the spirit is the right one and both have received the right training."<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

<sup>149</sup> Holy Bible, St John VI, verses 26-27.

<sup>150</sup> See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>151</sup> Ridsdale, Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand, pp.288-89.

<sup>152</sup> See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>153</sup> Barnabas Shaw, Memorials, pp.127-28.

<sup>154</sup> See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>155</sup> Barker Journal, 13 Aug. 1826.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 27 May 1827.

<sup>157</sup> John McDowall, unpublished notes on sermonising.

Another subject which provoked recurring wrath from the pulpit was that of witchcraft. This was true of most missions which were often places of refuge for victims of threatened ritual execution,<sup>158</sup> and where some of the worst manifestations of the witch doctors' art were treated.<sup>159</sup> Nevertheless, it is only fair to state that, had greater understanding of tribal custom and beliefs existed the missionaries might, like St Paul, have found an "Unknown God"<sup>160</sup> as a bridge between two beliefs. As Etherington pointed out, no syncretism was encouraged.<sup>161</sup> Barker found that belief in "witchcraft" was widely held<sup>162</sup> and a sermon on the subject was based on a text, "Never go to a medium or a wizard" although the success of this address appears to have been minimal.<sup>163</sup> He nevertheless persisted and at Theopolis preached a sermon on the theme, "Who has bewitched thee?"<sup>164</sup> and followed it with an afternoon Bible study which dealt with the unclean spirit's restless removal from a house which was clean.<sup>165</sup> An analogy which probably appealed to the Khoi, though as Schapera indicates comparatively little is known of Khoi belief in magic. Barker favoured public confrontation, as did Shaw,<sup>166</sup> and in 1827 Jan Speelman who "had been excluded from the church for practising the foolish deception of sorcery"<sup>167</sup> made a public confession of his folly before being re-admitted to the church.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Etherington, Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South East Africa, pp. 85 and 96.

<sup>159</sup> Green, Pondoland Hilltop, pp.25-28.

<sup>160</sup> Holy Bible, Acts 17, verse 23.

<sup>161</sup> Etherington, op.cit., p.154.

<sup>162</sup> Barker Journal, 23 Jan. 1820.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 28 Aug. 1820.

<sup>164</sup> New Testament, Galatians, Chap. 3 Verse 1.

<sup>165</sup> New Testament, St Luke, Chap. XI Verses 24-26.

<sup>166</sup> Shaw, The Story of my Mission, pp.206-210.

<sup>167</sup> Barker Journal, 2 Feb. 1827.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

It is extremely difficult to evaluate this type of situation but two things do seem to emerge. On the one hand the apposite texts do argue an excellent Bible Concordance and a profound knowledge of Holy Scripture. On the other hand, the tetchy comment on "the nonsense of witchcraft"<sup>169</sup> implies a lack of understanding of the whole "heathen" situation - often a major stumbling block to Christian missions.

Another topic which exercised the missionaries was the marriage ceremony in that polygamous society.<sup>170</sup> As early as 1814 the ministers at Graaff Reinet had asked for a directive.<sup>171</sup> The result was the report issued by the Committee of Examiners.<sup>172</sup> The points made by them were as follows:

- (1) That God created only one wife for Adam.
- (2) That in the Old Testament polygamy was permitted but not authorised. In the New Testament it was forbidden.
- (3) That a "heathen" Khoi wife could not be put away by her Christian husband.
- (4) That a converted male should live with his first wife only. If she were not available then he should marry the second or the third. He had to MARRY one of them. A male with a multiplicity of wives could not hold office in the church. [To this last point an addendum was produced by a sub-committee (and accepted) which suggested that the husband marry the wife with children or with the most children - unless the lady was unwilling.]
- (5) That as polygamy was practised because of "ignorance" and "simplicity of heart" the husband must not put his ex-wife (or wives) away once the adjustment had been made. Instead he must continue to maintain them and if he cannot do so,

<sup>169</sup>Barker Journal, 6 Oct. 1821.

<sup>170</sup>Shaw, The Story of my Mission, pp. 154 and 183.

<sup>171</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Read to Directors, 10 Oct. 1814 {5/4/B}.

<sup>172</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Minutes of Committee of Examiners 1817/1818 (7/5/C), Appendix C(viii).

then "for the honour of religion" support and protection must be "afforded by the missionary."

- (6) That if the first wife died he must marry the others - seriatim - provided they agreed.

A further addendum made provision for ratification of a marriage in the presence of the minister and congregation before the couple concerned could be either baptised or confirmed. The ratification act was drawn up by the directors and was to be retained in the records. A brief note states that the procedure should follow the law of the land.

This was an honest attempt to face a very complex issue which could well be regarded as social rather than religious. It is possible to commend it for the fact that outright condemnation of polygamous marriage is not stated and that an honest effort was made to make provision for the "discarded" wives. However, as an administrator's nightmare it could hardly be bettered, and it is notable that no allowance was made or even implied regarding financial help for the missionary responsible, "for the honour of religion", for maintaining junior wives.

The law of the land regarding marriage and the problem of sexual morality were other subjects to exercise the minds of the missionaries. As early as 1805 the Transactions of the London Missionary Society contained a report<sup>173</sup> complaining of the inconstancy of the Khoi in their matrimonial connections and of their habit of leaving and changing wives. To prevent this a ceremony was devised to be performed with the consent of the "unbelieving moiety"<sup>174</sup> and by which both parties bound themselves in the "invioable bond of matrimony." It was at such a ceremony with Vander Kemp officiating that Read married his young Khoi bride.<sup>175</sup> Whether such ceremonies were legal or not appears, for some time, to have been a moot point and indeed the whole question of the validity of marriages appeared somewhat

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<sup>173</sup> L.M.S. Transactions, Vol. II, p.94.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

uncertain. Under the Batavian regime the subject was discussed but no concrete decision was reached.<sup>176</sup> Soon after the re-establishment of the British at the Cape the L.M.S. Transactions reported that the governor had stated "that the marriages of our people, solemnised by us at Bethelsdorp, if registered at the court of the landdrost of the district were to be considered legally contracted and required no other ecclesiastical solemnisation."<sup>177</sup> In fact the marriage of Ullbricht and Elizabeth Windvogel took place under this pronouncement.<sup>178</sup> According to Sales, Read discussed marriage regulations in Cape Town in 1814 where he discovered that only missionaries ordained in Europe could be marriage officers with legal standing. Read's compromise suggestion, which was accepted, was that local ordination, if approved by a conference and by the directors should be recognised.<sup>179</sup> A sequel to this decision was the L.M.S. Examiners Committee Minutes with varied suggestions.<sup>180</sup> An interesting side effect of legislation was that only church members could be married by the civil government so unbaptised people were married in the church! A charming addition at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis was the fact that the Barkers always "supped" with the newly married couple.<sup>181</sup>

Burial customs among the Khoi were clear. The body buried "as soon as breath departs"<sup>182</sup> was carried to the grave wrapped in a mat. There the body was placed facing east<sup>183</sup> in the ritual of some tribes though Barker makes no mention of this latter point. Barker discovered that the L.M.S. men, following the example of the Dutch

<sup>176</sup> L.M.S. Transactions, Vol. II, p.94.

<sup>177</sup> L.M.S. Transactions, Vol. III, p.146.

<sup>178</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Ullbricht to Directors, 12 Dec, 1808 (3/5/B).

<sup>179</sup> Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape, p.65.

<sup>180</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Minutes of Committee of Examiners, 1817/1818 (7/5/C), Appendix C(viii).

<sup>181</sup> Barker Journal, 21 Apr. 1824 (an example).

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 31 Mar. 1816.

<sup>183</sup> Hahn, Tsumi - Goam, p.18.

missionaries never attended funerals.<sup>184</sup> While uttering no word of criticism he made it his custom to "attend" and later he was invited to preach as well.<sup>185</sup> He was also called to visit the dying, a case in point being the girl beset with doubts about heaven,<sup>186</sup> or the man who wanted to know more about a Saviour whom he felt he "needed."<sup>187</sup>

After the establishment of a new graveyard across the river,<sup>188</sup> a graphic description is given of the first formal funeral at Theopolis.<sup>189</sup> Willem Plaatjes,<sup>190</sup> one of the original deacons, was dying and when Barker saw him he said with great emphasis, "My services have been very imperfect but God is sufficient and on Him I rest."<sup>191</sup> A will was made for him by Barker and Willem Plaatjes was at peace. The body was brought on a wagon from Long Fountain<sup>192</sup> to the mission, where it was placed on a bier and covered with a pall - both of which were used for the first time at Theopolis.<sup>193</sup> A procession was formed, consisting of the deacons of the church, relations, the Theopolis congregation, and, bringing up the rear, Mr Edwards, the schoolmaster, and the children. Six older inhabitants were pall-bearers and altogether the ceremony was most impressive. At the graveside his favourite hymn<sup>194</sup> was sung followed

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<sup>184</sup>Barker Journal, 31 Mar. 1816.

<sup>185</sup>Ibid., 30 Apr. 1822.

<sup>186</sup>Ibid., 3 Jan. 1822.

<sup>187</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 29 Feb. 1822.

<sup>188</sup>Barker Journal, 26 Dec. 1822.

<sup>189</sup>Ibid., 20 Jul. 1828.

<sup>190</sup>List of Khoi, Appendix A(v).

<sup>191</sup>Barker Journal, 19 Jul. 1828.

<sup>192</sup>Long Fountain (now called Faithful Fountain, 1982) was the cattle place. See map.

<sup>193</sup>Barker Journal, 20 Jul. 1828.

<sup>194</sup>At Bethelsdorp the favourite hymn was Vander Kemp's translation of "All Hail the power of Jesus' name". As Plaatjes came from Bethelsdorp this might well have been the choice.

by a reading,<sup>195</sup> a short address and a prayer. An impressive event which must have served to emphasise the Christian attitude to death - a gateway to new life.

Other features of religious work were the meetings from the records of which tentative conclusions can be drawn regarding the teaching and preaching of the missionaries. Prayer meetings were held every Wednesday and the petitions were often helpful guides to the missionaries as to the way the people were thinking, especially as the services were usually conducted by the Khoi themselves. Subjects included thanks for deliverance from marauders,<sup>196</sup> gratitude for preaching which had reached the petitioner's soul, and petitions for good crops. Quaint expression often covered great earnestness of purpose: "Lord, I am a leaky bucket. Thy words run out so soon. Plaster me with mud of heaven",<sup>197</sup> prayed one old convert at Nkanga. Yet, as the Americans agreed, problems thus raised could be handled later.<sup>198</sup> At such a meeting, the visit of a Roman Catholic was discussed. Staying overnight with a family, the unfortunate man raised the topic of super-erogation to have it dismissed summarily. The question of purgatory was next broached and when no reference was found to it in the Bible it, too, was dismissed. However, fighting gamely back, he pointed out that the Bible was Dutch, whereupon the schoolgirl daughter produced an English testament and the visitor withdrew discomfited.<sup>199</sup>

A Poor Relief Society was formally instituted at a meeting held in October 1824.<sup>200</sup> Barker must have been a stickler for order for each meeting is reported in proper form in his letters to the L.M.S.

<sup>195</sup>First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians, Chap. XV.

<sup>196</sup>Barker Journal, 1 Sept. 1823.

<sup>197</sup>Green, Pondoland Hilltop, pp.99-100.

<sup>198</sup>Kotze (ed.), Letters of the American Missionaries, pp.175-76.

<sup>199</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 31 Mar. 1826.

<sup>200</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 29 Oct. 1824 (9/2/D); Barker Journal, 8 Oct. 1824.

At the first meeting for example, a vote of thanks to collectors was proposed by Edwards and seconded by Boezak. A committee was elected to investigate cases of need and collectors for funds were appointed with Barker as treasurer. Wright and Tsastoe reported seven destitute people to whom aid should be given.<sup>201</sup> Each year thereafter formal reports were presented and these included a financial statement.<sup>202</sup> In 1825 Rd.127 was collected, Rd.100 spent and the surplus used to buy Communion cups - "with the approval of the meetings."<sup>203</sup> Another surplus was used to support the British and Foreign Bible Society. There is no doubt that such a group taught practical Christianity and enabled the people to see the missionary joining with his flock in practising what he preached. In fact Barker himself was often little better off than his folk and was at times "quite destitute";<sup>204</sup>

In Barker's own early life it is possible that the annual meeting of the Auxiliary Mission Society formed the highlight of the church year.<sup>205</sup> This body was designed to raise funds for mission or extension work or, in the case of southern Africa, for the support of the congregation. The annual meeting was an opportunity to review the work of the church and to make public new schemes, and it was to such a body that the directors looked for fund-raising when they launched the work at the Cape.<sup>206</sup> The meeting of 1825<sup>207</sup> serves to illustrate the importance of the event in the minds of the churchmen.

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<sup>201</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 29 Oct. 1824 (9/2/D).

<sup>202</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Annual Report, 1825, 25 Nov. 1825 (9/4/3).

<sup>203</sup>Barker Journal, 14 Oct. 1825.

<sup>204</sup>Ibid.

<sup>205</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p.67.

<sup>206</sup>Refer supra, Chapter II.

<sup>207</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C); Barker Journal, 10 Jun. 1825.

The gathering was formally constituted and the Revs. Kay,<sup>208</sup> Read, Duxbury<sup>209</sup> and Helm were welcomed as honoured guests. Office bearers were then elected and members were invited to make any comments relevant to the occasion. Speeches were made concerning the impact of the mission on the lives of the Khoi, suggesting that they would have been "dragged to eternal misery"<sup>210</sup> had they not come within the orbit of the L.M.S. missions; that previously they were regarded as "baboons made by the Devil"<sup>211</sup> yet there at Theopolis they had their own Auxiliary Missionary Society. Another described the L.M.S. as "the mother from whom they drew sustenance" and there was pride in his remark that they were then able to "support the mother and make her strong."<sup>212</sup> This was a reference to a collection of £26 "not to be despised" from a congregation composed entirely of Khoi.<sup>213</sup>

In 1826 at a similar gathering, the preacher was Jan Tshatshu<sup>214</sup> who chose as his subject "the gospel as a means of salvation." With Barker's agreement voiced from the congregation he compared the Early Britons and the San and pointed out how the Bible had influenced and civilised them.<sup>215</sup> Piet Campher,<sup>216</sup> endorsing Tshatshu's remark, pointed out that the Khoi had no friends previously but that now they were like British Christians.<sup>217</sup> Records of sub-

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<sup>208</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>209</sup>Ibid.

<sup>210</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

<sup>211</sup>Moffat, Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat, pp.32-33; L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

<sup>212</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 4 Aug. 1825 (9/3/C).

<sup>213</sup>Ibid., 8 Jul. 1826 (10/1/D); Barker Journal, 10 Jun. 1826.

<sup>214</sup>See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>215</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 8 Jul. 1826 (10/1/D).

<sup>216</sup>List of Khoi, Appendix A(v).

<sup>217</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 8 Jul. 1826 (10/1/D); Barker Journal, 7 Jun. 1826.

sequent meetings contain accounts of similar speeches and sentiments and while none suggest sophisticated theological thinking, the fact remains that these were people only one step away from a wild nomadic existence. Barker considered that it was particularly difficult for the Khoi to make progress because he said they "have no character to lose - a good character is a powerful check on an Englishman but except at the [ - ] a Hottentot is a Hottentot even if he was a saint."<sup>218</sup>

A brief scrutiny of the history of religious activity at Theopolis suggests that personal and intelligent involvement of the Khoi had led them to a place where, given the right environment, they would have been able to hold their own, not only in a church gathering but also in any well organised meeting. That they were required to understand religious commitment is also apparent and Barker's involvement in the wider religious community must have helped both him and his congregation to adapt to the new dispensation.

Another aspect of religious life and practice was contact between missionaries and ministers. The gathering together of Christian clergy has always played an important rôle in their total ministry. Problem sharing and discussion and Bible study with those who understand makes a difficult task easier. Yet in the early days of missionary enterprise this privilege was often denied to those who faced an unknown and uncharted field of endeavour. Barker's diary is an interesting commentary on isolation (1815-1820) and, after 1820, of increasing religious contact often achieved by dint of long and arduous journeys.<sup>219</sup> The diary also makes it clear that a wide cross-section of ministers used Theopolis as a resting-place on their journeys and that George Barker was himself a redoubtable traveller in the cause of Christian unity. Moffat, also an untiring traveller, wrote of an arrival at Phillipolis during 1830 when he met other L.M.S. missionaries and two from the Paris Evangelical Mission and said, "To us, so long accustomed to feel as if out of

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<sup>218</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 8 Jul. 1826 (10/1/D).

<sup>219</sup>For places visited and journeys undertaken, see Map of Journeys.

the world, and comparatively forgotten, the season was one of great refreshment to our souls."<sup>220</sup> Journeys like this often brought great joy to the clergy visited en route and equally benefit to newly-arrived missionaries as was clearly indicated by Barker in his reference to the Rev. M.C.C. Vos as "possessing an extensive experience in things of this life and that to come."<sup>221</sup> Carl Pacalt, visited on the same journey (from Cape Town to Bethelsdorp),<sup>222</sup> was a man who made a permanent impression on religious life in the South Western Cape and new young missionaries would learn much from such men.<sup>223</sup>

The isolation of the men in the Eastern Cape was emphasised when, on arrival at Bethelsdorp in July 1815, James Read was found alone and ministering, apparently to an area from Algoa Bay to Uitenhage,<sup>224</sup> while Uilbricht lived in somewhat dangerous isolation at Theopolis, which was in an area subject to Xhosa raids. The only other clergyman in the area whom Barker met was Rev. Mr Vanderlingen, chaplain to the Cape Corps in Grahamstown. This meeting of the two men, in fact, started an association which continued until 1825 for Barker went regularly to Grahamstown from Theopolis to minister to the Cape Corps as the many entries in the diary clearly show.

After the coming of the settlers the whole picture altered and Barker, at Bethelsdorp during 1820,<sup>225</sup> was delighted to welcome many different churchmen. Among these was the Rev. William Shaw, who commented most favourably on the serious attention of the Khoi congregation at Bethelsdorp. Showing more understanding than Lichtenstein, he noted that, in spite of its shortcomings, Bethelsdorp

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<sup>220</sup>Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa, p.562.

<sup>221</sup>Barker Journal, 18 Jul. 1815.

<sup>222</sup>Ibid., 12 Jul. 1815 to 14 Sept. 1815.

<sup>223</sup>Du Plessis, Christian Mission in South Africa, p.246.

<sup>224</sup>Barker Journal, Sept. 1815.

<sup>225</sup>Ibid., Jan. 1816.

provided houses superior to those which the Khoi must have used in "their much more uncivilised state."<sup>226</sup>

One of the admirable traits in these missionaries was their willingness to preach without notice as Barker did at Salem in January 1821. Commenting on the service, Barker observed that he drank a cup of tea and was then invited to preach at the quarterly meeting to be held at once! Shaw remarked on this occasion that Barker preached "a sensible and useful sermon before the largest European congregation - ever seen in the district of Albany."<sup>227</sup> Moffat, faced with a similar predicament, "felt inclined to take a cup of coffee" but instead, "discoursed for an hour" on the text "God so loved the World."<sup>228</sup> Shaw, on a visit to Theopolis found it "profitable" to "discourse on missionary topics" with Barker,<sup>229</sup> as well as preaching. This visit must have been invaluable to Shaw who was planning his mission in Kaffraria. Exchange of pulpits gave Barker the pleasure of preaching in English<sup>230</sup> and enabled Shaw to face 200 Khoi whose behaviour and dress met with his approval.<sup>231</sup> As more ministers arrived or were appointed, the tempo of religious contact increased and Kay<sup>232</sup> and Threlfall<sup>233</sup> visited Theopolis<sup>234</sup> while Barker joined them at Salem for a watch-night service.<sup>235</sup> Churches mushroomed among the settlers and Barker indefatigably attended and usually

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<sup>226</sup>Hammond Tooke (ed.), Journal of William Shaw, p.35.

<sup>227</sup>Barker Journal, 3 Jan. 1821; Hammond Tooke, op.cit., pp.44-45.

<sup>228</sup>Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa, p.296.

<sup>229</sup>Hammond Tooke, op.cit., p.51.

<sup>230</sup>Barker Journal, 23 Sept. 1821.

<sup>231</sup>Hammond Tooke, op.cit., p.60.

<sup>232</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>233</sup>Ibid.

<sup>234</sup>Barker Journal, 28 Jun. 1822.

<sup>235</sup>Ibid., 31 Dec. 1822.

officiated at dedication services. At first he was the only clerical visitor but later a formidable battery of clergy could be summoned to attend. Barker helped the Rev. Mr Miller<sup>236</sup> at the opening of the Baptist Church in Grahamstown in 1823;<sup>237</sup> he dedicated the Green Fountains church near Port Alfred with Mr Kay and joined the congregation in a cold dinner in the bush.<sup>238</sup> Barker aided Kay at the dedication of an enlarged church at Salem. He commented on Mr Duxbury's<sup>239</sup> "plain sensible sermon" and on Mr Geary's<sup>240</sup> "excellent discourse" in the Anglican church. What makes the contact the more remarkable is the fact that the declared policy of the L.M.S. was to keep exclusively to Khoi work - a decision deplored by the settlers.<sup>241</sup>

Any ecclesiastical event was marked by pomp and circumstance and the launching of the Auxiliary Missionary Society "in the Methodist connection in Grahamstown"<sup>242</sup> was no exception. With none other than Mr Onkruyd<sup>243</sup> in the chair, the meeting was addressed by the Revs. Boardman,<sup>244</sup> Barker, Duxbury, Kay, Shaw and Young,<sup>245</sup> and also by Messrs William Smith<sup>246</sup> and Roberts.<sup>247</sup> The speakers appeared to

<sup>236</sup> List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>237</sup> Barker Journal, 6-7 Sept. 1823.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 12 Jun. 1824; Long (ed.), Chronicles of Jeremiah Goldswain, Vol. 1, 12 Jun. 1824.

<sup>239</sup> List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii);  
Barker Journal, 5 Sept. 1824.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> Keppel Jones (ed.), Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.78;  
Shaw, The Story of my Mission, p.96.

<sup>242</sup> Barker Journal, 13 Jan. 1825.

<sup>243</sup> List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>244</sup> List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

have enjoyed the event.<sup>248</sup> In contrast to this and to the panoply of clerics at Theopolis events, Bethelsdorp anniversary in January 1825<sup>249</sup> was apparently attended only by L.M.S. men, and while distance might have been a handicap, it is nevertheless reasonable to conclude that Barker and Theopolis enjoyed a very wide circle of clerical friendship and patronage.

Other events in the churchman's calendar which Barker attended, were the Methodist Auxiliary Missionary Society<sup>250</sup> anniversary at Grahamstown<sup>251</sup> (where he met the Rev. Mr Davies<sup>252</sup> for the first time) and the opening of the chapel at Port Francis<sup>253</sup> also attended by Ayliff<sup>254</sup> and Shaw.<sup>255</sup> A very important event, which involved Barker from the start, was the inception of the Independent chapel in Grahamstown. On his way with Dr Philip (in 1825) to visit Hart at the Somerset Farm, he passed through Grahamstown where he was able to arrange a meeting with Mr Thackeray<sup>256</sup> and Mr Munro,<sup>257</sup> a teacher from Bethelsdorp.<sup>258</sup> After due thought Dr Philip agreed to second Munro to found a Union chapel.<sup>259</sup> The town was canvassed for members, many of whom, regrettably, were discontented members of the Baptist and Methodist churches.<sup>260</sup> The problems were eventually resolved

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<sup>248</sup>Barker Journal, 13 Jan. 1825.

<sup>249</sup>Ibid., 24 Jan. 1825.

<sup>250</sup>The Auxiliary Missionary Society was set up with the intention of raising funds for the work in Kaffraria.

<sup>251</sup>Barker Journal, 19 Jan. 1826.

<sup>252</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>253</sup>Barker Journal, 25 Nov. 1827.

<sup>254</sup>Hinchliffe (ed.), John Ayliff Journal, p.73.

<sup>255</sup>Hammond Tooke (ed.), The Journal of William Shaw, pp.88-89.

<sup>256</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>257</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>258</sup>Barker Journal, 22 Jul. 1825.

<sup>259</sup>Now Trinity Presbyterian Church.

<sup>260</sup>See Records of Trinity Presbyterian Church, 1825-30.

and by July 1826 Munro was settled in a congregation<sup>261</sup> where Khoi "children outnumbered whites by three to one in the morning and four to one in the afternoon."<sup>262</sup> A multi-denominational event celebrated the opening of the chapel<sup>263</sup> (plastering only just completed!) for Mr Munro launched the day with a prayer meeting, Mr Fraser<sup>264</sup> preached in Dutch at nine o'clock, Mr Robson<sup>265</sup> in English at eleven, and Mr Barker used his skill in Dutch in the afternoon. The evening service was conducted by Mr Kay and Mr Foster preached. No record remains as to the number who attended the whole of this religious marathon, but it can be assumed that Barker did.<sup>266</sup> Thus it came about that the only person present at the inauguration of the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches in Grahamstown was George Barker, who indeed played a leading rôle.

Not only did he have wide religious contacts in Albany but in addition he met and entertained a wide cross-section of other divines. Dr Philip's visits were frequent, and in addition R. Miles<sup>267</sup> (Dr Philip's replacement), Kitchingman, both the Reads, Moffat, the Revs. John Bennie and William Thompson of Caffraria, the Moravians, Hallbeck and Schmidt, and Chalmers of Lovedale.<sup>268</sup>

The picture of religious life and contacts is interesting. A spirit of ecumenism well in advance of the time was to be perceived in the frontier environment, as the clerical gentlemen discussed their problems and, through their friendship, crossed the lines of

<sup>261</sup>Barker Journal, 1 Jul. 1826.

<sup>262</sup>Ibid., 2 Sept. 1826.

<sup>263</sup>Ibid., 1 Sept. 1827.

<sup>264</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>265</sup>Ibid.

<sup>266</sup>For further details see Records of Trinity Presbyterian Church, 1827; Hunt, Development of Municipal Government, in A.Y.B., 1961, pp.149-50; L.M.S. Correspondence, Munro to Directors, 3 Jul. 1827 (10/2/C).

<sup>267</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>268</sup>Ibid.

doctrinal division. A new chapter of evangelical history was written for the servants of God were seeking and finding the lost; driving out devils in the Name of the Lord God; moving in the streets of life. Ancient customs and traditions (long since destroyed by the advance of Dutch and British colonial enterprise) were replaced by new teaching. The Epistles of St Paul and the other early missionaries are full of stories which could be paralleled at Theopolis. The Khoi who lived on the mission station were often misunderstood. Some were unable to meet the difficult standards of Christian life but there were those at Theopolis who by their life and witness showed the very presence of God brought by the modern apostles to an exceedingly widespread community with many out-stations.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Etherington, Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South East Africa, 1835-1880. In his chapter on missionaries (pp.24-46) Etherington has described the circumscribed life of the clergy on Natal stations. Such limitation obviously did not apply to Barker, to Livingstone, or to Moffat (Missionary Labours and Scenes) or, later, to the Greens in the Transkei (1982) (Pondoland Hilltop).

## CHAPTER VIII

## THEOPOLIS IN TURMOIL

## THE MISSION AND RESEARCHES

After the coming of the 1820 settlers the prospects for advancement of the Theopolis Khoi seemed rosy. Outside contact was maintained, the people were learning the skills they needed to become valuable citizens, and, while their own legal situation was far from satisfactory there was abroad a more tolerant atmosphere, as is so clearly shown in the multiracial chapel in Grahamstown in 1827.<sup>1</sup> However, in other respects the state of the frontier was deteriorating and before long Theopolis was plunged into the midst of the turmoil created by Researches in South Africa,<sup>2</sup> the book from which Dr Philip had hoped to achieve so much.

Somerset had been on leave when the settlers arrived and the Whiggish Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, was neither as autocratic nor as pragmatic as the Governor, nor did he have a full picture of settler affairs. A letter from John Thomas<sup>3</sup> to Kitchingman at Bethelsdorp (in 1822) indicated clearly how much Somerset considered himself assailed by Donkin.<sup>4</sup> Much aware of Donkin's reversals of his own decisions, but possibly unaware of the contempt felt for "poor deranged" Deputy Governor,<sup>5</sup> he remained in Cape Town possibly afraid to leave. His distress must have been exacerbated by the much-publicised confrontation between his son, Henry Somerset, Acting Deputy Landdrost of Grahamstown and commanding officer of the Cape

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<sup>1</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Monro to Directors, 3 Jul. 1827 (10/2/C).

<sup>2</sup>The book written by Philip regarding the lot of the Khoi (1828).

<sup>3</sup>An East India Company civil servant on a visit at the Cape.

<sup>4</sup>See Kitchingman Papers, pp.64-67.

<sup>5</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, p.99.

Regiment, and Donkin on the road to Rondebosch.<sup>6</sup> A further irritation for Somerset was probably the mild restraint imposed on him by the Colonial Secretary, Christopher Bird<sup>7</sup> whose power and influence over the Governor has been a question for debate.<sup>8</sup> Reared among soldiers his loyalty was not questioned and, until 1821, his industry, tact and sound judgment enabled him to get on as well with Somerset as he had with Caledon<sup>9</sup> and Cradock. Not attracted by the humanitarian movement, he placed a curb on some of Dr Philip's more ambitious plans,<sup>10</sup> and as a result Philip called him "the real Governor",<sup>11</sup> an opinion apparently shared by Thomas Philipps!<sup>12</sup>

It was unfortunate that dissension occurred when it did for Bird was a Catholic, and controversy was raging in Britain over steps to breach the exclusivity of the Establishment by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts<sup>13</sup> which imposed restrictions on Catholics in public office. In 1821 Bird was publicly denounced as a Catholic by William Parker,<sup>14</sup> and the alienation between Somerset and Donkin increased with Donkin a keen supporter of Bird. Finally, Bird was asked to take an oath, implicit in which was recognition of the British sovereign as head of the church. This he refused to do and in 1824 he resigned,<sup>15</sup> thus depriving the Cape, at a crucial moment, of an experienced and level-headed official.

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<sup>6</sup>Rivett Carnac, Hawks Eye, p.74.

<sup>7</sup>List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>8</sup>Fryer, The Government of the Cape of Good Hope 1825-54, A.Y.B., I, 1964, p.55.

<sup>9</sup>G.H. 34/3, Caledon to Bird, 6 Nov. 1809.

<sup>10</sup>MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, p.134.

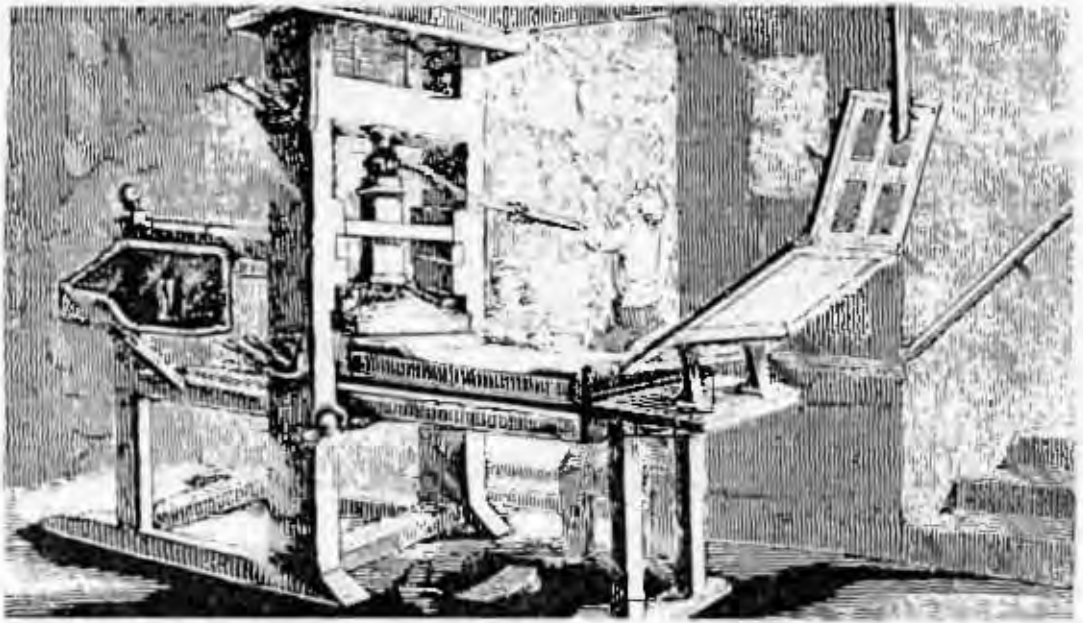
<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p.195.

<sup>12</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.84, 88.

<sup>13</sup>Bettenson, Documents of the Christian Church, pp.405-6.

<sup>14</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>15</sup>Le Cordeur, The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism 1820-1854, p.16.



A wooden printing press, such as was in use in 1824, although iron hand-presses were introduced after 1805. The wooden printing press in which the first *South African Advertiser* was printed was probably one of this kind. It was sent to Cape Town by the Rev. Dr. John Philip and Mr. Living, whose private plate should advise. The type, held in a sliding carriage, was filled with hand-locks, one of which is illustrated in the box on the left. The *tramp*, a frame holding a tightly stretched piece of paper on which the paper was placed, was hung to the back of the carriage. The *trisket*, a very light frame with ropes across it, was closed down over the *tramp* to hold the paper in place. The *tramp* was then folded over on to the type carriage, which was pushed forward under the plate. This was a thick wooden plank with lines lowered and pressed down on to the *tramp* by means of a screw operated by swinging the handle a quarter turn from right to left.



John Telford (c. 1791-1864). He came to South Africa in 1823 in the mission of Thomas Pringle, with whom he first joined a him (evangelical school at Edinburgh University). He became the dominating influence in South African journalism during the next thirty years. From 1843 to 1864 he represented Swellendam in the Legislative Assembly. (Africa Museum.)



Thomas Pringle (1789-1831). Born at Blackley and educated at Edinburgh and Edinburgh University, he undertook the responsibility of leader of the French party of emigrant persons from Rishingshite. The party was located in a remote inland valley of the Orange River. On 17th August, 1822, Thomas Pringle left the party to take up an appointment as sub-librarian to the newly established South African Public Library in Cape Town. As poet, author, fighter for a free press and champion of the Settlers, he left his mark in the annals of the Colony. He returned to England in July 1826 and became secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society, devoting himself to this and other philanthropic causes during the remainder of his life. He was about to return to the Cape on account of his acute pulmonary disease when he died in London on 10th December, 1831. (Africa Museum.)

[Pictures from Butler, 1820 Settlers]

Somerset's return from leave, in fact, heralded a complete change in the character of the colony. Philip, who had found in Donkin a milder and more malleable (if unreliable) friend,<sup>16</sup> was preparing to fight for the underprivileged; the settlers were murmuring their discontent; the Boers were kicking against the pricks of authority; the Xhosa were fretting at the frontier; the Khoi were unhappily penned away from foot-loose freedom; the missionaries in the Eastern Cape were uneasily aware that they might be the victims in the pending storm, and the fourth estate were waiting on the sidelines to exert for the first time at the Cape the not inconsiderable power of the press.

The situation on and beyond the frontier was neither as peaceful nor as progressive as Somerset had claimed and Donkin's reversals of some of Somerset's decisions created an anomalous situation. There was civil-military dissension,<sup>17</sup> considerable friction within and among the settler parties and although Bird, safely in Cape Town, might say this was "likely to happen between individuals placed in such novel circumstances of social relations",<sup>18</sup> it was nevertheless a time of turmoil. Prohibition of liquor sales (not long effective!) the absence of slave labour, and the rule regarding passes (which if applied laid the settlers open to charges under the Vagrancy Act) added to the list of grievances<sup>19</sup> and exacerbated the anger at the removal of the seat of the landdrost from Bathurst (Donkin's choice) to Grahamstown.<sup>20</sup> The partisanship of frontier politics was clearly shown in the question of Trappes,<sup>21</sup> the unpopular landdrost at

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<sup>16</sup>J.B. Scott (ed.), The Letter-Book of Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin. (A lengthy correspondence with Dr Philip illustrates. Examples: 1 Jun. 1821, 11 Jun. 1821, 8 Sep. 1821, 11 Sep. 1821. Conversation recorded 24 Jul. 1821).

<sup>17</sup>CA/C.O. 2629, Trappes to D.A.C.G., 26 Aug. 1820.

<sup>18</sup>CA/C.O. 2629, Trappes to Bird, 7 Nov. 1820.

<sup>19</sup>Butler, The 1820 Settlers, p.143.

<sup>20</sup>Walker, History of South Africa, pp.162-63; Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.84.

<sup>21</sup>List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

Bathurst. Bird and Donkin supported this candidate while Philipps (later a bitter opponent of Somerset) canvassed support for the Somerset man, Major Jones.<sup>22</sup> Implicit in Philipps's diary is the suggestion that much of the dissension sprang from the juggling for position which was going on among the upper echelons of settler society.

At the Cape, Somerset and Philip were squaring up to do battle. Dr Philip entered the scene in the role of settler protagonist for he was chairman of the Distressed Settlers Fund which Somerset opposed.<sup>23</sup> Fuel was probably added to the fire by a letter from Philip to the Governor in which he suggested various ways to ameliorate the plight of the settlers including financial relief, increased land grants, freeing of Khoi labour, restoration of Bathurst as capital, and the election of heemraden from among the settlers.<sup>24</sup> Somerset, in no mood to receive advice from anyone (least of all a social inferior), took up the cudgels against Philip and the Fund. Philip himself had here displayed his great ability in planning and the lack of diplomacy which combined made him such an uncomfortable superintendent in the L.M.S.

The general meeting of the Fund (1823)<sup>25</sup> which was marked by a "take-over bid" by Somerset's group,<sup>26</sup> was moved by an impassioned speech from Philip in which his overstatement of his case<sup>27</sup> won support for his cause but possibly planted seeds of doubt in the minds of those, later his opponents,<sup>28</sup> who might well have observed his predilection

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Nash, Baillie's Party of Settlers, pp.61-62; Edwards, The 1820 Settlers in South Africa, p.121.

<sup>24</sup> MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, p.113.

<sup>25</sup> R.C.C. XVI, pp.270-77, Report of the Committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers in South Africa, 1823.

<sup>26</sup> Butler, The 1820 Settlers, p.168.

<sup>27</sup> R.C.C. XVI, op.cit.

<sup>28</sup> The settlers who wrote the pamphlet against Philip. See Anonymous Publication, Some Reasons for our Opposing the Author of Researches in South Africa.

for exaggeration. These were the men who, sceptical of the case presented in Researches in South Africa, roused public opinion against him.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, Somerset's case against Philip had gathered momentum with the publication of a pamphlet, Biographical Sketch of John Philip, formerly a Journeyman Weaver now Head of a Missionary Society and calling himself DOCTOR Philip.<sup>30</sup>

At the same time on the frontier a fresh alignment of forces was taking place. The frontier line was apparently regarded by the British as a cordon sanitaire<sup>31</sup> to separate advancing and often inimical forces but was in fact a potential meeting place, as indeed it had been when the Khoi were the commuting middlemen in frontier trade.<sup>32</sup> As Legassick makes clear, it was not primarily a racist confrontation<sup>33</sup> - this is an oversimplification - but it was a trading-raiding zone complicated by concepts of communal ownership of pasture and water on the one hand and a highly developed idea of personal possession on the other. The suggestion that legislation created the tensions is extreme but there can be little doubt that it exacerbated them, by making illegal the peaceful trade and by banning contacts long established.

Politically the whites of the Eastern Cape were not only demanding representative government, they wanted separate rule.<sup>34</sup> As cross-frontier clashes increased - along with trade - so the feeling of voteless and voiceless frustration grew and, as Fryer clearly shows,<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, p.202.

<sup>31</sup> Chambers' Twentieth Century Dictionary: "Barrier or line isolating states."

<sup>32</sup> Legassick, Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography, pp.64-65 (in Marks and Atmore).

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp.62-68.

<sup>34</sup> Le Cordeur, The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, Chap.I.

<sup>35</sup> Fryer, The Government of the Cape of Good Hope 1825-1854, A.Y.B., 1, 1964, Chap. I.

divisions grew apace. Dr Philip, writing to Kitchingman, summed up the situation, "Hostilities have commenced"<sup>36</sup> - a declaration of war indeed and one which through the political storm surrounding the publication of Philip's Researches in South Africa, was to lead to the full development of a racially based political dichotomy in South Africa.

The colonial reaction to the publication of Philip's book impinged with considerable violence on the institutions at Theopolis and Bethelsdorp.<sup>37</sup> Not only were they surrounded by the settlers but in addition, much of the material used in Researches in South Africa was derived from events which took place in the Eastern Cape Colony. In the first volume, thirteen out of nineteen chapters deal directly with these two stations, and three present Dr Philip's idea of Khoi in the pre-colonial era; while in the second volume, there are six chapters on the Eastern Cape institutions. Of ten relevant appendices, nine consist of Barker/Bethelsdorp/Theopolis material. In fact it is probably in the appendices that, historically speaking, the most valuable material is contained as it is presented without emotive commentary.

Dr Philip's political activities appeared to him to be the natural outcome of his calling as a minister,<sup>38</sup> and, while he endeavoured to co-operate with the local authorities, his patience was short-lived and he turned to Britain<sup>39</sup> as the Cape government appeared to be of the "irresistible kind."<sup>40</sup> Political caution and ignorance of conditions marked the reaction of many of his British friends, and, while his book attacked the Cape government, it was aimed at the dilatory directors and the lethargic laity in Britain. In practice in Britain it was probably only read by those already convinced of

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<sup>36</sup> Philip to Kitchingman, 11 Mar. 1822, quoted in Le Cordeur and Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p.63.

<sup>37</sup> See G.T.J., numerous references.

<sup>38</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Directors, 26 Nov. 1824 (9/2/E).

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 15 Aug. 1820 (8/2/C).

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

his case<sup>41</sup> and not by British parliamentarians and public. In the Cape for which it was not designed, it produced the most powerful reaction.

The other means of reaching the authorities, was through the Commission of Enquiry appointed to the Cape in 1823.<sup>42</sup> The commission was not appointed as the result of evangelical pressure as Walker and Philip himself<sup>43</sup> suggested both Mellor<sup>44</sup> and Young<sup>45</sup> make it clear that financial reorganisation, government, justice and trade were the prime concerns of the commissioners. They were, however, given instructions to investigate "government slaves and apprenticed Africans" as well.<sup>46</sup> The fact that their report on the Cape Khoi was not received until 1830 adds weight to this argument.

The arrival of the commissioners started an avalanche of documents on a wide range of subjects from Dr Philip.<sup>47</sup> Like others, he entertained high hopes of support from the commission but was soon to be disappointed.<sup>48</sup> In consequence, he submitted a long report which was transmitted through the L.M.S. to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.<sup>49</sup> This lengthy document may have influenced the government

<sup>41</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.83; MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, p.60 and p.218.

<sup>42</sup>John T. Bigge (1780-1843), a barrister and former Chief Justice in Trinidad, had been a commissioner to New Sale Wales in 1818. Major W.McB.G. Colebrooke (1787-1870), was a serving officer in the Royal Artillery in the Indies and was Lieut.-Governor in the Bahamas in 1834.

<sup>43</sup>Walker, History of South Africa, p.163; Philip, quoted by MacMillan, op.cit., p.185.

<sup>44</sup>Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, pp.39-40.

<sup>45</sup>Young, Colonial Office in Early Nineteenth Century, pp.188-90.

<sup>46</sup>Mellor, op.cit., p.240.

<sup>47</sup>MacMillan, op.cit., p.190.

<sup>48</sup>ibid.

<sup>49</sup>R.C.C. XXX, pp.119-177.

in its attitude to racism at the Cape but it is certain that Ordinance 50 of 1828, which gave freedom to the Khoi,<sup>50</sup> was not part of Philip's work, as often suggested.<sup>51</sup> It was in fact based on a Stockenström report<sup>52</sup> and the only claim Philip might have had to direct influence is on the clause which was an addendum and which prohibited "repeal or amendment [of the 50th Ordinance] except with the express sanction of the crown."<sup>53</sup>

Philip's realisation that appeals to the Cape government did not bear fruit quickly enough for him, led him to the decision to go to Britain himself (1825). There he discovered that only T.F. Buxton<sup>54</sup> was really prepared to listen to his case and also (as others had realised before him) that the voluminous correspondence sent to the directors<sup>55</sup> had not really convinced them of the urgency of his claims - nor, possibly, had they read all the material.

Frustrated, burning with righteous wrath, he wrote Researches in South Africa which was published in 1828. The book was "hastily thrown together"<sup>56</sup> and which, as A.M.L. Robinson pointed out, was both biased and historically inaccurate.<sup>57</sup> To modern critics, and certainly to his contemporaries,<sup>58</sup> this prevented the book from having far more impact than it might otherwise have done.

<sup>50</sup> See supra, Chapter III on the Khoi.

<sup>51</sup> Maxwell & McGeogh (eds.), The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, p.51.

<sup>52</sup> MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, pp.213-14.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p.219.

<sup>54</sup> Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.83.

<sup>55</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Directors, 7 Jul. 1825 (9/3/D).

<sup>56</sup> MacMillan, op.cit., p.217.

<sup>57</sup> A.M.L. Robinson, in S.A.P. Library Quarterly, p.92.

<sup>58</sup> He had worked on the Distressed Settlers Fund with J.C. Chase and others who must have realised his predilection for exaggeration. They attacked him in Some Reasons for our Opposing the Author of Researches in South Africa (1836).

He introduced his work with a picture of the early Khoi, "the good men", moral, courteous, noble, (with large herds of cattle) living an idyllic and peaceful life. While commenting adversely on the reliability of travellers' tales, he himself relied heavily on such evidence<sup>59</sup> to produce a picture of so perfect an existence that scepticism is the immediate response on the part of the ordinary reader. In such a work, which aimed at convincing his public of his case, careful editing was essential coupled with selective and critical choice of source material. Had he done this he would have avoided the kind of error which his critics sought; minor errors, perhaps, in the context of the whole case but crucial for him because they cast doubt on the veracity of his whole case.<sup>60</sup> He made such an error when he suggested that the Khoi had no belief in a Supreme Being,<sup>61</sup> yet eighty pages on, spoke of the "Groot Baas" described by Barrow.<sup>62</sup>

He pictured the Boer farmers as almost entirely malevolent and cruel<sup>63</sup> and attributed to them the selection of the unsuitable site at Bethelsdorp - presumably out of pure spite.<sup>64</sup> No cognisance was taken of the kind of incident described by Barker on his journey to Bethelsdorp from the Cape<sup>65</sup> where Khoi were not only well treated but also joined in family worship at a Boer farm. Such a picture would have given balance to his comment as does the fact that Stuurman<sup>66</sup> pointed out that many Boer farms on the eastern frontier were destroyed by Khoi because they (the Khoi) wanted their land back.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. I, p.95.

<sup>60</sup> See Anonymous Publication, Some Reasons for our Opposing the Author of Researches in South Africa.

<sup>61</sup> Philip, op.cit., Vol. I, p.7.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p.83.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.90.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p.92.

<sup>65</sup> Barker Journal, 29/30 Jul. 1815.

<sup>66</sup> List of Khoi, Appendix A(v).

<sup>67</sup> Philip, op.cit., Vol. I, p.78.

Philip outlined the undoubtedly restrictive Khoi legislation and likened the mission institutions to field cornetries,<sup>68</sup> issuing passes, providing labour for farms and public works, controlling Xhosa visitors and acting as minor magistrates.<sup>69</sup> This legislation is dealt with in detail and little, if any, credit is given to the governors who were apparently endeavouring to rationalise the labour situation in the colony. Philip's view of the legislation is supported by Newton King,<sup>70</sup> but the fact remains that up to 1809 there was no real recourse to law for the Khoi, and while practise was not perfect, it was an advance when after 1809 they could plead their cases.

Philip presented an excellent case when he described the application of the law, for example in the case of the difficulties of Khoi who owned cattle and who sought work on farms,<sup>71</sup> but once again he destroyed his case and the good impression created by adding the comment that the only object of the farmers was to oppress and cheat the Khoi in every way.<sup>72</sup> Where opgaaf<sup>73</sup> was concerned, his case is moderately stated and well supported by documentary evidence which showed that both at Bethelsdorp and at Zoar<sup>74</sup> drought, disability, crop losses and soaring prices made the payment of opgaaf totally impossible, but that appeals to government were fruitless.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. I, p.121.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Newton King, Labour Market of the Cape Colony, pp.176-78 in Marks and Atmore; Philip, op.cit., pp. 124, 128-29, 142-89.

<sup>71</sup> Philip, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.150-51; Barker Journal, 6 Jan. 1816.

<sup>72</sup> Philip, op.cit., Vol. I, p.176.

<sup>73</sup> The colonial tax which first applied to the Khoi in 1814.

<sup>74</sup> A mission station of the South African Society near Swellendam.

<sup>75</sup> Philip, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.190-97.

Philip then turned his attention to the institutions themselves, indicating that his own appointment, with John Campbell, as a deputation of the society, was initiated as a result of complaints made to Bathurst<sup>76</sup> through Somerset.<sup>77</sup> In fact, Philip's own description of Bethelsdorp<sup>78</sup> would appear to justify the appointment. Philip turned next to the work done to improve the stations, by opening shops, by planning and building new houses, and for vigorous religious activity.<sup>79</sup> Obviously he had tried to carry the people with him and at considerable length he detailed his own exhortations as well as the eulogies of visitors. As illustration, he described the "new" Bethelsdorp,<sup>80</sup> the flourishing Pacaltsdorp,<sup>81</sup> and the sturdy frontier rôle of Theopolis.<sup>82</sup> All these case studies justified praise but once more exaggeration, overstatement and minor inconsistencies destroyed the impact. The remainder of the first volume dealt with the Theopolis land dispute,<sup>83</sup> the relationship of the missionaries and the authorities,<sup>84</sup> and the proposed removal of Bethelsdorp to a new site.<sup>85</sup>

In the second volume he dealt with the complex problem of the northern boundary<sup>86</sup> at some length where, as Galbraith points out, his

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<sup>76</sup>Bathurst, Henry, third Earl (1762-1834). A moderate Tory, he held various official posts but from 1812-27 he was Secretary for War and the Colonies. He exerted much influence at the Cape especially in shielding Lord Charles Somerset. Probably a greater man than suspected, no definitive work has been written about him.

<sup>77</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. I, p.200.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., Vol. I, pp.201-202.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp.203-206, 209-224.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., pp.216-234.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., pp.206-207.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., pp.253-276.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., pp.260-268.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., pp.296-344.

<sup>85</sup>Diary.

<sup>86</sup>Philip, op.cit., Vol. II, Chaps. I-X.

information was of great value.<sup>87</sup> In this volume he recounted the heroic work of Joseph Williams and the help given by Williams to Somerset in the negotiations with Ngqika (1817)<sup>88</sup> in the Kat River area. An account of the Tyumie mission is his only real description (in Researches in South Africa) of work among the Xhosa.<sup>89</sup> In the last three chapters he discussed the controversial topic of missionaries as agents of civilisation,<sup>90</sup> the false and abusive statements of the settlers regarding the mission work,<sup>91</sup> the Commission of Enquiry<sup>92</sup> and, once more, the land dispute.<sup>93</sup> The appendices include Pringle's account of Stuurman, the colonial proclamations of 1809 and 1812,<sup>94</sup> Cradocks's letter granting the land to Theopolis in 1814,<sup>95</sup> the abolition of the institution at Pacaltsdorp,<sup>96</sup> Makana's attack on Grahamstown in 1819 and the role of Boesak of Theopolis in this foray,<sup>97</sup> and correspondence regarding compensation to Cape Corps men,<sup>98</sup> requests for labour, the Theopolis lands,<sup>99</sup> and Bethelsdorp correspondence.<sup>100</sup>

This is a wide-ranging and comprehensive work and, as is natural, Philip's own prejudices are clearly shown. What is difficult to excuse

<sup>87</sup> Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.85.

<sup>88</sup> Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. II, pp.163-179.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp.189-199.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp.354-370.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., pp. 165, 241-243, 244-251.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp.253-259.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., Appendix I, pp.371-373.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., Appendix II/III, pp.373-380.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., Appendix IV, pp.380-382.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., Appendix VI, pp.383-384.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., Appendix VII, pp.385-388.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., Appendix VIII and Appendix IX.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., Appendix X, pp.400-402.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., Appendix XI, pp.403-439.

are statements, which, as his critics show, were either inaccurate or so prejudiced as to antagonise the reader. Protest against the Researches and Philip's influence through his friends<sup>101</sup> were numerous.<sup>102</sup> One such protest described him as a man "who came with the olive branch of peace in his hand" but who brought disturbance and who through his power set the Khoi free.<sup>103</sup> One of the major difficulties in assessing the value of this type of comment was expressed by Fairbairn<sup>104</sup> in a Commercial Advertiser editorial when he said, "Our correspondents in Albany and other parts of the Frontier differ so much from each other at all times, and from their own previous statements now and then, when they profess to give a general view of the Settlement, that it is hard to believe that they speak of the same people as they exist at any given time." The biased commentary of all involved makes the Fairbairn remark generally applicable to all, including Dr Philip and the friends who defended him,<sup>105</sup> and the 1820 settlers who attacked him.<sup>106</sup> What compounds the intricacy of evaluation is the involvement of historians in the controversy as partisans.<sup>107</sup> The main attack was launched by a group calling themselves "The British Settlers of 1820" who produced the pamphlet, Some Reasons for our Opposing the Author of the South African Researches (published 1836),<sup>108</sup> and they lay themselves open

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<sup>101</sup>This influence has probably been exaggerated; cf. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.85.

<sup>102</sup>G.T.J., letter from A.B., 30 Jan. 1835.

<sup>103</sup>G.T.J., letters, 27 Jan. 1823; S.A.C.A., 25 Oct. 1828.

<sup>104</sup>S.A.C.A., editorial, 22 Aug. 1829.

<sup>105</sup>The Manchester subscribers.

<sup>106</sup>The authors of a pamphlet (held in the South African Library) one of whom seems to have been J.C. Chase.

<sup>107</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.83.

<sup>108</sup>The copy in the South African Library has Chase's signature on it and, it is implied, as the author (see Appendix D(ii)). It is interesting to note that a copy of Researches held now by the Rhodes University Library has annotations (which might easily have come from the same pen) in a very similar hand-writing to that of Chase. In Dictionary of South African Biography, authorship is credited to D. Moodie.

to the sort of criticism applied to Researches – emotive writing and at times unsupported evidence. Encapsulated within these two documents is in effect the essence of the controversy which raged within the bounds of the Cape Colony and with concentrated fury on the Eastern Frontier. Fuel for the fire of settler rage was of course provided by inaccuracies or mis-statements by John Philip.

The account, in Researches,<sup>109</sup> of the pre-colonial Khoi, valorous, law-abiding, honest, disciplined, well-deserving, the appellation "the good men",<sup>110</sup> is probably as far from the truth as the "Settlers'" picture of vicious, degraded savages, practising cruel interpersonal relations and living anything but prosperous and peaceful lives.<sup>111</sup> Both sets of ideas could be traced back to travellers' tales<sup>112</sup> and the selection might well have been based on the subconscious bias of the commentators, mission or colonial. Vander Kemp was probably nearest the truth when, observing that the Khoi, like other people, were good and bad, he suggested that their lack of a permanent "homeland" had had a disturbing effect on them.<sup>113</sup> One can then assume that any judgment, springing from inadequate knowledge, might be termed "unfair". What is extraordinary is the preoccupation of both the settlers and Philip with the allocation of "blame" for prevailing conditions. Barker, struggling with "an atrocious illicit connexion",<sup>114</sup> with "misdemeanours towards Brother Ulbricht and myself"<sup>115</sup> and with one Mauritz, of whom he said, "Indolence, and drunkenness are fore-runners of much evil" would not have found it any easier to handle had he known that contact with whites was to

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<sup>109</sup> Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. 1, pp.1-62.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p.3.

<sup>111</sup> Anonymous, Some Reasons..., pp.1-3.

<sup>112</sup> See supra, Chapter III on the Khoi.

<sup>113</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Vander Kemp to Directors, 11 Nov. 1801 (1/4/E). (Wrongly dated in Researches as 11.2.01, p.71, Vol. 5.)

<sup>114</sup> Barker Journal, 21 Jan. 1822.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., note after 2 Feb. 1818.

blame<sup>116</sup> or that inborn vice was the cause.<sup>117</sup> As the arguments are presented the impression of ignorance on the part of both protagonists is clear. True Khoi feelings are ignored and one is confronted with a faceless mass of people - regarded as potential servants by the colonists and as ill-treated downtrodden souls for the saving by Philip.<sup>118</sup>

Legislation regarding the Khoi was dismissed by the settlers as having "evinced a constant regard for the welfare of the aboriginal inhabitants."<sup>119</sup> A brief study of the legislation shows clearly that whatever the motives of legislators practice was far from perfect.<sup>120</sup> The 1809 ordinance compelled residence on a farm for although a Khoi was permitted "to leave his Master and enter into another's service" or "to act in any other manner the laws of the Colony admit of"<sup>121</sup> in fact, laws did not "admit of" the Khoi doing anything else.<sup>122</sup> Entrance to the institutions was only by permission of a landdrost and, as clearly shown this was not easy<sup>123</sup> but nor was it easy for a Khoi who owned cattle to find a master.<sup>124</sup> The addenda to the 1809 Proclamation (1812 and 1819) were effectively apprenticeship laws and as Philip said, "an act which disposes of children like this" must generally speaking "enslave the parents on one farm."<sup>125</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. I, p.14.

<sup>117</sup> Anonymous, Some Reasons..., p.4.

<sup>118</sup> Repeatedly there is confrontation with political or religious ploys as opposed to real individual concern. Sales and MacMillan as well as Elphick have continued this myth so that few real people emerge and a definitive account of the Khoi as people in the post-D.E.I.C. era is still needed.

<sup>119</sup> Anonymous, op.cit.

<sup>120</sup> Philip, op.cit. (Some examples: pp.128-29, 142, 145, 151, 173).

<sup>121</sup> Philip, op.cit., Vol. II, p.315.

<sup>122</sup> Newton King, Labour Market of the Cape Colony, pp.176-78.

<sup>123</sup> Barker, Journal, 9 Jan. 1816.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 6 Jan. 1816.

<sup>125</sup> Philip, op.cit., Vol. I, p.183.

Births on farms had to be registered<sup>126</sup> and if the child was maintained by the farmer until he was eight years old, he could then be apprenticed for a period of ten years, provided the person concerned was fit to care for the child.<sup>127</sup> Safeguards appeared on the statute books but with inadequate and even prejudiced policing there was much abuse and Philip's contentions certainly bore closer investigation.

Administration of all these regulations was made easy (or difficult) by the landdrosts. Rivers<sup>128</sup> whose delaying tactics and rudeness must have provoked serious difficulties, might well have evoked anti-authoritarian reaction,<sup>129</sup> while Fraser did all he could to co-operate and ease the way making for acceptance of trying regulations.<sup>130</sup> The field cornets, too, voluntary officials who were mainly farmers, were probably not co-operative being too ideologically conditioned and also, with their own vested interest in Khoi labour, it would have been unreasonable to expect any but an adverse reaction. In fact, legally, the situation of the missions vis-à-vis field cornets was a difficult one as shown by a visit by such an official to Theopolis,<sup>131</sup> although it was clarified by Donkin's firm statement, in 1821, that only a magistrate (that is, not a field cornet) could compel the mission to send labour for public works.<sup>132</sup> As is obvious, the missionaries carried an enormous administrative load, of which the "British Settlers" were fully aware, yet they launched an attack on the clergy for neglect of religious duties and too much devotion to secular affairs!<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>126</sup>Barker, Journal, 25 Jan. 1816.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid.

<sup>128</sup>List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>129</sup>Barker, Journal, 10/11 Apr. 1822.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., 5 and 7 Oct. 1816.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., 2 Aug. 1822.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., 6 Jun. 1821.

<sup>133</sup>Anonymous, Some Reasons..., pp.34-37.

The pass laws were undoubtedly the most trying to administer as Barker indicated clearly in a letter to the Grahamstown Journal where he spoke of writing a pass (at Bethelsdorp) for someone who wished "to buy a pennyworth of thread at Cradock's Town",<sup>134</sup> or for someone "whose cow had stayed away over night."<sup>135</sup>

The restrictive legislation, which had caused trouble to administrators and so much suffering to the Khoi was abolished by Ordinance 50 of 1828.<sup>136</sup> This law secured for the Khoi and "other free persons of colour" that they should not be subject to any disabilities "any more than any other of His Majesty's subjects", that they might own land, that the law protected them in cases of ill-treatment. The ordinance, which caused great rejoicing at Theopolis,<sup>137</sup> was treated with strong reserve by the settlers, and as is clearly shown in Some Reasons...,<sup>138</sup> they attempted to reintroduce a vagrancy order (in 1834)<sup>139</sup> which was retrogressive and which would have nullified the good done in Ordinance 50. The effort failed as it infringed the proviso regarding alteration of Ordinance 50 without the consent of King-in-Council.<sup>140</sup>

Opgaaf (or tax) had been paid by certain Khoi since 1798 though the regulation regarding the payment of tax by institution Khoi was promulgated only in 1814.<sup>141</sup> According to MacMillan, this so-called tithe was extremely heavy and out of all proportion to the actual

<sup>134</sup>See Map of Travels.

<sup>135</sup>G.T.J., 16 May 1833.

<sup>136</sup>Ordinance 50 of July 1828.

<sup>137</sup>Barker, Journal, 5 Nov. 1828; Le Cordeur and Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p.99.

<sup>138</sup>Anonymous, Some Reasons..., p.47.

<sup>139</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., pp.120-124, 145-46.

<sup>140</sup>MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, p.219; G.T.J., 9 May 1833 and 16 May 1833.

<sup>141</sup>R.C.C. XXX, p.166; Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. I, p.189; Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., p.72.

monies received by the Khoi.<sup>142</sup> In fact he suggests that it was designed to send the Khoi back to the farms, where, even if they appeared on opgaaf rolls<sup>143</sup> they were, apparently, not subject to tax. However, as Dr Philip showed, only those who owned wagons (as transport riders) or had some means of subsistence other than farm labour would earn enough to warrant taxation.<sup>144</sup> These views were supported, in a tepid way, by the commissioners.<sup>145</sup> However, "the Settlers"<sup>146</sup> regarded these claims as an "artful web of misrepresentation" and regarded the Khoi in this respect as able to pay tax as any white labourer.<sup>147</sup> Equality in action!

The pamphlet also suggested that Theopolis had paid no tax for seventeen years after the foundation of the mission,<sup>148</sup> and they claimed that long periods elapsed before taxes were paid elsewhere. Mission records contradict this. Theopolis, founded in 1814 was paying tax as a matter of course in 1822<sup>149</sup> when Barker recorded drawing up lists of people for opgaaf and then spending two days with the landdrost on the "lengthy business of the opgaaf."<sup>150</sup> At Bethelsdorp (1825) Kitchingman complained about payment of opgaaf<sup>151</sup> and this was quoted as a precedent by Dr Philip,<sup>152</sup> but Barker's diary records "the business of opgaaf" at Bethelsdorp in 1820.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>142</sup>R.C.C. XXX, p.158.

<sup>143</sup>These were tax lists but also a rough population register.

<sup>144</sup>Duly, British Land Policy at the Cape, pp. 19 and 36.

<sup>145</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, pp.193-95. Dr Philip shows that they paid two-thirds of their wages in tax.

<sup>146</sup>Anonymous, Some Reasons..., p.50.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., p.4.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid.

<sup>149</sup>Barker Journal, Apr. 1822.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid.

<sup>151</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.50.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid.

<sup>153</sup>Barker Journal, 18 Sep. 1820.

Claims regarding drunkenness and idleness<sup>154</sup> might well have been made by Barker himself,<sup>155</sup> Read,<sup>156</sup> or any other missionary. Brownlee indeed wrote two letters indicating clearly the problems facing missionaries when he spoke of the "exceedingly prejudicial" influence of military service<sup>157</sup> and said, "I would not have mentioned the above were it not that the very immoralities are pointed out as evidence, by the enemies of religion that the labours of missionaries have in no way raised the Hottentot [sic] character."<sup>158</sup>

It appears that very often the "case" which the settlers were presenting descends to the petty and, like Researches, required more meticulous research as in their attack on Dr Vander Kemp regarding the naming of Bethelsdorp<sup>159</sup> and in attacks on mission returns for 1830. Philip, they suggested, listed missions which were no longer under the L.M.S., in order to "mislead and deceive the Government" with "unwarrantable misrepresentations and most wilful falsehoods."<sup>160</sup> The missions named were Paarl, Tulbagh and Graaff Reinet. George Barker moved from Theopolis in 1839 to Paarl where he ministered until 1861, and the church is still (in 1982) in the hands of the L.M.S. successors,<sup>161</sup> the Congregational Church. Tulbagh (Roodezand) was where Michel Vos (and subsequently his son) ministered and, though linked to the Dutch Reformed Church, as late as 1849 they were still sending annual reports to the L.M.S. as they had done in the early days of the South African Society.<sup>162</sup> Graaff Reinet, too,

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<sup>154</sup>Anonymous, Some Reasons..., p.5.

<sup>155</sup>Barker Journal, 18 Jul. 1818 - 14-21 Feb. 1820.

<sup>156</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, 3 Jul. 1834 (14/1/C).

<sup>157</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Brownlee to Directors, 26 Jan. 1837 (15/3/A). This refers to service in the levies.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid. It is possible that this was an answer to "the Settlers".

<sup>159</sup>Anonymous, op.cit., p.26.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid., p.24.

<sup>161</sup>Briggs and Wing, The Harvest and the Hope, pp.218-221.

<sup>162</sup>See supra, Chapter II.

remained under the wing of the L.M.S. (and its successors) until 1882.<sup>163</sup>

The comparison with the Moravians<sup>164</sup> (made by "the Settlers") to the disadvantage of the L.M.S. was in fact echoed by Barker<sup>165</sup> and by Melville.<sup>166</sup> There is no doubt that the internal government of the Moravians was excellent, but what should be remembered is the fact that as aliens (Germans) they were precluded from participation in local politics. The excellence of the Moravian stations must have been a sore point for Dr Philip as he took the opportunity, when government aid was provided for Genadendal (1823)<sup>167</sup> to launch an attack on the Moravians. Called "Comparative View"<sup>168</sup> he proposed to submit it to the Commissioners. For this he received an extremely sharp reply from the L.M.S. directors,<sup>169</sup> who showed a surprising knowledge of the situation at the Cape. Apparently, fair-minded about the comparisons the letter is nevertheless the sternest rebuke on record from the directors to Dr Philip. An oblique reference is made to the Comparative View in the voluminous memorial sent by Philip to Bathurst (and through the directors) in 1827.<sup>170</sup>

The mission stations, those "imperium in imperio", were accused of having kept back labour from the farms, made false returns to the landdrosts, cheated the authorities by mis-using the pass laws and

<sup>163</sup>Wing and Briggs, The Harvest and the Hope, p.104.

<sup>164</sup>Anonymous, Some Reasons..., p.6.

<sup>165</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 2 Aug. 1820 (8/2/C).

<sup>166</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Melville to Directors, 18 Dec. 1819 (8/1/D).

<sup>167</sup>This was the period of floods when Theopolis received a share of the monies given for flood relief.

<sup>168</sup>Despite exhaustive searches by the Archivist at S.O.A.S., no trace of this can be found.

<sup>169</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Directors to Philip, 18 Jul. 1826 (10/1/D).

<sup>170</sup>R.C.C. XXX, p.148.

disciplining the institution Khoi without trial.<sup>171</sup> Attacks were made on the shops within the mission stations (as being means to financial gain for storekeepers with a vested interest in mission work), and suggestions were made that civil rather than spiritual matters were the missionaries' main preoccupation.<sup>172</sup> In two separate sections<sup>173</sup> there is impassioned defence of the colonists' attitude towards the Khoi and there is further, a biting indictment of Dr Philip for "inciting" the Xhosa to take up arms.<sup>174</sup>

Charges of immoral conduct among the converts contradicting Philip's undoubtedly foolish claims,<sup>175</sup> are again representative of only a half truth as further perusal of the Researches would have shown. Certainly, Barker would have agreed that "immorality was rife"<sup>176</sup> as would Kitchingman<sup>177</sup> and the American, Tyler,<sup>178</sup> in his mission to the Zulu. It should be remembered, however, that "immorality" often represented a clash between Christian and customary practice and in this morass both clerics and converts floundered.

The attack by the settlers on Theopolis<sup>179</sup> referred to as the "often cited Theopolis" is easily refuted or not confirmed. There is nothing in the diary to bear out the claim that Theopolis Khoi were frequently involved in theft from surrounding farms, though it would be strange to assume angelic status for the Theopolis folk. Annual reports and letters suggest a measure of moral and spiritual progress. Taking 1829 as a "typical" year, not only was more land under

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<sup>171</sup> Anonymous, Some Reasons..., pp.34-37.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p.37.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., pp. 38 and 55.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Philip, Researches..., pp. 6, 224 in Vol. II.

<sup>176</sup> Barker Journal, 28 Jan. 1820 and 3 Feb. 1820.

<sup>177</sup> Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, pp. 49 and 71.

<sup>178</sup> J. Tyler, Forty Years among the Zulu, pp.117-119.

<sup>179</sup> Anonymous, op.cit., pp.34-39.

cultivation at Theopolis but a new and larger church was being built.<sup>180</sup> In addition, school numbers were inaccurately quoted<sup>181</sup> - to the mission's disadvantage - and the claim that no English was taught was incorrect.<sup>182</sup> Etherington has pointed out, what is often confirmed in larger L.M.S. reports, that many lists were inaccurate with a repeatedly changing format.<sup>183</sup> However, after careful scrutiny Barker appears to have compiled reasonably accurate data.

The idea that a court of heemraden was set up on the mission is a partial truth, but that he should speak (in 1831) of their having been set up "about ten years ago" is highly unlikely. From the inception of the missions, corporals were elected to assist with civil control within the institution as the missionaries were responsible for the prevention of crime. By 1822 a court of heemraden (larger than the small group of corporals)<sup>184</sup> was introduced and in January 1824, Dr Philip instructed Barker to make rules for a "court of magistracy."<sup>185</sup> However, a study of the list of cases referred by a missionary to the landdrost<sup>186</sup> in a short period does not suggest that any but petty cases can have been referred to the mission court. Certainly Barker might well have been ignorant of the punishments meted out<sup>187</sup> as this came within the purview of the temporal manager.

Inevitably the Philip-McKay case was discussed.<sup>188</sup> There can be little doubt that in the hastily assembled Researches, Philip included

<sup>180</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Miles to Directors, 17 Jul. 1829 (11/3/D).

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 14 Jan. 1829 (11/2/D).

<sup>182</sup> Anonymous, Some Reasons..., p.35.

<sup>183</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Annual Report, Barker to Directors, 25 Nov. 1825 (9/4/3).

<sup>184</sup> Barker Journal, Jan. 1822.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., Jan. 1824.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., example 15 Nov. 1823.

<sup>187</sup> Anonymous, op.cit., pp.34-37.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., pp.28-30.

many passages which were inaccurate, dubious, or, as in the McKay case, not only undiplomatic but also unnecessary. His strictures on the magistrate of Somerset East (Mr McKay)<sup>189</sup> were so indiscreet that the libel case was hardly a surprising outcome. It was a case which, in the seething state of public opinion, Philip could ill afford to defend in open court with the press at his heels and the public so sharply critical.<sup>190</sup>

The controversy which focussed on Theopolis as a result of the publication of Philip's book, was unfortunate. Barker would have been the first to acknowledge that the inhabitants of his mission station were not a Communion of Saints nor a City of God; in spite of the name Theopolis! However, both Philip with his over-statement of virtue and diligence and the settlers with their exaggerated cries about vice and indolence, ignored both human error and human dignity. The additional publicity which surrounded the whole Khoi controversy from 1835 to 1851, and the devastation of the wars (1835, 1846 and 1851), destroyed the final remnants of the garment of success so briefly worn at Theopolis. Those remnants epitomised the frenetic (not to say psychotic) preoccupation with factional interest on the frontier.

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<sup>189</sup> Philip, Researches..., Vol. I, pp.353-355.

<sup>190</sup> MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, pp.224-226; Cory, History of South Africa, Vol. II, p.420.

## CHAPTER IX

## BORDERS BREED CONTENTION

## THEOPOLIS LANDS DISPUTE

According to Marais whether or not the Khoi possessed the right of acquiring land on individual tenure prior to 1828 is really an "academic question." They could not, he suggests, "have made use of such a right even if they had enjoyed it."<sup>1</sup> Between 1652 and 1828 the Khoi had become dispossessed of their lands.<sup>2</sup> In fact they had never had any documentary evidence of title and had neither knowledge and experience nor (until 1652) the need for legal title in the western sense. They were nomadic pastoralists who travelled with the grazing herds, and their mat huts facilitated easy movement. Ordinance 50 however had removed any doubts about individual title to land though, as Davenport has shown, they might have been stronger in the struggle for land had they been allowed to retain communal title.<sup>3</sup> What remained to be done then was to teach the Khoi the advantages of individual tenure and the economic benefit consequent upon a more settled existence. Tutors and land were required if this objective was to be achieved, hence the Theopolis land dispute was not only an unfortunate incident dragged by Cory "from blessed oblivion", as MacMillan claims,<sup>4</sup> but also a dispute involving a principle which impinged immediately on Khoi rights. In a letter written to the Grahamstown Journal in 1832<sup>5</sup> an anonymous letter writer pointed out that the Theopolis lands dispute had, as Dr Philip suggested, made everyone think about security of tenure.

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<sup>1</sup>Marais, The Cape Coloured People, p.123.

<sup>2</sup>Legassick, The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography, in Marks and Atmore, p.62.

<sup>3</sup>Davenport, South Africa, A Modern History, p.103.

<sup>4</sup>MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, p.227.

<sup>5</sup>G.T.J. 20 April 1832

This dispute had emphasised the chaotic state of records and indicated clearly that boundaries needed clear definition. As Duly shows,<sup>6</sup> land policy had never been systematically codified and claim and counter-claim were commonplace. In fact, ownership of land by Khoi, while in practice rare (and hitherto popularly believed to be illegal), was in fact not only legal but also feasible. Dr Philip, impatient of delay, and, as Galbraith says, "a moral totalitarian... [who] lived in a world of intrigue infested with diabolical forces"<sup>7</sup> went hastily into print in Britain without his papers to hand. His case on the Theopolis lands was excellent political capital for inveterate writers to the press in the Cape Colony, and also provided fuel for the fires of the more serious opponents of missionary endeavour.

The accepted system of land tenure under the Dutch was the Loan Place whereby claims on 3 000 morgen of land were staked, and until 1714, no rent or recognition was demanded.<sup>8</sup> This loosely controlled system was, in fact, an open invitation to colonial expansion and certainly appeared to discourage the capital investment and agriculture of a more settled society. The British government, whose interest really lay in the ports, attempted to stem the movement when Cradock, in 1813, issued a proclamation<sup>9</sup> preventing the further granting of loan farms and substituting the quit-rent system<sup>10</sup> which provided for farms of 2 000 morgen. These farms were two-thirds the size of a loan-place and were surveyed, making boundaries more definite and making it more difficult to acquire land. This procedure too, certainly compelled registration of farms, a matter which had been lightly regarded.<sup>11</sup> Adduced as a reason for trekking by the

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<sup>6</sup>Duly, British Land Policy at the Cape, p.119.

<sup>7</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.82.

<sup>8</sup>Davenport, South Africa. A Modern History, p.72.

<sup>9</sup>Elphick and Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, p.349.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

Boers, it was accepted by the settlers, though they did wish for larger farms. Ownership of land has always been an emotive subject, of which emotion Thomas Philipps's<sup>12</sup> and Goldswain's diaries<sup>13</sup> give clear examples. Inefficiency and delay in granting and registering grants of land had characterised official policy which had engendered further emotional reactions and the fact that there was more than twenty years delay in the issuing of title deeds<sup>14</sup> is a point not without significance in the Theopolis dispute.

In the Commissioners' Report of 1830<sup>15</sup> there is a useful resumé of Khoi legislation, land ownership and official attitudes. The Dutch Pass Law of 1787 was a serious attempt to prevent the nomadic way of life of the Khoi<sup>16</sup> but it did not provide for ownership of land. Maynier postulated the need for places of retreat for the harassed nomads while in 1803 Governor Jansens considered that the Khoi should be able to enjoy "freedom, security and the means of subsistence on land specifically designed as exclusively their own."<sup>17</sup> These sentiments do honour to the good intentions of the originators but nothing really stood in the law books and certainly it is dubious whether frontier field cornets would have pursued with ardour a system so contrary to common practice and to Mosaic Law.

British legislation, the commissioners found, appeared to aim at restriction of free movement and at registration of abode, but it should be noted that Bigge and Colebrooke considered that the wording of the regulation of 1809 suggested the application of this regulation to all population groups,<sup>18</sup> thus in fact giving Khoi and farmer

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<sup>12</sup> Keppel Jones (ed.), Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.218-219, 224-239.

<sup>13</sup> Long (ed.), Goldswain's Chronicle, Vol. II, pp.90-91.

<sup>14</sup> Duly, British Land Policy at the Cape, p.119.

<sup>15</sup> P.P. 1830 XXI (584), Bigge and Colebrooke Report, pp.11-26.

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, pp.81-2.

<sup>17</sup> P.P. 1830 XXI (584), op.cit., p.13.

<sup>18</sup> ibid., p.16.

an unrecognised reason for common cause.

Attitudes to land ownership appear to have been as divergent and various as the people who adopted them. Bigge and Colebrooke considered it a matter of surprise that Khoi were incapacitated from holding land.<sup>19</sup> Cuyler, the landdrost of Uitenhage, harking back to slave regulations said they were prohibited from holding land because they were not Christian,<sup>20</sup> while Bergh, the deputy landdrost of Clanwilliam<sup>21</sup> was perfectly willing to remove a hard-working Khoi<sup>22</sup> from his well-developed land to give away to a white settler so that this section of land could be added to the Irish grant.<sup>23</sup> British policy to missions, like that of the Dutch, was "full of sound and fury signifying nothing."<sup>24</sup> In fact at Genadendal after meticulous surveys Cradock secured the land to the mission against "ejectment or molestation."<sup>25</sup> This had never been done for the L.M.S. missions and after the Theopolis case the directors urged Philip to secure diagrams and titles to prevent a re-occurrence of such an incident.<sup>26</sup>

In a dramatic peroration at the end of the first volume of the Researches,<sup>27</sup> Dr Philip asked a series of penetrating oratorical questions about Khoi rights. This too thumping evangelical appeal is calculated to stir the hardest heart but it is possible to consider that recourse to the law books and a quieter approach to the authorities might have achieved more, more quickly. Bigge and Colebrooke

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<sup>19</sup>P.P. 1830 XX: (584), Bigge and Colebrooke Report, p.16.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>22</sup>Thompson, Travels & Adventures in South Africa, pp.81-82.

<sup>23</sup>The Irish settlers of 1820 were sent by Donkin to Clanwilliam.

<sup>24</sup>Shakespeare, Macbeth, Act V, Sc. V.

<sup>25</sup>P.P. 1830 XXI (584), Bigge and Colebrooke Report, p.34.

<sup>26</sup>MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, quoting W. Ellis, p.30.

<sup>27</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, p.401.

stated that it was "the want of an explicit [legal] declaration"<sup>28</sup> which caused problems for the Khoi, especially those with considerable moveable (and mobile) property. The commissioners were convinced that the industrious among the Khoi, given the opportunity would have made good farmers and with beneficial mixing,<sup>29</sup> could have been integrated into the community.<sup>30</sup> Ordinance 50 finally freed the Khoi (in explicit language) to make their own decisions and Cole was anxious that they should buy the land granted originally to the missions,<sup>31</sup> a sentiment which had been expressed by Colebrooke who pointed out that "the land was held in trust by the missionaries for the common benefit of all."<sup>32</sup>

The whole question of mission trusteeship of land was lost, not only in the dust of legal tomes, but also through the actions of mischievous men. Cradock's official notification of the granting of Theopolis lands was issued in August 1815.<sup>33</sup> The notice indicated provisional granting of the land to the mission and pointed out that if ever the government "re-assumed" the land, full restitution would be made for "improvement and buildings." The final sentence of the paragraph is significant - "difficulties still occur as to the mode of making out a title, and to whom, as well as the general policy." Clearly the legal advisers of the L.M.S. should have queried this statement ab initio, but apparently they were unconcerned since no mention of the subject appears in any documents. This is in sharp contrast to the attitude at Genadendal where surveys were conducted and clarity obtained from the governor,<sup>34</sup> and confirms the suggestion that inefficient administration characterised the L.M.S.

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<sup>28</sup>p.p. 1830 XXI (584), Bigge and Colebrooke Report, pp.53-54.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p.59.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p.53.

<sup>31</sup>C.O.48/144, Report on Theopolis Lands Dispute.

<sup>32</sup>p.p. 1830 XXI (584), op.cit., pp.58-59.

<sup>33</sup>C.O.48/144, Theopolis Lands Dispute, p.139, Alexander to Read, 11 Aug. 1815. This is the only official document on record.

<sup>34</sup>p.p. 1830 XXI (584), op.cit., pp.58-59.

Cradock's letter to Campbell<sup>35</sup> was indicative of a disinclination to increase the number or size of missions for fear that idleness might prevail and that seasonal labour would not be available and land might lie uncultivated. Further opposition was implicit in the existence of mission schools for Khoi children while education was denied to the children of frontier farmers.

There has been a tendency among historians to regard the missions as "reserves" - to some a good thing, to others not. The Colonial Office records contain an interesting memorandum on this topic.<sup>36</sup> Within the bounds of the Cape Colony, the document states that there were five L.M.S. institutions (Caledon, Hankey, Pacaltsdorp, Bethelsdorp and Theopolis) while inside and outside the colonial boundaries there were sixteen stations including the Griqua stations, "Chumie", Paarl and Graaff Reinet. The distinction was clearly drawn - at an institution there was land and there were premises for the use of the missionary and church members, while at a station there was merely a residence for the missionary and there were church buildings. No provision was made at a station for land for the permanent reception of converts.

The documents relating to the Theopolis lands dispute contain much material relative not only to the confusion regarding Khoi rights but also to the generally chaotic conditions involving land grants and the fixing of boundaries. The Theopolis land was granted to the L.M.S. with the clear intention that it should be used as an "overflow" for Bethelsdorp. A letter to this effect,<sup>37</sup> in which Cradock formally named the land, was sent to Rev. John Campbell (on deputation from the L.M.S.) and subsequently to a visit by Campbell to Cradock (10 Jan. 1814).<sup>38</sup> The formal letter granting the land was sent to Read<sup>39</sup> and here a statement was made that not only had the land been

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<sup>35</sup>C.O. 48/144, p.127, Cradock to Campbell, 10 Feb. 1814.

<sup>36</sup>C.O. 48/144, Theopolis Lands Dispute.

<sup>37</sup>C.O. 48/144, p.127, Cradock to Campbell, 10 Jan. 1814.

<sup>38</sup>Campbell, Travels in South Africa, Vol. 1, p.352.

<sup>39</sup>Philip, Researches, Vol. II, p.402.  
C.O. 48/144, p.139, Alexander to Read, 11 Aug. 1815.

surveyed but that a "diagram" had been received in London. The missionaries (Ullbricht and Bartlett) moved to the mission in 1814<sup>40</sup> but by 1819 they were finding the 3 000 morgen (ABDE)<sup>41</sup> inadequate for grazing and wrote to this effect<sup>42</sup> to Dr Philip who had just arrived at the Cape (1819) on deputation with John Campbell. Ullbricht's suggestion was that the mission land should extend to the Kariëga River and also down to the coast.

Dr Philip and Mr Campbell conveyed this request to the governor<sup>43</sup> but the reply was a refusal<sup>44</sup> on the grounds that priority would have to be given to new settlers who might wish to take up the land.<sup>45</sup> Philip received a further letter from Ullbricht which confirmed this attitude, as the missionary reported the marking of the Theopolis lands with beacons by the surveyor Knobel who was measuring plots for the settlers.<sup>46</sup> Colonel Cuyler had been particularly helpful in securing the land to the mission.<sup>47</sup> Dr Philip had made contact with the acting governor, Sir Rufane Donkin and, in consultation with him, had secured a further grant of land for Theopolis (EFHG) giving the mission access to the Kariëga River (as Ullbricht had suggested).<sup>48</sup> No mention was made of claims to the seaward side of the mission.

Shortly after Barker's return to Theopolis from Bethelsdorp,<sup>49</sup> General Campbell of Barville Park was killed in an accident,<sup>50</sup> and it

<sup>40</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Read to Directors, 20 Aug. 1814 (5/4/A).

<sup>41</sup> See Map: Lands Dispute.

<sup>42</sup> C.O. 48/144, p.126, Ullbricht to Philip, 17 Aug. 1819.

<sup>43</sup> C.O. 48/144, p.128, Campbell and Philip to Governor, Dec. 1819.

<sup>44</sup> C.O. 48/144, p.126, Ellis to L.M.S. Deputation, 29 Dec. 1819.

<sup>45</sup> The colony was preparing for the coming of the settlers.

<sup>46</sup> Ullbricht to Philip, 17 Sep. 1829. (Mears Papers (BC 312) in Jagger Library, University of Cape Town).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, quoting Ullbricht to Philip and Campbell, C.O. 48/144, p.126.

<sup>49</sup> Barker Journal, 22 Feb. 1821.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 9 May 1822.

can be assumed that the visit of Landroost Rivers accompanied by Mr Hope<sup>51</sup> to survey the land was a direct result of Campbell's death and the settlement of his estate. Although Rivers and his party were house-guests of the Barkers they displayed little interest in the mission.<sup>52</sup> However the visit was significant for Rivers sent a report to Bird<sup>53</sup> including a plan of the Barville Park Estate which shared a boundary with Theopolis (BD). In this letter Rivers asked how much land should be given to Theopolis. In the absence of written evidence it can be assumed that the boundary line was drawn.<sup>54</sup> It was not, however, registered until 1826.

This was a time of crisis in the land situation in the district of Albany as Thomas Philipp's memorandum to Rivers<sup>55</sup> clearly showed. A view supported by Francis<sup>56</sup> in giving evidence before the commissioners Bigge and Colebrooke, when he pointed out that only pastoral farming on extensive lands would be likely to succeed in Albany.<sup>57</sup> The commissioners subsequently recommended to Somerset that an enquiry should be held and to this end the diplomat William Hayward<sup>58</sup> was appointed. His arrival was heralded in a letter from Bigge to Thomas Philipps.<sup>59</sup> He stated that the "business of the Commissioner will be ambulatory",<sup>60</sup> and that his object was to relieve distress and to fix boundaries. The instructions<sup>61</sup> given by Somerset

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<sup>51</sup> See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>52</sup> Barker Journal, 18 May 1822. At no time is mention made of payment by such guests and it must have strained inadequate resources.

<sup>53</sup> U.C.T. Letters, Rivers to Bird, 22 May 1823.

<sup>54</sup> Vide title deed of Barville Park Estate in hands of present owner, Miss Betty Norton (originally owned by General Campbell).

<sup>55</sup> Keppel Jones (ed.), Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.120-128.

<sup>56</sup> See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>57</sup> Edwards, The 1820 Settlers in South Africa, Commissioners' Minutes, pp.182-183.

<sup>58</sup> List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>59</sup> Keppel Jones (ed.), Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.215-216.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> R.C.C. XVII, pp.340-351.

were complex but at no point was special mention made of Theopolis though it was included in the ambulatory progress. It is a tribute to the personal gifts<sup>62</sup> of William Hayward that his arbitration was "remarkably successful".<sup>63</sup>

At Theopolis Barker and Wright drew up a "memorial" to present to Hayward.<sup>64</sup> This included a request for the area between Theopolis and the sea as Von Buckenrode<sup>65</sup> and Philip<sup>66</sup> had suggested in letters to the missionary. Hayward and the surveyor Hope went first with Thomas Philipps to his proposed location on the coast<sup>67</sup> and besides encouraging him they measured his land carefully.<sup>68</sup> At Theopolis they rode with Barker to the mouth of the Kasouga; they received his memorial and they said nothing.<sup>69</sup> The visit was briefly reported in letters both by Barker<sup>70</sup> and by Wright.<sup>71</sup> At the beginning of the following year (1825), Thomas Philipps' diary contains a series of entries of restrained excitement reporting the arrival of Lord Charles Somerset himself, and his condescension in visiting the projected farms.<sup>72</sup> This was a sign of his lordship's change of attitude and acceptance of the larger farms as well as of the movement of the tradesfolk to town.

<sup>62</sup>Nash, Baillie's Party of 1820 Settlers, pp.82-85.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Barker Journal, 28 Sep. 1824.

<sup>65</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>66</sup>Barker Journal, 27 Sep. 1824.

<sup>67</sup>See Map of Lands Dispute.

<sup>68</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), op.cit., pp.216-221.

<sup>69</sup>Barker Journal, 21 Oct. 1824.

<sup>70</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 29 Oct. 1824 (9/2/D).

<sup>71</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Wright to Directors, 30 Oct. 1824 (9/2/D).

<sup>72</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.225-237.

Somerset's "progress" in the Bathurst area took place over two days in February 1825<sup>73</sup> and Philipps and Bovey<sup>74</sup> both received assurances of favourable consideration of their grants,<sup>75</sup> Bovey's being that portion of land which Wright and Barker had indicated to Hayward - the land between Theopolis and the sea.

It cannot be said that the "tour" was altogether completely straightforward for Philipps records leading the governor "to Lynch's post direct, without going past the house I had ventured to begin building"<sup>76</sup> and that before the grant was made. It is regrettable to note that the same sort of double-crossing occurred, with Donkin, but with his connivance.<sup>77</sup>

By the end of the month the grants were finalised,<sup>78</sup> including that of Mrs Campbell and of Bovey with confirmation of boundaries in April.<sup>79</sup> As everyone else had their boundaries fixed there must have been some gloom at Theopolis for Brownlee and Pringle,<sup>80</sup> visiting the mission, wrote letters<sup>81</sup> to Philip. Both commended the mission highly but both wrote alarmist reports suggesting that the Long Fountain was to be given to the settlers and that access to the sea was to be cut off. Neither report, as subsequently proved, was substantially true but appearances were misconstrued. The authorities themselves

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p.234; Barker Journal, 19 Feb. 1825.

<sup>74</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>75</sup>See Map of Lands.

<sup>76</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), op.cit., p.234.

<sup>77</sup>Rainier (ed.), Journals of Sophia Pigot, p.150.

<sup>78</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), op.cit., p.236.

<sup>79</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), Philipps, 1820 Settler; (There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of dates as the Journal and Philipps' letters coincide); p. 238.

<sup>80</sup>Barker Journal, Mar. 1825, Note.

<sup>81</sup>Brownlee to Philip, 28 Mar. 1825, quoted in Researches, Vol.1, pp.261-266.

were obviously uncertain for in June 1825 both Barker<sup>82</sup> and Philipps<sup>83</sup> reported a visit to Theopolis by Major Dundas (the new Landdrost) accompanied by Capt. Hope, Mr Hope the surveyor, Philipps and Gilfillan. They discussed the land adjoining the station and Barker reported that it appeared that they would retain all the land but might lose the Long Fountain.<sup>84</sup> In fact, Dundas put in a report emphasising that they would have to retain use of the Long Fountain.<sup>85</sup>

Hearing of these events, Dr Philip took immediate action and arrived at Theopolis for a prolonged visit in July,<sup>86</sup> during which he paid a visit to Thomas Philipps.<sup>87</sup> At this time Barker wrote out, at Philip's request, some of the statements later used by Philip in Researches. One concerned Ullbricht's dealings with Col. Henry Somerset.<sup>88</sup> Barker also drew up a statement of the distribution of the adjacent lands, pointing out those parts which he alleged were to be taken from the institution. "Dr Philip dictated it." The last remark might well be construed as Barker's dis-association from the sentiments expressed. The only protest voiced by Barker was in connection with the Long Fountain,<sup>89</sup> and in this his protest was upheld for in August 1825 the lands were once more re-surveyed.<sup>90</sup>

Somerset, like Philip, had not been idle and in July 1825 he wrote to Bathurst suggesting that the strip of land to the north of the mission (ABLK)<sup>91</sup> and between Theopolis and Major Fraser's farm be

<sup>82</sup>Barker Journal, 17 June 1825.

<sup>83</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), op.cit., p.243.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid. Long Fountain was the only large and reliable source of water.

<sup>85</sup>C.O. 48/144 in report by Sir Lowry Cole.

<sup>86</sup>Barker Journal, 6-21 July 1825.

<sup>87</sup>Keppel Jones (ed.), op.cit., pp.249-250, (14 July 1825).

<sup>88</sup>Philip, Researches, Vol. II, pp.298-305.

<sup>89</sup>Barker Journal, 17 Jun. 1825.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 16/17 Aug. 1825.

<sup>91</sup>See Map of Land.

granted to the L.M.S. on condition that no more claims would be made for further land.<sup>92</sup> No mention was made of rocks, barren soil and deep kloofs. It can be assumed that at this point, realisation was reached that boundaries were vague,<sup>93</sup> for Barker was once more instructed to fix beacons<sup>94</sup> and his reference to Hope suggests the surveyor's presence.

In the meantime Somerset's suggestion with regard to the land to the north had been received in London and Bathurst sent a reply in October 1825<sup>95</sup> approving the northerly grant and with the proviso that no more land was to be requested by the L.M.S. This decision was communicated by Plasket<sup>96</sup> to Theopolis where Edwards, who managed temporal affairs as well as the school, rejected it on the grounds that the area involved was useless and that he was not, on his own authority, prepared to bind the mission to making no further claims. Advice from Foster at Bethelsdorp and Brownlee at "Chumie" was sought and they concurred.<sup>97</sup>

On his return to Cape Town from Theopolis in August 1825, Philip drew up a letter and memorandum to be forwarded through Hankey, the L.M.S. secretary in London to Bathurst.<sup>98</sup> In this he suggested that consolidation of the land between the Kasouga and Kariega and extending to the sea would grant "compactness to the Institution"<sup>99</sup>

<sup>92</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Somerset to Bathurst, 12 Jul. 1825, quoted in letter from Bathurst to Directors, 7 Jul. 1825 (9/3/D).

<sup>93</sup>The Barville Park title deeds are dated 1826 in the name of Mrs Campbell. This suggests that, apart from the backlog, no title deeds were issued until after the visits of Hayward and Somerset in 1825.

<sup>94</sup>Barker Journal, 15-17 Aug. 1825.

<sup>95</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Governors to Directors, 15 Apr. 1825 (10/1/B).

<sup>96</sup>See List of Officials, Appendix A(ii); L.M.S. Correspondence Plasket to Edwards, 15 Apr. 1825 (10/1/B).

<sup>97</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Edwards to Plasket, 15 Apr. 1825 (10/1/B). Barker and Edwards were not on speaking terms at this time. Refer Barker Journal, Mar. 1826.

<sup>98</sup>R.C.C. XXVIII, p.195, Hankey to Bathurst, August 1825.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p.192.

and would secure access to the coast. This claim he had first made at the instigation of Ullrich (1819). He then went on to set out the mission claims to favourable attention and the case of the Khoi. Citing the original map ("lost" in the offices in Cape Town) as the source of his information, he laid claim to the land indicated. In addition he referred to the inducement of more land alleged to have been offered by Cradock and Somerset (possibly verbally) but contra-indicated by Cradock's letter;<sup>100</sup> to the military service of the Khoi; the great loss of cattle sustained by Theopolis in 1819<sup>101</sup> and the unsubstantiated claims of Bovey and Grant<sup>102</sup> to whom the coastal area had been given. In reply to this memorandum, Hay informed the L.M.S. that the land to the seaward side, "or as much of it as the Cape Government may deem fit to limit (and without restriction of the right of the Society to purchase land) but subject to the usual quit rent would be granted".<sup>103</sup> The Cape government, having already given the land to Bovey and Grant, were unable to carry out this injunction.<sup>104</sup>

As nothing happened, Philip reiterated these claims in Researches but without benefit of his notes and he additionally invoked "the proclamation of 1817"<sup>105</sup> whereby, he suggested, that land cultivated, could be claimed for the institution. In 1829 the directors renewed their request. It can only be assumed that the matter had been allowed to lapse, presenting as it did the proportions and complications of a singular nightmare. However in 1830 a memorial was addressed to Sir Lowry Cole<sup>106</sup> by ex-soldiers at Theopolis who

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<sup>100</sup>C.O. 48/144, Dispatch of Sir Lowry Cole, 10 May 1831, p.5.

<sup>101</sup>Philip, Researches, Vol. II, p.389.

<sup>102</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>103</sup>R.C.C. XXVIII, p.299.

<sup>104</sup>C.O. 48/144, Cole to Colonial Secretary, pp.3-4.

<sup>105</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Directors, 4 Mar. 1830.

<sup>106</sup>C.O. 48/144, Retired Cape Corps men to Sir Lowry Cole, 4 Mar. 1830, p.84.

claimed that the governor had granted the land in 1815 with a proviso that additional land grazed and cultivated could be included in the grant. This statement they said was repeated in 1817 by Somerset. They spoke of their war service and of the fact that the land to seaward had been allocated to Sergeant Grant, whose war service was thus rewarded in contrast to their own meagre land. As a result of this petition, Goderich instructed Cole to re-open the whole matter and the detailed research is contained in a long report from Cole and Bell to the Colonial Office,<sup>107</sup> admirably summarised in Cole's covering dispatch.<sup>108</sup> In addition, a committee consisting of the Civil Commissioner, Duncan Campbell,<sup>109</sup> T.C. White,<sup>110</sup> Mr Hope (the surveyor), Mr McDonald<sup>111</sup> (of Lombards Post), Barker, and his nominee the J.P., Thomas Philipps and twenty Khoi.

After exhaustive discussion and measurement the boundary between Theopolis and Barville Park was determined as being correct,<sup>112</sup> and Barker refused to allow further measuring, declaring that the boundaries had not been altered. From Campbell's report emerges clearly the fact that Dr Philip had depended on Khoi witnesses, who had mistaken the surveyor's flags for border indicators.<sup>113</sup> No wonder that Barker prevented further work.

The salient features of the Cole-Bell report (which consisted of twenty-six dispatches and nine maps) are as follows. The original map as Philip claimed, was missing<sup>114</sup> and the suggestion made by Philip that it had been suppressed is not impossible if one considers Somerset's dislike of the L.M.S. and the detailed evidence adduced by Edwards in similar cases of missing documents.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>C.O. 48/144, Dispatch, Cole to Colonial Office.

<sup>108</sup>C.O. 48/144, Cole to Colonial Secretary, 10 May 1831, p.1.

<sup>109</sup>See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>110</sup>Ibid.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid.

<sup>112</sup>C.O. 48/144, Campbell to Bell, 3 Dec. 1830, p.241.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid.

<sup>114</sup>C.O. 48/144, Cole to Goderich, 10 May 1831, p.3.

<sup>115</sup>Edwards, The 1820 Settlers in South Africa, p.176.

# LANDS DISPUTE I (note Map II over)

## SOME REASONS

FOR OUR OPPOSING THE AUTHOR

### "SOUTH AFRICAN RESEARCHES"

THE REV. JOHN PHIPPS, D.D. (AUTHOR)

SUB-SECRETARY OF THE HONOURABLE SECRETARY'S OFFICE

SOUTH AFRICA

AT THE BRITISH LEGATION OF LONDON

U.S.

NEW YORK

"One a Reason of the birth that is in you"

"If my hand is to be measured by the measure in which I have perceived my share in the Holy Cross, I have concluded that that should attach to it and not myself."

"The honest thakshanda cannot be too often called upon to express their sentiments openly, to prevent the mischief too likely to spring from the dissemination of notions which by such a daring disregard of truth, ability and hard-work, when the Honour of the Church are at stake, is highly criminal. However much we may desire such notices as the one we have been considering, their influence in England is very great."

From *Excelsior*, Editor of the South African Commercial Advertiser.

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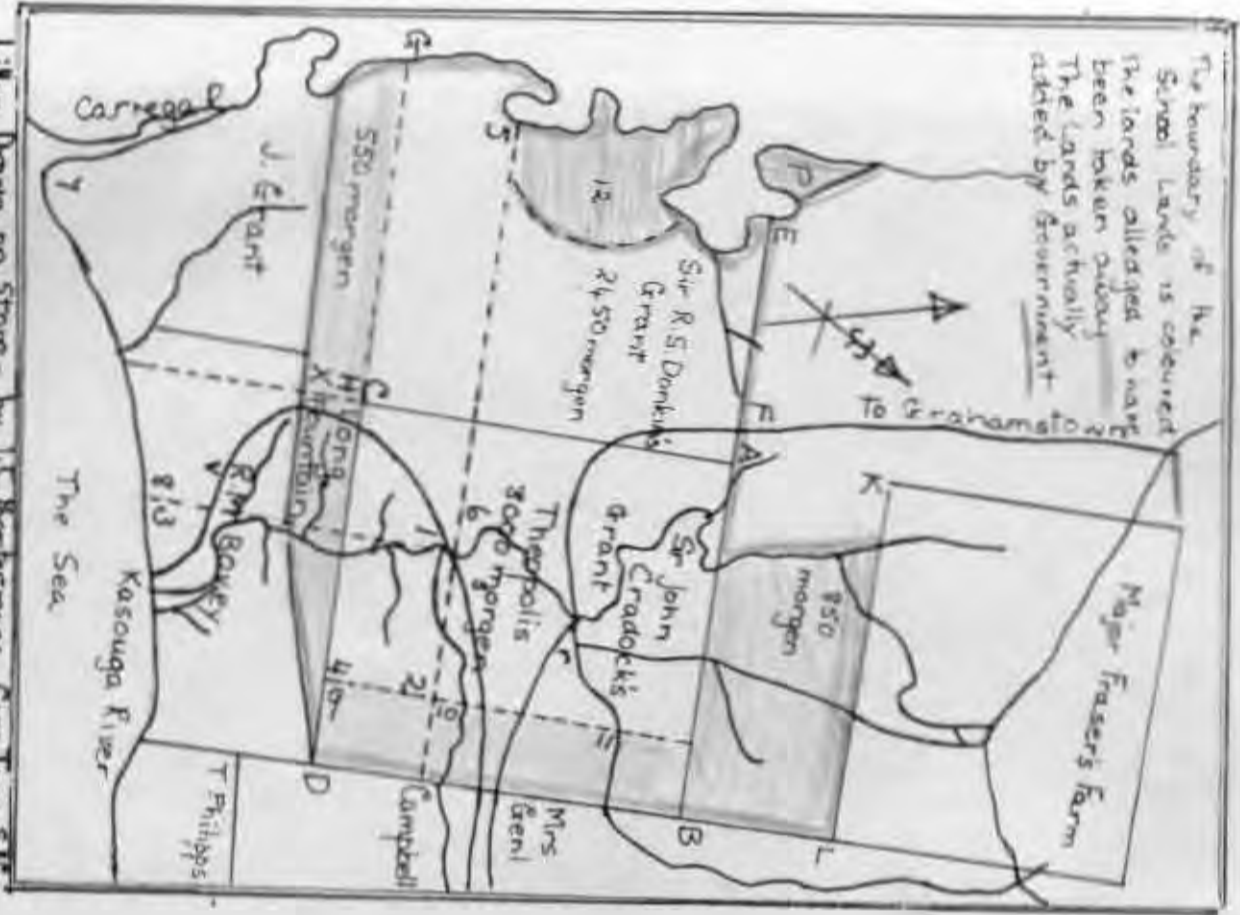
.....

A. ROBERTSON, PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING, 100, WATERLOO STREET, LONDON, W.C.2.

1890.

5/5 E 970

(5)



This is a copy of the Map and labelling redrawn for the sake of clarity by M.R. Currie

Map and Notes taken from "Some Reasons for our opposing the Author of the South African Researches (1836)"

#### REFERENCE TO THE SKETCH BY THE INSTITUTION OF THEOPOLIS

The Hon. Dr. Phipps's Institution Map in the "Researches" gives the following details:—

ABOVE: A sketch of the school plot of Sir John Cradock in 1813. CREDIT: A sketch of the land grant of Sir R.S. Dinkins in 1811.

No. 12 is a sketch of the 'valley' claimed by Mr. Dinkins.

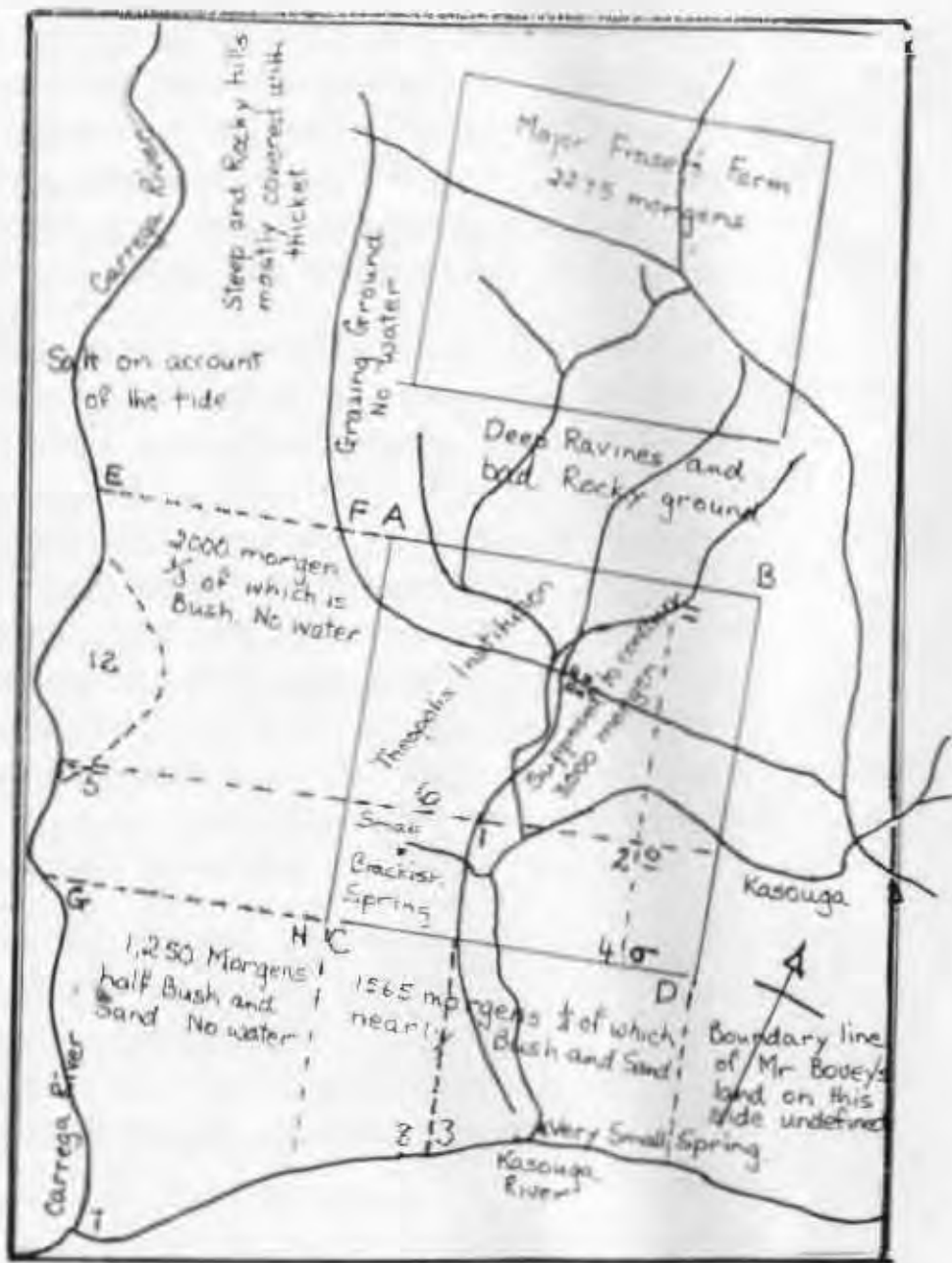
No. 13 is a sketch of the 'valley' claimed by Mr. Dinkins.

No. 14 is a sketch of the 'valley' claimed by Mr. Dinkins.

No. 15 is a sketch of the 'valley' claimed by Mr. Dinkins.

No. 16 is a sketch of the 'valley' claimed by Mr. Dinkins.

No. 17 is a sketch of the 'valley' claimed by Mr. Dinkins.



SKETCH OF THE INSTITUTION OF THEOPOLIS and the adjacent lands. (Vol. II, p. 21)

[Exact copy of original (for sake of clarity) M.R. Currie]

*Explanation of the Chart.*

A, B, C, D, describe the diagram of the original grant given by Sir J. Cradock on which the institution stands: A, points out the site where the village still stands; E, F, G, H, describe the lands granted to the institution by Sir Rufane Donkin, in 1821.

Nos 5, 6, 7, 8, describe the lands allotted to Mr. Grant, including the only remaining spring on the institution,—with an outpost, or village, consisting of ten huts, containing thirty-two inhabitants, most of whom are aged and diseased people, worn out in the service of the farmers, who subsist on the milk of some cows, and the produce of their gardens, and the corn land they are able to cultivate. The grant assigned to Mr. Grant contains a valuable portion of the corn-lands of the institution, together with the spring of water\*, without which the grant of land made to the institution by Sir Rufane Donkin, marked E, F, G, H, will be of no use, being entirely without water except in the Karregea river, which is salt along the whole line of boundary, owing to the influx of the tide.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, describe the lands given to Mr. Bovey. This grant includes a small spring at the mouth of the Kasouga river, barely sufficient for the culinary purposes of one or two families, and upwards of one hundred acres of land around it, which have been under cultivation by the people of the institution. On the opposite side of the river, a little higher up, stands a village or outpost, consisting of twelve huts, containing thirty-five industrious Hottentots, who support themselves and their families by their waggons and oxen, and the cultivation of about sixty acres of land, which they have fenced with great labour, and which they cultivate to advantage. This place has no permanent spring, and in the dry season is dependent for a supply of water on the spring included within the land promised to Mr. Grant.

Nos. 9, 10, and 11, the dotted line within the diagram of the institution, running along its eastern boundary, will give a tolerable idea (by measuring the distance between that dotted line and the eastern boundary of the diagram) of the extent of land taken from the original grant of Sir J. Cradock to the institution, and given to Mrs. General Campbell. It may include about one-third

\* This fountain, which is designated the beautiful spring, in the section of the lands in the accompanying diagram, is demonstrated in the description accompanying the chart,—the Long Pasture.

Note.—The two thousand morgens adjoining and bounded by dotted lines in the chart, may be made use of by the institution, in addition to the original ground also included by Donkin as set forth.—Copied from the original grant.

Taken from Researches in South Africa. (Vol II) by J. Philip.

and acres, the greater portion of which has been under cultivation, some of them the year 1815. Here I beg leave to refer to the proclamation of 1817, which states that the previous cultivator of land has the first claim upon it. This land, from its proximity to the village, the nature of the soil, and from its having a stream of water running through it, is essential to the existence of the institution. A great part of this land has been fenced in by the people of the institution, at great labour, and a part of it is now under crop.

No. IV a small valley on the Karregea, surrounded by bush, within the grant of Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin to the institution, is claimed by Mr. Dalgaard as promised to him by the governor, and on which he has already put up a hut.

Theopolis, July 18, 1822.

The following official letter from the Colonial Secretary, H. Alexander, Esq., to the Missionary Read, will show that the lands of Theopolis were held on precisely the same footing as those of Bethelsdorp. It has been the policy of the colonial government not to grant regular legal rights to the lands of the missionary institutions, with the view, obviously, of keeping them more dependent.

Colonial Office, August 11th, 1813.

Sir,—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor to state, in reply to your letter of the 21st July last, that His Excellency has directed the landward to permit you to occupy, provisionally, the land which has been recently measured, according to the diagram which has arrived, without a valuation, in the same manner you have occupied Bethelsdorp; and authorizes me to assure you, should circumstances ever lead to a re-assessment, all improvement and building, with the expense of the survey, shall be repaid; but difficulties still occur us in the mode of making out a title, and to whom, as well as the general policy.

His Excellency has no objection to the two missionaries you recommend, with their waggons and necessary attendants, proceeding on their intended mission.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) HENRY ALEXANDER.

Mr. J. Read, Bethelsdorp.

The appeal by Philip for extended land on the grounds of the Proclamation of 1817 was dismissed by Cole<sup>116</sup> as he claimed that it was an advertisement not a proclamation, and that it was addressed to those already in possession of quit-rent lands and was intended as an inducement to settlement. He added that in 1817 the Khoi were not citizens (an arguable point).<sup>117</sup> If this claim were taken as a precedent, he argued that the L.M.S. (and other missions) might lay claim (in terms of the 1817 Advertisement) to large tracts of land which the nomadic Khoi in the course of their wanderings had cultivated. That these peregrinations did cover a wide area was borne out by a letter in the Grahamstown Journal which stated that Khoi from Theopolis were cultivating land twenty miles from home.<sup>118</sup>

Cole denied categorically that Theopolis had been set up as a military post and pointed out that, as at all other farms, the workers defended their own and served in frontier commandos. This was in no way a denigration of their great war effort. Their claim to land as reward for their war services he dismissed on the grounds that pensions were given to ex-soldiers and that in this respect the Theopolis Khoi were no exception. Cole went on to argue that before the passing of Ordinance 50 Theopolis had provided a useful centre from which Khoi could operate but that after 1828 its value was diminished and that he would support the granting of individual plots as had been done at Kat River where success "had exceeded all precedent and expectation." The individual grants would take up the institution land.<sup>119</sup>

Cole considered that Philip's memoranda were a little erratic for when the surveyors originally visited Theopolis,<sup>120</sup> Philip had nominated Barker as "eminently capable", but that when Barker and Thomas Philipps agreed in 1830 that no encroachment had taken place, Philip described Barker as "utterly incapable of forming a judgment" and

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<sup>116</sup>C.O. 48/144, Cole to Goderich, 10 May 1831, p.9.

<sup>117</sup>See supra, Chapter IV.

<sup>118</sup>G.L.J., 3 Mar. 1836, letter from A3.

<sup>119</sup>C.O. 48/144, Cole to Goderich, 10 Apr. 1831.

<sup>120</sup>Barker Journal, 17 Jun. 1825.

Philipps, a respected J.P., as untrustworthy. The question of Long Fountain (which had never ceased to be used by the Khoi) was finally laid to rest in a letter by Knobel who stated that his map was a sketch and that he had "intended" to include the fountain within the mission boundaries in 1820.<sup>121</sup>

The matter received an extremely detailed hearing in the press,<sup>122</sup> and so many claims and counter-claims were made that eventually Bell wrote to Fairbairn (and was quoted in the Journal) setting out the sorry facts in detail, and there the matter rested, while Philip tenaciously defending himself was told by the mission directors to abandon the matter.<sup>123</sup> Both Philip in Researches and the authors of "the Reply" were guilty of mis-statements or misapprehensions.

The information concerning the loss of the Theopolis land<sup>124</sup> was contained not in an official message but in letters from Brownlee and Pringle<sup>125</sup> to Philip which followed on notification by Barker and Wright<sup>126</sup> that the land had been surveyed. What is surprising is that although everyone knew that boundaries had been finalised,<sup>127</sup> no mention was made of this by Philip. In addition, although Philip subsequently submitted a request for Bovey's grant, he made no mention either of invoking the 1817 Proclamation or of firm ownership of the land by a settler.<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, having mentioned

<sup>121</sup>C.O. 48/144, Knobel to Bell.

<sup>122</sup>G.T.J., 27 Jan. 1832, 24 Feb. 1832, 20 Apr. 1832, 8 Jun. 1832, 27 Jun. 1832, 6 Jul. 1832, 27 Jul. 1832, 13 Jul. 1832, etc.

<sup>123</sup>MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, p.230.

<sup>124</sup>See Maps of Land Dispute and Philip, Researches, pp.261-265.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid.

<sup>126</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 29 Oct. 1824 and Wright to Directors, 30 Oct. 1824.

<sup>127</sup>Keppe? Jones (ed.), Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.236-7 (23 Feb. 1825).

<sup>128</sup>Philip, Researches, pp.261-265.

Somerset's visit in February, Philip stated that he had no information regarding the situation except that institution land was to be granted to settlers.<sup>129</sup> In fact, he had visited the area in July when he was shown the lines drawn and when he visited Thomas Philipps who was present with Hayward in October 1824, with Somerset in February 1825, and with the Landdrost and the surveyors in June 1825 when the Knobel map (which included the Long Fountain) was discussed. He was, in fact, not present (as he claimed)<sup>130</sup> when Surveyor Hope visited the mission<sup>131</sup> once more concerning the Long Fountain in August 1825. Philip meantime had dispatched his memorandum, as had Somerset,<sup>132</sup> to Great Britain.

It seems strange that Dr Philip, being fully aware of the grant to Bovey, should nevertheless have made application to the British government for that strip after Hayward's visit. He must also have been aware of the existence of a road to the sea where shells could be collected and brought back to Theopolis for burning. The beach was not included in the grant to anyone. The map, which he used to which he referred as "the original",<sup>133</sup> was in fact Knobel's rough sketch of 1820 as the original was "lost".<sup>134</sup> This error caused poor Barker considerable embarrassment for in the newspaper "battle" of the '30s he innocently referred to the loss of the original and his enemies swooped, quoting the Researches to Barker's discomforture.<sup>135</sup>

"The Reasons" used a more accurate and up-to-date map to refute claims and confound Dr Philip. However, like Dr Philip, certain statements were open to criticism - the same sort of pettifogging criticism of

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p.266.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Barker Journal, 17 Aug. 1825.

<sup>132</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Bathurst, 7 Jul. 1825 (9/3/D) and R.C.C., Somerset to Bathurst, 17 Aug. 1825.

<sup>133</sup> Philip, Researches, Vol. I, p.269.

<sup>134</sup> Supra, p.202.

<sup>135</sup> G.T.J. 20 Sept. 1832; 6 Dec. 1832

which they were guilty. They claimed for example that Dr Philip made the remarks regarding corn-lands, lime-burning and fishing,<sup>136</sup> whereas in fact, it was Brownlee. At no point was any claim made to lands between the Kowie and the Kariega<sup>137</sup> - the claim was for the strip between Kariega and Kasouga.<sup>138</sup> The statement made regarding Bovey's grant<sup>139</sup> is inaccurate with regard to date (1829 instead of 1825). In fact, had Mr Bovey's grant been made in 1829 the problem would never have arisen. The reference to Philip's "fabricated sketch"<sup>140</sup> was probably caused by its careless appearance but it was nevertheless signed by Knobel.<sup>141</sup>

The fact that the argument was ultimately over very little might justify MacMillan's wish to leave the case in blessed oblivion, but the fact remains that a number of relevant points emerge. As Galbraith has observed, historians have "collided on the issue of Philip's integrity,<sup>142</sup> while agreeing on his influence for good or ill." It would appear from the evidence contained in Researches regarding Theopolis that he was careless of detail and that he never was prepared to acknowledge the justice and wisdom of a colleague to whom he had taken a dislike - often because of disagreements. Jumping to conclusions,<sup>143</sup> not checking facts,<sup>144</sup> over-stating his case,<sup>145</sup> he displayed not only the genius but the moral totalitarianism of a zealot<sup>146</sup> and in doing this he often destroyed that which he set out to defend.

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<sup>136</sup> Anonymous, Some Reasons..., p.51; Philip, op.cit., pp.262-63.

<sup>137</sup> Anonymous, op.cit., p.51.

<sup>138</sup> Philip, op.cit., p.265.

<sup>139</sup> Anonymous, op.cit., p.51.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Philip, op.cit., Vol. II, Appendix x.

<sup>142</sup> Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.81.

<sup>143</sup> He did not verify the question of access to the sea for the Theopolis Khoi.

<sup>144</sup> He did not investigate the legal position implicit in which was the ability of the Khoi to own land.

<sup>145</sup> This he did in the Distressed Settlers Fund meeting.

<sup>146</sup> Galbraith, op.cit., p.81.

On a more mundane level it is obvious that his careless and tactless approach, his overbearing technique and his sweeping criticism actually created a situation which was extraordinarily difficult for his colleagues. What is in fact most tragic is that from the colonial records he could have found the information needed and that the obfuscation of issues to do with the Khoi might have been avoided, certainly the attendant public brou-ha-ha and rebellion would have taken on a very different aspect.

MacMillan's commentary contains certain inaccuracies which give Dr Philip's case greater force than it had. The commissioners, Colebrooke and Bigge, did not order the land to be granted to Theopolis,<sup>147</sup> but merely stated that the missions had a case for more land. MacMillan further suggests that the facts were used to emphasise the iniquity of Dr Philip. This is not so - they would appear to emphasise an indifference to accuracy on his part and a total confusion in land tenure.<sup>148</sup> It should be noted that Lillbricht and not Albrecht surveyed the land with Campbell,<sup>149</sup> while MacMillan himself makes the kind of value judgment he deplores in Cory by saying, "if Barker is to be trusted" when commenting on Barker's claims about land.<sup>150</sup>

The final chapter of L.M.S. and Theopolis history after the battle of 1851<sup>151</sup> was written in a Select Committee report of July 1861.<sup>152</sup> Starting with an outline of its history the report tells of the grant of a portion of land to the loyal Moses Jacobs<sup>153</sup> - (still called Faithful Fountain 1982) and finally, that application had been made by the Albany General Hospital for the sale of the lands and the

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<sup>147</sup>P.P. 1830 XXI (584), Bigge and Colebrooke Report, pp. 57-60.

<sup>148</sup>MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, p.227.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., p.228.

<sup>151</sup>See infra, Chapter X, The End and New Beginnings 1829-1982.

<sup>152</sup>Cape of Good Hope, Report of the Select Committee on the Theopolis Lands, July 1861.

<sup>153</sup>See List of Khoi, Appendix A(v), and infra, Chapter X.

Received of Mr. John Thomas Reed his due note  
 for Seventeen pounds six shillings 5d. at 4 mos from  
 this date in my favour in full and final settlement  
 of the Balance of the Purchase money of my small  
 farm at Sheppolis in Grant 182 mds in 132.59 rods @  
 24.57 f. sold by me this day to the said John T. Reed  
 & his Brothers Evidley Reed & Edmund Reed this day for  
 £500 - for part whereof they hold my two bonds to be  
 cancelled on passing of transfer  
 for hand Town 14<sup>th</sup> November 1878

Witness my hand & seal of  
 Moses Jacob  
 M. J. Jacob

Moses X Jacob  
 Mark

£17.6.0.

Grainville Town 14<sup>th</sup> November 1878.

Four Months after date I promise to  
 pay to Moses Jacob or order the sum of Seventeen  
 pounds six shillings for value received in balance of  
 Sheppolis farm payable at my residence in Parrot  
 Park Dist Bathurst.

Received payment John T. Reed.  
 Moses Jacob  
 or X

FORM OF SALE OF FAITHFUL FOUNTAIN  
 (Received 16.1.83 too late for Index)

proceeds to be used for the hospital funds.

The committee proceedings included cross-examination of Archdeacon Merriman<sup>154</sup> as chairman of the Albany Hospital Board. He outlined the aims of the hospital and stated that the L.M.S. not only laid claim to the lands but also "concurred in our application".<sup>155</sup> The Rev. William Thompson,<sup>156</sup> representing the L.M.S., stated that the society held the land in trust for the Khoi.<sup>157</sup> It was established that, with the exception of Moses Jacobs, all the original inhabitants had either rebelled or left the institution.<sup>158</sup>

Thompson then claimed compensation for the buildings, which he believed to have been destroyed by white people.<sup>159</sup> A discussion ensued concerning the investigation of the rebellion. This investigation promised by government had apparently never been undertaken.<sup>160</sup> Discussion showed that Thompson, on his own admission, was asked at short notice to appear and was ill-prepared to give evidence.<sup>161</sup> He did however state that the L.M.S. would be unwilling to reoccupy the land unless and until a full enquiry had been held exculpating them from blame for the rebellion.<sup>162</sup> Questions with regard to the whereabouts of the Theopolis Khoi and to their treatment were obviously embarrassing to both parties at the hearing.

A question regarding the possibility of claims for land and compensation for buildings was parried by Thompson and left in abeyance

<sup>154</sup> List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>155</sup> Report of the Select Committee..., p.3.

<sup>156</sup> List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>157</sup> Report of the Select Committee..., p.6.

<sup>158</sup> Report of the Select Committee..., pp.5-7.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., p.7.

<sup>160</sup> See infra, Chapter X.

<sup>161</sup> Report of the Select Committee..., pp.8-9.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

pending an enquiry. Sir Walter Currie then gave detailed evidence<sup>163</sup> concerning the battle of 1851 and his part in it as commandant of the area.<sup>164</sup> His evidence regarding the destruction of the buildings was evasive,<sup>165</sup> but he gave clear and definite evidence that in his opinion the Theopolis people were willing rebels where Thompson had suggested that they were coerced.<sup>166</sup>

The final petition handed in was from T.H. Bowker who, on the grounds of promises alleged to have been made "by the late Sir George Cathcart" laid claim to the Theopolis lands as reward for his war service. As no written evidence existed, his claim was not entertained and the Committee recommended that the request of the Hospital Board be granted.<sup>167</sup> This apparently was not done for no mention appears of this in the records. The next reference to the lands at Theopolis is in the Deeds Office in Cape Town where leasehold was granted to W.P. Keeton<sup>168</sup> on the 7th March 1873. The Surveyor's Office records<sup>169</sup> the measurement and resurveying of the land on the same day. On 27th September 1895<sup>170</sup> the title deed of the land was handed to Mr Keeton and Theopolis was joined with Lombard's Post. Thus ignominiously did the Theopolis Lands Dispute end.

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<sup>163</sup>Ibid., pp.11-12.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid., pp.12-15.

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., pp.16-17.

<sup>166</sup>See infra, Chapter X.

<sup>167</sup>Select Committee Report, 1861.

<sup>168</sup>Stirk, Southwell Settlers, p.106.

<sup>169</sup>Surveyor's Office, 687, 80, 6.9, A.1, 11.A.17.

<sup>170</sup>title deeds.

I am indebted to Mr Hutton of Messrs Espin and Espin, Attorneys, and to Mr M. Sulter, Land Surveyor, for an exhaustive search which confirms Dr Philip's claim (Researches in South Africa) that no deed/or map for 1814 is retained in the offices in Cape Town. The only and first registration of Theopolis land is that of W.P. Keeton in 1873.

## CHAPTER X

## THE END AND NEW BEGINNINGS

## THEOPOLIS 1829-1982

The history of Theopolis mission from 1829-51 was told in the annual reports of the L.M.S., in Colonial Office records, in mission correspondence, in personal accounts of settlers, missionaries and officials, and in the press. The spotlight of public infamy focussed on the station by the lands dispute in particular, and by Researches in South Africa in general, had heightened an already tense situation created by the geographical position of the mission. In a period of turbulent events and of evolving policies (both governmental and mission) the promise of the 'twenties was never fulfilled and the decline of the work at Theopolis led to the temporary closure of the mission (1851) and to its permanent severance from the L.M.S. The departure of many of the best Khoi to Kat River in 1829 and again in 1836, the devastation of wars and the uprising of 1851, destroyed much of what Ulbricht and Barker had built.

Setting the mission in the context of the frontier, a fair and true assessment of events during this time is extremely difficult. A period of extraordinary political and economic activity<sup>1</sup> it was also a period marked by an intense rivalry and jockeying for power; of Machiavellian machinations; of frustrated ambitions and of abject misery. Among the ambitious white businessmen, motivated by political and economic plans there appeared to be an almost psychopathic need for reassurance, for "safety" and for expansion. Demands for separation were voiced by an ambitious minority<sup>2</sup> whose own blinkered singleness of purpose precluded any attempt at an overall view.

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<sup>1</sup>Kirk, The Cape Economy and the Expropriation of the Kat River Settlement (1846-1853), in Marks and Atmore, pp.226-46; also Le Cordeur, Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism illustrates.

<sup>2</sup>Le Cordeur, Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, p.283.

Opposing the "Superbia Anglia" myth of settlerdom were the politically conscious pro-Stockenstrom Afrikaner group,<sup>3</sup> while by the 1840s a third "Midlands" group had developed to oppose the over-weening ambitions of the Grahamstonians.<sup>4</sup> Like many people playing their own particular party drum, the various tunes drowned out, not only the opposing cacophony but also the pleas of the manipulated majority, white and black, British and Afrikaner, Khoi and Xhosa. To complicate the political medley still further is the fact that many historians of all shades of opinion have espoused a party or groups of parties and continued to beat out the various theme tunes (1982).

The frontier continued to present a major governmental conundrum. Visions of "a clearly delineated frontier, such as a large unfordable river running through the country, with unlimited visibility and no prospects for concealment"<sup>5</sup> must have floated before the bemused eyes of colonial governors and secretaries of state for the colonies. Such a river did not exist but plans did, and these included the Kat River area which James Read alleged had originally belonged to a Khoi tribe - the Heintemas.<sup>6</sup> At some time before 1819 the area had been taken over by Agqika's elder son, Maqomo, who, probably by a "process of absorption" overcame the remaining Khoi as he planned, later, to do with his Thembu neighbours.<sup>7</sup> This was the area where Joseph Williams started his mission (1817)<sup>8</sup> and where Somerset met Agqika (1817).<sup>9</sup> After the frontier war of 1819, in pursuance of his neutral policy, Somerset expelled Maqomo, who, by 1822, had returned. Apparently quiet and peaceful, he was allowed to remain on condition

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<sup>3</sup> Le Condeur, Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, p.282.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.50.

<sup>6</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Read to Directors, 30 Jul, 1829 (18/3/D).

<sup>7</sup> Peires, House of Phalo, p.89.

<sup>8</sup> Holt, Joseph Williams, pp.11-104.

<sup>9</sup> Peires, op.cit., pp.60-61.

that order was maintained. However, the pressure of the Mfecane invaders behind the Thembu caused a forward movement into Maqomo's territory.<sup>10</sup> The resultant fracas led Cole to take stern action - advised by Stockenstrom.<sup>11</sup> Thus, Cole, bowing to superior knowledge,<sup>12</sup> took a step which was very significant for Theopolis. Having expelled Maqomo from the Kat River, Cole, again on the advice of Stockenstrom, set up a series of Khoikhoi villages in the area of Kat River, partly as compensation to loyal Khoi soldiers, partly as an anchor for a naturally vagrant people, and partly to stabilise the frontier<sup>13</sup> (in pursuance of his idea that ferment was caused among the Xhosa by loss of cattle - their means of subsistence),<sup>14</sup> Stockenstrom's attitude both to the missionary and to the Khoi was well summed up in a letter to Cole:

As for the missionaries I will tell you in a few words what they want. Give them all the land in the colony so that their Hottentots may hold it from them and during their pleasure; but you are now taking their Hottentots from their institutions, these you will therefore upset, you will consequently undermine their power over the Hottentots and deprive them of a certain degree of political influence, which even Saints are sometimes tenacious of. In short you are going to make human beings of their hottentots without consulting them, without their consent, without being bullied into it by them. As our great Patron, Luther said that he would rather be in Hell with Christ than in Heaven without him, so the missionaries think that the Hottentots would be much better off in the former place with them, than in the latter without them.<sup>15</sup>

In spite of its verbosity this letter shows clearly the tragedy of frontier politics with regard to the Khoi. The abrasive Philip, the

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<sup>10</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, pp.89-90.

<sup>11</sup>Hutton (ed.), The Autobiography of the late Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Vol. II, pp.350-52.

<sup>12</sup>Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, pp.100-101.

<sup>13</sup>Hutton (ed.), op.cit., Vol. II, pp.350-52; Le Cordeur The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism (1820-54), pp.88-91.

<sup>14</sup>Hunt, op.cit., p.102.

<sup>15</sup>Stockenstrom to Cole, quoted in Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, pp.270-71.

touchy Stockenstrom, both genuinely concerned for the Khoi within the framework of their own knowledge, were quite unable to get together and do a feasibility study of institutional life or independent life.

A further breach in the neutral area was made when Goderich<sup>16</sup> suggested the settlement of English and Khoi "but not Boors."<sup>17</sup> However, as Smuts has shown, the Xhosa already occupied the area east of the Kat-Fish junction and thus was the concept of a belt of villages and military posts destroyed.<sup>18</sup> Peace did not come to the frontier, raiding continued and appeals to Stanley for the maintenance of Cole's commando system<sup>19</sup> were to no avail as the humanitarians prompted by Philip intervened.<sup>20</sup> In the interregnum between Cole and D'Urban, the apparently bumbling Wade<sup>21</sup> (under settler pressure) submitted the draft Vagrancy Law<sup>22</sup> and then with a heavy military tread chose the middle of the drought of 1833 to expel Maqomo and Tyhali from their grazing lands. Public feeling was running high and Barker pointed out in a singularly bitter attack<sup>23</sup> on the Mission Board (and indirectly on Dr Philip) that as a result of their insensitivity towards the suffering of missionaries in a hostile world, his already difficult situation was made untenable. He had been forced to adopt a course diametrically opposed to public opinion.<sup>24</sup> He continued,

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<sup>16</sup>Frederick Robinson, Viscount Goderich and Earl of Ripon, President of the Board of Trade 1818-1823; Chancellor of the Exchequer 1823-1827; Secretary of State for War and the Colonies 1827 and 1830-1833; Lord Privy Seal 1833-1834.

<sup>17</sup>Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, quoting Goderich to Cole, 26 May 1831, p.101.

<sup>18</sup>P.J. Smuts, Lieutenant Governorship of Sir Andries Stockenstrom (unpublished thesis), p.20.

<sup>19</sup>Hunt, op.cit., p.105.

<sup>20</sup>MacMillan, Bantu Boer and Briton, pp.102-105.

<sup>21</sup>See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>22</sup>Lancaster, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, pp.112-123.

<sup>23</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 11 Mar. 1833 (13/3/B).

<sup>24</sup>See supra, Chapter IX, Lands Dispute.

"I have to direct your attention to the state of colonial feeling towards your missionaries and the torrent of abuse which is pouring on them." D'Urban's arrival heralded a new dispensation for the frontier but no new approach to the problem faced by the missionaries.

The annual reports of Theopolis suggest a continuation of spiritual and material progress between 1829 and 1833. A sewing school was established,<sup>25</sup> and an increased interest in agriculture was manifested.<sup>26</sup> Several families were motivated, by agricultural advances, to move to Kat River where they could own the land they were to work.<sup>27</sup> This emigration "consisted of 100 families with 18 ploughs, 20 wagons and 900 head of cattle"<sup>28</sup> and represented a considerable loss to Theopolis both in material and in manpower.<sup>29</sup> In spite of this loss, the morning congregations averaged four hundred people (many of them visitors) and farming activity extended.<sup>30</sup> It was during this time that George Barker, previously so much involved in the religious community of the whole area, began to feel the cold wind of public disapproval and, for the first time, the cut of criticism in the press.<sup>31</sup> Even so his relations with his non-mission neighbours cannot have been entirely negative as indicated by a letter from Barker introducing "T. Philipps Esq. J.P. to the L.M.S. Board in London,"<sup>32</sup> In this Barker pointed out that Philipps was prepared to report on Theopolis, a task for which he was well-equipped as he had been a witness in the land dispute as well as a regular visitor to the mission since 1820.

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<sup>25</sup> L.M.S. Annual Report, 1830 (Theopolis).

<sup>26</sup> ibid.

<sup>27</sup> ibid.

<sup>28</sup> ibid.

<sup>29</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Directors, 18 Dec. 1830 (12/1/D).

<sup>30</sup> L.M.S. Annual Reports, 1830-1833 (Theopolis).

<sup>31</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 5 Sep. 1832 (13/1/C) and 19 Sep. 1833 (13/3/D).

<sup>32</sup> Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, pp.55-56.

By 1834 the composition of the congregation at Theopolis had changed for Barker reported Mantatee refugees as members.<sup>33</sup> The changes resulting from the emancipation of slaves were noticed too, as many Khoi no longer attended church or school, "being in the employ of farmers at a distance from the settlement."<sup>34</sup> Those people who had moved to Kat River, were active in the church set up by Read at Philipton,<sup>35</sup> or in the outstations where "exhorters" (lay preachers) conducted services. Education was, apparently, being extended and supervised by James Read, Junior,<sup>36</sup> in the Kat River area.

After this report the war of 1835 and the disturbance on the frontier intervened, and while a remarkably tranquil tone was maintained in the mission reports, that war, and crop failure, were causing considerable distress.<sup>37</sup> During this period (1829-35) while Barker made doughty forays in defence of mission in the Grahamstown Journal,<sup>38</sup> he did not write as often, nor as fully, to the directors. From this it is possible to assume that loyalty to the L.M.S. and personal politics were in conflict. Possibly, too, Barker no longer received invitations to inter-denominational gatherings<sup>39</sup> - a difference he must have felt keenly after his joyous identification with the blossoming ecumenism of the 'twenties.<sup>40</sup>

An additional problem for him, with his ecumenical leanings, would undoubtedly have been the increasing schism between the Methodists and the L.M.S.<sup>41</sup> In a letter to Campbell on Pringle's Narrative of

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<sup>33</sup> L.M.S. Annual Report, 1834, p.89.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.91.

<sup>36</sup> See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>37</sup> L.M.S. Annual Report, 1835, p.86.

<sup>38</sup> See supra, Chapter VIII.

<sup>39</sup> His name does not appear in G.T.J. reports of functions, 1831-35.

<sup>40</sup> See supra, Chapter VII.

<sup>41</sup> Shaw, A defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Southern Africa comprising copies of a Correspondence with Dr John Philip.

a Residence in South Africa<sup>42</sup> he said, "The recent writers on African Affairs have made themselves as obnoxious to the Settlers and others as Dr Philip did by his Researches. Bannister,<sup>43</sup> Pringle and Kay are deemed as traitors to the Colony." Whether he agreed with the sentiments of these writers is significantly not stated.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban's arrival at the Cape (1834) heralded what was hoped would be a new approach to frontier affairs evolved by Secretary for the Colonies, Stanley.<sup>44</sup> It was a new treaty system to be negotiated by the governor with individual chiefs. Meanwhile, as frontier tension grew, D'Urban was delayed at the Cape awaiting the Slave Emancipation Act. This delay was crucial for the frontier folk whom Philip had encouraged to believe that D'Urban would be able to solve the insoluble. At this time D'Urban and Philip appeared to be on good terms though this was a purely temporary alliance; even Dr Philip's daughter in a letter to her sister commented that her father did not wish to return to southern Africa while Sir Benjamin D'Urban was still there.<sup>45</sup>

The frontier waited, D'Urban did not arrive as anticipated, and when he did, the war of 1834-35 had broken out. Population pressures across the Fish,<sup>46</sup> fears of encroachment on both sides, continual

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<sup>42</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 17 Dec. 1833 (13/4/8).

<sup>43</sup>Saxe Bannister (1790-1877) was a former Attorney-General of New South Wales and a member of the Aborigines Committee. After two years in Africa he wrote Humane Policy or Justice to the Aborigines of the New Settlements Essential to a Due Expenditure of British money (1830).

<sup>44</sup>Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley (1799-1869), Fourteenth Earl of Derby, was a member of a distinguished family. He served under the Whigs (1822-1833) then joined the Conservatives, Colonial Office 1841, Prime Minister 1852 and 1858.

<sup>45</sup>Long (ed.), Index to Authors of Unofficial, Privately-owned Manuscripts relating to the History of South Africa, 1812-1920, p.446.

<sup>46</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, pp.84-89.

cross-Fish raiding (and trading) and commando raids led to unbearable tension which culminated in the wars of 1834-35, 1846-47 and 1850-51. Employing "a modified form of traditional warfare"<sup>47</sup> the Xhosa swept into the colony in December 1834, surprising even Read<sup>48</sup> and Captain Beresford,<sup>49</sup> both of whom gave witness to this effect in the Aborigines Committee. Considering the multiplicity of political groupings in the colony it is hardly surprising to find the varied suggestions put forward as to the cause of the war. Godlonton in the Grahamstown Journal<sup>50</sup> (1835) suggested that attention devoted to "visionaries and theorists" and not to warnings of men on the spot was to blame. He advocated vigorous international policy with "no mistaken humanity", and a strong military force. At the Aborigines Committee the war was variously ascribed to Dr Philip's malign influence,<sup>51</sup> to land hunger,<sup>52</sup> to the shooting of Xoxo, a minor chief,<sup>53</sup> and to the patrols, in particular those of ensigns Sutton and Sparks,<sup>54</sup> and to the continuing intrusion of the Boers into Xhosa territory where they grazed stock and also where the trekkers first moved.<sup>55</sup> Implicit in the memorandum submitted by Stockenstrom in the Aborigines Committee was the suggestion that contrary ideas were held by Stockenstrom and the military.<sup>56</sup> All these points were debatable but "what is not debatable is that the settlers were not the policy makers",<sup>57</sup> but

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<sup>47</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, p.145.

<sup>48</sup>P.P. 1836 VII (538), Aborigines Committee Report.

<sup>49</sup>See List of Military, Appendix A(iv).

<sup>50</sup>G.T.J., 9 Jan. 1835.

<sup>51</sup>Aborigines Report, op.cit., Dundas evidence, para.1255.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid. Rev. S. Young reporting on a conversation with Chief Congo.

<sup>53</sup>Cambridge History (South Africa), p.310.

<sup>54</sup>Aborigines Report, op.cit., para.4473.

<sup>55</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, pp.178-79.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp.137-153.

<sup>57</sup>Maxwell & McGeogh, Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, p.16.

were taken unawares at Christmas time and that Albany, including Theopolis, took the brunt of the initial attack (Christmas, 1834).

The invasion sanctioned, but not initiated by Hintza,<sup>58</sup> was, as Barker, Sass and Thomas Edwards clearly showed,<sup>59</sup> a devastating blow to the mission. To them, at Theopolis, a major difficulty was the fact that they knew nothing of what was happening elsewhere. Surrounded by the Xhosa invaders (who told them that Salem and Grahamstown had been overwhelmed), they were threatened with death if they did not submit at once. They remained in this "extremity of danger" from 24th December 1834 until January 1835, but with no apparent thought of surrender! The letter subsequently sent by the missionaries to the directors indicated that the large herds of settler cattle sent there for safety were a great temptation to the invaders.<sup>60</sup> By night the village and kraals of Theopolis were surrounded by fires of the invaders on the hills, and by day the inhabitants feared for their safety with a defence consisting of twenty-five guns, "some unserviceable."<sup>61</sup> New Year's Day (1835) saw the capture by the Xhosa of a herd of cattle (with no bloodshed) and the people of the mission thought a "rush" was imminent. On the following day the Xhosa were observed removing at least half of the remaining cattle. The Khoi guards resisted and one man - a father of seven - was killed before a group on horseback were able to drive off the invaders. The only other "injury" sustained was a spear through the hat of one of the horsemen! Fear and depression filled the hearts of the Theopolis people until, in the evening, they heard shots and a patrol arrived with news that contrary to Xhosa reports, both Grahamstown and Salem were safe. The commandant sent more guns and ammunition and, although the people were "harassed night and day"<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, p.109.

<sup>59</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Theopolis Report to Directors, 22 Dec. 1835 (14/5/B).

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

there were no further major alarms before peace was concluded in September 1835.

Comments by the missionaries on the war are of considerable interest. Barker himself wrote a letter<sup>63</sup> in which he covered a wide range of subjects concerning the war. Cattle loss had been serious with Sass and Edwards losing a span of oxen and the Khoi 109 oxen.<sup>64</sup> The missionaries had lost 41 cows and calves and the Khoi 374.<sup>65</sup>

Barker intended going to Grahamstown to find out if recovered cattle were to be restored or whether financial recompense would be made. He appeared to think that recovered cattle were to be valued and sold to those who had lost cattle; for which purpose they would use a government grant.

Commenting with some bitterness on current affairs he remarked, regarding the Grahamstown Journal, that "to favour a Caffre is treason" and "to state facts captious." Of the Advertiser, he wrote with much more favour and was interested in a comment on D'Urban attributed to Spring Rice<sup>66</sup> in which it was stated that the governor "couldn't face facts" and "was too dilatory" and that had he arrived earlier on the frontier much bloodshed might have been avoided. While Philip's letters<sup>67</sup> and general official and public opinion seem to support this contention,<sup>68</sup> Lancaster has argued, very convincingly, that it was, in fact, to D'Urban's credit that he remained in Cape Town to complete the equally urgent matters of Slave Emancipation

<sup>63</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 30 Jun. 1835 (14/4/B).

<sup>64</sup> This would be a severe handicap in the transport riding business.

<sup>65</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Theopolis Report, 22 Dec. 1835 (14/5/B).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> MacMillan, Bantu Boer and Briton, p.187.

<sup>68</sup> Lancaster, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, pp.153-155.

and the Apprenticed Labourers Ordinance<sup>69</sup> before proceeding to the complex and explosive frontier.

Barker's criticism of Sir Harry Smith's campaign embraced the colonel's claims of the destruction of 2 000 animals and all the corn in follow-up operations across the Fish.<sup>70</sup> As one living on subsistence economy himself, Barker would appreciate the enormity of such an action to the farmer. His comment on Smith was that he had "exasperated the Caffres", tarnished the reputation of the British army, destroyed faith in the whites and "scandalised the cause of religion."<sup>71</sup> In an excess of gloom he suggested that future prospects held only eternal infamy and that missionaries might as well go home, because if he (Barker) were a Xhosa chief he would ban all missionaries from his territory - displaying thus a possibly more realistic view of cross-cultural enterprise than that adopted by many apparently responsible people. It is possible to speculate that Philip's letter to the directors<sup>72</sup> (1835) was inspired by Barker's information which in turn was probably based, not on facts, but on Sir Harry's penchant for hyperbole.<sup>73</sup>

Kayser,<sup>74</sup> whose home had been devastated by Xhosa and then by the colonial forces, had spent much of the war at Theopolis and his comments, though more moderate than Barker's, are nonetheless critical.<sup>75</sup> The land where he had served Magomo (at Knapps Hill) had been handed to "Makuma" (probably Matwa,<sup>76</sup> brother of Magomo

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<sup>69</sup>Lancaster, A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, p.105.

<sup>70</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 30 Jun. 1835 (14/4/B).

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Directors, 29 Jun. 1835 (14/4/B).

<sup>73</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.112.

<sup>74</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>75</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Kayser to Directors, 14 Jul. 1835 (14/4/C).

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

and Tyali) together with "the territory between the Chumie and Keiskama", but as with the other missionaries the complicated settlements were of peripheral interest to him compared with his concern for his own mission. While this could be attributed to dedication it is also indicative, possibly, of the subsistence existence on missions. Kayser's praise for Theopolis, and in particular for the infants school run by Barker's daughters (and which Kayser's own children attended) was unequivocal.<sup>77</sup>

One of the dominant characters of this war was Maqomo, and an interesting composite picture emerges both from missionary papers and from Peires. Barker described Maqomo as "a man of honour", who, if conciliated would be a dependable ally.<sup>78</sup> Kayser, who had worked as his (Maqomo's) missionary hoped that the Kat River lands would be restored to the chief as he considered him "truly to have accepted the word of God",<sup>79</sup> a fact he illustrated by telling of Maqomo's pleas for the prayers of the missionary - on the eve of his invasion of the colony - though naturally Kayser was unaware of the impending event. In spite of Maqomo's later contretemps with Sir Harry Smith<sup>80</sup> it was said at this time that the colonel "could refuse Maqomo nothing."<sup>81</sup> As a result Maqomo was allowed by the settlement at the end of the war (1835) to return to the land he loved at Blinkwater<sup>82</sup> and Kayser returned to minister to his people.<sup>83</sup> Kayser's approach seems to have been sane and balanced for he spoke of the necessity for guarding one's lightest word

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<sup>77</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, pp.79-82.

<sup>78</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 30 Jun. 1835 (14/4/B).

<sup>79</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Kayser to Directors, 14 Jul. 1835 (14/4/C).

<sup>80</sup>Peires, op.cit., p.166.

<sup>81</sup>MacMillan, Bantu Boer and Briton, p.91, quoting Stretch.

<sup>82</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.129.

<sup>83</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Kayser to Directors, 4 Jan. 1836 (15/1/A).

because things which appeared "ridiculous and absurd" to the speaker might set back those who were only beginning to understand the new dispensation and the great truths of religion. Obviously thinking of Maqomo in a similar rôle, he spoke of the significant parts played by Kazine (sic)<sup>84</sup> at Wesleyville and Izatzoe both of whom, by their actions, kept their own people out of the war. A note added to the letter by Dr Philip indicated that men like these (and hopefully Maqomo ?) were justification for the work of the missionaries.<sup>85</sup>

In the Kitchingman Papers Maqomo emerges as one aggressively holding his land against all comers,<sup>86</sup> begging for a missionary (1833)<sup>87</sup> sending his children for a mission education (1834)<sup>88</sup> and in 1835 making a speech in praise of missionaries.<sup>89</sup> Even the critical Read<sup>90</sup> spoke of "an awakening among Maqomo's people"<sup>91</sup> after his restoration, under the Glenelg dispensation to the long-coveted lands in the Kat River valley.<sup>92</sup>

Maqomo himself, at the peace talks in September 1835, indicated that he was prepared to live in peace "under the Governor's feet",<sup>93</sup> and even went so far as to suggest that the governor's enemies would be his enemies.<sup>94</sup> Apparently a sycophant for Peires has stated, in fact,

<sup>84</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Kayser to Directors, 4 Jan. 1836 (15/1/A).

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.129.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p.136.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p.139.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p.159, note 60.

<sup>90</sup>A brief perusal of Read's correspondence shows that, while he identified completely with the Khoi, he had very little time for the Xhosa.

<sup>91</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., p.207.

<sup>92</sup>Mellor, British Imperial Trusteeship, pp.247-56.

<sup>93</sup>Peires, House of Natal, p.113.

<sup>94</sup>ibid.

that he ridiculed Smith behind his back.<sup>95</sup> If this were so, his flattery was, nevertheless, successful in achieving his return to his old territory. That he was a shrewd observer is borne out by his comment on the complicated Stockenström compensation for those who lost cattle.<sup>96</sup> "Our people steal oxen and cows but the government steals with a pen."<sup>97</sup> His admiration for Stockenström with his treaties and his blunt approach is perhaps surprising, but certainly it was only when Maitland<sup>98</sup> abandoned the treaties that war broke out again.<sup>99</sup> Magomo meanwhile was occupied in using all his skills to enable him to be declared head of the house of Ngqika,<sup>100</sup> but the probably well-meant intervention of the British led to extreme difficulty and "he fell apart in total frustration."<sup>101</sup> There emerges a volatile, devious personality whose main interest obviously was his own ambition. However, as with the statements made by Philip in Researches and by the settlers in the Reply, it should be borne in mind that the bias not only of contemporary observers but also of later commentators adds an additional dimension.

Back at Theopolis, considering its vicinity to the seat of war and the consequent fluctuations of population, things were going reasonably well. The total losses in the war had been twelve men killed (presumably on service in the Cape Regiment) and the cattle stolen in the first onslaught. Compensation of "£1 per head for lost cattle was to be paid."<sup>102</sup> Barker, in anticipation of this bought 107 cattle for the families of the men who had been killed - the kind of impetuous but thoughtful action which characterised him.

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<sup>95</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, p.114.

<sup>96</sup>ibid.

<sup>97</sup>MacMillan, Bantu Boer and Briton, p.265.

<sup>98</sup>See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>99</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, The War of the Axe, p.16.

<sup>100</sup>Peires, op.cit., p.129.

<sup>101</sup>ibid.

<sup>102</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1836 (Theopolis), p.90.

Particular praise was given to Hudson,<sup>103</sup> the government commissioner who "manifested a steady desire to advance the interests of the Institution." Rations were still being distributed by the government and "much brighter prospects were opening",<sup>104</sup> but no further mention is made of compensation for cattle in L.M.S. records.<sup>105</sup>

By December 1836 Barker was able to comment on a better inter-national image for the Cape Colony as a result of the Aborigines Committee meeting.<sup>106</sup> He reported too on affairs at Kat River where he was holding a watching brief for Read.<sup>107</sup> While there were better crops he pointed out that loss of cattle and in particular draught oxen, had made farming far from easy. The civil freedom of the Khoi "was working wonders every day" and he suggested that they would become most useful citizens,<sup>108</sup> a hope probably shared by Dr Philip and the officials who had supported Khoi freedom. Hunt has, however, drawn attention to the fact<sup>109</sup> that as a result of the war the formerly attractive Khoi township in Grahamstown had degenerated into a slum and the previous easy mingling of the races was no longer possible. On the other hand men like Goldswain who in 1820 had described the Khoi as "the most despicable creatour that I ever saw",<sup>110</sup> was able, after fighting with the Khoi, to comment on their deadly accurate shooting, and the model settlement at Kat River. There is little doubt that a rapprochement, a place of meeting might have worked, but land-hunger, war and misunderstanding intervened.

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<sup>103</sup>List of Officials, Appendix A(ii).

<sup>104</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1836 (Theopolis), p.91.

<sup>105</sup>vide Annual Reports, Letters, Evangelical Magazine.

<sup>106</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 16 Dec. 1836 (15/1/E).

<sup>107</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.160, note.

<sup>108</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 16 Dec. 1836 (15/1/E).

<sup>109</sup>Hunt, Development of Local Government in the Eastern Province, in A.Y.B., 1961, pp.154-55.

<sup>110</sup>Long (ed.), Goldswain's Chronicle, Vol. I, pp.19-20.

Surprisingly the mission reports of 1835-36 continued on a positive note. The Kat River people, while missing Read, were working well with Barker's help.<sup>111</sup> Members were prepared for communion and the schools were rebuilt and restocked. This was amazing, considering war losses reported.<sup>112</sup> Stockenstrom's visit in June 1836 was a gala event with the presentation to him of an illuminated address.<sup>113</sup> His kindly manner, the report suggested, "could not fail to restore faith in the Colonial government."<sup>114</sup>

Barker's disappointment at the departure of so many of his best people to Kat River had led to a rather less energetic approach to his tasks at Theopolis. Finally in December 1836, the death of his wife destroyed his remaining interest and was to lead eventually to his departure for Paarl. A dull tone is discernible in all the following reports while letters from Sass<sup>115</sup> covering the same time are all distressingly similar - an assumption of his own inadequacy and of the fact that the board had probably already heard any news he had to offer, coupled with plaintive pleas for an increased salary. Brisk statistics were given by Edwards regarding the school<sup>116</sup> which was reasonably successful. Edwards concentrated mainly on his own grievances among which was the fact that most of his really advanced scholars had gone to Kat River.<sup>117</sup> The depression of these letters was continued in the annual report,<sup>118</sup> where reference was made to "serious diminution" of church membership and the death of an old and valued member. The Mantatees (or Bechuanas or Basutoos) and

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<sup>111</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Annual Report Kat River (Barker) 1836 (15/2/B).

<sup>112</sup>Missionary Magazine, Sept. 1837, p.257.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid

<sup>114</sup>Missionary Magazine, Sept. 1837, p.257.

<sup>115</sup>Examples: L.M.S. Correspondence, Sass to Directors, 15 Oct. 1835 (14/4/E) and 17 Nov. 1836 (15/1/E).

<sup>116</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Edwards to Directors, 30 Jan. 1835 (14/3/B) and 5 Sep. 1837 (15/3/C).

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., 20 Aug. 1838 (16/1/D).

<sup>118</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1839.

Fingoes were commended for hard work but not for active participation in church affairs. The published report<sup>119</sup> (extracts of the full report) is not as revealing of the whole situation as Barker's letter.<sup>120</sup> He indicated that the state of the Khoi was so much improved, with civil rights guaranteed, that they no longer needed the protection of an institution and were indeed "impatient of the restraints" necessitated by institutional life. He suggested that Dr Philip was fully aware of the situation and wanted to close the missions "with advantage to the people and credit to the society." Philip's annual report of 1841<sup>121</sup> suggested partial agreement with this statement. In reply to an obvious request of the directors regarding increased financial contributions from the institutions, Philip made it clear that the financial state of the colony would not make this possible. Like Barker he considered that the institutions, as then constituted, no longer had a role to play, but that they were places of refuge for "the diseased, the infirm and the destitute."<sup>122</sup> In addition, he felt that the presence of the missionaries was a safeguard for the Charter of the Coloured People.<sup>123</sup> "Abolish them [the stations] in the present state of things and the charter of their freedom would be worth little more than waste paper. There is a spirit of justice, of freedom and of humanity in the nation, which secures the poor from oppression but there is no sympathy with the coloured classes in the colony except what exists among themselves in relation to each other."<sup>124</sup> It was statements of this sort, made also by both the Reads, which must have caused considerable ill-feeling against the L.M.S. men, for there were colonists who were men of good will and deeds. It appears

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<sup>119</sup> L.M.S. Annual Report, 1839 (Theopolis).

<sup>120</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 13 Dec. 1838 (16/2/D).

<sup>121</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Directors, 2 Dec. 1841 (18/2/B).

<sup>122</sup> ibid.

<sup>123</sup> An obvious reference to Ordinance 50 of 1828.

<sup>124</sup> L.M.S. Correspondence, Philip to Directors, 2 Dec. 1841 (18/2/B).

tragic that Christians could not have presented a more united and less publicly mutually censorious front. That criticism was needed is obvious but that tolerance and integrity are Christian virtues is sometimes forgotten and that good can come out of the most surprising milieu is also possible.

Barker's last years at Theopolis were once more dogged by a lack of funds as provisions were very expensive and he had not been able to earn enough income to cover expenditure.<sup>125</sup> Earning his own living was, of course, in accordance with L.M.S. policy which stipulated that missions and missionaries be self-supporting. An additional expenditure had been the gift of £10 to his daughter Sarah on the occasion of her marriage (1838).<sup>126</sup> This he had felt compelled to give as she had done so much for him and the family since her mother's death. In the same letter he makes clear his intention to leave Theopolis - effectively a notice of resignation.<sup>127</sup> That this was not normal L.M.S. procedure is evident from Read's letter to Kitchingman,<sup>128</sup> where he made it clear that the board usually moved men with no personal decision involved. Barker's action, however, was in line with his position as a traditional Independent. Read's strictures on Barker<sup>129</sup> at this time can be treated with reserve, since in ten letters (chosen at random) between 1832 and 1839 Read made direct or implicit criticism of eighteen people, praising only those three directly and actively supportive of his ideas (which Barker never had been).

An added disincentive for Barker might well have been the indolence and lack of enterprise of those Khoi who remained at Theopolis,<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>125</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 13 Dec. 1838 (16/2/D).

<sup>126</sup>See Genealogical Table Barker Family, Appendix E(i).

<sup>127</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Barker to Directors, 13 Dec. 1838 (16/2/D).

<sup>128</sup>Read to Kitchingman, 11 Mar. 1839, quoted in Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.206.

<sup>129</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., p.206.

<sup>130</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Sass to Directors, 29 Nov. 1840 (17/2/D).

a fact borne out by the reports of both his successors, Merrington<sup>131</sup> and Taylor.<sup>132</sup> Sass too remarked, "They chose to listen to the voice of Darkness."<sup>133</sup> There can be little doubt that in spite of a brief flame of interest under Taylor (1842-1847), the fires of enthusiasm at Theopolis dampened by war and dissipated by democratic freedom were dying. The usefulness of Theopolis as a Khoi institution was over and Barker, in going to Paarl, was to work in a much more productive field<sup>134</sup> among the type of people whom he knew and whose language he spoke, instead of among refugee blacks who spoke with a variety of tongues.

As Sass was a semi-invalid, Thomas Merrington, a teacher-evangelist, moved briefly to Theopolis (1840) before going on to Somerset East (1842) where he was a founder member of Gill College. The reports for 1839-42 are best summed up in his words, "that the interests of the Gospel are still continuing under serious depression."<sup>135</sup> Both reports and letters were despondent and even the infant school no longer flourished as the Misses Barker had moved with their father to Paarl. The doleful tone was lightened only with the appointment of the dynamic R.B. Taylor,<sup>136</sup> though his stay was not long, for, like Barker, he realised that the type of mission at Theopolis had served its purpose. In fact the Khoi, having been granted - and tasted - freedom were increasingly irritated by limitations imposed on that freedom. This ultimately led to the denouement of 1851.

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<sup>131</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Merrington to Directors, Dec. 1839 (16/4/D).

<sup>132</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Taylor to Directors, 11 Aug. 1842 (18/4/A).

<sup>133</sup>L.M.S. Correspondence, Sass to Directors, 18 Jan. 1839 (16/3/A).

<sup>134</sup>L.M.S. Annual Reports, 1841-1861 (Paarl). At Paarl he worked among Dutch-speaking Khoi and "Coloureds".

<sup>135</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1840.

<sup>136</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1842. For an account of his stay, see supra, Chapter IV, The Men.

The assumption can safely be made that a major disability experienced by Khoi and Xhosa alike was the, to them, inexplicable changes of frontier policy, part and parcel of a democratic regime in Great Britain with swiftly changing governments.<sup>137</sup> As Galbraith pointed out, "the character of relations with the tribes varied with the character of the Governor." Somerset had been inconsistent; Bourke pursued a mild line; Cole was vigorous<sup>138</sup> and, while Cole's policy was disallowed on humanitarian grounds by the Colonial Office, they offered no alternative! Operating on a stringent budget D'Urban was dispatched in 1834 to institute a new treaty system (among many administrative and executive tasks) and with limited militia. Opposing him across the frontier were tribesmen, brave warriors demented by overcrowding, by drought, and by inter-tribal pressures.<sup>139</sup> As Wade was to tell the Aborigines Committee, lack of funds prevented the vigorous application of any policy especially if reconciliation and contact were involved.

Lack of funds, political friction in the colony, slave emancipation, opposing missionary views and a new government in Britain (1835), D'Urban did not stand a chance! A military man, he pursued the war with vigour, and when he could say he had "defeated, chastised and dispersed the enemy",<sup>140</sup> he turned to the task of making peace. He had set the wheels in motion when the Glenelg dispatch arrived contradicting all that D'Urban had done and sacrificing him to the expediences of English politics and to pleas of the "Saints". The frontier, which favoured D'Urban, was in a ferment. Hunt's account of the establishment of municipal government in Grahamstown makes quite clear the fact that a group of lively, vociferous people were determined to air their views and to stand by their rights.<sup>141</sup> This independence was echoed in the Grahamstown Journal and in

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<sup>137</sup> See List of Prime Ministers in Britain, Appendix B(i).

<sup>138</sup> Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, pp.100-101.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp.96-103.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p.112.

<sup>141</sup> Hunt, Municipal Government, in A.Y.B., 1961, pp.129-221.

noisy meetings of protest<sup>142</sup> against the abandonment of D'Urban's policy on the frontier. Godlonton claimed that the new Glenelg dispensation displayed "a childish unacquaintance with human character"<sup>143</sup> and went on to suggest that it would lead to disaster, expense and ruin.

That the new system might have worked is clearly shown in Stretch's diary.<sup>144</sup> While the scheme was based on the false proposition that primitive chiefdoms could survive intact in the context of an increasingly sophisticated society it did nevertheless abandon the system of "hot pursuit" into alien territory; a system which could only exacerbate the situation on a cattle-rustling border. Dr Philip's advice "for the controlled, supervised absorption of Kaffraria on constructive lines"<sup>145</sup> would probably have been more beneficial to all those concerned. Instead, in 1846 came the War of the Axe with its controversial start,<sup>146</sup> its cattle rustling course and its self-justifying protagonists, a sharp blow to all the frontier and in particular to the people of Theopolis hesitating between two opinions - to fight or to join the Xhosa in open rebellion.

"Before the war the people were manifesting a commendable concern for domestic comfort", wrote Mr Taylor in his annual report of 1846.<sup>147</sup> The schools were picking up and it looked as though better days lay ahead when "down came the Caffres on the Institution in a destroying flood" and the main buildings were used as places of refuge, which like other stone buildings were fairly easily defensible against Xhosa attacks. Probably disregarding their prejudices against missions "a horde of strangers" rushed to Theopolis for protection and brought

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<sup>142</sup>Le Cordeur, The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, p.73.

<sup>143</sup>G.T.J., 27 Apr. 1837.

<sup>144</sup>Crankshaw (ed.), The Diary of C.L. Stretch.

<sup>145</sup>Butler, The Settlers of 1820, p.289.

<sup>146</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, War of the Axe, p.5.

<sup>147</sup>L.M.S. Annual Reports, 1847 (Theopolis).

"disorder and moral pestilence."<sup>148</sup> The houses were deserted, the land parched by drought and uncultivated for want of oxen, stolen in the war. A board of relief provided food but general apathy reigned. Taylor's departure in 1847 sealed its fate. Barker had realised that its usefulness was now limited and Philip's plan for an institution for the disabled would have needed foresight, guidance and finance to make it a viable proposition. Other missions, beyond the frontier had retained a core of dependable members. At Theopolis this was not true and succeeding events (1846-1851) destroyed all hope of restoration.

The period following the War of the Axe saw the influence of British politics once more altering the course of events on the frontier. In fact Lord John Russell<sup>149</sup> came to power when the War of the Axe was at its height - a war as Le Cordeur and Saunders make quite clear for which there was "no simple explanation."<sup>150</sup> Sir Peregrine Maitland<sup>151</sup> the governor, who had actively participated in the war was at Butterworth<sup>152</sup> when he heard that he had been succeeded by Sir Henry Pottinger.<sup>153</sup> The new governor, high-principled and energetic, was "borne down by tides of trivia"<sup>154</sup> and his judgment was eroded so that, combined with his ignorance of the past, he laid the foundation, not for peace, but for the rebellions which were to disrupt Kat River and destroy Theopolis in 1851. According to Cory,<sup>155</sup> Pottinger

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<sup>148</sup> L.M.S. Annual Report, 1847 (Theopolis).

<sup>149</sup> Russell, Lord John (1792-1878), First Earl Russell. Educated privately, he was a Whig and ardent supporter of Reform (1831). Paymaster-General, 1835; Home Secretary, 1839; Secretary of State for War & the Colonies, 1846; Prime Minister, 1852. Defeated but took a seat in Aberdeen's cabinet, 1865; Prime Minister.

<sup>150</sup> Le Cordeur and Saunders, War of the Axe, p.16.

<sup>151</sup> See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>152</sup> Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., p.17.

<sup>153</sup> See List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>154</sup> Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., p.264.

<sup>155</sup> Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol. V, pp.1-55.

arrived at the frontier in February 1847 to discover that, contrary to commonly held belief the war was not over, that corruption existed among the important Khoi levies,<sup>156</sup> and that the burgher forces were more or less non-existent.<sup>157</sup> Warfare appears to have been singularly inept (in spite of Henry Somerset's frontier experience), as the clumsy attack on Burnshill<sup>158</sup> and the incredible Theopolis débâcle<sup>159</sup> (1851) clearly illustrate. An additional problem must have been the apparently uncanny Xhosa mobility, so graphically described by Peires.<sup>160</sup> Then too, the correspondence of Pottinger and Berkeley<sup>161</sup> shows unbelievable confusion at a high level, cross-currents and the intricacies of the frontier situation.<sup>162</sup> Contemporary commentators, in fact, left "a picture of gross mismanagement, profiteering and cruelty."<sup>163</sup> Stubbs showed quite clearly that the men at home and the officers were occupied with robbing the commissariat<sup>164</sup> - in a war which was apparently being fought in their defence! That the war was futile and wasteful of time was well stated in eloquent words by Stockenstrom who mourned for "hundreds of my own blood and class, and thousands of different, but still red human blood who are the victims of misrule, and have neither peerages, generalships nor other honours, advance of salaries, profit of contracts nor other jobs to hope for, and who are left to scramble in the thorns (in hunger or nakedness or mourning) when the flowers are plucked."<sup>165</sup> Disorder did exist "because neither the Cape Government nor the Xhosa

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<sup>156</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, pp.150-58.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid.

<sup>158</sup>Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. III, p.4.

<sup>159</sup>See infra, pp.237ff.

<sup>160</sup>Peires, op.cit., p.148.

<sup>161</sup>List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>162</sup>Le Cordeur and Saunders, War of the Axe, numerous letters.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., p.265.

<sup>164</sup>Maxwell & McGeogh (eds.), Stubbs Reminiscences, pp.135-36.

<sup>165</sup>Quoted in Le Cordeur and Saunders, op.cit., p.265.

chiefs fully controlled their own men."<sup>166</sup> Everyone wanted to solve the problem, many solutions were offered but no consistent and steady policy was applied. Men like Earl Grey, the Secretary for the Colonies<sup>167</sup> in the Russell cabinet believed that a solution should be sought,<sup>168</sup> but like many after him he found no answer.

The Kat River and Theopolis Khoi had paid a high price for the defence of the colony and, as Berkeley showed, 900 out of 1 000 Kat River men were serving on the frontier. It was these men who returned to ruined homesteads, great poverty and a prejudiced magistrate<sup>169</sup> Biddulph<sup>170</sup> whose unsympathetic reports<sup>171</sup> fully justified Freeman's comment that even after excellent service in 1835 and in 1846 the Khoi "still had to wage the old struggle against [colonial] prejudice" and a government which "still halts between two opinions."<sup>172</sup> What he did not add was that responsibility lay with a country which swung between two political parties.

The situation of the Kat River settlement - a buffer zone on the frontier<sup>173</sup> - made contact with the Xhosa a foregone conclusion, particularly through the Gona who were of Khoi descent.<sup>174</sup> After the war many Gona, finding the Kat River lands both accessible and attractive, came as squatters - anathema to the colonial government. Overcrowding resulted and adverse reports were submitted by Biddulph

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<sup>166</sup>Wilson, The Interpreters, p.6.

<sup>167</sup>Grey, Henry George (Third Earl) (1802-1894). He entered the Commons and from 1846-1852 was appointed Secretary for the Colonies. He defended the policy of the Russell cabinet in a pamphlet and he wrote weighty letters to The Times.

<sup>168</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, pp.2-3.

<sup>169</sup>Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol. V, p.237.

<sup>170</sup>See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>171</sup>Marais, Cape Colour Question, p.221.

<sup>172</sup>Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, p.141.

<sup>173</sup>Kirk, Cape Economy in the Kat River Settlement, p.227 in Marks and Atmore.

<sup>174</sup>Cory, op.cit.

(the civil superintendent) and published.<sup>175</sup> The Grahamstown Journal took up the cry<sup>176</sup> and it is hardly surprising to find the Khoi driven away from sympathy with the government as, for many of them, Kat River had represented so much.

Like the war of 1846, the causes of the war of 1850 were complex, the consequences to the Khoi were catastrophic! What is staggering is that a modicum of good will still existed between Xhosa, Khoi and white but the gulf of misunderstanding, of cross-cultural ineptitude and of communication, still yawned wider than ever. Pottinger, strongly under the influence of Captain W.S. Hogge,<sup>177</sup> displayed this in his provocative report on Kat River.<sup>178</sup> Read displayed it in a letter where he indicated his prejudice against the Xhosa and his total ignorance of their affairs - which nevertheless so nearly affected his people at Kat River. And finally, the white people had no conception of the power of a prophet like Mlanjeni.<sup>180</sup> Smith's suggestion that rain to break the drought and the arrest of this "regenerate Mahomet" would right the wrongs, show this only too clearly.<sup>181</sup> To compound the problem further (and to display the gap of knowledge once more) a reward was offered for the apprehension of Sandile<sup>182</sup> who avoided meeting Smith because he was afraid of being arrested.<sup>183</sup> The reward was useless. No Xhosa would betray a chief.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Government Gazette, 18 Nov. 1847.

<sup>176</sup> G.T.J., 6 Nov. 1847.

<sup>177</sup> W.S. Hogge (1812-1852), served in the Guards and was known as a hard abrasive man. He returned to England in 1847 and came back as a commissioner in 1851.

<sup>178</sup> Le Cordeur and Saunders, War of the Axe, pp.77-92 and 264.

<sup>179</sup> Read to Mission Secretary, 9 Jan. 1852 (B.O.312 in Jagger Library, University of Cape Town.)

<sup>180</sup> See List of Wardoctors , Appendix A(i)a

<sup>181</sup> Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.247.

<sup>182</sup> P.P. 1851 XXXVIII (1352), Smith to Grey, 20 Dec. 1850, quoted by Du Toit, The Cape frontier : a study of Native Policy, 1847-1866 in A.Y.B., 1954, Vol. I, p.5.

<sup>183</sup> Galbraith, op.cit., p.247.

<sup>184</sup> Soga, South Eastern Bantu, p.232.

War broke out in 1850, and to the people crowded in barracks and churches this must have seemed the worst war of all<sup>185</sup> with news of destruction of frontier villages coming through to them as the Xhosa and the Thembu invaded the colony.<sup>186</sup> The Mfengu and the Ndlambes were not involved but the Khoi joined the Xhosa as they did in 1799. Hermanus Matroos<sup>187</sup> led Khoi from Kat River and the farms, and, while initially the Theopolis Khoi were quiescent the people of the old mission finally joined the rebels.

The uprising at Theopolis, a mission in the midst of an area which had been settled by whites for more than forty years, appears to have made a most profound impression as shown by newspaper reports,<sup>188</sup> personal letters<sup>189</sup> and both L.M.S.<sup>190</sup> and official reports. From these it is possible to establish a fairly clear, composite picture of what happened. The Grahamstown Journal carried the first news of real trouble in the settled area round Bathurst. In graphic reports the local correspondent described Xhosa raids on the "few cattle left",<sup>191</sup> and these included the cattle from Theopolis. However, what should be remembered, is that while great emphasis has been laid (with justice) on the suffering of Xhosa and Khoi and the decimation of their lands and herds, the settlers too, were "innocent" victims in a situation not of their making. Crops could not be gathered, cattle were lost, and living was precarious. Raids continued until finally a group of farmers - on foot, as there were no horses - entered the Kap River bush and there, in a suspected hide-out, found a group of Khoi seated around a fire. A skirmish was followed by the discovery of G.M.R. cloaks and pouches - standard

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<sup>185</sup> Le Cordeur, Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, p.245.

<sup>186</sup> Cory, Rise of South Africa, Vol. V, pp.306-309, 311-315.

<sup>187</sup> List of Governors and Chiefs, Appendix A(i).

<sup>188</sup> G.T.J., 25 Jan. 1851 and 26 May 1851 are examples.

<sup>189</sup> Becher Keeton to John Ford, 23 Jan. 1851 (held at 1820 Settlers' Museum, S.M.2593 (d6).)

<sup>190</sup> L.M.S. Annual Reports, 1851/52 (Theopolis).

<sup>191</sup> G.T.J., 31 May 1851.

equipment for the Khoi levies, abandoned by the fleeing Khoi.<sup>192</sup> The same raid, according to Eleanor Gray<sup>193</sup> writing from Walsingham, led to the recovery of several cattle.<sup>194</sup>

This raid confirmed the dis-ease regarding Theopolis which had been felt for some time. Since the death of Sass in 1849, N.H. Smit had been acting missionary-in-charge, an arrangement far from satisfactory in view of the distance from Grahamstown, where Smit was stationed. The station had deteriorated and an absentee missionary could hardly be expected, by remote control, to improve or even maintain the status quo. The tale of the events which had led to the end of the mission were characterised as "oblivious of truth" by the L.M.S. and so strongly prejudiced as to be valueless.<sup>195</sup> However, reports would indicate the prejudice was not a settler prerogative!

In January 1851 Smit received a letter from Read at Kat River telling him of the uprising at Blinkwater<sup>196</sup> and urging him to impress loyalty on the Grahamstown and Theopolis Khoi. Smit, sure of his own people, was encouraged nonetheless by the Rev. W. Thompson<sup>197</sup> in Grahamstown to go to Theopolis. The country was dangerous, so, with the help of Mr Black<sup>198</sup> he obtained an escort, through the Board of Defence, and on 15 January 1851 he went to Theopolis. Godlonton<sup>199</sup> and Goldswain<sup>200</sup> however both suggested that the Board of Defence

<sup>192</sup>G.T.J., 31 May 1851.

<sup>193</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>194</sup>Eleanor Gray to Eliza Ford, 25 May 1851 (1820 Settlers' Museum, SM 2593 d5).

<sup>195</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1852 (Theopolis).

<sup>196</sup>S.A. Advertiser, 19 Feb. 1851 (letter from Smit to Editor); Williams, When Races Meet, pp.154-195.

<sup>197</sup>See List of Ministers and Missionaries, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>198</sup>See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>199</sup>Godlonton and Irving, The Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes, Vol. I, p.155.

<sup>200</sup>Long (ed.), The Chronicles of Jeremiah Goldswain, Vol. II, p.133.

required Smits's visit in view of the suspicious behaviour of the Theopolis Khoi. Smit himself said<sup>201</sup> that he was told that a man named Pikeur<sup>202</sup> at Theopolis had received a letter from Andreas Lynx of Grahamstown and that the letter was highly provocative.

On arrival at Theopolis, and accompanied by his Board of Defence guard and two of his Grahamstown Khoi, Smit interviewed Piquet from whom he obtained the Kat River letter sent to Theopolis via Grahamstown. The outline given by Smit<sup>203</sup> (of this letter) accurately reflects the full text given by Godlonton,<sup>204</sup> Goldswain,<sup>205</sup> and in the official papers.<sup>206</sup> It stated that the war was being made not by the Queen whom the Khoi admired,<sup>207</sup> but by the Boers and settlers and that Khoi levies being raised were not official. Lynx also pointed out that Theopolis was a good centre for attacks on the settlers. In his letter of extenuation Smit claimed that he detailed the true situation for Piquet who appeared to be satisfied. Smit also suggested to Piquet that the Theopolis Khoi should set up a more adequate defence against plundering and thus allay doubts in official minds about their loyalty. Smit claimed that, on his return to town he reported, not only to Black, but also to several others.

In his own defence,<sup>208</sup> Smit stated that on hearing rumours in Grahamstown

<sup>201</sup>S.A. Advertiser, 19 Feb. 1851 (Smit to Editor).

<sup>202</sup>Not a minister Rev. Piquet as stated by Le Cordeur, The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, p.286.

<sup>203</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1852 (Theopolis).

<sup>204</sup>Godlonton and Irving, The Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes, Vol. I, p.156.

<sup>205</sup>Long (ed.), The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain, Vol. I, p.137.

<sup>206</sup>B.P.P. (1428) XXXIII, Correspondence re Kaffir Tribes, 1851-52, p.51.

<sup>207</sup>Confirmed 1962 by Theopolis church member who retained a picture of Queen Victoria "from my old people [forefathers]. She was Chief." (Oral evidence Guthrie Hoyl).

<sup>208</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1852 (Theopolis).

town on 21 January of further unrest he went at once to the Clerk of the Peace<sup>209</sup> and made a statement to him (similar to one sent to the L.M.S.)<sup>210</sup> to aid the official enquiry. The stories reported to him concerned the visits of mission Khoi to farms near Theopolis at one of which threats were made.<sup>211</sup> He also stated that a group of Mfengu had left Theopolis frightened by talk of tactics for war.

Goldswain, meanwhile, dining out in Grahamstown, heard of the Lynx letter from a friend and was told that it contained threats on the lives of all whites - even women and children.<sup>212</sup> As a good citizen, Goldswain reported the news to the Clerk of the Peace who, it seems, denied all knowledge of the statement by Smit.<sup>213</sup> On the same day Goldswain reported<sup>214</sup> that Smit, summoned to appear in court, made no reference to the letter until cross-questioned.<sup>215</sup> This behaviour, regarded as sinister by Goldswain, would be the natural reaction of a man who had reported already to the authorities. A certain amount of doubt is cast, if not on Goldswain then certainly on his informant, for the text of the letter followed Smit's evidence and was, in no way, as blood-thirsty as the Goldswain version. In other respects, too, Smit's evidence appears to be accurate though he was attacked in the frontier press - and defended himself.<sup>216</sup>

In view of the court hearing and of the Lynx letter, commandant Currie,<sup>217</sup> with a group of Albany volunteers went from Bathurst to

<sup>209</sup>The Clerk of the Peace was a minor J.P. No court record exists.

<sup>210</sup>L.M.S. Annual Report, 1852 (Theopolis).

<sup>211</sup>Ibid.

<sup>212</sup>Long (ed.), The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain, Vol. I, p.133.

<sup>213</sup>Ibid.

<sup>214</sup>Ibid., pp.134-35.

<sup>215</sup>Ibid.

<sup>216</sup>Frontier Times, 18 Jan. 1851 and G.T.J., 28 Jan. 1851.

<sup>217</sup>See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

Theopolis where he removed the locks from the guns. In addition, he arrested some people. The evidence here is conflicting,<sup>218</sup> but in a letter Beecher Keeton (who was in the commando) stated clearly that they took the "five ring leaders prisoners",<sup>219</sup> and it can be assumed that Lings and Piquer were included. Keeton suggests, quite logically it would seem, that commandant Currie acted following a visit of Theopolis Khoi to Grahamstown for gunpowder. Both Keeton<sup>220</sup> and Goldswain<sup>221</sup> considered this ominous news and field cornet Gray of Southwell<sup>222</sup> requested their arrest in Grahamstown. Smit suggested that the gunpowder was for defensive purposes,<sup>223</sup> but the Mfengu at Theopolis were afraid and told Gray.<sup>224</sup> Smit's reaction was the natural defensive remark of the eternal optimist, especially in a confused situation and with regard to his protagonist position.

Further trouble was anticipated in another report in the Grahamstown Journal, which stated that three men who claimed to be of Phato's tribe,<sup>225</sup> visited the institution. Mr Dell<sup>226</sup> of Lombard's Post, alerted by Moses Jackobo (sic)<sup>227</sup> - apparently leader in the absence of Piquer - went to Theopolis to arrest the three men who were the suspected murderers of three Khoi at Wolf's Crag. The Journal commented favourably on the action of the Theopolis Khoi in this

<sup>218</sup> Godlonton and Irving, The Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes, Vol. 1, p.157; Cory, Rise of South Africa, p.385.

<sup>219</sup> B. Keeton to J. Ford, letter, 23 Jan. 1851 (held at 1820 Settlers' Museum, SM 2593 d6); also List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> Long (ed.), The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain, Vol. 11, p.138.

<sup>222</sup> List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>223</sup> L.M.S. Annual Report, 1852 (Theopolis).

<sup>224</sup> Maxwell and McGeogh (eds.), The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, p.140.

<sup>225</sup> G.T.J., 31 May 1851.

<sup>226</sup> List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>227</sup> List of Khoi names, Appendix A(v).

instance. However, on the day this report appeared, field cornet Gray of Southwell arrived hot-foot in Grahamstown with the news that a panic-stricken Mfengu had come to his farm to report the killing of the Theopolis Mfengu by the Khoi. The murderers had loaded their wagons and retreated to a stronghold at the Gorah.<sup>228</sup>

According to Dr A.G. Campbell<sup>229</sup> and the account by Hendrick Jack<sup>230</sup> a few members of the Cape Corps led by Sergeant Jan Lucas,<sup>231</sup> had come to Theopolis at the end of May 1851 together with dissident Khoi from the Kat River. They had imprisoned Moses Jacobs and his son Solomon (who opposed them) and had then killed six Mfengu and one Bechuana.<sup>232</sup> Jack saw the Khoi busy loading wagons. The implication of this report is that the Theopolis Khoi were involved but possibly, as the L.M.S. suggested,<sup>233</sup> were coerced. Certainly Dr Campbell believed that the Khoi at Theopolis were incapable of such cold-blooded killing - a view supported by Gray.<sup>234</sup> The L.M.S. report contains an interesting comment on the reason for Khoi/Mfengu ill-feeling. The Khoi were compelled to join the military levies; the Mfengu were not. The L.M.S. wrote as follows:

May not the following official proclamation have given countenance to this unjust procedure? -

Civil Commissioner's Office, Graham's  
Town, 11th January, 1851.

I hereby call upon all Kottentots and other men of colour to enrol themselves forthwith under Captain Davis and George Wood, Esq., who are appointed to superintend the organization of the levies for the town of Graham's Town and district of Albany.

The Fingoes under Mr. Superintendent Cyrus to be exempted, as they are already enrolled for active picquet

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<sup>228</sup>G.T.J., 26 May 1851.

<sup>229</sup>Quoted in L.M.S. Annual Report, 1852 (Theopolis).

<sup>230</sup>B.P.P., 1852 XXXIII (1428), Correspondence re Kaffir Tribes, p.45.

<sup>231</sup>Ibid.

<sup>232</sup>Ibid.

<sup>233</sup>L.M.S. Annual Reports, 1852 (Theopolis).

<sup>234</sup>Ibid.

and other duty.

Those of the white population who are willing to join the levies will be gladly received.

(Signed) H. Hudson  
Civil Commissioner for Albany. 235

The story of the early part of the battle that followed is graphically told by Stubbs<sup>236</sup> and more prosaically by Henry Somerset.<sup>237</sup> In answer to the appeal by Gray, Stubbs's brother William<sup>238</sup> was dispatched with a company of Rangers<sup>239</sup> and with one hundred Mfengu under commandant Cyrus.<sup>240</sup> After five days a further urgent appeal reached Grahamstown. The Khoi were preparing to return from their strong-hold on the Karaa (Gorah) (between the Bushman's and Kariega rivers) to collect grain at Theopolis. Stubbs, beset by requests for help, appealed to Colonel Somerset<sup>241</sup> who responded with so much zeal that he earned a rebuke from Smith for denuding the frontier of troops!<sup>242</sup> A company of the 74th (Highland Light Infantry) which had just arrived from Port Elizabeth,<sup>243</sup> 150 Cape Mounted Riflemen, 40 Burghers and 100 Fingoes were dispatched. Stubbs's account of the British officers, silhouetted at night by a blazing fire<sup>244</sup> and of the killing of an ox to provide food for the ration-less soldiers,<sup>245</sup> suggest that successes achieved by the British soldiers must have been at considerable cost to themselves.

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<sup>235</sup> L.M.S. Annual Report, 1852 (Theopolis).

<sup>236</sup> Maxwell and McGeogh, The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, pp.140-42.

<sup>237</sup> B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), Correspondence re the Kaffir Tribes, pp.45-52.

<sup>238</sup> List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>239</sup> Maxwell and McGeogh, op.cit., p.140.

<sup>240</sup> List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

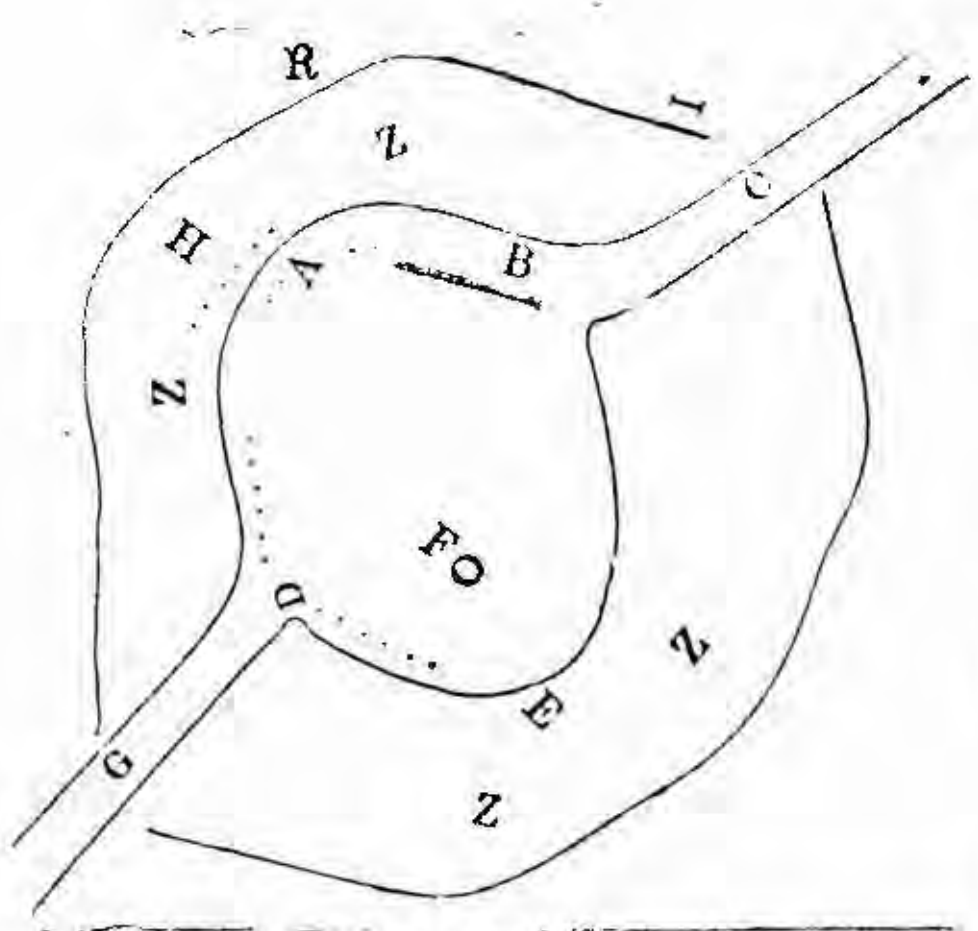
<sup>241</sup> Maxwell and McGeogh, op.cit., p.141.

<sup>242</sup> B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), op.cit., p.47.

<sup>243</sup> Maxwell and McGeogh, op.cit., p.141.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., pp.141-42.



**REFERENCE :**

A—Huts occupied by the enemy..... B—A fence, behind which the Burghers were ordered to post themselves. .... C—Cattle path, out of which the cattle strayed during the attack..... D—The 74th Regt., deployed, as shown by the dots, right and left. The Maj. Gen. and C.M.R. .... F—A small vlei, and supposed cattle lair..... G—A wagon-road by which the troops and mounted force entered..... H—Fingoes in extended order concealed in the bush, having advanced by a circuitous route, and penetrated the bush from the rear..... R—the Kareiga River. .... Z—Dense bush, three miles across, encircling the rebel stronghold..... E—A kloof down which the cattle guard escaped.

Diagram drawn by Colonel Henry Somerset to illustrate the battle at Theopolis (G.T.J. June 1851)

The troops were nearing Theopolis when field cornet Gray urged them to hurry for obviously such a large and well-illuminated body of men moving through the bush had advertised their arrival well in advance.<sup>246</sup> The Mounted Rangers went ahead and met the commando groups, also summoned,<sup>247</sup> As these troops arrived the Khoi, who were leaving, took refuge in a kloof. In apparently chaotic circumstances Stubbs withdrew having lost Gray and with his brother William Stubbs and Woest<sup>248</sup> wounded.<sup>249</sup> The 74th had not yet arrived at Whittle's farm,<sup>250</sup> which was the centre of operations, but when Somerset heard of the latest foray he decided to lead the next attack himself and rode to Southwell for this purpose. Stubbs returned to Grahamstown.<sup>251</sup> Having observed the situation of the rebel camp Somerset dispatched the Fingoes to wait in the bush until the 74th arrived - the plan being to surprise the enemy.<sup>252</sup> Thus, early on the morning of the 5th June 1851, he approached the Khoi strong-hold, the foot-soldiers having marched at 1 a.m. (sic) and the mounted troops two hours later. The field piece and the artillerymen were kept in reserve.<sup>253</sup>

According to the official report all went as planned,<sup>254</sup> though the Grahamstown Journal suggested that the 74th were lost in the bush, one company not arriving at all.<sup>255</sup> Major-General Somerset's own

<sup>246</sup>Maxwell and McGeogh, The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, pp.141-42.

<sup>247</sup>Ibid., and G.T.J., 7 Jun. 1851.

<sup>248</sup>List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>249</sup>Maxwell and McGeogh, op.cit., pp.142-43; H.T. Waters to Mrs John Ford, letter, 4 Jun. 1851 (held in 1820 Settlers' Museum).

<sup>250</sup>See Map opposite.

<sup>251</sup>Maxwell and McGeogh, op.cit., p.143.

<sup>252</sup>G.T.J., 7 Jun. 1851; B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), Correspondence re Kaffir Tribes, p.48 (Enc.4 in No.7, Maj.General Somerset to Lt.Col. Cloete).

<sup>253</sup>Ibid.

<sup>254</sup>Ibid.

<sup>255</sup>G.T.J., 7 Jun. 1851.

rough sketch<sup>256</sup> printed in the Journal clarified battle positions. The Burgners opened fire on a group of fifteen to twenty Khoi who were at a small vlei and the 74th came up in support while the Khoi escaped down a kloof. At the stockade there were forty Cape Corps deserters and the cavalry charged them. As they retreated into the bush they met fierce fire from the concealed Mfengu who forced them out into the open once more. Their knowledge of the terrain favoured them, however, and they escaped along a cattle path and, as Somerset said, "made off through the forest in every direction."<sup>257</sup> The camp was "full of plunder of all descriptions" in addition to a large quantity of grain and over six hundred cattle which were taken to Whittle's laager.<sup>258</sup> Somerset's dispatch included the Rebel Orders<sup>259</sup> found in the camp and statements by Jacobs and others.<sup>260</sup> On his arrival at Whittle's laager he received dispatches which required his immediate departure.<sup>261</sup> In some ways the last word on Theopolis was said in a dispatch from Major-General Somerset to Lieutenant-Colonel Cloete,<sup>262</sup> the assistant Quartermaster-General, when he said, "A body of rebels passed through last night into the Cowie Bush, having first set fire to every building in Theopolis, including the Chapel."<sup>263</sup>

While that was the end of Theopolis mission in the context of the L.M.S., it was by no means the end of the Khoi rebellion nor was it the end of commentary and speculation about the Khoi and about

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<sup>256</sup>See Map of Theopolis Battle.

<sup>257</sup>B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), Correspondence re Kaffir Tribes, p.48 (Encl.4 in No.7, Maj.General Somerset to Lt.Col. Cloete).

<sup>258</sup>See Map. Today (1982) called Royville, it is a section of Lombard's Post.

<sup>259</sup>B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), op.cit., p.51.

<sup>260</sup>Ibid., pp.45-46 and 50-51.

<sup>261</sup>Ibid., p.49.

<sup>262</sup>See List of Military Men, Appendix A(iv).

<sup>263</sup>B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), op.cit., p.49.

military affairs. Sir Harry Smith's comments generally were bitter, for, not only did he have problems in raising his commandos, but also he was sharply aware of the inadequacy of his polyglot army to the task it faced. Perusal of commentary on the conduct of the frontier wars is illuminating.<sup>264</sup> In the war of 1835 citizens served willingly, in fact there was "a rush to arms on the part of the inhabitants, . . . and their prompt and ready march to the points directed by the Commander-in-Chief enabled him to prosecute the War with vigour in every quarter."<sup>265</sup> However, as Sir Harry Smith showed, the same spirit was not evinced in 1851 and that, with a few exceptions, he was largely dependent on the "brave and loyal exertions of the Fingo race" who prevented even greater inroads by the enemy.<sup>266</sup> These comments were contained in the reply of the governor to a letter of criticism from the "Principal Inhabitants of Albany,"<sup>267</sup> in which they expressed fears which Smith felt were justified but which were based on inaccurate information.

Both complaint and reply illustrate clearly the problems faced not only by the citizens but also by the military. At this time Smith was holding the frontier with 1 700 troops, 900 of whom held the various military posts.<sup>268</sup> These were professional soldiers but not necessarily seasoned veterans of the sporadic bush war with the numerous "well-armed and athletic" Xhosa opponents. The Cape Mounted Rifles<sup>269</sup> were the crack Khoi troops, excellent horsemen and superb shots, and of whom Somerset was commanding officer. On the whole an able officer he combined the skills acquired as a frontiersman with the fact that he was at one with the British officers whose background

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<sup>264</sup> Maxwell and McGeogh, The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, pp.99-183; McKay, Reminiscences of the Last Kafir War; Green, Kat River.

<sup>265</sup> B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), Correspondence re Kaffir Tribes, Smith to Albany Citizens, p.57.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., p.58.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., p.56.

<sup>268</sup> Moore Smith (ed.), The Autobiography of Harry Smith, p.622.

<sup>269</sup> Tylden, The Cape Regiments, in A.N.N., p.38.

he shared. In addition to the British troops there was, at the start of each war, a hasty round-up of burgher commandos and of Fingo and Khoi levies,<sup>270</sup> with volunteer (white) officers. The whole question of the payment and feeding of this quasi-military group was in itself a problem as the Grahamstown residents thought they served "without charge to the State,"<sup>271</sup> while Smith replied with a detailed accounting of official command posts (manned by settlers) and of Field-Captain Stubbs' Rangers and the Fingo levies who received full pay.<sup>272</sup>

This information provides a vivid picture of "Harry's amazing army" with its patchwork assemblage of professional soldiers with no knowledge of south African conditions, its knowledgeable and experienced C.M.R. men with their unstable loyalty and the incredible array of volunteers, some of whom like Stubbs' Rangers, did magnificent work but all of whom loved independence and doubted discipline. Perhaps Driver's remark to William Bowker epitomises the attitude of the residents to the incomers. During an attack he held Bowker back saying, "Let them go up - they're paid for it!"<sup>273</sup> Transport, communications, the rough country,<sup>274</sup> the varied armaments all made frontier fighting a highly speculative business for a commanding officer.

With a double line of defence in mind (approved by the Duke!),<sup>275</sup> it must have been a great blow to Sir Harry when the C.M.R. defected especially after their rôle in rescuing him from Fort Cox.<sup>276</sup> First Kat River, then King William's Town,<sup>277</sup> and then Theopolis; no wonder

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<sup>270</sup>Moore Smith (ed.), The Autobiography of Harry Smith, p.622-

<sup>271</sup>B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), Correspondence re Kaffir Tribes, p.56.

<sup>272</sup>Ibid.

<sup>273</sup>See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>274</sup>Moore Smith, op.cit., pp.618-628.

<sup>275</sup>Ibid., pp.622-23.

<sup>276</sup>Ibid., pp.620-21.

<sup>277</sup>Ibid., p.623.

he wrote "My horror cannot be described. I assure your Lordship that no event of my military career ever caused me so much pain as the defection of so large a portion of a corps to which I am as much attached as I am to that wearing the green jacket of my own regiment."<sup>278</sup> He demanded an enquiry into the rebellion and suggested a civil court. A long legal argument ensued<sup>279</sup> and he was advised that, as the men were defectors from the army he should use court martial, which in fact had already been done in a summary trial organised by Somerset.<sup>280</sup> Forty-seven leaders were condemned to death, which sentence the governor commuted, an action condemned by Crase but which in fact was a display of great wisdom for any over-hasty act could have "plunged the whole [country] into the chaos of revolution."<sup>281</sup>

The Theopolis rebellion epitomises many of the problems of the war. There were troops who, inclined to grumble, were, in fact, pleasantly surprised by the excellence of the commissariat.<sup>282</sup> There were the Khoi with excellent supplies, armaments and good Cape Corps leadership. There were sixty Khoi, penned in, but ignorance of terrain led the doughty six hundred attackers to unwise action so that the Khoi were not contained. And finally, there were the volunteers upon whom so much would depend for the war was not yet over. Such a group were the Kowie Volunteers under the leadership of "Honourable Cock"<sup>283</sup>.

As the correspondent for the Journal correctly indicated, the result of the affair was hardly satisfactory. The rest of the banditti were still at large with their leader, Hans Brander, "who assumes, it is said, all the airs and state of a British officer. He has his

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<sup>278</sup> Moore Smith (ed.), The Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith, p.623.

<sup>279</sup> B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), Correspondence re the Kaffir Tribes, pp.36-40. A full account of the legal wrangle is given.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., pp.72-73.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., p.72.

<sup>282</sup> G.T.J., 14 Jun. 1851.

<sup>283</sup> G.T.J., 7 Jun. 1851. See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

orderly and issues general orders in due form."<sup>284</sup> Two other Khoi leaders were described in a later dispatch. They were "Piet Magerman Esq. and Prins David Esq." Both were captured and were sent to Grahamstown, together with documents proving that plotting among Cape Corps members had been going on for some time and that many Khoi who joined them did so under pain of death.<sup>285</sup> Centres of plotting were Olifants Hoek and Theopolis.<sup>286</sup> A group of settlers had busied themselves with this detective work and Thomas Philipps was assiduous in his search for guns while Meurant<sup>287</sup> discovered a list of names showing broad involvement of the Khoi. A strong plea was made for the clearing of the whole area in the letter of protest<sup>288</sup> from the Committee of Public Safety.<sup>289</sup> The committee justly argued that the "... partial success of the movement [by Somerset] though made by a considerable force of regular troops, as well as organized levies, clearly shows that such bands of desperate marauders, led as they are by disciplined men, deserters from the native corps, must be formidable in a country spread over by isolated homesteads."

An excellent commentary on the whole incident was contained in the Grahamstown Journal. The writer suggested that no move should have been made before the whole force was mustered and rested.<sup>290</sup> The forced night march, had it started earlier would have enabled everyone (including the Burgher commando) to be at their posts before daylight, thus more effectively cutting off the Khoi in the stronghold.<sup>291</sup> Speculation might also be made concerning a more thorough review of

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<sup>284</sup>G.T.J., 7 Jun. 1851.

<sup>285</sup>G.T.J., 14 Jun. 1851.

<sup>286</sup>Ibid.

<sup>287</sup>Ibid.

<sup>288</sup>B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), Correspondence re Kaffir Tribes, p.56.

<sup>289</sup>Ibid., pp.56-57.

<sup>290</sup>G.T.J., 14 Jun. 1851.

<sup>291</sup>Ibid.

escape routes as informants were available.<sup>292</sup> The official dispatches, however, make it clear that Sir Harry Smith was struggling with inadequate troops and considered that "the thin red line tipped with steel"<sup>293</sup> had been too much depleted by Somerset's defence of Albany though he did commend him subsequently for prompt action.<sup>294</sup>

Referring to the Khoi as among "the most favoured people"<sup>295</sup> whom he had also regarded as excellent soldiers, Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation<sup>296</sup> whereby he constituted a Commission of Enquiry to consist of the Attorney General, the Auditor General, a barrister, F.R. Surtees,<sup>297</sup> and a citizen, H.E. Rutherford. However, further correspondence with Earl Grey<sup>298</sup> caused him to rescind this decision and instead the British Government Commission of Inquiry (Messrs. Hogge and Owen) were appointed to include the Theopolis and Kat River rebellion in the wider commission already given to them. In fact their report contains only a passing reference to the rebellion and nothing regarding Theopolis.

Finally in 1861, a Select Committee of the House of Assembly was appointed to investigate the Theopolis lands question.<sup>299</sup> This committee in hearing evidence<sup>300</sup> revealed that the commission had in fact never reached any decision,<sup>301</sup> and that the final destruction

<sup>292</sup>The presence of Hendrick Jack and Moses Jacobs is clear, both were Theopolis men with the British and who had suffered at the hands of "the invaders".

<sup>293</sup>W.H. Russell, British Expedition to the Crimea, p.156.

<sup>294</sup>B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), Correspondence re the Kaffir Tribes.

<sup>295</sup>Ibid., p.35.

<sup>296</sup>Ibid., p.42.

<sup>297</sup>See List of Settlers, Appendix A(vi).

<sup>298</sup>B.P.P. 1852 XXXIII (1428), op.cit., pp.240-41.

<sup>299</sup>P.P. A5/1861, Appendix 2, V & P 1861.

<sup>300</sup>See supra, Chapter IX on Lands Case.

<sup>301</sup>P.P. A5/1861, op.cit., p.4.

of the institution was carried out by the Khoi themselves.<sup>302</sup> Sir Walter Currie in his evidence stated further that it was common knowledge that the area was deserted<sup>303</sup> and had been used only as a police post.<sup>304</sup>

In the following year, 1868, the Trinity Church in Grahamstown (originally started with Barker's help in 1827)<sup>305</sup> decided to establish a preaching place in Lower Albany,<sup>306</sup> which in fact was set up on Moses Jacobs' farm Faithful Fountain, and which retained the name Theopolis. The nucleus of Mfengu and people of mixed Khoi descent formed the congregation and at the present day (1982) regular services are held there and a large and flourishing farm school with two teachers continues the work started by Ullbricht in 1814.

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<sup>302</sup>Evidence of Sir Walter Currie, P.P. A5/1861, op.cit., pp. 12-17.

<sup>303</sup>Ibid.

<sup>304</sup>Evidence confirmed by entry in a Marriage Register at Southwell where bridegroom is listed as "of Theopolis Police Post". (Evidence from descendant of policeman.)

<sup>305</sup>See supra, Chapter VII, Theopolis in the Religious Community.

<sup>306</sup>See Minutes, Trinity Church Session, June 1868.

## CHAPTER XI

## THEOPOLIS CITY OF GOD : AN ASSESSMENT

"The great tragedy of the missionary movement was that this manifestation of a great spiritual awakening could evoke so little response within South Africa either among whites or blacks. It remained a foreign importation."<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt that the settlers, as clearly shown,<sup>2</sup> resented intensely the political activities of certain missionaries for attention was focussed on the Eastern Frontier at a time when the settlers would have preferred to work out their own economic welfare. Nevertheless many settlers were themselves devout Christians, supporters of mission and products of the evangelical revival.<sup>3</sup> The Dutch farmers had, from the start, associated the missionaries with politics but they did appreciate the ministry of such men as Barker and Moffat as the journal<sup>4</sup> and other records show.<sup>5</sup>

Among the Xhosa, the chiefs had found the missionaries to be useful agents<sup>6</sup> whether official, like Thomson<sup>7</sup> or self-appointed, like Shaw.<sup>8</sup> The missionaries were able, on behalf of the chiefs, to negotiate with government, but the chiefs were certainly wary of the alien doctrine with its Victorian accoutrements especially as it was presented in the context of military conquest. The missionary movement was then a foreign importation, but where it adapted to local

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<sup>1</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.97.

<sup>2</sup>See supra, chapter on Land Dispute and "Some Reasons...".

<sup>3</sup>Shaw Journal (ed. Hammond Tooke), pp.21-44.

<sup>4</sup>Barker Journal, 28-30 Jul. 1815.

<sup>5</sup>Moffat, Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat, pp.32-33.

<sup>6</sup>Wilson, The Interpreters, pp.9-10.

<sup>7</sup>Green, Kat River, p.96.

<sup>8</sup>Shaw Journal, op.cit., p.14.

needs it fulfilled an important rôle,<sup>9</sup> and, in the context of Christian teaching, even one soul saved for Christ is significant.

At Theopolis mission the situation was materially different from across the Fish. It was not "a social laboratory of misfits and refugees."<sup>10</sup> The missions were in modern parlance a centre where orientation courses were run, when an honest attempt was made to rehabilitate displaced persons - the Khoi - to "interpret" the new social order, and to teach skills and trades which would enable them to earn a living. The missionaries themselves, like George Barker, their background, training and beliefs were highly significant especially in an institution like Theopolis placed in the middle of the storm on the Eastern Frontier. Their often acrimonious relations with church and state, their passionate religious belief and their tenacious grasp on the realities of the situation, as they saw it, played a not insignificant rôle in the life of the colony between 1800 and 1850.

Subject as they were to similar pressures and problems it is a pity that church and state were not able to make common cause. Both the mission authorities of the L.M.S.<sup>11</sup> and the British government,<sup>12</sup> practised an austere financial policy, and urged their Cape dependents to increased local enterprise.<sup>13</sup> Both needed results to prove the value of the Cape Colony or of mission work there. The British parliament and public wanted a peaceful frontier, active trade and the resultant decreased budget,<sup>14</sup> while the humanitarians at home needed a good turnover in converts to encourage the pious to invest.

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<sup>9</sup>Moravians at Genadendal; L.M.S. at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis.

<sup>10</sup>Peires, *House of Phalo*, p.76.

<sup>11</sup>See supra, chapter on Administration in L.M.S.

<sup>12</sup>Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, p.2.

<sup>13</sup>In a closely argued statement, Lancaster (*A Reappraisal of the Government of Sir Benjamin D'Urban*, pp.65-88), shows clearly how much finance affected frontier policy.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

in missions. Communication plagued both groups. Problems arose, were resolved or shelved in the colony and then instructions arrived from London - when the need for them was past. The black, the white; the Khoi, the Xhosa; the Dutch farmers, the British settlers; the frontiersmen, the western province citizens; the rulers and the ruled all lived compartmentalized lives interpreting situations with their own interests in mind and with their own objectives before them. Little knowledge of the customary practice, the needs and values of the other groups existed. These gaps in understanding were obviously a crucial feature of frontier life and certainly good men were shackled, both in government and in mission,<sup>15</sup> by often ignorant, sometimes bigoted, and nearly always distant rulers. An added burden was the change of political power in Britain with concomitant change of frontier policy; while the humanitarian directors of the L.M.S. - important leaders - did not only want to do good but also that good should be seen to be done. This increased the public's financial backing - and possibly polished the personal image of the director - but it certainly increased the pressure on the hard-working men in the front line of mission.

In the colony it was most unfortunate that the mission societies, and in particular perhaps, Shaw and Philip,<sup>16</sup> presented such a dis-united and indeed on occasion such an un-Christian front. This however can hardly be taken as an indictment of Christianity, for poor proponents of a creed or ideology do not destroy intrinsic worth. Nor can the opposing groups in this case be blamed, for Shaw was supported by and much oriented towards a settler way of thinking while Philip moved in the British humanitarian milieu and was, in any case, more politically inclined. It might also be observed (with informed hind-sight) that each interpreted frontier life in his own way, and that neither could really claim a full overview and understanding of black customs and society or of the impact of the new life on the frontier. Every protagonist, including modern

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<sup>15</sup> See Chapter V, Mission Administration, *supra*.

<sup>16</sup> Snaw, A defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Southern Africa comprising copies of a correspondence with the Rev. John Philip, D.D.

historians, appears to be limited in the framework of his own pre-conceived conception of the other groups, and this was true no more of the missionaries than of the Xhosa, the Khoi or the settlers, the Christians, the Marxists and the authorities.

Missionaries among the Xhosa were faced with a society with highly organised social mores<sup>17</sup> and a complex tribal system, which, Etherington has suggested, might have led to active opposition to conversion among the Nguni at any rate.<sup>18</sup> Obviously a major difficulty was the misunderstanding of language which gave rise to varying accounts of Xhosa belief so that while Peires<sup>19</sup> and Shepherd<sup>20</sup> both support the idea that the Xhosa worshipped a Supreme Being, Cumming<sup>21</sup> did not find this at all.<sup>22</sup> The "apparatus" for conversion to Christianity was, however, present for the Xhosa language was "rich in terms for sin, sacrifice and atonement, richer than English and almost as rich as Hebrew",<sup>23</sup> and the people lived in a close relationship with the Spirit world.<sup>24</sup> The framework was there but translation and interpretation was difficult, for knowledge of language and custom was lacking. As Wilson has shown,<sup>25</sup> the earliest interpreters in missions to the Xhosa were Khoi. They translated from Xhosa to Dutch and from the Dutch an English translation was made. In such a bizarre setting it is small wonder that understanding was limited, particularly as the new religion was presented in the context of frontier politics. The Khoi whose religion was simpler in structure than that of the Xhosa and was not linked to tribal integrity, found it easier to

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<sup>17</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, pp.4-5.

<sup>18</sup>Etherington, Preachers, Peasants and Politics, p.89.

<sup>19</sup>Peires, op.cit., p.68.

<sup>20</sup>Davies and Shepherd, South African Missions, p.xi.

<sup>21</sup>List of Missionaries, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>22</sup>Journal of John Cumming, 5 Jan. 1842.

<sup>23</sup>Davies and Shepherd, op.cit., p.xi.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.; and Peires, op.cit., pp.67-68.

<sup>25</sup>Wilson, The Interpreters, pp.4-6, 8-9.

accept Christianity, as public confession proved. They were aided too, by their strong belief in Tsuni Goom - the Supreme Being.<sup>26</sup>

The idea postulated both by Williams<sup>27</sup> and by Etherington<sup>28</sup> that conversion came only after conquest and tribal break-up, would appear to be borne out at Theopolis. The Khoi were the victims of historical change, of the meeting of groups of varying strength and development, and of the resultant schism in social structure. Harried and sometimes absorbed by the Xhosa,<sup>29</sup> they were finally broken as tribes by the "pressures which a trading frontier placed on their livestock economy",<sup>30</sup> and by the fact that the very dispersal of groups necessary for their search for grazing meant that no strong overall leadership - like that of the Xhosa chiefs - had developed. These Khoi who did not join the Xhosa clans or live the life of banditti, joined the whites as hunters, agriculturalists and servants. They learned Dutch, they intermarried with slaves, they had children with white men, and finally formed a class (mostly with Dutch names) known today (1982) as the Cape Coloureds,<sup>31</sup>

The Khoi were already familiar with the moral code of the mores of the races from which the missionaries sprang. Dutch was their adopted language, so books were available, no problems with orthography existed and direct communication was possible for the missionaries soon learnt Dutch. Verbal communication, however, does not represent total understanding. The missionaries came to carry the message of Christ to the people. The tragedy was that they were ill-prepared for the task.<sup>32</sup> Both missionaries and converts were faced with a new dispensation, the establishment of new traditions. It was this loss

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<sup>26</sup>See Poem translated by Theophilus Hahn, Appendix F.

<sup>27</sup>Williams, Where Races Meet, p.93.

<sup>28</sup>Etherington, Preachers, Peasants and Politics, e.g. p.123.

<sup>29</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, pp.22-24.

<sup>30</sup>Elphick and Giliomee, Shaping of South African Society, p.34.

<sup>31</sup>Marais, The Cape Coloured People; see supra, Chapter III on the Khoi.

<sup>32</sup>See supra, Chapter IV on Missionaries.

of a traditional way of life - whether British or Khoi - which in some respects "lay at the core of nearly all problems of conduct, of morals, of ethics, of food and population, of education and of power."<sup>33</sup> Unable to recognise the effect of their own loss of tradition the missionaries were unlikely to detect the symptoms in the Khoi. They interpreted life in Africa and their religion in the context of the familiar of their own society with its preoccupation with clothes from chin to ankle, strict Sunday observance, and a primly ordered morality. The result is that today (1982) many so-called "religious" questions asked in discussion of mission enterprise revolve around the fact that much of the teaching was not essential to the Christian message, yet the sincerity of the men was great.

The various ethnic groups in southern Africa were moving through evolutionary stages (and this included many of the white settlers), each group at its own pace and the events which occurred represented various phases of evolutionary thought, some static and some dynamic. Schism was the outcome and as Toynbee suggested,<sup>34</sup> led to the destruction of the body social. The apocalyptic philosophy of Karl Marx<sup>35</sup> proclaims that this will lead to the emergence of a new society with each group playing a rôle in its creation. Teilhard de Chardin carried this concept further, thinking in terms of cosmic evolution of an ascending movement.<sup>36</sup> This ascending evolving movement is in line with Marxist thinking with the ideal community as its end. The difference comes with the Christian emphasis which invests the evolution with a supernatural and supra-personal dimension. Theological thinking then, at its best, presents a sociological context for the teaching of religion and it was in this context (albeit unwittingly) that the missionaries operated.

In this context, men like George Barker, Robert Moffat, J.G. Ullbricht were the only people who could fulfil their high calling under arduous

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<sup>33</sup>Coulson, Science, Technology and the Christian, p.20.

<sup>34</sup>Toynbee, A Study of History (abridged by Somervell), p.360 seq.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p.368.

<sup>36</sup>Wildiers, Introduction to Teilhard de Chardin, pp.101-102.

conditions. They dealt with the practicalities of life in a land with no infrastructure; they established rapport with their people because they understood the vicissitudes of living under conditions of poverty. Possibly the intellectuals, men like Vander Kemp, would have escaped the criticism levelled by travellers,<sup>37</sup> had they known how to deal with housing, tools, crops, animals and illness, as well as with theological and moral problems. The origins of Barker, of Moffat, of Williams in villages<sup>38</sup> or slums<sup>39</sup> might well have given them insight into the life of their people and of community living, while at the same time their "dynamic discontent", a heritage of the British working-classes, made them independent and resourceful.<sup>40</sup> As a group these men were clearly socially distinct from the board which controlled them. They were the men who made revolution; the forward-looking; the discontented elements of the new industrial society,<sup>41</sup> the men who ran trade unions. Hudson Taylor,<sup>42</sup> working with the Inland Mission in China found this type of recruit hard to handle. They were imbued with ideas of independence.<sup>43</sup> Having been caught up in the fire of the evangelical revival they added this enthusiasm for the cause of Christ to their concepts of independence. They built houses, they set up missions, they taught trades, they contacted their neighbours with the same fervour that their compatriots carried to labour relations.

What was the message they carried? Christians are explicitly enjoined to proclaim the Kingdom of God, to heal the sick, and to drive out devils,<sup>44</sup> This is a message which, if taught in the proper context,

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<sup>37</sup>Lichtenstein, Travels, Vol. I, p.237.

<sup>38</sup>See Barker Family Tree, Appendix E(i).

<sup>39</sup>Holt, Joseph Williams, p.2.

<sup>40</sup>Warren Max, Social History & Christian Mission, Chap. 2.

<sup>41</sup>F.M.L. Thompson, Social Control in Victorian Britain.

<sup>42</sup>See List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>43</sup>China Inland Mission Correspondence, 28 Mar. 1873, Taylor to Henry Soltau, quoted by C.P. Williams, Middling Class Protestant Missionaries.

<sup>44</sup>Gospel of St Matthew, Chapter 10, Verses 8-9.

would have appealed enormously to the Xhosa and the Khoi. Since the authorisation of the missionary is dependent on the Word of Jesus nothing external can obscure this mission for them; neither riches nor the possession of position, nor gratitude which indeed they are unlikely to achieve. Dietrich Bonhoeffer,<sup>45</sup> a great disciple and Christian martyr, considered that the commission of the Christian is not "a heroic struggle, a fanatical pursuit of a grand idea or a good cause";<sup>46</sup> it is the simple proclamation of the Word of God. Blame will always attach to Christians, for the message they bring is a challenge which creates discomfort, which in turn causes the hearer to turn and rend the source of his tribulation. Christianity supercedes all barriers and has adapted to all conditions. For men like Barker, this was true, but for the societies it was not so, as Galbraith has clearly shown.<sup>47</sup> They presented instead a picture of rival states fighting over the new colonial territories in an exercise which did not redound to the credit of their own belief but rather to their denominational fervour.

The commission of the Christian missionary, then, is clear, but whether his commitment to Christ should lead him to direct involvement in politics is still a moot point. As Wilson points out, "slavery, torture, leaving people to starve or die is un-Christian",<sup>48</sup> but no consensus has been reached regarding the rôle of the Christian in government. Christians serve in opposing political parties, they espouse different causes, for the essence of the Christian message is the freedom of the individual and of individual choice.<sup>49</sup> The claim

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<sup>45</sup>Bonhoeffer Dietrich (?-1945). He was head of the German "Confessing Church Seminary" and for his outspoken criticism of the Nazis he was imprisoned and martyred in 1945.

<sup>46</sup>Bonhoeffer, Cost of Discipleship, p.192.

<sup>47</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.89.

<sup>48</sup>Wilson, Conqueror or Servants of God (in S.A. Outlook, Mar. 1976), p.40.

<sup>49</sup>An excellent example of this was provided at the meeting of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi in 1975 when Marxists and Capitalists met in apparent common cause as Christians.

of Nosipho Majeke that Christianity was a tool of capitalism "to subjugate and break down, to create artificial wants"<sup>50</sup> becomes untenable if freedom of choice is recognised. Christians are found in every political grouping - capitalist or socialist - and the essential freedom in Christ is well illustrated in Barker's political opposition to Philip and his fiercely partisan attitude when it came to the institution Khoi coupled with their mutual loyalty to the L.M.S.

Neale and Majeke both ascribed to the missionaries, ideals less than complimentary. Neale suggested that as "middling class men of ability"<sup>51</sup> they were using this means (the mission) to gain preferment in society, while Majeke claimed that as capitalist agents they had ambitions with regard to white supremacy, a desire to subjugate, while protesting against subjugation, of trading in British goods, of operating as magistrates, of providing cheap labour and of dividing the people. Finally, Majeke suggested that they were ignorant of the appalling social conditions in England and should have remained there to rectify the wrongs, a feeling unfortunately echoed in England.<sup>52</sup>

Majeke's ignorance of the social origins of the carpenter Williams (his wife a maid-servant), the gardeners Brownlee and Moffat, the weavers Philip and Livingstone,<sup>53</sup> and the blacksmiths Barker and Gilbricht, would have been easily amended by brief recourse to mission records. These men knew the meaning of grinding poverty and of sacrifice, of the importance of sharing and of the joy of overcoming adversity. This was their raison d'être.

The suggestion that the establishment of missions was connived at (if not instigated) by government<sup>54</sup> is also disproved by correspon-

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<sup>50</sup>Nosipho Majeke, The Role of the Missionary in Conquest, p.9.

<sup>51</sup>Neale, Class & Ideology in the 9th Century, pp.26-27.

<sup>52</sup>Lancaster, A Reappraisal of D'Urban's Frontier Policy, p.356, quoting Daniel O'Connell.

<sup>53</sup>List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>54</sup>Majeke, op.cit., pp.10-11.

dence. The records, indeed, show the governments, both Batavian and British, to have had strong reservations about missionaries and they were certainly opposed to the enlargement of stations.<sup>55</sup> The missionaries themselves struggled with "barren land and shameful poverty"<sup>56</sup> - sharing the lot of their people while endeavouring to uplift and rehabilitate the aged and the infirm, and to provide skills and trades for the able-bodied; the people among whom the missionaries worked having been destroyed by the greed of dominant groups, white, black and Khoi. No justification can be offered for those whose lust for land led them to invasion of neighbours; or those whose short-sighted legislation exacerbated the situation. However, using influential friends who had the ear of the government, Dr Philip endeavoured to bring legal reform to the Khoi and at local level, the interpreters like George Barker, brought spiritual and physical comfort to the destitute and the homeless. A preoccupation with political rights has apparently obscured this work which led the Khoi to proud and vocal independence and which, perhaps, if well investigated, would throw light on the quality of life of the post-tribal pre-mission Khoi and of the change wrought initially at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis and later at Kat River.<sup>57</sup> The land at these institutions was not, as Majeke suggests, "confiscated land" but land held in trust for the Khoi.<sup>58</sup> The protracted legal wrangle over the Theopolis lands is a clear indication of the mission attitude and in fact until 1828 missions were the only places in the colony from which or at which the Khoi could practise their trades and where they could keep their cattle. Their refusal of labour contracts with settlers suggested a better standard of living for them at the institution than on the farms. The extreme poverty was found only among the less skilled and less enterprising, and could be attributed

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<sup>55</sup>See supra, Chapter II.

<sup>56</sup>Majeke, The Role of the Missionary in Conquest, pp.10-11.

<sup>57</sup>The excellence of research on tribal life highlights the paucity of information on the transitional period and of the personalities who emerged.

<sup>58</sup>Majeke, op.cit., p.11; and supra, Chapter IX, Theopolis Land Dispute.

to many causes.<sup>59</sup> The missionaries, like Barker, were prepared to risk public rebuke and to defend their people with all their might - even at the expense of valued interdenominational friendships.

The coming of the British to southern Africa inevitably initiated a cycle of change which led to political, sociological and ultimately technological revolution. Nosipho Majeke appears to share this view for, in discussing the advent of industrial civilisation she points out that "it creates the conditions whereby the African becomes part of the forward progress of mankind."<sup>60</sup> This view was enthusiastically shared by David Livingstone<sup>61</sup> who said that a missionary was more than "a man going about with a Bible under his arm."<sup>62</sup> Livingstone suggested that commerce introduced through (but not by) the missionary, speedily dealt with the isolation engendered by primitive technology and that mutual dependence and benefit would accrue. He claimed that if raw materials used in Europe were prepared in Africa the slave trade would end as a result of the activity and opening up which would result. With Majeke he suggested that this would "introduce the negro family into the body corporate of nations...no one member of which can suffer without the others suffering with it."<sup>63</sup> The missionaries brought with them the skills, the trades (and the willingness to share these trades) which would enable the black people too to join the "forward progress of mankind" to which Majeke referred. The validity of the argument is unquestionable, for, when a subsistence economy sufficed while population numbers were small, as population increased, so a more efficient and diverse economic system was needed.

Closely related to the more general idea of business growth to which Livingstone referred, was the setting up of trading stores on

<sup>59</sup> MacMillan, Cape Colour Question, pp.68-70; Newton King, Labour Market of the Cape 1807-1828, In Marks and Atmore.

<sup>60</sup> Majeke, The Role of the Missionary in Conquest, p.138.

<sup>61</sup> List of Missionaries and Ministers, Appendix A(iii).

<sup>62</sup> Livingstone, Missionary Travels, p.28.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

missions, a matter of controversy and criticism only if mission records are not studied. Shaw, applying through Thompson for a shop on his mission, argued that this would promote civilisation at Wesleyville. In a letter to the Colonial Office Thompson queried the wisdom of a commercial enterprise which might be linked, in the minds of customers, with the colonial authorities.<sup>64</sup> Barker's approach to a shop was that it made life easier for his people, who otherwise had to travel long distances to buy those things which were needed for living. He certainly had no part in the running of the store, any more than any other missionary. The L.M.S. directors did urge missionaries and institutions (in so far as they were able) to become self-reliant;<sup>65</sup> to which end trading and trades were put to use, but, as in the case of Barker, this money was put back into the mission and personal gain was not a consideration. Citing W. Edwards as an example, however,<sup>66</sup> Nosipho Majeke suggested that trade was a prime personal concern with all missionaries. Once more the records would have corrected this misapprehension. Edwards, who did amass a private fortune, was dismissed from the mission for dereliction of duty.<sup>67</sup>

The trading store and trading did initially disrupt the tribal way of life, as Peires points out with regard to the Xhosa.<sup>68</sup> Yet it must be apparent that at some stage Xhosa and Khoi would have objected to being excluded from the basic material advantages which were part of the new dispensation. Wilson, in discussing the people of Tanzania who were very isolated and independent with "ample food supplies and herds of cattle" and who did not need to seek employment, nevertheless wanted "cloth and bicycles, matches and paraffin lamps" and other convenience commodities which they saw in use, so perforce they went

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<sup>64</sup>Williams, Where Races Meet, pp.58-59.

<sup>65</sup>See Regulations for Missionaries, Appendix C(i).

<sup>66</sup>Majeke, The Role of the Missionary in Conquest, p.9.

<sup>67</sup>Moffat, Robert and Mary Moffat, p.94.

<sup>68</sup>Peires, The House of Phalo, pp.98-101.

to work to earn the cash needed.<sup>69</sup>

While it could well be argued that the missionaries did support the introduction of commercial enterprise it can hardly be claimed that Khoi and Xhosa would have wished to remain, with multiplying herds and increasing population behind a kind of cordon sanitaire designed to keep progress (in Majeke's sense) and technology out. Majeke's suggestion that the L.M.S. was, in fact, a trading enterprise<sup>70</sup> hiding behind a cloak of religion was based on a somewhat incautious remark by Dr Philip in Researches in South Africa.<sup>71</sup> This book, essentially designed to drum up political and financial support for the L.M.S. contained the suggestion that British business could only benefit from the expansion of trade resulting from the expansion of mission. Majeke, mistakenly assuming this to be L.M.S. policy, did not recognise it for the advertising jingle that it was, the carrot to tempt the commercial donkey to invest in mission.

With the coming of the British settlers of 1820, the people of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis provided the transport, the building skills, the blacksmith and the shoemakers so much needed on the frontier.<sup>72</sup> Barker's frustration that these skills were not exploited to full advantage was clearly expressed, but what was plain was that these men were not only able to earn a living but they were craftsmen. The plough, irrigation, water-wheels - all these were brought by the missionaries and used after 1828 on their own land at Kat River by the free Khoi, commended even by that arch-critic Robert Godlonton.<sup>73</sup>

The suggestion that the missionaries acted as agents of government within the colony is contradicted by records. Their "jurisdiction" was limited to the imposition of the new moral code which mistakenly

<sup>69</sup>Wilson, Missionaries, Conquerors or Servants of God? (in S.A. Outlook, Mar. 1976, p.41).

<sup>70</sup>Majeke, The Role of the Missionary in Conquest, p.9.

<sup>71</sup>Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol. II, p.227.

<sup>72</sup>Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, pp.88-89.

<sup>73</sup>Dracopoli, Sir Andries Stockenström, p.75.

perhaps, they saw as part of their religion. Official duties included the collection of taxes - strongly criticised by Philip - and the issue of passes.<sup>74</sup> Both these tasks eased the restrictive burden of Khoi legislation for the mission inhabitants and heated argument with the authorities was commonplace. It was explicitly stated by Cole that Theopolis was not set up as a defensive post,<sup>75</sup> although Majeke, who apparently despised Dr Philip's every word, quotes his mis-statement in this regard.<sup>76</sup> Like all owners of cattle and land, the missionaries and the Khoi were prepared to defend hard-earned possessions, and like all citizens were liable to commando duty. That the Khoi were many of them retired military men undoubtedly added to their value, but it did not alter their standing<sup>77</sup> as private citizens.

Religion has been described by Sundkler, especially in the mission field, as "a matter of relationship between individuals"<sup>78</sup> and the spread of religion in southern Africa sprang from a loving relationship<sup>79</sup> between missionary and convert and not from a collective movement. In modern Africa this relationship has remained crucial, for African Christians are social interpreters in the fundamentally important field of human relationships. Sundkler claims that "we must redeem the time lost lest a Moslem brotherhood or a Communist comradeship become determinative factors in to-morrow's Africa."<sup>80</sup> The blood brotherhood in Christ could save Africa from schism and it is and was the duty of missionary and Christian alike to bring this salvation about, as was done at Theopolis where a prayer meeting and services showed the

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<sup>74</sup>See supra, Chapters VI and IX.

<sup>75</sup>C.O. 48/144, Report by Cole on Theopolis Land Dispute, 1831.

<sup>76</sup>Majeke, The Role of the Missionary in Conquest, p.10.

<sup>77</sup>See supra, Chapter X.

<sup>78</sup>Sundkler, Christian Ministry in Africa, p.109.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p.98.

principle in practice.<sup>81</sup>

Involvement, the righting of wrongs, the alleviation of ills, the gift of service, and the establishment of freedom of choice, these are the tasks which the Christian should fulfil. That some Christians are and were not involved is an indictment of their profession as Christians, not of Christianity. The frontier missionary neither connived, nor, unless very much provoked, protested. Instead, he tried to show the Khoi the way in a new situation which was historically irreversible. Vander Kemp, the pioneer in this work, characterised by Peires as a saintly old man,<sup>82</sup> but castigated by Majeke as an aggressive militarist,<sup>83</sup> identified himself closely with his flock. A tremendous fighter for Khoi rights he was treated with circumspection by the authorities for whom he was certainly not a "useful agent."<sup>84</sup> The establishment of Betneldorp was a last solution to a problem and not part of a diabolical plan to introduce "apartneid". His whole way of life was witness to this.<sup>85</sup>

In a period of controversial persons Dr John Philip took his place as an "autocrat who assumed infallibility in matters of faith and doctrine."<sup>86</sup> He had an exaggerated idea of his power and it was enhanced both by his restricted environment and by his sycophantic colleagues. Historians have followed his example by over-evaluating him. His objectives were frustrated by Cape Town so he appealed to London where his complaints highlighted problems already under consideration.<sup>87</sup> His Researches in South Africa did not evoke the response wished for, and critics of missions see him as an imperialist agent who furthered the aims of the British government. Until a

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<sup>81</sup>Cf. Barker Journal, numerous examples.

<sup>82</sup>Peires, House of Phalo, p.106.

<sup>83</sup>Majeke, The Role of the Missionary in Conquest, p.9.

<sup>84</sup>See supra, Chapter II.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, p.83.

<sup>87</sup>See supra, Chapter VIII.

definitive biography is written containing all the facts to which Galbraith makes reference,<sup>88</sup> it would be very difficult indeed to make a fair assessment of the man and his rôle.

The rôle of the mission is clear. Using the infrastructure created by the British advance, the missionaries sought to lay the foundation of a new dispensation which transcended colour, creed or class. Their own origins in a class which increasingly questioned the distribution of wealth gives added weight to this argument.

Christianity has survived many forms of government and Christians have been involved in many political groups. A major problem which faced the missionaries and faces the world today is that the practical business of living takes up so much time that spiritual issues are only important in so far as they affect the material world. In Africa the church has to make a blueprint for a new society, a new church. The hallmark of the Christian is adaptability so that in a society where tribal loyalties and taboos have often disappeared, it is the Christian pastor and churchman who must lead.<sup>89</sup>

It has been suggested by Schumacher that socialists should not try "to out-capitalise the capitalists" but to evolve a more democratic, dignified and humane employment of the fruits of human ingenuity. "If they can do that," he claims, "they have the future in their hands. If they cannot, they have nothing to offer that is worthy of the sweat of free-born men."<sup>90</sup> In the church adaptation is needed. The first tentative steps taken by Vander Kemp and Kitchingman at Bethelsdorp, by Barker and his colleagues at Theopolis, and by Read at Kat River, showed the way in a new milieu. The new church in Africa (1982) would challenge the evangelicals' teaching, yet they too broke new ground. From that early work has grown a realisation that a relevant, indigenous church must include features of the corporate group life of Africa. Always adaptable (for it absorbed

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<sup>88</sup>Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, pp.81-97.

<sup>89</sup>Sundkler, Christian Ministry in Africa (whole argument of the book).

<sup>90</sup>Schumacher, Small is Beautiful.

pagan festivals and sanctified them as Christmas and Easter), the Christian church should rediscover a simpler faith. Far from being a corrosion which destroyed tribal life, the church was an organisation whose message of love superseded the limitations imposed on the missionaries by their ignorance of Africa, by puritanical morals, and by the fact that they were fallible human beings. From this unpromising start, there developed a flourishing new growth. In Africa today the rôle of Christians is to review, to criticise, to question, to modify, but they should honour the stem from which they are sprung. "To praise ancestors without discrimination just because they are dead is, in itself, a form of idolatry, but to praise them for particular characteristics which we recognise in them, and greatly value, is a piety long acknowledged."<sup>91</sup> For the Khoi, the missionaries wrought more than they knew, endeavouring to lead them in a strange new world. Perhaps Dr Allan Boesak has the final word. Returning from the World Presbyterian Alliance Conference (of which he is president) (1982), he commented that community involvement had always marked the outward movement of the Protestant tradition. Thus Theopolis in Albany.

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<sup>91</sup>Wilson, Missionaries, Conquerors or Servants of God? (in S.A. Outlook, Mar. 1976).

APPENDIX ABIOGRAPHICAL INDICES

The Biographical Indices which follow have been drawn up to facilitate further research and to make for a complete picture of the life at Theopolis.

As many of the books used were not utilised for the thesis itself, a brief bibliography is given after each name. In the case of the Settlers, a brief bibliography is given and thereafter books are referred to by surname of author alone, except where a book applicable in one case only is quoted.

It should be pointed out that with both Missionaries and Settlers information is often very limited - indeed, surprisingly so. L.M.S. Records are brief and, at times, misleading. In the case of L.M.S. Missionaries, their Mission Number is quoted.

Unfortunately so little research has been done on Khoi families that it has not been possible to give family information.

ADDENDUM

Hougham Hudson's name was inadvertently omitted from the list of officials and it appears on Page 283.

## APPENDIX A(i)

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF GOVERNORS AND CHIEFS

AFRICANER, Klaas

? -1821

He was a chief among the Khoisan in Transorangia. Originally a commando leader, he retreated to an island in the middle of the Orange from whence he raided, with impunity, the surrounding tribes. Eventually however, he met Robert Moffat with whom he formed an association, finally agreeing to move and to adopt a more peaceable way of life. So much were they linked that Moffat persuaded this ferocious chief to go with him to Cape Town to discuss this new way of life. There was a delay in Moffat's return and Africaner died before he could join the Moffats.

Refer: Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society pp. 523, 527, 530, 531, 540, 584.

Elphick and Giliomee: The Shaping of South African Society (1652-1820) pp. 256, 260, 261, 263.

BAIRD, Sir David

1757-1829

A professional soldier he served in the Highland Light Infantry in India, where he was taken prisoner. In 1797 he was appointed Brigadier General at the Cape but returned to India in 1798. In 1803 he came back to South Africa in command of the expeditionary force to re-capture the Cape. Landing at Blouberg he defeated the Dutch and was made Acting Governor. After a contretemps in South America, Baird returned to Britain and then took part in the battle of Corunna in the Napoleonic Wars.

Refer: D.S.A.B. Vol. II p. 21.

M. Arkin: John Company at the Cape in AYB, 1960 II.

BOURKE, Sir Richard

1777-1855

He was an Irishman educated in England and commissioned to the Grenadier Guards. He served both in South America and the Peninsula and by 1821 had reached the rank of Major General. In 1826 he was appointed Acting Governor at the Cape in Somerset's absence, with the expectation of superseding him. He was largely responsible for drafting the slave legislation of 1828 and it

was he who permitted Xhosa to seek work permits (Ordinance 50 of 1828). He served subsequently with distinction in Australia and New Zealand.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 106.

Lancaster: A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban pp. 133-135.

King: R. Bourke.

CALEDON, Alexander du Prè, Earl of

1777-1839

The only son of a distinguished father, he was appointed Governor to the Cape in 1806, arriving in 1807. Faced with the task of keeping costs low and maintaining a Colony, which Britain valued only for the port, he nevertheless endeavoured to alleviate the hardships experienced by Colonists. During his stay the judiciary was reformed, Collins made his reports on the Frontier areas and Khoi legislation was introduced (Proclamation of 1809). Like many of his successors, his Frontier policy was somewhat indecisive. His interest in farming led to the introduction of merino sheep to South Africa.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III p. 12.

J. Campbell: Travels in South Africa pp. 352-353.

Elphick and Giliomee: Shaping of South African Society pp. 219, 222, 230, 237, 261, 311-315.

COLE, Sir Galbraith Lowry

1772-1842

The son of a noble Irish family, he followed a military career in the Light Dragoons and had reached the rank of Major General by 1813 and General in 1830. During his distinguished military career he saw service in Malta, Sicily, Egypt and Spain and was a member of the army of occupation. In 1822 he became Governor of Mauritius and in 1828 he succeeded Somerset at the Cape. Faced with problems of the economy of slave legislation and the Eastern Frontier, it was he who settled the Khoi at Kat River and who initiated a written treaty system with Xhosa chiefs. He retired to England in 1833.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III p. 163.

Hunt: Sir Lowry Cole.

Leverton: Government, Finance and Political Development at the Cape 1806-1834 in AYB, 1961 Vol. I.

CRADOCK, Sir John Francis

1762-1839

He was the son of an Anglican Bishop and through his father's influence joined the army, where he gained rapid promotion. He served in Ireland, the Mediterranean, India and Portugal and in 1811 was appointed Governor of the Cape. He was the first of the military Governors. One of his first acts was to order Col. Graham of the Cape Regiment to clear the Xhosa tribes from the Zuurveld (1812) and he set up a series of military posts from Cradock to Grahamstown. During his governorship the "Black" Circuit (1812) toured the Frontier, the quitrent system of land tenure was introduced to reduce population spread and Cradock himself toured the country and encouraged education.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 148.

G.M. Theal: History of Southern Africa Vol. V.

Elphick and Giliomee: The Shaping of South African Society pp. 123, 222, 226, 229, 230, 233, 237.

DE MIST, Jacob Abraham Uitenhage

1749-1823

De Mist, who was Commissioner General of the Batavian Republic, had taken an active role in the National Assembly in Holland, where he was a strong supporter of those principles which he applied at the Cape. Having shown his skill as an administrator, he was asked (in Holland) to draw up his comments on administration at the Cape. This he did in the famous Memorandum and was subsequently sent to the Cape to put government, education, the judiciary, finances and defence in order. His visit to the Cape, his tour to the Frontier and his recognition of many of the problems in justice and administration earned him considerable respect. It is a further tribute to his talents that he remained a senior and respected administrator after the restoration of the monarchy in Holland (1815) and until his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 174.

Augusta de Mist: Diary of a Journey to the Cape.

Malherbe: Education in South Africa 1652-1922 (numerous references).

de Mist: The Memorandum of Commissary J.A. de Mist (Cape Town 1920).

DONKIN, Sir Rufane Shaw

1777-1841

After serving in the Peninsular War he was sent to India in 1815 where the death of his young wife, Elizabeth (nee Markham), in 1818 had a profound influence on his career. Invalided to the Cape, he was Acting Governor during Somerset's absence on leave (Jan. 1820 to Nov. 1821). A literary man, he subsequently became both an F.R.S. and an F.R.G.S. Great uncertainty is entertained about his time at the Cape and his actions with regard to the Settlers.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 235.

Bromley: Administration of Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin (unpublished M.A. thesis R.U.C. 1936).

Letter-Book of Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin.

Millar: Plantagenet in South Africa.

DUNDAS, Major General Francis

1759-1824

He had served in the army in the American War of Independence and after rapid promotion was appointed Lieutenant Governor at the Cape (1797).- In 1798 Lord Macartney, the Governor, returned to England owing to ill-health and Dundas took over (21.11.1798) just at the time when the Graaff Reinet Rebellion started. This was followed in 1799 by a Xhosa/Khoi uprising. Macartney's successor, Yonge, arrived in 1799 but was recalled in 1801. In 1803 Dundas handed over to the Batavian Republic and returned to England, having thus effectively been Governor of the Cape.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 245.

Marais: Maynier and the First Boer Republic.

Theal: Records of the Cape Colony 1797-1803.

D'URBAN, Sir Benjamin

1777-1849

D'Urban's military career commenced in the Dragoons in 1793 and continued to the Peninsular War where he was Quarter-Master General to Beresford. His services earned him a K.C.B. and K.C.H. as well as promotion to Major General in 1819. After serving as Governor in Antigua and British Guiana he was appointed to the Cape in 1834, where his experience in a former Dutch slave-owning colony and in introducing constitutional form stood him in good stead.

At the Cape he had to handle the transition to emancipation, the rebellious Boers, vagrancy, apprenticeship and compensation for slaves. His combined role as administrator and Commander-in-Chief was complicated by the divisive elements at work on the Frontier, and a change of government in Britain which resulted in the dispatch from Glenelg in 1836. He retired to Wynberg from 1838-1846, after which he moved to Canada as Commander-in-Chief of troops there.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 205.

Lancaster: A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

Le Cordeur: The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism (numerous refs.)

JANSSENS, Jan Willem

1762-1838

After a career as a military man he was appointed Secretary of Defence in 1800 in the Batavian Republic. Appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief to the Cape in 1803 where, immediately after being sworn in by Commissioner de Mist, he undertook a comprehensive journey to the interior to discover the exact situation for himself. On the journey he was accompanied by D.G. van Reenen, an experienced Cape farmer. The journey, which embraced meetings with farmers, Xhosa chiefs, missionaries and Khoi, led him as far East as the Kat River. Naturally a pessimistic man, he was nevertheless energetic in re-organising the defence of the Cape and was a most conscientious Governor until the capture of the Cape in 1806. His subsequent military career was distinguished.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III p. 442.

J.A. Wiid (ed.): Die Joernaal van D.G. van Reenen.

KAMA

1798-1875

Gqunukhwebe chief, he was the son of Chungwa and brother of Phato. He and his wife (a daughter of Ngqika) were converts of William Shaw. As a result of their neutrality in the Frontier wars they won the dislike of other tribes. Awarded land near Whittlesea for services to the authorities, Kama is notable for his peaceful relations with the authorities. He was always a devoted Christian and one of his sons was one of the first Xhosa Methodist ministers.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 355.

Shaw: The Story of My Mission, (numerous entries).

MAITLAND, Sir Peregrine

1777-1854

Maitland was an Englishman who joined the British army in 1792 and fought in Flanders, through the Peninsular War and at Waterloo. He was decorated by Britain, Russia and the Netherlands. He was subsequently Lieutenant Governor in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and Commander-in-Chief at Madras. He came to the Cape in 1844. Maitland was faced with problems in Transorangia as well as with the perennial problem of the Eastern Frontier, where adjustment of treaties and boundaries awaited him. By 1846 he was involved in the War of the Axe and made Stockenstrom Commander-in-Chief of Burgher forces. Old and tired, he rode far and wide and might have been grateful for his recall to England in 1847.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 432.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: The War of the Axe (numerous entries).

A.K. Fryer: Government of the Cape of Good Hope 1825-1854, in AYB 1964 I.

MACOMO

1798-1873

Eldest son of Ngqika, he was a hero of the battle of Amalinda (1818). He established his first kraal in the Kat River in 1821 and was accused of raiding adjacent territory. His brother, Tyali, joined him there. After an attack on a Thembu kraal in 1829, Cole banished him from the Kat River and the Khoi were brought in to a Settlement. Drought and frontier tensions led to a new invasion of the Cape Colony in 1834 and by the peace Macomo was allowed to return to his lands. Popular with the white officers and broken when his Regency ended, he drank more and more. In the War of 1850-1853 he was actively involved. Although he had always enjoyed contact with missions, he never became a Christian. He died on Robben Island.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 439.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: War of the Axe (numerous references).

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers (numerous references).

Peires: House of Phalo.

NAPIER, Sir George Thomas

1784-1855

He came of a distinguished English family and early made a name for himself

in military circles in spite of the loss of his arm at Ciudad Rodrigo (1812). With no administrative experience, he was at a disadvantage when appointed to the Cape in 1837 as Governor. Stockenstrom was a man in whom he reposed great trust in spite of colonial attitudes. During his governorship the perennial Frontier problems were complicated by the Voortrekkers, by clashes in Natal and the usual need for economy. He developed much of the infrastructure of the Cape.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 391.

Galbraith: Reluctant Empire.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: War of the Axe pp. 189, 199-201, 218.

NDLAMBE

+1740-1828

He was Regent of the Rarabe and of the right-hand house, a man of great ambition. Ngqika realised more and more the ambition of his regent-uncle and the antagonism between them added to the Frontier chaos. As his power increased he needed allies and the Boers filled this role. Ndlambe meanwhile moved into the Zuurveld, where in 1803 he met Janssens but subsequent evasions and even meetings with him suggested that he was an unreliable ally. By 1812 the situation on the Frontier was so bad that Cradock decided to have Ndlambe driven out of the Zuurveld. Ngqika by this time was the recognised ally of the British and after Ndlambe's defeat of his nephew at Amalinda he attacked Grahamstown, where three of his sons were killed. His power was broken.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 586.

Peires: House of Phalo (numerous references).

Hammond Tooke: Segmentation and Fission in the Cape Nguni Political Units.

NGQIKA

1775-1829

He was of the right-hand house of the tribes west of the Kei and his authority extended over the whole house of Rarabe. During his minority his uncle, Ndlambe, was Regent. Unfortunately the two did not agree and warfare between them became endemic after Ngqika reached his majority. While Ngqika was making empty promises to Somerset, Ndlambe was consolidating his position and used his power to defeat his nephew, Ndlambe, in June 1818. With British support Ngqika regained his power and was brought under pressure to permit

the establishment of the Neutral Territory. His power declined and he died in 1829, a broken man.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 59.

R.C.C. Vol. XXXVI.

Soga: South Eastern Bantu (numerous references).

Peires: House of Phalo (numerous references).

POTTINGER, Sir Henry

1789-1856

He spent much of his early life in India and the Far East after running away to sea at the age of twelve. His role in the cession of Hong Kong to Britain was important (1842) and he was noted for his attention to detail. On his return to Britain in 1845 he was voted a pension by Parliament. An unwilling candidate for the Governorship of the Cape, he was in fact given the post of High Commissioner at the Cape which gave him authority beyond the Borders. Once more the Frontier was a preoccupation, as he arrived in the midst of the War of the Axe (1846-1847). His governorship was not successful but probably he regarded the Cape as a stepping-stone to his Governorship in India 1848-1854.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 557

Le Cordeur and Saunders: War of the Axe.

Galbraith: Reluctant Empire.

SANDILE

1820-1878

He was a son of Ngqika from the right-hand house and was educated by his half-brother, Macomo. On his father's death in 1829, his mother was appointed Regent and Sandile was put in the charge of his half-brothers, Macomo, Tyali and Anta until his initiation in 1840. Apparent vacillation in his policies, both with regard to his own people and to the whites, has given him a bad name but he had the major task of handling difficult times including wars and the cattle killing in 1856. He was finally killed by an Mfengu patrol at the end of the ninth Xhosa war.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 615.

Peires: House of Phalo.

C. Brownlee: Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History.

Soga: The South Eastern Bantu.

SMITH, Sir Henry George Wakelyn

1787-1860

He joined the army in the Rifle Brigade and later served in South America. A distinguished career in Spain was followed by an appointment as Adjutant-General to the British Forces in America. In 1828, after various postings, he was sent to the Cape as Quarter-Master General to Sir Lowry Cole. At the start of the sixth Frontier War (1834) he rode from Rondebosch to Grahamstown in six days to organise defence there. He recruited two battalions of Khoi infantry, training them and getting to know them well. During his time on the Frontier and at the Cape he got to know southern Africa well and after an absence from 1840-1847 in India was welcomed back as Governor. A controversial and colourful figure, he was well motivated, prone to exaggeration and faced with major Frontier and executive problems.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 673.

Hutton (ed.): Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith.

Harington: Sir Harry Smith - Bungling Hero.

SOMERSET, Lord Charles Henry

1767-1831

See Thesis, Chapter I, p. 9.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 685.

Kendal Miller: Plantagenet in Africa.

M. Roberts: Lord Charles Somerset and the "Beaufort Influence" in AYB, 1961, II.

TSHATSU, Jan

1791-1868

He was the son of a chief of a minor tribe from the Buffalo River area, although at the time of his son's birth, the senior Tshatsu moved to the Swartkops River. Tshatsu's father took him for education to Bethelsdorp, where he learnt to read and write, was trained as a carpenter and in 1815 was baptised. He married a Khoi. He was invaluable to the L.M.S. as a lay preacher, interpreter and "ambassador" to the Xhosa people. He went with Philip and Read to London where he gave evidence before the Aborigines Committee. Any assessment of his character is difficult.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 751.  
Peires: House of Phalo.  
Holt: Joseph Williams.  
Holt: Greatheart of the Border.

TYHALI

Before 1800?-1842

He was a son of Ngqika from the left-hand house and while little is known of his early life he was deeply resentful of his father's agreement with Somerset in 1819. He was inclined to follow the lead of his brother, Macomo, and with him he returned to the "Neutral" belt near the Kat River. It was Tyali who, with Macomo, after many unhappy frontier incidents, attacked the Colony in 1834 and then took refuge in the Amatola fastnesses. Apparently a weak man, he was, like his brothers, broken by the confiscation of the tribal lands. He died in 1842.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 755.  
Peires: The House of Phalo.  
Soga: The South Eastern Bantu.

VAN GOENS, Ryckhoff

1642-1687

Born in Batavia and educated in Holland. He was the son of a distinguished D.E.I.C. official. At the age of fourteen he entered the service of the Company, eventually gaining the rank of Councillor-Extraordinary and Governor at Ceylon. As Admiral of a fleet he visited the Cape in 1681 and there, as a visiting Commissioner, he drew up regulations for Van der Stel. From December 1684 to May 1685 he stayed again at the Cape, making more regulations for the slaves and the Free Burghers.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II.  
Walker: History of South Africa pp. 39, 40, 42, 51, 76.

VAN RIEBEECK, Johan A.

1619-1677

The son of a ship's doctor, Jan van Riebeeck set sail himself in the same role in 1639. He made rapid progress in the Company and travelled extensively in

the East and South America. In 1651 he set sail from Texel for the Cape, which he did not like. He set up the infra-structure for a refreshment post including the controversial granting of land to free burghers (1657) and the establishment of his own farm. He made considerable study of the Khoi and travelled as extensively as possible. He also introduced slaves. From the Cape he moved to Batavia where he lived until his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 798.

Raven Hart: Before van Riebeeck, Callers at the Cape 1488-1652.

WADE, Thomas F.

British soldier and acting Governor of the Cape, he had served in the Peninsular War including a period on the staff of Sir Lowry Cole (1810). He was Cole's private secretary in Mauritius and at the Cape, where he gained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. After his period as Acting Governor (1833) he was made Deputy Adjutant General in D'Urban's arrival. Wade was much involved in the Kat River area and with the chiefs, Macomo and Tyali. Sympathising with the Colonists, he allowed a Vagrant Act through the Legislative Assembly (1833) but it was disallowed. He returned to England in 1835 where he served in various roles until his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 825.

Hunt: Sir Lowry Cole (numerous references).

Macmillan: The Cape Colour Question pp. 233-234, 243.

APPENDIX A(i)(a)BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF WARDOCTORS

The wardoctor (ithola or igogo) was responsible for making the warriors fierce by giving them medicine and, in addition, by issuing of ritual prohibitions. Their power was very considerable, especially that of men like Mlangeni and Nxele.

MLANGENI

circa 1830-1853

Of the Rarabe tribe and son of Kala, he lived at Line Drift on the Keiskama. After the defeat of the Xhosa in 1847 and the desecration of Ndlambe's grave, Mlangeni became the wardoctor to lead his people to victory. He was carefully guarded and in spite of the efforts of Sir Harry Smith, who referred to him as "this mad boy", he was able to rally the tribes to do battle. Even after his death in 1853 his influence was still felt, for he was believed to be living in Lesotho and alleged remarks of his materially affected the cattle killing of 1857.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 475.

Le Cordeur: The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism 1820-1854 p.245.

Maxwell and McGeogh: The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs  
pp. 36, 37, 39, 47, 238, 239.

Peires: The House of Phalo pp. 74, 136, 168-169.

NXELE (Lynx, Makana, Makhanda)

± 1790-1820

Starting his career as a diviner after a youth spent on a Boer farm, he became personal wardoctor to Ndlambe. He made a close study of military and religious practice among the whites in Grahamstown (1812-1818) and regarded the missionaries, Van der Lingen and Read, as his allies. With a strange assortment of Christian and Xhosa religious belief he became convinced of his own divinity and saw the world as a religious battleground. As supreme wardoctor he led the armies to ravage the Colony and in May 1819 attacked Grahamstown where he was defeated, taken prisoner and subsequently drowned in an escape attempt off his prison at Robben Island (1820).

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 596.

Peires: House of Phalo pp. 69-71.

Soga: The South Eastern Bantu pp. 30-40.

APPENDIX A(ii)OFFICIALS

BELL, John

1782-1876

After a distinguished career in the army this Scot became Quarter-Master General at the Cape (1822-1826) and chief secretary (Colonial Secretary) from 1827-1840. With an extensive knowledge of the Colony he became a right hand man of the Governors and his ability must be acknowledged when it is realised that he achieved his success without patronage. This skill was clearly displayed in an excellent memorandum on education (1837). After leaving the Cape he held further senior posts in Britain and gained both a K.C.B. and G.C.B.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 65.

Malherbe: Education in South Africa.

D.N.B. IV.

BERG

This man is tentatively identified as O.M. Berg, Deputy Fiscal at Clanwilliam. No firm identification is possible.

Refer: Thompson: Travels in South Africa Vol. II, p. 82.

BIRD, Colonel C.C.

1769-1861

He was appointed to the Cape in 1797 as Quarter-Master General. In 1807 he was Deputy Colonial Secretary and in 1818 he was made Colonial Secretary. He was very knowledgeable about the Cape and it was a pity that political tensions led to his dismissal by Somerset in 1824. He continued to live at the Cape until 1843 when he retired to Belgium.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 76.

Hattersley: Christopher Chapman Bird in S.A.L. Quarterly Bulletin, June, 1956.

Butler: 1820 Settlers pp. 44, 59, 215.

COLLINS, R.

1774(?) - 1813

He was a British officer who took part in the conquest of the West Indies and was appointed to the 83rd Regiment when Baird captured the Cape (1806). He became Military Adviser to Caledon and toured the Cape extensively to gain a grasp of that complex situation. He gave advice on the Bushmen in the North and was then appointed Commissioner to exert civil and military authority on Caledon's behalf on the Eastern Frontier. In this role he attempted to enforce segregation and also did an extensive fact-finding tour, travelling far beyond the Fish. His report is both comprehensive and illuminating. He left the Cape in 1811 and joined Wellesley's army in the Peninsula, dying in the Battle of Gouveia.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 181.

CUYLER, Colonel Jacob Glen

1775-1854

He was an American of Loyalist sympathies who was commissioned in the British Army. In 1806 he came to the Cape with Baird's Expeditionary Force. From 1806 to 1817 he was Second-in-Command of the Cape Corps, Commandant at Fort Frederick (1806-1815) and Landdrost of Uitenhage (1806-1828).

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 195.

Africana Notes and News XII, p. 2.

Butler: 1820 Settlers, pp. 38, 59, 113, 114.

Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819, p. 68.

DUNDAS, Major W.B.

1785-1858

A veteran of the Napoleonic Wars, he lost his left arm in the Peninsular War (1812). He saw some active service with Colonel Henry Somerset at the Cape before his appointment as Landdrost of Albany (1825) where he was involved in the partisan grouping of the Settlers. In 1830 he left Africa and subsequently reached the rank of Major General.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 246.

Nash: Bailie's Party of 1820 Settlers, pp. 87, 112.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler (numerous entries).

ELLIS, Henry

1790- ?

He was appointed Deputy Colonial Secretary on the recommendation of Bathurst in 1819. He was also Commissioner of Stamps. He was directed by Somerset to welcome the 1820 Settlers to whom he made a patriotic speech. He was described as a "young man of unusual insight and perspicacity".

Refer: Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 115.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler (numerous entries).

Nash: Bailie's Party of 1820 Settlers (numerous entries).

EVATT, Capt. Francis

1770-1850

Called the father of Port Elizabeth. An officer in the Light Dragoons, he served at the Cape from 1806. At Fort Frederick he was Commandant in 1817 and from 1825 he was Government Resident at Port Elizabeth. He kept the vital port facilities efficient during the Wars of 1834-1835 and 1846-1847. He was held in high esteem in Port Elizabeth.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 148.

Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 pp. 120-121.

E.P., Herald 2.4.1850 (Obituary).

J.J. Redgrave: Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days.

FRASER, G.S.

1783-1823

He arrived at the Cape in 1806 as a Captain in the Cape Regiment serving under Colonel Collins. He was moved to the Frontier where his Commanding Officer was Colonel Graham. After serving with great distinction in 1812 he was Deputy Landdrost in the Albany district. He surveyed the Fish area for military posts and was granted the farm at Lombards Post. He aided Somerset in negotiations with Ngqika and led a raid against Ndlambe. His ride to Cape Town in 1819 was an epic and he was Commandant of the Frontier until his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 240.

R.C.C. Vol. V pp. 7-11.

Cory: Rise of South Africa Vols. I-II.

HAYWARD, William

He was appointed Assistant Commisary General of Accounts at the Cape in 1815. In 1825 he was appointed Special Commissioner to investigate and arbitrate land disputes in the Albany district, which task he fulfilled with tact and discretion. He subsequently served as Auditor of Accounts in 1826 and 1827.

Refer: Edwards: The 1820 Settlers in South Africa pp. 107, 110, 122-123.  
Keppel Jones(ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 216-220, 222.  
Nash: Bailie's Party of 1820 Settlers pp. 35, 67, 68, 71, etc.

LIND

(It has been impossible to identify this official and it must be assumed that Barker probably misspelt the name).

JONES, Major James

A veteran of the Peninsular War, he had served under Donkin and was appointed as Commandant of the Frontier and Landdrost of Albany in May 1821. His appointment, to the regret of many of the Settlers, was not sanctioned by the Colonial Department and he returned to Europe.

Refer: Butler: 1820 Settlers pp. 158, 159.  
Edwards: The 1820 Settlers in South Africa pp. 74, 83.  
Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 99, 104, 105, 106, 107, 126.

MORESBY, Capt. Fairfax

1786-1877

He entered the Royal Navy in 1799 and by 1819 he was a Post Captain commanding H.M.S. Menai. He was ordered to the Cape as Senior Naval Officer under the Commissioner, Sir Jaheel Brenton. After helping with the landing of the Settlers he surveyed the coast from Cape Recife to the Keiskama. He was instrumental in setting up the Distressed Settlers Fund.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 375.  
Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp.45-50,60-61,71,221.  
Rainier(ed.): The Journals of Sophia Pigot pp.12,17,55-57,60-62,140-142.

ONKRUYDT, M. van Nuldt

He was Secretary to the Landdrost at Grahamstown before moving in 1825 to Somerset as Resident Magistrate until his retirement in 1837. Philipps, Ayliff and Shaw all appeared to regard him with considerable affection - an unusual situation with a government official!

Refer: Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler p. 259.

Hammond Tooke (ed.): The Journal of William Shaw pp. 57, 194.

Hinchliffe: Journal of John Ayliff pp. 91, 100, 116.

C. Pama: Die Wapens van die Ou Afrikaanse Families.

PLASKET, Sir Richard

1782-1847

A career diplomat who was Colonial Secretary from 1824-1827. His tour with Somerset to the Eastern Districts included an exploratory visit to the Fish River and investigation of land claims. He appears to have been a business-like but reserved person who made no great impact on people.

Refer: Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 236, 237.

Nash: Bailie's Party of 1820 Settlers pp. 77, 87, 88.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp. 73, 75-76.

RIVERS, Henry

1785-1861

Appointed as Landdrost of Albany after the summary dismissal of Major Jones. His unpopularity is clear from contemporary comment but it must be acknowledged as a difficult position and at Swellendam, where he served as Landdrost and Civil Commissioner 1825-1842, Riversdale was named in his honour. He was later Treasurer of the Cape Colony (1852-1854) and Chairman of the Prisons' Commission.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 596.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 107-111, 220-221, 224-228, 300.

Hockly: The Story of British Settlers of 1820 pp. 76, 81, 88, 93, 94.

Butler: 1820 Settlers pp. 20, 158, 159, 160, 167, 168, 170, 171.

SOMERSET, Henry

1794-1862

Eldest son of Lord Charles Somerset. A Peninsular War veteran he served at Waterloo and came to the Cape as Captain in the Cape Corps (1818). In 1819 he was posted to the Frontier where he was Acting Deputy Landdrost. He was Commandant at Simonstown (1821-1823). He purchased his Majority in 1823 when he returned to Grahamstown as Commanding Officer of the Cape Corps. From 1828 he was C.O. of the Cape Mounted Rifles. He finally left the Cape in 1852 and served in India before his death in 1862.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 691.

Rivett Carnac: Hawks Eye.

Godlonton: A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes.

STOCKENSTROM, Andries

1792-1864

He was the eldest son of the former Landdrost of Graaff Reinet and he held the same office from 1815-1828. In 1828 he was appointed Commissioner General of the Eastern Districts and from 1836-1839 served as Lieutenant Governor. During this time he founded the Kat River Settlement (1829) and also gave evidence before the Aborigines Committee in London (1835). He was honourably retired in 1840 with a title and a pension. Regarded as a brave and far-seeing man, he had to put unpopular legislation into effect.

Refer: Galbraith: Reluctant Empire pp. 138-150.

Dracopoli: Sir Andries Stockenstrom 1792-1864.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: The War of the Axe (numerous references).

Hutton (ed.): The Autobiography of the Late Sir Andries Stockenstrom.

TRAPPES, Capt. Charles

1776-1828

He came to the Cape with the 72nd Regiment and was made Second-in-Command to Lt. Col. Willshire of the 38th Regiment. He was the first Landdrost of Albany but, although he was not an efficient or popular administrator, he did help to maintain peace on the Border. From Bathurst he was transferred to Worcester.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 748.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 54, 71-73, 83-84, 88, 90-92, 104-108, 111, 112.

Nash: Bailie's Party of 1820 Settlers pp. 37-44, 46, 47, 49.

VAN REENEN, Dirk Gysbert

1754-1828

A Cape land-owner, brewer and burgher officer, he was the son of a distinguished father. They were known as progressive farmers, using the latest methods. He journeyed with Janssens through the Cape and was instrumental in the establishment of Bethelsdorp. In 1803 he negotiated with Xhosa along with Janssens.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 796.

(V.R.S. No. 18).

Blommaert and Wilde(ed.): Die Joernaal van D.G. van Reenen.

VAN RYNEVELD, W.S.

1765-1812

A D.E.I.C. official, he was President of the Council of Justice and came of a family of Landdrosts and officials in the Western Cape. He was a trained lawyer with great ability and knowledge, much used by the Batavian authorities and by General Craig. His advice probably led to the Hottentot Proclamation of 1809 and to the Institution of Circuit Courts. His services on Commissions were distinguished and he was influential as Chief Magistrate and Fiscal in Cape Town (1806). By 1809 he was Chief Justice of the High Court and in 1811 served on the Circuit Court.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 806.

WARDEN, H.D.

1800-1856

A British soldier and official, he was the founder of Bloemfontein. He came to the Cape in 1819 and was appointed as an Ensign in the Cape Corps. In 1824 he was promoted Lieutenant and in 1835 he commanded D'Urban's fourth detachment with the rank of Captain. The detachment, consisting mainly of farmers, bore the brunt of much of the fighting. After service in Natal he became Magistrate of Transorangia in 1846 with his base at Philippolis and his home on the farm Bloemfontein. An able administrator, he became British Resident in Transorangia with the rank of Major.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 863.

HUDSON, Hougham

Hudson was a member of Dyason's party who after rendering distinguished service in the Xhosa wars was also first Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in Port Elizabeth and subsequently Agent General for the province of Queen Adelaide. His son was a public servant and was Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in Somerset East.

Refer: Hockley: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820.  
Maxwell and Mc Geogh(Ed.): The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs.  
Long(Ed.): The Chronicles of Jeremiah Goldswain.

## APPENDIX A(iii)

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF MISSIONARIES, MINISTERS & MISSION WORKERS

In view of the fact that the Biographical Index includes reference to books not used in the thesis, a book list is given for each entry.

ALBRECHT, Christian	? -1815	L.M.S. 94
Abraham	? -1810	L.M.S. 95

These brothers were products of the Bohemian Church Mission School in Berlin. They arrived at the Cape in 1805 and were dispatched at once to Namaqualand. Their letters bear testimony to unutterable hardship. They were victims of the L.M.S. lack of planning and both died young men.

Refer: Briggs and Wing: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 26, 27.  
 Clinton: South African Melting Pot, pp. 78-83.  
 du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa,  
 pp. 113, 115-117, 211.  
 L.M.S. Correspondence: 6.10.1804 (2/4/D)  
                                   3.3.1806 (3/2/B)  
                                   26.5.1806 (3/2/D)

ANDERSON, William	1769-1852	L.M.S. 70
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In 1801 to Sak River with Kicherer, then to Afrikaners territory with Kramer. In 1802 he moved to Kok's Kraal where he did excellent work. Came into conflict with colonial authorities in 1814 over conscription of Griquas. In 1820 to Pacaltsdorp where he died in 1852.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 2.  
 Clinton: South African Melting Pot, pp. 73-78, 100-103, 108, 116.  
C.O. 6131.  
 Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819, p. 7.  
Transactions 1814. Minutes of Graaff Reinet Meeting, p. 197.  
 Wing & Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 24-25, 42, etc.

ARBOUSSET, J. Thomas                      1810-1877                      Paris Evangelical Mission

Joined Casalis and Gosselin at Hurutshe near Kuruman 1832. Famous for his school texts, catechism, psalms, hymns and a Grammar in Sotho. From his centre Morija (1833) in Lesotho, he travelled with fellow missionary Dumas and discovered and named Mont-aux-Sources. In 1846 he served on a British Commission on boundaries. As adviser to Moshweshe he signed Thaba Bosigo peace 1858.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 20.

Arbousset and Dumas: Narrative of an Exploratory Tour.  
 du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa,  
 pp. 190-192, 199, 313-320.  
 E.W. Smith: The Mabilles, pp. 117-118.

AYLIFF, John                                      1797-1862                      Methodist

Arrived with Wilson's party of Settlers in 1820 on Belle Alliance. He was married at sea to Jane Dold on the Menai. At first he farmed at Beaufort Vale, then took charge of stores at Somerset Farm (1822-1825). He worked as a probationer minister 1825-1828 and was ordained in 1828. In 1830 he went as a missionary to Butterworth (1830-1839), then to Haslope Hills where he wrote his Vocabulary of Kaffir Language, having earlier written a series of articles on the Mfengu (G.T.J.) The next move was to Fort Beaufort where he set up the subsequently renowned Healdtown Institution. He died in 1862 at Fauresmith.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 28.

Godlonton: Memorials of British Settlers.  
 Hinchliffe (ed.): Journal of John Ayliff.

BARKER, George                                      1789-1861                      L.M.S. 141.

BARKER, Sarah                                      -1836                      L.M.S. 141

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p.54.

Barker Journal 1815-1828.  
 Thesis Ch. IV in particular. Whole thesis refers.

BECK, J.H.

S.A.M.S.

He was born at the Cape and went to study at Gosport, returning with his wife in 1819 escorting Robert Moffat's bride-to-be, Mary Smith. He was the first permanent missionary of the South African Missionary Society. In Cape Town he had a congregation of six hundred Khoi and slaves. When Dr Philip went to the United Kingdom in 1824, Beck, with Mr Elliott, was to act for him, indicating a continuing connection between L.M.S. and S.A.M.S.

Refer: du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 95, 143, 145, 147.  
 Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 83, 85.  
 S.A.M.S. Records 1819+.  
L.M.S. Annual Reports (South Africa) 1820-1821.

BENNIE, John

1796-1869

G.M.S.

Well-educated in Scotland. Joined G.M.S. as catechist 1821. With Brownlee at Tyhumie in 1821 he opened a school. A great Xhosa scholar, he founded Lovedale with John Ross in 1824. Called "the father of Xhosa literature", he produced the first orthography in 1824. From 1853-1869 served D.R.C.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 68.  
 du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa pp.184, 291.  
 Minutes Presbytery of Caffraria, 1843-1849.  
 Williams (thesis): The Missionaries of the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony 1799-1853, p. 47ff.

BOARDMAN, William

1775-1825

C. of E.

A schoolmaster, he was appointed chaplain to Wilson's party on Belle Alliance in 1820. Took over leadership of party. Founded Bathurst School 1824. Died at Beaufort Vale in the following year.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 75.  
 Hockly: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820, pp.30,56, 104, 146, 147, 151.  
 Morse Jones: Roll of the 1820 Settlers, p. 92.  
 Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, pp. 60,78,79,84,172, 220, 229.

BROADBENT, Samuel                      1794-1867                      Methodist

From Ceylon to Namaqualand 1821. First Methodist minister to work beyond the Vaal. Joined there by Stephen Kay. In 1825 moved to Wesley Mount Church, Lower Albany. Left 1825 for England. Retired 1863. Author of "Threlfall's Martyrdom".

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 123.

Broadbent: A Narrative of the Introduction of Christianity to the Barolong.

du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 176-179.

BROWNLEE, John                      1791-1871                      L.M.S. 169

A Scottish gardener, he came out with Moffat (1817) and went to Bethelsdorp. Disliked L.M.S. administration. Resigned 1818 and sent as Government Agent/Missionary to Ngqika at Tyhumie until 1825. Rejoined L.M.S. after ordination at Bethelsdorp 1826. Founded Buffalo Mission. A great Xhosa scholar and linguist.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 129.

Holt: Greatheart of the Border.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, pp.158,177,200,201,283.

BURDER, Rev. George                      ? -1832                      L.M.S.

As Independent Minister of Coventry he was invited to write an address which was widely circulated and which concerned the founding of a Missionary Society in 1795. He was one of the first Directors of the L.M.S. and was Secretary from 1803-1827.

Refer: Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society Vol. I,

pp. 18-24, 25, 30-32, 39, 49, 82, 92.

Sibree: Register of Missionaries. Appendix E.

CAMPBELL, Rev. J.                      1776-1840                      L.M.S.

Educated at Edinburgh University he was much influenced by Isaac Newton. He formed a Tract Society and wrote religious books for children. Studied at

Hoxton College with Dr Philip. Did a great deal of L.M.S. deputation work including two journeys to Africa 1813-1814 and 1819-1820.

Refer: Campbell: Travels in South Africa.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape pp. 55ff, 70ff, 78ff etc.

Sibree: Register of Missionaries Deputations etc. 1796-1923.

Appendix C. Deputations.

Philip: Researches in South Africa (numerous references).

CAREY, William

1761-1834

The son of a weaver-schoolmaster, he trained as a shoe-maker but by the time he was fifteen he had mastered Latin, Hebrew, Greek and Dutch. As a Baptist Minister (1787) he was a keen advocate of missionary enterprise and in 1792 wrote "An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen". In 1793 he went to India and the modern Protestant missionary movement had begun. It was his letter from India in 1795 which inspired a group in London to launch the L.M.S. His sage advice to missionaries could have saved much trouble had it been heeded. From 1801 to 1830 he was Professor of Oriental Languages at Fort William College in Calcutta where he published Grammars in Bengali, Mahratti and Sanskrit.

Refer: Smith: Life of William Carey.

Moorehouse: The Missionaries pp. 37-41, 69.

Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society pp. 4, 5, 21, 117.

CHALMERS, William

1801(?) - 1847

G.M.S.

He came out to take Brownlee's place at Tyhumie in 1827. Accompanying him from Scotland were his wife and two laymen, Messrs Weir and McDiarmid, who were to be instructors in handicrafts. After Chalmers' arrival and his vigorous approach to the mission had been given, work extended, gardens flourished and contact was made with a wide circle of people both black and white. However the wars, particularly of 1846, took their toll. The Chalmers took refuge with the Pringles and there, at Glenthorn, William Chalmers died.

Refer: J.A. Chalmers: Echoes of a Ministry (Grahamstown 1892) pp. ii-xii.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: War of the Axe pp. 95, 97, 102, 117.

CLARK, James

? -1864

L.M.S. 249

Sent out in 1821 as an artisan. Trained by Philip as a Catechist. Brick-layer at Theopolis 1822-1823. Moved to San work at Hepzibah and from thence to Kat River School in 1829. Came into conflict with Reads after 1835 war. Moved to Buxton and finally to Hankey in 1839.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp. 155, 158, 195.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community in the Eastern Cape pp. 87, 135.

COLLISON, The Rev. Mr.

Described by Barker (3.11.1821) as a "visitor" and by Thomas Philipps as "a young clergyman from London".

No further information is available.

CORNER, William Fogler

(no dates given)

L.M.S. 128

A negro from Demarara, he arrived in 1811. At Bethelsdorp 1812-1816 and later at Hepzibah. He trained carpenters but was later dismissed by the Society on the reports of Thom, endorsed by Campbell and Philip in 1819.

Refer: Le Cordeur: Kitchingman Papers p. 28.

P. Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 76.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community in the Eastern Cape pp. 59ff, 71ff.

DAVIES, W.J.

1810-1883

Methodist

Came out as a child in Thomas Philipps party. Studied Xhosa. Was ordained and served in "Kaffirland" 1831-1876. A Xhosa scholar, he revised Boyce grammar of Kaffir Language.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 209.

Morse Jones: Roll of British Settlers of 1820 p. 107.

Shaw: Numerous references in Journal (ed. Hammond Tooke).

DOYLE, Thomas 1779-1851 L.M.S. (teacher)

Arrived in 1806 with 21st Light Dragoons. Discharged Cape Town 1817 but received permission to stay. Taught at English school in Loop Street. Moved to Theopolis School in 1827 and later to Grahamstown (no date available).

Refer: Morse Jones: Roll of the British Settlers of 1820 p. 110.

S.A.L. Quarterly Bulletin Vol. 35, no. 3, p. 94.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape p. 92.

DUXBURY, Samuel 1780- ? Independent Baptist

Arrived with Smith's party on Stentor 1820. Ordained in Grahamstown Baptist Church. Left for U.S.A. in 1860.

Refer: Batts: History of the Baptist Church in South Africa pp. 6ff.

Hockly: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 pp. 38, 146, 147.

Morse Jones: Roll of 1820 Settlers p. 111 (incorrect entry).

EDMONDS, John ? L.M.S. 36

Came to the Cape with Van der Kemp in 1799. He did not like the work and left the Society in 1800 to go to Calcutta where he became a teacher.

Refer: Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society pp. 484, 489, 491, 492.

Sibree: Register of Missionaries p. 3.

EDWARDS, Roger 1795-1877 L.M.S. 235

An artisan missionary - a carpenter. Pacaltsdorp 1823-1824. Theopolis 1825-1829. Kuruman area 1830-1852 as printer to Moffat and Livingstone. Expelled by Transvaal Boers in 1852 for a "seditious article". 1856 to Port Elizabeth to run "Fingo Mission".

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 215.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape p. 97ff.

Wing & Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope pp.42,57,58,60,64,65,106,112,114.

EDWARDS, William                      ? -1842                      L.M.S. 37

Arrived with Van der Kemp 1799. Sent to Bushman mission at request of Dundas who used him as an agent. Edwards and Kok moved to Lattakoo but Edwards was dismissed from the L.M.S. for trading. He was active in farming work in the Drakenstein area.

Refer: Clinton: South African Melting Pot, pp. 1, 9, 15.  
 Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape, p. 114.  
 Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape, pp. 7, 11ff.

EDWARDS, Thomas                      ? -1867                      L.M.S. 230

Engaged in Cape Town by Philip as teacher at Theopolis 1822-1826. At Pacaltsdorp 1826-1833. Back at Theopolis until 1842 when he left the Society, though mention is made of his return to Theopolis thereafter.

Refer: Morse Jones: Roll of British Settlers of 1820, p. 112 (inaccurate entry).

The only Thomas Edwards in the records of Settlers was a soldier of the 81st Foot, who served from 1801-1802 at the Cape.

Refer: Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape, p. 114.  
 Stirk: Southwell Settlers, pp. 3, 19.

EVANS, Evan                              1792-1828                      L.M.S. 140

Ordained in Wales 1816. Arrived at the Cape 1817. Went to Bethelsdorp and thence to Paarl (1819-1827). He returned to England as a result of ill-health (1827) and died there in the following year.

Refer: Clinton: South African Melting Pot, p. 112.  
 Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 10, 33-35, 38, 55.  
 Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape, p. 112.

EVANS, John                              ? -1823                      L.M.S. 166

Sailed with Barker, Williams and Hamilton in 1815. Went via Bethelsdorp to



Secretary of the L.M.S. Visited Guiana and Jamaica. In 1846 he was Home Secretary of the L.M.S. Came to South Africa on deputation 1848-1850.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 241.  
 Freeman: Travels in South Africa.  
L.M.S. Annual Reports, 1848-1851.

GEARY, Rev. William C. of E.

Chaplain in Grahamstown 1823. Appointed at instigation of Somerset. Served on Committee for Distressed Settlers Fund. After a "short and stormy" career he was recalled for criticism of the Government.

Refer: Morse Jones: Roll of British Settlers of 1820, p. 117.  
 Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, pp. 172, 209, 223, 230, 244, 251.  
R.C.C. XXI p. 418ff; R.C.C. XXII p. 222.  
Grahamstown Cathedral: A Short History, p. 22.

GOEYMAN, Jan L.M.S.

Listed variously as a translator (Briggs and Wing p. 53) and a Catechist (K.J. Wilson), Goeyman was a converted Khoi not listed in the L.M.S. Records. His name, however, appears in letters (26.8.1816, 17.9.1816, 25.9.1820) and Wilson suggests that he went on after 1825, when he rejected Philip's new plan as a teacher.

Refer: Briggs and Wing: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 53-54.  
S.A.L. Quarterly Bulletin, March 1975, pp. 104-108.  
 L.M.S. Correspondence 18.10.1825 (9/2/F). (Letter from Goeyman).

HALLBECK, Hans Peter 1784-1840

A well-educated Swede, he came first to Genadendal in 1817. His aim was to expand the Moravian Church as widely as possible. To this end he travelled extensively throughout the country. He founded missions at Elim (1824) and Enon (1827). His example and hard work was much admired in Germany and using his influence there he raised funds to found a training school for Coloured teachers at Genadendal (1837).

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 207.

B. Kruger: The Pear Tree Blossoms.

N. Rechel: Hans Peter Hallbeck.

HAMILTON, Robert

1776-1851

L.M.S. 143

Arrived in 1816 with Barker, Williams and J. Evans. To Griquatown via Bethelsdorp. Started mission at Lattakoo in 1816 and at New Lattakoo (Kuruman) in 1817 with Moffat, where he died. A notably gentle man. His wife caused him great anguish. The church he built at Kuruman still stands.

Refer: Briggs and Wing: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 26, 55, 60, 75, 180.

du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p. 160.

Morse Jones: Roll of British Settlers of 1820, p. 123.

HAMMES, P.F.

D.R.C. (S.A.M.S.)

To date no information has come to hand (30.12.1982) but investigation is still proceeding. While the S.A.M.S. was only administrative agent for the L.M.S. (and their records are incomplete) the L.M.S. records are inadequate 1799-1815.

cf. Museum Curator: S.A. Sending-gestig Museum, Cape Town.

HELM, Henry

1780-1848

L.M.S. 125

A German Lutheran, he arrived in Cape Town 1811. He worked at Silver Fountain 1812, Bethesda 1813-1815 and Griquatown 1815-1824, at Bethelsdorp 1825-1827 and Zuurbrak 1827-1848. The latter station was cited by Moodie as a model of what could be achieved. Known as "Henry the Great", he was a quiet, steady worker.

Refer: Briggs and Wing: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 27, 28, 42, 102.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers (numerous references).

HEROLD, Tobias J.

1788-1857

D.R.C.

The son of a sick-comforter, he was educated at Leyden University and returned to the Cape in 1811. As minister his work included Uitenhage and George and



IRELAND, Thomas

C. of E.

Military chaplain at Grahamstown 1824-1825. Commended by Philipps as an "excellent man" but "very high church".

Refer: Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, pp. 230, 311-312, 315.  
Butler (ed.): The 1820 Settlers, p. 306.

KAY, Stephen

Methodist

Arrived in 1820 on board the Duke of Marlborough. He settled at Salem in 1821 and ministered in the Albany district until 1825 after a brief stay with the Tswana. He founded Mount Coke in 1825.

Refer: Hinchliffe (ed.): Journal of John Ayliff (numerous references).  
Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw (numerous references).  
Shaw: The Story of My Mission (numerous references).  
Kay: Travels and Researches in Kaffraria.

KAYSER, F.G.

1800-1868

L.M.S. 263

A German, he studied at the University of Halle before coming to South Africa. He served in Kaffraria, spending most of his ministry at Buffalo Mission 1827-1833 and at Knapp's Hope 1835-1868. His letters give a clear picture of current events.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 139, 144, 149, 210, 221, 229-230, 244, 249-250, 254, 261.  
du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 215, 245.  
Barker Correspondence 1835.  
His Diary is being edited by Dr Chris Hummel of Rhodes University.

KITCHINGMAN, James

1791-1848

L.M.S. 167

Arrived in 1817. First at Steinkop then at Bethelsdorp 1821-1826. At Paarl 1826-1831. At Bethelsdorp 1832 until his death. Closely linked to Philip, he carried out the rebuilding scheme at Bethelsdorp in 1821.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers.  
As this covers a wide range of references no further work is mentioned.

KICHERER, John J.                      1775-1825                      L.M.S. 35

He was seconded from the Rotterdam Society to the L.M.S. for work in South Africa, where he arrived in 1798. He worked in Bushmanland and then founded Zak River (August 1799), moving with the people to Orange River in 1801. After visiting Europe with two Khoi (1803-1804) he returned and worked as a Government pastor at Graaff Reinet and Tulbagh.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 425.

Sibree: Register of Missionaries, L.M.S. 35.

du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 101, 103-107, 110, 254, 425, 427, 428.

A. Dreyer: Ds J.J. Kicherer (in Huisgenoot, 18.12.1924).

#### KRUISMAN

It has not been possible to trace "Brother Kruisman" and it is assumed that he was a Khoi evangelist.

MERRINGTON, T.S.                      -1890                      L.M.S. 354

A teacher-evangelist, he married Kitchingman's daughter while teaching at Bethelsdorp (1837-1840). He moved to Theopolis 1840-1842 to help Christopher Sass and then moved to Somerset East (1842) where he was a co-founder of Gill College. From 1832-1890 he was minister at Bethelsdorp and helped found the Evangelical Voluntary Union in 1859.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers. (Many references. He was Kitchingman's son-in-law).

Wing and Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope, pp.45,49,53,106,112,114,230. Thesis Chapter IV.

MESSER, J.G.                      1773-1845                      L.M.S. 126

Arrived in 1811. At Swellendam 1811-1812, Bethelsdorp 1813-1819, Pacaltsdorp 1820-1823 (while temporarily "suspended" from his usual work), at Hankey 1823-1831 and at Uitenhage 1831-1842 where the work flourished and where he preached in Xhosa, Dutch and English.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp. 19, 67, 107, 111, 113, 141, 214-215, 216, 222, 230.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community in the Eastern Cape, p. 76ff.

Wing and Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 19, 21, 42, 46, 47, 66.

MELVILLE, John

1787-1852

L.M.S. 259

He arrived at the Cape in 1800 with his parents. In 1811 he was Assistant Government Surveyor and in 1815 Inspector of Buildings. He designed the Moravian Church at Mamre in 1815. (This is now (1982) a National Monument). His religious convictions led him to accept an inferior position as Government Agent at Klaarwater in 1822. In 1827 he joined the L.M.S. and worked variously at Philippolis, Hankey, Dysaldorp and Matjes Drift.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 357.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers (numerous references).

Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819, p. 276.

MILES, Rev. R.

L.M.S. 248

Pastor of the Independent Church at Brigg, Lincolnshire, he was appointed first to Demarara and then instead to substitute for Philip at the Cape in 1826. Criticised for his "fiery" politics by Read he apparently got on well with Kitchingman and visited "Kaffreland". At the Cape from 1826-1829.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 19, 81, 85-86, 89-92.

J.S. Moffat: The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat (several references).

L.M.S. Correspondence (numerous letters 1826-1829).

MILLER, William

1779-1857

Baptist

A member of Sephton's party, he settled first at Salem and then became a member of the founding Committee, both for the Baptist Church in Grahamstown (1824) and later for the Baptist Church in South Africa.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 613.

Batts: History of the Baptist Church in South Africa, pp. 4-6.

Hockly: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820, p. 145.

MOFFAT, Robert

1795-1883

L.M.S. 168

Arrived with Taylor, Kitchingman, E. Evans and Brownlee (13.1.1817). His wife, Mary, joined him (6.12.1819) and they went first to live at Griquatown and then at Kuruman. Set up a printing press and translated "Scriptures into Sechuana". Active in agriculture and health services. His daughter, Mary, married David Livingstone.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 546.

Moffat: Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa.

Moffat: The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat.

Northcott: Robert Moffat.

MONRO, John

? -1848

L.M.S. 215

Arrived in 1821. Superintendent of Schools at Bethelsdorp 1822-1826. Formed multi-racial Independent Chapel in Grahamstown 1827. Ministered there until 1838. (Forerunner of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in Grahams-town). At Cradock 1839-1848.

It is assumed that his son married Sarah Barker: vide Barker Family Tree.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 45, 66-67, 135-137, 202-203, 209-210, 272.

Trinity Presbyterian Church Records 1827-1838.

Wing and Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 45-48, 49.

PACALT, Carl

1773-1818

L.M.S. 114

To Bethelsdorp 1810. Sent to Hoogekraal 1813 to start new station. Dedicated in 1815. Station renamed Pacaltsdorp. Trained in Germany and at Gosport. He was a man much beloved by all who knew him.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III p. 671.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, p. 246.

L.M.S. Transactions Vol. 4. pp. 172-175; Vol. 5, pp. 318-319.

READ, James

1777-1852

L.M.S. 61

Arrived with Van der Lingen in 1800. At Graaff Reinet 1800-1802. With

Van der Kemp to Bethelsdorp 1802-1816. Married a Khoi, Sarah (29.6.1803). At Kuruman 1817-1820. With Campbell to interior 1813. At Bethelsdorp and travelling with Philip 1820-1829. Called to Kat River 1829-1852.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 681.

Saunders: James Read: Man of Conscience in S.A. Outlook, March 1976, pp. 38-40.

Philip: Researches in South Africa (numerous entries).

Campbell: Travels in South Africa (numerous entries).

READ, James (Junior)                      1811-1894                      L.M.S. 343

Born at Bethelsdorp 1811. Married Ann Barker at Paarl 1842. Went to Kat River as teacher after working in Rutherford's store at Theopolis (1832?) Saved colonists at Kat River 1835. Wrote the "Kat River Settlement 1851".

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 668.

Godlonton and Irving: Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes (numerous entries).

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers (numerous entries).

James Read: The Kat River Settlement in 1851.

RIDSDALE, B.,                                      1819-1883                                      Methodist

He joined the mission in Cape Town in 1843 and was sent to Namaqualand where he served among the Griquas. He wrote a book on the customs and beliefs of his Khoi parishioners which is regarded as an excellent source book. The climate was too trying for him and he first retired to Cape Town 1847 and then to England.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III p. 716.

Ridsdale: Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand (London 1883).

ROBSON, Adam                                      1794-1879                                      L.M.S. 234

He studied at Gosport and after ordination came to South Africa in 1823. He was forced by ill-health to remain in Cape Town, where he met and married the widow of Joseph Williams. At Bethelsdorp 1825-1832 and at Port Elizabeth 1842-1870.

Refer: Eastern Province Herald August 28, 1870.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 24, 87, 98, 109, 112, 113, 134, 141, 210, 219, 553.

Records: Pearson Street Congregational Church, Port Elizabeth.

ROSS, John 1799-1879 G.M.S.

Graduate of Glasgow University, he was the first minister ordained in the Church of Scotland to come to South Africa. Sailed in 1823 with his wife (nee Helen Blair). Travelled through Karoo with Brownlee. Took printing press and with Thompson and Bennie produced simple religious publications. Helped found Lovedale. Encouraged concept of artisan missionaries. Moved to Pirie in 1830.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 683.

Shepherd: Lovedale 1841-1941 (numerous entries).

Williams: Where Races Meet (numerous entries).

SASS, Christopher 1772-1849 L.M.S. 123

Vide Thesis in general and, in particular, Chapters IV, V and X.

Refer: Campbell: Travels in South Africa Vol. I pp. 323-327.

SCHMIDT, Georg 1709-1785 Moravian

After a turbulent defiance of the Catholic authorities, he volunteered to come to South Africa in 1837. Approved by a Committee of Divines, he was allowed to set up a mission at Baviaans Kloof (Genadendal) which flourished, but he met opposition because he wished to baptise Khoi converts. Opposed by powerful churchmen he resigned in 1743 but the pear tree he planted bloomed when the Moravians returned (1794).

Refer: du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, pp.50-60,68,72,418ff.

Krügler: The Pear Tree Blossoms.

SHAW, William 1798-1872 Methodist

Came with Sephton's party on Chapman 1820. To Salem. Founded several Methodist

Churches. Was Superintendent of Cape Circuit Recruited Ministers. Established eight Xhosa missions. Retired 1856 (ill-health). President of British Methodist Conference 1865.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 711.

Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw.

Sadler: Never a Young Man.

Shaw: The Story of My Mission.

A thesis on William Shaw was written in 1981 at Rhodes University.

SHAW, B. 1788-1857 Methodist

Brought up in a devout farming family, he was ordained in 1814 and sent to Africa in 1815, where he first saw service as a military chaplain. He was encouraged to mission work by Schemelan of the L.M.S. He went to Little Namaqualand and was instrumental in improving farming methods among his people. He moved from Leliefontein to Cape Town (1826-1837) and thence to England (1837-1843). He established a model village at Raithby, near Stellenbosch, 1843-1849 and then was moved to Rosebank where he died in 1857.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 709.

R.C.C. XXXVI.

Hewson: Barnabas Shaw, Founder of Methodism in South Africa in Journal of Methodist Historical Society April 1956.

SHEPSTONE, John William 1795-1873 Methodist

A Settler in Holder's party on Kennersley Castle. Stone mason. Worked first at Bathurst, then at Theopolis. Joined Shaw as builder at Wesleyville (1823) and Morley (1827). Also served at Butterworth, Peddie and Kamastone, where he died. Decisive and courageous. Father of Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 714.

Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw (numerous references).

Shaw: The Story of My Mission (numerous references).

SHREWSBURY, William J. 1795-1866 Methodist

Sent out from West Indies to initiate work among the Galeka (1826). Started

at Wesleyville (1826), then moved to Butterworth (1827) and to Grahamstown (1833). He was, according to Philipps, a celebrated preacher.

Refer: Shaw: The Story of My Mission (numerous entries).

Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw (numerous entries).

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.341,342,352.

SIEDENFADEN, John

1782-1863

L.M.S. 97

Sent from the Rotterdam Society. He arrived in 1805 and went to Namaqualand. He returned to the Cape in 1808 and thence to Khamiesberg. In 1811 he went with Wimmer to Zuurbrak and was finally dismissed (1825) after both Philip and the Governor laid charges.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 646.

J.A. Heese: Onderwys in Namaqualand.

SMITH, A.

D.R.C.

Very little information is available other than the fact that he was a Scot who served at Uitenhage after Herold.

Refer: Eeufteest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika p.67.

SMITH, Mrs. Mathilde

1749-1821

A supporter of M.C. Vos, she worked at the Cape and at Tulbagh among the slaves and the Khoi. In 1805 she worked at Bethelsdorp during the absence of Read and Van der Kemp. She was actively involved in missionary work throughout her life.

Refer: J. Philip: Memoir of Mrs Mathilde Smith, Late of Cape Town.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp.33,41,52.

du Plessis: A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp.64, 77, 129, 130, 136.

SMIT, E.

1778-1863

L.M.S. 115

An orphan, he was brought up in a children's home in Amsterdam and trained

for missionary work by the Dutch Society. He arrived in southern Africa in 1804 after a hazardous voyage and settled at Bethelsdorp 1805-1813. In 1814 he married the sister of Gert Maritz (later to be a Trek leader). He worked at Tooverberg (Colesberg) where he was ordained by James Read (1816). He moved from Tooverberg to Klipfontein (Beaufort West) 1818-1821 when he left the L.M.S. He moved to various teaching posts until in 1836 he accompanied the Trekkers to a tragic end in futility (1863).

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 728.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, p. 38.

Walker: History of Great Trek.

SMIT, Nicholas H.                      1817-1881                      L.M.S. 403

Born in Cape Town and brought up in Andrew Murray's church in Graaff Reinet. Was trained as a printer and joined L.M.S. as a teacher in 1838. Working with the Coloured section of the congregation he led the Coloured breakaway from Trinity Church which was built in Hill Street. A Church Commission forced him to leave and he went to Kat River, returning to Grahamstown in 1847 where he ministered at the Coloured Church until 1870.

Refer: Godlonton & Irving: Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes Vol. I p.154-155, Vol. II p. 240-244.

Long (ed.): Goldswain Chronicle Vol. II pp. 131-138.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 193, 229, 235-236, 240-244, 247.

Thesis Chapter X.

THOM, George                      1788-1842                      L.M.S. 132 & D.R.C.

Arrived 1812 en route to India. Was active in the Mission until 1816 when he made a frank report to London. Held meeting (synod) of missionaries at Cape in 1817 and then joined Dutch Reformed Church at Caledon. At Tulbagh in 1825. Recruited Scots for the Dutch Reformed Church. Awarded an Honorary D.D. from Aberdeen University.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 742.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 535-537.

Eeuwfeest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika p.18,67.

THOMSON, William R.                      1795-1891                      G.M.S.

Recruited by Thom. Ordained 1821 in Scotland. Sailed with Bennie on Sappho. At Tyhumie with Brownlee and Bennie as missionary and Government agent. Established mission at Balfour under D.R.C. then moved to D.R.C. at Hertzog.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 789.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 183, 248, 254.

Shepherd: Lovedale, p. 62ff.

Williams: Where Races Meet. (The Story of Thomson).

THRELFALL, William                      1799-1826                      Methodist

Arrived 1822 at Salem. Went to Delagoa Bay to start a mission. Health failed. Moved to Namaqualand. Murdered by Bushmen in 1826.

Refer: P.R. Kirby : William Threlfall and His Hottentot Murderer in S.A. Journal of Science 39 (1943) pp. 35-43.

Whiteside: History of Wesleyan Methodist Church in South Africa pp.55-56.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp. 94, 95.

Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw pp. 9,85,185,194,197,201.

ULLBRICHT, J.G.                      ? -1821                      L.M.S. 93

Refer: Thesis Chapters III and IV.

(Very little information is available).

VAN DER KEMP, J.T.                      1747-1811                      L.M.S. 93

Refer: Thesis Chapter II.

Martin: Dr Vanderkemp.

L.M.S. Memoirs of Rev. J.J. Vanderkemp.

VAN DER LINGEN, A.A.                      1774-1821                      L.M.S. 72

He was sent to the Cape by the Rotterdam Society and the L.M.S. in 1800. He worked first with Vanderkemp at Graaff Reinet and then at Cape Town, where his work was limited by de Mist who did not want missionaries in already established parishes. In 1806 he went to Kuruman but ill-health compelled

him to return to Cape Town as Chaplain to the Cape Corps and to teach literacy. In 1811 he went to Algoa Bay and thence to Grahamstown in 1813. He travelled indefatigably visiting frontier posts. He retired in 1817 and returned to Holland in 1818 where he died.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 811.

J. Campbell: Travels in South Africa.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa p. 284.

Eeuwfeest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika p.82.

VAN LIER, H.R.

1764-1792

Refer: Thesis Chapter II.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa pp.61,69,71,72,129,419.

Eeuwfeest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika p.60.

VOS, M.C.

1759-1818

S.A.M.S.

Refer: Thesis Chapter II.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa pp.67,76,77,78,83,92,422.

Eeuwfeest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika,  
pp. ,60-61.

M.C. Vos: Merkwaardig Verhaal.

WHITWORTH, James

? -1852

Methodist

Arrived at the Cape in 1824 and moved to Salem in 1852. It was he who went to the aid of the stricken Threlfall in Table Bay after fever had attacked many of the crew and passengers on board. While strict quarantine prevailed, it was Whitworth who saved the life not only of Threlfall but of the crew too.

Refer: du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa p. 57.

Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw pp. 11, 159, 209.

WILLIAMS, Joseph

1780-1818

L.M.S. 142

An artisan missionary, he came out with Barker, J. Evans and Hamilton (1815). He was chosen to establish the mission across the Fish (1816) at Kat River. He was active in organising the meeting of Somerset and Ngqika (1817). He died at Kat River in 1818.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 849.  
 Holt: Joseph Williams.

WIMMER, Michael                                      1761-1840                                      L.M.S. 113

Arrived 1809. At Bethelsdorp 1810-1812, Pacaltsdorp 1813, Caledon (Zuurbrak) 1816-1821. To Steinkopff 1821-1829. At Komaggas 1829-1831. Returned to Steinkopff 1831-1840.

Refer: Wing and Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope p. 19.  
 du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa pp. 130, 204.  
 (Very little information is available).

WRIGHT, Peter    1796-1843                                      L.M.S. 221

An artisan, he arrived in 1821. Trained as a Catechist. In 1823 at Theopolis as head of secular affairs. Ordained at Theopolis 1826. He then went to Griquatown where he became principal missionary in 1827. He moved to Philippolis in 1842 and died there in 1843. His widow, after a trip to Britain, retired in Grahamstown where she died in 1886. Their descendants are well-known as the Cronwrights. (cf. Family details: Appendix B(ii).)

Refer: Stirk: Southwell Settlers pp. 2, 3, 54, 81, 101.  
 Wing and Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope p. 53.

YOUNG, Samuel    1797-1884                                      Methodist

Arrived 1824. At Salem until 1827. Moved to Mount Coke and thence to Wesleyville.

Refer: Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw (numerous entries).  
 Hinchliffe (ed.): Journal of John Ayliff pp. 37, 39, 73, 82, 100, 109, 114, 118.  
 Shaw: The Story of My Mission (numerous references).

## APPENDIX A(iv)

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF MILITARY MEN

In view of the fact that the majority of these men are not material to the history, research has not covered as wide a field as has been the case in other Biographical Indices. However, Regimental Lists have been consulted and where distinguished officers or men are concerned more detail has been given.

ABBEY (ABEY), Major K.R., of the 72nd Highlanders.

He served from 1816-1820 at the Cape acting as Colonial Paymaster and A.D.C. to the Governor (1817-1818). In 1819 he was sent for a brief period to take Colonel Willshire's place. It is probable that he remained until 1822 with his battalion. He was instrumental in helping Mrs Williams come away from Kat River after her husband's death (1818).

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 1.

C.O. 4840 No. 414. Bird to Cuyler, 28.9.1818.

Holt: Joseph Williams pp. 93, 146.

ANDREWS, Capt. J.C.

He served in the Cape Regiment from 1812-1817. In 1813 he took command of one of the forts on the Fish River. His men captured Frederick Bezuidenhout and the execution of the Slachtersnek rebels took place at his post.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819.

Campbell: Travels in South Africa.

Cory: Rise of South Africa Vol. I pp. 291, 329, 341.

BIRCH, Capt. Richard, of the Royal Africa Corps.

He served on the Eastern Frontier from 1817-1821. When Barker met him he was at de Bruins post of the Frontier. Subsequently he was a visitor at the Pigots. It is thought that with Captain Sparks he may have been a Settler at Fredericksburg.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 27  
 Rainier (ed.): The Journal of Sophia Pigot pp. 73, 75, 88.  
 Holt: Joseph Williams p. 93.

BLACK, Capt. George, of the 54th Foot.

He arrived at the Cape (11.8.1819) and proceeded to the Frontier with his wife. As O.C. at Fredericksburg he was in charge of the building of a new road until 1822.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 29.  
 Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler p. 117.

BOGLE, Capt. Andrew.

He served as a Lieutenant in the Cape Regiment 1806-1814 and as Captain from 1815 to 1817.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 33.  
 Campbell: Travels in South Africa Vol. I, p. 102.

CAMERON, Lt., J. McK., of the 72nd Highlanders.

He started as an ensign (1806-1807), was promoted Lieutenant (1810) and Captain (1816). He moved to the 60th Foot 1818-1819. He had married Gezina Knoop (1811) and it was this lady whom Barker met.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 54.  
 Long (ed.): Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain pp. 33-38.

CARMICHAEL, Lt. Dugald, of the 60th Foot.

Starting as ensign in 1811 he served in various areas including the Eastern Frontier 1816-1819.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 59.

CLARK

(It has not been possible to make any clear identification here as the 6th

Regiment did not serve in the Cape Colony nor was the 60th Regiment in southern Africa at this time). A tentative identification might be Surgeon Thomas Clark, who served in the 72nd Highlanders and remained in the Uitenhage area until 1825.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 67.

CLAUS

Several men of this name appear in the lists of the Cape Regiment.

Refer: Military Lists 1798-1829.

CLOETE, Abraham Josias (1794-1886).

After serving in India he was sent to the Cape where he supervised the landing of the 1820 Settlers and, after service in Cape Town, fought in the War of 1834-1835 and was sent to relieve Port Natal in 1842. In the War of the Axe he was Quarter-Master General and served again in the 1850 to 1853 War. In 1854 he was knighted and ended his career in the 19th Foot as a General.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: The War of the Axe p. 92.

FRASER, Major G.S.

Refer: List of Officials.

FRASER

The two Frasers (or Frazers) referred to by Barker are impossible to identify with any certainty owing to the paucity of information. The only tentative identification is:-

Ensign William Fraser of the 72nd Highlanders and who served in the Cape Corps  
and

Ensign Thomas Fraser of the 54th Foot.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 134.

GILFILLAN, Lt. William, of the 60th Regiment.

Refer: List of Settlers.

HUNT, Ensign Edward, of the Royal African Corps.

(Incorrectly cited by Barker as of the 72nd Regiment). He was killed on patrol near Grahamstown in January 1819.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 199.

KNIGHT, Lt. T.S.

In the Cape Regiment 1815-1819 and as Lieutenant 1819-1820+. He was stationed at Fredericksburg 1821-1822 and was in Uitenhage in 1823.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 224.

Rainier (ed.): The Journal of Sophia Pigot p. 100.

LOWEN

(The only Lowen recorded was an Ensign in the 81st Foot who served at the Cape 1799-1802. It is possible that he transferred to the Cape Regiment later).

LUCAS, Sgt. Major, in the Cape Corps.

(It is possible that he was a Khoi as his name does not appear on the lists of immigrants). He was a Christian who aided Shaw by arranging for him to preach at the Barracks. Subsequently he built a large room where services could be held.

Refer: Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw pp.7,42,46,191,192,194.

Shaw: The Story of My Mission pp. 101-102.

McDONALD, Sgt. Major Alexander, of the Cape Regiment.

He married Hannah Thomson, a widow, in 1811. They lived in Grahamstown but also had a shop in Uitenhage. (This is a tentative identification).

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 247.

McKENZIE, Major D., of the Royal African Corps.

He served from 1818-1820+, obviously on the Frontier, as the buying and selling of a plot in Grahamstown is recorded.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 253.

McLEAN, Lt. Alexander, of 72nd Highlanders or Lt. Charles, of 72nd Highlanders.

Both were on the Frontier with their regiments but it was probably Lt. Alexander McLean whom Barker met as he commanded the Kaka (Gaga) Post.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 257.

McMUNN, R.A., Surgeon of 38th Foot.

He only served in southern Africa from 1818-1820. He was checking leprosy with the Landdrosts in the Eastern Districts.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 258.

McNIEL (probably McNeil), Lt. Donald, of the Cape Regiment.

He left southern Africa in 1817.

Refer: Philip: British Residents in the Cape 1785-1819 p. 260.

MORESBY, Captain of the H.M.S. Menai.

He was in Algoa Bay to see the Settlers safely landed. He was most disturbed by the poverty-stricken state of some of the Settlers and together with Captain Evatt and Sir Jaheel Brenton he founded the Distressed Settlers Fund. After service in Africa he was promoted to Admiral. In Algoa Bay he was granted a plot on the Baakens River where he built a house.

Refer: Rainier (ed.): The Journal of Sophia Pigot p. 140.

Butler: The 1820 Settlers pp. 99-102.

E.K. Lorimer: Panorama of Port Elizabeth pp. 29, 31, 35, 40.

OGILVIE, William.

An Armourer, he arrived at the Cape in 1815. He married Maria Hollings, the Somersets' Governess. He subsequently became a Director of Companies and died at Claremont (1850). It is possible that he was the gunsmith to whom John Stubbs was apprenticed.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 309.

Maxwell and McGeogh (ed.): The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs pp.13,254.

PAGE, Capt. Daniel, of the 60th Regiment.

Served in Cape Town 1815-1818 and on the Frontier from 1818-1820 as Brigade Major. It is possible that he did not return to Britain with his regiment, as the 1822 description of Grahamstown refers to his house.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 314.

S.A.L. Quarterly Bulletin XXII No. 3.

PEARSON, Capt. William.

Discharged from the 60th Foot in 1816. It has not been possible to establish his further career.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 321.

RENEVELD

(Barker's writing of this name is not clear and identification, even with recourse to Regimental Records, has not been fruitful).

SAUNDERS

(It would appear that this was Lieutenant W.S. Saunders of the Royal African Corps who served from 1818-1820+ at the Cape).

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 370.

SCHEEPERS, Sgt.

He must have been a member of the Cape Regiment but erratic spelling makes identification difficult.

STEWART, Capt.

Although Sophia Pigot mentions Capt. Stewart, it has been impossible to identify him with any certainty as the evidence is insufficient.

STRETCH, C.L. (1797-1882)

He arrived at the Cape with the 38th Regiment in 1818 and was of great help to Willshire during Nxele's attack on Grahamstown in 1819. He worked variously as surveyor, engineer and officer in the Cape Corps, becoming eventually a Government Agent. After the War of 1851 he was M.L.A. for Fort Beaufort and subsequently M.L.C. for the Eastern Districts. His diary throws considerable light on the Frontier in 1835.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 721.

Crankshaw (unpublished thesis): The Diary of C.L. Stretch.

Maxwell and McGeogh (ed.): The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs pp.233-237.

SOMERFIELD (identified as Major Thomas Summerfield of the 38th Foot).

He served as a Captain 1807-1815 and as a Major 1815-1818.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 410.

WILSON, Capt. Henry, of the 72nd Regiment.

He landed with his troop in Algoa Bay in 1817 and marched to the Frontier.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 466.

WILSON, Capt. Henry, of the 72nd Highlanders.

He served from 1816 to 1820+ in southern Africa. In charge of a post on the Fish River, he arrived in Algoa Bay in 1817.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 466.

WILLSHIRE, Sir Thomas

1789-1862

After service in the West Indies and the Peninsular War he was appointed Commandant on the Eastern Frontier (1819) shortly after his arrival at the Cape. In 1819 with 350 white soldiers, a few Khoi troops and five field guns he vanquished Ndlambe and his 10,000 warriors. A fort named after him, but designed by Major Holloway, was begun but not completed in the Neutral area. In 1823 he went to India and died in retirement in Kent.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 849.

Lewcock: Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa  
pp. 156(n), 429.

Tylden: Major General Sir Thomas Willshire in Africana Notes and News Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 135-138.

#### DESERTERS FROM THE ARMY

James Conner of the Royal Africa Corps deserted from Grahamstown with Michael Ryan. They murdered Anthony Gerard and stole arms and ammunition. They were arrested and court-martialled.

The other men to whom Barker makes reference viz. Erwin, Dunn, Gryer and McKenna, do not appear on any of the Military Lists.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819.

## APPENDIX A(v)

KHOI NAMES AT THEOPOLIS

The following people were all resident at Theopolis at some time between 1815-1834. The names have been taken from Barker's Journal and letters or from the protest note signed in 1834 against the Proposed Vagrancy Act. (See CO 48/144 p. 215). Those who served in the Cape Corps are marked with an asterisk and if any rank were achieved this is indicated. Spelling is very variable and the Cape Corps lists show the same diversity. Where uncertainty of interpretation of script existed, square brackets [ ] are used. Those who gave evidence to the Military during the Rebellion of 1851 are marked "Witness". It is difficult to identify those who took part in the rebellion but tentative identification of three who were sentenced to death has been made. One of the Theopolis men, Andries Botha, may well be the Kat River Field Cornet named by Sir Harry Smith as a conspirator with Sandile. Close study of the letter quoted by Colonel Henry Somerset in his dispatch, (British Blue Books on South Africa Correspondence Relative to the State of the Kafir Tribes and the recent out-break on the Eastern Frontier 1858 (1428).) reveals the fact that someone unfamiliar with Dutch or Afrikaans transcribed the names and an "educated guess" is all the researcher can use. Thus, those definitely identified are marked "Rebel" and those where identification is uncertain "Rebel?".

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| * AFRICANDER, Floris.                 | BOTHA, Andries. Leader of Rebellion?         |
| * AFRIKA, Whiteboy.                   | BRANDER, Annatjie.                           |
| ANDRIES, Andries. (auctioneer)        | BUYS, Elizabeth.                             |
| * ANDRIES, Klaas.                     | BUYS, Hannah.                                |
| * APOOLS, Ruiter. Rebel.              | BUYS, Hendrik.                               |
| ARRIES, Marta.                        | BUYS, Piet.                                  |
| BOARDMAN, Matroos. Cpl.               | * CAFFER, Daniel.                            |
| BOARDMAN, Reuter.                     | * CALABASH, Adam.                            |
| * BOESAK, Stoffel. Cpl.               | CAMPHER, Arnoot.                             |
| * BOESAK, Stoffel.                    | CAMPHER, Elias. (hunter)                     |
| * BOEZAK, Cobus. (hunter & deacon)    | * CAMPHER, Jantje.                           |
| BOEZAK, Jan. (hunter)                 | CAMPHER, Piet. (carpenter, helped in school) |
| * BOEZAK, Klaas.                      |  |
| * BOEZAK, Plaatje. Sgt. (wagon owner) | CAMPHER, Philip.                             |
| BOOTSMAN, Jan.                        | CAMPHER, Solomon.                            |

- CHRISTIAN, Klaas.
- \* CLASS, Hendrik. S.M.
- \* COENRADT, Alcaster. Sgt.
- \* CUPIDO, Hans.
- \* DAVID, Hendrik.
- \* DESEMBER, Adam.
- \* DRAGOENDER, Rondganger.
- \* DRAGOENDER, [                      ]
- \* DUNSTER, Malagas.
- \* FORTUIN, Johannes.
- \* GOERA, William.
- \* GOLATH, Plaatje.
- \* GOORA, Klaas.
- \* [GREDD], Stoffel.
- \* GUILDENHUIS, Kobus.
- HAAS, Kivit.
- \* HAASBROEK, Whiteboy.
- HAGEVELD, Valentyn. (herder)
- HANS, Platje.
- \* HENDRIK, Martinus. Cpl.
- \* JACK, Gideon. Sgt.
- JACK, Hendrik. Witness.
- \* JACOBS, Jan. Cpl.
- JACOBS, Moses. Witness.
- JAGER, Andries.
- \* JAGER, Armoed.
- JAGER, Klaas. Q.M. Rebel?
- \* JAGER, Kobus.
- \* JAGER, Piet. Cpl.
- JAGER, Tys.
- \* JAKOB, Valentyn.
- JAKOBS, Filida.
- JAKOBS, Katryn.
- JANTJES, Cobus.
- \* JANTJES, David. Sgt. Sentenced to  
Death 4.7.1851
- JAMEYER, Jan.
- \* JAPHTHA, Jan.
- \* JORDAAN, Frederik.
- JORIS, Matroos.
- \* JURIS, Jys.
- \* JURY, Cobus.
- KAMPHER, Pieter.
- KIVIET, Dragoender.
- KLAAS, Andries. (deacon) Rebel.
- \* KLAAS, Klaas. Sgt.
- \* KLASS, Plaatje.
- KLEINBOOY, Reuken.
- \* KLEINBOOY, Stuurman. Cpl.
- \* KLEINBOY, Ruiter.
- \* KOBUS, Arnoldus.
- \* KOBUS, Cupido. Sgt.
- KUPIDO, Klaas.
- LABERLOTTE, Filander. (shepherd)
- LABERLOTTE, Freelander. (deacon)
- LABERLOTTE, Leentje.
- LABERLOTTE, Plaatje.
- \* LINKS, Daniel. Sgt.
- \* LINKS, Jantje.
- \* LINKS, Joseph.
- \* LINKS, Kiviet.
- LINKS, Sarah.
- \* MAGERMAN, Cornelius. Chairman Protest  
Group 1834
- \* MAGERMAN, Wilfred.
- \* MALAGAS, Adries.
- \* MALAGAS, Dirk.
- MATROOS, Speelman.
- MATROOS, [                      ] (wagon owner)
- MAY, Agillus.
- \* MICHAELS, Cupido.
- \* MICHAELS, Daniel.
- \* MICHAELS, Speelman.
- NAATE, Africander.
- NAATE, Filido.
- NAUSKI, Windvogel. (miscreant)
- NICOLAAS, Pieter. (hunter)
- \* [NIEWENVELD], Plaatje.

- \* NORRIS, William. Cpl.
- \* PLAATJE, Jan.
- \* PLAATJE, Piet.
- \* PLAATJE, Stuurman. Sgt.
- \* PLAATJES, Harriman.
- PLAATJES, Pieter.
- PLAATJES, Willem.
- PRINS, Esau.
- PRINS, Hester.
- \* ROOTSMAN, Plaatje.
- RUITER, Kleinbooy. (hunter killed by  
buffalo)
- \* RUITER, Zwartbooy.
- \* RUITERS, Stoffel.
- \* SCHEEPERS, Hendrik. Sgt.
- \* SCHNAPPS, David. Sgt.
- SCHOONBERG, Witbooy.
- SMIT, Hendrik.
- SMIT, Pieter. (horse herder)
- \* SMITH, Africander.
- \* SOLDAAT, Jan! Sgt.
- \* SPANDEEL, Piet. Cpl.
- \* SPIELMAN, Cobus.
- SPOGTEN, Jan.
- STOFFEL, Andries. (deacon)
- \* STOFFEL, Johannes.
- \* STOFFEL, Plaatje.
- STUURMAN, Klaas.
- STUURMAN, Sabrina.
- \* SWAATBOY, Slinger.
- \* TROMPETTER, Cobus.
- TROMPETTER, Stoffel.
- TROMPETTER, Windvogel.
- \* TROMPETTER, Wondergat.
- VALENTYN, William.
- VELDMAN, Antje.
- VIEGELAND, [ ]
- \* VRYDAG, [Timmerman]
- \* WHITBOY, Jan.
- WILDEMAN, Jan.
- WILDSCHUT, Oranje.
- WILLIAMS, [ ] (pensioner Cape Regt.)
- WILLIAMS, Lena.
- WINDVOGEL, Booy. (convicted thief  
15.11.23)
- WITBOOY, Daniel.
- WITBOOY, Jantje. Rebel.
- ZOLDAAT, Katryn.
- \* [ ], Andries.

} Sentenced  
to Death  
4.7.1851

APPENDIX A(vi)BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF SETTLERSBIBLIOGRAPHY

The books listed here are those most frequently used and to which reference is made by author's name only in the Biographical Notes:-

e.g. G. Butler: The 1820 Settlers,  
hereafter: Butler.

- Ayliff J. : John Ayliff Journal 1821-1830 (ed. P. Hinchliffe).  
 Burrows E. : A History of Medicine in South Africa.  
 Butler G. (ed.) : The 1820 Settlers.  
Dictionary of South African Biography (D.S.A.B.)  
 Godlonton R. : A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes.  
 Goldswain J. : The Chronicles of Jeremiah Goldswain (ed. U. Long).  
Grahamstown Journal (G.T.J.)  
 Hockly H.E. : The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa.  
 Jones E.M. : Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa.  
 Le Cordeur : The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism.  
 Lewcock R. : Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa.  
 Makin A.E. : The 1820 Settlers of Salem.  
 Nash M.D. : The Bailie Party of Settlers.  
 Philip Peter : British Residents at the Cape.  
 Philipps T. : Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler (ed. Keppel Jones).  
 Pigot S. : The Journals of Sophia Pigot (ed. M. Rainier).  
 Sheffield T. : The Story of the Settlement.  
 Stubbs T. : The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs (ed. Maxwell and McGeogh).

ADAMS, T.P.

1780-1843

He arrived on the Chapman in Bailie's party. As a poet and eloquent spokesman for the people he was well-known, but his farming ventures failed and, reduced to dire poverty, he moved to Grahamstown where he tried teaching, accountancy and a legal agency.

Refer: Theal: R.C.C. Vol. XVII, pp. 284-286.

G.T.J. 2.11.1843.

T.P. Adams Papers (Cory Library).

Nash: p. 129 and numerous references.

ALLEN, Charles (?)

Probably Charles Allen who, after his arrival from Mauritius (1815), was appointed both Secretary to the Landdrost and Vendue Master at Uitenhage (1815-1820+). He was also Secretary of the Matrimonial Court.

Information is limited but from context the identification seems accurate.

Refer: Philip: p. 5.

ANDERSON, George

1762-1836

As the Hewsons and the Hocklys, also members of Bailie's party on the Chapman, were known friends of the Barkers", it can be assumed that this was George Anderson who belonged to the same group.

George Anderson was a cabinet-maker and upholsterer who practised his trade in Bathurst. His son, Robert, was murdered by the Xhosa in 1821. In 1834 Anderson became Field Cornet of Bathurst but after the War of 1835 he had to abandon his home, so he moved to Grahamstown where he died in 1836. His home, with its signs intact, can be seen in Lawrance Street, Grahamstown (1982).

Refer: Sheffield: p. 255.

G.T.J. 5.5.1836.

Nash: pp. 18, 30 and numerous other references.

ARNOT, David

1795-1851

He arrived in 1817 with Moodie's party. He was allowed, on Cuyler's recommendation, to leave the party and he settled in Uitenhage to practise his trade as a cooper. He married a Bethelsdorp woman, Catharina van der Jeugh (2.10.1819), and trained apprentices at the mission while living at Cradock's Town, home of Korsten. He was later indentured to Korsten in Algoa Bay and subsequently moved to Colesberg as a farrier (no date available).

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 22 (refers).

Morse Jones: p. 17.

Philip: p. 10.

ATTWELL

Tentative identification as William Attwell, a baker, son of R. Attwell of Crause's party.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 23.

Hockly: p. 204.

BAILIE, John,

1788-1852

Leader of an independent party on the Chapman. Located at "The Hope" in Lower Albany. He investigated a harbour scheme on the Fish. Destitute after the war of 1834-1835, he joined the Colonial Infantry. By 1836 he was investigating a potential harbour on the Buffalo and finally drowned on an exploratory tour to the Umtata River (1852). In the interim he was the centre of a cause celebre concerning the killing of a Boer, du Plooy, but was granted a free pardon by Sir Harry Smith.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 34.

Nash: Bailie's Party of 1820 Settlers (whole book refers).

BARKER, Arthur

1787- ?

A member of Wait's party on the Zoroaster, he was granted the farm Waterford on the Kariega River. It was his proximity to Theopolis which led to a dispute with Barker over thatch grass (1825). In 1843 he sold Waterford to

William Wright of Tarkastad. His sketches give an interesting example of plans for building which fell short in execution.

Refer: Butler: pp. 126, 130, 131, 153, 155.  
Hockly: p. 205.  
Stirk: p. 81.

BEAR (Mrs)

As court files do not exist for minor offences, it has not been possible to identify this case.

BIDDULPH, Simon

1761-1842

It seems probable that it was Simon Biddulph as he set up a store in Bathurst in 1821. cf. Nash.

Arriving as a member of Bailie's party on the Chapman, he separated from the group and acquired his own farm at Birbury (in Trappes Valley) and a plot in Bathurst. With vested interest in Bathurst, he suffered heavily with the move of the magistracy to Grahamstown. From 1835-1840 he was a store-keeper in Graaff Reinet, returning to Bathurst in 1840.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II, p. 60 (refers in note on J.B. Biddulph).  
G.T.J. 15.2.1844.  
Nash: p. 135 and numerous references.

BIGGAR, Alexander

1781-1838

He led a party on the Weymouth and was granted the farm Woodlands (at Southwell). His farming venture having failed, he sold Woodlands to William McLuckie (1828) and went into the transport business, first at Mill Farm, Grahamstown and subsequently (1835) at Port Elizabeth. From there he moved to Port Natal where, having identified himself with the Boers, he took part in the Battle of Blood River (1838) and was subsequently killed in a skirmish.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 73.  
Hockly: pp. 36, 91, 171, 175, 177, 179.  
Stirk: pp. 13, 14, 56, 81.

BISSET, Alexander

1788-1874

A member of Willson's party on Belle Alliance, he had a plot at Beaufort Vale but subsequently moved to Bathurst (1825) as Post Master. There his children (the eldest of whom was later General Sir John Bisset) attended the Bathurst school. From Bathurst the family moved to Fairfax and then to Grahamstown.

Note: A footnote in Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, p. 174, has confused Alexander with his son, John. The footnote claims that Alexander was Quarter-Master in the War of the Axe. cf. Le Cordeur and Saunders: The War of the Axe, pp. 179, 184, etc.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p.78.

Philipps: p. 174.

Morse Jones: p. 25.

BONIN, Samuel

1780-1843

A member of Sephton's party on the Aurora, he shared allotments at Salem with Matthews and George Clark. He died at Salem in 1843. His illustrious descendant was Samuel Bonin Hobson, author and politician.

Refer: G.T.J. 9.4.1843.

Makin: pp. 40, 60, 62, 130, 132, 133.

Morse Jones: p. 26.

BOVEY, R.M.

1793-1869

The well-educated son of a gentleman farmer, he emigrated with Bailie's party on the Chapman. Until 1825 he took part in various expeditions and interested himself in a fishing enterprise on the Fish River. In 1825 he was granted a farm adjoining Theopolis towards the coast, but apparently never farmed there. In 1837 he moved to Fort Beaufort where he was active in civic affairs.

Refer: G.T.J. 23.3.1837.

Morse Jones: p. 93.

Nash: p. 137 and numerous references.

Thomas Philipps: pp. 131, 188, 237.

BOWKER not clearly identified but probably John Mitford Bowker 1801-1847

His father, Miles Bowker (1759-1839), led a party of Settlers on Weymouth but J.M. Bowker came to South Africa in 1822. After active service in the war of 1834-1835 he was Government Agent at Fort Peddie. An implacable critic of Stockenstrom, he was suspended from office in 1839. After two vain appeals against his suspension he went farming in the Fish River area in 1841 and for the remainder of his life was known for his sharply critical speeches against government and mission policy.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II, p. 94.

Bowker: Speeches, Letters and Selections from Important Papers, Volume I, Africana Collectanea.

Le Cordeur: pp. 67, 79, 85, 111, 113, 144, 147-149, 152, 154-155.

Mitford Barberton: The Bowkers of Tharfield.

BRADY

Probably Robert Brady who came out in Campbell's party to Barville Park (ss. Salisbury). No other information is available.

Refer: Hockly: p. 209.

BUTLER, Capt. Thomas

1777- ?

Leading Butler's party from County Wicklow, he was first sent to Clanwilliam and later moved to Sidbury, a farm on the Assegai River. His poverty was reported to the Society for Distressed Settlers and his ex-servant, Montgomery, offered to help him pay his return fare to Ireland.

Refer: C.O. 136 (Butler's Letter from Clanwilliam).

Butler: pp. 119, 175-176, 281.

Hockly: pp. 37, 41, 54, 58.

CALDECOTT, Dr. Charles

1781-1821

He came as a surgeon to the parties on Brilliant but died soon after landing in Algoa Bay. His sons prospered and one became Mayor of Grahamstown.

Refer: Burrows: p. 163.

Hockly: p. 210.

CALLANDER, James

1757-1820

A master mariner who had seen service with the Royal Navy, he plied the South African coast from the Cape to Mossel Bay in his own boat (1797-1798). In 1798 he settled at George from which base he chartered the Knysna Lagoon and in 1817 proposed the building of a dockyard there. He died at Uitenhage in 1820.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 122.

Huisgenoot 28.1.1928. J. Callander, 'n Romantiese Loopbaan.

CAMPBELL, Major General Charles

1772-1822

Having sent his bailiff, Cypress Messer, ahead of him, General Campbell arrived on the Salisbury in 1822 to take possession of Reed Fountain which he re-named Barville Park. He died as a result of an accident in May 1822. His young second wife and his numerous family remained until 1833 when they returned to England. The farm was sold in 1842 to Edward Dell and was (and still is in 1982) famed as a fortified farm.

Refer: Hockly: p. 36.

Morse Jones: p. 97.

Thomas Philipps: pp. 111, 116, 230-231, 236, 243.

Stirk: p. 52.

Barker Journal, Appendix A(iii).

CAMPBELL, Capt. Duncan

1782-1856

Formerly a Captain in the Royal Marines, he led a party on Weymouth. After settling at Thorn Park (formerly Botha's farm) near Grahamstown, he became a Heemraad and firm supporter of the Government, but Somerset's summary actions after 1824 altered his attitude. By 1828, as a leading sheep farmer, he became Civil Commissioner and in 1834 Magistrate. Involved in an unpleasant civil suit with Stockenstrom in 1838, he returned to farming. He left for England shortly before his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 123.

Nash: numerous references.

Thomas Philipps: numerous references.

G.T.J. Obituary 10.3.1857.

CAMPBELL, Joseph

He arrived as an independent Settler under indenture to Nourse (1819). He later was indentured to Damant.

As he was in the Eastern Province, it can only be assumed that this was the Joseph Campbell, carpenter at Theopolis. No record appears of him in L.M.S. records.

Refer: Philip: p. 56.

CAMPBELL, Dr. Peter M.R.C.S.

1790-1837

From 1820, on his arrival on Aurora in Sephton's party, he was licensed to practise medicine in the Cape Colony. As a prominent Freemason, he took an active part in the social life of Grahamstown. He extended his medical practice to include the practice of apothecary.

Refer: Burrows: pp. 163, 167.

Makin: pp. 42, 152, 191, 208.

Shaw: pp. 19, 38, 47, 103, 133.

CARLISLE, ?

John (1797- ?) and Frederick (1801-1863) Carlisle were brothers, John being the leader of Carlisle's party on the Chapman. He married Catherine Philipps and became a leading sheep farmer, while his brother Frederick was Deputy Sheriff of Albany and active in politics. Frederick is also famous for the amputation of his leg under anaesthetic. Their brother, William, joined them in 1825, apparently as a chaplain. It is assumed that William Carlisle visited Theopolis but there are no real grounds for any assumption.

Refer: Hockly: pp. 159, 172,

Philipps: numerous references.

G.T.J. 19.6.1847, 26.6.1847.

CHASE, John James Centlivres

1795-1877

A member of Bailie's party on the Chapman, his remarkably colourful career

took him from Bailie's location through Fredericksburg, Graaff Reinet, Kleinmond and Klaarwater and ended in the Landdrost's office, first in Grahamstown (1829) and then in Cape Town (1830-1837). He married Korsten's daughter (1837) and moved to Port Elizabeth where, as a leading business and political figure, he became first a member of the Legislative Assembly (1864-1865) and then of the Legislative Council (1866-1877). He was the assumed author of the paper which attacked Philip's "Researches in South Africa".

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 165.

Le Cordeur: numerous entries.

G.T.J. 19.9.1833.

#### COATES

This might have been either Philip Coates who was issued with a Colonial Pass in 1801 or William Coates who was Quarter Master of the 54th Foot, 1819-1820+.

Refer: Philip: p. 69.

COCK, William

1793-1876

Emigrated as a leader of a group on the Weymouth and settled next to Thornhill on the Kowie River. His first business venture with Thornhill was followed by a partnership in the firm, Cock and Lea, which as army butchers supplied salt beef to the Cape and Mauritius. His interests also included the Kowie harbour scheme. The first Easterner to be appointed to the Legislative Assembly, he was also leader of the Kowie Volunteers, a Frontier Commando. In 1850/1851 he was on the Board of Defence.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 73.

E. Gledhill: W. Cock, Pioneer, in A.N.N., Sept. 1960.

Le Cordeur: numerous entries.

G.T.J. 18.11.1876.

#### COLLINS (or Collen)

No clear identification is possible, the only suggestion being William Thomas

Collen (1801- ?)

Refer: Sheffield: Story of the Settlement, p. 125.

COMPEL (Cowper?)

It has been impossible to identify this man. Not only is the writing almost indecipherable, but the visitors with him appear to have been members of Stanley's party on the John, (Messrs Solomon Shepherd and Hugh Millen) and no name which approximates to Compel appears on the John list. (cf. Sheffield, Morse Jones, Hockly). Other Cowpers could not have been present on this date.

CORNFIELD, John Francis

1799-1834

A teacher and artist, Cornfield (also known as Comfield) and his wife Eliza arrived with Smith's party on the John. Their baby (born at sea 24.2.1820) was nursed at Bethelsdorp. The Cornfields left Grahamstown in 1824 and opened a school for young ladies. In 1829 Cornfield set up as a merchant in Cape Town but after 1834 all trace of them is lost. He is best remembered for his album of water-colours, now in the Fehr Collection. He helped produce the first lithographs in South Africa.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 170.

A. Gordon Brown: Pictorial Art in South Africa, pp. 33-34.

Hockly: p. 152.

COWIE, Dr. Alexander

+1797-1829

Arrived at the Cape on 24.7.1823. No record of his background or medical studies has been found but he was recommended by Dr Barry (D.S.A.B. II, p. 36) and was District Surgeon from 1823-1828. Having established himself as a much-loved physician, he was compelled to resign (1828) when ordered to treat civil servants free of charge. He went on an expedition with Benjamin Green as a trader to Natal where they were guided to Dingane's kraal by Henry Fynn. They went on as far as Delagoa Bay but on the way back both died of malaria.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II, p. 147.

Philipps: p. 37.

Krebs: Cape Naturalist, pp. 77-78, 109.

## COOPER (Cowper)

Although Nash identifies this tentatively as William Cooper of Bailie's party, this seems unlikely as Captain Callander was, at the time of his death, staying with the "Coopers (Cowpers)", (cf. Barker Journal 1820), and it is thus concluded that they were not Settlers. It seems more likely to have been Robert Cooper who was discharged (?) from the Cape Regiment in 1810 and who had a young son, James (as Barker states).

Refer: Nash: p. 138.  
Philip: p. 74.

## CRAUSE, Lt. John

1793-1864

He sailed in the Nautilus in 1819 and as he was a Lieutenant in the 50th Regiment he received a grant of land in Donkin's village at Fredericksburg in the so-called Ceded Territory. As compensation for loss of this land he was granted 2000 morgen in the Southwell district. At the same time he was made a member of the Albany militia (cf. Hockly, p. 80), subsequently becoming Commandant. Before his death in Grahamstown he had been J.P. in Graaff Reinet.

Refer: Stirk: pp. 76-77.  
Philipps: p. 173.  
Nash: p. 139 and numerous references.

## CURDIE, Michael

This is a tentative identification. He obtained a Colonial pass in 1818 as a member of Moodie's party, though no occupation is listed. In 1820 he was discharged from Moodie's service and in 1825 signed a will at Uitenhage giving his address as Cradock. His property was left to heirs in Scotland.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 18.  
Philip: p. 84.

## CURRIE, Walter

1784-1836

He was a purser in the Royal Navy who, while he joined Willson's party, did in fact have capital and was able to open a shop in Bathurst shortly after

his arrival. In 1823 he was made a Field Cornet. His son, Walter (1819-1872), who was Thomas Stubbs' closest friend, was originally a farmer but subsequently became Commandant of the Albany Unit of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police. Having fought in the Wars of 1846 and 1851, he served the country with distinction and was knighted in 1860. He gave evidence to the Select Committee on the Theopolis lands dispute (1861) regarding the rebellion of 1851.

Refer: Maxwell and McGeogh (ed.): Thomas Stubbs Reminiscences (numerous entries).  
Butler: p. 138.  
Nash: p. 82.

CYRUS, George

1811-1862

He was the son of Samuel Cyrus of Sephton's party. After four years at Salem the family moved to Grahamstown, when Samuel Cyrus got a licence to trade at Fort Willshire. The young George became a fluent interpreter of Xhosa and was much in demand. In 1834 he left on an historic visit to Natal with Capt. Allen Gardiner. On his return to Grahamstown, after playing a not undistinguished role in the Natal expedition, Cyrus was appointed as official interpreter at Grahamstown and commanded the Fingo Levies in the War of 1850-1851.

Refer: Makin: pp. 86-93.  
A.F. Gardiner: Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country.  
Stubbs: pp. 42-45, 141, 142, 157, 160, 238.

DALGAIRIN, Charles

1778(?) - 1835

Apparently a very inept Settler, he was a leader of a party on Northampton who "lost" his three small daughters for three days just after landing. Later, after settling at Blaaukrantz just below Pigot Park, he lost his oxen. By 1835 he had moved first to Somerset Farm, then to the Kariega (Moneysworth) and thence to Uitenhage where the spring on his farm ran the wrong way to be useful to him; this spring was eventually Uitenhage's main water supply. Dalgairin died at Graaff Reinet in 1835.

Refer: Sheffield: p. 262.  
Philipps: Numerous references.  
Pigot: Numerous references.

DALGLEISH, J.E.

? - ?

He was discharged from the Royal Artillery in 1817 and obtained a Colonial pass. In 1819 he opened a shop in Cape Town but this subsequently went bankrupt. In 1830 he was reported in Port Elizabeth where he witnessed a will and in 1835 he married Elizabeth Schramel.

Refer: Philip: p. 86.

No further information can be found.

DAMANT, John Sancroft

1775-1825

Having seen considerable overseas service, he came to the Cape in 1814. He married Maria Korsten in 1817 while he was Paymaster at Fort Frederick. He returned to Norfolk in 1819 but soon both he and Thomas joined the party of emigrants led by their youngest brother, Edward. This party was eventually located at Lammas on the Gamtoos River.

Refer: Philip: p. 87.

Butler: p. 75.

Morse Jones: p. 106.

DELL, Samuel

1816-1890

Samuel was one of the sons of Edward Dell of Thornhill's party. They were forage contractors and had bought Barville Park. An active member of many associations, he founded the United Farmers Association whose prime function was to recover stolen stock but they also co-operated with patrols.

Refer: Stubbs: numerous references.

Morse Jones: p. 108.

Stirk: pp. 45, 54, 61.

DIETZ, Arnoldus Bernardus

1768-1832

He came to the Cape from the East Indies and set up as a shopkeeper and agent for Korsten in Grahamstown. With Pohl and Retief he was one of the "big three" building contractors and won the contract to build the gaol in Grahamstown.

Refer: Lewcock: pp. 196, 199, 201, 245, 247.  
 Chase: Old Times, Odd Corners, p. 4.  
 Philipps: pp. 153, 225, 227, 230, 232.  
 Pigot: pp. 65, 75, 188.  
G.T.J. Obituary 20.1.1832.

FAIRBAIRN, John

1794-1864

Little is known of his background but he read Classics, Theology and Medicine at Edinburgh University without graduating. Summoned to South Africa by his ex-University friend, Thomas Pringle, he helped establish both a school (later to become S.A. College 1829 of which he was a Governor) and also to set up the South African Journal (1824) which was discontinued after two issues. After various vicissitudes the freedom of the press was established in 1829 and the Commercial Advertiser represented the views of liberal-thinkers. His active and lively reporting kept him in the public eye and in 1850 he was elected to the Legislative Council. A further claim to fame is his share in the founding of the Old Mutual Insurance Company in 1845.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II, p. 225.  
 Lewen Robinson: None Daring to Make Us Afraid.  
 Pringle: Narrative of a Residence in South Africa.

FINN

No clear identification can be made but this was probably James Finn, a carpenter in Parker's party.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 35.  
 Hockly: p. 218.

alternatively

FYNN, Henry Francis

1803-1860

He is famous as a pioneer Natal trader, authority on the Zulu people and Government official. He was at Algoa Bay from 1818-1822 when he left for Cape Town and subsequently for Natal where he travelled extensively with Lt. F.G. Farewell and established the port later known as Durban.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p.305.

Lantern (December 1961), article on The Fynn Papers by B.J.T.Leverton.  
Natal Archives: H.F. Fynn Papers.

FORD, John

1823-1884

A son of William and Hannah Ford, he was also half-brother to the Keetons as his mother married Benjamin Keeton. John himself married Eliza Gray and at the time of the war of 1851 they had moved from Lombards Post to Gamtoos for the safety of their flocks.

Refer: Hockly: p. 219.

Stirk: pp. 10, 11, 16, 22, 49.

FRANCIS, David

1784-1854

A member of Scanlen's Irish party on the East Indian. Settled originally at Clanwilliam but moved to Albany. Led agitation against Somerset and went to England (probably at the instigation of Thomas Philipps) to lay a charge against the Governor. Eventually became Port Captain of Port Elizabeth (1828) and Collector of Customs(1832).

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 116.

Hockly: p. 219.

Philipps: pp. 207, 340, 370.

FULLER, Henry

1781-1850

Although Fuller came out as a member of Dixon's party, it is notable that Barker referred to him as a leader and he did in fact take over after they had settled at Waai Plaats. Later he moved to Newton at Southwell where he and his sons took an active part in the Frontier War, including the attack on Theopolis.

Refer: Hockly: p. 36.

Stirk: pp. 6, 78-79.

Unpublished letter : H.T. Waters to Bishop Robert Gray at Cape Town.

## GARDNER

It is impossible to determine whether this is J. Gardner of Griffiths' party on the Stentor or E. Gardner who led his own party on the Sir George Osborne.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 37.

GILFILLAN, William Frederick Anderson

1769-1855

He first came to southern Africa with the 60th Foot and served from 1811-1818. He returned with the Settlers in 1820, with Thornhill's party on the Zoroaster. He married Thornhill's daughter, Ann. He saw active service in the wars and was mentioned in dispatches. Later as Magistrate of Cradock he led the Cradock Levy.

Refer: Philip: p. 143.

Morse Jones: p. 118.

GOLDSWAIN, Jeremiah

1802-1871

He came to South Africa in 1820 as a member of Wait's party on the Zoroaster. He was an active member of the Albany Levy. After an unsuccessful start he moved to Burnt Kraal outside Grahamstown. His lively accounts of Frontier life are contained in his "Chronicle".

Refer: Long: Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain.

Godlonton and Irving I p. 298, II pp. 20, 56.

Stubbs: numerous references.

Morse Jones: p. 119.

GRANT, John

(Tentative identification)

1770- ?

Paymaster for the 38th Foot, he was in charge of the Commissariat at Bathurst and in the same year was granted one morgen of land. As Storekeeper at Bathurst he earned 1/- (one shilling) per day, with 2/6 (two shillings and six pence) per day as pension. In 1825 he was granted the land on the left bank of the Kariëga (Grant's Valley), about 1000-1500 acres, where he remained until his death.

Refer: Records: Port Alfred Historical Society (undocumented).  
 Stirk: pp. 11, 19, 82, 83.  
 Philip: p. 150.

GRAY, William

1801-1851

He emigrated as an indentured servant with J.E. Ford and was released in 1822. After working at various tasks, by 1840 he was able to buy Captain Henry Crause's farm Walsingham. Very active in farming affairs he was made a Field Cornet and it was in this capacity that he gave warning of the Theopolis uprising and took part in the skirmish (with Stubbs Rangers against the rebels) which led to his death in 1851.

Refer: Nash: pp. 55, 101, 115, 120.  
 Stirk: Numerous references.  
 Morse Jones: p. 120.

GREEN

Tentative identification as Charles Green, Master of the Winifred (1822) and later of the Buck Bay packet.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 121.

GUSH, Richard

1789-1858

He was a member of Sephton's party on the Brilliant. A very active and vocal Settler, he was a Quaker who took to trading. He is renowned for his peaceful and extremely brave stand against the Xhosa during the War of 1835.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 338.  
 Makin: pp. 96-98.  
 Butler: p. 186.  
 Butler: Richard Gush of Salem.

HART, Robert

1777-1867

He arrived in 1795 as a soldier and ultimately succeeded MacKriill at the Government Farm at Somerset in 1816. He was called the first English-speaking

South African and was an excellent farmer and indefatigable traveller. It was he, who with Barker, fetched Mrs Williams from "Kaffirland" in 1817. He was a friendly and devout man of great moral integrity.

Refer: Butler: p. 129.

Philipps: pp. 176, 185, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 259, 260.

Pamela Ffolliott: Father of the Settlers in Eastern Province Herald, 13.6.1970.

HARTLEY, Thomas

1802-1886

He arrived with his father in Calton's party on the Albury. He worked in various positions until he went farming in the Bathurst district and won the prize for the best pineapple on the Bathurst Show in 1863.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 124.

A detailed Manuscript and photographs of this family are in the hands of Mrs N.G. Hutton of 1 Francis Street, Grahamstown.

HEATH

1794-1845

It seems likely that this was John Heath of Bailie's party whose location was reasonably near Theopolis.

Refer: Hockly: p. 224.

Nash: pp. 24, 47, 61, 71, 147 and numerous other references.

HEWSON, Edwin B.

1801-1851

It would seem that this was the Hewson known to Barker as he married Anne Mouncey and after living in Bathurst moved to Spanish Reeds in Trappes Valley. The three wars ruined him and he finally died in Graaff Reinet where he had hoped to earn his living as a gunsmith.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 126 (inaccurate entry).

Nash: pp. 21, 71, 100, 101, 117, 119, 120.

HOCKLY, Daniel

1787-1835

He was a silversmith who came out in Bailie's party on the Chapman. He settled

at Uitenhage, where Mrs Hockly ran a school. He died in Graaff Reinet. His son, Daniel (1826-1897), married Jane Barker. His descendant, H. Hockly, was a well-known advocate and Settler historian.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 42.

Nash: pp. 26, 30, 31, 99, 115, 118, 119.

Hockly: pp. 47, 146, 162.

HOWARD, William

1777-1847

He was leader of a party which came out on the Ocean. He was a schoolmaster who recorded events in prose and verse, a famous example being his poem on the Rust.

Refer: Butler: pp. 83, 138, 296, 304, 305, 320, 326-327, 332.

Batts: History of the Baptist Church.

Sheffield: p. 101.

HUNT

Hockly lists four Hunts and there is nothing to identify any one of these.

HUNTLEY, Hugh (?)

He served in the Cape Regiment until 1818 and then after his marriage (1818) opened a shop in Uitenhage, after which he moved to Grahamstown where he took an active part in the Battle of 1819. As a building contractor and land speculator he was well-known in Grahamstown.

Refer: Lewcock: pp. 198, 233, 281.

Philip: pp. 199-200.

HYMAN, Charles

1799- ?

A very pious man, he was allocated land on the Kleinemond River about five miles from Bathurst. His party which came out on the Weymouth included the Debenhams, whose daughter married Jeremiah Goldswain. His party was reduced to destitution by the floods of 1823 and he went to Grahamstown to teach.

Refer: Butler: pp. 78, 91, 151, 300.

Goldswain Vol. I, pp. 39, 42, 45-48, 52, 53, 54, 55, 150.

Morse Jones: p. 131.

INNIS, William

He was a mason in Pigot's party on the Northampton. No further information has been discovered.

Refer: Hockly: List of Settlers p. 226.

Pigot: pp. 80, 123.

JAMES, Samuel

1790-1856

He was a party leader on the Weymouth. He died at Cradock.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 132.

Ayliff: pp. 62, 74, 76, 113.

Hockly: p. 60.

KEETON, Becher

1832-1851

He was the eldest son of the Settler, Benjamin Keeton, and his wife, Hannah. He died in the War of 1851.

Refer: Stirk: pp. 10, 11, 24, 30.

Keeton family records are held by Saunders Keeton at Lombards Post, P.B. Grahamstown.

KEMP

It is assumed that these were the brothers Ebenezer and George Kemp, who arrived at the Cape in 1816 and set up a business enterprise in Cape Town.

Refer: Philip: p. 218.

Philip: Researches in South Africa, numerous references in chapters on Theopolis and Bethelsdorp.

KERR, Samuel Thomas

He was given a Colonial pass (10.9.1817). He was on the Tax Roll at 17 Cuyler Street and in 1821 married Theodora Cornelia Scheepers. In 1825 he was a Field Cornet at Uitenhage.

Refer: Philip: p. 220.

KIDWELL, Alexander

1782-1844

He came out with Holder's party on Kennersley Castle. He soon moved to Grahams-town where he helped found the Baptist Church in which he was a lay preacher. He was a tinsmith by trade.

Refer: Makin: p. 70.

Hockly: p. 228.

Sheffield: p. 264.

KING

Possibly Philip King who came out in Bradshaw's party on the Kennersley Castle. Father of Dick King. He lived near Bathurst (cf. Mitford Barberton p. 176) but there are so many Kings listed that it is difficult to identify him. There is no corroborative evidence in other journals.

Refer: Hockly: p. 228.

KIRKMAN

This was probably John Kirkman of George Smith's party on Stentor, but no definite identification is possible.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 45.

KORSTEN, Frederick

He lived in Cradock's Town (named in honour of the Governor's visit in 1812), near Port Elizabeth. From the early days he was active in trade and was called by his son-in-law, J.C. Chase, (not without justice), the founder of

Eastern Province Trade. He had branches of his business in Uitenhage, Grahams-town and Graaff Reinet.

Refer: J.C. Chase: Old Times and Odd Places.

Philipps: pp. 49, 59, 232.

Pigot: p. 141.

Neumark: p. 139.

Lorimer: Panorama of Port Elizabeth, pp. 20, 21, 22, 57, 140, 165.

## LEE

It appears impossible to identify Lee with any certainty. However, it is probable that this was the butcher, Lee, mentioned by Tom Stubbs and also by Makin in his history of the Salem Settlers.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 46.

Stubbs: p. 138.

Makin: pp. 35, 36, 45, 53, 85, 133.

## LLOYD

It would appear that this would be William Lloyd as Henry Lloyd was at Salem school in 1826 and William is the only one mentioned in the area earlier.

Refer: Stirk: p. 53.

## LONG, Jeremiah

1780-1834

He was a gardener and botanist attached to Smith's party on the Stentor and, as he farmed near Riet River, it is quite possible that he and Barker met.

Refer: Morse Jones: pp. 46, 137.

Hockly: p. 230.

## LOVEMORE, Henry

1777-1851

A wine merchant from London, he brought his wife, children and domestic servants to South Africa on the Chapman. He bought the farm Bushy Park for £1000 on his arrival. His descendants still farm in the same area where Henry was

a foundation member of the Uitenhage and Albany Agricultural Society.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 137.  
 Hockly: p. 231.  
 Nash; p. 53.  
 Mitford Barberton: p. 189.

#### MARSH

There is no way of identifying which Marsh this was, Thomas Marsh the jeweller or — Marsh of Waterloo. The latter is listed by Hockly as independent. It appears more likely to be he, especially as Thomas had gone with Sephton's party to Salem.

Refer: Hockly: p. 231.  
 Makin: p. 133.

#### MASKELL, John

He arrived at the Cape in 1819 and there is no record of his early life or of his later activities. He is written up as Markell by Le Cordeur and Saunders (cf. Kitchingman Papers, pp. 66, 67) and also by Sales, pp. 87, 95. However, his name is clearly Maskell (cf. Philip, p. 269; Philipps, p. 318 and Barker Journal).

Refer: Philip: p. 269.  
 Philipps: p. 318.  
 Sales: pp. 87, 95.  
 Le Cordeur and Saunders: pp. 66, 67.

#### MATTHEWS, William Henry

1793-1867

He came out with Sephton's party on the Aurora and almost at once started the Salem Academy which was to be such a boon to the children of the Settlers and Missionaries. Their trust in Matthews was not misplaced and his schools were known far and wide.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 140.  
 Hockly: p. 151.

Shaw: p. 150.

Butler: p. 295.

Makin: pp. 40, 47, 60, 62, 129, 130, 132, 133.

#### MAYNARD, Levi

He was one of Sephton's party who came out on the Aurora. The family moved to Cape Town almost at once and the two sons prospered. James at one time owned much of the Wynberg and Newlands area and became a member of the Assembly in 1854. The other son, Henry, donated the drinking fountain in the Grahamstown Church Square (cf. Hunt: Municipal Government in Grahamstown, p. 161 in AYB 1961.)

Refer: Makin: pp. 61, 133.

Hockly: p. 231.

Butler: p. 177.

Sheffield: p. 173.

#### MILLEN, Hugh

1799-1835

He came over in the John in 1820 in the party led by John Stanley. He went to work as a mason at Kuruman Mission in 1825. From 1827 he joined David Hume in trading journeys which took them frequently into Mzilikaze's country. He died on his travels.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 48.

Hockly: pp. 232, 141.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: p. 72.

#### MOODIE, Donald

1794-1861

A Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, he moved with his brothers, who emigrated in 1818, to the Eastern Frontier to farm. There he was appointed Magistrate at Port Alfred and held various posts of distinction. He married Sophia Pigot and much of his life (apart from his prolific writing) is recorded in her journal.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 489.

Pigot: pp. 100-120.

Moodie: Ten Years in South Africa.

MORGAN, Nathaniel

1792- ?

He was a young surgeon who led his party (Morgan's party) out on the Ocean. He became surgeon to the 38th Regiment and was a member of the Committee for Relief of Distressed Settlers.

Refer: Goldswain: pp. 79, 198.

Hockly: pp. 35, 127, 158, 233.

MORRISON, George

?

He arrived at the Cape in December 1810 in an American ship from Boston. He worked first as a shoemaker in Cape Town and apparently in 1815 moved to Graaff Reinet, although records suggest that he did not stay there but went to Uitenhage where he bought a plot in 1817. James Callander stayed with the Morrisons and appointed Mr Morrison as his agent.

Refer: Philip: p. 288.

NELSON, T. (?)

1786-1863

It is probably correct to assume that this was Thomas Nelson, a labourer, who sailed on the Belle Alliance in Willson's party. He was an active member of the Methodist Church. He died at the Beka River Mouth.

Refer: Makin: p. 63.

Hockly: pp. 124, 146, 183.

OATES, John

He was a shoemaker who came out in Sephton's party in the Aurora and was one of a group of lay preachers in the Methodist Church. He was later granted land in Grahamstown.

Refer: Makin: pp. 46, 60, 65, 130, 132, 133.

Hockly: p. 234.

O'DONNELL, Edward

? - 1843

He arrived at the Cape in 1816 and soon became Under-Sheriff and Postmaster

at Uitenhage (1816-1820). He obviously continued in this capacity as in 1838 he signed himself as a pensioner. He and his wife were both born in Ireland.

Refer: Philip: p. 308.

O'FLINN, Daniel

1792-1851

He came out on the Chapman. He was a Medical Officer at Bathurst until 1822 when he left and took up a post at the Leper Hospital at Stellenbosch, of which town he became Mayor in 1838.

Refer: Philipps: pp. 51, 52.  
Morse Jones: p. 146.

OSBORNE

It can be assumed that this is Mrs Osborne, the widowed sister of Alexander Kidwell of Holder's party. No other information is available.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 70.

PARKER, William

1778- ?

He was the head of the large Irish party which arrived on the East Indian. A religious bigot, he caused great annoyance to most people in authority. He was particularly opposed to the Catholics and wrote an article: Jesuits Unmasked.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 147.  
Nash: p. 44.  
Butler: pp. 81, 94, 137, 221.

PAINTER, Mrs. Harriet (?)

It is assumed that this was Mrs Harriet Painter of Sephton's party and whose son, Richard, was the member of the Legislative Council.

Refer: Makin: pp. 32, 40, 51, 60, 62, 130, 132, 134.  
Hockly: p. 235.

PAWLE (Paul), James

1789-1851(?)

He sailed in Belle Alliance in 1819 and practised as a surgeon in Lower Albany for five years before moving to George as District Surgeon (1825). After his retirement in 1842 he served as a Justice of the Peace and Church Warden in George.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 147.

Hockly: pp. 158, 236.

PEARSON, Joseph

1801- ?

It is assumed, for want of further evidence, that this must have been Joseph Pearson of White's party on the Stentor. No further information has been found.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 52.

Hockly: p. 236.

PENNY, Charles

He was a member of Sephton's party who first lived at Reed Fountain in Southwell, then moved to Grahamstown where he was a storekeeper, and finally to Salem. His son, Charles jnr. (1813-1888), remained at Reed Fountain and took a prominent part in the wars.

Refer: Stirk: Penny Family Tree, p. 112 and numerous other references.

Makin: pp. 46, 51, 53, 60, 62, 130, 132, 134.

PHILIMINE

It has been impossible to trace any reference to this family and it must be assumed that it is a Khoi name.

PHILIPPS, Thomas

1776-1859

He was a Welshman and leader of a party on the Kennersley Castle. A man of birth and education, his letters make a wonderful commentary paralleling Barker's Journal, but in a different social context. He was a vociferous

leader and spokesman for the Settlers and a notable Trekker sympathizer.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II, p. 542.

Butler: Portrait p. 314 and numerous references.

Nash: numerous references.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler.

PIGOT, Major George

1773-1830

He was a natural son of George, Lord Pigot. A Major in the Dragoons, he retired to farm in England in 1808. He came to South Africa as head of a proprietary party with twenty men and their families. They settled in Blåaukrantz and he named his home Pigot Park, where he was active in farming sheep and cattle.

Refer: Rainier (ed.): The Journals of Sophia Pigot.

Morse Jones: p. 150.

Nash: numerous references.

Philipps: numerous references.

POULTNEY, James

It is assumed that this was James Roultney, a tailor, who came out on the Ocean in Morgan's party with his wife, Ann.

Refer: Sheffield: p. 265.

Morse Jones: p. 53.

PRINGLE, Thomas

1789-1834

A poet, journalist and philanthropist, he was head of a small party of Scots Settlers. He played an active part in the political life of the Colony until his return to Britain.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 656.

Nash: pp. 13, 69, 70, 76, 78, 84, 85, 112.

Meiring: Thomas Pringle, His Life and Times.

Pringle: Narrative of a Residence in South Africa.

## PROBART (?)

A member of Philip's congregation in Cape Town, he was probably an independent Settler on the Waterloo.

Refer: Hockly: p. 238.

Morse Jones: p. 54.

## PUGH

Two Pughs are listed by Morse Jones and Hockly but it is impossible to determine from the context which man it was.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 54.

Hockly: p. 238.

## PULLEN

This was probably Thomas Pullen who came out on the Nautilus. The references to Quaggas Vlakte suggest that the family had moved from the original grant in Trappes Valley. However, today (1982) the Pullen descendants are in Trappes Valley at "Spanish Reeds".

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 54.

Oral Evidence (1982): Pullen family.

## RALPH

Once more the context gives no clue as to identity.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 54.

Hockly: p. 239.

## RETIEF, Piet

1780-1838

Probably the Voortrekker leader who, after various business and farming ventures, was appointed Field Commandant in the Eastern District in 1822. He was much concerned with raids on cattle and this would account for his visit to Barker.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 585.  
E.A. Walker: The Great Trek.

## RHODES

Two Rhodes have been mentioned by both Hockly and Morse Jones, but it is impossible to determine from the context which one it was.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 55.  
Hockly: p. 240.

## ROBERTS, Daniel

1807-1866

He came out with Sephton's party on Aurora. He trained as a teacher at Theopolis from where he went as a missionary teacher to Wesleyville with Shaw. The tale of his extraordinary adventure with the chiefs could be added to Gush's story of bravery.

Refer: Makin: pp. 66, 67.  
Shaw: numerous references.  
Morse Jones: p. 152.

## ROBERTSON, William

1805-1875

He came to the Cape in 1822 as a teacher at Graaff Reinet. From 1827-1831 he studied Theology at Aberdeen University in Scotland and returned to South Africa in 1831 to become Dutch Reformed minister at Swellendam. A much-loved minister, he was Moderator in 1860 and helped to found the Theological Faculty at Stellenbosch.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 152.

## ROE, Robert

Probably Robert Roe of Gardner's party who came over on the Sir George Osborne.

Refer: Hockly: p. 16.  
Morse Jones: p. 56.

ROSE, John

1792-1855

He came out in a sub-division of Bailie's party. In January 1821 he asked to move to Cape Town to follow his trade as silversmith. From 1830-1855 he was clerk at the Commercial Exchange.

Refer: Nash: p. 157 and other entries.  
Morse Jones: pp. 56, 153.  
Butler: p. 176.

RUTHERFORD, Howson Edward

1795-1862

He emigrated from England in 1818, was much involved in commerce and was a founder of the Commercial Exchange. An active philanthropist, he was also an M.L.A. from 1854.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 729.  
Philip: p. 366.  
Nash: pp. 65, 70, 71, 72, 111.

SANDERSON/GORE

It is speculated that this is the Messrs Saunderson and Gray who executed the work for the drinking fountain in Church Square, Grahamstown, which was donated by Henry Maynard.

Refer: Butler: p. 177.

SATCHELWELL, Richard

He was a member of Wilkinson's party on the Amphitrite. Although listed as a clerk, he was appointed as manager on Arthur Barker's farm, Waterford.

Refer: Hockly: p. 241.  
Stirk: p. 81.  
Morse Jones: p. 57.

SEPHTON, Hezekiah

1776-1843

He was a carpenter. After a turbulent beginning in London, he was asked to

lead a large party in the Aurora. Shortly after his arrival, as a result of a fracas, he was obliged to withdraw as leader. This party settled at Salem.

Refer: Nash: pp. 16, 38.

Makin: numerous references.

J. Hancock Notebook (Albany Museum).

SHEPHERD, William

1786-1855

He arrived on the Brilliant in Gush's party but subsequently moved to Grahamstown. He was a shareholder in the Grahamstown, Kowie and Bathurst Shipping Company and was mentioned for his services in the War of 1846-1847. In 1852 he was a Municipal Commissioner in Grahamstown.

Refer: Makin: numerous references.

Morse Jones: p. 155.

Hunt: Municipal Government in Grahamstown, pp. 175-176.

SMITH, Andrew

1797-1872

He was a distinguished naturalist who originally studied medicine and practised (1822-1825) in Grahamstown. He was the first Superintendent of the South African Museum and led expeditions to the North. He was Director General of Medical Services in the Crimean War.

Refer: Krebs: Naturalist in South Africa, p. 163.

Butler: pp. 199, 208, 212, 228.

Philipps: pp. 135, 159, 160, 170, 228, 229, 235, 249.

SMITH, William

1794- ?

He led a party on the Northampton. He was a surveyor (listed in Lewcock) and was one of the participants in the party to celebrate twenty-five years of the settlement.

Refer: Hockly: pp. 36, 183.

Lewcock: Early 19th Century Architecture in South Africa, p. 444.

Stubbs: pp. 138, 195, 270, 281.

Morse Jones: p. 59.

STUBBS, Thomas

1809-1877

He was a Settler whose father was killed shortly after the arrival of the family in Albany. His adventurous life and energetic Command of Stubbs Rangers are recorded in his Reminiscences, in which a colourful personality emerges.

Refer: Maxwell and McGeogh: The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs.

TAIT, Peter

It is assumed that this identification is correct. He led a party in 1818 under Moodie and subsequently a party in 1820. He was warmly recommended by Lord Bathurst.

Refer: Philip: p. 413.

THACKWRAY, William

1780- ?

Thackwray came out in Smith's party on the Weymouth. A wheelwright and carpenter by trade, he soon set up business in Grahamstown where he was active first in the Baptist Church and later in Monro's congregation. His sons were James, a member of the House of Assembly (1854), and William, a noble hunter.

Refer: Hockly: p. 246.

Makin: p. 82.

Butler: pp. 204, 226, 228.

Records of Trinity Presbyterian Church, Grahamstown.

THOMPSON, George

1796-1889

He came from the north of England and lived in Cape Town. He was concerned in many business enterprises. An exploratory business trip to the Eastern Cape in 1821 and again in 1822 are recorded in hws Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, edited by Vernon Forbes.

Refer: Pigot: p. 77.

Philip: p. 421.

Thompson (Ed. Forbes): Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa.

THORNHILL, Christopher

1733- ?

He led his own party on the Zoroaster. As Thompson shows with his sketch, he had a model farm as he had farming experience at home in England. His son-in-law, Lt. Gilfillan, ran the farm while Thornhill involved himself in business.

Refer: Thompson: Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa.

Butler: p. 154.

Morse Jones: p. 162.

G.T.J. 7/17 Sept. 1865.

Thornhill family records in hands of Miss Rosemary Thornhill.

TURVEY, Edward

1781- ?

The leader of a party of Irish Settlers on the Sir George Osborne. While little is known of his farming activities, much more is known of his adventurous journeys with expeditions such as that of Dr Alexander Cowie and Benjamin Green to Umtata River (1829). It is assumed that his sketch of Theopolis (1823 and 1824) was used in Missionary Sketches.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 165.

Hockly: pp. 36, 162.

National Art Gallery, Cape Town.

A. Gordon-Brown: Pictorial Art in South Africa, pp. 32-34.

URRY, James

He came out in Sephton's party on the Brilliant. He settled at Salem as a tailor but moved to Artificers Square in Grahamstown.

Refer: Makin: pp. 40, 60, 85, 130, 132, 134.

Hockly: p. 248.

Stirk: p. 57.

VON BUCKENRODE, Baron Wilhelm Ludwig

1782-1846

He arrived in 1803. He was a 2nd Lt. in the Cape Regiment in 1804. In 1813 he lost building contracts in Grahamstown but in 1816 he was building court-

houses, so it is assumed that his business acumen increased. In 1823, from his farm in the Swartkops-Perseverance area, he accompanied Bigge and Colebrooke on their travels. A stern opponent of Col. Cuyler, he was an enthusiastic friend to Philip and Fairbairn.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV, p. 751.  
E.P. Herald Obituary 28.11.1846.  
 Lewcock: p. 444.

WAINWRIGHT, Jonathan 1768-1851

He led a party of Settlers on the John and settled to the east of Bathurst, where Thomas Stubbs makes mention of him. His son, Daniel, was a teacher. Wainwright himself moved to Cradock where he died.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 165.  
 Hockly: pp. 37, 248.  
 Stubbs: p. 80.

WAIT, William 1764-1851

Originally a partner of Thornhill's in sponsoring his party, Wait came out on the Zoroaster. Goldswain was a member of his party. Wait died at Salem.

Refer: Goldswain Vol. I, numerous references.  
 Nash: pp. 40, 78.  
 Morse Jones: p. 165.  
 Butler: pp. 126, 128, 157.

WALKER, John 1798-1879

Having training as an apothecary, he joined Bailie's party and after various temporary posts he was appointed master of the Free School in Cradock (1823). He married Ann Wainwright and in 1831 opened a school at Cradock with Daniel Wainwright. He finally moved back to his post in Cradock.

Refer: Nash: p. 160.  
 Morse Jones: p. 165.

## WARD

It is assumed that this was John Ward of Calton's party on the Albury.

Refer: Hockly: p. 249.

## WILLSON, Thomas

He led a party on the Belle Alliance but he deserted them as friction increased. Boardman took over as leader while Willson moved to Algoa Bay and thence back to England. (It is interesting to note that the Willson allotment near Bathurst is still (1982) known as "Willson's Party" among the Xhosa).

Refer: Nash: pp. 16, 22, 25, 27, 30, 36, 38, 53, 120.

Philipps: p. 182.

Butler: p. 84.

Hockly: p. 56.

## WOEST, Bernard

The only information available concerning Woest is that he was a Field Cornet in Grahamstown in 1835 and a Captain in the War of 1851. He also initiated a fund for building a road in 1838, which road is today called "Woest Hill" on the road between Grahamstown and Southwell.

Refer: Le Cordeur: p. 171.

alternatively

## WOEST, Johann Pieter

He was Commandant in the Burgher levies and was seriously wounded in the battle at Theopolis. He was based at Olifant's Hoek.

Refer: Stubbs: pp. 42, 142, 143, 272.

APPENDIX B(i)BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS

William Pitt	1783-1801
Henry Addington (Viscount Sidmouth)	1801-1804
William Pitt	1804-1806
William, Lord Grenville	1806-1807
Duke of Portland	1807-1809
Spencer Perceval	1809-1812
Earl of Liverpool	1812-1820
Earl of Liverpool	1820-1827
George Canning	1827
Viscount Goderich	1827
Duke of Wellington	1827-1830
Charles Grey	1830-1834
Viscount Melbourne	1834
Sir Robert Peel	1834-1835
Viscount Melbourne	1835-1837
Viscount Melbourne	1837-1841
Sir Robert Peel	1841-1846
Lord John Russell	1846-1852
Earl of Derby	1852
Earl of Aberdeen	1852-1855
Viscount Palmerston	1855-1858
Earl of Derby	1858-1859
Viscount Palmerston	1859-1865

APPENDIX B(ii)GOVERNORS

Earl Macartney	May 5, 1797 - Nov. 20, 1798
Major-General F. Dundas, acting	Nov. 1798 - Dec. 9, 1799
Sir G. Yonge	Dec. 1799 - April 20, 1801
Major-General F. Dundas, acting	April 1801 - Feb. 20, 1803
Lieut-General J.W. Janssens	March 1, 1803 - Jan. 18, 1806
Major-General D. Baird, acting	Jan. 10, 1806 - Jan. 17, 1807
Lieut-General H.G. Grey, acting	Jan. 1807 - May 1807
Earl of Caledon	May 22, 1807 - July 4, 1811
Lieut-General H.G. Grey, acting	July 1811 - Sept. 1811
Lieut-General Sir J.F. Cradock	Sept. 6, 1811 - April 6, 1814
Lieut-General Lord C.H. Somerset	April 6, 1814 - March 5, 1826
(Major-General Sir R.S. Donkin, acting	Jan. 1820 - Dec. 1821)
Lord Charles Somerset	left on leave March 5, 1826 resigned April, 1827
Major-General R. Bourke, acting	March 1826 - Sept. 9, 1828
Lieut-General Sir G. Lowry Cole	1828 - August 10, 1833
Lieut-Colonel T.F. Wade, acting	1833 - Jan. 16, 1834
Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban	1834 - Jan. 20, 1838
Major-General Sir G.T. Napier	Jan. 22, 1838 - March 18, 1844
Lieut-General Sir P.T. Maitland	March 18, 1844 - Jan. 27, 1847
High Commissioners and Governors:	
Sir H. Pottinger	Jan. 27, 1847 - Dec. 1, 1847
Major-General Sir H.G.W. Smith	Dec. 1, 1847 - March 31, 1852

APPENDIX B(iii)SECRETARIES OF STATE FOR WAR AND COLONIES

H. Dundas	July 1794 - March 1801
Lord Hobart	1801 - May 1804
(Batavian Council for the Asiatic Possessions)	Feb. 1803 - Jan. 1806
Viscount Castlereagh	July 1805 - Feb. 1806
W. Windham	1806 - March 1807
Viscount Castlereagh	1807 - Oct. 1809
Earl of Liverpool	1809 - June 1812
Earl Bathurst	June 1812 - April 1827
Viscount Goderich	Apr. 1827 - Sept. 1827
W. Huskisson	1827 - May 1828
Sir G. Murray	1828 - Nov. 1830
Viscount Goderich	1830 - March 1833
E.G. Stanley	1833 - June 1834
F. Spring-Rice	June 1834 - Nov. 1834
Duke of Wellington	Nov. 1834
Earl of Aberdeen	Dec. 1834 - April 1835
Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg, May 1835)	1835 - Feb. 1839
(retired Feb. 1839)	
Marquis of Normandy	Feb. 1839 - Sept. 1839
Lord John Russell	1839 - Sept. 1841
Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby)	1841 - Dec. 1845
W.L. Gladstone	1845 - July 1846
Earl Grey	1846 - Feb. 1852

APPENDIX B(iv)COLONIAL SECRETARIES AT THE CAPE  
1808 - 1851

1808-1818	Henry Alexander
1818-1824	Christopher Bird
1824-1827	Richard Plasket
1827-1841	John Bell
1842-1852	John Montagu

APPENDIX C

The documents contained in this Appendix all pertain to the London Missionary Society, many of them having been taken from the Society Correspondence. In some cases words were illegible. Where this is so, square brackets have been used. The origin of each document is given.

APPENDIX C(i)LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETYRULES FOR THE EXAMINATION OF MISSIONARIES

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

8. From the time of a person's being chosen to this work to his being actually sent out, he shall be subject to the will of the Directors, who shall do whatever is in their power to promote his fitness for his particular destination.

28th September 1795.

[Taken from Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society Vol. I p. 43-44.]

APPENDIX C(ii)QUESTIONS PUT BY MR CAMPBELL TO J.G. ULLBRICHT THE 7 JULY 1819 IN REGARD TO THE STATE OF THE POLIS INSTITUTION FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME.

1814. On the 5th February I came here with Brother Bartlett with 150 of the Betheldors people, men, women and children and 300 beasts. No one had any thing to live on except a little milk wherewith we were obliged to support ourselves the whole year. I had a little corn but this was not sufficient for my family we were necessitated to make use of the flesh and a little milk. God cared for us. In the first place the people built a house for me and Br Bartlett after which time my little corn was nearly consumed and the fresh [ ] That was to be laid up for 6 weeks sick in a [ ] The same year we could not sow more than 3 muids on account of the dry weather and ignorance of the nature of the land and thinking it required little and in the soil so much manure that the result was so we got back no more than 8 muids.

1815. We were enabled to sow more to the number of 15 muids and got about 300 muids.

1816. We came so far as to be able to sow between 50 and 60 muids.

And in 1818 we sowed 104 muids, wherof we have been unable to use but little, on account of 6 weeks continual rain destroyed much and the Caffres for full 2 months surrounding the Place, when no one not even the cattle could go outside the place on the grazing ground unless within sight of us with 20 armed men. Hence it can be seen by any one how much progress we have made, the industry manifested in cultivating the ground what corn lands have been cultivated in the School time and how we began.

The Gardens may be calculated to amount to 80 full, besides such as are mainly old women with woodey spades yet we have harvested but little from them. These have been firstly spoiled by the Caffres and partly by the beasts as no one could leave his house, the rest has been spoiled by the rain.

The Gardens have been planted with Indian corn, beans of sorts, pumpkin seed etc. There is likewise much ground sown with tobacco, which has been much planted. This has likewise been ruined by the Caffres.

The labours of the most part of the men is cutting wood, sawing planks etc etc which they sell at Grahams Town.

Many of the men burn lime from shells and stone, which is sold in great quantity at Grahams Town, many women and children are employed in collecting the shells.

The women are nearly all employed making mats which are carried by Waggon loads to Graham's town as also in burning cord which is used for thatching, this is the work of the women, when they have no work in the Gardens, by which more money is earned than one would think.

Of the trades we have 1 Shoemaker among the People, [ ] 2 Tailors, 1 Smith, 1 Carpenter and some of the men can help themselves in many things in wood work as coopers work and waggon-makers work etc etc.

The clothes worn are usually all made by the women, as well the mens as womens clothes.

There are likewise many who boil soap, of which much is made and sold.

The present number of those who belong to the Institution, amount at present to 511 men, women and children.

The Church consists of 106:            46 Men            60 Women

We hold the Lord's supper once a month which used to be held every Sunday.

Some were put out of the Church and prevented in partaking of the Lord's supper on account of irregular conduct in 1818.

These were baptised in 1814:	Men	3	Women	1	Children	1
1815		17		28		23
1816		7		3		9
1817				1		14
1818						24
1819						16
		27		33		87

Born	in	1814:	9
do.		1815	9
do.		1816	17
do.		1817	22
do.		1818	48
do.	July	1819	<u>22</u>
		Total	<u>127</u>
Died	in	1814:	2
do.		1815	6
do.		1816	6
do.		1817	16
do.		1818	15
do.		1819	<u>10</u>
		Total	<u>55</u>

In regard to the School it is not always the same, as several are often employed at work, the number now amounts to: 240 boys and girls.

The number who read in the bible are: 23 in the School

Married Men and Women 22 in the houses

Children who read in School )

in books ) 20

Children who begin to read 15

Children who spell 25

Children who spell ab 20

Children who spell a,b,c and ab 30

Children who learn a,b,c 80

Total 235

Children who write 14

Children who cypher 14

This number cannot however be considered as the constant number who attend School, as several of the big boys are employed at work and for that reason cannot regularly attend the School which puts them back much in learning, so likewise the big girls.

Twice in the week are the children catechised, the little children on the Creation of the World and birth of Christ, and those who are bigger on Divine truths according to their comprehension.

I give likewise herewith the age of my children who are now living:

1st Johannes (John) born 1810 the 28 Feb.

2nd Jacobus (James) 1812 7

3rd Petrus (Peter) 1814 25 May

To Revd. Mr Campbell

J.G. Ullbricht.

Cape Town

[Taken from L.M.S. Correspondence 17.7.19. (8/1/C)]

APPENDIX C(iii)REGULATIONS FOR CONDUCT AND WORK OF MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

For the Information of the Brethren Missionaries labouring under the direction and at the expence of the London Missionary society in South Africa,

Whereas the Directors of the London Missionary Society displeas'd on account of the conduct of some missionary brethren as well in respect to the unnecessary and extravagant expences made by them at the charge of the society as to their frequent and long protracted absences from the place of their destinations have requested the underwritten to take (in their names) upon him the inspection of their missions and the thereunto required disbursements signifying at the same time their wish that similar regulations as are introduced at Bethelsdorp might likewise be observed in the other Missionary institutions the underwritten has thought it his duty to give his fellow missionaries thereof the following preliminary information.

## 1.

Each Missionary institution is to be entirely and exclusively placed under the direction of one Directing Missionary to whom from time to time will be added so many brethren to serve him in the quality of assistants in his work as the circumstances of the mission will require.

## 2.

All the effects, waggons, oxen, and other articles given or purchased for the common benefit of the Institution as well as the money required for the entertainment are to be kept under the direction of the directing missionary and not to be used without his consent.

## 3.

It is nevertheless seriously recommended to the Directing Missionary that he frequently (especially in difficult and important cases) make use of the advice of his assistants and deal fraternally that is act communicatively with them, in that however being constrained to submit his judgment to their opinion if it appears to him expediate to deviate from it.

4.

The Directing Missionary shall not more than his lesser Brethren receive any reward or stipend for his service but (if he be absolutely poor, and can declare to receive no pecuniary assistance from anybody else) receive annually and particularly in the beginning of the year the sum of 245 Rex dollars Cape money, and being married an extra sum of 70 Rex dollars for his wife and 35 Rex dollars for each child.

5.

The Society has in Cape Town a benevolent friend willing to provide in quality of Agent in place of the underwritten, all the missionaries with the necessary money and other articles, being for the present Mr Pieter [ - ] Hammes.

6.

As soon as a Missionary brother shall have arrived in the institution, in which he is to fix his residence, the Directing Missionary is to supply him with 70 Rex dollars above his annual supply in order to enable him to build a hut for his abode and 200 Rex dollars more to purchase a stock of cattle. This however shall but once take place.

7.

To all new arriving missionaries at the Cape the Agent shall procure the necessary entertainment and besides this annual supply calculated from the day of their arrival to the end of the year for which they shall reciprocally deliver him all the society money which they have in their possession. He shall likewise furnish them all what is necessary for their journey to the place of their destination. And he is finally at liberty to advance them a part or the whole of their cattle money (see 6) should they request it.

8.

The agent shall every year and in particular on its commencement give to account of the Directing Missionary a certain sum of money sufficient to pay out of it the annual supplies of the assistant Brethren belonging to the

institution and further the common expences required for the entertainment of the institution.

## 9.

To this effect each directing Missionary is requested to transmit to the agent a list containing the names of the advising brethren in his institution and those of their wives and children mentioning their marriages and birth days (in case any should have been married or born in the course of that year) as the annual supply of those new married or born is to be calculated, and paid by the Directing Missionary from the marriage or birth day to the end of the year. But if any of the supplied persons die nothing is to be drawn back from his annual supply which he has already fully received.

## 10.

Each Directing Missionary is to send every year as soon as possible to the agent a speciflicated account of the received, and disbursed money, confirmed by due receipts, for the London Society, and a duplicate of this account without receipts for the underwritten, extended from 1st January to ultimo December. Secondly a report of the state of the institution likewise in duplicate containing besides what is mentioned in (9) the number of persons [unmatriculated] in the institution in the lapsed year, the number of marriages, and that of births distinguishing males and females, the number of cattle distinguished in oxen, horses, sheep and goats, that of the houses, that of the baptised mentioning seperately the brethren, sisters, boys and girls and lastly the number of these instructed in the reading and writing school.

## 11.

Once a year the Directing Missionary is to send a general report of what has occurred in the preceeding year extracted from the particular journals of the missionary brethren to the Agent, who is to forward it to London. This annual report may be drawn up by one of the Brethren by notation but must be signed by all of them. No duplicate of this report is required, but in its [room] only, but a short extract representing in few words the prosperous or less favourable state of the institution, the moral conduct of the members of the congregation, and the method observed in the public worship and in the schools etc.

12.

No assistant is to absent himself from the institution without the knowledge of the Directing Missionary who however is not to refuse him this unless it evidently appeared that this liberty by its abuse became detrimental to the missionary work at [Bethelsdorp.]

13.

Should a Missionary brother undertake such an excursion he will be obliged to do it entirely at his own expences. But if all the missionary brethren of the institution should be unanimously of opinion that the concerns of the Missionary cause require a journey to be undertaken, the directing missionary is to defray expences out of the fund of the institution and place them to the account of the society.

14.

Whereas the London Society has determined that without their previous approbation no more [new missionaries] should be established, the Directing Missionaries are requested to inform the underwritten in case they should think it necessary that any should be formed, of their designs, that he may lay them before the Directors in London with his observations as he would find no liberty to advance any money to such an undertaking without their consent.

15.

Neither shall hereafter any money be given to defray arbitrary journeys to the Cape as all there that hitherto have been done, except those that were expressly ordered by Government, were entirely unnecessary.

16.

Likewise is hereby called to the mind of the Brethren the resolution of the London Society [importing] that those who shall unexpectedly make themselves guilty of keeping slaves, shall instantly be deprived of their connexion with the society. As also that the Directing Missionary shall take care that none of those who shall be admitted as inhabitants in their institution shall have slaves in their service within the precincts of the institution.

17.

Although it be considered praiseworthy that Missionary Brethren or sisters provide for themselves either in part or totally by exercising some [trade] or handicraft and thereby alleviate the burden of the society, it could nevertheless be inconsistent with the service of a Missionary to endeavour to enrich himself by engaging in any [commerce] which account the Directing Missionaries are exported to vigilate that such a trade be not carried on only by their assisting Brethren.

18.

The Directing Missionaries shall endeavour to become by all possible means acquainted with the true and distinguishing character of their assistant brethren and represent who shall be found above others eminent in humility, submission, piety, knowledge, patience, sedulity, frugality, cheerfulness under poverty, immovable in what is good, free from fear of men, and faithful to their call, to the Directors and the underwritten as qualified to be placed as Directing Missionaries at the Head of an institution, if an opportunity should offer but to above all upon their guard not to be deluded by a false shew of these good qualities.

19.

If contrary to what is hoped, an assistant on account of gross defects in his character should be judged by the Directing Missionary unqualified to continue longer as an assistant he shall with foreknowledge of the underwritten be removed to another institution in order to be tried again under another Directing Missionary, but if he should by these repeated trials appear to the undersigned evidently unfit for his service, the underwritten shall think it his duty to represent him as such to the Society.

Cape Town

Nov. 10th 1811

J.A. van der Kemp

[L.M.S. Letters: Van der Kemp to Directors 10.11.11. (4/5/C).]

## APPENDIX C(iv)

ABSTRACT OF MEMORIAL OF MESSRS CAMPBELL AND PHILIP - JULY, 1819.

- No. 1. On the description of the men who should be placed at the head of the  
 p. 4. Institutions in Africa - they should be men of talent address and  
 well acquainted with human nature.  
 they will have to sustain the characters of Magistrate, Father-  
 Master and Minister of the Gospel.
1. Magistrate called in as arbitrator to settle differences - Beyond the  
 Colony a [ ] by his arbitration has been instrumental  
 not only [ ] likewise different tribes but with the  
 Colony also.
  - 2 & 3. Father master. The missionary Hottentot settlements are large famil-  
 ies inhabiting every variety of temper and disposition - the mission-  
 ary must love the people as his children - be capable of suiting his  
 manner to the diversity of character - or he will not gain in confi-  
 dence - When the Moravians begin a new mission they always place at  
 the head of it a man [ ] for his years.
  4. Minister - The different circumstance of a Young minister in England  
 and in Africa - one improving the other deteriorating. It is there-  
 fore absolutely necessary that there should be men of years at the  
 head of the Stations.
- No. 2. Not only must there be a man of years and experience at the head of  
 p. 3. the mission but there must be fewer ordained missionaries and more  
 mechanics. Hottentot assistants must also be raised up - The mechanics  
 should have salaries and the produce of their labour be sold for the  
 benefit of the Society - Promising boys belonging to other Institutions  
 should reside at the Station to learn Trades. This plan will not  
 prevent pious mechanics from being useful except the administration  
 of the ordinances, they may do all the work of missionaries. The high  
 improvement of one Station upon a large scale should first be attempt-  
 ed, suitable buildings should be erected and the greater part of the  
 mechanics should usually reside at this place. Without [ ]  
 raised up in S. Africa and the improvement of the Institutions in  
 industry and civilisation no permanency can be expected and the latter  
 must precede the former. To improve the Stations with good mission-  
 aries in the first instance, a few men who have been some years in the  
 ministry at home must be sent out or approved young men from Europe

should [ ] in Africa or spend a few years at in Africa or labour at some of the Drostdys or Villages at Tulbagh, Stellenbosch, the Paarl etc - and when their characters are proved they might be taken to fill up the Stations that might become vacant at the Institutions. Supposing the mechanics men of talent and piety a selection might be made from among them of individuals to receive preparatory advantages with a view to their being ultimately employed as missionaries.

- No. 3. Education of the children of the missionaries. A School should be p. 12. established at the Station where the mechanics chiefly reside apprenticed and might thus have the benefit of instruction. At the commencement the plan would be attended with some expense - proper buildings must be erected but it would prove least expensive in the end. Half a dozen mechanics might be sufficient at a Station - promising Hottentot boys might be taught and in 7 years be employed usefully at some other Station. The School might be established on a scale sufficiently large to receive the children of missionaries in India, which would be highly in favour of their health, morals and future usefulness. A respectable boarding School is also much [ ] in the Colony and this might be connected with the School and it is probable that a sufficient number of [ ] may be obtained from Cape Town to [ ] part of the expense of the Institution. The funds of the Baptist mission at [ ] have been greatly assisted by the boarding School of Dr Marshman - send a Marshman to Africa and equal results may be expected in equal circumstances.

Cale- On the Supposition that the Directors approved the Plan, the Deput  
[donian] would recommend Zuurbruck.

Instr. The expense of buildings would not be as great as might at first sight appear - the mechanics sent out from England might be immediately set to work upon the above Station with some Hottentots under them and while they are teaching the Hottentots they are at the same time employed in erecting the public building of the Institution. The mechanics should be engaged for 7 or 8 years by a written agreement between the Society and them at the end of which period they should be free - The cheapest plan of sending them out should be adopted - they must come with the reputation of labouring with their own hands and Government will afford passage for them - on this plan they might be sent out for £25 instead of £70 each. 7 years

would afford an excellent opportunity to form an opinion of their fitness to be employed afterwards as missionaries - but they should not come out with the expectn of being employed as missionaries.

The Government gives encouragement to Schools somewhat upon the [ ] of Parochial Schools in England Scotland some of which [ ] has established at Tulbagh, Stellenbosch, George, Graaf Reynett Ditenhague - but schools upon a somewhat superior place would be desirable for the children of [ ] who suffer many disadvantages for want of education. Were the School at Caledon Institution formed so as to embrace them it might be attended with the most beneficial results to the Colony at large.

To place the Schools at the Institutions on a respectable footing the present place must be entirely abandoned. A young man bred up in a School where the British System has been successfully cultivated and whose sole business must be the organisation of the Schools must be sent out. He must not be a missionary or allowed to preach for the humble duties of a Schoolmaster are generally merged in those of the missionary. He should be a young man whose soul is in teaching, who is something of an Enthusiast in his profession.

And Messrs C & P suggest that he should be empowered by the Directors to carry his plans into effect independently of the missionaries residing at the Stations. Parents should be obliged to send their children to the School on a condition of residing in the Institution - which principle is adopted by the Government.

Besides attending at the School the children should be required to work at some public employment for a few hours a day under the direction of the Schoolmaster.

No. 5. As the Hottentots have no idea of the value of money or of saving it,  
p. 20. and the idle among them frequently live on the above of the industrious, the Deputn suggest the establishment of a Savings Bank, which they think would be of great use to them and no inconsiderable instrument in promoting their improvement in civilisation.

No. 6. All vagrants and such as will not write should be excluded from the  
p. 21. Institutions to which the local authorities will be ready to give effect and the introduction of manufacture would break any objection arising from the want of employment.

No. 7. The religious services of the Institutions should be shortened and  
p.21 & [ ] exercises introduced and another the dormant faculty  
p.22. of those who would under the

No. 8. The necessity of a stated possession for Widows and Orphans - There  
 p. 22. is but one instrument among the missionaries on the subject and all  
 that are good for anything have expressed their determination to re-  
 sign all connection with the Society unless they know what their  
 widows and children will have to depend upon from the Society when  
 they are gone.

The Salary allowed to the missionary will [ ] be the best  
 standard for regulating this delicate point - the Directors will per-  
 ceive that the Deputn has found it necessary to add considerably to  
 the salaries formerly allowed.

Many advantages will attend a stated possession to the Widows and  
 Orphans - the price of [ ] has been more than trebled since  
 Dr V Kemps regulations were drawn up - living cheaper at Calcutta  
 than at Cape Town - and missionaries may live upon smaller sums in  
 India than they can do in the Colony of the Cape.

The Salary of a missionary cannot be below the wages of an ordinary  
 mechanic or they will leave the service of the Society and take to  
 their businesses and a common mechanic in this Country can earn from  
 1000 to 1300 dollars per annum.

[L.M.S. Correspondence: Campbell & Philip to Directors, July 1819. (8/1/B).]

APPENDIX C(v)EXPLANATIONS GIVEN TO MESSRS BARKER, EVANS & MOFFAT REGARDING THE WIDOWS & ORPHANS & CHILDREN OF MISSIONARIES AT BETHELSDORP JULY 1819 BY MESSRS PHILIP & CAMPBELL

not being local, but extending to all the Society's stations throughout the world; a subject that has occupied the generous attention of the Directors for some time, without being able to come to any more precise plan than is expressed in the printed circular, the missionaries are called on to exercise Christian patience and dependance on God for direction to the Society, till they shall be able to devise some suitable plan; while we pledge ourselves that no widow or orphan shall be neglected, till the decision of the Directors on a memorial we intend to transmit to England on the subject, be received in South Africa.

It is our opinion that if the widow desires to return to Europe, her desire ought to be fulfilled at the expense of the Society.

Orphans whose parents are both dead should be considered as the children of the Society and treated as such. Should a Mission academy be erected, they ought to be sent thither as soon as a conveyance can be obtained, unless they be infants, if the parents have not entrusted them to some particular brother who may by them be directed how to act. That should an academy not be erected, then the children ought to be boarded where education can be obtained at the expense of the Society.

We are fully aware of the importance of providing for the education of the children of missionaries, and hope we can enter into the feelings of parents on that subject. The subject is not new to us - we have frequently made it a topic of conversation during the journey. An Academy within the Colony appeared to us the most suitable plan, when the missionaries in South Africa might have a sufficient number of children at an age proper for joining such an academy - but we are not aware that there is a sufficient number of children at present to call for a pledge that the seminary shall take place. We have not yet met with one Missionary's child fit for it in point of age, but when we do, we shall consult their parents what plan of education within the Colony would be most beneficial to the children. The plan which appears best shall be acted upon with all convenient speed.

Though we ourselves prefer an academy in the Colony when the circumstances of the Missionary families shall render it necessary, to boarding children

in separate houses at Capetown, Stellenbosch etc for education, yet conceiving it due to the missionaries, especially those who have children, to be consulted on the subject, we shall put off our final determination on the mode till we shall have the sentiments of the directors on the subject.

John Campbell

[Taken from L.M.S. Correspondence, July 1819. (8/T7B)]

APPENDIX C(vi)RESOLUTIONS OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY RELATIVE TO THE FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS ETC OF THE MISSIONS IN AFRICA ON 24TH JULY 1820.

1. Resolved, that in selecting Missionaries for Africa in future especial care be taken that they possess such qualifications for the important work in which they are to be engaged, as are stated in Messrs Campbell and Philip's Memorial to be essentially requisite and necessary with a view to a beneficial change of System in the management of the Missions in Africa.
2. Resolved, that each Station be established with an ordained Missionary and Schoolmaster and with a Mechanic or more than one if expedient and necessary agreeably to the recommendations, and subject to the regulations proposed in the above-mentioned Memorial.
3. Resolved, that the foregoing propositions be carried into effect as circumstances will admit with respect to the Missionary Stations which have been heretofore established in South Africa, and if practicable, by such of the Missionaries now in that Country as may be disposed to acting under the Regulations formed by the Directors in 1818, and also in accordance with their system in future to be followed in that Country.
4. Resolved, that when these Stations had been arranged agreement be given to attempt the high improvement of one Station on a large scale as proposed by the Deputation to Africa, at which Mechanics in addition to an ordained Minister and Schoolmaster may be established, and such measures be carried into effect as may promote the cause of Education in every way that may be connected with the furtherance of Missionary purposes and objects in South Africa.
5. Resolved, that to organise the Schools at the several stations and promote their usefulness, a Young Man be selected as soon as possible instructed in the knowledge of the British System and sent to Africa.
6. Resolved, that in sanctioning an attempt at the high improvement of one station on a large scale, the Directors do not mean to limit the sphere of Missionary Stations to any particular spot of South Africa, or that such a plan shall at all interfere with or prevent the execution of attempts to form Missionary Stations in every place which may be judged favourable for promoting the conversion of the heathen in that part of the world.
7. Resolved, that in addition to the judgment the Committee had expressed in its Report on the judicious answers which the Deputation had returned

to the Missionaries, who had objected to the Rules and Regulations established by the Directors in 1818, and at the expediency of confirming these Regulations for the future Government of the Missions in South Africa, it be intimated to the Deputation, that if unhappily the Missionaries should continue to oppose themselves to the just authority of the Directors, the Deputation be empowered to announce to every such Missionary that his connection with the Society must be considered as about to terminate, and that after a short and suitable time for consideration, if it be unavailing the Deputation have power to terminate the connection accordingly.

8. Resolved, that presuming the information given by the Deputation in their Memorial, relating to the advanced price of the missionaries of life in South Africa to be quite correct, the rise of salaries which has been allowed in several instances appear to be expedient and necessary and is satisfactory to the Directors, that in respect the Widows and Orphans of deceased Missionaries, the Directors will seriously consider the subject and will be thankful to be assisted by fuller information from the Deputation thereon, and particularly in relation to the sum expedient and necessary to be allowed in such cases with a view to the satisfaction of the Missionaries and in justice to the concerns of the Society.

[Taken from L.M.S. Correspondence: Directors to S. African Missions, 24/7/20 (8/2/B).]

APPENDIX C(vii)BARKER'S LETTER TO DIRECTORS

Bethelsdorp, 2 August 1820.

Revd and honored Fathers in Christ

I cannot let Mr Campbell return without a line to you. I regret exceedingly I cannot write with that cordiality I have done on former occasions. The unsettled state of our missions under me. Your Deputation arrived amongst us just in time to retain some of us in connexion with the Society. It certainly is matter of regret to us all that so many have left it. Your printed circular had thrown us into confusion, among those who had seen it. Indeed it is astonishing how men of sense, could compile such a jumble of nonsense. Even your Deputation, on seeing the state of things, could not help exclaiming against it. Your written circular has no meaning at all. The Deputation disown any power invested in them whatsoever. What are we to think when so little decision is manifest on your part? What dependance have we when your correspondence is contrary to the real state of things on the one hand and so contrary to the [ ] of your writing in the others? If your Deputation have no power given them, which they say they have not, of what utility is Deputation? You tell us, they were sent out to devise and put into effect etc which they have told us they were not authorised to do. We would have represented things ourselves. In regard to Salary, the Deputation [ ] concerning our wishes, have [ ] from conviction. Yet you must be aware that there will be incidental expenses every year, at every station, for which no provision is made. Our Widows and Orphans are still unprovided for, although [ ] demanded by every individual missionary. Provided for are they by the pledge of the Deputation but the printed circular teaches us, how precarious those pledges are, charity, that which consigns them over to the general good of the Institution find that ever existent, both the love that throws them upon the friends of the deceased parent when the father has spent his days in the Societies service. I repeat it, both these affections which forget past labour, to form an excuse for the neglect of present [ ] in what period of church history do we meet a parallel conduct. The bible it is true says "Depart in peace, be ye warmed and be ye filled" but the bible does not stop here, read the text and see. If the bible stops here, your sympathy is enough. If widows and orphans have not been neglected by the church of God, you, nor the Deputation, have not performed your duty as yet.

Another point of difference between us and your Deputation is, Regulations for the Stations. You deny us regulations on the ground of liberty of conscience, and yet (strange absurdity) impose on us your opinions of our experience. If this is reason I should like to know at what school you were taught logic (By the by, what do you think of the Mission Union?) To say we do not need rules, is to say the Lower of nations are useless. To deny us the right of a vote in framing those rules, is to deny your own selves, who boast of the purity of the British Constitution. To tell us the word of God is sufficient is to subvert all order of Civil Government. Here your Deputation do not, will not understand us. We do not ask rules as Churches of God, but as civil communities, in a civil capacity. Not as Ministers of the Gospel, but as Subordinate officers of civil Society. If you can not, will not give rules, why hold your stations. Give them over to the civil power. Col. Graham enquired of me, if many of our people could speak the English tongue. I said very few understood any of it. I remarked, I had often wondered Government has never recommended the introduction of it at our Stations. He replied "I can tell you Government does not like to interfere with your efforts, although aware of the utility of such a step". From this you see to whom Government look, for order and regularity at the Institutions, just see the Brethrens Settlements and you behold order in every direction, at your own nothing is seen but a [ ] of confusion. If your Missionaries are men of upright principles, well. If avaricious, they have full scope for avarice itself. Consult the facts produced by the Deputation for the truth of that

As it regards the Regulations sent out by the Directors. What is the difference between Local Authority established by the Directors and an Inspecting, Ruling or Presiding Missionary as mentioned in article 1st? For my own part I am much [ ] to tell or [ ] the difference, it cannot be other than the selfsame image [ ] however it matters not to me who presides if the Stations are well regulated. But if I understand words, No. 2 contradicts No. 1, if No. 1 does not contradict itself. To give my opinion on these articles, they appear to me no Regulations at all, but to make regular manifest the total Ignorance of the Directors as it regards the real state of their African Missions. I have proposed to your Deputation (I fear with no [ ] than to yourselves) The appointment of a person to manage the Temporal concerns of the Settlement, according to given Rules, who is to act as Magistrate, see that the people are employed and find the [ ] work, to pay them reasonable wages and receive the benefit of their labours himself. (For you will not hear of adopting the Brethrens plan viz. employing the

people for the benefit of the Society). To correspond with Government etc etc. Believe me, such a question would be useful, if you will but what your Stations are, as the Missionary appointed to minister in holy things. This person, must be a man who acts from principles, a man who seeks the good of the people, a man who knows better what is for their good, than themselves. He must be an active man, one who has a general knowledge of manual labour of every description, and a man who is not ashamed to be seen at work with the people, otherwise he would have nothing done. Your Missionary would by this means, be at liberty to attend on teaching, from the pulpit and in the school exclusively. There would be work enough for him and is what he is designed for.

In respect to the choice of your Deputation, I must confess it is well chosen. Dr Philip is a man of [ ] but had he been seven years a Missionary previous to his appointment, he would have been able to have [ ] seven times deeper into our affairs, than can be expected from now. However the Deputation are entitled to our esteem, and I trust they are highly esteemed by us all. If it please God to spare Dr Philip a few years among us, I do hope the missions will receive much benefit from his residence here. Experience is the best school.

I have now lost all hope of a better solution for the Institution. The price of land is advancing, is [ ] and you are so unwilling to lay out money for that purpose that there is no hope whatever. The place I visited last Novr is a fine Spot. I should be very happy to obtain it. To remain here is to instigate the [ ] of the people, we are so situated that it cannot be otherwise. To send mechanics here now, is of no use, it is too late. Emigration has spoiled such an attempt, yet it is the only step I can recommend to regain our lost character. Many of the Settlers must and will follow their trades, and most of them are mechanics. The general opinion is, they will, before long, be distributed all over the Colony. Had mechanics been introduced 20 years past, the Colony would have benefited and the Institution would have been a credit, instead of a disgrace to the Society.

In regard to the present state of Bethelsdorp, I have but little to say. Our Sabbath worship is, in general, well attended, great apparent attention is always paid. The attention of our congregation has been admired by all the Settlers who witnessed our worship, all have expressed themselves highly gratified with the sight. But 2 [ ] 3-11, is alas! the applicable to many, even of our members. Yet I believe much inconsistency of conduct is laid to the charge of the Institution which they are not guilty of. If any one is discovered in irregularity, and asked whence he came, his answer is,

falsely, from the school. Several instances of this kind have come under my notice.

We have had but one addition to the church, since my residence here, nor have we any at present coming for sure. It is a satisfaction to state many are an ornament to their profession, our joy and rejoicing. On the other hand, [ ] is the besetting sin of too many. I lament to say it. Pray for us, that the Spirit of our God may again be poured out upon us, that his work may be yet manifest among us.

We have more ground cultivated this year than has been cultivated before for years and we are still advancing. May the Lord continue the weather as favourable as it is now. Wages are [ ] and our people never obtained so high wages for their work as at present. Their services are much demanded at this time, whether it will continue so, I can't tell. Perhaps emigration may make it [ ] it will effect it, undoubtedly, one way or another, it [ ] has commenced in Timber, to ship it at the Knysna for Port Elizabeth, if this is carried on to any extent, it will injure our wood cutters. Formerly, part of their production was exported to the Cape from Algoa Bay, thus to import timber here must be against them. Saw mills are in contemplation, but it may be some time before they are introduced to any extent, however there are many better sawers come out to settle, than were here before.

With regard myself and family, God has visited us with mercy and judgment. On the 3rd June we had a Son added to our family which death deprived us of on the 20th. The dear creature suffered extremely whilst with us, which was truly painful to our feelings, yet I trust the Lord enabled us to submit to his will. Mrs B was very poorly and longer getting about again than ever before. I have experienced pain at my chest for some months past, particularly on Monday morning after the exertions of the Sabbath. Whilst Mrs Barker and the dear infant were ill, I took a severe cold, which so affected my breast as entirely to lay me aside from duty for three weeks. I applied for medical assistance, and was told no. I am much better, but not fit for great exertion, the pain at my breast still continues, still affects me after the labours of the Sabbath. Our dear little ones have been all ill, the youngest is very ill now, is [ ] restored 23rd Sep.

With the best regards of Mrs Barker and self to all the Directors with all who may inquire for our welfare. I subservice myself. Your most obedient servant in the cause of Christ

To / The Directors of the Missy Society.

G. Barker

[L.M.S. Correspondence: Barker to Directors, 2/8/20. (8/2/C)]

APPENDIX C(viii)COPY OF RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE COMMITTEE OF EXAMINATION FOR ADOPTION BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ON THE SUBJECT OF MARRIAGE OF HOTTENTOTS ETC.

1. That at the creation, as the Scriptures inform us: God made one male and one female, but he might, had he so pleased, have given a plurality of Wives to Adam and united them in marriage.
2. That although Polygamy was permitted, it was never authorized any more than lying, blasphemy and murder.
3. That under the new dispensation it is expressly required that every husband have his own wife and every wife her own husband.
4. That if a Heathen Hottentot be desirous to live with her married husband he is not authorized to put her away.
5. A Converted Heathen ought to be strongly advised to part with every woman with whom he had cohabited as a wife except the first whom he had taken as such; but if the woman or women refuse to separate, she or they shall not be obliged to leave him, but no converted Heathen shall be allowed to marry more than one wife, nor shall any retaining more than one wife be permitted to hold any Office whatever in the Church of God.
6. That as the Concubines entered into that connection in their state of ignorance and in the simplicity of their hearts, they, with their children, should they have any by him, seem to have a just claim on him to whom they had been united, for support and protection while they have been single, and that if the converted Hottentot be unable to give them support and protection, the honour of our religion seems to demand that it be afforded by our Missionaries.
7. That should the wife of a Hottentot die and any other woman with whom he formerly lived as such still survive in a single state, it appears to be his duty, if he be disposed to marry again, to take her to wife who stands next in order to the first.

Extracted from the Minutes of Com of Exam of the 26 Janry 1818. G. Hudson.

REPORT MADE BY THE REV DR SMITH, MR COLLINS AND \_\_\_\_\_ - TO WHOM THE RESOLUTION IMPOSED BY THE COMMITTEE OF EXAMINATION ON THE SUBJECT OF HOTTENTOT MARRIAGES WERE REFERRED.

8. That although Polygamy was permitted under the Patriarchal and Mosaic

Dispensations yet it was never authorized by the laws of God; and that under the New Testament Dispensation it is expressly required, that every husband should have his own wife and every wife her own husband.

2. That if a heathen wife be willing to live with her converted husband, he is not authorized to put her away, except in the case which the marriage contract for the crime of adultery.
3. That it is incompatible with a consistent profession of Christianity for a Convert to cohabit with more than one wife of them.
  - 1) If there be more than one wife and no children by any one of them, the woman first taken to wife shall be retained; except by the free and mutual consent of all the parties, a different arrangement shall be made.
  - 2) If only one wife of the wives have children she shall be held to be the lawful wife.
  - 3) If more than one wife having children she shall be held to be the retained wife who has the greater number of children, except by the free and mutual consent of all the parties, a different arrangement shall be made.
4. That, in such cases of polygamy as unhappily may exist in the instance of converted heathen, the woman first received to the right of marriage is to be held as the lawful and sole wife to the exclusion of all others.
5. That the woman or women who, according to the preceding regulations shall have been separated from the man with whom she or they formerly cohabited, shall be regarded as having a claim one being of maintenance, both on behalf of themselves and of their children in so far as their personal exertions may prove inadequate.
 

N.B. If the wife of a converted Hottentot die, and he be disposed to marry again, if also any one of those who had formerly separated from him, according to the preceding regulations be surviving and make a credible profession of Christianity, in such case it is the opinion of the Directors that the said converted Hottentot should be recommended to marry the female, so circumstanced.
6. That in all cases adjusted the the preceding rules a ratification of the marriage contract take place, by a solemn act, in the presence of the minister and the congregation to which the converted [            ] belongs; and that such ratification do then publicly take place before the parties or either of them shall be admitted to baptism or if baptized before they are admitted to the communion of the Lord's Supper.

7. That with regard to marriages out of the Colony a proper form of ratification for the above purpose be drawn up and sent out by the Directors.
8. That the original instrument of ratification in every case be carefully preserved by the Missionary or other Minister in whose presence it was executed and that a correct copy of the same be kept in the register book of the congregation.
9. That a course of proceedings corresponding with the above be adopted in all the marriages of the first instance which may hereafter take place [ ] as may be consistent with the laws and political regulations of the Country in which the parties reside.

#### OF ORDINATION

1. Resolved that it be recommended to [ ] on the proposal of the missionary Brethren at Cape Town viz. [ ] That every missionary who is to be ordained ought to be ordained by at least two regularly ordained missionaries of some Protestant Church and but generally to refer them in the fundamental principle of the society which admits of a difference of opinion as to the mode of administering ordination and that as to the ordinations of Messrs Schemelen and Bartlett that they be considered, so far as this point is [ ] eligible to continue in the administration of the Sacraments, since the [ ] under which their ordinations took place was pressing and peculiar; but that should the missionary Brethren think it necessary to require a re-ordination, the Directors should not object to any such proceeding, provided Messrs Schemelen and Bartlett feel no conscientious objection, and that they be left, in this respect, to their own discretion.

#### BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER

Resolved that it be recommended to the Directors to advise that in conformity with the fundamental principles of the Society, the administration of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper be left entirely to the discretion of the missionaries.

#### MARRIAGE

On the following Question - If a Person at an Institution who is converted and baptised has two wives or more should he be permitted to live with them? - the subjoined Report was adopted by the Committee

1. That at the creation as the Scriptures inform us God made one male and one female.
2. That although Polygamy was permitted, it was nevertheless not authorized any more than lying, blasphemy and murder.
3. That under the new Dispensation, it is expressly required that every

husband have his own wife and every wife her own husband.

4. That, in such cases of polygamy as unhappily may exist in the instance of converted heathen, the woman first received to the right of marriage is to be held as the lawful and sole wife to the exclusion of all others.
5. That if a heathen Hottentot ought to be strongly advised to part with, separate from, every woman with whom he had [ ] as his wife except the first whom he had taken as such; but if the woman or women refuse to separate she or they shall not be obliged to leave him, but no converted heathen shall be allowed to marry more than one wife, nor shall any one retaining more than one wife be permitted to hold any office in the Church of God.
6. That as the concubines entered into that connection in their state of ignorance and in the simplicity of their hearts they and their children should they have any by him, seem to have a just claim on him to whom they had been united, find support and protection while they live singly, and that if the converted Hottentot be unable to give them support and protection the honour of our religion seems to demand that it be afforded by our missionaries.
7. That should the wife of a Hottentot die and any other Woman with whom he formerly lived, as such, shall survive in a single state, it appears to be his duty, if he be disposed to marry again, to take her to wife who stands next in order to the first.

#### CHURCH DISCIPLINE

Resolved, that it be recommended that the articles proposed by the missionary Brethren on the subject of Church Discipline be acted upon viz.

1. That the steps respecting a fellow member of the Church as recorded in the 18th Chapter of Matthew and other Scriptures be regularly observed in all the Institutions.
2. That Church Members continuing in sin should be publicly cut off from the Church in the presence of the whole Institution as Tim. 5 Chapter 20 Verse.

[From L.M.S. Correspondence: 1817/1818/1819. (7/5/C).]





16. What is the mode of conducting the worship, and how do the regulations behave themselves?

17. State whether they are conducted with the same or different in what language or languages.

18. How often do they pray or otherwise?

19. Do the people generally attend their public exercises, and are the means taken to ascertain this?

20. Has Paganism been introduced into the Native Worship at your Station? If so, are the people supplied with Psalms or Hymns in the native languages?

21. In what respects do you differ from the rest of the world, or otherwise, do you require? and what for admission to the Lord's Table?

22. What number has been baptised, and what is the number of candidates for baptism?

23. How many are attending upon the worship, and what are the views of the natives and people of the Lord's Day, and do they prefer their own dwellings?

24. What is the number of the Communicants, and is their general conduct consistent with their profession?

25. What plan of Social Prayer, or other religious exercises, have you adopted, and with what result?

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23. Is any method adopted? and what is found successful?

29. Have you established a Sabbath School? If so, state how it is conducted, the number who attend, distinguishing Adults and Children, and the number of Teachers.

30. What has been done by you or your congregation, for the regulation of their Children?

31. What has been done by you, in visiting the families of your people?

32. Have you endeavoured to disseminate Family Wares among them, by any instance, or success?

33. Have you adopted any plan for the instruction of the more ignorant of your people, by means of those who are more intelligent and well-informed?

34. Do those who have comprehended the truth of the Gospel, seek desirous to impart it upon others?

35. What do you regard as the chief impediments to the general reception of the Gospel in your station?

36. Have you met with any difficulties, or obstacles to Polygamy? and if so, how have they been obtained?

Have you adopted, and with what results, any of the following as social exercises?

*[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*

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relate,  
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As, however  
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One  
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them

*Give date of investigation, name of institution, and name of person to whom report is made.*

*762*

*people, ... 2. Bills ... it would be best to ... of course to ...*

*to be conveyed to ... in ...*

*14*

*154*

*...*

MISCELLANEOUS

42. How many of the Adult Inmates belonging to your Institution or Station can read? How many can write?

43. Give a report of the likely occupations and religious Tracts have been distributed during the year ending year, and to what kind of papers?

44. State whether they are read, and to what extent you are disposed to think this is the case, and your reasons for the opinion.

45. Has an Auxiliary Ministry Society been established at your Station in aid of the Mission? If so, what is the average amount of the annual contributions for each Society?

46. State the total number of persons belonging to your Institution or Station, distinguishing Male and Female, married and unmarried, adults and children, and of what nations.

47. State the average number of Adult Inmates at the Station, and their respective occupations.

48. State the number of rooms let in your Institution or Station.

49. State the number of houses of other descriptions, and of what materials they are composed.

50. State the number of houses which are not in a proper state of repair.

51. State the number of acres of land owned by your Institution or Station.

44. State the number and belonging to the Institution in a state of culture.

45. State the description of grain sown, and the 1840 annual produce.

46. State the names of persons belonging to the Institution.

47. State separately the number of persons, (male, female, and free).

48. State the names of persons belonging to the Institution, and how they are employed.

DEAR BROTHERREN,

It is the desire of the Directors that the Answers which may be returned to the above-mentioned Questions, should be prepared with as much care, and expressed with as much precision, as possible. Such Answers as, by reason of their length, cannot, in a small and legible hand, be written off the printed paper, are required to be copied on a separate sheet. Each Answer must have prefixed in it the number of the Query to which it refers. Intelligible notes on any important points connected with the general state of the Mission, or references to which no Queries are here proposed, but on which it is nevertheless desirable that the Directors should be informed, the Missionaries are requested to communicate on a separate paper, under the title of Annotations. The value of the Answers, &c. are to be regularly sent home, every year, so as to reach England early in the month of March following, in order to afford materials for the Annual Report of the Society. You are requested also to send a Duplicate of the whole to the Rev. Dr. PEARCE, the Society's Representative, at Cape Town, for his own use; and, besides annexing your signature, to be particular in writing on the printed Paper of Queries, the names of the Stations to which the Returns relate, the year, and the day of the month on which they are made.

In behalf of the Directors, we are,

Dear Brethren, cordially Yours,

(Signed)

WILLIAM ALFRED HANLEY, Treasurer.  
GEORGE BULDER, Secretary.

P.S. As the Quartermaster of the Society desires for no materials chiefly on the Journals of the Missionaries, (as the Missionary Clergy do on their own Journals), it is requested that you will keep this in view, preparing the Returns from your Journals, not on the forwarding of them to Europe. As, however, only a comparatively small part of the MSS. of the communications received in this form can be published, and as it is desirable to give to the Work as much variety as possible, you will be always that the Returns should be rather select than voluminous, but it is by no means intended by this remark to place any restriction on more ample communications, when the interesting nature of the matter renders it desirable.

It is occasionally desirable that the Quartermaster should be furnished with materials for the Quarterly Returns, you are requested to recollect, that such materials must be sent as express references to some subject which can be represented in an Engraving; for which purpose, such a drawing should accompany the written description, as it is of great service to give as accurate an idea of the subject to be engraved.

Geographical information respecting your Station, including any thing remarkable in Natural History, or relating to the peculiar character of the climate, their habits, customs, &c. will be always interesting to the Friends of Missions, as well as of intelligence on far more important points.

The Missionaries are requested to send a duplicate of specimens of making the copies of their Journals to Cape Town, by each return, so as to be properly examined with them, and to return to them in their Letters to the Directors, when and by whom they are forwarded to the Cape.

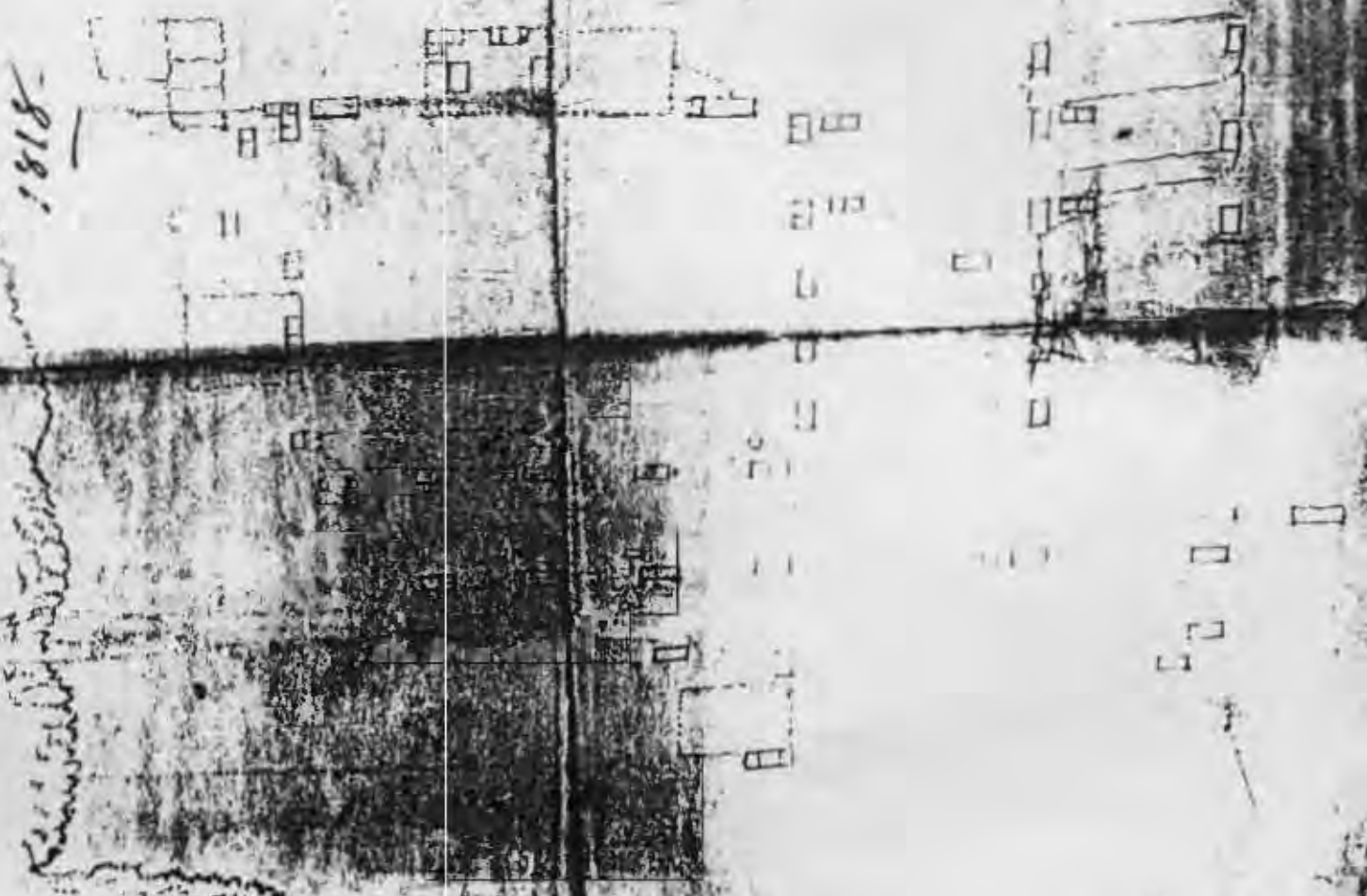
*By Mr. West and Lady Lewis of Cape Town, 1841. I have  
generally kept out of my hands, but must be in London  
about the middle of the month of March next, and put for  
three or four months of 1840. Myself and part of the  
family have been employed in the  
Missionary Society.*

LONDON, August 1, 1841.

*George Bulder*

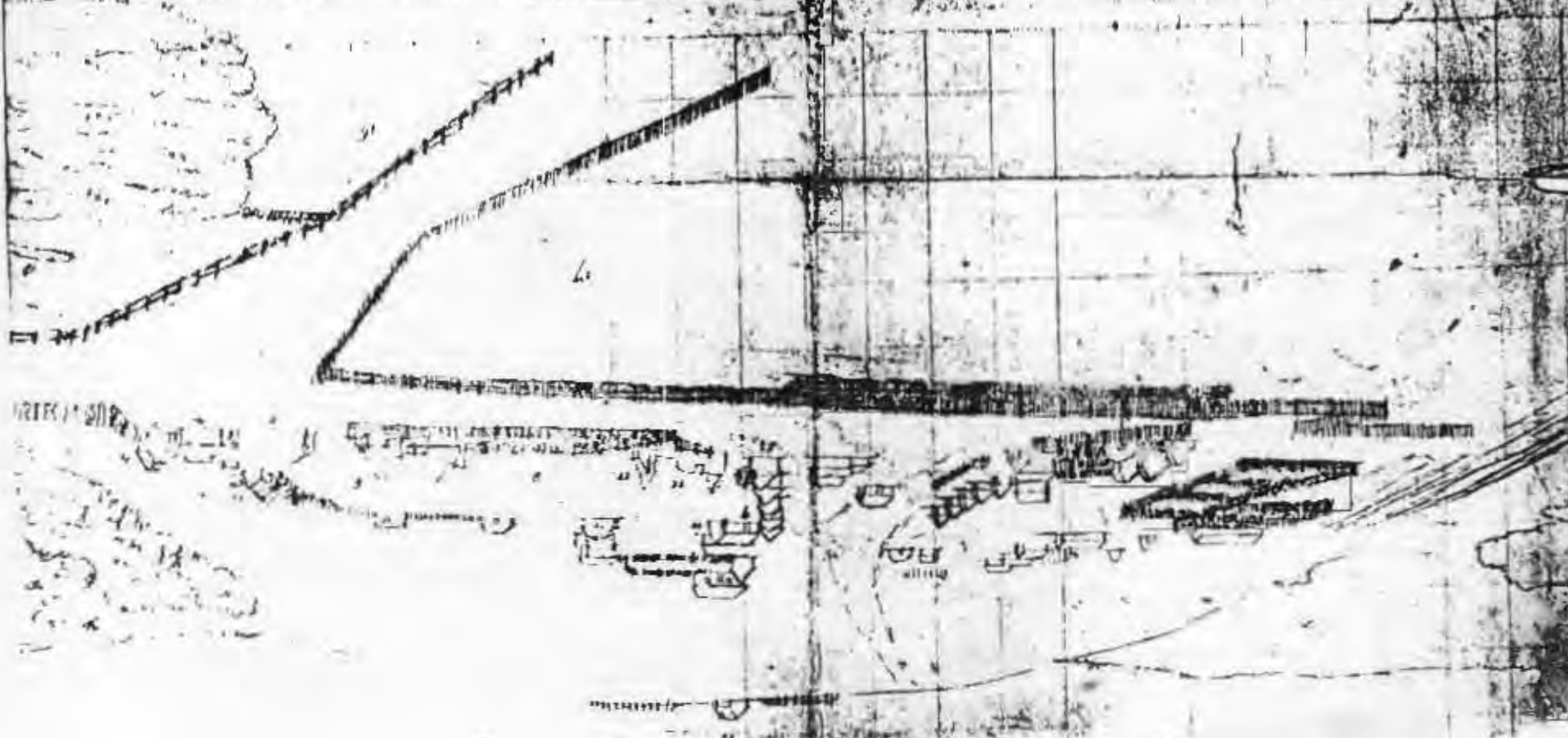
[It is speculated that this sketch was made by George Barker. The writing bears this out.]

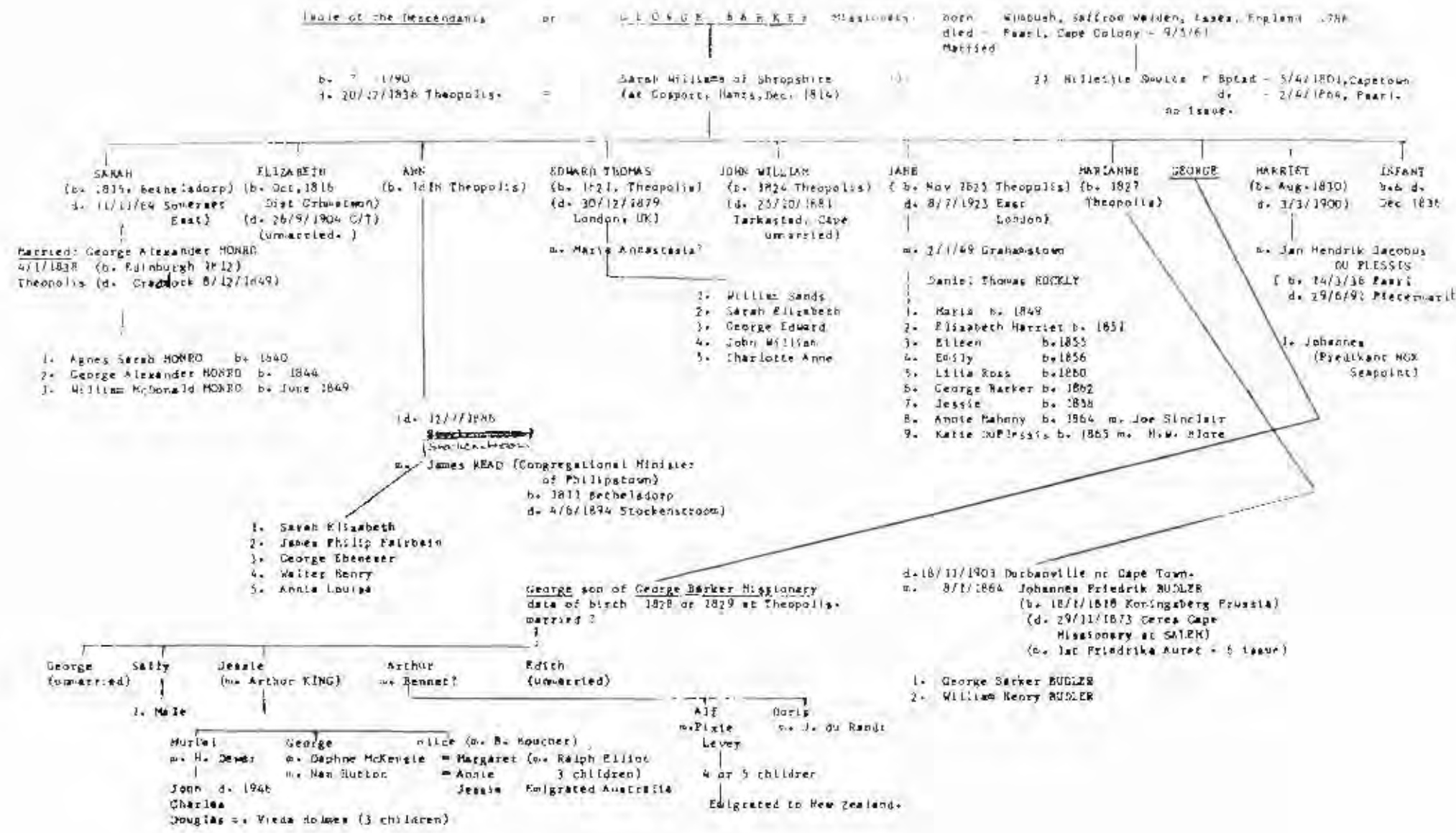
B.  
Night Sketch  
of  
Naples, 1818



All streets from a north-south  
line to the east  
12 The Park and Street  
13 St. Martin's Street and - 6th St.  
14 Northside House with 2nd  
15 St. Martin's Lane House  
16 St. Martin's Lane Garden  
17 St. Martin's Lane  
18 St. Martin's Lane  
19 House on St. Martin's Lane

Sketch of the  
Naples, 1818  
1. St. Martin's Lane  
2. St. Martin's Lane  
3. St. Martin's Lane  
4. St. Martin's Lane  
5. St. Martin's Lane  
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14. St. Martin's Lane  
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16. St. Martin's Lane  
17. St. Martin's Lane  
18. St. Martin's Lane  
19. St. Martin's Lane





Will of  
George Barker  
April, 1861.

Maand 7 June 1861

1861

Maand 7 June 1861

Op heden, den Negenden dag der Maand April -  
in het jaar onzes Heeren Een Duizend Acht Honderd En - en

veertig.

130

Verklaar ik ondergetekende -  
George Barker,

in zake te hebben over mijne met den dood nalatens Goederen te beschikken, hetwelk ik doe uit  
eigen Will, zonder aanrading of oeverreding van iemand, en herroep by deze alle door my voor  
afgeleide openlijke Testamenten, Codicillen of andere Acten, kracht van Ultrate Will hebbende,  
willend en bevestigende dat geene derzelve na het passeren dezen van de minste kracht of waarde sy,  
maar inwendig als nooit gepasseerd worden beschouwd.

Van ter verkiezing van Erfgenamen staande, verklaar ik tot mijne enige en eijghe Erf-  
genamen, op te reiken, te benoemen en aan te stellen *Mijne Kuissoortige*  
*Killeste Smeets, en mijne kinderen*  
*Sarah, - Elisabeth, - Ann, - Edward*  
*Thomas, - John Williams, - Jane*  
*May Ann, - George - and Harriet*  
*Barker, in gelyke deelen*

en zult in alle mijne nalatens Goederen, zoo roerende als onroerende Actien en Crediten, Erf-  
nissen, en Besterfentzen, niets uitgezonderd, om door hen en by afbruyeryden van een of meer  
van hen, alden haare wettige afstammelingen by plantverruiging, als vry en eigen goed aangeerd, en  
verreken te worden sonder iemands tegenspraak.

Tot

Handteekening  
G. Barker

Books ordered by George Barker

Rigby's: Body of Divinity

Baxter's: Comprehensive Bible

Watt's: Psalms and Hymns

Wardlaw's: Christian Ethics

Gregory's: Reminiscences of Robert Hall

Gregory's: Memoir of Robert Hall

Nature and History of Enthusiasm

Modern Fanaticism

Foster's: Essay on Decision of Character  
and Popular Ignorance

Adam's: View of all Denominations

[These books all represent fairly advanced  
thinking and argue a good understanding]

HOTTENTOT

HOW DEATH CAME

The Moon, they say, called Mantis,  
sent him with life to people saying:  
Go to men and tell them this:

As I die and dying live,  
you too shall die and dying live.

Mantis started, took the word.  
Then Hare stopped him by the path,  
he said: What, insect, is your errand:  
Mantis answered: I am sent by Moon,  
by that one, I must say to men:

As he dies and dying lives  
they too shall die and dying live.

Hare the quick-tongue said to him:  
Why run? You are shaky on your legs.  
Let me go, I outrun the wind.  
Hare ran, he came to men and said:  
Moon sent me with this word:

As I die and dying perish  
you shall die and utterly die.

Hare raced again to Moon,  
told him all that he had said to men.  
The Moon said dark with anger:  
How is it you dared tell them  
this thing I never said?  
He took up wood, a sharp fire-log,  
with one blow in the face  
struck down the Hare. He split  
the lying Hare's lip to this day.

*From the MSS of Hottentot folklore in the  
original language in the Grey Collection,  
Cape Town, quoted by W. H. J. Block in  
Hottentot Fables and Tales, 1864*

HOTTENTOT

HUNTER'S PRAYER

O Heitsi-Eiboh  
hai! our forefather,  
send luck to me  
give into my hand the wild game  
let me find honey-comb and sweet roots  
and I will sing you my praise.  
Are you not our father's father  
you, Heitsi-Eiboh?

*From T. Hahn*

HYMN TO TSUI-XGOA

You, O Tsui-Xgoa  
you, all-father  
you, our father!  
Let stream to earth the thundercloud,  
give that our flocks may live,  
give life to us  
I am so stricken with weakness  
I thirst and I hunger.  
Allow that I gather and eat the bold fruits,  
for are you not our first one  
the father of fathers,  
you, Tsui-Xgoa -  
that we may sing to you in praise  
that we may measure to you in return.  
you, all-father  
you, our maker  
you, O Tsui-Xgoa

*From Theophilus Hahn, who describes  
Tsui-Xgoa as the Supreme Being of the  
Rhoi-Khoi, as the Hottentots called themselves*

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Appendix F

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This Bibliography lists those books used in the thesis. Further books, not consulted for the thesis, were used in compiling the Biographical Indices. These appear with the relevant entries.

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- A. Official and Semi-Official Documents
- B. Contemporary Newspapers
- C. Books and Pamphlets
- D. Books and Pamphlets Relative to the L.M.S.

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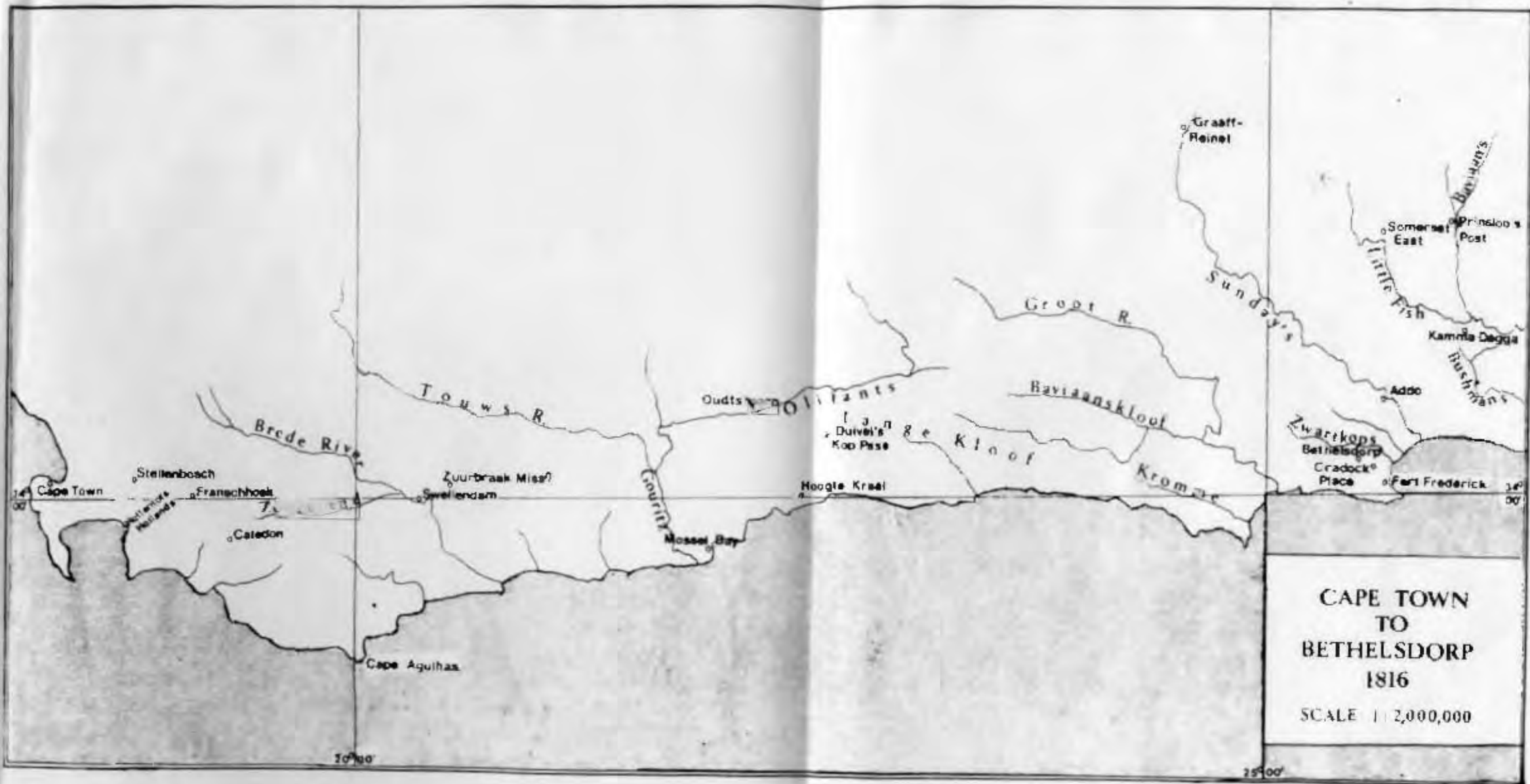
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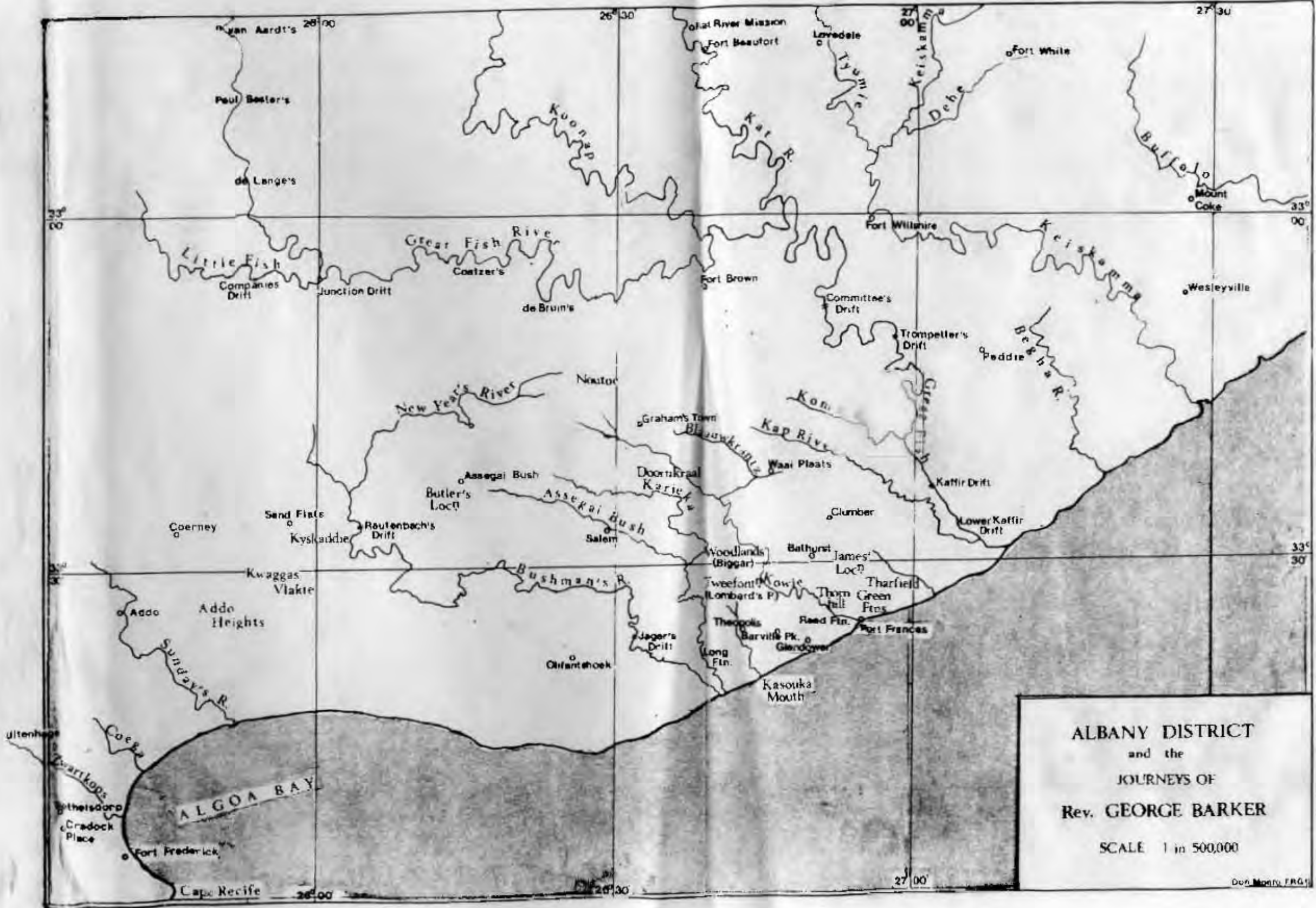
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THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE BARKER  
1815 - 1828  
OF THEOPOLIS MISSION

being Volume 11 of the

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS  
OF RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

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January 1983

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PREFACE

Before undertaking the thesis on Theopolis Mission it was necessary to edit and foot-note the Journal of George Barker 1815-1829. In addition, certain information was collected on subjects germane to the thesis but not necessarily included in the formal draft of the thesis in any detail. The biographical index of Settlers illustrates this. As the Journal is not easily accessible to examiners and when used is extremely difficult to decipher, I am therefore handing it in with notes.

I would like to thank all those who helped me with deciphering the original, in particular my mother, who wrote it all out in long hand to laborious dictation, and Cindy Brown and Sheila Bray who were so interested and so helpful as they deciphered my handwriting and cryptic comments.

METHOD OF EDITING

An attempt has been made to eliminate small repetitive entries. The Journal is invaluable as a date-fixer and as a commentary on the practical application of Khor legislation with all its concomitant problems. As far as the L.M.S. is concerned, it shows very clearly early errors of administration, clash of personalities and the multiplicity of problems in planning which faced the Directors operating in London. On the local scene a clear picture emerges of the multiplicity and variety of tasks faced by the missionaries, the unbelievable hardships experienced in the field and the really unappreciated role they were forced to play in a developing and evolving multi-racial community.

In order to emphasise these points some short and repetitive entries have been included but, on the whole, an attempt has been made to create the picture of the vicissitudes of life on the frontier. A clear character sketch of Barker emerges, in spite of the restrictions imposed on free expression by the fact that this was the official Journal. Loving, intolerant, working off his wrath in physical labour, impatient of stupidity, trying to do his duty and working all the time. In spite of enemies, it is noticeable that many people made visits again and again to Theopolis and the Barkers. These visits are all included either in text or note.

An additional feature of the Journal is the cross-section of Settler Society and Frontier soldiers and officials who were personally known to the Barkers. None of these names have been omitted.

Spelling errors, on the whole, have not been omitted as they illustrate so clearly, along with his letters, the development of a strong person overcoming

initial educational handicaps, and reading all the time to command finally an excellent vocabulary. Proper names like Jan Tshatshu, so inconsistently mis-spelt, have been given accepted modern rendering. Where writing was totally illegible and no "educated guess" was possible, square brackets [ - ] are used. Round brackets are Barker's. Linking passages have also been put into [ ] square brackets. An effort has been made not to omit anything of importance and to ensure the inclusion of every "date-fixer".

The illustrations were simply selected and, where appropriate, taken to illustrate points and illuminate the author's own thinking.

INTRODUCTIONGEORGE BARKER AND THEOPOLIS MISSION

[No foot-notes are given as all information is contained in the thesis]

A recurring problem to Governments at the Cape in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was the nomadic clans of the Khoi. Living on the fringes of the newly settled and steadily expanding Colony, they eked out an existence harassed by the whites moving eastwards and the blacks moving west. As these two groups met in the Eastern Districts of the Cape, the Khoi, more and more, needed help. Not fully recognised as anything but peripheral citizens they needed bases from which to operate. Thus it came about that Dr Van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society, unable to set up a Mission to the Xhosa, gathered a group of Vagrant Khoi and was eventually granted land at Bethelsdorp in the comparatively safe shadow of Fort Frederick in Algoa Bay. (1801)

Very soon Bethelsdorp was over-crowded and in 1813 John Campbell, a visiting Commissioner of the L.M.S., applied to the Governor, Sir John Cradock, for a new station. A grant of land was made between the Kasouga and Kariega Rivers and to this area Cradock optimistically gave the name Theopolis (City of God) in 1814. Not really suited to agriculture it was a wild rocky terrain and here, on the banks of the Kasouga, the mission was set up under the somewhat erratic guidance of J.G. Ullbricht (1776-1821), a Dutchman, whose failing health and lack of firm leadership qualities made him a far from ideal choice. To aid him in 1816, the L.M.S. sent George Barker (1786-1861), a new recruit who was a mechanic missionary. It is from George Barker's Journal and letters that the History of Theopolis can be pieced together.

The Barker family could trace their lineage back at least as far as the sixteenth century, during which time they had been blacksmiths and ale-house keepers in the village of Wimbush in Surrey. Barker himself, presumably after attending the village school, was apprenticed as a blacksmith but quickly came under the influence of the Rev Mr Harris of the Independent (Congregational) Church in Cambridge. The working classes of England were in ferment. Swept by both religious revival and political aspirations they were increasingly motivated to spread their wings. Barker was no exception and he soon found himself at the Gosport Academy, training to be a missionary with the L.M.S. In Gosport he met one, Sarah Williams, "a native of Shropshire", whom he married and who obviously earned not only his love but his respect, if the Journal is any guide. Together in 1815 they sailed for South Africa, never to return to their native land. As all missionaries of the L.M.S. were

required to keep a Journal, it is from this and his correspondence that a picture of Barker and Theopolis emerges. Barker served initially as Temporal Manager from 1816-1819 and then as Ruling Missionary from 1821-1839. The Journal tells the story up to 1828.

After this date (1828), which marked the beginning of a new era for the Khoi, the story has been culled from correspondence and contemporary commentary. Theopolis, like Bethelsdorp before it, had proved too small and many of the Khoi, taking advantage of the new freedom granted by Ordinance 50, moved to claim small-holdings in the Kat River Valley. After this exodus of first-class men, the mission, always subject to Xhosa rustling raids, withstood all the violence of war in 1835. Barker, an energetic, hard-working and sometimes irascible man, was completely dis-orientated by the death of his wife in 1836, following as it did on the steady erosion of the work he had known at Theopolis. In 1839 he moved to Paarl, where in 1841 he married Hillelje Smuts.

His career there continued on its impetuous, busy way enlivened by clashes with Mission authorities and countless with erring parishioners too. In spite of the disputes with Dr Philip, Barker wrote a most genuine letter expressing both sorrow and admiration when he heard of that *daughty* warrior's death. He obviously appreciated the sterling qualities while deploring the folly of his Superintendent.

Barker continued active, driving to out-stations, castigating the authorities, encouraging, exhorting and criticising until in 1856 blindness compelled his retirement. He died in 1861, "full of years" and, according to report, still a respected figure much loved and honoured by all in Paarl. His spirit lived on in his descendants among whom can be counted H.E. Hookley, distinguished lawyer and historian of the Settlers; Johan du Plessis, church historian and academic in the Dutch Reformed Church; a distinguished school principal, Alan Barker; prosperous farmers, the Kings of Adelaide and the Budiers of Addo; an excellent colourist, Joan Hannath; and on the stage in the persons of Peter and Judith Krumneck. While Theopolis was destroyed in war in 1846 and in revolt in 1851 in the form known to Barker, his spirit lives on there, too, and in 1968 his great, great grand-daughter, Enid Craig (nee Barker), a distinguished principal of the Grahamstown Training College (and living image of her ancestor), took great pleasure in giving out prizes at the Theopolis Farm School prize-giving and in listening to the singing of young voices in the same valleys where her ancestors had worshipped and worked and where her grandmother's grave lies silent and peaceful. "Let us now praise famous men and our ancestors who begat us".

EDITING. - METHOD USED.

This passage is staccato and repetitive, but names are important Method of editing is indicated overleaf.  
(1818)

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2.	By the garden the garden place & ED garden's after more. It was the garden place & ED garden's
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22.	By the garden the garden place & ED garden's

1 1st May Last night the Caffres stole some cattle out of the [vee] <sup>192</sup> close which were retaken in the evening & 2 Caffres shot.

The work of the mission continued steadily. Klaas Kupido <sup>193</sup> was contractor to work for Mr Barker for a year. A visit from Dr. Léd included inoculation of the two little girls and of four of the people <sup>194</sup> Lt. Gilfillan accompanied the doctor. The people who accompanied Brother Williams to Kaffreland returned and Brother Jan Ishatshu took a service. Barker continued actively to help in the construction of buildings. In the smith's shop he

made hinges for gates as well as plough shares for Klaas Jäger, Gibus Moeder, Brother Williams and William Valentyn. Visitors included Brigade Major Page, <sup>195</sup> J. D. and Captain Irappes, and two members of the Royal African Corps who <sup>196</sup> as they were supposed to be deserters, were sent to Grahamstown. Barker also planted trees, peas, potatoes and beans. Letters were sent to Mr Burden, <sup>197</sup> Mr Thomas, Mr Harris and Mr Hart. Mr Green <sup>198</sup> bought a horse for him in Grahamstown for 33 Rds and he built a stable, which was plastered and thatched. Major Frazer gave him fig and peach trees and he fenced the large garden with a fence and aloes.]

Editing was simple from the point of view of punctuation, which, on the whole is good, and is unaltered. His abbreviations are minimal, (he uses Bro for Brother for example) and these have been retained.

While the "story" on the whole is not as interesting as Shaw's (for example) the day-by-day record is valuable and on the whole very accurate in fixing contemporary events; in detailing Khoi legislation and its effect on the people and in describing the methods used to make household goods, implements and machinery.



GEORGE BARKER 1786-1861



SARAH BARKER 1790-1836

## THE DIARY OF GEORGE BARKER.

MISSIONARY. 1815-1828.

VOYAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA.

When we enter into important situations of life it becomes us to notice the judicial dealings of God in providence towards us.

Thus, O God enable me to begin my Missionary voige and prosecute my labours among the Heathen, humbly relying upon thy faithfulness for the supply of all my wants, temporal and spiritual, and with gratitude acknowledging thy providential kindness in all that I recieve.

Febv. 4th, 1815: This day I entered into the solemm engagement of marriage, previous to my departure from my native land. The Lord having provided Sarah Williams,<sup>1</sup> a native of Shropshire to be my companion in the arduous task before me. Lord give us wisdom and prudence so to conduct ourselves in this new station in life, that thy name may be glorified in all that we do. We are the servants of the Heathen for Christ's sake.

7th: Took leave of the friends in London and came to Portsmouth in order to embark for this place assigned me by providence as the scene of my future labours (Latakkoo)<sup>2</sup> in South Africa. The Lord conduct me in safety and prosper his own work among those to whom he shall be pleased to send me.

14th: Went on board the ship Alfred<sup>3</sup> (Captain Grainger) bound to the Cape of Good Hope. The wind fair in the morning N.N.E; in the evening it changed to the S.W.

15th: The wind still unfavourable. Left the ship at 12 o'clock, at noon, with much regret we returned to Gosport.<sup>4</sup>

[From the 2nd March to the 19th Barker gives a concise account of the variations of weather which led to considerable discomfort particularly for Brother Williams.<sup>5</sup> The "Bay of Biskey" provided more than a fair share of storms and when calmer weather followed the monotony was broken by the sighting of a village on the Spanish mainland, by the visit of fishermen and by "shooting at gulls". There was still no sign of the escorting fleet which had disappeared in the storm. The Captain was, justifiably, nervous in view of the conditions existing in Europe.<sup>6</sup>]

On the 20th March "at one o'clock a.m. the alarm was given that a stranger sail was bearing down on us. All we in consternation. Preparations were made for an engagement (the guns and muskets were all loaded with

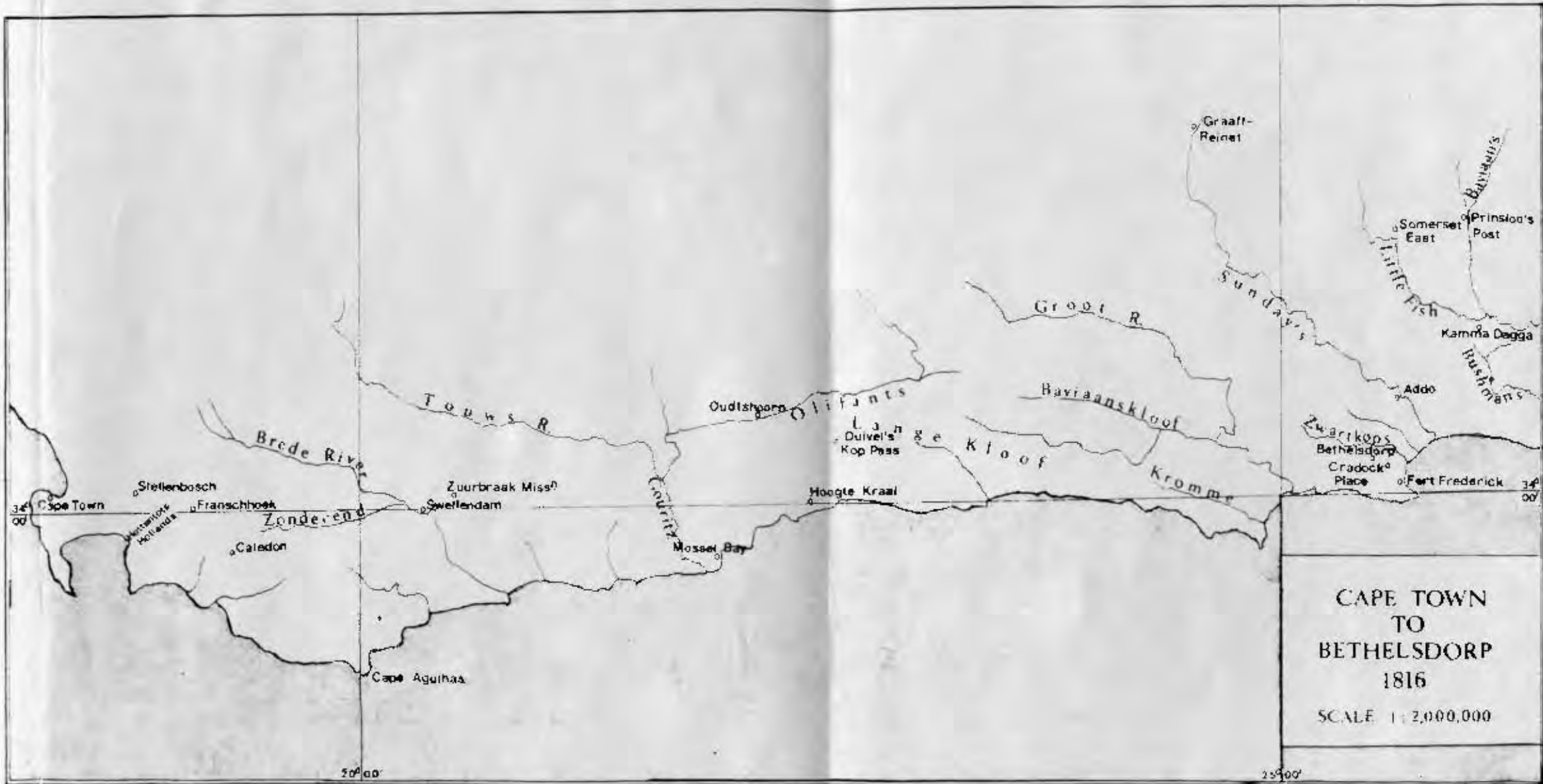
ball cartridge on Saturday). The portholes opened, guns primed, matches lighted, men with powder-horns on, and some with cutlasses. All in readiness expecting a shot every minute. She had hoisted British colours but Capt. Grainger would not trust her. When she came along-side our Capt. hailed her. What ship? "His Britannic Majesty's Brig." She passed us to the leeward (all were still apprehensive of her) and when at our stern fired a gun. When passed I stood looking over the leeward stern when a flash of fire gave us to understand that another gun was fired at us, the Capt. called out "Take care of your heads, for the shot will fly about like hail", I then jumped down, the Capt, who was looking over the windward stern, said it was grape-shot, providentially they did not reach us. She now tacked about and followed us, but lost ground. She continued maneuvering about and as I, my wife and Mrs Hamilton were standing on the Poop, she turned sideways to our stern & fired a broadside. We were so far as to be perfectly out of danger & saw the balls fall into the water about half-way from her to us. Our ship, being a good sailor, she kept losing ground of us. It was the opinion of all that she was an American Privateer<sup>7</sup>, but was somewhat dismayed at the warlike appearance of our ship. She did not answer our Capt's signals.

[Eventually they successfully outdistanced the persistent brig and came in sight of the coast of Portugal]. Later, from British naval vessels which they met, they learned that the war was over.

The chronicle of the voyage from 22nd March until Saturday, May 20th contains an account of sightings of "grampers" and turtles, of flying fish; and of intense heat. The latter causing Barker to "read prayers" in his "shirt sleeves" under an awning on the deck. The four missionaries<sup>8</sup> were all shaved to celebrate the crossing of the Equator. By the 21st April they were rationed to two quarts of water per day. On the 5th May the ship sprang a leak and the missionaries took their share in pumping.]

20th [of May] (Saturday): This morning were in almost a calm, moving very slowly indeed. A pig, last of our live stock was killed this morning. The Capt. & passengers & sailors thought they saw land, but were deceived, however all were anxiously looking out for land & in the afternoon the Top of Table Mountain presented itself to our view. I went up to the mizen-mast-head & saw two mountains, but we were moving very slow toward them, yet the wind, what there was, was a little more in our favour.

21st (Sunday): Last night we had a brisk wind almost all night. At 2 o'clock A.M. I was on deck, we were sailing 8 knots. The mountains of Africa were [in] sight. By the light of the moon I beheld with pleasure that



34° 00'

34° 00'

20° 00'

25° 00'

land I had long wished to see. I went again to bed encouraged by what I had seen. About 5 A.M. I arose from my bed and did not go to bed again, but regaled myself with a sight of some of those hills over which I hoped soon to pass. The wind began to abate and at 8 o'clock we were in complete calm and so continued all day. The scenery was beautiful, we were about 20 miles from the foot of Table Mount behind Cape Town. Our good friends heard of the arrival of a ship & were praying for us. No public worship on board. About 7 o'clock P.M. the wind freshened, but very much against us, however we [made] a start. Some said we should come to anchor by 12, others said sooner & others not so soon. The wind being unfair we were obliged to make a great many tacks & came to an anchor about 20 minutes past 9 o'clock A.M. to our no small joy, opposite Cape Town. Immediately we had cast anchor, a good friend, (Mrs Smith)<sup>9</sup> came alongside with 2 boats & enquired if there were any missionaries on board. Afterwards came Mr. Thom.<sup>10</sup> Our baggage was all on shore by 1 o'clock & before three, the customhouse business all finished & we at our lodgings.

[At this point there is a gap in the diary, Barker having presumably been too busy in Cape Town to record his impressions.]

#### JOURNEY TO BETHELSDORP.

July 12th: We took leave of the friends at Cape Town & about 12 o'clock began our journey accompanied by Brother Pacalt<sup>11</sup> & a number of Hottentots who had come to conduct us to Hooge-Kraal<sup>12</sup> the place of his residence. We had five waggons,<sup>13</sup> three new ones prepared by Mr. Hammes<sup>14</sup> at Cape Town & two from Hooge-Kraal. The first night was very wet and our new waggons had no tents made.

13th: We came about mid-day to the house of Mr. Roos,<sup>15</sup> a wine Boer, where tents were made for our new waggons; here also we purchased some Cape-brandy.

15th: At daylight in the morning we ascended the path over the mountains called Hottentots Holland,<sup>16</sup> the road is very bad, but by the help of God we were all safe over by 11 a.m.

18th: We arrived at the house of the Reverend Mr Vos at Caledon,<sup>17</sup> whom we found to be a man of kindness and hospitality, possessing an extensive experience in things pertaining to this life and that to come. Visited the Adjunct Landdrost on 19th;<sup>18</sup> and also the warm baths which are a great curiosity.<sup>19</sup>

21st: Some friends of Bro [Pacalt's] met us and brought bread, flower & flesh, Bro. P. having previously written to them. We spent some time with them in prayer & Bro P. addressed them; after which we parted, hoping to meet them with the general assembly of the church above, and proceed on our way.

22nd: On account of much rain we were under the necessity of halting at a Boer's place, where we spent the sabbath. I gave the mistress of this family a Bible as they appeared to have none. We baked bread here & they begged a loaf from us.

24th: We crossed [a] broad river on a float of a peculiar construction & arrived at Zwellendam where we were kindly entertained by Mr Kosten,<sup>20</sup> formerly a missionary. We spent the night here & Bro P. preached in the evening.

25th: Having written from Zwellendam to Zure-brack<sup>21</sup> the Brn. Zadenfaden<sup>22</sup> & Wimmer<sup>23</sup> came from thence to us on the road & by their persuasions we left our waggons [etc] to the care of Bro P. & returned with them to visit that station, and after spending one night with them returned again to our waggons. The people gave us oxen to draw our waggons & our oxen were sent forward to graze.<sup>24</sup>

July 28th: Arrived at the house of a Boer whose name was De-Jacher,<sup>25</sup> a preaching farmer. Here we staid the sabbath over.

29th: Assembled a large number of people together in order to keep the approaching sabbath, not knowing of our being there but after their usual custom. Some came in waggons a days journey, others on horse-back. Their worship commencing on Satterday midday.

30th: In the morning Bro Wimmer came with another Boer suspecting we would stop there. There were also many Hottentots & Slaves permitted to hear with them, a custom not very common in Africa as the people of colour are not allowed to go into their churches.<sup>26</sup> Our Hottentots greatly augmented the number of those who usually attend, it was therefore thought best to divide white and black for one room could not contain them. Bro P. preached in the morning to about 70 blacks & Bro W. to about 60 whites, & in the afternoon it was reversed.

31st: After recieving many tokens of kindness we took leave of this pious family, much refreshed and rejoiced.

August 4th: We came to a river in the morning which is effected by the tide & found that we could not cross it, its mouth being blockaded with sand; we were therefore necessitated to turn aside & make towards the sea shore along which, with great difficulty we travelled in deep sand about<sup>27</sup>

a mile & were obliged to outspan our oxen before we could ascend the sand hills to come into better road again. I and Sister W went at least a mile in search of water and what we found was very brack. This prevented us reaching Hooge Kraal this day.

5th: About 5 o'clock in the evening we arrived at Hooge-kraal having been 3 weeks & 5 days on our journey from Cape-Town thither.

20th: Bro [Pacalt] formed his church. 5 were baptised 2 men & 3 women, I held the basin of water.<sup>29</sup> This was truly a delightful season.

23rd: [Men,] one waggon & oxen for the others came from Bethelsdorp in order to convey us thither.

28th: Took leave of Hooge-Kraal & recommenced our journey, having Bro P. as a companion to the Lange Kloof.<sup>30</sup> In the afternoon came to Gijmans-Gat<sup>31</sup> when it began to rain. Our waggons all descended in safety though mine was nearly overturned but only 2 could be got [through] with all that we could do. There we were fast with 2 waggons under in the river, and 2 above untill the 30th when in the afternoon the other 2 were drawn up, but not before one was overturned - no harm done. About 5 o'clock all were spanned in & an attempt made to proceed, but before we had gone 10 rods<sup>32</sup> my waggon was overturned with me & my wife both in. I was reading Mr Campbell's journal,<sup>33</sup> however by the good providence of God we recieved no injury except a fright.

31st: We were again in motion.

Sept. 2nd: With some difficulty we passed the mountain called the Duyvil's<sup>34</sup> kop or devil's head. This tho: much spoken of is not worse than some other places between George & the Long-kloof. We reached the extremity of this pass when we had a very bad place to descend into the Long-Kloof & as night had overtaken us we were obliged to continue above, but we were so far from water that we could not get it & bread and flesh we had none. Bro P. left us in the afternoon to go to a farm [house] in the Kloof & prepare for us bread etc.

3rd: We were not able to span in early because our oxen had strayed, we reached the house of Mrs Reinsberg<sup>35</sup> about 11 A.M., where we found Bro P waiting for us. Before we reached the house we met a hottentot & 2 slaves with bread, boiled flesh & milk for us, but as we were so near the house we did not stop to eat. Bro P. preached here afternoon & evening.

4th: Stayed at this farm house to bake bread for our journey. About near the Secretary from George Drosdy, Mr Berg,<sup>36</sup> came in on his way to Uitenhage; who had rode on horse-back in 4 hours the distance which had occupied us a week.

5th: Left this place in the morning & Bro P returned - very much affected at parting.

7th: To our no small joy & contrary to our expectations we met Bro Read<sup>37</sup> with a waggon & a number of Hottentots, so that no sooner had we lost one guide than we were provided with another.

10th: Spent the sabbath at a farm house that was forsaken by its owner and a number of the people belonging to Bethelsdorp,<sup>38</sup> who were cutting Stinkwood at a small distance, came to join us.

11th: Proceeded with fresh oxen<sup>39</sup> from the people at work in the wood.<sup>40</sup> Had oxen continually meeting us from this place to Bethelsdorp, supplied by the people.

14th: Reached longed-for Bethelsdorp about half-past five o'clock in the evening. The Brn came out to meet us, being apprized of our coming. About 2½ miles before we came to Bethelsdorp we were joined by a large company of the people of that place, who the day before had killed four Elephants<sup>41</sup> & [were] then after the flesh etc. These joined themselves to us & sang the whole way until we arrived at Br Read's door.

Neglected to write.

Nov. 18th: This day the Lord gave me a daughter.<sup>42</sup> My dear S.. was taken ill about 4 o'clock in the morning & safely delivered about half past 1 at noon. This day I experienced a mixture of sorrow & joy, of fear & hope, but God did great things for me which I hope never to forget.

[The remaining entries for the month record the departure of Evans and Hamilton to Griquatown<sup>43</sup> and the writing and receipt of letters - one from Barker's father and one from his brother.<sup>44</sup>]

Dec. 31: The last sabbath of the year. Bro Read preached in the morning out of Ps1 [126 v3] "The Lord has done great things for us whereof we are glad". He said there had been two hundred souls added to the church at Bethelsdorp this year, with 91 adults baptized & 9 recieved members who had been baptized in infancy.<sup>45</sup> Bro [W] preached in the evening.

Jan'y 1st, 1816: In the evening as we sat at supper an enormous large spider came jumping on the table, in Bro R's house, having 2 heads of a curious specious & very frightful, but the people said harmless.<sup>46</sup>

6th: Two men came in to Bro R's from the Drostdy<sup>47</sup> who had been to the Landrost the second time to ask permission to settle at Bethelsdorp but were denied and ordered to seek a master among the Boers. The reason of a second application was that they had applied to several farmers to hire them, who all refused on account of these Hottentots, having so much cattle in their possession. The number of men was 4; they had 156 large

cattle, oxen & Cows including calvs, & 200 sheep also a waggon,. Three children of one of the men, he said, were apprenticed to his late master, but without stating to him the nature of the apprenticeship, or the reason why he kept them or even asking his consent.

7th: Bro W preached from Eph 4,28. The occasions of this discourse<sup>49</sup> was a robbery had been committed, a pocket book stolen out of a box containing money [etc]. Bro Samson<sup>50</sup> in the evening concerning the preservation of Daniel in the Lion's Den.

9th: A Hottentot from Graff-Reinet who had accused his master to the Landrost (& who on refusing to obey the summons of the Constable<sup>51</sup> was sent for by an officer & 12 men of the Cape Regt.<sup>52</sup> & in attempting to shoot a Hottentot serjeant was shot dead) after which being afraid to remain in that district obtained permission to remove to Uitenhage & intended to reside at Bethelsdorp but the Landrost would not permit him, saying the farmers in his district were not of the same disposition with those of Graf-Reinet.<sup>53</sup> Bro R advised him to join himself to an English officer & recommended him to the Capt of the Royal Garrison, Company 7 Algoa Bay.<sup>54</sup>

14th: Preached at Algoa Bay from Luke 13 - part of 9 but not with much pleasure, the soldiers give but little encouragement to those who preach to, them. Took my wife and child with me, dined at Mr Diet's<sup>55</sup> on our return.

15th: Accompanied Bro R to the Drosdy; attended the Court of Justice; saw several witnesses substantiate their evidence, but thought there was too much partiality toward the rebel Boers.<sup>56</sup>

[From 18th to 23rd he records services conducted by Reed, the election of new Corporals & the collection of 650 Rxdrs by the Auxiliary Missionary Society<sup>57</sup>]

25th: A Hottentot woman came to Bethelsdorp, she had resided a long time with a certain Boer & had co-habited with a slave of his, by whom she had several children; the Boer had driven her away & deprived her of the man with whom she had so long lived that he might take a slave woman to wife, that the Boer might gain slaves (the children of the Hottentot being free). Her children were detained by the Boer & apprenticed after the usual manner.<sup>58</sup>

26th: Sister W. was delivered of a son about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 o'clock in the morning.<sup>60</sup>

28th: Bro R preached in the morning from Pet. 5-7. Bro H at Algoa Bay. Bro W in the evening from Matt 17-5. Three adults were baptized & two children. Mine was baptized Sarah. This day I gave over to God what he

has given me, may he take the child at my hands & adopt it into the family of Jesus & give me grace to train her in the fear of the Lord.

29th: Two women went to complain to the Landrost of the ill-treatment from their masters (two Boors) the one mentioned the 25th and another who had been shamefully beaten having large marks on her back from the sambok. When these poor creatures arrived at the droosdy, the Landrost ordered the people who had accompanied them from Bethelsdorp to return & put the women into prison without giving them a hearing.<sup>61</sup>

[The next days show Barker involving himself in earning a living by completing Dietz mill for which he charged 1/1Rd 6sk - the expenses being 3/1Rd.<sup>62</sup> He also experienced the multiplicity of calls on a missionary's time and tells the "fantastical dream" of a slave who had never conversed with any person on religious subjects "yet his dream was of the Crucifixion and of heavenly visions".<sup>63</sup> The Sunday activities included a marriage, a visit of men from the 63rd Regiment,<sup>64</sup> the Artillery and the Royal Garrison Company. Barker spoke in the afternoon at the love feast<sup>65</sup> about the privileges of the work in Africa.]

30th: Heard 5 women examined previous to baptism not one of them attributed the beginning of the work of grace in their hearts to the preaching of the Missionaries but to their own people (Hottentots) speaking to them.<sup>66</sup> Just before church a man & his wife came to Br R's to complain; the woman said her husband had taken another wife; the man said he did it because his present wife would not mend his breaches. Br R & myself both spoke to him of the impropriety of his conduct & now contrary it was to the revealed will of God, then dismissed them.<sup>67</sup> After church our old shepherd came (the man mentioned the 3rd) he said he had again seen the house, the door standing open & the people calling him, among whom was the man with the white horse, that he knew who the man on the horse was Christ, but the others he did not know. He said, also, that he had been led by the arms to a small running stream in which he kneeled down & had water poured on his head. There was a large multitude of people all around weeping but he told them not to weep for him. This going in, & kneeling down in the river resembles the manner of baptising at Bethelsdorp.

11th: [Barker records preaching by Reed, Williams & himself in Bethelsdorp and Algoa Bay.]

12th: A wagon having come from Theopolis last Friday to bring Sister W home who brought tidings that Bro U. was ill.<sup>68</sup> I felt a great desire to go and visit Theopolis & assist our sick bro a few days. This day I spent in making preparation for that purpose.

13th: About 12 o'clock set out for Theopolis<sup>69</sup> reached Great Zwartkops river about 2 P.M. The river being full and one of our company behind after cattle we spanned out without crossing it; when the man came to us with the cattle it was concluded to be best to stop where we were untill morning, but some Hottentots from a Boers place on the other side persuaded us to cross it immediately which we did. My box was set upon the riemschoen<sup>70</sup> to keep it dry. When we were through it rained very hard and we spanned out directly; in the evening I held worship with Mr Murray's<sup>71</sup> people & his neighbours in a hut belonging to one of Mr M's slaves. Spoke to them from 1 Pet : 5 Ch with much comfort. Slept in Mr. M's house.

14th: Was joined in the afternoon by an Hottentot who was a member of the Moravian Institute at Genadendal.<sup>72</sup> Out spanned in the evening after crossing Zondag river. Spoke in the evening from Isa. 62. Had also a soldier from the Milry Post at Zondag river who was going with the other waggons to [ - ]<sup>73</sup>

15th: Spanned in at sunrise, about 10 outspanned. Soon after which several men belonging to Bethelsdorp, who had been to Grahamstown with their waggons, came up and spanned out likewise. Spoke to them from Ps. 84 with great pleasure. The soldier came not with us this morning to our worship. Outspanned for the night after crossing Bushman's river; the other waggon went to the Military Post there for the night & we saw them no more. Spoke from 2 Pet. 1 Chap.

16th: About 1 o'clock in the morning we spanned in and travelled by moon light, reached Asegoy-Bush about half-past 6 P.M. where we halted. From thence we proceeded over a large and beautiful plain where hundreds of Quakers<sup>74</sup> were running in droves. Had two soldiers in with us from the post at Asegoy-bush who were going to visit an old comrade who was a sergeant in the Cape Regt. Reached Theopolis about half past 9 in the evening, found Bro U better, but very weak. This was the longest day's journey I had travelled since I had been in Africa. The surrounding country from Bethelsdorp much better than from Cape Town to Bethelsdorp, but from Asegoy-bush the beautifullest country that I had yet seen in my travils in Africa; the grass long and thick & the ground appeared very fertile.<sup>75</sup>

17th: Rode with Bro U to lay out ground for the people to plow. -I never saw finer land in England. Took my turn in the church in the evening read Rev 5 Ch.

18th: This morning preached my first sermon in Dutch from 1 Pet 1 from

2 to 5 verse. I spoke with some freedom & pleasure, the church is rather small was quite full & very warm. In the evening Bro U read Rev. 6 Ch. In the evening I wrote Mrs Barker.

[ During the following days Barker received a letter from his wife with news of herself and the baby. This gave him "great pleasure". Conducting services for the ailing Ullbricht and again plying his blacksmith's trade by making "bails and ears" for two pails for Captain Bogle<sup>76</sup> took up his time. He was able to accompany Reed on a visit to Grahamstown<sup>77</sup> - a day's journey in wet weather. Their time was spent with the men of the Cape Regiment and their chaplain, Mr Vander Lingen.<sup>78</sup> ]

29th: Early this morning letters arrived with permission to introduce the gospel in Kaffrary.<sup>79</sup> The letters had been brought to Bethelsdorp by post and forwarded to Theopolis by men on oxen. I also received a letter from my Mother<sup>80</sup> to-day which contained very little of importance. In the evening we had a meeting for prayer & thanksgiving at Theopolis, that God had opened a door in Kaffirland. I gave the address from Isa 62-7.

March 2nd: Set out from Theopolis early in the morning to return to Bethelsdorp had 3 span of oxen from the people to help us on the road so far as Bushman's river & then 2 span from Bethelsdorp to complete the journey. Travilled the whole night.

3rd: Spanned out about midday at Sundays river for refreshment & worship; Bro R addressed us from Prov 14-32. I suppose his choice of this text arose from the circumstances of the unhappy Boers whom we expect are to be executed next Saturday.<sup>81</sup> Travilled continually & arrived at Bethelsdorp, about midday, quite unexpectedly & to the surprise of all having performed since Satterday morning a journey that generally takes four days to travill.

9th: The goods for me were waiting which came out in the ship, Alacrity<sup>82</sup> having arrived at Algoa Bay & from thence brought to Bethelsdorp in my absence. I spent all this week in cleaning & oiling the edge-tools etc which were in a sad, rusty state & drying the books & other articles being nearly all wet with salt water.<sup>83</sup> Also divided the household goods that Bro W might have his share. I seperated mine also, & took a set of Carpenter's tools from Brother Hamilton's that I might be prepared if providence should appear to call me another way.<sup>84</sup>

[ On 10th Brother Read and a "boer of the name of Slabbard"<sup>85</sup> were the preachers. Between this date and the 24th he also records a visit to the Morrison's<sup>86</sup> at Uitenhage, where he spoke to a Mohammedan<sup>87</sup> about his faith. He visited and addressed the soldiers at the barracks. A man of the Royal Garrison Company visited him & discussed the problems of living in the army.

At this point Barker puts in his account of the executions following the rebellion at Slachter's Nek.<sup>88</sup>

On Saturday March 9th were executed 5 unhappy Boers for rebelling against the Government of the Colony, & as different reports were circulated I deferred writing until I had heard an authentick account.

On Monday 10th. They were taken from the prison at Uitenhage (with more who were sentenced to be banished the Colony for the same crime, as spectators of their fate). Accompanied by the Rev Harold minister of George,<sup>89</sup> the Landrost of Uitenhage, the Heemraad & Field Cornets of the District, and escorted by a Military force from the 83rd & Cape Regts with a party of Cavalry & 2 field pieces, to the place of execution Bruintjies Hoogte where they had been assembled and made prisoners. The scene of execution was most awful. The prisoners, except one, refused to hear of nothing but pardon, but one confessed he suffered the just punishment of the Law. After they were all made fast to the gallos & the schaffold removed four out of five of the ropes broke & the unfortunate men came to the ground.

The surrounding boers looked upon this as a proof, and sign from God, of their innocency ran immediately to the Landrost & asked him if he was now convinced of the injustice of their fate, but he answered "I must execute my order" & ordered that they should again be tied up. The scene was truly effecting to all who behold it; when the executioner began to prepare them again for the gallos, their query was "Is there no pardon come yet?" Thus were these unhappy men launched out of time into the presence of the judge of the whole earth, of him to receive righteous judgement & a just reward of their deeds. The reasons given of the ropes breaking, is that they were tied too long & being stout, heavy men their weight broke them; & that the ropes being long made, coming from England & lying long in the stores, were probably damaged. These were the first Boers known to suffer the punishment of the law by death in the colony, although not the first or second rebellion.<sup>90</sup>

[On the 24th he preached at Algoa Bay and, in the evening, his farewell sermon at Bethelsdorp. The following day he left for Theopolis to help the ailing Ulbricht. His prayers are earnest petitions for guidance as to his final missionary destination - Lattakoo or Theopolis.]

31st: Preached in the morning with liberty, & I nope thro divine Grace not in vain from 2 Peter 2-10. Whilst I was busy speaking of the privileges of the inhabitants of Theopolis as a people highly favoured of God, he in his infinite wisdom was pleased to call a young lad out of time into an endless eternity. When service was ended the father of the lad was

preparing to bury him immediately. Bro U called to him & asked if his son was dead. He answered yes; when Bro U requested him to wait until after service in the afternoon before he buried him. I learned by this opportunity that the Hottentots always bury as soon as the breath is departed out of the body. As I had not had an opportunity to see anything of the kind since I had been in Africa, I was desirous to observe their manner of burying. The corps was wrapped in a mat & laid upon a ladder & carried by four men to the grave. There was no carpenter to make a coffin, & as in the Dutch church, the ministers never attend funerals, the Missionaries, so far as I have yet seen, have adopted the same plan so that Bro U's presence was not expected.<sup>91</sup>

[Between April 1st & May 9th he tells of a visit en route to Kafferland, by Brothers Read & Williams and the safe arrival "in the interior" of Brothers Evans, Hamilton & Corner.<sup>92</sup> He records various services one of which was addressed by Jan Tshatshu.<sup>93</sup> The ignorance of the people troubled him but he felt his sermons might help this. The opgaaf<sup>94</sup> - a sum of 33/ Rd was paid.]

May 9th: Intelligence arrived that the brn were out of Kafferland with all that went with them.

10th: The two waggons arrived in the evening from Kafferland; Bro W was gone to Bethelsdorp by another road & Bro R. was being at Grahamstown.

11th: Bro R came from Grahamstown on his way to Bethelsdorp. He related to us the success of his journey, which was truly interesting and pleasing. All the Kaffer Chiefs were ready to receive the word of God and all, without exception expressed a desire to have a missionary. They seemed quite ripe for the gospel.

May 12th: This day Bro R preached from Jon 4th, 35. In the afternoon he administered the Lord's Supper & at the table he gave an account of his journey. In the evening Jan Churchoo (Tshatshu) the Kaffir gave an address from the former part of the 13 of Romans. He dwelt chiefly on the power of God as exhibited in what they had witnessed in Kafferland.

13th: This I considered as the beginning of days. Before Bro R's departure it was agreed that I should remain at this place, as my dear partner being again in the family way, I considered it very unfit to take upon us another six weeks journey as she is very poorly under present circumstances. "O Lord I beseech thee send now prosperity". My designs & desires seem all to be frustrated by the providence of God. My design was to proceed, my desire is now at Lattakoo, but who am I that I should withstand God? I desire his will should be my will & the place he appoints me be my place of labour. O Lord give me the spirit of labour & of prayer & supplication.

I am a child. Give me wisdom & understanding to speak to this people all the words of truth. Bro R left us about 11 o'clock. Worked on the chimney of the new smith's shop.<sup>95</sup>

14th: Our people, having the proceeding afternoon shot two Elephants, I & my dear partner rode in a waggon to the seashore to view<sup>96</sup> these monstrous animals. One was cut in pieces before we arrived, but we saw the largest whole & a wonderful creature he was. The people rejoiced to bring the flesh home, as they eat it. Mentioned in the church after the evening service that it appeared to be the will of God I should remain at this place & invited the people to assist me in building a house as my intention was to build a small one because the busy time of plowing was at hand.

[ From 15th to 19th May he records that the people brought home the elephant's flesh & "with great cheerfulness" material for building.<sup>97</sup>

The following extract is given in detail as it records the day to day building of his house and of the smith's shop.]

20th: Some of the people assisted in putting down the posts for my house, & some began to thatch the smith's shop. Bought a young heifer of Jantje Witbooy<sup>98</sup> for 7 Rds.

21st: Had a load of wood for the spars for my house brought home. Finished the brick work of the smith's shop.

22nd: Put down the arvil-block in the smith's shop. Had three loads of thatching stuff brought home for my house.

23rd: Worked today on my house. Had 3 loads of thatching stuff brought home. Bought 24 ft of boards for 2 Rds & skil of Wm Windwagel.<sup>99</sup>

24th: Made a fire for the first time in the new smith's shop, to make nails for my house.

25th: Roof of my house was today nearly finished. Had a load of wood brought home for beams etc.

26th: Preached this morning from 2 Cor 1-11. Was very much overcome the whole time, but at last scarcely able to speak. This being my first sermon after the decision of my remaining here I chose this text as a suitable one for the occasion.<sup>100</sup> In the afternoon Bro U administered the Lord's Supper & in the evening read the former part of the 14th of Rom, but I did not much like his putting the christian sabbath upon an equality with all other days of the week. The deputy landroost of Grahamstown (Major Frazer)<sup>101</sup> his brother, Capt. Bogle,<sup>102</sup> & Lt. Frazer<sup>103</sup> of the Cape Regt paid us a visit just as we dined.

27th: Worked on my house, put up beams etc.

28th: This day got my house ready for thatching. Some of the people went

to cut reed for it, <sup>104</sup> & others to cut wood for the door-frames. A tree which they cut down fell upon Boezak and lamed him, it was a great mercy he did not receive more injury. <sup>105</sup>

29th: Had two loads of reed brought home; began to make window-frames of my house.

30th: This morning a child was buried which died the proceeding night. Had one load of reeds brought home. The reed for the walls was put up, & I put the window-frames in. In the evening wrote a note to Bro. Reed.

31st: Did but little today to my house, and my foreman at the work was out shooting.

June 1: Put Bro U's plow in order for work. The people began to thatch my house.

2nd: This morning Bro U preached from Isa 40 6,7,8, verses & at the close of his sermon he baptised an infant the daughter of Klaas Jager. <sup>106</sup> In the afternoon he administered the Lord's Supper. Recd. a letter from Mother Smith at the Cape.

3rd: Held school. The people were busy at thatching my house. Sought a nurse for Sarah; Lena Williams <sup>107</sup> promised to do it. Gave address this evening at the Missionary prayer meeting from Psa 49-18.

June 4: Held school. Could do but little work for my house but helped saw the door frames & began to plane them up.

5th: Held catechizing school in the morning, & the experience meeting. At the latter there but four but I enjoyed it much. Finished one door frame & put it up. And began the other.

6th: Bro U held school for me. Put up other door frame & began to level floor of my house; worked today exceedingly hard.

7th: Bro U. held school for me. Finished floor of my house.

8th: My house was Plaistered today, the first time.

9th: I preached this morning from Jon 16,17 with a degree of liberty. In the afternoon Bro U administered the Lord's Supper.

10th: My house was again plaistered. Began to plane up stuff for the door.

11th: Worked on door of my house. This was a very cold day.

12th: Worked again on the door. The forepart of this day was also very cold.

13th: Made a window shutter.

14th: Put my door together.

15th: My house was plastered the third time.

16th: Bro U preached this morning from Jon 14&15. In the afternoon he

dispensed the Lord's Supper. In the evening I spoke with much deagness of soul, was rather indisposed in body.

17th: Hung the door of my house today, & brought in the Anthills to make a floor. Bro U held school for me in the morning.

19th: Held catechizing school in the morning; the adults were many. Bro Williams arrived on his journey to Kaffer-land which hindered the experience-meeting in the afternoon. I received part of my goods from Bethelsdorp with part of a load of wheat which was bought for 50 rds. Also 12 sheep.<sup>108</sup>

20th: Spent greater part of day in preparing a plough-snare & coulter for Bro W. Bro W. held church in the evening. No school today.

21st: Did little beside hold school. Bro W was busy repairing a wheel which was broken, belonging to Matroos's waggon.<sup>109</sup>

22nd: Got a part of my goods into my new house. Put a lock on my door.

23rd: Bro W took my turn in preaching etc. In the morning he and Matroos prayed at the prayer meeting. Bro W preached from Eph 5. 17. In the afternoon Bro L administered the Lord's Supper, and Matroos gave us a very sensible address in the evening from Jon 20.

24th: Our brethren & sisters departed from us this morning for Kaffrania. May the presence of him whom they serve & whose word they go to proclaim go before to prepare the way for them. I was late with the church this morning on account of their starting about that time. Put a frame together & covered it with sheepskin draped which is to serve as a glass window.

25th: Came to-day into my new house, slept in it this night for the first time.

[From 25th June to the end of December the work of the mission went on with Barker devoting considerable time to establishing firmly the building and agricultural side of the mission without in any way neglecting the spiritual work. A reflection of the versatility required of a missionary is reflected in the practical work which, besides teaching in school, involved him in the planting of corn, potatoes, Indian corn and beans; the fencing of his garden; the mending of plow-shares; making a cupboard from a chest; the making of a wooden wheelbarrow; building a hen house (with nests) colour washed yellow and white and the manufacture of an iron hand mill, also the mending of wagons. He reports visits by Capt. Bogle, Lt. McNeil<sup>110</sup> and two Boers, his own and Ulbricht's brief visits to Bethelsdorp, very hot weather and the continued illness of Mr. Ulbricht. Communal ploughing was part of the way of life for the ploughing of Barker's land was done by Ulbricht, Valentine, Piet Kampner & Kobus Boezak, whose ploughs he had previously mended. The period was marked by the anxiety involved in

sporadic Xhosa raids. From this period representative entries have been selected.]

July 1st: This day Bro U and others began to plow. I put Piet Kamphers plow in order.<sup>111</sup> Being the first Monday in the month I gave address from Ezekial 36 from 5-7 verses. I proposed to them the formation of an auxiliary society in aid of the Missionary Society.<sup>112</sup>

4th: This was a day of great joy. We began our auxiliary society. I put down the names of several persons with unspeakable pleasure, among whom were two of my school-children. Held school.

7th: Preached this morning from 2 Cor 5-21 but not with so much liberty & pleasure as I could wish. In the afternoon our meeting was particularly interesting. The people appeared alive and there were some of the best remarks made that ever I heard at Theopolis. O Lord send many such refreshing seasons & awaken my lethargic soul.<sup>113</sup>

9th: Began to prepare my land for plowing, by taking up the thorns etc & picking the ant hills to pieces.<sup>114</sup>

12th: Worked at my piece of land, killed first serpent I had seen alive in Africa, called a Night Adder.<sup>115</sup>

22nd July: Worked very hard on the garden fence. Brought the stuff home on our shoulders. The Kaffirs took away a span of oxen.

24th: Worked as before. The 19 men returned out of Kaffirland, having been away a fortnight in search of cattle which they had stolen (about 30)<sup>116</sup> but came without them. They brought with them 12 belonging to Hannah Buijs.<sup>117</sup>

[These cattle were presumably stolen much earlier than the span mentioned on July 22nd.]

2nd [August]: Held school & our people went in search of Kaffers.

26th. [August]: Set out for Betheldorp; had Jan Boesak for a driver,<sup>118</sup> Plaatjie Laberlotte for a leader;<sup>119</sup> old Viegeland's oxen;<sup>120</sup> Piet Kampher's waggon.

28th [August]: Slept night before in Quackers Vlachte. We did not outspan at the place we intended but by a pool of water before we came to it. In the morning we saw that a troop of Elephants, had, in the night, come into the waggon road near the place we intended to have slept, and had we come so far we should have fallen among them. They kept to the road for more than two miles. At mid-day outspanned at a Boer's place on the Sunday's river. His Hottentots came to us & I addressed them from the word of God.

29th: Arrived in Betheldorp in the afternoon.

30th: Went to Mr. Koston's for sundry articles.<sup>121</sup> Received payment for the iron work for Mr. Diet's mill.

31st: Set off from Bethelsdorp for Trepolis.

Sept. 1st: Spent this Lord's day with the poers Hottentots by the Sundays river. Spoke to them twice from the word of God & conversed with each one separately. They were very ignorant, being destitute of all means of instruction,<sup>122</sup> yet on the minds of two were some impressions occasioned by dreams. One one saw the ground on fire & thinking it to be the grass burning at first took notice of it, but on observing more closely saw that the ground melted; he then began to flee, but knew not where to flee; he saw a few people who stood under a thack quite unconcerned about the destruction of the world & totally secure from danger; among these he wished to have a place but could not & this left a heavy impression on his mind. The other dreamed that he saw the moon turned into blood, the sun darkened and the stars fall from heavens as stones from the mountain; the earth overflowed with water. She took refuge to a mountain and stood leaning against a tree, but when the water came the tree melted & she fell into the water & altho drowned could not die. This impressed her mind.

Sept. 16th: The beasts lay this night on a piece of ground I intend to plow as a garden for beans, Indian corn etc.<sup>123</sup>

20th: This day the wind north & blew amazingly hot, so that to go out was like going to the mouth of the oven. Thermometer 99 deg. in our house. In the afternoon a church meeting was called to determine upon the admission of such as the candidates as should be thought proper.<sup>124</sup>

October 5th: Recieved intelligence that Tys Jager who was out without a pass was confined at Grahamstown. Wrote to the Landrost to inform him that the man called upon came for a pass but I was not within to give him one.

6th: Preached from Jon 1/-24. No Lord's Supper. The day very hot, wind north and burning. The vegetables in the garden were very much scorched with the heat.

October 7th: Recieved a letter from Major Frazer saying that he had liberated that man Tys Jager, who was our friend.<sup>125</sup> Held school.

13th: This day the Lord in mercy made an addition to our family by giving us another daughter which was born about one o'clock P.M.<sup>126</sup> Mrs B had a much better time than the first. O Lord give us hearts of gratitude to acknowledge thy goodness. I was not in church to-day. Two couples were married.

14th: To day 5 Kaffre women came boldly into the place. On being asked what they came for they answered on a visit & to beg.<sup>127</sup> After they had stayed awhile and exchanged baskets & calabashes for buttons, pins etc they were conducted to Capt. Bogle's post by some of our people. Spent the week in doing for Mrs B.

8th: The Kaffres having visited the kraal of beasts from Bethelsdorp a patrol was sent out in search of them but was unsuccessful. Ordered their cattle to be brought among ours.<sup>128</sup> Bro U. & family returned from Bethelsdorp.

November 25th: Intended to set out this morning for Grahamstown but the weather was unfavourable. Set out in the evening<sup>129</sup> with Mrs B. & Sarah, traveled all night.

26th: Arrived at Grahamstown to breakfast. Attended the auction there. Received a letter from Bro W. He also received his overseas mail.

27th: Attended the auction bought a cask, a tea canister, a table & two plates. Wrote a few lines to Bro W. 8 Kaffre women<sup>130</sup> came to Grahamstown.

8th: Wrote a letter to Brother Williams, carried it to Capt. B's post for him to take to Capt. Andrew's post.<sup>131</sup>

14th: Preached this morning from Gen 7 part of 1 verse with much liberty. Serjant [ ] was at church. No Lord's Supper. A Boer, Potketer, his wife and family were lying in their wagon opposite our church door the whole day without coming in.<sup>132</sup>

21st: Bro U attended & conducted the prayer meeting this morning, but afterwards was taken ill so that I was obliged to preach. This morning I was reading the lives of some eminent ministers mentioned in Bogue & Bennette History of Dissenters. Their zeal, their labours made me ashamed & wish for some opportunities of doing that work in which I am engaged. Whilst thus musing & our deacon coming to ring the bell & finding Bro U ill, came to tell me that I must preach. I preached from Psl 84-12 with great pleasure. No Lord's Supper etc.

Dec. 29th: Wrote to Brother W in Kaffraria. Held school & finished the iron work for our mill.

30th: Held school.

31st: Remarks concerning the Institution of Theopolis.

Children born in 1816, 17 Persons, died 6; of these two were members of the church.

Adults baptized & received into communion 12.

Infants baptized 7.

wheat sown this year, 49 5/8 sacks. Barley 2 3/8 sacks.

The Lord has crowned the year with his goodness. Much of it has been manifested to me & mine, tho: so undeserving & so shamefully ungrateful. On reviewing the Lord's dealings with me I behold astonishing displays of Divine

Patience & forbearing mercy. My weakness the Almighty God has borne with & tho my sins have been multiplying from Jany 1st to the present day He has not struck the awful blow, I am permitted to close this year in the land of the living. "Bless the Lord O: my Soul". If I turn my thoughts towards my labours for Christ & for souls what do I see? Much coldness & deadness have I manifested in Divine Service. Where has been that earnestness of soul with which Divine truths ought to be enforced upon the conscience? Where that affection with which immortal souls should be addressed? Where that Zeal which is expected from a servant of Jesus Christ especially a missionary? Alas! in my conduct how little has been seen & in my public labours how little has been manifested. Lord lay not the blood of this people to my charge.

Corn Sown & gained  
1816.

<u>Sown</u>	<u>Gained.</u>
Wheat 49 5/8 Sacks	about 200 sacks
Barley 2 3/8 Do.	12 sacks
For myself 2 Sacks wheat.	4 3/8 Sacks.

FOOT-NOTES1815-1816

1. See Appendix B(i): Barker Family Tree.
2. Lattakoo. Old Lattakoo was the capital of the Tlaping Chief. In 1816 he moved to New Lattakoo which was subsequently called Kuruman. Barker's reference is to Old Lattakoo.
3. A ship which plied between the Cape and Britain.
4. A small coastal town in England to the west of Portsmouth where the L.M.S. had its academy at Dr Bogue's Church.
5. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
6. This was the period immediately preceding Napoleon's return from Elba (March 1815).
7. It can only be assumed that they were thinking either of South American privateer or of the War of 1812 with America.
8. G. Barker, J. Evans, R. Hamilton & J. Williams. See Appendix C(i): List of Missionaries & Ministers.
9. Mrs Matilda Smith. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
10. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
11. Ibid.
12. Hooge-kraal is now known as Pacaltsdorp (near George).
13. See Wagons: Appendix A(iv).
14. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
15. See Map I.
16. See Map I.
17. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
18. Landdrost = Magistrate. Presided over Court of Heemraden.
19. Caledon was founded by Appel in 1709 as a result of the discovery of six hot and one cold spring producing 900,000 litres of water per day and having alleged curative power.
20. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
21. A station of the L.M.S. established in 1812. It lies between Heidelberg and Swellendam. See Map I.
22. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
23. Ibid.
24. It was customary for the Khoi to bring oxen to help travellers on their way.
25. De Jager. It is possible to speculate that this was the family into which John Brownlee married: Catharina de Jager (1795-1871) of Swellendam.
26. Practice varied considerably but even in the "liberal" Cape Town the Khoi and slaves often worshipped separately.

27. It would appear that this was Great Brak River.
28. There is plentiful water in the dunes along the southern and south eastern Cape coast but it is all "brack" or sour.
29. In a simple church it was customary to use a basin of water in place of a font. A senior member of the congregation usually held it.
30. See Map I.
31. Probably Kaaiman's River referred to still by local blacks as Gijmans.
32. 1 Rod =  $5\frac{1}{2}$  yards ( $\pm$  5 metres).
33. J. Campbell: Travels in South Africa Vol. I.
34. In the Outeniqua Mountains. See Map I.
35. Probably van Rensburg. No accurate identification has been possible.
36. See List of Officials: Appendix C(i).
37. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
38. The Mission station set up for the L.M.S. in 1803 by Van der Kemp near Fort Frederick.
39. At Bethelsdorp there were a number of Khoi who earned their living by hiring out wagons - thus many oxen were available.
40. Many of the Khoi earned a living by cutting wood and selling planks.
41. Much of the wild-life common in the early nineteenth century has now (1982) completely disappeared.
42. Sarah. See Barker Family Tree: Appendix B(i).
43. Griquatown was originally founded in 1802 by Kramer and Anderson of the L.M.S. and named Klaarwater. John Campbell renamed it Griquatown in 1813.
44. See Barker Family Tree: Appendix B(i).
45. The L.M.S. missionaries, on the whole, were cautious about admitting people to baptism and church membership.
46. Probably Solifugens (cf. Skaife: African Insect Life p. 24).
47. Seat of the Landdrost in this case, but also his district.
48. By the Legislation of Caledon in 1809 and Cradock (1812) the Khoi were required to get a pass to move anywhere in a district. This could be obtained from a Landdrost, a Field Cornet or a Missionary. To move from one district to another the permission of both Landdrosts had to be obtained. Efforts to find employment were encouraged before permission to live on Missions was granted. (See R.C.C. Caledon's Proclamation Volume VII p. 211).
49. Texts in the context of Mission life appear to have reference to the misdemeanours of the congregation or events of significance and not to the Church's Year.
50. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).

51. Constable is used here by Barker instead of Field Cornet, the unpaid official (often a farmer) who controlled a sub-district or ward under the Landdrost.
52. Cape Regiment was a largely Khoi Regiment officered by white men e.g. Colonel John Graham, Colonel Jacob Cuyler. See Appendix C(iv).
53. This refers to Note 48 supra.
54. The Royal Garrison Company came to the Cape in 1813. This Company was based on Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay.
55. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
56. This is clearly a reference to the special Commission of the High Court which sat in 1815 after the Slachter's Nek Rebellion. (Refer R.C.C. XI 2 ff. 71).
57. At each Mission the civil control lay in the hands of elected Corporals who dealt with minor offences and who organised work parties.
58. The Auxiliary Missionary Society was the body responsible for raising funds for the local Mission. The rixdollar (nyks daaler) was set at 1s/6d by the British.
59. By the Proclamation of Cradock (1812) children brought up on a farm until they were eight could be apprenticed for a further ten years. (See R.C.C. Vol. VIII p. 385).
60. Joseph, son of Joseph & Elizabeth Williams. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
61. By Caledon's proclamation Khoi servants were allowed to complain of ill-treatment but it would appear from the Journal that initially indiscriminate gaoling of such complainants took place.
62. On the instruction of the Directors, missionaries and their institutions had to be self-supporting. (cf. A.M.S. Correspondence Van der Kemp to Directors 12/1811 (4/5/D).)
63. Journals and letters suggest that dreams and visions were most common in the early days of missions. (cf. e.g. Moffatt(Ed. Schapera):Apprenticeship at Kuruman.)
64. Barker is in error here, as the 63rd Regiment did not serve in southern Africa but the 60th Regiment was at the Cape in 1815, also the Royal Artillery.
65. Love-feast was a ceremony at which bread and water were taken (symbolising the more formal communion) and opportunity was given for discussion.
66. This is another phenomenon discovered among early converts at missions. (cf. Shaw: The Story of My Mission).

67. A great deal of the missionaries' time was spent on complaints of this sort. By some it might be construed as interference but was used by the missionaries as a way of reinforcing (or initiating) preaching.
68. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
69. See Introduction.
70. See Diagram of Wagon: Appendix A(iv). The riemschoen was the brake which fitted under the wheel and it is difficult to speculate what Barker meant.
71. It is thought that the name intended here was Marais.
72. The Moravian Mission established initially by Georg Schmidt in 1737 and re-opened in 1792.
73. One of the series of Military Posts. See Map II.
74. Quakers: Quaggas (*Equus quagga*), zebra-like animals which are now probably extinct.
75. The area has a misleading appearance of fertility after good rains. It is used largely for dairy farming and specialised crops as the soil has a high lime content.
76. See List of Military Men: Appendix C(iv).
77. Granamstown was established in August 1812 by Colonel John Graham as Military Head-quarters. See List of Military Men: Appendix C(iv).
78. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
79. After Van der Kemp's first abortive attempt to found a mission in Kaffraria (1799) numerous attempts were made by Read to obtain permission to return. This was finally gained in 1815 and Joseph Williams was appointed. (cf. Holt: Joseph Williams pp.16-20).
80. See Barker Family Tree: Appendix B(i).
81. The Boers sentenced by the High Court. (cf. Note 56 supra).
82. This appears to have been a vessel which carried goods between Britain and the Cape. It was also used in coastal trade.
83. Severe storms often tore the tarpaulins and hatch-covers loose and many travellers complained of similar problems.
84. This is clearly a reference to the possibility of his leaving the mission to become a tradesman.
85. Slabbert. It is interesting to observe the numerous references to such contact with Roers and suggests that by no means all were antagonistic to the Khoi.
86. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
87. The first Mohammedans arrived at the Cape in 1667. (cf. I.D. du Plessis: The Cape Malays).

88. cf. Note 56 *supra*.
89. This is obviously Mr Herold, the famous minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at George. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
90. Rebellions at Graaf Reinet 1795 and 1799.
91. It has not until very recently been policy in the Dutch Reformed Church for Missionaries to attend the funerals of non-Christians.
92. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
93. See List of Governors & Chiefs: Appendix C(v).
94. The opgaaf was originally the name of the tax-list and subsequently of a tax.
95. Barker came of a generation of blacksmiths.
96. This bears out the contention that, like the Quaggas, the other game in the area was decimated.
97. See Appendix A(iii).
98. See List of Khoi Names: Appendix C(vi).
99. *Ibid*.
100. This refers to corporate thanksgiving.
101. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
102. *Ibid*.
103. *Ibid*.
104. See Appendix A(iii).
105. Accidents appear to have been numerous and with no medical help would assume more serious proportions.
106. See List of Khoi Names: Appendix C(vi).
107. *Ibid*.
108. In Oberholster: The Historical Monuments of South Africa p. 150: it is suggested that Barker introduced the first sheep into the Albany Area.
109. See List of Khoi Names: Appendix C(vi) and also Wagons: Appendix A(iv).
110. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
111. See Houses & Household Goods: Appendix A(iii).
112. See Note 58 *supra*.
113. It should be remembered that the Journal was required by the I.M.S. as a record of the Mission and personal remarks are, on the whole, eliminated.
114. There are numerous very large anthills in the Theopolis area (1982) where the land is not cultivated.
115. Probably the Rhombic Night Adder (*Causus rhombeatus*) common in the Albany district.
116. Government policy allowed Commando raids to recover stolen cattle.
117. See List of Khoi Names: Appendix C(vi).

118. Ibid.
119. A leader was the person (usually a youth) who walked in front of the span of oxen to direct their progress.
120. This illustrates either the hiring out of cattle as part of the Khoi industry or the communal use of wagons and animals. No evidence in letters, journals or records clarifies this point.
121. Korsten. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
122. Some of the farmers did give Christian teaching to their servants (cf. Barker Journal 29/30 July 1815) but others regarded them as animals (cf. J.S. Muffatt: The Lives of Robert & Mary Muffatt pp. 32-3).
123. Many of the vegetables planted do not grow well in the Albany district unless there is extensive irrigation. Nevertheless Barker's gardening showed great enterprise.
124. No one was admitted to church membership or for baptism unless the Church deacons agreed.
125. This illustrates the problem faced by a Khoi (and a missionary) in the issue of passes and also the difference made by a friendly and understanding Landdrost.
126. Elizabeth. See Barker Family Tree: Appendix B(i).
127. It was a practice of the Xhosa to send a group of women in to scout and, if possible, to open the cattle kraal for their men-folk. They were illegally present in the Colony and thus had to be referred to the military who escorted them back across the Fish boundary.
128. At Theopolis there was a "Vee place" about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  km distant from the village. The Bethelsdorp oxen had no doubt been used to bring supplies or visitors and, while waiting return, were stalled at the Vee-place.
129. The road to Grahamstown was not good and a night journey appears strange. See Map I.
130. It is interesting to observe that visits by Xhosa were worthy of note and not commonplace.
131. See Map II and List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
132. The fact that Barker reports this incident suggests that it was not common practice.

1817

## MISSIONARY INSTITUTION THEOPOLIS.

George Barker.

Jany. 1st: Remarks. Families who reside here 75. Individuals 345. Males 165. Females 176. Old men incapable of labour through age 18. Men incapable of labour from infirmity of body 8. Old women 40. Members of the church 83. Males 45. Females 42. Children in the school 124. Boys 61. Girls 63. Who read in the New Testament 9. Who write 9. Who cypher 3. Houses, or Hutts, 61.

Cattle belonging to the Institution. Horned cattle 612. of these breeding 300. Horses 14. of these breeding 6. Sheep of these breeding      Goats      of these breeding      Waggon 5. Ploughs 5.

Trades.

Two Shoemakers

One Smith.

[Jany 1st:] This day I began the new year with holding the catechizing meetings in the morning & the experience meeting in the afternoon, but all was very dead & lifeless. O! Lord revive thy words in the midst of the years. Grant that we may not continue this year so cold as it is begun. Let thy Holy Spirit descend & warm our hearts that thy work may flourish among us. Without thee we can do nothing.

[Between January 2nd - May 11th he recounts the treading out and dressing of his corn, a visit from Mrs Vanderlingen, and the receipt of letters from Brothers Hamilton & Read. The plastering of the church went ahead and the singing of the children "made the service pleasant". Besides making a chair, white-washing the church and attending to various petty quarrels among church members he seems to have preached to some effect. Then from 19th January to 4th February George Barker was very ill. He reports the arrival of a number of Kaffre women some of whom were removed by Lord Charles Somerset.<sup>133</sup> His mission work continued hand in hand with the making of "2 sand tables,<sup>134</sup> forms for the church and a writing desk for the school". On March 2nd he "finished a preck stool & occupied it",<sup>135</sup> He speaks fervently of Brother Ulbricht's apparently "having caught fire", also of the birth, on March 5th of Ulbricht's daughter and her death on the 13th.

At the same time continued the ordinary work of the mission which included using the school-children to make a dam,<sup>136</sup> building & stocking a dovecot, making "brand-irons"<sup>137</sup> for himself and Betnelsdorp and completing his own kitchen chimney and oven of which he says on 21st April "Spent the day at work on the chimney, fixed the mantle tree & oven door; and worked up all

the bricks".<sup>138</sup> In his garden he planted potatoes and sowed beans, onions and cabbage. The mill at the dam (built by Ulbricht) was put to work for the first time on 26th April and two days later corn was ground.<sup>139</sup> During this time Ulbricht was "ill of the gravil",<sup>140</sup> The following are interesting entries from this period.]

[January]

15th: Held a meeting with the people of the church & mentioned several things to them which appeared to me not according to the christian character. At the same time exhorted them to several duties which I considered to be much neglected. I also intreated them to do something to the church & offered to lend them boards to make a door for it.<sup>141</sup>

Jany 16th: This day I began a door for our church. A party of men went out to get a tree ready to bring home to saw into boards for forms so that I had the pleasure to observe that what was said yesterday had some effect.

17th: Today I finished the church door & hung it.

19th: This day I preached from Isa 6-3 on the Holiness of God. In the morning I was very ill & sat down & wept before going into church that I had to preach, but in preaching was in such frame that I forgot my pains, tho: my whole body was in extreme pain. I certainly preached over the heads of the greater part of my hearers. After service I immediately repaired to bed, from that time had no sleep or very little for a fortnight: was light-headed from the first & the sabbath following became quite delirious. I remember very little what passed but am informed that 4 or 5 men were always with me to keep me in bed.

Feby 4th: After a comfortable sleep, on the proceeding night I was much revived & felt myself better, but so amazingly weak that I never experienced the like. This morning I came to my recollection & conversed with Mrs B concerning some house-hold furniture etc which I had bespoken of Capt. Bogle, who was going to leave his post.<sup>142</sup> From this time thro:: mercy I have been getting better tho: still very weak. My complaint was a Bilious Fever. Here I must raise an Ebenezer.<sup>143</sup> O! for a heart duly impressed with the obligation laid upon me, raised from the very verge of the grave: (One day my life was not expected to continue till evening). Blest again with my reasoning powers; given to my dear partner & family; but above all hope in the Lord's due time to be restored to my beloved labours. What gratitude does it call for.

March

15th: This evening 16 Kaffre women came.<sup>144</sup>

16th: Brother U preached from (Jon 1) latter part of verse 7. I went into

the church but could not sit to hear the sermon because of the heat. In the afternoon I was at the Lord's Table. In the evening 6 Kaffres came.

17th: 22 Kaffre women were sent away.. I began to hold school and did a little to my kitchen. In the evening took service.

18th: This afternoon 7 Kaffre women came.

19th: This morning 5 Kaffre women came. About one o'clock His Excel the Governor Lord Charles Somerset, paid a visit, attended by the Landrost, Depty Landrost etc.<sup>145</sup> He made but few enquiries & staid but very little while. They took the Kaffres with them to Lombards Post.<sup>146</sup>

[On May 11th Mr Ogilvie, the Sergeant Armourer<sup>147</sup> from Grahamstown, visited them and was taken to see "our river".<sup>148</sup> After this yokes and reins for the oxen were made. A "tiger"<sup>149</sup> which had killed a calf was shot and a buffalo's hide was used to make a "trek-tow".<sup>150</sup>]

15th: [May] Began with Piet Kampher to make a plough. Oxen riems were also cut. One of the Herders, Valentyn Hageveld,<sup>151</sup> was bitten by a snake, called a night adder, on going after the beast in the morning, & returned. Two living fowls, being cut, & applied [to the bite] did not die [so] the poison was not thought to be strong. In the evening both Mrs B's feet were dreadfully scalded with [lye] which she was boiling to make soap.<sup>152</sup> Held school.

[From 18th May until 13th June he reports the illness of Ulbricht, a letter from Brother Williams, the whitewashing and decorating in yellow & black of the "fore-house" and the manufacture of the plough including coulter, hooks, staples, chains and bugles and yoke "schegan".<sup>153</sup> The plough wheels were made by one Jordaan.<sup>154</sup> On June 5th a letter from Cape Town signed by Taylor,<sup>155</sup> Thom & Moffat<sup>156</sup> arrived and he also reports that "Cobus Boezak"<sup>157</sup> offered up two of the best prayers & the most to the purpose that ever I heard from a Hottentot".

On June 9th Ulbricht accompanied by Mr Brownlee<sup>158</sup> a new missionary" came from Bethelsdorp. The indefatigable Barker put his tow and yokes to good use and ploughed briskly. A visit to Grahamstown provided some variety in his life as the following extract shows.]

14th: Rode to Grahams Town, to attend an auction on Monday. Brother Brownlee went with me. We went on horseback.

15th: Spent this Sabbath at Grahams Town, heard Mr Vanderlingen preach a very excellent sermon from Math 13 1-8. Visited an English soldier who lay sick in the hospital, found him in a sweet frame of mind depending on Christ alone for Salvation.

16th: Attended the auction. In the afternoon, by the desire of Major

<sup>159</sup>  
Sommerfield commanding officer, administered to the sick soldier in the Hospital at his earnest request the Lord's Supper. It was a delightful opportunity.

17th: The soldier to whom I administered the Lord's Supper died this morning very happy.

18th: Mr Vanderlingen's sale to-day.<sup>160</sup> I bought several things. Also a cow of him for 12 Rixdollers. Wrote a letter for Capt. Bogle to take to take to England with him for Mr Thomas. Brother Brownlee went with Mr Hart to Somerset.<sup>161</sup>

[From 19th June until September 4th he records first the planting of 2 emmers<sup>162</sup> of barley, the ploughing of new lands and the building of a cow kraal. Writing paper was given to the older children and slates to the younger ones in their school. A patrol under Lieutenant McLein of the 72nd Regt. visited them on June 5th as they were returned from Kaffredrift.<sup>163</sup> At the beginning of July he records a visit to the doctor in Grahamstown as his mouth was "very sore".<sup>164</sup>]

Sept 4th: The Lord has pleased heavily to afflict me, but I trust all in mercy. I have experienced much pain in my mouth & tongue which has sometimes made me impatient. O that I was resigned to the will of my heavenly Father. I observe chastisement for my ingratitude when in health. Lord grant that afflictions may produce gratitude and make me submissive.

For a month the doctor gave me something to gargle my throat & mouth with a powder to take every evening, but this not helping me he sent mercury pills<sup>165</sup> which have made my mouth much worse & for 18 days I have not taken anything but milk but my mouth is better & I hope in the Lord's time to be restored. To-day I began to drink flour in the milk.

[From Sept 5th to 13th he reports improved health, the acquisition of a poll cow and the extension of his garden where he obtained a supply of manure by the simple method of allowing the animals "to lie in the field".<sup>166</sup> His gardening activities included the building of a very much needed fence.<sup>167</sup>]

14th (September) This morning a puff-adder was killed near Brother U's garden gate, the first of the sort I have ever seen; these are considered the most dangerous of the serpents in Africa.<sup>168</sup> Brother U preached from Is 43.22. I was able to attend church twice. What a mercy are public ordinances.

15th: To-day the garden fence was brought to the river & nearly to a close.

16th: The people of my own worked at the garden fence; the day was cold & I durst not go out. This night about 11 o'clock the Lord pleased to give us another daughter.<sup>169</sup> Mrs B had rather a bad time but he who hath often

appeared for us in mercy was her helper, & tho: our fears were many his faithfulness was great.

[From September 17th until the end of the year he records very similar events including the finding of a nurse. A gate was made and trees planted. The Vanderlingens passed through Theopolis en route from Grahamstown to Bethelscorp and Europe - an interesting comment on the route used by travellers. The garden prospered as a result of rains and he planted "kidney beans, Indian corn, pumkin and potatoes". An innovation in Africa was the thatching of a recently completed wheat stack<sup>170</sup>]

Oct 10th: The Lord was pleased this morning to take from us our little girl about half-past 6 o'clock, & so sudden that before I could rise from my bed & go to Verhoogt's<sup>171</sup> it was dead. I assisted in preparing a coffin & in the afternoon it was buried. Lord give us resignation to thy divine will. Thou gavest & thou hast taken away; let us be Still & know that it is God & say Thy will be done. It is hard for us but thou O Lord doest all things well.

[Continuing ill-health sadly hampered his activities. Nevertheless the garden hedge was completed and Indian corn, peas, beans and water melons were planted. Considerable activity with the military and "marauding Kaffres" was experienced in which activity the people of Theopolis took their part.<sup>172</sup> On November 19th he "went to the cattle kraal to settle some differences among the people", the kind of petty dispute which took up so much time.

The use of a written catechism in the school<sup>173</sup> took place for the first time on 29th November and he says "found it very profitable to myself & to others".

A very pointed address on the parable of the barren fig tree and the Pharisee and the Publican was delivered to a patrol of the 60th Regt. which attended service on 3rd December.<sup>174</sup> The following are representative extracts of this period.]

21st (October): Made a piece of hedge at the bottom of the large garden, & fatigued myself very much. Some of our people went out yesterday after Caffres & returned this evening bringing 8 assegays.<sup>175</sup>

22nd: Worked a little as yesterday. Some of our people being out shooting met with two Caffres with stolen cattle in the Cowie river on the evening of the 20th & this evening they brought the cattle home with 4 assegays<sup>176</sup> having shot one Caffre & wounded the other.

23rd: This morning the 10 head taken from the Caffres & the assegays were sent to Grahamstown.

24th: This morning we heard that Sister Williams was on the road towards us [from Kat river]. I procured a span of oxen to send to meet her & in the afternoon she arrived with Joseph on her way to Bethelsdorp.<sup>177</sup>

[December] 18th. Held no school. Made preparations for building a wheat stack.

[21st] Finished thatching the stack etc.

31st: Another year is past, a year to me of much affliction yet seasoned with abundant mercy & goodness.

The afflicting hand of God has been much upon me. O that it may "Teach me to remember my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom". Lord give me a disposition to "work while it is day". Death has this year began his havoc in our little family. The Lord has taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.

133. See List of Governors & Chiefs: Appendix C(v).
134. These were probably shallow trays on legs which, when filled with sand, made excellent practice areas for those learning to write.
135. It is interesting to observe Barker's rapid use of Dutch "preek stool" in place of pulpit, especially as no mention is made anywhere of Dutch lessons.
136. See Water-Wheel & Dam: Appendix A(v).
137. Probably to mark cattle for easy identification in case of Xhosa raids.
138. See Houses & Household Goods: Appendix A(iii).
139. Undoubtedly the first use of a water-wheel in Albany.
140. Kidney stones (O.E.D.)
141. The Khoi were many of them trained workmen and Barker felt strongly (vide Mission letters) that insufficient use was made of their skills.
142. See Frontier Forts & Posts: Appendix A(ii) and Map II.
143. Ebenezer is literally a stone of help (1 Samuel Chapter 7 Verse 12) but was used, as Samuel used it, to express his elation, "This is a witness that Jahweh (Jehovah) hath helped us."
144. As the memory of Colonel Graham's clearing of the Zuurveld (1812) faded, so more and more Xhosa crossed the Frontier as these incidents show.
145. This was undoubtedly the journey undertaken by Somerset to meet Ngqika in an (abortive) attempt to ensure Frontier observance.
146. See Frontier Forts & Posts: Appendix A(ii) and Map II.
147. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
148. The Kasouga. See Map III.
149. Tiger = Leopard.
150. The draw-rope which was attached to the disselboom. See Wagons: Appendix A(iv).
151. See List of Khoi: Appendix C(vi).
152. In soap making caustic soda was dissolved in hot water to form "lye" and then mixed with melted fat.
153. See House and Household Goods: Appendix A(iii).
154. It has been impossible to determine this identity but is assumed that he was a Khoi.
155. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
156. Ibid.
157. The Boezaks (D.S.A.B. IV p. 36) were, with the Stuurmans, mighty hunters & great soldiers. Once converted they appear to have become great Christians.

158. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
159. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
160. Mr Vanderlingen was on his way back to Cape Town, driven by ill-health.
161. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii). The farm at Somerset East run by Hart (founded by Dr MacKrell) was the Government farm at which Brownlee worked for a time.
162. Emmers. The literal meaning is bucket, but this was used as a grain measure.
163. See Map II.
164. Medical attention had to be sought from the military head-quarters in Grahamstown until 1820 and the arrival of the British Settlers.
165. Certain doctors called "mercurialists" believed strongly in these potions which, it appears, were seldom successful.
166. Ullbricht had been an unsuccessful gardener because he did not recognise the need for manure in the heavy soil at Theopolis.
167. The fencing was needed to keep cattle and bush-pigs out. The latter is a recurring problem at Theopolis (1982).
168. Cape Cobra: (*Naja nivea*). See Fitzsimons: Snakes of Southern Africa.
169. No name is recorded for this baby. The frequent pregnancies and loss of five of her fourteen children give an impression of Mrs Barker's stoical acceptance of life in isolation. This also illustrates one of the major problems faced by many of the missionaries.
170. A wheat stack with a well-thatched top was more or less impervious to rain.
171. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
172. The Theopolis Khoi were liable for Commando duty.
173. In the early days of the mission the school was frequently run by the Temporal Manager or by any available missionary in the absence of qualified teachers.
174. It would appear that Barker had a low opinion of the piety of the soldiers as is indicated by other such incidents.
175. While patrols often returned with assegais it would seem that these were dropped by fleeing Xhosa and were not necessarily trophies (similar to the scalp of the Red Indians) of death.
176. See Map II.
177. Mrs Williams and her baby son were probably going for supplies for the isolated mission at Kat River. See Map II.

1818

## MISSIONARY INSTITUTE THEOPOLIS.

George Barker.

General Remarks: Taken Jany 24th.

Inhabited houses 41. Houses in building 4.

Individuals 190. Families 77. Men 83. Women 98.

Children 371. Old men incapable of labour thro: age - Men incapable of labour thro: infirmity of body - Old women - Children in school 185.

Boys 74. Girls 111. In the first class 11 who read in the old Testament in the morning and the N.T. in the afternoon & all write.

In the 2nd class who read the N.T. & all write. <sup>178</sup> Who cypher - .

At the cattle place Jany 3rd.

Inhabited houses 17. Do in building 2. Individuals 152.

Families 29. Of these 13 from Theopolis & the others from Bethelsdorp.

Children who come to school at Theopolis 56.

Jany 1st: Held school. Adjusted my class book & found that 29 children had been advanced the preceeding year. Began to take down the names of all my scholars.

2nd: Held school & continued to take down the names of my scholars.

3rd: Did a little in the garden & numbered the people at the Vee-place. Bro Brownlee's harvest was finished.

[From 4th to 31st January he continues with the work of the mission recording on 5th January that "25 of our people & pack oxen went to join the Commando against the Caffres". A visit from Brothers Evans and Corner & their families led to an "excursion to the mouth of our river" where "some fish were caught". Brownlee went to "Zwellendam".<sup>179</sup>

Later Barker tells of Brother Ulbricht's illness, and on 23rd January he says, "This morning part of our people who went to Caffreland with the Commando, returned". He also records the reception of letters from Brothers Thom and Williams and Mr Thomas. As Brother Evans held school for him he wrote to Messrs. Thomas, Harris and Kemp.<sup>180</sup> He records the gathering and planting of kidney beans, the plastering of the end of the kitchen and Brother Evans' visit to Grahamstown.]

Feby 1st: Brother Evans having wrote us that he should remain at Grahams-town to attend some soldiers under sentence of death, I took the waggon and went there with Sister Evans.<sup>181</sup>

2nd: Spent the day at Grahams Town. Brother Evans preached from Heb.9-17

in the mess room to the Royal African Corps.<sup>182</sup> I visited the prisoners with Bro E.

3rd: To-day Bro Corner returned from Theopolis to Bethelsdorp. The morning so wet that I could not return to Theopolis & pressing on all sides for me to remain until after the execution was over. To-day the sentence of Death by shooting was read to 6 unfortunate men all natives of Ireland. Connor & Ryan<sup>183</sup> of the Royal African Corps, for desertion, robbery & Murder. Erwin, Dunn, Gryer & McKenny<sup>184</sup> of the 60th Regt for desertion with their fire-arms into Caffraria.<sup>185</sup>

We could not speak to them to-day on account of their settling their temporal affairs, writing to their friends etc.

4th: Visited the prisoners twice and found the minds of the poor culprits tainted with many Papal superstitions,<sup>186</sup> and some of them in particular wishing for a priest of their own persuasion to attend them. Spoke to them very earnestly of the way of salvation thro Christ, & exhorted them to apply to him alone for pardon.

5th: Was greater part of the day with the prisoners. They were all, to appearance very penitent. It was made known to them that they were to die on the morrow.

6th: Sat up with the prisoners the whole of the preceding night, Vis Brother Evans till 12 o'clock, Dr Lea<sup>187</sup> from 12 to 4 & then myself. The poor creatures cleaned & dressed themselves for execution with great composure. About 10 o'clock they were led out to the place of execution. Bro Evans walked between two, then myself between two & Dr Lea the same. At the place of execution, the graves being dug & the coffins placed beside them, each one knelt down at the foot of his coffin. Amid their cries of "God be merciful to me a sinner", we took leave of them. Ryan exhorted his comrades to take warning. The serjeant-major of Royals, who was provo-Marshal, proceeded to the execution. The caps of the two murderers were pulled down & the word of command given.

After the execution of the murderers he went to the 60th and ordered the executioners to the right about, & the prisoners to follow. Erwin was so overcome that he was obliged to be led. They marched to the commanding officer & the prisoners brought forward in front, when the commanding officer told them His Excellency had mitigated their sentence to perpetual banishment. The poor creatures instantly fell down on their knees to thank him. Such a scene I hope never to witness again. Afterwards we went to the prison & the poor creatures declared the shock to nature was worse than death itself. We returned God thanks for his kindness to them in sparing them

a little longer.

7th: This day I intended to have returned home, but it was rather late before we could get the oxen, & Br & Sister E & B wished to go to Theopolis instead of going from Grahamstown to Bethelsdorp.

[During the rest of February and into March he was kept busy with gardening and he planted peas, beans, lettuces, turnips, carrots, onions & radishes. A pig sty & trough were built & he did iron work in the mill.

Experience meetings & catechism brought him "considerable pleasure" and he preached making "allusion to what I and many of our people had lately witnessed in Grahamstown" - the trial and death of the deserters. At a missionary prayer meeting Brother Ulbricht recommended "very warmly" the cause of the British and Foreign Bible Society.<sup>188</sup> A less pleasing part of his missionary duty was when Mr. Barker "had occasion to administer reproof on a delicate subject, viz. misdemeanor towards myself & Brother U, may it have a good effect".

Between the 10th & 27th March a visit was made to Bethelsdorp, Mrs Barker and the children accompanying him. From Mr Korsten he brought back "Iron-smiths tools, slates etc for the school and a chest of goods purchased for me by Mr Thomas". He obtained a mill in Uitenhage for Rd 15 and when he reached home found the smith's shop "thatched and plastered" ready for the new goods. He acquired a horse from Brother Evans in exchange for "Ridgby's Body of Divinity"<sup>189</sup> for which he paid £2. 2s. in London.

During this time and up to the end of April letters arrived from his various correspondents in Britain and visitors included Mr Ogilvie<sup>190</sup> and Lt. Gilfillan.<sup>191</sup> The smith's shop was completed and Boezak fetched the remaining goods from Bethelsdorp. ]

April 30th: Yesterday evening some of our milch cows were missing & one of the herders. Our people suspecting the Caffres went out in the night to endeavor to cut off their flight with the beasts, & at daylight another party went in search of the lost man. The cattle were perceived to be gone over the Fish river & the man could not be found untill late to-day & was brought into the place just before sunset. The body was shockingly mangled. His name was [Africander Naate ]

1st May: Last night the Caffres stole some cattle out of the [Vee]<sup>192</sup> place which were retaken in the evening & 2 Caffres shot.

[The work of the mission continued steadily. Klaas Kupido<sup>193</sup> was contracted to work for Mr Barker for a year. A visit from Dr. Lea included inoculation of the two little girls and of four of the people.<sup>194</sup> Lt. Gilfillan accompanied the doctor. The people who accompanied Brother Williams to Kaffreland returned and Brother Jan Tshatshu took a service. Barker continued actively to help in the construction of buildings. In the smith's shop he

made hinges for gates as well as plough shares for Klaas Jager, Cobus Boezak, Brother Williams and William Valentyn. Visitors included Brigade Major Page, C.O. <sup>195</sup> and Captain Trappes, <sup>196</sup> and two members of the Royal African Corps who, as they were supposed to be deserters, were sent to Grahamstown. Barker also planted trees, peas, potatoes and beans. Letters were sent to Mr Burden, <sup>197</sup> Mr Thomas, Mr Harris and Mr Hart. Mr Green <sup>198</sup> bought a horse for him in Grahams-town for 33 Rd and he built a stable, which was plastered and thatched. Major Frazer gave him fig and peach trees and he fenced the large garden with a fence and aloes.]

July 8th: Last night the Caffres broke the door of the smith's shop open & stole 4 pairs of tongs, 1 hammer, 1 set hammers, several new irons made for ploughs etc. Took also some cattle. [Messrs] Carmichel, Knight <sup>199</sup> & Reneveld, <sup>200</sup> 3 officers came. Repaired & secured the door of the smith's shop.

July 9th: Rode to the mouth of our river with the three officers. Our people returned from pursuing the Caffres & brought 1 pair of tongs & a piece or two of iron with 4 of our cattle, retaken without slaughter altho. they thought one caffre was slightly wounded.

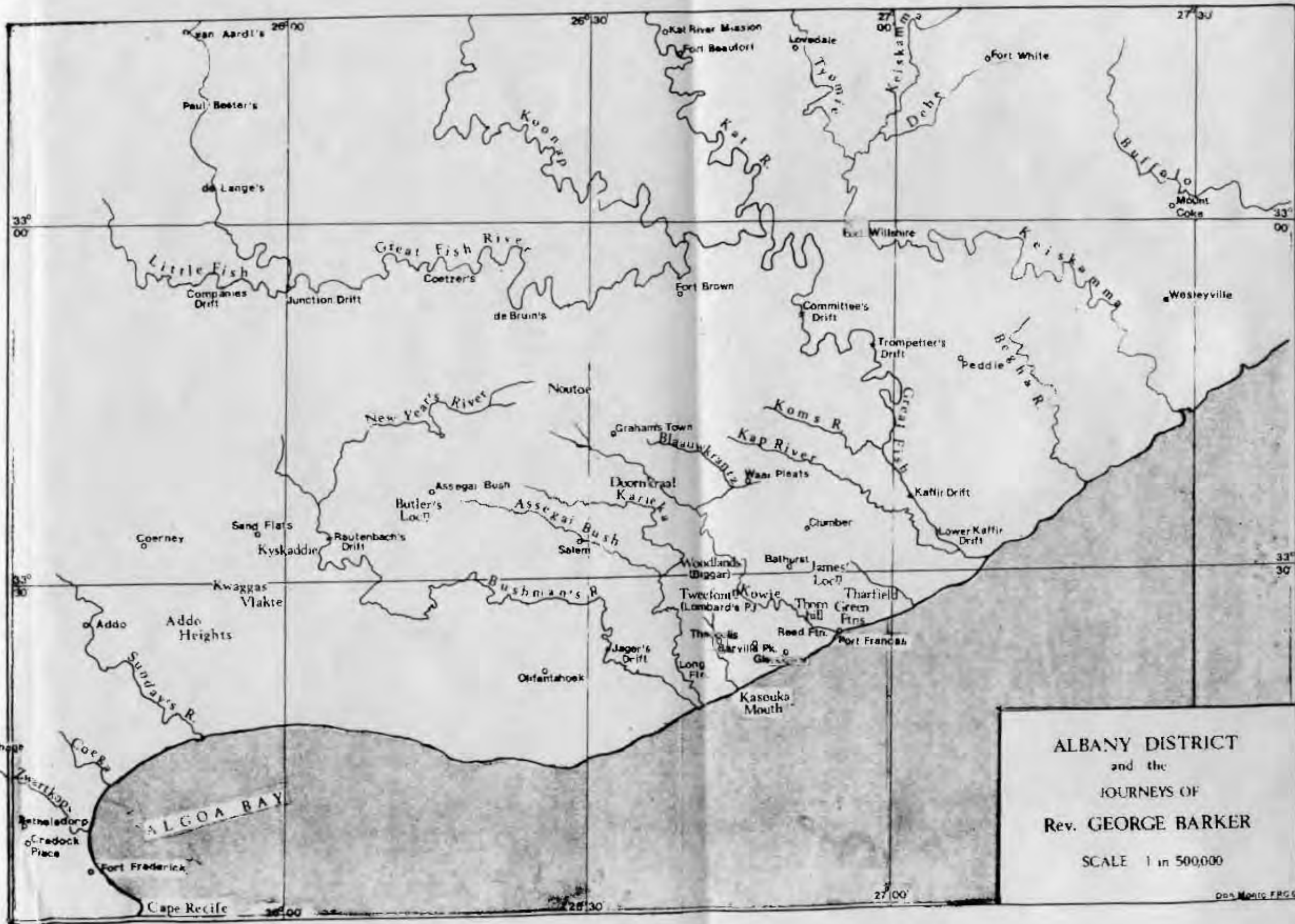
10th: The officers returned home. Worked in the garden. Held school.

11th: Held school. Worked in the smiths shop for myself. Brother U. set off for Grahamstown. Klaas Windvogel came in the evening to speak concerning his soul. He ascribed his first conviction to the preaching of the gospel, a thing not common among the Hottentots, particularly a sermon of Brother Read's, the text he did not recollect, preached here before I came. He recieved benefit from a sermon I preached from Psl 8-4. This is a singular instance of one of them laying so much stress upon preaching as a means of their being brought to conviction.

[ From 12th July to 9th August he reports working in the garden, the making of hinges, and progress on windows and benches for the church and the plastering of the building. He received a letter and sent one to Mr Thomas. Of the herders he says on July 18th "Had much trouble with the herders etc they being very unwilling and backward" and on July 25th "Much trouble with the herders & Brother U recieved insolence from some of the people" ]

10th August: Held school etc. Received answer to a letter written 28th ult. to Major Fraser, with permission to go over to Grahamstown to preach to the troops when other avocation will permitt. The Lord grant me wisdom & strength from on high.

[ From 11th to 18th August he continued his work and preaching the latter being varied by a sermon in the Caffre language delivered by Jan Ishatshu because four "Caffre women" were present.]



ALBANY DISTRICT  
 and the  
 JOURNEYS OF  
 Rev. GEORGE BARKER  
 SCALE 1 in 500,000  
 DRA. MONTC. FRGS.

19th: To-day Sarah fell upon the edge of an iron pot & cut her chin very much. We, at first, thought her jaw bone was fractured, but thanks be to God it was not so bad as we feared. In the midst of life we are all in death & in our dearest earthly delights we often are called to suffering.

[ Brother Ulbricht was very ill and discipline and preaching as well as the work on building and lands was laid on Mr Barker.]

28th [August] : Held school etc. This evening 5 Caffre women came. About half past 7 o'clock in the evening Jan Neukor arrived from Cat river, the missionary station in Caffraria, with the intelligence of Brother William's death, with a letter from Sister W. desiring me to go to her.<sup>201</sup> Immediately began to seek men, horses etc. & the night was spent in making preparations for the journey. Wrote Mr Burder & Mr Beck.<sup>202</sup>

29th: Journey to Caffreland. This morning I set off for Caffreland accompanied by Wm Valentyn, Jan Tshatshu, Mattroos Joris, Dragoender Kivit, Klaas Christian.<sup>203</sup> On coming to Major Fraser's farm I bought another horse for the journey. About 3 in the afternoon I came to Grahamstown. Major Abey<sup>204</sup> then commanding officer in absence of Major Fraser, kindly gave permission for me to proceed to Caffreland, & offered any assistance to bring out Sister W.

30th: Borrowed a saddle from sergeant Major McDonald<sup>205</sup> & set Mattroos Joris on my other horse. Rode to De-Bruins Drift<sup>206</sup> on the Fish river. On the way met Sister Hamilton & waggons from Lattakoo. Sister H. insisted on going into Caffraria with me, or to follow me, notwithstanding all I did to dissuade her from it. She turned her waggon round and rode to De-Bruin's Drift. I was kindly entertained by Captain Birch,<sup>207</sup> commanding that post.

31st: Started at daybreak and crossed the Fish river. Left Mattroos Joris & Dragoender Kivit with the waggon of Sister H. & set Jan Neukor on horseback instead of an ox. About mid-day we came to Coonap river & stopped at a Caffres cattle kraal. The Caffres delighted me much & were nowise troublesome. They gave us plenty of milk, and we gave them some tobacco which also delighted them.

August 31st: After leaving the Caffres we came immediately to a cattle kraal belonging to the people of the Missionary station but the people very much disgusted me. Further we met a Caffre & his wife on the road whose conversation pleased me much. A little way further we met the cattle & sheep belonging to Sister W. & the people with which told us, when they came away the waggon was trying to follow. On receiving this information we doubled our pace, if possible, to be there before the waggon left, but met the waggon with Mr Hart about 2 miles from the Institution. Mr Hart

told me that on his arrival he had dispatched a message to Gaika, that the messenger had returned, that Gaika's message did not very much please him & that he was determined to proceed with all speed to the Colony. I turned my horse round and rode after the waggon.

Dispatched the people whom I had with me to turn Sister Hamilton back. Learned that 11 of the people from the Institution had volunteered their services to drive the waggon & cattle to the Colony.

Spanned out about midnight, & the men who came with Mr Hart kept the cattle horses etc. in a ring, we stopped about an hour & then proceeded forward.

Sept. 1st: Spanned out about day-break at the same river at which I stopped the day before, I having traveled since that time without water & never suffered so with thirst in my life. Here we remained but a short time & proceeded again untill about 4 o'clock before we came to water. Spanned in again at sun set & arrived about midnight in the Colony at Van Aardts Drift.<sup>209</sup> Horses and men completely tired. By hard travelling we lost many sheep & lambs on the road, also a calf or two, but the Lord our God was with us & brought safe.

2nd: Spent this day at the Military post, Van Aardts, to rest ourselves & our cattle. Recieved great kindness from the Captains lady, Mrs Cameron,<sup>210</sup> sent 7 of the institution people back.

Sept. 3rd: In consequence of waiting for a waggon from Theopolis, on which Mr Hart had put some things which Sister W. had there, we were detained the whole day at Van Aardts. In the evening we proceeded to a Military Post, Besters,<sup>211</sup> commanded by Ensign Hunt,<sup>212</sup> 72nd Regt. who treated us with great kindness.

4th: Proceeded this day to the military Post, van der Marvels,<sup>213</sup> commanded by Capt. Wilson<sup>214</sup> 72nd Regt. and altho the Capt. nor his lady were at home yet we were kindly entertained.

5th: Passed the Little Fish river this morning & in the evening arrived at Zwartwater port.<sup>215</sup> We came this road on account of grass and found plenty.

6th: Stayed at Zwart water port this day, being the Lord's day. No one resided here but Hottentots with whom we were very comfortable.

7th: Proceeded this day to an old military Post where we spent that night.

8th: Came to Sister Hamilton this evening who had been waiting for us.

9th: I rode this morning, before, to Grahamstown. Here all congratulated us on our safe arrival. From there we proceeded in an indirect way to escape the mountain & stopped for the night at the foot of the same.<sup>216</sup>

10th: Arrived home this evening having experienced much mercy. Found all well at home. A letter had come to hand, in my absence, from Mr Thomas & one from my Mother. Brother Hooper<sup>217</sup> came in my absence. End of journey to Caffraria.

[After their arrival at Theopolis they were all exhausted but Barker was busy writing to fellow-missionaries, to the Secretary of the L.M.S. in London, to Williams' mother and to the Mission authorities in Cape Town. In addition he had to prepare a house for Mrs Williams.]

20th: I preached at Grahams town. In the morning to the European Soldiers in Dutch from Jon 3-16. A pleasant day.

21st: Visited a sick person at the new barracks previous to my departure from Grahams town. Distributed some tracks in the barrack rooms. Found one man of whom I have great hopes of the name of Hewson.<sup>218</sup> Returned home.

22nd: Yesterday 3 Caffre women came here, & offered 10 Rd for a tinder box. This morning I took the letter and inclosed in a letter to the Landrost & also sent the women. Worked at the house, began the doors & windows. Great part of the iron was found, in the wood by the place as [Janah] Neukor<sup>219</sup> was fetching wood, which the Caffres stole out of the Smiths shop on the 8th July last.

[From 23rd September until October 3rd the missionary's time was fully occupied with completing the house for Mrs Williams. For the remainder of the year he was much occupied with the garden. For this reason only salient features have been selected.]

9th [October]: Rode with Brother Uilbricht to Grahams town to appear against Matroos Boorman Ruitter Boardman & Matroos Joris who were sent to Grahams town prisoners for misbehaviour on 16th Sept.<sup>220</sup> Rain.

10th: The 3 men after a reprimanding from the Landrost were set at liberty. Bro U. returned home.

11th: I preached at Grahams town to the Garrison from Luke 13-3. The wind very brisk & I could not be heard by half. At the request of the Commanding Officer I read the Church of England form of prayers.<sup>221</sup>

[The period from 12th October until 5th November was occupied with a search for a missing horse, with a farewell visit from Evans who was returning to England<sup>222</sup> and with careful attention to Mrs Barker after the birth of their daughter Ann on 9th November which event was thus recorded.]<sup>223</sup>

9th. This morning about half past 1 o'clock Mrs B. was delivered of a daughter. She had a sharp time & was brought so weak as to alarm us, the weakness affected her head; but God was very gracious unto us, afterwards she was better.<sup>224</sup>

{ A commando was sent across the Fish, and news of Corner's adultery reached Theopolis. There followed two events of importance - a letter from the Directors<sup>225</sup> received on 5th December, and the baptism of Ann. }

6th: Bro U. preached from 1 Cor: 1-18. Our little girl was baptised Ann. O Lord plant it early by thy Divine Grace among thy peculiar people. Let our desires, in thus early dedicating it to thee, be fulfilled. Incline its tender heart to seek thy favour & to embrace thy salvation.

7th: Began to clean the beans & Mielies in the garden with a troop of girls. Held school.

12th: The waggon returned from Bethelsdorp & brought the affecting news of the death of our dear Brother Pacalt missionary at Hooge Kraal. Also that Brother Messer was requested to go to his place - that Brother M. had resolved to go.<sup>226</sup> The question was put to me wether I would go & reside at Bethelsdorp become vacant by the removal of Bro M.

14th: Wrote Brother Evans, that, I should have no objection to replace Brother Messer on certain conditions.<sup>227</sup> Began to cut my wheat.

16th: A very unpleasant circumstance occurred to-day. We suspected Bro Ulbricht of having drank too freely, which was observed by myself, Sister Williams & Sister Hamilton. Sister W. came in the evening to admonish me of my duty in speaking to him on the subject. The People, who had been with the expedition to Caffreland, returned home.

17: This morning I wrote Bro U on the subject of our suspicion yesterday evening. The following is a true copy:

Lieve Br U:

Het doet mij smart aan dat Ik genoodzaakt ben, U te zeggen was Ik vrees, U en Sister U: gister avond scheelde.

U: had al te veel wijn gedronken. Ik sou het niet op mij genomen hebben, een oude broeder te bestraffen, had het niet geweest dat de anderen het ook kennen, en zijn mij daarover op het lijf gekomen.

Had zulk een ding plaats gehad tuschen U en mij alleen was het niets; maar dat anderen dat gemerkt hebben doet mij leed.

Bro U: en Ik hebben in volk vrede zoo lang geleefd, dat Ik hoop de vrijheid dat Ik nu neemen zal ons niet scheiden. Het is mij gezegd zoo Ik het niet do, van mij sal gerapporteerd worden.

Ik spreek mijn Broeder met een gevoellen niet to beschrijven, het is wat Ik nooit te voor te doen gehad heb, en Bro U: weet dat Ik ben niet een die zoekt in twist te leeven; neen, Ik doe het uit liefde en hoop U zal het niet kwaalijk neemen.

Gedenkt, ook, mijn Broeder, zoo u begint een weinig te veel te drinken, het zal op u groeijen, hoewel gij het niet meent.

Bro U: wil my hierover een regel schrijven of laat ons te zaamen in liefde spreken.

Uw liefhebbende Broeder

G. Barker.

19 Decr. 1818.

[Dear Br U:

It grieves me that I am obliged to tell you what I fear was the matter with you and Sister last night.

U: had drunk too much wine. I would not have taken it upon myself to reprimand an old brother, if it had not been that others knew about it and approached me in that connection.

If such had occurred only between you and me, it would have been nothing, but it grieves me that others noticed it.

Br U: and I have lived in complete accord for such a long time that I trust that the liberty I now take will not cause separation between us. I have been told that if I fail to do it, I shall be reported.

I address my Brother with a feeling which is indescribable. I have never before had to do such a thing, and Bro U: knows that I am not one who seeks discord. No, I do it from love and I hope that you will not take it amiss.

Remember, also my Brother, that if you start drinking a little too much, it will begin to grow on you, though you do not mean it to happen.

Bro U: may you write me a letter about this matter, or let us discuss it in the spirit of love.

Your affectionate Brother

G. Barker] 228

19 Dec. 1818.

Bro. U. on receipt of the above came to me & declared that it was not so as we had suspected of him; asked me who had seen it more than myself. I told him that the two Sisters, & that Sister Williams had mentioned it to me & admonished me of my duty to tell him of our suspicion.

In the evening he mentioned the charge against him in public, laying all the blame on Sister W. After Service Sister W. & myself went to Bro U's. He was very angry with her & charged her with circulating among the people that he was drunk. Sister W. said that Sister Hamilton had said it in the

presence of some of the Hottentots. A mode of conduct highly offensive. Bro U. & Sister W. parted both very much hurt. The waggons from Lattakoo left to-day with Sister H. & Susanna Read.

18th: Br L. left early this morning, for Graff Reinett, on horseback until he should overtake the waggons.

21st: The brethren Evans & Ulbricht have proposed to me the propriety & necessissity of being ordained should i go to Bethelsdorp.<sup>229</sup> I began to prepare to answer the questions in Dutch.<sup>230</sup> Held school.

23rd: The cutting my wheat going on but slowly. I went to-day to help cut & it was nearly finished.

24th: Held school & wrote to Major Fraser for cattle in place of those taken by the Caffres at Zoetmelk vontyn.<sup>231</sup>

25th: Worked very hard at my Dutch ordination service.

26th: The people returned from Grahams town with 90 head of cattle to replace those taken by the Caffres at Zoetmelk vontyn, as they were coming from Bethelsdorp to Theopolis.<sup>232</sup>

29th: Worked in the smith's shop. Shod my horse for the journey to Bethelsdorp.

30th: Last night the Caffres broke open the smith's shop & stole 2 pairs of Longs & the [ - ] slice: took 2 sheep out of the kraal, one of which was mine.

I set out for Bethelsdorp & Sister Williams with her waggon.

31st: Had a very uncomfortable night, much rain, was wet the whole night. Outspanned between the old house & Assegay bush on the plain. Rode to Quaggers vlakke.

178. It was customary in mission schools to use the Bible for reading and writing practice with the Old Testament in the morning and the New Testament in the afternoon. (cf. Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape).
179. Brownlee married Catharina de Jager of Swellendam.
180. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
181. It is not clear which Evans (John or Evan) this was, but it appears likely to have been John who arrived with Barker in 1815.
182. The Khoi Regiment changed its name over the years. See Appendix C(vi).
183. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
184. Ibid.
185. The sale of arms to the Xhosa often followed such desertions and this was regarded with great anxiety by the authorities.
186. As members of an Irish Regiment these men were Roman Catholic, which Church was anathema to the strongly Protestant Independents.
187. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
188. This Society was set up to provide Bibles free or at very low cost.
189. This was a book much favoured by the Independents.
190. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
191. Ibid.
192. See Note 128 supra.
193. See List of Khoi: Appendix C(vi).
194. It is interesting to observe such early attention to inoculation.
195. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
196. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
197. See List of Missionaries and Ministers: Appendix C(i).
198. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
199. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
200. Ibid.
201. This incident marks a change to a more church-centred congregation, a pattern repeated in other missions after a period of initial confusion (cf. Green: Poncoland Hilltop).
202. Williams' sudden death left his wife in a precarious position (cf. Holt: Joseph Williams). See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
203. See List of Khoi: Appendix C(vi).
204. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
205. Ibid.

206. See Frontier Forts & Posts: Appendix A(ii) and Map II.
207. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
208. See List of Governors & Chiefs: Appendix C(v) - Ngqika.
209. See Frontier Forts & Posts: Appendix A(ii) and Map II.
210. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
211. See Frontier Forts & Posts: Appendix A(ii) and Map II.
212. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
213. See Frontier Forts & Posts: Appendix A(ii) and Map II.
214. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
215. See Map II.
216. See Map II.
217. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
218. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
219. See List of Khoi: Appendix C(vi).
220. The only comment made on 16th September was "Three of our people were sent prisoner to the Landdrost" and no correspondence carries reference.
221. The Chaplains to the Regiments were mostly Church of England.
222. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
223. Evans was ordered home by the doctor and died shortly after his arrival in Wales.
224. See Barker Family Tree: Appendix B(i).
225. See Clinton: South African Melting Pot pp. 112-3. Also Thesis, Chapter on Administration.
226. This displays the Independent making his own decision.
227. Also to L.M.S. See Correspondence: Barker to Directors 1/5/19 (8/1/B).
228. I am indebted to Dr Johan Smuts for the translation of this letter.
229. The policy of the L.M.S. with regard to ordination presented the mechanic missionaries like Barker with many problems when, owing to the shortage of missionaries, they were forced to take charge of both temporal and spiritual work and become "ruling missionaries" at large stations. Thus ordinations which were deemed "irregular" took place in the context of the South African situation. cf. L.M.S. Correspondence: Missionaries to Directors 25/8/14 (5/4/A); Willbricht, Messer etc. to Directors 5/6/17(7/2/A).
230. As Dutch was the Khoi "lingua franca", the missionaries preferred to have the service in Dutch in order that the congregation should understand.
231. Farm names have changed, records are very incomplete and it has been impossible to identify this further than on the road between Addo & Assegai Bush.
232. After Commando raids the recovered cattle were divided on a pro rata basis among those who had recorded losses.

1819

G. Barker.  
Missionary.

## Observations.

Being from home and about to change my place of residence I took no proper remarks down.

Jan'y 1st: Began this year travelling. Rode from the Quaggers vlakke to the Sunday river. Rain the whole day. The river was full so that we can't not cross it.

2nd: The river being too full to cross with the waggon, I crossed it in the boat & swam my horse over, left the waggon behind with Sister Williams & rode on to Bethelsdorp.

Arrived at Bethel'sdorp at about half past 3 P.M. & found Bro Messer had returned from Hooge Kraal.

[ From 3rd January until the 9th preparations went ahead for the opening of the new church at Bethelsdorp and for Barker's ordination. Although handicapped by a cold, Barker preached on Sunday 3rd in the old church and assisted in putting final touches to the pulpit and the bell stand at the new church.]

10th: This morning Bro Messer held the prayer meeting in the old church. At 9 o'clock the service in the new church commenced. I began, by reading 8 ch 1 Kings from 27 to 61 verses, and prayers; Brother Messer preached from 2 Chron: 7-15 & 16 an appropriate discourse.

At 11 o'clock the ordination service commenced. Bro Evans began by reading the 3 let: 1 Tim & prayers. Bro Evans asked the following questions. How do you intend to exercise the office of a minister amongst the people? and what are the doctrines which you believe to be contained in the Holy Scriptures? which questions I endeavoured to answer in Dutch. Bro Messer offered up the ordination prayer. Bro Evans gave a very appropriate & affectionate charge from Tim: 4-5. Bro Messer preached to the people from [ - ]<sup>233</sup>

After service I baptized, in public, 5 children & administered the Lord's Supper.<sup>234</sup> A most interesting day to me. O Lord give me grace to improve the trust, for the good of those souls given under my charge & for thy Glory. Many strangers present, from the Drostdy, the Bay & Mr Korsten & family.<sup>235</sup> Upwards of 26 Rd collected at the door for the poor.

In the evening Bro Hooper began by reading a prayer. Bro Jan [Goeyman] preached from 116 Ps. 12 & 13 verses. An excellent sermon delivered with life & animation.

Jan'y 10th: Bro Willbricht arrived in the afternoon at Bethelsdorp from

Graff Reinett, but not in time to take part in the service of the day designed for him.

11th: The difference between Bro U: & Sister W: the circumstances of which were mentioned on 17th Dec. 1818, was comfortably settled between Bro U: Sister W. & myself.<sup>236</sup>

Bro Messer's 2 gardens were purchased by the brethren for the Society, for 370 Rds. The house left to be valued by 2 chosen men & also purchased for the Society if the Directors chose.<sup>237</sup> Made preparations to return to Theopolis.

12th: Set out from Bethelsdorp with Sister Williams her waggon, leaving my horse behind. Rode to the Sundays river which we crossed that evening without any obstruction, the water being low.

13th: Rode to the Bushman's river.

14th: Spanned in soon after midnight & rode through to Theopolis, where we arrived about 9 o'clock in the evening. Found some things rather unpleasant, some of the herders & the Corporals had been fighting on account of cattle remaining behind.<sup>238</sup> All well, thro mercy, with my own family.

[ From 15th January until 14th February the diary records the days of change from Theopolis to Bethelsdorp and the high hopes which Barker entertained regarding his ministry at Bethelsdorp. His farewell sermon at Theopolis was "affectionately" preached and then he busily loaded three wagons, prayed with the people and "left Theopolis weeping in the midst of tears" on 21st January. The shortage of water caused a forced journey to the Sunday River and he arrived at Bethelsdorp on the 25th. He records the handing over of mission affairs and the departure of Brother Messer, Evans and Corner - considerably delayed by rain. At the farewell service Betje Matroos, aged 70, and a child were baptized. Barker comments "Not a person had been received into the church for a long time - may this woman be the fruits of a large harvest."<sup>239</sup> Great activity on the frontier resulting from the invasion of the Colony is noted in various entries. The following are representative. The stark reality of danger is highlighted by the cryptic remarks. ]

#### COMMENCEMENT AT BETHELSDORP.

Jan'y 26th: Unloaded the waggons at Bro Read's house, on account of Bro Messer's not having left. Spent the day in settling the house & things right.

27th: Spent the time as yesterday.

28th: Recieved the papers etc. belonging to the Institution from Bro Messer also books concerning the Institution & the Church.

29th: Rode to Uitenhage to pay my respects to the Landrost.

Febry 1st: Took upon me the charge of the temporal affairs of the Institution Bro Messer having resigned them over to me. Spent the morning in giving passes etc.<sup>240</sup>

2nd: Recieved a letter from the Landrost requesting 25 men to proceed to Grahams town, to guard the cattle taken from the Caffres.<sup>241</sup>

3rd: Sent away the 25 men required. Bro Evans was preparing to leave us. In the evening the wagons arrived fr Pacaltsdorp for Bro Messer.

7th: Received three letters from Col. Cuyler.<sup>242</sup>

8th: Rain. Bro Messer was hindered from departing early this morning as he intended by the rain. Sent 9 men to Uitenhage to guard that place, should have been 12 on account of the Caffres being so desperate.<sup>243</sup>

9th: Rain. Bro Messer weather bound about 3 miles from the place. In the evening the rain was so neavy that we were obliged to leave the house of Bro Read & sleep in Br Messer's on account of the rain coming thro the thatch.

10th: Rain so that we could not move into the House that Bro Messer had left. Recieved an order from the Landrost to be on our guard as the Caffres were in large bodies by the Sunday river & had committed great daring depreidations murders etc. in Albany.

11th: Sent 12 men to Uitenhage to assist in guarding the place. Did some work to our new house in order to get into it.

12th: Brought some of our things into Bro Messer's house. Fixed shelves for my books etc. & prepared my study.

13th: Brought all into the Societies house.

[ At this point the diary breaks off and Barker comments "Having from certain unpleasant circumstances particularly receipt of a printed circular from the Directors of the Missionary Society & the unsettled state of my mind, neglected to note anything down the journal of this year is incorrect".<sup>244</sup>

The diary resumes in September when Barker had started to build a new house. He records the departure for Table Bay of Brothers Evans, Hooper and Mr. Cornamer<sup>245</sup> on board the Georgianna on the 18th September. An abortive attempt was made to found an Auxiliary Bible Society in Uitenhage and he records the usual spiritual & temporal activity of the mission. Visitors included Lt. Saunders of Uitenhage,<sup>246</sup> Colonel Cuyler, Mr. Arnot<sup>247</sup>

(who was on his way to the matrimonial court<sup>248</sup>), three Moravian brothers<sup>249</sup> & Captain & Mrs Black.<sup>250</sup> Lord Charles Somerset, Makana<sup>251</sup> & Colonel Bird,<sup>252</sup> the Colonial Secretary, were among those who passed the mission without a visit!

In November Mr Campbell<sup>253</sup> and Mr Corner visited Bethelsdorp while Col. Cuyler continued to require more Hottentot recruits. At this time discussion started on the topic of Bethelsdorp's removal to a more appropriate site - some of these being investigated.<sup>254</sup> Mr Hart, of the Somerset farm, was another visitor as were Mr & Mrs McKenzie<sup>255</sup> who dined with the Barkers. In addition much of the interest about the Khoi emerges. The following are extracts from September to the end of the year.]

September 20th: Willem Goeza<sup>256</sup> took the school. Elizabeth Janse came to forbid the bans of Marriage between Valentyn Hector & Kesse Platjes, published a second time yesterday.<sup>257</sup> Worked in the garden.

25th: Had Valentyn Hector & Elizabeth Janse face to face & after examining their evidence, was of the opinion that Elizabeth had thro: her conduct, forfeited every right to hinder Valentyn in his intended marriage. Catechised the children.

28th: Linx, or Makana, the Caffre Captain passed that way to Algoa Bay, to go on board a man of war in order to be sent to the Cape. I did not see him.

29th: Elizabeth Janse & Valentyn Hector appeared before the Landrost, who decided their case there, that Eliza: had forfeited all claim on Valentyn by her loose conduct. I worked in the smith's shop. Wrote my Father.

30th: Last night after we were in bed a letter came from Bro: Evans, stating that the ship was put back to Algoa Bay from bad weather & contrary winds. After that Col. Cuyler called on his way to the Bay saying His Excely Lord Somerset had arrived in the Bay. To-day his Lordship passed but did not call. Worked in the Smith shop. Wrote Mr Thomas.

### [ October ]

3rd: Early this morning three of the Moravian brethren called on their way from the Bay to Uitenhage. Mr Holbeck<sup>258</sup> from Genadenthal was one, they left again about half past 6 o'clock. I preached from Jon: 17-9 after which I married three couples & administered the Lord's Supper. Preached in the afternoon from Jon: 17-20. In the evening from Col: 1-9. Was very much fatigued after the services of the day. Capt. Black & lady passed this way & stayed a while with us.

4th: Mrs B. & self dined at Craddock's town with Mr & Mrs Arnot.<sup>259</sup> Missry

prayer meeting addressed from Dan: 12-4.

11th: Rode to the Brak river, where the cattle were lying brought out of Caffreland & recieved [181] head to compensate for those stolen from our people by the Caffres.<sup>260</sup> Recieved a letter from Dr. Philip.

18th: Having delivered over to the Civil Power three of our people, Adam Adams, Windvogel Ruiters & Piet Windvogel, for stealing and slaughtering cattle was called upon to appear before the Court of Landdrost & Heemraden to-day. Nothing was [transacted] by the court for want of evidence present.<sup>261</sup> I was ordered to appear again on Wensday. The river being full, could not cross, stayed at Uitenhage all night.

19th: Crossed the river this morning with some difficulty & returned home.

20th: Rode to Uitenhage this morning, but another cause being in hand, was dismissed in the afternoon, with an order to be there next morning. Rode home to Bethelsdorp.

21st: Rode to Uitenhage, the prisoners were examined & found guilty. The examination lasted the whole day, it was Sunset before it was concluded. Adam Adams was sentenced to 1 years hard labour in irons & the others two to 6 months each.<sup>262</sup> Rode home.

22nd: Was preparing a list of all the young men, having recieved an order to furnish 21 for the augmentation of the Cape Corps. His Exelny Lord Sommerset passed this way to, the Bay on his way home, but did not call.

23rd: Worked in the Smith's shop, set the plow in order. Col: Bird, Colonial Secretary, passed on his rout to the Cape, but did not call.<sup>263</sup>

27th: Rode to Uitenhage to pay my respects to the Gent. of Court of circuit, but they were not arrived, begged to be excused from going again.<sup>264</sup>

Novr. 1st: Began the Palasaiding for the front of the house.<sup>265</sup> Missionary prayer meeting, address from Zech: 2-11. Glaized 2 windows. Mr Corner returned last night from Pacalt's Dorp. Mr Campbell proceeds to the Cape.

2nd: Sent a party of Recruits to Col: Cuyler. Building a hen house.

3rd: Laid the floor in the front room. Sent more recruits to Col. Cuyler.

8th: The Deputation from the Missionary Society<sup>266</sup> having resolved upon removing Bethelsdorp if a more suitable place [would be required], & having requested me to visit Lochenbergs farm,<sup>267</sup> I set off this morning, rode to Gamtoos river & halted for the night at Capt. Damants.<sup>268</sup>

9th: Started this morning about 5 o'clock up the Gamtoos river, crossed that river 6 times in the journey. Arrived at Lochenbergs at sun sett.

10th: Arose early this morning & proceeded to view the place, which is one of the most delightful spots I ever beheld. Enquired whether he would sell it, to which he answered, if he could get enough for it to live upon the interest of the Capital. He asked 140000 Guilders, or near 50,000 Rds. almost £5000 sterling.<sup>269</sup> Left this beautiful place with regret, at his extravagant demand, about 4 o'clock P.M. Rode over the mountain that evening, slept at one Neveling's.<sup>270</sup>

11th: Started very early this morning, arrived at Lamma's place,<sup>271</sup> Capt Damants about half past 9 o'clock A.M. From thence I started about 4 o'clock P.M. & rode to [Galy] Bosch<sup>272</sup> when I stayed the night.

12th: Started at day break this morning & arrived at Bethelsdorp about 11 o'clock A.M. Found my family & all well.

23rd: Writing the whole day. A Hottentot from a Boer came to this to beg instruction, very ignorant, but nowise wild or extravagant. Complained of his sinful state. No dreams. Began to set in the posts for palasaiding in front of the new house.

25th: Worked in the garden. A Boer came to offer his place for sale, which he strongly recommended but afterwards learned it was not adapted to our purpose.

26th: Major & Mrs McKenzie<sup>273</sup> dined with us.

### [December]

6th: Was helping at the Palasaiding. Recieved certain queries from the Colonial Secretary to answer.

7th: Rode to the Drostdy to speak Col: Cuyler over the queries. Also over Major Fraser's place for an Institution. Saw the letters from Lord Bathurst to Lord Sommerset & those of Lord S: to Col: Cuyler respecting the arrival of Settlers from England to reside in Albany.<sup>274</sup>

8th: Rode to Mr Mare's with him to his place at the [Gouha's] routh to see that place. Recieved his proposal of his exchange, his 2 places for Bethelsdorp.

9th: Was writing the whole day. Wrote to Dr Philip & Mr Campbell Mr Mare's proposition with the terms thereof.<sup>275</sup>

12th: Preached from Psa. 40-31. In the morning baptized a child. Afternoon preached from Matt: 5-14. Heard of a circumstance which took place the evening before. That Frederick Mauritz, who was here from Theopolis, had gone to Algoa Bay, became intoxicated & remained behind his companions. That he siezed the bridle of a man's horse who was riding from the Bay to Uitenhage, stopped him & asked for his money. Frederick rode to the Bay this morning. After the afternoon services, I saw him

with his horse saddled ready to ride off the place, which I forbid, as the person whom he stoped the evening before had left word that he should call this evening. I told Frederick what I had heard, but that I had not seen the man, therefore wished him to be in the way to answer the accusation on his return, & to clear himself of the charge. He began to abuse me in a shameful manner, also Corner & several others. I left him. The person called & declared it to be as I had heard, confirming the report in every point. Frederick was not to be found. The reason the man did not prosecute him, was, Himself being in Govrt. service, was absent without leave of the Commandant of the Bay & was afraid of a reprimand for being from home. I could not report the conduct of Frederick myself without making the circumstance known, which he wished me not to do. Discoursed in the evening from Matt. 7 - v. 24 to 29. <sup>276</sup>

13th: Mr Korsten's <sup>277</sup> schooner having arrived in the Bay on Saturday with some articles on board for me, rode to the Bay, but nothing could be landed. In the evening after worship, consulted the church, what was best to be done to Frederick Mauritz, he being baptized a member at Theopolis. Resolved to write in the name of this church to the brethren at Theopolis, & blot out his name from this Institution.

14th: Mrs B. & Self rode to the Bay, the sea air having refreshed me the day before. Nothing could be landed from the ship.

15th: Was painting the palasaiding. Wrote the church at Theopolis respecting the behaviour of Frederick Mauritz, entreating them to discipline him, stating the charge alleged against him by Blakket. <sup>278</sup> The statement to the church being approved, he was called & exhorted to examine himself before God & repent & seek pardon. To be thankful to God, that circumstances were such, that he had escaped punishment, further to Industry & Sobriety, Indolence & Drunkenness being the fore-runners of much evil.

16th: Was writing the whole day in order to make out a correct list of the baptisms at this Institution since its commencement for Mr Campbell.

20th: Reading etc. this day. Conversed in the evening with the Hottentot from Long Kloof, who informed me that the people at his late master's place all pray. When shall the longed for period arrive when all the Hottentots shall hear the word of God.

22nd: Rode to the Bay at the request of Mr Schmidt the Missionary, to assist Mr Hoffman, <sup>279</sup> who could not speak English, in some business he had there. Was very agreeably compelled by the soldiers to preach to them, which I did from Ps1 84 first part.

23rd: A Hottentot, Jan Michels, came for a pass to go with a poor

insane Hottentot, Jantje Tivor to a [Withchat] a man belonging to this place, to enquire wether Jantje was not bewitched & get him cured. I directed the man to Jesus who in the days of his flesh cured many Demoniacs & who is still the same. Endeavoured to expose the weakness & the wickedness of such an idea that the Devil could or would help him. Intreated him to pray for the poor creature. Refused him a pass.<sup>280</sup> Was writing.

25th: Was writing. Sent Mr Campbell a list of all the baptisms for the commencement of Dr Van der Kemp to the 18th inst.<sup>281</sup>

26th: Had thought of warning my hearers against the custom of drinking to excess on the commencement of the new Year, but the affair of 23rd led to enquiries which made it appear that Jan Michels opinion of Jantje Tivor is pretty general. I therefore lectured on the subject from Lev: 19-31 which seemed to have some effect. In the afternoon preached from Prov: 23-29 to end. Evening from Prov. 14-13.<sup>282</sup>

27th: Saartje Bezuidenhout who had for some time, 3 months, been in our house, having been reprov'd for trifling misconduct wanted to leave, in which her sister Alett took an active & rather impudent part. After having done so much for Saartje to get her admitted & for that very purpose took her into our house when we had 2 more, my mind was much hurt & my temper much ruffled. Base ingratitude for favours.<sup>283</sup>

28th: Rode to Zwart kop river to seek Schepper Zwartbooy, Jan Lenard and Isaak Arnoldus, who had promised to assist at the new house, but left their work. Could not find them. Jan Scheepers one of the corporals, on being asked if he knew the kraal was out of order, answered he did not go to the kraal. Was requested to have it repaired, but did not.<sup>284</sup> Repaired the kraal myself.

29th: Was writing all day. Did a little in the garden.

30th: Did a little in the garden.

31st: Writing all day. Held the church meeting in the evening. Discours'd from Rom: 8-14.

Mr. Hooper left Bethelsdorp this year & left me alone.

FOOT-NOTES1819

233. This appears to have been the order generally followed (cf. Ordination of Wright 14/3/26 and Brownlee 15/6/26). The main characteristics were questions (no record exists of answers) followed by the "charge". This is normally a sermon addressed specifically to the ordinand and (in some churches) subsequently to the congregation. In this case the text must have been from second Timothy (though Barker does not specify this). At II Timothy Chapter 4 Verse 5 the text reads "But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry". This was followed by a sermon and then the newly ordained man gave public witness of his new status by baptising several people and taking a Communion Service.
234. Communion Service.
235. It appears that Barker's friends invariably came to such a gathering.
236. While Sister Williams appeared to have accepted Barker's peace-making over Ellbricht's drinking bout, Sister Hamilton's attitude was less forgiving. (cf. L.M.S. Correspondence: Mrs Hamilton to Directors 20/4/19 (8/1/B); Philip to Directors 15/4/20 (8/2/A).)
237. A clear distinction is drawn here. In some cases the L.M.S. provided housing, but Corner at Bethelsdorp and Barker at Theopolis built their own houses at their own expense. In this case the Mission intended to buy Corner's house for Barker.
238. There is little doubt that considerable confusion existed over ownership of cattle until "brand-irons" were used.
239. This is another clear indication of how hesitant the L.M.S. was to baptise and confirm.
240. A great deal of mission time was taken up with this government legislation. Passes being given even for brief visits to neighbouring farms - as required by the law - must have been most irritating.
241. Once cattle were brought back after a raid they were kept under guard until they were claimed and restored to owners or given on a pro rata basis to those unable to give proof of identification.
242. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
243. This is clearly a reference to the crossing of the Fish and the War of 1819.
244. See Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society Vol. 1 pp.540-42 and also L.M.S. Correspondence: Barker to Directors 2/8/20 (8/2/C).
245. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).

246. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
247. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
248. By the law of the Cape, couples to be married appeared before the Matrimonia: Court (Landdrost and two Heemraden) who sat quarterly. The couple answered questions, paid a fee and the proposed marriage was registered.
249. Probably from the Moravian Mission at Enon on the Sundays River (founded 1818).
250. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
251. See List of Governors & Chiefs: Appendix C(v).
252. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
253. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
254. Bethelsdorp site being infertile, wind-swept and waterless had been a subject of continual complaint to the authorities (cf. Le Cordeur & Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp.58-63).
255. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
256. It has been impossible to identify him further than a mention in a letter by James Read quoted in Kitchingman Papers p. 136.
257. This type of case illustrates the fact that the missionaries heard a complaint and frequently referred it to the Landdrost.
258. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
259. Mrs. Arnot was Catharina van der Jeugh of Bethelsdorp (?-1832). (cf. Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape p. 10).
260. Barker never makes it clear whether an equal number of cattle was restored.
261. From such entries it would appear that considerable time was taken up in journeying to the court only to find that some snag had cropped up.
262. Criticism was levelled at the missionaries and specifically at Barker (after the publication of Dr Philip's Researches in South Africa) that they wasted too much time on administration and that the Mission Court arrogated to itself too much power. The Journal appears to refute this. The legal system of the Colony was often to blame.
263. From such entries it can be assumed that most travellers stopped at the Mission.
264. Senior members of the Community made a formal call on the Circuit Court signifying respect.
265. Probably pairings to keep animals out.
266. The Deputation of 1819 consisted of Dr Philip and Rev John Campbell.
267. See Note 254 supra.
268. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).

269. See Note 254 supra.
270. Unidentified, probably Neethling.
271. Lammas was named after the Damant family home in England.
272. It has been impossible, in spite of recourse to old maps, to identify this.
273. See Note 255 supra.
274. cf. Theal Records of the Cape Colony Vol. XI p. 305 & pp. 425-431 and Vol. XII p. 368 Somerset to Bathurst; Vol. XII p. 259 Bathurst to Somerset; Vol. XIII p. 83 Knobel to Cuyler. This is probably the correspondence referred to. The fact that Cuyler showed it to Barker is significant.
275. See Note 254 supra.
276. The texts chosen tell the story of the wise man who built on rock and the foolish one on sand.
277. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
278. It is interesting to note that mission and legal action was proposed.
279. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
280. It is interesting to observe the use to which Barker put the power of the pass.
281. The Deputation was, at this time, endeavouring to re-arrange the Mission Records.
282. All these texts (taken in context) have reference to witchcraft, drunken misdemeanour and unseemly mirth!
283. This must be a reference to the unwillingness of the Landdrost readily to admit people to the Missions so that Barker overcame the problem by offering employment.
284. This emphasises the point made by Barker in a letter in 1820 (L.M.S. Correspondence: Barker to Directors 2/8/20 (8/2/0),) where he pointed out that temporal and spiritual control should not be exerted by one man.

1820

George Barker,  
Missionary.

[The only "observation" he makes at the beginning of the year is "was alone" - a reference to the departure of all the other missionaries from Bethelsdorp. Between 1st January and 9th May the indefatigable Barker was occupied with mission problems, government - mission relations, negotiations concerning a "new" Bethelsdorp and the inevitable building activities. Mr O'Donnell<sup>285</sup> of Uitenhage attended services at the mission and in return Barker visited not only Mr O'Donnell but also Col. Cuyler at the Drostdy in Uitenhage. This, too, was the centre where opgaaf had to be paid. Other visitors were Messrs. MacDonald and Lucas<sup>286</sup> of Grahamstown, Mr Dalgleish<sup>287</sup> of Uitenhage, soldiers from the 72nd Regt. and Col. Cuyler and Dr McMunn<sup>288</sup> who came to examine the leprous Hottentots at the Institution.

Painting of his new house continued and it is interesting to observe that he "white-washed the hall walls" twice and then "coloured" them twice. Mangers were made and, in the smith's shop he produced hinges, window shutter fasteners, gutters, "waggon goers" and a "travelling bedstead for the wagon", as well as wheel barrows. A chore which occupied him for nine days was "washing hair" to make a mattress. After further preparation he made a large and a small mattress.

Tension and problems with the Hottentots comes through in some of the selection of entries quoted below. The idea of moving Bethelsdorp to a new and more suitable location was mooted and entries concerning negotiation with a Mr Mare and a Mr Huntley have been selected.

The garden flourished with "trefoil, turnips, cabbage, raddish, barley and forage".]

[January]

16th: Preached from James 1-18 in the morning. Afternoon from Jon 1<sup>st</sup>-16. In the evening from Ps 133. Mr O'Donnell was at our worship in the morning. A farmer's daughter, a stranger attended service morning & afternoon. Received a letter from Mr Campbell to forward their oxen left here to Beaufort for the journey to Lattakoo, with people who had promised to accompany him.<sup>289</sup>

17th: Rode to Uitenhage on business by desire of the Deputation. Left orders for the men & oxen to be ready for the starting next morning, but on return found neither were ready.

18th: Spoke the people this morning who were to go with Mr Campbell, not one would go. Endeavoured to procure others.

19th: Our corporals told me about mid-day they were going to send for men to go with the oxen of Mr C; one of our people requested a pass to go to Beaufort with a waggon, expected from this incident to obtain people to go with the oxen, as their excuse was the distance to walk. Mr Corner left for Graff Reinet. Wrote Mr Thomas.

20th: About mid-day our Corporals told me again they were going to send for people to take Mr C's oxen. Engaged a man myself to take them. The oxen did not come: Recieved some impudence from 2 of the Corporals, Jan David & Wm. Karels.

21st: This morning the oxen were here to go. Just as they were starting Michel Dederik offered to go with them in company with Hans Zaachora.<sup>290</sup> Wrote Mr Harris & my Mother. Was writing all day.

25th: Rode to the Bay to see Major Fraser before he left for England, gave him a letter for my father, for Mr Thomas & Dr Harris. Requested him to call on Dr Philip at Cape, entreated him to advise Dr P. not to purchase his place for an Institution. Informed him of Mr Mare's offer & requested him to speak Dr Philip on the subject of purchasing it.<sup>291</sup>

28th: Enquired into the irregularities of Jan Lenord, Isak Arnoldus and Arianna Constabel. The people present agreed that Arianna to be sent off the place into the service of someone for a year. Jan & Izak agreed to work at the Institution.<sup>292</sup>

### [February]

3rd: Enquired into a complaint against Willem Rondganger for a rape upon Elizabeth Zeeland, both baptized, he was proved & confessed himself guilty of the crime. Resolved by those present, the people themselves, to exclude him the Institution. In the evening he was excluded the church. Was solemnly adressed & exhorted to witness an execution the next morning of a Hottentot for murder.

4th: Went to the place of execution at Uitenhage, but was too late to witness the scene; it being over about 10 minutes. Many of our people were there & some in time.<sup>293</sup> Returned to Mr Mare's, & along the river, visited the place of Col: Cuyler. On account of all having been from home the church meeting deferred.

5th: Willem Rondganger should have been sent yesterday to the Land-croost, but was neglected. This morning ordered him away. Several of the people came to plead for him, even of those who had sentenced him to be excluded the Institution. I set before them the nature of his crime, read to them the 22nd chap: of Deut: Told them I was fully determined to make an example of him & go he should. One of them, Samson Tivor

brought his Bible & pointed out Gal: 6-1, saying that according to that he thought Willem ought not to be entirely excluded the place. Asked him if Paul spoke of a hope & then brought him the big bible & besought him to read the notes & compare the references.<sup>294</sup> Sent the letter to the Landdrost & ordered the Corporal to send Willem. In the evening had the church meeting, Address from 2 Cor: 3-18 After which Magerson Keteldas was excluded for drunkenness.

17th: Rode to Uitenhage to speak Mr Huntley about Deep river, which he had offered for sale, or in exchange for Bethelsdorp.<sup>295</sup>

Having recieved an address & list from Mr Dalgleish for subscriptions in aid of erecting a chapel, for Divine service in English, at Cape Town, I proposed to our congregation a collection at our chapel door this morning. The collection amounted to 23 RD. 6sk. The first of the kind I suppose, that ever was witnessed at Bethelsdorp.<sup>296</sup>

20th: Was informed this morning that the farmer who was at our worship yesterday was much astonished, & said now he was not at a loss to judge why the Hottentots desired so much to come to Bethelsdorp if they always heard such things as yesterday evening. Had some conversation with the family, particularly the afflicted son, & gave them some tracks.<sup>297</sup> Repaired the other wagon side.

24th: Rode to the Bay to asceratin that things were in the ship for me, brought home a small box of papers, tracks & letters. One letter from Mr Thomas & one from the Committee of the Track Society at Silver Street chapel.

28th: Repaired the garden fence, & planted cabbage & carrots. Wrote Mr Thomas. Recieved from the ship a [Beureau] from the Cape.

29th: Was busy fitting keys to & cleaning the [Beureau]. Col: Cuyler & Dr McMunn came to examine the leprous Hottentots belonging to the Institution & to select the worst to send to the establishment for such at Swellendam.<sup>298</sup>

30th: Sowed Treyfoil, Turnips, cabbage & raddish in the garden. Sent 8 leprous people to Uitenhage. Church meeting.

[From 10th May he records the coming of the 1820 Settlers. This section is quoted in full up to 7th July.]

10th: Began to prepare hair for a cushion for the sofa. The Chapman Transport arrived in Algoa Bay with Mr Bailey's party of settlers, the first party.<sup>299</sup>

11th: Col. Cuyler rode very early past to the Bay, to see the emigrants. Was at work at the hair for the sofa cushion.

12th: Mr. Morison rode past to the Bay to see the settlers. Finished the sofa cushion.

13th: Rode to the Bay & spent the day there. Found the settlers in high spirits & perfectly resigned to every thing. They were in tents, two or three families in each, yet rejoicing they had left the Chapman in which they had been five months. Found them almost all from London. Persons, many of them of parentage, wealth & education. Men of the first trades in England; half pay officers etc. A poor woman had died the preceding day whose funeral I was requested to attend. I read the Church of England form of burial service & then addressed the spectators with a few words. One woman was put to bed this morning in one of the tents. Was very familiar with Mr Hockley, <sup>300</sup> Mrs H an amiable woman. Returned in the evening.

14th: Sowed peas in the garden & was writing. The Nautilus Transport arrived in the Bay with settlers.

15th: Was writing. The Ocean Transport arrived in the Bay with settlers. A very pleasant experience meeting in the evening.

16th: Preached in the morning from Jon 3-19 & 20. In the afternoon from Luke 2-28 & 29. In the evening from Col, 3-4. Mr Hockley one of the settlers per Chapman came too late for the morning service, but was at the afternoon service, & returned to the Bay.

17th: Worked in the garden. Mr. Bailey's party left the Bay for their location. Mr Bailey & friends who went by Uitenhage called here in the evening on passing.

18th: Worked in the garden. One of Mr Bailey's party passed this to settle at Uitenhage.

19th: Rode to the Bay to see the settlers per Nautilus. Did not find one of whom I had the least hope of piety. A rough vulgar party in general. I left them with the conviction that the fear of God was not among them. O Lord have mercy upon them & prevent those who bear the name of Christian from disgracing the religion of Jesus among the poor heathen.

20th: Planted potatoes in the garden. Mr & Mrs Hart from Somerset arrived in the afternoon. Mr H. proceeded to the Bay & Mrs Hart with Mr & Mrs Stretch <sup>301</sup> remained for the night.

21st: Mr Hart left us early. Worked in the garden.

22nd: Was writing all day.

23rd: Preached in the morning from Matt: 3-12 in the morning celebrated a marriage. Afternoon discoursed from Psalm 1. Evening preached from Matt: 23-29. Was completely fatigued with the labours of the day. Caught a woman at work at her Matt making which matt I took into my charge.

24th: Was rather indisposed from the fatigues of yesterday.

25th: Cut thatch for the stable.

26th: Worked in the smith's shop. Finished 4 ox yokes.

27th: Began to make a hedge at the garden wall.

28th: Rode to the Bay to see the Ocean party, was much pleased with them. Found one Mr Howard<sup>302</sup> a pious man, Mr Morgan<sup>303</sup> an intelligent man, & a Mr Fuller<sup>304</sup> heads of parties. They appeared to have a reverence for religion in general, & spoke of a public thanksgiving for the mercies recieved on the voyage.

29th: Was writing all day. The Menai<sup>305</sup> Govt. ship arrived in the Bay with Mr Ellis Dep. Colonial Secretary<sup>306</sup> on board. Also the Kennersly Castle with settlers.

30th: Lectured from Deut: 5-12 to 15 in the morning, respecting the observation of the Sabbath. Baptized a child. In the Afternoon read the track on the Sabbath Day. In the evening preached from Jer: 13-18 & 19. Mr Morrison was here. The Northampton transport arrived in the Bay with settlers.

May 1st: Rode to the Bay with the intention of taking leave of Mr Howard, who was away. Found a Mr Smith<sup>307</sup> a member of Dr Cary's<sup>308</sup> church in India, who rode home with me & spent the night with us. Missionary prayer meeting, address from Isa: 49-4. Mr Smith present.

2nd: Sent the waggon to the Bay for Mr Smith, who came with Mrs S. in the evening.

3rd: Rode to Uitenhage at the request of a Mr Hooper<sup>309</sup>, one of Mr Bailey's party. Gave him some advice as to the arrangement of his temporal affairs. Spoke him on more important subject. He broke a blood vessel on board.

4th: Very cold. Was writing. The John arrived in the Bay with settlers.

5th: Made a door for the stable. Church meeting.

6th: Was writing. A person who came in the Ocean transport passed this on his way to Uitenhage to reside there as a Tailor.<sup>310</sup>

7th: Preached this morning from Jon 19-13. Administered the Lord's Supper, & baptized a child. Afternoon preached from Ps1: 55-23. In the evening from Ps1: 40-17.

8th: Rode to the Bay to see Capt. Pearson<sup>311</sup> at the request of Dr Philip. The remainder of Mr Smith's party left the Bay & came round by Bethelsdorp.

9th: Mr Smith left this to-day. Left his sister, Mrs Cornfield<sup>312</sup> behind with a young child about 10 weeks old in a very weak state.

10th: Worked in the garden.

11th: Made some alterations in the hen-house, & erected a hen coop.

12th: Worked in the garden, & had Andries Windvogel's case in hand.

13th: Rode to the Bay at the request of Capt. Evatt<sup>313</sup> to fetch out the loose people. Found 13 women, 4 of whom had a large quantity of bread & flour. Rode round by the cattle place after 3 & brought them to Bethelsdorp, called the people together in the church & untied the bundles of three women brought from the Bay & took out before them all, 2 buckets of flour & 4 loaves of bread. Did this to shame them.<sup>314</sup>

14th: Preached this morning from Prov: 29-1. In the afternoon from Ps: 36-8. In the evening from Mark 8-37. Mr Curdie<sup>315</sup> was at worship with us. The Aurora arrived in the Bay with settlers.

15th: Rode to Litenhage to accuse the women who I found in the Bay on Saturday & 3 were punished, one sent to service for a year & the others reprimanded. His Excellency the Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin<sup>316</sup> passed & called on his way to the Bay, but I was not at home. I met him on my way to Litenhage, but did not know him. He returned in the evening without calling. The Brilliant & the Albury arrived in the Bay with settlers.

16th: Worked in the garden. A Mr [ - ] one of the settlers in the Brilliant rode from the Bay to see this place, & brought a letter from Dr Philip per Mr Pringle<sup>317</sup>. He returned in the evening.

17th: Had Andries Windvogel again to examine & enquire into his case, viz. of forsaking a woman who had a child by him & with whom he had lived for 3 years, & now demanded marriage to another & the third with whom he had been connected. Resolved that if he persisted in his determination to forsake her, to send him to Col. Cuyler on his return, together with the complainant. Mr Ury<sup>318</sup> came from the Bay with a letter of introduction from Mr Burder<sup>319</sup> in London. Had letters still on board from my father & Mr Thomas, in whose service he formerly was. Spent the evening in pleasant conversations about our old friends.

18th: Mr Ury returned to the Bay. Was writing all day.

19th: Mr Roe<sup>320</sup> one of the settlers came from the Bay. Worked in the garden.

20th: Mr Roe cut 3 of the Boar pigs this morning & returned to the Bay.

21st: Preached from Acts 17-10 & 11 in the morning, & baptized a child. In the afternoon from Matt. 16-4. In the evening from Cor. 10 1-6. Mr Maynard<sup>321</sup> & 2 sons (settlers) were at worship afternoon & evening. Mr Annot stayed for the evening service.

22nd: Mr Maynard returned to the Bay. Rode to the Bay to try to obtain the parcel from Mr Thomas, but could not. Obtained one from my mother

with a letter. Saw a woman a wife of one of the settlers walking from the beach to the tents who had not been confined a week. The poor creature was nearly fainting.

23rd: Was setting my plough in order for work, walked to Mr Arnot to have some iron work done.<sup>322</sup>

24th: Intended to have begun ploughing this morning, but could not get the oxen. Mrs Ury came from the Bay to remain here during her confinement, had not been here an hour before the child was born, the jolting of the waggon had that effect on her. Could scarcely get things ready in time. Wrote to Mr Ury.<sup>323</sup> Recieved Mr Thomas's parcel with a letter.

25th: Was writing. Mr Ury came from the Bay. Mrs Ury doing very well, but the infant poorly & doubts entertained respecting its life. Recieved in the evening a letter from Mr Ailen<sup>324</sup> stating, an accident had happened to a boat's crew belonging to the Menai sloop of war & that Capt. Moresby<sup>325</sup> wished to have the body of Mr Bird<sup>326</sup> midshipman & other sailors brought to the Bay for interment, & requesting a waggon & people to be sent in search of such bodies, between the Zwartkops river & Sundays river's mouth. Did not know particulars of this affair.

26th: The infant of Mrs Ury died this morning about 8 o'clock. Mr Shaw<sup>327</sup> the Methodist Minister came to pay us a visit. In the evening Dr Caldecott<sup>328</sup> came also from the Bay. Enjoyed the evening in pleasant conversation with two pious friends.

27th: Mr Shaw & the Dr returned to the Bay this morning. Mrs Ury's infant was buried about mid-day. I addressed the spectators at the grave. Was rather poorly & did not attend worship in the evening. Heard to-day that the boat's crew that were lost belonging to the Menai, were endeavouring to explore the mouth of the Zwartkops river on Wensday. The midshipman was a Mr Reid not Bird.

28th: Preached from Luke 19,41-42 in the morning. Afternoon from Rom 4-3. Evening from Psl 119-166. Messrs Shepherd, Miller & [Compe]<sup>329</sup>, settlers, were here from the Bay.

29th: Worked in the garden.

30th: Worked in the garden. Mr Pringle came from the Bay, found him a very intelligent man & very pleasant company.<sup>330</sup>

31st: Mr H. Ornich<sup>331</sup> from Enon passed this, but did not stay long. Mr Pringle rode to the Bay in the afternoon.

June 1st: Mr Pringle having had my horse to ride home yesterday evening, his brother<sup>332</sup> came with it this morning. I found him to be a man possessing a general knowledge of agriculture, a person whom I judge to be well fitted

for the Colony. He returned after taking a cursory view round the place. He brought me some Lucern seeds, cabbage & some English potatoes.

2nd: Worked in the garden. Sowed several sorts of small seeds, Peas, & planted potatoes.

3rd: This morning Mrs B. was taken ill about 3 o'clock & safely delivered about 8 o'clock of a fine son. She had one of the sharpest births I ever knew her to have but thro' mercy got better [into bed]. We feared losing both Mother & child in the birth, but our God helped. O! that we felt more grateful for our mercies.

4th: Preached this morning from Luke 22-18 & administered the Lord's Supper. Afternoon from Eph: 2-5. Did not attend in the evening on account of Mrs B's circumstances. Mrs B. charming considering, the child also.

5th: Could do nothing to-day but attend Mrs B. Did not attend the Missry prayer meeting this evening. Mrs B. & child tolerable well. His Exy passed to the Bay, did not call. I went to the waggon but was not introduced to His Excellency.

6th: Mrs B. not so well to-day. His Excellency rode past to Uitenhage.

7th: Mrs B. rather poorly to-day. Mr Thornhill<sup>333</sup> a settler called on passing to Uitenhage. Col: Graham<sup>334</sup> passed without calling.

8th: Mrs B. to-day poorly & very weak, feels her weakness more than on the first two days.

9th: Mrs B. but poorly. The child somewhat unwell.

10th: Mrs B. poorly, the child very poorly.

11th: Preached from Rom: 5- part of the first verse. Baptized 2 children. Mrs Ury in chapel. Returned thanks for her delivery, at her request in the English tongue. Afternoon preached from Psl 32 - 1 & 2. In the evening same text as morning. Mrs B. somewhat better. The child very ill in his bowels. Consulted Dr McMunn respecting the child as he was passing to the Bay. A Mr [ - ] was here of Mr Wilson's party.

12th: Rode to the Vee place to set things a little in order, burnt down the huts of those who had been often requested to come home & would not & who had been repeatedly warned what steps would be taken if they did not come home. At one place in the valley I found 9 huts where I did not expect to find one. Mrs B. something better, the child still poorly. Mr Wilson<sup>335</sup>, head of the Belle Alliance party, called on passing to Uitenhage, but I was not at home.

13th: The dear child very ill, could neither suck nor eat. Mrs B. better, but still very weak, came out of her room a few minutes.

14th: Mrs B. rather better. The child worse.

15th: Thought we should have lost the Dear baby last night, could not eat, or suck or sleep. Mrs B. in the mending way.

16th: The Dear child very ill to-day, but had some hopes of him. Mrs B. mending, heard that a person was escorted past this from the Bay to Uitenhage, yesterday evening for murdering his wife, on enquiring found it was [Donally]<sup>336</sup> & that he had stabbed his wife with a knife. Mr Wilson called.

17th: Flattered ourselves that the child was better to-day, he sucked better & rested somewhat better. Mrs B. mending. Capt. Moresby of R.M. Menai with Mr Hunt,<sup>337</sup> came to seek timber for building. The Capt. appeared a very pleasant man.

18th: Preached from Rom: 5-14 this morning. Part of Mr Korsten's family were present. In the afternoon preached from latter part of 1 verse of Rom: 5; Mr Dalgleish came with some friends from the Bay who attended worship in the afternoon. In the evening did not attend worship, was very ill. The infant very ill to-day. Mrs B. better. Sat up with the infant until 12 o'clock in great pain of body after the services of the day.

19th: This morning at day break I was called to the Infant which was supposed to be dying. I thought so myself & said it would not live long, expected every breath to have been its last thro the day. I was very ill with my breast, which had for a long time been painfull of a Monday morning, but never so bad as this morning.

20th: Had no rest with the dear infant all the past night. Its eyes & mouth were closed several times during the night supposing it to have been dead. About 4 o'clock this morning it was siezed with strong convulsions & died about half past 6 o'clock convulsed. No one can describe what the dear creature suffered during the night. Its groans were continual & after it was convulsed it became frightfull to see the motions of its mouth & body. The Lord doeth all things well. He gave & he hath taken away.

Mrs B. very much affected, but better than my fears. Very ill myself, was this morning seized with a cough, my breast still bad, could scarcely move all day. In the afternoon the Infant was buried, spoke a few words at the grave with great difficulty. In the evening Mr. Philip & family,<sup>338</sup> settlers from Wales, spanned out here & slept in the office.

21st: Mr Philip & family left us. My waggon set off with Mrs Cornfield & Lys Hector to bring the first to Medbury farm,<sup>339</sup> the last to Theopolis. Was very ill this morning. Dr McMunn passed who proposed bleeding me for

the pain at my chest. I consented, telling the Dr. the state of my body & the nature of my constitution adding that I should not bear to have much taken from me. The Dr. having opened a vein bled me till I fainted, or nearly fainted, so that 2 were obliged to lead me to bed. Soon recovered from fainting. The doctor ordered me a purge the next day & charged me to refrain from preaching for a time, & to speak very little while at a time. Told me the final consequence of the pain at my chest would be Asthma, but if not duly attended to with caution, the immediate consequence would be Inflammation of the lungs.

22nd: Took a dose of Salts this morning which operated quick & effectively. Was weak after bleeding & the cough very bad.

23rd: Rain. Very poorly to-day.

24th: Very ill. The cough & my chest very bad.

25th: Requested Mr Arnot to take the worship for me. He preached from Rev 22-2 after which I baptized 2 children & married 2 couples. Did not go to chapel again this day.

26th: Was still very ill, my breast something better.

27th: Took last night a sweating dose<sup>340</sup> which made me extremely weak to-day. Had no rest last night.

28th: Was attacked last night with a violent head ache, was very ill to-day. Little rest last night.

29th: Had a violent head ache to-day from morning to evening rested. Better last night.

30th: My head very bad to-day. Was obliged to write etc which fatigued me very much.

July 1st: Was ill to-day. Mr Morrison came to request me to visit Mr Cooper<sup>341</sup> whom he expected would not live long. Could not go.

2nd: Mr Arnot preached this morning from Sol. Song 5-16 after which I baptized 2 children & married 4 couples. Was very ill. Mr Morrison came to inform me of the death of Mr Cooper.

3rd: Was something better to-day, but my head still bad. Heard that the remainder of Mr Sephton's party were likely to remain some time in the Bay,<sup>342</sup> advised Mr Ury to bring the rest of his family & work here at his trade so long.

4th: Was a little better to-day, married Law Koopman to Lea [Spogten], who had been before the Matrimonial court<sup>343</sup> yesterday, was fatigued after it. Mr Ury came in the evening.

5th: Was out a little this morning. Mr Ury began to work. My head still bad. The Sir Geo Osborn Transport arrived with settlers.

6th: Was somewhat better to-day, my head still painful. Mr Ayliff<sup>344</sup> came in the afternoon on his return from Uitenhage. Rain.

7th: Mr Ayliff departed to the Bay this morning. Mr Ury finished me a black cloth waistcoat. Rain at times all day.

[As Barker's health improved he took a livelier interest in the affairs of the mission and of his friends and neighbours. Mr Cowper's affairs entailed several visits to Uitenhage before young James Cowper was sent to Cape Town with Brother Read who returned from Lattakoo. The death of Captain Callender<sup>345</sup> on 8th August delayed the sale of Mr Cowper's goods as the Captain had lived with the Cowpers. At this funeral Barker gave an address and said a prayer in contrast to his attendance only at Hottentot funerals.]

Cattle belonging to Mr Ury were sent after him, and he records attendance at church by Mr Morrison, Col. Cuyler's family tutor, the Ayliffs, Brother Kruisman<sup>346</sup> (who preached) & Mr Bockenrode<sup>347</sup>. Other visitors were Mr Poulitrey<sup>348</sup>, Mr Kern<sup>349</sup>, the Philimores<sup>350</sup> (Methodists), Messrs McDonald & Corner. Finally towards the end of the year after a further period of "bilious colic" he went back to Theopolis where Brother Uilbricht was dying of tuberculosis. The extracts selected mirror various facets of his life during this time.]

28th: Preached from [ - ] 8-18 to 23. Baptized 2 children, one the son of Mr Annot. In the afternoon preached from Jon. 6-26 & 27. After which I married 3 couples. The reason of marrying in the afternoon was, to draw more to the afternoon worship, which is too much neglected, the stratagem succeeded, a good congregation assembled. This gave rise to the text chosen as the ground of a discourse. My mind was led to the morning text, by some conversations with my domestics respecting the pretensions of the Caffres to witch craft. To whom I observed I could not find it in the bible, after I had left them one observed to, the other, if it is not found in the bible, it is nevertheless real. In the evening I preached from Jon 4-41 & 42.

Sept. 16th: Finished the one side of the stoop. Laid it with a grass plot & sowed seeds of a shrub, & planted a Pomegranate tree & a Rose tree.

18th: Preached this morning from Rom: 6-17. Afternoon from same text, & married a couple. An English settler & family came here late yesterday evening who were returning to Cape Town 3 of whom were at the morning worship. Mr & Mrs Marsh<sup>351</sup> were at the afternoon & evening services. In the evening preached from Rom: 6-18.

19th: Rode to Mr Korsten's sale, purchased a Bag of sugar & a case of

Hollands.<sup>352</sup>

21st: Rode to the sale, could procure no furniture, bought a second case of hollands. Bottled off Ginger wines.

23rd: Rain. 2 Officers of the 38th Regt. breakfasted with us. Was writing all day. The experience meeting in the evening very pleasant.

26th: Rode to Uitenhage to pay my respects to the Gentlemen of the Court of Circuit.<sup>353</sup> Did not attend the court. The Sir George Osborne arrived at Port Elizabeth with settlers removed from the vicinity of Saldanna Bay.<sup>354</sup>

27th: Rode to the Bay to speak Capt. Long<sup>355</sup> of the [Locaust].

28th: Mr & Mrs Tait<sup>356</sup> & family slept here last night with Capt. Long of the Locaust & left this morning for Uitenhage. Worked in the garden.

Oct. 1st: Preached from Rom: 8-16 in the morning. After which the Lord's Supper was administered, Mr Morrison at our worship. In the afternoon preached from Psl: 143-10. In the evening from Matt: 13-47 & 50. Capt. Long of the Brig [Locaust]<sup>357</sup> at our evening service. Revd: Mr Mol & Mr Lind the Deputy Fiscal<sup>357</sup> came in the afternoon & walked about the place among the people.

18th: Employed as yesterday. Walked to the corn with Mrs B. to view the wheat, a farmer having passed it & told me it was blighted so much nothing could be gained from it. The top of the blade was turned white & withered, I suppose from the cold frosty nights lately experienced the nights being colder at this season than ever I knew them, but the crop, in my opinion not the least injured.<sup>358</sup>

19th: Worked in the garden. Received a very affectionate letter from Revd. Shaw, Methodist Minister among the settlers. Heard that Mr Read was on his way thither from Theopolis. Also of the dangerous state of Mr Uibrich's health.

[November]

7th: Those who were married on Sabbath made to-day a joint marriage feast. Mrs B: & self dined with them. An excellent dinner was provided, & good order observed.<sup>359</sup>

17th: Being desired by Col: Cuyler to send all those to him who had not paid their opgaaf, sent some this morning. A number of the people came & complained that I with held from them their baptismal certificates, and by that means prevented them from claiming their Burger right, or Citizenship, when nevertheless they were obliged to pay the Govt. taxes.<sup>360</sup> Worked at the sheep Kraal.

Dec. 12th: Worked at the fence, at the end of the house. Recieved a

letter from Mr Campbell ordering me to Theopolis.<sup>361</sup>

13th: Rode to Mr Schoemans<sup>362</sup> with Mrs B. Bought 2 horses of young Lochenberg for Rds 170. Young horses not broken in. Rode one of them to-day. Received a token of friendship from Col: Cuyler, a testimony of character.<sup>363</sup>

14th: Was painting Names on boards for waggons of the people.<sup>364</sup>

21st: One of the Constabels from Uitenhage slept here last night on his way to Port Elizabeth, gave him 2 of our people to assist in taking a settler prisoner.<sup>365</sup> They passed this way with him in the afternoon.

24th: Preached this morning from Num: 11-23 in alusion to the prospect of security through out the Colony, & baptized a child. Preached afternoon from Isa: 33-16 & married a couple, two settlers present. Evening preached from Ps1: 72-28.

25th: Prepared for a journey to Theopolis to visit Brother Ullbricht who has been long ill. Exchanged a young horse for a mare with Pieter Platjes.

26th: Departed about daylight this morning for Theopolis, came to Bushmans river. The mare very tender footed & the young horse ill, not being accustomed to travel.

27th: Left Bushmans Rivier at day light & rode to Mr Sephtons party of settlers. Slept at the house of the Revd. Wm Shaw who was not at home being on his preaching tour.<sup>366</sup>

28th: Left Salem at day light & arrived at Theopolis about 9 o'clock. On the peoples recognising me, who were standing before the gate at Bro U's gate they began to weep & thank God. Asked them if Bro: U. was living, they said yes & pointed to two men who were ready with their horses saddled to go to fetch me. Enquired whether Bro. U. had prepared a will & understood not. Wrote the Secy of Grahams Town to come & do it without delay. Mr Onkruydt came in the evening & by sitting & writing all night the will was completed. Bro: U. extremely ill, yet for the most part sensible. Conversed with him on Spiritual things & found his mind composed, resigned & comfortable.

29th: Bro: U. took a sleeping draught last night, this morning desired to be taken to chappel & could not be made sensible it was not Sabbath untill I came & spoke him on the subject. Spoke much to-day about getting better & said the Drs told him that his complaint was not a consumption & that there was no danger. Was very weak & toward evening delirious. Rode to the mouth of the river with Wm Valentyn.

30th: Bro U: much weaker & delirious almost the whole day. Insisted on going to chappel as Bro. B. would preach & he had not heard him so long.

In the afternoon was worse. Wrote Mrs B. & sent two men on horses back to Bethelsdorp.

31st: Bro: U. had no sleep last night & this morning was very importunate to be taken to church, was dressed & led to, church & sat part of the sermon, but became faint & was carried out again. On my leaving chapel I went to his bedside & sat awhile, but he took no notice. After some time had elapsed he looked upon me & said, I shall, probably, not be alive when you come again. He then broke out in such strains as the following.. I said to him, Bro: U, is all well, he said, it is well. Come my Lord Jesus. Thy righteousness is my righteousness, thy Truth is my life. Shortly after, he said, Come Lord Jesus recieve my spirit into thy gracious arms. Come recieve me to thy glory. Query. Have you a desire to come back again to life & health Bro. U:? I have no will or choice in the matter. Christ is the ground of my hope, to whom I surrender my whole self.

After this he spoke to Sister U: & her sister very sensibly & arranged his affairs. I was not present. Gave to Jan Tshatshu a juckevat & hat. Desired to have not great to do at his funeral, said he did not expect to live till morning. In the evening very bad, I preached this morning from 2 Cor: 5-1 with unusual fluency & I trust fervour.<sup>367</sup> Afternoon did not leave Bro: U to attend worship. Evening preached from Heb: 4-11. It was very refreshing to my soul to address those whom I have so often exhorted in the name of the Lord.

Was alone at Bethelsdorp the whole year.

285. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
286. Ibid.
287. Ibid.
288. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
289. John Campbell and Dr Philip were dependent on the missions for transport.
290. See Note 284 supra.
291. See Note 254 supra.
292. The punishments are of interest especially the more severe one of being sent to work elsewhere for a year, suggesting, as it does, attachment to the mission.
293. It appeared to be customary to use executions as a sad example of the wages of sin.
294. The references here are to the Ten Commandments, the forgiveness of sinners and the change wrought by Christ. This is of interest because both Barker and the people showed excellent knowledge of Scripture and also because the thundering of the Old Testament was pitted against the Christian love of the New.
295. See Note 254 supra.
296. This was a collection for the Church in Cape Town at which Dr Philip was Minister. (See Lovett: History of London Missionary Society Vol. I p. 540).
297. Tracts were supplied by the Mission and also by the Religious Tract Society (1799).
298. A hospital for lepers was set up by the British at Swellendam in (?). The date appears to be obscure.
299. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
300. Ibid.
301. Ibid.
302. Ibid.
303. Ibid.
304. Ibid.
305. H.M.S. Menai was the sloop of war which accompanied the Settler Ships.
306. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
307. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
308. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
309. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
310. It has proved impossible to identify this man.
311. Probably William Pearson (cf. Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape p. 321).

312. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
313. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
314. A demonstration of practical discipline to reinforce Captain Evatt's request.
315. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
316. See List of Governors & Chiefs: Appendix C(v).
317. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
318. Ibid.
319. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
320. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
321. Ibid.
322. Mr Annot was a cooper and lived at Bethelsdorp.
323. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
324. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
325. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
326. Barker corrects this name to Reid but no identification has been possible under either name.
327. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
328. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
329. Ibid.
330. Ibid.
331. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
332. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
333. Ibid.
334. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
335. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
336. No Donnelly other than a child of fourteen years from Wilkinson's party on the Amphitrite has been identified.
337. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
338. Ibid.
339. The only Medbury which can be identified is on the Howisons Poort side of Grahamstown.
340. Medical records appear mixed but it is probable that this was a hot alcoholic drink heavily spiced.
341. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
342. Confusion existed about the exact location of Sephton's party who went first to Rietfontein and subsequently to Salem.
343. It is to be noted that the Khoi too appeared before the Matrimonial Court.
344. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).

345. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
346. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
347. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
348. Ibid.
349. Ibid.
350. Ibid.
351. Ibid.
352. Hollands gin.
353. These frequent references to the Court of Circuit show how much more frequently British Justice operated by 1820.
354. It should be noted that contrary to the statements made by Hockley (The Story of the British Settlers p. 41) it was according to Barker that the George Osborne was dispatched to Saldanha Bay to fetch the Scottish & Irish Settlers and not the Fanny & the East Indian (cf. Journal entry 5/9/20).
355. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
356. Ibid.
357. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii). Public Prosecutor.
358. Blight is a term which covers a wide range of plant diseases including mildew, rust and smut.
359. Barker made it a habit to go with his wife to dine with newly married couples.
360. It is difficult to understand what the Khoi meant. Under the D.E.I.C. baptised slaves could claim rights but this had lapsed under the British. In fact, technically in the eyes of the law, they were free (cf. Bigge & Owen Report) but this was not acknowledged.
361. L.M.S. Correspondence: Campbell to Barker.
362. These were the farms north of Bethelsdorp.
363. It would appear from this that Barker stood on good terms with Cuyler although Philip deplored this.
364. Transport riding was one of the main Khoi trades.
365. Here is an anomaly. Khoi were used to arrest a white man.
366. Shaw covered a circuit which included Clumber, Green Fountain, Ebenezer, Trappe's Valley, Bathurst, Port Frances(Alfred), Reed Fountain, Manley's Flats and Seven Fountains as well as Grahamstown.
367. II Corinthians Chapter V Verse 1. "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

1821

G. Barker,  
Missionary.

## Observations.

Was at Bethelsdorp alone, but ordered to Theopolis & was waiting the arrival of Mr Kitchingman.<sup>368</sup>

Jan. 1st: Bro: U. extremely ill to-day & delirious all day. Did not expect his life. Was copying Bro. U's journal.<sup>369</sup> Preached from Thess: 4-1.

2nd: Bro: U. much weaker to-day, could scarcely be said to live - finished copying his journal. Recieved a letter from Mrs B; with one from Bro: E. Evans & one from Mr Thomas in London.

3rd: Bro: U. extremely weak, could not get up to ease nature. Did not know those arround him.

About 2 o'clock left Theopolis to return to Bethelsdorp, rode to Salem to sleep there. Our Methodist brethren were holding an annual meeting, to recieve a report of the state of the little society of the Sunday schools etc. etc. I arrived about 6 o'clock & was requested to preach that evening, had scarcely time to take a cup of tea before the meeting. Preached from Matt: 6-6 after which the Covenant with the Lord was renewed according to their custom.<sup>370</sup> The Lord's Supper administered at which I assisted my Bro Shaw. This was a very pleasant evening to me, the first scene of the kind I ever witnessed in Africa. Friends from other parts were present & the congregation considerable.<sup>371</sup>

4th: Rode away from Salem after breakfast & came to Bushmans river. Had the most uncomfortable ride in all my life, on account of the wind & dust.

5th: Left Bushmans river at daylight & arrived home just before sunset. Crossing the Zwartkops river the tide was high & I rode the lower drift, the horses swam & I was wet. Found my family well, the dear children rejoiced to see me. The people, some of them, had been drunk & quarelling & fighting in my absence.

7th: Preached from 1 Cor. 11-27 with much earnestness. Baptized 2 children. Married 8 couples & administered the Lord's Supper. Afternoon was too fatigued to preach. Evening preached from Luke 13-7 being the first Sabbath of the year. Was alive in soul.

8th: Was writing all day.

9th: Was writing all day. Finished my journal with the accompanying letter to the Director. Rode to the Bay. In the evening recieved a letter from Theopolis announcing the death of my dear Bro. Uilbricht, who departed this life on the 4th inst: the day after I left, about 6 o'clock

evening.

10th: Having written to Cape etc: the news of Bro: U's death I rode to Uitenhage to-day & took the letters with me. Wrote Dr. Philip, Brs Messer & Evans. Was very cordially recieved by Col: Cuyler.

11th: Was writing all day. Finished Bro: U's Journal with accompanying letter to Director.

12th: Was writing all day. Setting my books in order that Bro Kitchingman, on his arrival, may better learn the state of things at the Institution. Enclosed the Government correspondence etc.

13th: A horse from the Sunday rivier yesterday evening, died on the place last night. I wrote to Dr Younger who was desirous to desect a horse dying with the desease prevelent at this season of the year. This horse was ceratinly soffercated by conglutated affluvia which had been secreted in the stomach, arising in the throat & which causes in all cases a foaming at the nostrils. The Dr took down his observations, but did not say much. I am fully of opinion such secretion must arise from obstructed persperation, but why this should be most prevalent at this season in particular, more in low lands than on high, & where the grass is sweet than where it is sour, is a speculation well deserving the attention of those who study the welfare of that useful animal. I am fully convinced a good warm stable after riding, or warm cloathing for the horse when rode warm, would be beneficial. The reason of the desease being more prevalent in low lands than high, must, I think, arise from the density of the air, which, in horses not rode obstructs external evacuation. <sup>372</sup>

- Was preparing another journey to Theopolis.

14th: Preached from Isa: 57-1. Baptised two children & married a couple. Mr & Mrs Marsh & Mr Curdie present. Afternoon did not attend on account of going to Theopolis & intended to ride in the evening. Started for Theopolis by way of Uitenhage, & rode to the Zwartkops rivier.

15th: Took Mr Morrison with me from Uitenhage & left about 9 o'clock A.M. Met Mr & Mrs Schmidt from Enon, not far from Uitenhage, with whom I had some agreeable conversation. Had my stock of pigs with me, the boor died & I took him out at the Koega. Slept at the Sunday river.

16th: Rode to Sweet milk fountain & slept there.

17th: Called on a small party of settlers to-day near Assegay Bush, to the right of the road. <sup>373</sup> Rode at sunset to Salem & took tea with Mrs Shaw then rode to the Karieka.

18th: Arrived at Theopolis this morning, about 10 o'clock. Found the people busy arranging matters to send a party to Grahamstown to relieve

others now at work there, most of them were unwilling to go. I told the Corporals the only way was to write the names of those ordered & let them answer for their non-attendance to the Landdrost. Wrote Capt. Sommerset thus & which were ordered to come.<sup>374</sup>

19th: Rode to Bathurst with Mr Morrison, & dined at the Bathurst Arms,<sup>375</sup> the road very uncomfortable thro: the woods & extremely hot. On our way home a branch caught Mr M. so that he could not extricate himself & his horse would not stand still, he fell with a dreadful fall from his horse which frightened me much, but by the mercy of our God he recieved little injury.

20th: Recieved a letter from Capt. Sommerset, saying the people were not come & charging the station with extreme irregularity, requesting me (sir) to take some measures to have my orders attended to. Wrote Capt. Sommerset again, very freely stating what I conceived to be the cause of the irregularity, viz Too great requisitions & non attendance to passports.<sup>376</sup> Rode with Mr M. to the rivers mouth & to Mr Messer's<sup>377</sup> location.

21st: Preached from Jon 5-35 in the morning & baptised a child, afternoon from Psl. 51-17. Few people attended worship. Had no candle & could not hold worship in the evening.

22nd: Having advised those commanded for Grahams Town to go, they left this morning. Assembled the people together & chose at their request new Corporals. Was making out accounts of Bro: U's against the people untill very late at night. Mr Stockenstroom<sup>378</sup> came with his demand on Bro: U: & demanded payment, offered to balance acct's with him but he would not, he demanded Rds 500 more than anything to show for it. He said he would apply to the Landdrost to which I consented.

23rd: Busy as yesterday early this morning. Recieved a letter from Capt. Sommerset, summoning me to appear before him next morning, to receive verbal answers to my letters (the one alluded to on the 20th, the other entreating to be informed whom the Missionary stationed at Theopolis was to address as its Civil head, the Landdrost at Bathurst or Grahams-town). Messrs Inornhill & Gilfillan called upon me but I had nothing to set before them either to eat or drink.<sup>379</sup>

24th: Rode to Grahams Town last night & arrived there this morning, about 6 o'clock. Took breakfast with Mr MacDonald. Attended at the Landdrost office, but Capt. Sommerset was not present, was told he was absent from home (the orderly soldier at his gate, told me Capt. S. was at home). Requested the Secy. to present my duty to Capt. S. & tell him I had obeyed his summons, but could not wait.<sup>380</sup> Returned back to Theopolis where I arrived at dusk.



*View of Grahamstown when the British Emigrants arrived in May 1820*

View of Grahamstown upon the arrival of the British Settlers in May, 1820. John Centurion Chase received this picture from Thomas Phillips in 1841, and presented it to the Grahamstown Library in 1866. Reading from left to right, it was annotated as follows: Cape Barracks, Barrack Formation, Capt. Sparks, Beuter's shop, Colonel Wilshire, Mr. Thompson, Capt. Page, Commissariat, Mess House, Royal Africans, Mr Dietz (above this "Capt. Page" is deleted), old Jail, Retiel, messenger to Court, Road to Port Elizabeth, Engineers office. (1820 Settlers Museum.)

(from: Butler: The 1820 Settlers)

25th: In the fore noon of the day, Messrs Whaite Morgan & Rose <sup>381</sup> came, on an excursion to view the country, took some refreshments and left for the mouth of the Kariëka intending to cross it to the Bushman river which I told them I considered impossible. In the evening they returned again having satisfied themselves of the impossibility of passing that river. Received a very polite letter from Capt. Trappes <sup>382</sup> - Landdrost at Bathurst (to whom I had made the same request as to Capt. Sommerset) stating that Theopolis comes under his direction & very kindly offering his assistance to further the views of the missionary at the station.

Jan. 26th: Messrs Whaite, Morgan & Rose left after breakfast. I gave them my bed for their accomodation & slept myself on a matt wrapped up in my boat cloak. Was rather indisposed after the hasty ride to Grahams Town.

27th: Was indisposed to-day, much pain at my chest in consequence of the ride to Grahams Town, in the night. Was obliged to lie almost all this day.

Jan. 28th: Preached this morning from Jon 5-14, the chapel well filled. Afternoon from Phil. 3-20. Two Dutch farmers were on the place, but not in chapel. Evening preached from Matt: 11-2.

29th: Left Theopolis this morning for Bethelsdorp 4 a.m. the new road to Bathurst being better than the old road. Slept the night near the location of Capt. Butler. <sup>383</sup>

30th: Rode to Quaga's vlakte & slept there.

31st: Rode very early this morning & continued until midnight when I arrived home. Found my family thro: mercy well; that oxen were gone to meet Mr Kitchingman. Found Mrs Filmine <sup>384</sup> here on a visit.

Feby. 1st: Was employed variously & writing. Heard that some of the people had been dissatisfied with the preaching of Bro Samson during my absence but did not hear why or who the persons were who were dissatisfied.

[ Putting his books in order and bidding farewell to friends, the Lovemores <sup>385</sup> at Busky Park and those friends at Cradock Place, <sup>386</sup> occupied the missionary during February. With the arrival of Mr & Mrs Kitchingman, the Barker's <sup>3</sup> successors, the departure for Theopolis was imminent and visits were paid to introduce the Kitchingmans to Witenhage friends and to Port Elizabeth. The following are highlights.]

3rd: Rode to Port Elizabeth. Saw the top stone just laying on the pyramid. <sup>387</sup> Baptised 3 children of Europeans. Bought a mare for Rd 50.

15th: As yesterday. My sheep & cattle departed for Theopolis. Loaded 2 waggons. Should have loaded a third, but it was not ready.

16th: Packed 2 more waggons to-day, & in the afternoon rode to the

Swartkops river. Had a little rain.

17th: Left Mr & Mrs Marsh after breakfast & rode to Sunday river.

18th: Addressed the people this morning from Psl. 99. As it was likely to rain we travelled up the Addo hill toward evening. Held a prayer meeting.

19th: We were obliged to be still the greater part of the day in the Quagga's vliakte on account of excessive heat. Scarcely ever felt it hotter. Spanned out at night between Bushmans river & Sweet milk fountain.

20th: Rode to Assegay Bosch in the morning, then took the Bathurst road from thence, because it was better than the old one. Spanned out on the plain beyond Capt. Butler's location for the night. Going over a rocky hill, the pigeons shook off & one flew away.<sup>388</sup>

21st: It being cool to-day, we did more than we expected, & reached Theopolis about 6 o'clock in the evening, all well but weary. No particular accident having happened to any one.

22nd: Was in great confusion all day, unloading the waggons, setting the house in order etc. Found the journey had done our little furniture much injury. The sheep arrived in the afternoon. Two settlers came, but could not entertain them.

Cattle brought with me to Theopolis.

Oxen	15	)	
		)	
Cows	7	)	
		)	29 head of cattle
Young heaffers	5	)	
		)	
Calves	2	)	
		)	
Horses	2		& one mare
Pigs	6		
Sheep & goats	11?		

COMMENCEMENT AT THEOPOLIS

Febry. 23rd: Was employed as yesterday setting things in order in the house etc.

24th: Took an account of the few articles belonging to the Society. Was employed cleaning the yard before the door etc.

[February 25th to April 6th: Barker was much distressed by the disorder in the Church and also had to work hard to re-create order in the garden. Visitors included a Mr Carpenter,<sup>389</sup> the Reads and Mr Unry who came to ask the missionary "to plough for him". Considerable activity with the stock is recorded & once more the difficulties of this life become clear as well as the tremendous effort needed to keep both the station & the spiritual work going. The following highlights illustrate this.]

26th: Rode to Bathurst to see the Land-drost, was recieved very kindly by Capt. Trappes. Heard heavy complaints against some of our females who were conducting themselves very irregular in the village, particularly in the night, so as to deprive people of their rest. I saw two whom I warned home instantly.

27th: Was writing etc. Spoke to such of the people of the baptised who were present in the evening, respecting the present state of the church. I also mentioned the plan on which I should conduct church affairs, & that the church must be re-organised, before I could administer the Lord's Supper. My reasons for this were the disorderly state of the church, etc. The extreme irregularity of many of the members, who cannot be admitted to the Lord's Table. My predecessor having, for nearly a year, refused to administer the ordinance on account of the misconduct of some, & thus depriving all of the priviledge.

March

2nd: Writing all day. Held a church meeting in the afternoon, address from Acts 20-28. Readmitted, for the church was in a sad state, 35 members. A very encouraging meeting. Rain.

6th: Suffered much last night from pain, having ran a thorn in the joint of my right wrist, but this morning it was better. Was writing all day, preparing the oppgaaf list, & a new list of inhabitants of the station.

7th: Worked a little at the garden fence, but my wrist was painfull. Have asked the people in public to cut me two loads of thatch for my kitchen, and this morning asked some individuals who told me they want to do it if I would pay them for their work.<sup>390</sup>

8th: Worked again a little in the garden. In the evening Bro Read came

to, Theopolis with his family. Conversed with Bro R. respecting missionary affairs, who told me the aim of Dr Philip in writing, that he had commission to enquire into the state of things etc: but I did not approve of either. <sup>391</sup>

9th: Walked about to look at a situation for the new mission house. Had more conversation with Bro: R. but cannot agree with his sentiments on some points, nor with what he tells me of the proceedings of Dr P.

16th: The cattle belonging to the community was divided to-day & the half of the cows left here, & half sent to Bethelsdorp to be sold there. I bought a bull calf to-day for Rds 11 & the milk of 3 cows belonging to the community.

17th: My sheep were out all last night, & to-day I was seeking them from the morning light until noon. Had almost given up the hope of finding them, when I espied them from the top of a hill, at some distance, by the side of a rock. I expected to have found them scattered in all directions, as the wolves were howling around all night, <sup>392</sup> but I believe the wolf had not been where they were. Fr Meyer & wife with Fr Jordaan, were here with accounts against Bro U. <sup>393</sup>

20th: Mr Read & family & Sister Ullbricht & family left for Bethelsdorp. My waggon also went with part of Boesak's oxen & part of my own to fetch some things left behind. Worked in the afternoon at the garden fence.

Mar. 21st: Worked at the garden fence. Recieved an account from Cape Town, of the Bible Society formed at the Government house in August 1820. <sup>394</sup>

24th: Was employed as yesterday. Filander Laberlot took charge of my sheep to-day for Rds 15 per year.

26th: Worked in the garden, digging. Two settlers came with a demand on the late Bro: U. & stayed all night.

27th: Was digging in my garden & planted beans, very hot. A settler came in the evening to ask for work, with whom I agreed for 4 days to dig my garden. <sup>395</sup>

28th: Very hot. Was much pleased with the work of my man. Laid out the plan of my garden etc.

31st: Finished fencing the garden. The settler dug, a large piece of ground, which I planted with potatoes. Sowed scarlet runner and Government beans. Paid the settler for his work. Held experience meeting in the evening.

[The affairs of school & church occupied Barker during the next days, including the compilation of a list of Khoi who were employed on public works under Colonel Willshire & who received no payment. A pleasant break was <sup>396</sup>

made by a visit from the Shaws.

In April the opgaaf fell due necessitating a visit to Granamstown on the 16th. This section is recorded in full.]

11th: Held school & was writing. Mr Barker settler<sup>397</sup> came to settle Mr Stockenstroum's account against the late Mr Uilbricht.

12th: Held school, to-day I put a boy in the testament & to writing, the first boy I have brought so far.

14th: Rain. Ann was very ill all day, did not expect we should be able to take her to Grahams Town.

15th: This morning Ann was better. Had the waggon spanned in to go to Grahams Town. Preached from Ps1, 25-12 & 13. Then set off for Grahams Town. Was benighted under the mountain & stayed there all night.

16th: Arrived at Grahams Town about 8 o'clock this morning. Heard that the Gentlemen were sitting waiting for us in office. Attended at half past 8 & was reproved for being late. Never spent such a day, or did business with such men. Nothing but wrangling between us the whole day. About 3 o'clock all was concluded but two men in the service of Capt. Sommerset,<sup>398</sup> who were present but had no money to pay. The court consisted of the Secretary & 2 Dutchmen, Heemraaden.

Preached this evening for Mr Shaw, at the Barracks in the house of Sergt Major Lucas, in the English Language from 1 Tim: 4-8 to a tollerable congregation. On returning from the Barracks in the evening I saw Wm Windvogel carried by four, as dead drunk as ever I saw a man.

17th: Visited some of our old friends & transacted some private business. In the evening preached in Dutch to the Hottentots in garrison, the Sergt Major having kindly offered his room for that purpose. Text Matt: 12-41.

18th: Rain in the morning. Purchased a chest of drawers. Left Grahams-town in the afternoon & took the road to Bathurst in order to escape the mountain. Stopped for the night at the Blue Krans river. Rain at night.

19th: Came home thro: the Cowie pass & arrived at Theopolis at dark. This road is at least half a days journey farther, but much better.<sup>399</sup>

20th: Heard this morning that one of our people who was left at home, saw a Caffre on the evening of the 15th near the Cowie river, he fired at him but missed him & the Caffre fled to the wood. Was variously employed. A soldier's wife, who had come from Grahams Town, came with tears to confess a sin into which she had been decoyed, or perhaps forced, by an English Sergt of the Cape Corps.

21st: A dog got thro: the Read wall into the pantry last night & eat part of a round of beef that we had brought with us from Grahams Town.

Spent the whole of the day with the people making regulations for the place.

24th: Was so much engaged this morning that I could not hold school. Heard of a rape having been committed by one of the people on a young girl. Worked a little in the garden in the afternoon.

25th: Rode to the mouth of the Cowie river with the waggon to take two pigs which I had exchanged with a Mr Rhodes.<sup>400</sup> Did not go through the river with the waggon, but went over in the boat to Mr Thornhills where Mr Rhodes met us & took the pigs over in the boat. Took the children with me.

26th: Rode to Bathurst to consult Capt. Trappes respecting a letter received from Col. Wiltshire relative to the people from this Institution employed by Govt. Capt. Trappes requested me to write him on the subject of Col: W's letter & inclose that, & promised to lay both before Col: Cuyler Landdrost of Uitenhage. Capt. Trappes received me with affability.

27th: Commenced this morning, with the people, to dig for water, a small distance from the place. After dinner commenced a second well by myself. The people had a stiff red loam, mine a black mould with a bed of stones under it.<sup>401</sup> Wrote Capt: Trappes inclosing the letter.

28th: The people working their well all day, but did not come through the red loam, a little water in their well.

[From April 29th to May 10th he records the service held on two Sundays, and says he did not hold afternoon service on one Sunday as there were strangers and the chapel was in a bad state. He mentions that Br. Andries Klaassen was chosen a second deacon and they had "laying of hands on him".<sup>402</sup> He held school and worked in the garden. During the rest of May he heard a case concerning rape and said "I am fully convinced that the Girl (a young girl) was as bad as the man. Help was at hand and people of our own & her own relatives sitting by the fire very near the waggon, & I am of opinion if others were not aware of it she would have been still. She is at most not above 15 years old".

From the 14th to the 21st he "plaistered" the kitchen and worked at the pigs place. "Mrs B: very ill" he says, ending with "finished my pig sty to-day & put a pig in it to fatten" ]

22nd: Set my plow in order which has been broken. Received a list of the complaints of the people which Mr Read had taken down when here and represented to the Governor. This list I had not seen before, nor was I present when they were brought forward. It appeared, from the tenor of the letter that came with the list, that Mr R: wished me to defend his representation, but as he usurped authority in my charge, contrary to my advice & said he was commissioned by Dr Philip to do so, I cannot inter-

ferre with them. This list contained several inaccuracies & one gross falsehood.<sup>403</sup>

23rd: Was expecting His Excellency's arrival all day.<sup>404</sup>

24th: Took the people to mark out the main street of the intended village, previous to the arrival of His Excellency, & in order to point out to Dr Philip the form, as he is expected. The Constable of Bathurst came to fetch Philip Campher who was ordered to comply with a demand on the station by the Landdrost & he refused & neglected to do it. Was looking for His Excellency the whole day.

27th: Preached this morning from Rom: 8-26 & 27. On coming out of the chapel saw some wash cloaths hanging at the river, sent instantly to order the woman to come to me, whom I admonished & desired never to do the like again. On account of scanty attendance in the afternoon, I had recourse to a stratagem to obtain a better attendance to-day & preached from Jer: 13-17 & adverted to the affair this morning.<sup>405</sup> Preached this evening from the same text as morning, shewing how the spirit of God assists in prayer.

30th: Began to plow to-day, & sow barley. Was looking for His Excellency to-day. Had 21 slaughter sheep brought.

31st: Was variously employed & expecting His Excellency all day. Afternoon Mr Onkruydt, Secy at Grahams town & Mr Francis<sup>406</sup> a settler came, I expected to announce the approach of the Govn, but learned they were proceeding to Bathurst. Mr O. informed me that a Major Jones<sup>407</sup> is appointed Landdrost of Bathurst & commandant of the Frontier, that the Deputy Drostdy of Grahams-town is to be done away with, & that he, Mr O. expects to be removed to Bathurst. Told me His Excellency would probably be here on Saturday.

June 1st: Mr Onkruydt & Mr Francis left early this morning for Bathurst. Killed a pig this morning, the best I have killed yet. Church meeting evening address from Ephes: 2-20 to 22.

2nd: Was awake toward morning by a noise of one of the people who had been drinking (I suppose all night) hottentot beer, made from honey-<sup>408</sup>

3rd: Preached this morning from Psl: 119-59 & 60 & baptised 3 children. Afternoon from Psl: 119-49 & administered the Lord's Supper to about 50 persons. Evening preached from Prov. 1-7. A tollerable attendance all day, but I observed several at home yesterday who were not at chapel to-day.

5th: Held school & worked in the garden. Had a Spring Time piece brought home by Mr Rhodes, one of the settlers, a clock & watch maker.

6th: Recieved a letter, about half past 8 o'clock this morning, requesting to attend on His Excellency the Governor, at Bathurst to-day as early as possible. Took an old horse and rode instantly & arrived there about half

past 12. Spent about 3 hours with His Excellency who had a number of questions to propose.

After attending to these we proceeded to business of another nature. My correspondence with the Landdrost was produced & his with me. The men who had been employed by Col: Wiltshire were instantly ordered to be paid to the full of my statement, altho. Col Wiltshire had attempted to prove & probably correctly, that the time stated in my list exceeded the period which they had been entitled to payment, the time the last Caffre expedition was dismissed. On the subject of who has a right to interfere with the station & to demand the services of the people for the Govt His Excely was of opinion that no one has a right to interfere but the Magistrate, & this gave me satisfaction. <sup>409</sup> On the subject of payment for those services His Excely said, they shall be paid out at the rate of 6 rds per month, excepting cases of a general Commando. His Excely further promised to encourage the missionary station & to support the Missionaries to the utmost of his power. That redress should always be afforded to the missionary & to those under his direction. That the missionary should always have free access to the Magistrate, on all occasions, & very affectionately recommended myself & station to the protection of Major Jones the new appointed Magistrate. His Excely desired me, at the same time, to pay due respect to the magistrate, proper deference to his orders, & all due attention to the welfare of the people under my instruction; always to bear in mind, that as a missionary, I have two grand objects in view, first to preach the Gospel, & secondly to promote, by all lawful means, industry; exhorted me to attend earnestly to the duties of my station without interfering with the Political affairs of the Govt. of the Colony, when Govt. does not, by its policy infringe the religious priviledges of the station, or oppress the people, in their temporal circumstances. Assuring me I have full liberty to address the Governor of the Colony, at any time & on any subject, taking care that such representations to him contain nothing but a statement of facts. After having finished all our business His Excely invited me to dine with him, this I declined if for no other reason I should have considered my duty to decline, to avoid all occasion & clamour, as I cannot countenance the late proceedings of some of my missionary brethren. <sup>410</sup> Arrived home about 8 o'clock in the evening.

[During the next weeks the normal routine of the mission was followed. Khoi were hired to Mr Heath, a new settler, Barker's house was completed and he wrote a full account of Donkin's visit to Dr Philip. The school, during this time, was organised by the older girls who were able to do this

as the Lancastrian method was employed.<sup>411</sup> A great deal of time was taken up with settling legal matters for the Ullbricht family and in restoring the church to good order.

Minor domestic tragedies included a flock of birds which stole the newly planted peas, very severe frost and a wild cat in the hen-house. Barker himself drove a nail into his hand, which subsequently caused much suffering. Visitors included Messrs Hart & Pringle, who enjoyed a visit to the sea, and Messrs Onkruydt & Cromhout<sup>412</sup> who came to conduct a sale of Ullbricht's possessions. The diary continues with highlights.

Between the 28th July & 10th August a visit from Mr & Mrs Onkruydt is recorded. The making of a desk for the children & steady work in the garden continued and the church was equipped with benches.]

Aug. 11th: Having observed that some of the people seldom attend worship either on the weekdays or the Sabbath, I called four men this morning to speak them on the subject. One had been at worship twice, two once, & one not at all since my residence here. One poor old man appeared to take it very hard to be denied to attend & said he should never have been here if it were not for his children who compelled him to come. I was told by others that he has said he expected to receive Rations of food here & never thought to have been requested to herd cattle etc. The poor creatures were thunder struck at being gently admonished for neglecting worship.<sup>413</sup> A very warm day.

12th: Preached this morning from Hosea 8-12, the chapel tho: enlarged, was too small for the congregation. Afternoon made some remarks on the hymn that was sung at the close of the morning service. Evening preached from Hosea 10-12 & 13. Had the satisfaction to see all the four men at worship, whom I spoke to yesterday. Very warm.

13th: Got the inside of the church plaistered for the last time. Worked very hard at putting shelves up in the office & fastening on the doors etc.

14th: White washed the office & took part of my books in. Held school.

15th: The fore finger of my left hand having been gathered since Saturday, was so painfull last night that I could not sleep. To-day had a poultice to it & my hand in a sling. Held school.

#### August

19th: Much rain all last night. When I arose this morning, about 6 o'clock, the river was more swollen than I have ever seen a river swollen in Africa. This is the first time I have seen a flood at Theopolis. Last night when we retired to rest, the rain was coming in upon the bed & Mrs B: being poorly, I was afraid she should be taken ill with the rain coming down upon her. Preached this morning from Jon 5-28 & 29. When I came in

# SALEM



Salem, engraving from an original by Rev. Humble Smith (Methodist Archives). This view across the village green shows the Methodist Mause on the right, the second chapel, erected in 1832, the church, built in 1850, the Salem Academy and "Charter Oak Row" (the cottages behind the Academy). The house that the Rev. William Shaw built for himself in 1821 stood in front of the Mause, which it was built much later. The foundation stone of the first chapel was laid on January 1st, 1822. This chapel was demolished to make way for the second and larger chapel, which was designed to accommodate William Matthews's school at one end. When the new church was built next door, the second chapel became a place of worship and a school for Blacks. In 1860, when Samuel Rest Shaw took over from William Matthews, part pupils of the school were already attending Father Shaw's Academy which was built "contiguous to the church."

William Matthews



William Shaw



From Butler: 1820 Settlers.

from chapel I found Mrs B: whom I had left at home, very ill &, not more than half an hour after she found herself to be in labour. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon she was delivered of a son.<sup>414</sup> She had a sharp time, but not so long as I have known her to be in labour. The Lord is our helper & he alone is to be acknowledged. O: that we may be more gratefull. The illness of Mrs B: prevented me from attending more than once at my post to-day.

[Mrs Barker continued "as well as can be expected" and got out of bed on the 27th while her nurse left on the 29th. The family had some late nights with the baby but by September 4th Barker felt free to ride to Grahamstown "to receive the money due to those people who had been employed at Fort Willshire". He also paid all of Ullbricht's outstanding debts. On his return to Theopolis he settled Ullbricht's debts with the people. Between 7th and 24th of September he made a thorn hedge to protect his wheat lands against the cattle which were "in every day". The following items are of interest.]

Sept. 16th: Preached from Rev: 2-5 morning & afternoon. Evening from Heb: 11-25. A bann of marriage published for the first time was forbidden on the ground, that the female had promised herself to another, & he on application, had recieved the consent of her friends, not a fortnight since.<sup>415</sup>

17th: Held school - Mr Bisset,<sup>416</sup> a Settler came to procure a herder for his cattle, offered Rds 50 per year, could not procure one.

19th: Held school etc. Another person, from Grahamstown came to hire men, offered 8 Rds per month, but could get no one.

21st: Held school etc. This evening a little snake was killed in the kitchen, the third that has lately been killed there. Wether they come in the fire wood or out of the reed walls, I don't know.

22nd: Mr Shaw & self having agreed to exchange, rode to Salem to-day met Mr Shaw in the Karika, killed a Berg adder or mountain adder near Salem.

23rd: Preached at Salem, in English, from Rev: 2: 4 & 5. Afternoon visited a very pleasing little Sunday School of the children of the party. Addressed the teachers & children of the school at the close. The Secy of their Sunday school meets the children Tuesday & Friday afternoons to teach writing & arithmetic.<sup>417</sup> Evening preached from Heb: 2-3. Enjoyed the day much. Had a very respectable congregation such an one as 6 years ago I could not have had the most distant idea of ever witnessing in this part of Africa. How often have I wished the missionary brethren were near enough each other to exchange occasionally, but never expected to enjoy the pleasure of preaching to an English congregation, by exchanging with

their Pastor. Revd. W. Shaw preached at Theopolis & baptised 2 children.

24th: Rode home from Salem, was overtaken by a shower of rain, rather fatigued with the ride to-day & the labours of yesterday.

[ School and work in the garden occupied him during the next weeks until he comments on a hot spell between the 8th & 12th October. A Hottentot was summoned to appear as a witness at the Circuit Court. Interesting entries follow.]

29th: Rode to the long fountain<sup>418</sup> to visit a sick man (one having died there without my seeing him) found him quite ignorant of spiritual things even to astonishment. All that I could get from him, on the subjects of being a sinner, his need of a saviour, the ability of Christ to save him etc: was, probably these things may be true.

30th: Preached this morning from Isa: 53-1. Having a cold upon me did not preach in the afternoon. Evening preached from Isa: 59-1 & 2. The state of the poor man's mind, whom I visited on Saturday morning, led me to these texts.

Oct. 1st: The poor man whom I visited on Saturday died this morning, I fear in a state of dreadfull ignorance of the truths of the Gospel. Missionary prayer meeting address from Isa: 62-11. Held school.

6th: Was the whole afternoon busy with the nonsense of witchcraft, discovered that a person who had been residing with some of our people, at a little distance from the place, had actually been deceiving several, & in consequence a member of the church was suspected of having bewitched a man to death, who died on the 1st Inst. Heard afterward that the old fellow has for some time practised the horrid art of telling people when they are bewitched. He being here on the above business, I ordered him instantly to leave after exposing the fallacy of his conduct.<sup>419</sup>

7th: Preached from Gal: 3-1 in the morning, to point out who are bewitched. Afternoon from Luke 11-33 & administered the Lord's Supper.

13th: Leentje Laberlot came to complain of Jan Jamayer for having by force taken some meat out of her house, & abused her for opposing him. Leentje had the marks of violence on her arm. Jan said there was no harm in the deed, because he was in want & he took the meat from one of his own blood. Could not settle the affair as Jan was proof against conviction of evil. A settler came for men, but could procure none.

14th: Preached this morning from 1 Cor: 5-6 on the analogy between the Paschal lamb & Christ the Lamb of God, having read the 12 Chap. of Exodus on Thursday evening. Was very hot. I did not preach in the afternoon. Evening preached from 1 Piet: 1-2 on the type of sprinkling the blood of

the Paschal Lamb, & the sprinkling our souls with the blood of Christ.

20th: Was writing etc. The wild dogs got among the herd of cattle to-day, but have not heard whether they did any damage.

21st: Preached this morning from Jon 4-53 to 56 on the analogy between eating the Paschal lamb & our feeding on its anti-type Christ. Afternoon from Jon: 5-6. Evening from the same text as morning. Mr Diets, Dr O'Flinn <sup>420</sup> & another Gentleman called in the morning. The Gentlemen of the Court of Circuit were expected but did not come.

25th: Held school, began to fence my Indian corn from the cattle. The whole of to-day & yesterday was expecting the Gentlemen of the Court of Circuit would call here as they left Bathurst, but they did not.

26th: Worked at the fence round the Indian corn. One of the girls held school for me, & having chastised a child was herself chastised by that child's mother. Rain.

28th: Preached from Rom: 8-16 with fervency in the morning. Afternoon from Matt: 4-8 to 10 & married a couple. Evening from Rom: 12-1. I never saw so large a congregation in the afternoon before, the sight put life & energy into my soul. O that it may continue. The people amazingly attentive, throughout the day. In the morning endeavoured to hold up to view the folly of placing dependence on extraordinary revelations, visions, voices etc: & to show the witness of the Spirit of God to consist in a real a spiritual & a supernatural work of Divine agency on the hearts whereby the whole soul is sanctified. This I conceived necessary.

31st: Platje Kleinbooy came this morning to inform me that Jan Spockten had forced his daughter, & had illicit connexions with her. The poor man came to me with tears beseeching me to take some method for checking such conduct. Alas how shall I check that what others encourage by example, & countenance by attacking the character of those who oppose such conduct. I have every reason to conclude if I had not set my face against such things all would have been well with me at Bethelsdorp. Wrote an introductory letter for Platje to take to the Landdrost, as he wished to lay the case before him.

#### November

3rd: Finished the thorn hedge by the Indian corn. Revd. Mr Collison, <sup>421</sup> who was making a tour in the Colony called. Rode with him & friends to the Cowie mouth.

5th: Began to make a truck to bring water upon.

6th: Finished the truck for fetching water & put the old horse of Sister Williams to it to fetch the first load. The first horse I suppose that ever was put to such work at Theopolis. Heard to-day from a lad who left

Bethelsdorp on Saturday morning that Dr Philip is there.

7th: This morning another charge of an attempt to debauch Annaatje Brander<sup>421</sup>, a member of the church was brought against Kivit Haas<sup>423</sup>. This was left until Dr Philip's arrival to be deferred to him. Things of this nature are growing upon us & some effectual steps must be taken to check them.

12th: Dr & Mrs Philip, Mr & Mrs Thomas<sup>424</sup> & Mr Featherstone<sup>425</sup> of the Madras Civil service arrived at one o'clock. Afternoon walked to the site of the new village which at first did not appear to strike Dr. P. as it did afterwards, he wishing to see more of the vicinity & the land.

13th: Rode with the visitors to the long fountain along the sea shore & over the greater part of the ground of the station. Dr P: & the strangers highly delighted with the scenery. Conversed with Dr P. & began to comprehend his views with which I was perfectly satisfied. Mr. Shaw came.

14th: Rode with the party & Mr Shaw to the mouth of the Cowie, saw the first vessel<sup>426</sup> that ever entered lying at anchor taking in balast to return to Port Elizabeth, crossed in the boat & dined at Mr Thornhill's.

15th: Mr Shaw returned home. Mrs Meyer, the late former Mrs Van Der Kemp came, Dr P & party rode with Mr Shaw to the Karieka. Afternoon Dr P. walked to the intended new village, chose the spot for the church formed the plan of the vilage. Was copying Dr P's rudiments of regulations for the station. Made known Dr P's regulations.<sup>427</sup>

16th: Was writing all day. Rain which prevented us forming the new vilage.

17th: Formed the new vilage & Mr Featherstone made the ground plan. Afternoon Dr. P. rode to, the long fountain to make observations. Mr & Mrs Thomas left for Salem.

18th: Dr P. preached from Luke 18-10 to 13 & I interpreted. Afternoon preached from Psal: 119-14. Evening from Jon: 15-19. Dr P: took leave of the people.

19th: Dr. & Mrs F. & Mr Featherstone left for Bathurst, was writing. Wrote the Landdrost for permission to cutt timber & thatch.

[From 20th November until the end of the year Barker was mainly occupied with the new vilage. This involved initially finding a stone quarry and a place to burn lime. Problems arose over marking out the vilage in a square but "providentially the Settlers came and set us right". Two men were quarrying stone all the time and this was taken on wagons to the vilage site. The school was planned and a garden of "exactly an acre" was measured out for the Mission house. The school children were used to fence the gardens. Wm Valentyn and Jan Ishatshu carried stone for their own homes - an

enterprise which was encouraged and the example was followed. Ruiken Kleinbody<sup>428</sup> made bricks. A large tree was cut down for boards.<sup>429</sup>

During this period he had to go to pay "vendue bills" to Mr Onkrbyct. Visitors from Bathurst included one Mr Finn<sup>430</sup> who was ordered off but on November 30th "slept at one of the outposts of the station". Mrs Barker had to take the children to Bathurst & her husband accompanied her "as she was quite a stranger there".

Mrs Shaw and her children and another family from Salem came to spend a night at Theopolis to have the children vaccinated by Dr O'Flinn.

An event of importance was the arrival of the new carpenter, Mr Campbell, & his wife. This necessitated the visit on 29th December of Mr Shepstone who "came to give the carpenter orders".<sup>431</sup>

The only recognition accorded Christmas Day is "did not request the people to do public work" though Barker himself "gave out ground and marked foundations for houses".]

FOOT-NOTES1821

368. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
369. It is difficult to determine what the mission ruling was with regard to Journals. It would appear, however, that a fair copy of the Journal for each year was sent to London emphasising the number of time-consuming chores with which, of necessity, the missionaries were occupied.
370. See Appendix D: Covenant of Methodist Church.
371. The Church activity and enthusiasm of the Settlers and Ministers is truly remarkable and nowhere can more evidence be found of this than in the Shaw and Barker Journals.
372. The disease was Oedema Mycosis, most common between December and May. It is claimed that in one outbreak (no date given) 70,000 horses were lost. Today (1982) there is a vaccine in use. Reference books suggest that the first research was carried out "in the 1890's" but the Journal appears to contradict this.
373. This might have been either the White or Latham party. See Map III.
374. Here once more is illustrated the unfair load of administration (and coercion) laid on the missionaries even though they were not Government Agents.
375. The Bathurst Arms now known as the Pig and Whistle was built by Thomas Hartley after he built his forge in 1821.
376. It was notorious and the Journal bears witness to the fact that no consideration was given to prior commitments by Mission Khoi (e.g. Building at Theopolis in 28/2/22) and that documents were regarded casually e.g. Pension forms. As Barker shows, (see 22 & 23/1/1821), confusion even existed over which Landdrost exerted control and had prior claims.
377. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
378. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
379. This indicates clearly the financial problems facing men, who not only had a priority in their spiritual Commitment to their people, but also a heavy administrative load and an injunction to earn a living.
380. It is clear that self-importance and autocracy characterised many officials. Certainly many were totally lacking in consideration or insight into the problems of the "lower orders".
381. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
382. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
383. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
384. Ibid.

385. Ibid.
386. Cradock Place was South West of Bethelsdorp and was ultimately the home of Arnoldus Dietz.
387. This is the Donkin Memorial in Port Elizabeth erected by Donkin in memory of his wife. The Inscription reads "Erected in August 1820."
388. Pigeons were often kept for the pot (see Walton: Homesteads & Villages of South Africa p. 39).
389. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
390. This entry confirms the suggestion of communal activity with the Khoi here in rebellion against it.
391. The essence of Independent philosophy was the autonomy of individual congregations. In southern Africa a unique position existed which necessitated the appointment of Dr Philip. That gentleman took full advantage of his position, provoking Moffatt to comment on Philip's Papal aspirations.
392. Jackals are still a problem at times (1982).
393. These were Farmer Meyer and Farmer Jordaan. Identification has not proved possible.
394. This was the initial meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society in South Africa. (cf. under entry 30.12.1825).
395. This shows how very quickly some of the Settlers had to resort to picking a living where they could.
396. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
397. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
398. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
399. See Map III.
400. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
401. One of the characteristics of the whole Albany area is the metamorphic nature of much of the geological formation. Theopolis was built at a point where shale, mudstone, lime, quartzite and the unconsolidated deposits of the coastal belt met.
402. The laying on of hands in blessing is frequently used in special services of dedication.
403. Unfortunately this list is not available and might have been contained in Dr Philip's papers which were destroyed.
404. Sir Rufane Donkin. See List of Governors & Chiefs: Appendix C(v).
405. On every occasion when Barker wished to castigate his people he selected either prophetic thunders or in this case prophetic woe on a large scale. It is notable too that so much of what might be construed as "narrow" ideas used in preaching came from the Old Testament.

406. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
407. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
408. A popular constituent of home-brewed beer made from the root of a succulent of the turkvy type.
409. Obviously this would remove interference from petty officialdom (Field Cornets) as from men like Rivers.
410. It has been impossible to identify the source of this remark with any certainty.
411. The Lancastrian System involved the use of Monitors who were taught in a group by the teacher and who then each taught a group of junior children - hence the name Monitorial System. The Monitors themselves had their own lessons in the afternoon.
412. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
413. Emphasis is given here to the problem faced by the Missionaries with regard to Institution Khoi who theoretically were Christians. It also shows the difficulty experienced by the Khoi themselves, especially those possibly "dumped" by relations.
414. See Barker Family Tree: Appendix B(i).
415. A promise made in public is always regarded as seriously as any contract in white society.
416. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
417. At this time no school for white children existed in the country districts.
418. See Diagram of Theopolis lands, opposite 17 June 1825 in Journal.
419. Among the Xhosa a clear distinction is drawn between the iQira (Witch-doctor) and the ixele (herbalist). The former casts spells, "smells out" wrong doers, casts bones etc. and for any activity requires a large fee. This was obviously the type at Theopolis, for a similar distinction existed among the Khoi. A major handicap to missionaries was to distinguish between the two and indeed to understand thinking with regard to witchcraft. Barker's response, followed by preaching first on witchcraft and then on Christian witness, was typical in all missions.
420. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
421. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
422. See List of Khoi names: Appendix C(vi).
423. Ibid.
424. John Thomas, who was of the East India Company, stayed in the Colony (often at Bethelsdorp) for two years. (cf. Philip: Researches in South Africa Vol. I pp.306 & 310 and Le Cordeur & Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp.64-67).

425. While Barker identifies Featherstone as a member of the "Madras Civil Service", it is possible that he was Robert Featherstone (1790-1842) who was a Settler at the Cape (possibly with the 38th Foot) in 1818. (cf. Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape p. 123).
426. Port Kowie was opened as a harbour in October 1821 with Joseph Dyason as Harbour Master. The ship to which Barker refers was the Elizabeth with Robert Highes as Master.
427. These regulations or plans are contained in Philip: Researches in South Africa pp.202-244, applying equally to Theopolis and Bethelsdorp.
428. See List of Khoi names: Appendix C(vi).
429. These were taxes payable on goods sold by auction.
430. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
431. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(ii).

1822

Theopolis,  
G. Barker,  
Missionary.

Observations. European Residents at the Station.

G. Barker, Missionary.

Joseph Campbell, Carpenter, just arrived.

Were just making preparations to begin a new vilage.

Jan'y 1st: Was fencing the new mission garden. Mrs B: went to Salem to keep anniversary with Methodist friends. Attended the funeral of person who died yesterday.

[From 2nd of January until 17th February work continued apace on the new village involving such diverse activities as the making of wheelbarrows, cutting wood and fencing the gardens, planting potatoes and the preparation of a lime kiln which on 11th February was "filled with stone". Heat was a problem and the fowls felt it and on 6th February "all ran into the church". Other activities included the election of Heemraden and Corporals<sup>432</sup>, the marriage of fourteen couples on Sunday 29th and a dinner party with them on the Monday, a funeral which he "attended" and a visit to Grahamstown where he bought 50 sheep. Certain interesting entries follow.]

#### January

19th: Was writing. Mr Biddulph<sup>433</sup> came to apply for permission to open a retail store for merchandise, at the station, this I did not deem myself authorised to give.

20th: Preached this morning from Math: 15-13. Afternoon from Luke 15-24. Prayer meeting. Mr Biddulph was at worship all day-

21st. Mr Biddulph offered his services as a labourer this morning previous to leaving, this from delicacy I did not comply with altho: in want of a person for a short period for my own purpose. To-day heard the statement of a case of the most atrocious illicit connexion, it was clearly proved that a married man Jan Spockten<sup>434</sup> had been sleeping between two young girls for some time, on many nights.

25th: Fencing the garden & laying out more building lots. Mr Biddulph came to work for me. Platje Boesak<sup>435</sup> broke his arm, having fallen from the waggon & the wheel went over him. This accident occurred thro: incautious driving.

#### February

2nd: Was indisposed & writing. Messrs Edwards & Clark<sup>436</sup> arrived from the Cape, the latter to erect the public buildings. Recieved a parcel & letters from Messrs Kerry & Stokes.<sup>437</sup>

14th: Was making preparations for digging the foundations for the new school. Mr Shepstone came to mark it out.

15th: The foundation was marked out & commenced digging.

16th: Was writing all day. The foundation of the school digging.

17th: Preached this morning from Haggai 1-5, & gave notice that the foundation stone of the school would be laid next morning. Afternoon from Ezra 6-14. Evening a prayer meeting.

18th: This morning I laid the foundation stone of the school, in the presence of near 300 people, the children being arranged as near as possible. Commenced by singing. Read the 8th Chap. of Zechariah & gave an address. Laid the stone & sang. Prayed & sang & dismissed the people, when each went cheerfully to his employment.<sup>438</sup> Was fencing.

19th: Painted part of the cart & worked in the Smiths shop.

20th: The cart was put together to-day. Worked in the Smiths shop.

21st: Tried the cart to-day, but it being without iron boxes in the wheels & without iron on the axel tree it took fire. Rode lime & sand for mortar.

22nd: Finished a sledge for riding water etc.<sup>439</sup>

[During the next weeks the mission was much involved with the new village and days on end contain comments such as the following: "was fencing", "was making brick". From this long period of intense activity certain highlights have been selected.]

[March 1st:] Rode to Bathurst & attended Dr O'Flinns sale, bought some ironmongery. Was to-day fiercely attacked by different persons on the subject of the bad conduct of the people etc:- Had to defend myself against one of the magistrates of the District, & a Retailer of Spirits.<sup>440</sup>

3rd: Preached from Luke 22-31 & 32 morning & afternoon. Baptised Mr Campbell's child in the morning & administered the Lord's Supper afternoon. Evening a prayer meeting.

4th: Worked in the Smith's shop & set the cart going again, it is likely to answer now.<sup>441</sup> Missionary prayer meeting address from Psal:28-6.

10th: Preached from Acts. 26-15 & baptised 3 children in the morning. Afternoon from Psal: 69-7. Evening a prayer meeting. Mr Edwards held a Sunday school.<sup>442</sup>

15th: Was preparing to go to Grahams Town to pay the Opgaaf.

16th: Rode to Grahams Town.

17th: Heard Mr Shaw preach this morning. Preached afternoon to the Hottentot soldiers at the Barracks from Luke 16-31. Evening preached in English from Acts 26-18 to a full assembly. The day being wet, Mr Boardman<sup>443</sup>

the Clergyman did not preach.

18th: Could do no business at the office to-day as the farmers had not done paying their opgaaf. Had two or three interviews with the Landdrost over subjects connected with the Institutions. Preached to the Hottentot soldiers from Prov: 4-23 in the evening, was sorry to see so few present.

19th: Began with our opgaaf this morning & continued till evening, but I did not finish.

20th: Completed the opgaaf about 1 o'clock, should have rode home but my horse was absent.<sup>444</sup> Preached this evening from Jon 3-16 to a crowded audience of Hottentot soldiers, took some trouble to collect them.

21st: Left Grahams Town about 7 o'clock this morning & was at home to dinner, found the Carpenter had been still for timber, that Mr Shepstone had been here all week.

25th: The hen house & stable having fallen down, we lost two or three fowls last night by some wild animal. This morning I made another hen house. Filled the Lime kiln & set it on fire.

27th: Worked at the garden fence. Mattrous Boardman one of the Corporals, having conducted himself disorderly in several instances, another was chosen this evening in his room.

29th: Worked in the Smith's shop etc. Making brick. Mr Shepstone arrived with Mrs S: & family to reside here & superintend the public buildings.<sup>445</sup>

30th: Preached this morning from Prov: 8-36. Afternoon attended the funeral of a woman belonging to Bethelsdorp who died in childbed yesterday evening after which we came from the grave to the church. Preached from 1 Pet: 1-24 & 25. Evening a prayer meeting.<sup>446</sup>

31st: Worked in the Smith's shop & hung the Garden gate, in the forenoon. Afternoon was at the brick making. The Corporals neglected to provide hands enough, & the masons could not work. They were at the brick making.

#### April

6th: Preached from Acts 11-24 this morning. Afternoon from Psal: 34-9 & administered the Lord's Supper. Mr & Mrs Shepstone sat down with us. Evening a prayer meeting.

7th: All of us Rode to the mouth of the River, caught some fish. No work done to-day. Evening prayer meeting, address from Isa 2-2.

10th: Rode to Grahams town, to speak the Landdrost on the subject of complaints contained in two letters from him.<sup>447</sup>

11th: Spoke the Landdrost & Mr Retief<sup>448</sup> on the charge contained in the Landdrost's letter, but the Landdrost was quite averse to investigation and I could perceive he was convinced of his error in stating things on mere report.

He said he would take care to have facts next time.

12th: Rode the greater part of the last night & was at home to breakfast, but fatigued. Too fatigued to do anything. Wrong in the date, a date too late.

19th: The brick kiln was finished to-day. Mr Shaw came afternoon. Heard that Kleinbooy Ruiters was killed yesterday by a buffalo.

20th: Was engaged with Mr Shaw & writing all day. One of the people returned from the buffalo hunt & gave the following account of the man killed yesterday. "Five of them started on 17 to hunt buffaloes in the Cowie bush. On Friday morning they discovered three, & the dogs fastened on one & drove it from the rest. Kleinbooy Ruiters was the nearest the buffalo & in the direction the dogs were driving him, Kleinbooy shot the animal & it is supposed missed his aim. His companions pursued the animal untill they killed him. They waited in vain the arrival of Kleinbooy who did not join them that evening & the next morning went in search of him. They found him near the place where he shot at the buffalo, dead. The animal had gored him in his private parts & he had lost much blood from the wound. His gun was near him when found". He has left a wife & three children. Mr Shaw returned home.

[During April and May active work continued with considerable attention being devoted to holes for trees & extensive use of manure on all the new gardens. The following complete extract gives a clear picture of this tremendous activity.]

May 5th: Preached this morning from Luke 7-34. Baptised a child and administered the Lord's Supper. Afternoon rode to Grahams town to attend the court.

6th: Attended the court against a Canteen man, or retailers of Spirituous liquor, for retailing spirits contrary to Law, & illicit traffic, but the man was absent.<sup>449</sup>

7th: Rode home with Mr Shaw to Salem, to meet Mr Edwards on his way to Bethelsdorp & to see the two children.<sup>450</sup>

8th: Rode home. Planted two Trees in the new garden, the first. Went in the evening to Genl Campbell's<sup>451</sup> whom I found dying.

9th: Genl Campbell died this morning about 9 o'clock. Was engaged rendering assistance etc.

10th: Rode to Grahams town to attend the funeral of Genl Campbell.

11th: Genl Campbell was buried this evening with Military honours so far as the Garrison would allow. Called on the Landdrost, but was not pleased with the reception he gave me. Rode home in the night, arrived

about 4 o'clock in the morning.<sup>452</sup>

12th: Preached this morning from Phil 2-16. Afternoon from Psal: 5-9. Evening a prayer meeting.

13th: Put up two seats by the garden gate. The people riding manure.

14th: Sowed peas & beans in the new garden. Two Caffres came in the morning who were sent to Grahams town. Boesak's party brought a load of planks for the buildings.

15th: Was painting the Garden gate posts & seats etc: Agreed with four men to herd the cattle of the station at 2 Skillings per head per annum.

16th: Was painting door and window frames & preparing ground to plant vines. The people making a temporary kraal for the cattle. The Landdrost sent a messenger with a letter to say he should be here on Saturday evening on his way through the district.

17th: Was making preparations to accomodate the Landdrost & party. Put new skins to the windows of our hutt. Mr Campbell's, the carpenter, child died this morning, it had been ill from birth.

18th: The Landdrost, H. Rivers Esqr, arrived about 1 o'clock, attended by Capt Stewart, Cape Corps & Mr Hope Surveyer of the district, Mrs R. etc.<sup>453</sup> The Landdrost did not appear interested with the station, but found no fault. Could not prevail on him to go to the site of the new vilage, but showed him the ground plan which he approved. Buried the child of Mrs Campbell in the afternoon. It was reported that a party of Caffres were in the Cowie Bush & a patrol was dispatched after them.

19th: Preached this morning from Eph 3-12 & baptised a child. Afternoon from Eph: 6-13. Evening prayer meeting. Landdrost left 8 o'clock (morning).

[Until the end of May building continued apace. A visitor on the 25th was Mr Kemp "the resident merchant at Bethelsdorp"]<sup>454</sup>

31st: Was making brick. Our people quarelled this morning about the public work to that degree that I was oblided to assemble them together & reprove them all.

June 1st: My hand which had been sore for some time, was so bad this morning from working in the clay that I was prevented from doing anything. Schoonberg Witbooy,<sup>455</sup> an old member of the church, departed this life this morning. He lamented that he had not served the Lord more perfectly, but expressed his hope in God thro: Jesus Christ, he said, is all my confidence. I have nothing of my own to recommend me.

2nd: Preached this morning from Jon 3-20 & 21 & baptised a child. Afternoon attended the funeral of Bro Schoonberg & preached from Psal. 90-12.

Evening prayer meeting. Could not administer the Lord's Supper for want of wine.

3rd: My hand bad. From Saturday morning to this day, no less than 24 of our people left the place without permission, taking their children also from the work.<sup>456</sup> Missionry prayer meeting.

4th: My hand bad. There was scarcely anyone to assist at the work to-day, or children to carry off the brick, & my heart was almost broken with grief.

5th: My hand still bad. Resolved to-day to exclude everyone from the station who refused to come home within 6 days & to remain at home untill the school shall be finished, & procured the approbation of the principle men among us who bound themselves, as with an oath, to support the measure.

6th: Sent out this morning to call every one home on pain of expulsion. Was obliged to send Mrs B. to Grahamstown to purchase Rice & procure money for use of the station under the present exertions.

7th: Went with Mr Shepstone to seek a free stone quarry & found one about a mile & a half from the place. Painted window frames. Mrs B. returned home in the night.

9th: Preached this morning from 1 Pet: 5-5. Afternoon from same text & administered the Lord's Supper. Evening prayer meeting.

10th: Was digging the foundation of a privy morning, afternoon setting brick on the kiln. Mr Shepstone prepared a stone for the front of Valentyn's house with the name & date of the year, which was presented him in the name of Dr Philip as a reward for being first with his house at the new vilage.<sup>457</sup>

11th: Was digging the foundation of the privy morning & setting up brick afternoon.

12th: Finished the foundation of a privy. Some of the people came home to-day from the wood etc. Mr Shepstone quarrying free stone.

13th: Busy this morning with the people who had come home, getting them to promise to exert themselves to the utmost to forward the building. Setting up brick in the afternoon. Mr Shepstone quarrying free stone.

14th: Was employed variously, looking after all things.

15th: Was setting brick on the kiln etc.

16th: Preached this morning from Psal: 90-16 & 17 & baptised 2 children. Afternoon from Psal: 119-30 to 32. One of Mr Campbell's men & a man from the sloop, lying at the Cowie,<sup>458</sup> came in during the service & the sailor behaved rather disrespectfull.

[His hand continued to plague him at times, making him nauseous. Messrs Shaw, Kay & Threlfall<sup>459</sup> visited them on 28th June & Mrs Campbell<sup>460</sup> attended

service. The lime & brick kilns were extensively used. The following comment highlights his problems.]

July 5th: Was enabled to be about all day. No one knows how necessary it is for the African Missy when making an exertion like the present, to be himself present everywhere. O how hard for him to be laid aside. Burried a child.

6th: Was better to-day & thank God to be at my post, looking to the work. [Once more he was plagued by absentee workers but on July 10th he records "The work went on pleasant". By this time they were dealing with the "splay"<sup>462</sup> of the windows on the mission house. On July 15th he went with Mrs Barker to attend a quarterly meeting at Salem. Messrs Kay & Threlfall preached as did Barker himself. They took the older children home from school for a few days.]

July 21st: Preached this morning from 1 Jon 2-19. Was too much fatigued to preach again. One of the people<sup>463</sup> gave an address afternoon. Evening prayer meeting. Windvogel Nauski<sup>463</sup> who is suspected of being one of those who gave occasion for the Landdrost letter of the 19th came on the place in the evening & was instantly driven off by the Corporals.

[His hand continued to worry him into August, but the garden was developed (orange seeds and cabbage seeds were planted), building went on well, reports were written & services conducted. The following events are of significance.]

August 2nd: Was planting trees in the mission garden. The Veld Cornett<sup>464</sup> Bathurst was sent, with a constable by the Landdrost to interfere with the station, but as this was never known before I refused to acknowledge him as having anything to do here. I refused to answer his quires, but told him as a private man he might visit the people in their houses etc: & that he might see the books of the station etc: This was not as Veld Cornett but as a private person. This step of Mr Rivers was as he says in a letter on account of several reports which he had never examined.

3rd: Was writing all day. Wrote Dr Harris. Sent to Dr Philip an account of the visit of the Veld Cornett.

7th: Finished planting what trees I had, about 76 in number. Began to find men to prepare materials for the mission house at 4 RD. per day.

9th: Rode to Grahams Town to procure Rice & Tobacco for the people, but could obtain no Rice. Rain afternoon.

16th: Was assisting to fill the floor of the house. Began to ride brick to the house & to dig places to plant Caffre trees.

17th: Planted a large Caffre tree behind the house. The foundation of

the house finished & the floor leveled. <sup>465</sup>

19th: The Brick work of the Mission House was commenced to-day

20th: Working at the house. The Landdrost wrote for 27 active healthy Hottentots & sent a person to select them, but he being in haste to return I did not press that point nor would it have been allowed if he had. <sup>466</sup>

23rd: Was planting Indian corn in the garden. 26 men left this to join the Commando.

24th: Was planting vines in the garden. Recieved a letter from Mr P. Retief, Burger Commandant of this district requesting a list of cattle stolen from this by the Caffres and not returned.

25th: Was this whole forenoon writing out the List of Cattle taken by the Caffres from this Institution in 1819, in order that Mr Retief might have it before he started with the Commando. <sup>467</sup> Preached afternoon from Rom: 7-23. Evening from Rom: 2-21 & 22.

28th: Worked in the garden. Mr Shepstone returned from Grahams town with the news that the Caffres had murdered two Settlers & commenced their depredations. <sup>468</sup>

29th: Was engaged in precautions respecting the cattle etc: & called the people home who were cutting thatch ploughing etc:

30th: Worked in the garden. People securing the cattle kraal etc: - Sent off a waggon to Bethelsdorp for provisions.

31st: Worked in the garden. Never had my mind more hurt than to-day by a circumstance that transpired which was this. Mr McDonald of Grahams town entreating me to take some cattle of his from Major Fraser's farm into our kraal as they were so much exposed to the depredations of the Caffres; had the cattle brought & the people flatly refused to admit them under such circumstances of danger. <sup>469</sup>

[September highlights are recorded as follows.]

4th: The beams & principle rafters were carried to the school. the blocks were fixed to lay the beams on etc: Valentyn arrived home from the Commando, the others, who were on foot, yet behind.

5th: Rain the whole of last night & to-day.

10th: Worked in the garden. A party of Dragoons rode thro: the place on padrole. A party of our people were out padroiling the Carieka but found no trace of Caffres.

11th: Was gardening. Got up one principle on the school. A party of our people left to padrole the Cowie.

12th: Was gardening forenoon, & assisting to get up the principles on the school afternoon. Got up two. Burried a child.

13th: Finished setting up the beams on the school, without any of us getting the least harm. <sup>470</sup>

15th: Preached this morning from Math: 21-28 to 31. Afterwards rode to, Grahams town to seek food for the body, being quite destitute. Heard Mr Kay preach this evening to a good congregation. Was quite ill after the ride. <sup>471</sup>

16th: Was busily engaged at Grahams town, procured a little flour but no rice. Rode home & was much fatigued.

17th: Was gardening. The new garden was finished digging.

18th: Was gardening. Finished sowing the garden. Heard that our merchant had arrived at Bethelsdorp, that Mr Read was ordered here to assist me for a time. The waggon returned from Bethelsdorp.

19th: Was employed variously. Writing etc: Some of the waggons set off for Bethelsdorp to fetch the merchant.

20th: Mr Gush <sup>472</sup> came with merchandise & bought up all the hides on the place.

21st: Mr Gush was dealing for hides etc: to-day.

22nd: Preached this morning from Jon 16 & baptised a child. Evening from Prov: 1-20 to 23.

23rd: Was looking after the brick making. Mr Maskell <sup>473</sup> came to open a store & Mr Read to assist me.

[During the next weeks rain continued to retard work but wood was obtained for the roof of the school, a bell was begun & the foundations of the Schoolmaster's house were laid. All the time carpentry, brick making & lime burning was in progress and work in the smith's shop involved the making of bolts for the bell. A visit to Bathurst where he preached to "a tolerable congregation" on 29th was followed by a visit to Grahamstown at the beginning of October. During his absence, on October 10th, Messrs Shaw & Hodgson <sup>474</sup> visited the mission. By October 14th he reports]-

14th: The roof of the school was finished all but the Bell. Began to thatch although the masons had not done. Was riding brick.

15th: Was thatching the roof briskly.

16th: The school was finished by the masons & all but filling the beams <sup>475</sup> inside, which they cannot do until the thatchers are done. The people were thatching. Mr Read Rode to Grahams town.

17th: Rain all day. Many bricks spoiled. Worked in the smith's shop.

18th: Were masoning to-day, but could not thatch. Mr Read returned from Grahams town.

By the 22nd November he reports:

22nd: The frame for the bell was fixed to-day & the bell hung in the centre of the roof of the school. Thatchers at work.

23rd: Made an iron for the front of the kitchen chimney & one to hang the trammel hook on in the Smiths shop. <sup>476</sup> People thatching. Our dear boy, who had been ill some time, was worse to-day.

["Caffre trees" were planted & the work on the school completed.]

25th: No thatching going on to-day. Began to fill up the space left between the beams in the school.

26th: The bell was finished to-day. Was setting brick on the kiln morning & writing etc: afternoon.

27th: Preached this morning from Acts 13-26. Evening prayer meeting.

28th: Was employed painting the dome of the Bell. Dr Paul <sup>477</sup> came to see Mr Maskell. Mr Edwards arrived in the evening. Mr Urry came.

31st: Was fencing. Mr Maskell was inclined to be mischievous.

November 1st: Was fencing the yard. Sat up with Mr M.

3rd: Preached from Psal: 55-23 this morning. Evening a prayer meeting. A letter came to hand from Dr Phillip, stating that the circumstances of the Hottentots had come before the British House of Commons, & that Commissioners were appointed to come & inquire into their state.

4th: Held a prayer meeting this afternoon on account of the news received to-day. Address from Ezra 6-22.

9th: Began to prepare a Lime kiln this morning. Rode to Grahams town afternoon to be present at opening of the new Methodist chapel. <sup>478</sup>

10th: This morning at 11 o'clock Divine service commenced in the new Chapel, Revd. S. Kay read prayers & Revd. W. Shaw preached an excellent discourse from Gen. 28-7. In the afternoon Revd. S. Kay conducted Service in the Dutch Language for the Dutch inhabitants of the Village, but I was preaching to the Hottentots at the Barracks from Gal. 3-28. In the evening I prayed in English & Revd. Threlfall preached from Isa: 30-20 & 21. Collections R170.

11th: This afternoon the members of the Society held a Love feast, which was truly interesting, the presence of about 12 to 14 Hottentot women enlivened the hearts of our British friends. <sup>479</sup> I was the medium of communication between the two parties as to Language. How to describe my own feelings on the occasion I know not. In the evening Revd. W. Shaw prayed & I preached in English from Exod. 12-24 "What mean ye by this service", after which Revd. Messrs Kay & Threlfall gave short addresses & Mr Shaw concluded. Thus ended the interesting services connected with the opening the first place of Divine worship at Grahamstown. Services which will be long remem-

bered by many who were present. O Lord send now prosperity.

14th: Was busy rebuilding the Lime shed that had fallen in the morning. A serious affair occurred afternoon - discovered that Mr Edwards & the Carpenter had, by altering a door frame making for the School masters house in my absence, thrown the original plan, of having both houses alike, into confusion & was sorry to find both, with Mr Clark, persisting in their proceedings. This was done without consulting Mr Shepstone, the builder or myself or even informing us on our return. If this is persisted in by them & permitted by Dr Philip I shall leave the station. <sup>480</sup>

15th: Rode to the mouth of the River with our dear little sick boy. No work done to-day. The difference of yesterday adjusted this evening by Mr Edwards giving up his point in preference of referring the affair to Dr Philip.

From 16th November until the end of the year he reports the continuing work on the Mission house (which should have duplicated the School house!) was proceeding briskly. A dome for the top of the school was started as well as a weather vane. Mr Read returned from Bethelsdorp to be joined later by Mrs Read and Barker reports variously on a visit from Mr King, <sup>481</sup> a visit to "the mouth of the Cowie" and "the purchase of a horse from Mr Gilfillan for Rxd 112".

Meanwhile the ground round the school was levelled and cut away, the chimneys on the kitchen and parlour of the house completed.

#### December

31st: Rode to Salem to the opening of the new Chapel & the Annual <sup>482</sup> meeting of our friends etc: Arrived there in time to sit down to a public tea with about 80 people. After which the Report of the Sunday school Society for Albany, the report of the Albany Missionary Society were read. About 9 o'clock the watch night commenced, Mr Threlfall preached, I gave an address, Mr Kay followed with an address & Mr Shaw concluded.

FOOT-NOTES1822

432. The Heemraden and Corporals were the elected control body for Temporal Affairs of the Mission. They conducted "trials" and meted out punishment and when a Temporal Manager was appointed were under his supervision.
433. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
434. See List of Khoi Names: Appendix C(vi).
435. Ibid.
436. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
437. Apparently correspondents in England.
438. Such an event must have cheered the Missionary and the people. The reading chosen gives a vivid picture of the peaceful and fruitful life of a city whose people have turned to the ways of the Lord.
439. Among the Xhosa in the Transkei a rough sled was used to carry water, milk and goods. For want of other evidence it might be assumed that this was the type to which Barker referred. (See Appendix A(iii): Houses and Household Goods).
440. It can be assumed that this was John Jarman who owned the Bathurst Arms which was burnt in the War of 1835.
441. See Appendix A(iv): Wagons.
442. Until there was a separate teacher and adequate staff it had been impossible to give the children special attention apart from church.
443. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
444. Straying horses appeared to be commonplace but there can be little doubt that this loss was an added trial in the tedious task of opgaaf payment which was undertaken on behalf of all the Khoi at the Institution.
445. This heralded not only the arrival of a man who was to take much of the burden from Barker but also of the small Theophilus Shepstone who was to make such a mark in South African History.
446. This is the first time Barker records that, having attended a funeral, he was able to preach a sermon which dealt with the subjects of death and eternal life.
447. Landdrost Rivers' lack of popularity is summarised in a contemporary poem contained in a scrap book. See Appendix E.
448. Piet Retief, the Trekker leader, who was leader of a Commando group in the Albany district.
449. This was a recurring problem, cf. Philip: Researches in South Africa Vol. I p. 272.

450. The Barker children were all sent to the Matthews school at Salem.
451. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
452. In this brief entry is expressed so much of the frustration experienced by those who had to do with the authorities, both military and civil in Grahamstown.
453. This was a result of General Campbell's death which led to a re-surveying of the Theopolis Lands.
454. Dr Philip believed that a shop was a way to encourage civilisation (cf. Philip: Researches in South Africa Vol. I p. 205ff.) The brothers, E. & G. Kemp of Loop Street, Cape Town opened a shop at Bethelsdorp while H.E. Rutherford of Kloof Street, Cape Town sent Mr Maskell to open a shop at Theopolis.
455. See List of Khoi Names: Appendix C(vi).
456. The missionaries were obliged to keep the Khoi on the station. This, however, presented a major problem for no authority was vested in them by the Law yet they were responsible for control to the Law.
457. At this point Dr Philip was attempting to encourage the Missions to put into practice his regulations for improvement of the Missions and encouragement to the Khoi in the building of good houses was part of this plan.
458. This was possibly the Winifred which was reported as having arrived in May. (cf. Turpin: Basket Work Harbour p. 134).
459. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
460. Ibid.
461. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
462. See Houses & Household Goods: Appendix A(iii).
463. See List of Khoi Names: Appendix C(vi).
464. Veld Cornet - an Official who cared for Wards in the Landdrost's district.
465. See Houses & Household Goods: Appendix A(iii).
466. Another illustration of the tension which existed in the requisitioning of men for labour on public works as well as the problems created.
467. At this point Commandant Retief was obviously going on an official Com-mando to retrieve cattle stolen in raids.
468. The reference must be to the Freemantles, father and son, who were murdered on 22.8.22. (cf. Maxwell & McGeogh: The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs p. 83 and p. 252.
469. This is an illustration not only of communal government but also of the danger engendered by a large number of cattle.
470. A commentary on the dangerous problems facing builders with primitive tools.

471. This point illustrates the inefficiency of the L.M.S. system, for no missionary could operate well under such conditions.
472. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
473. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
474. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
475. See Houses & Household Goods: Appendix A(iii).
476. Ibid.
477. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
478. This building was erected in Chapel Street and was the first of a series of Methodist Churches - the last of which was the Commemoration Church. (cf. D.H. Thompson: A Short History of Grahamstown p. 21.)
479. This comment is interesting, suggesting that at this point the Town Settlers had no particular Colour prejudice.
480. A problem which recurred from the inception of the Mission was the lack of definition of the parameters within which the "Ruling Missionary" could exert his authority. (See Thesis, Chapter on Mission Administration).
481. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
482. Having used the ruins of the old Bower farm house as a civic centre and church, the Settlers at Salem decided to build their own chapel and it was the opening of this church which Barker attended. (cf. Makin: The 1820 Settlers of Salem p. 43).

1823THEOPOLISGeorge Barker,  
Missionary.

Observations: Europeans residing at the Station, G. Barker, Missionary.  
Thos Edwards School master not finally settled among us,  
was about to meet Mrs E. at Bethelsdorp & get married.  
Mr. Shepstone. Builder  
Jas Clark. Mason  
Joseph Campbell. Carpenter.  
John Maskell. Shopkeeper.

The school up and thatched. The Roof on the Mission House, One of the  
peoples houses in a state of forwardness.

Messrs Edwards, Clark Shepstone & Maskell all came to the Station during  
the last year.

1823

Jan. 1st: At Salem. Preached from Kings 9-3 this morning. Afternoon a  
pleasant Love feast. Evening Mr. Kay preached from Psal - . After  
which the Lord's Supper was administered, at which Messrs Shaw, Kay, Threl-  
fall & self assisted. Collections Rds 105.

[Between the 2nd January & 16th February a meticulous record is kept of the  
many activities required to commission the house for use. Doors were hung,  
the pantry was white-washed & shelves were fitted, the flat roof was finally  
covered and the pantry windows latticed. All this was done in extremely hot  
conditions as he reports "My shirt was as wet as if it had been in the River".

In addition new corporals were elected and Mr. Bennie,<sup>483</sup> "a missionary from  
Caffreland" visited on January 8th and was taken to the mouth of the river.  
Shortly after this the news of Mrs Ulloricht's death reached the mission.  
The following items again emphasise the varied nature of their activities]

23rd: Rode to Granams town on business. Heard Mr Shaw preach from the  
two last verses of the 8 Rom:

24th: Having done all my business rode home & on the way about an hours  
ride from home my horse was taken ill. I was obliged to leave him behind  
& he died.

26th: Rode to Bathurst to preach to the English inhabitants. In the  
morning only one man attended & I collected a small congregation of Hottentots  
& preached to them. In the afternoon 14 persons assembled whom I addressed  
from 22 Math.<sup>484</sup>

All this time their main preoccupation was preparation for the great  
events recorded in the next entries.

February

17th: The school white washed for the first time, the people cleaning around etc: The tables putting up for the feast etc:

18th: The tables finished for the feast. The school white washed a second time. Messrs Shaw & Threlfall came to attend the feast. Mr & Mrs Edwards arrived in the evening.

19th: About 2 o'clock we sat down to dinner, Mr Shaw at the head of one table & myself at the other with four English ladies between us. On Mr Shaws right were Mr Reads three daughters & on my left, Mr Reads son and the three sons of the late Mrs Dillbricht.<sup>485</sup> Messrs Read, Threlfall, Maskell, Edwards, Brady,<sup>486</sup> Shepstone, Clark & Campbell, assisted in carving. After dinner the Poor of the station and the children were fed. At tea Mr Shaw took the chair & the assembly was addressed by the Revd: Chairman & several others. Several hymns were sung & the assembly broke up, after prayer being offered by myself, highly gratified. Subscriptions for the dinner Rds 237-5. Expenditure Rds 207-4, Leaving a ballance of Rds 25-1 for the Pooers fund. Mr Warden,<sup>487</sup> an Officer of the Cape Corps, came in the evening with a recruiting party.

20th: We assembled this morning in the new school to breakfast & transact public business. - Mr Read & family left for Bethelsdorp. Mr Threlfall preached in English in my house this evening.

22nd: Messrs Shaw & Threlfall returned home. No work done. In the evening Messrs Kay & McDonald came.

[Skirting boards were put in, plastering continued. Meanwhile some noteworthy events were recorded.]

25th: The kitchen finished plaistering etc: The field cornett of Grahams town came.

26th: Some of our young men began to enlist for soldiers.<sup>488</sup> The chair base put up in the parlour.

27th: The field cornett of Grahams town came again to-day, with a letter from the Landdrost & three others with him. The chimney piece was put up in the parlour, the floor laid in the kitchen etc:<sup>489</sup>

28th: The Recruiting party left this morning with 9 Recruits from this & among the rest, one of our Carpenter boys & one bricklayer. - The front sleeping room finished plaistering & the floor laid. The door hung between the two back sleeping rooms etc. Rain.

March 1st: The one sleeping Room white washed. The Carpenters at work in the hall etc:

2nd: As we were about to go to church two Caffres were seen at a distance

from the place & were persued by almost all our men. They found them in the wood, but they made their escape. Preached this morning from Luke 16-31. Afternoon a prayer meeting. Evening preached from Jon 14-23.

9th: Preached from Gal: 4-31. Subject Christian freedom.<sup>490</sup> Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. An unpleasant affair occured by the ordinance. Our elder Deacon brought Piet Campher to the table, without the sanctions of the church & as he had been excluded for adultery, this led to other unpleasant things, after service the same Deacon acted as incautious as before<sup>491</sup> - Evening prayer meeting.

[From 10th to 17th, windows were glazed - an advance from skin covering - and the finishing touches put to the house in spite of the illness of the carpenter.]

18th: Was very ill all last night with the bowel complaint & this morning rose early resolving if possible to get into the new house. Left with the first load of furniture about 7 o'clock & did not return again. Set up the beds etc: & in the evening took to bed & from that time was so extremely ill as not to be able to attend to anything whatever, nor even to note down any thing untill this day (May 2nd). The school masters house commenced from the foundation. -

Blank thro indisposition.

May 2nd: Have been severely afflicted & brought very low, but God has been my supporter. I never was more comfortable under affliction in my life. God has been very gracious to me. Another source of comfort has been, my sufferings arose from a too close attention to the improvement of the station, a thing I have long desired. Still continue extremely weak, too weak to attend to anything. Still taking medicine - The Carpenter making the windows for the school. The outside wall of the School masters house almost finished, the arch over the front door turned to-day.

5th: Mrs B. was taken ill this morning about 1 o'clock & was in labour all day.

6th: Mrs B. in labour all night & delivered of a fine Boy about half past 7 o'clock this morning. We apprehend the infant was not well & feared all was not right with it.

7th: The dear infant was extremely ill all night, cryed incessantly the whole night. About half past 8 o'clock this morning it pleased God to take it from us. What shall we say? Judgement is still mingled with mercy - As the dear infant died convulsed & was as bad as mortified, we

committed it to the ground this evening. I was too weak to attend. Mrs B. thro: mercy, quite well as could be expected.

[During this period of convalescence for both the Barkers, several visitors came to the mission. Included in this number were Mr Thompson from Caffra-<sup>492</sup>ria and "Mr Thompson<sup>493</sup> a merchant from Cape Town" (11.5.23) Heavy rain prevented the departure of Messrs Hakewell & Philpott,<sup>494</sup> who were unable to cross the Kowie River. Other visitors were Mrs Urry with her small daughter & Mr Moodie<sup>495</sup> who was looking for servants. An old plum tree, much admired by John Campbell, was blown down in the old village. While still very weak Barker started to supervise the painting of his house and the laying of new floors.

From May 31st to June 8th he records the ordinary work of the mission, the departure of Mrs Urry & a brief visit by Mr Kay.]

June 9th: Married two couples this evening. Mr Kemp called on his way from Grahams town to Bethelsdorp. Heard from Mr K. that Mr Wright<sup>496</sup> was on his way hither.

10th: Sent 3 Span of Oxen to meet Mr Wright.

11th: Mr Wright arrived about 9 o'clock with authority to take the sole charge of the secular affairs of the station. Mr W. much fatigued with the journey. Experience meeting.

12th: Gave the people, workmen etc: over to Mr Wright and am thankful to be relieved of the burden of temporal things.

13th: I may date this as a new Era of things in my Missionary experience. Preached this evening from 1 Cor: 10-31. Finished a discourse begun on Tuesday evening.

14th: Was busy writing etc: all day. Set the Register in order & looked over the other books of the station.

15th: Preached from 2 Cor: 6-14 to end, on unequal marriages.<sup>497</sup> Afternoon Mr Edwards gave an address. Attended the evening service & conducted the prayer meeting. Baptised Mr Campbell's child in the morning.

[From 16th to 30th June, Barker records the purchase of "matts" for his house, painting and "colouring" the parlour walls & the completion of a door & manger for the stable. The following are entries of interest made in the succeeding weeks.]

30th: Was writing. Married a couple in the evening. Mr Shaw came to seek an interpreter as he had procured permission to commence a Mission to the Caffres. Also to engage Mr Shepstone<sup>498</sup> to join him in that Mission.

### July

2nd: Attended the experience meeting & visited the sick, which was very

pleasant. One woman, in a dying stage of Consumption, said Christ was become a Debtor, although he had no debt, & for her debt, that she might enter heaven, took Mr Shaw to see her whom was much delighted with her conversation.

[A side note states "Sister Wright was delivered of a son" ] 499

3rd: Held school for my own children, Mr Shaw left. Mr Edwards finished glazing the school windows which he began on 26 May, since which no school has been held for the children.

7th: Held school with my children etc: Missionary prayer meeting address from Micah 4-2. Heard that Mr Threlfall a Methodist missionary was gone from Cape Town to Delagoa Bay in a Govt. visit. God be praised for the doors he is opening for the promulgation of his word.

9th: Planted Potatoes; & some trees in the garden. Did not hold the experience meeting, as Mr Edwards had altered his plan, intending in future to hold no school on Saturday, but both parts of the day on Wednesday, thus if I had the school for the other purpose the children would have lost half a day.

12th: Heard to-day that a boy belonging to the station had been killed by a waggon going over him, on the way to Port Elizabeth, he was leader, the waggon belonged to Mr Biggar. <sup>500</sup>

13th: Preached this morning from Math: 11-25 & 26 to a crowded congregation. Afternoon from Jer: 8-9. In the evening a pleasant prayer meeting.

14th: Attended a public meeting of the people which occupied greater part of the day.

15th: Last evening a female member of the church disfigured herself & went round the village & frightened several of the people, particularly a pregnant woman, whose life was despaired of all last night, but was a little better to-day. Preached this evening from 1 Tim: 2-9 & 10.

16th: The woman who was frightened a little better, hopes were entertained that an abortion would not ensue. Spent the afternoon visiting the sick etc: The experience meeting was very pleasant. This evening a special church meeting was called to exclude the person Katryn Jakobs who acted so inconsistent on the evening of the 14th inst. Preached from 2 Thess: 3-6.

17th: Was writing etc: & did a little in the garden. Heard that the Corporals, & civic authorities of the place executed the sentence they had passed on Katryn Jakobs, by shaving her head, her hair having been the principle thing in frightening the people on the evening of the 14th Inst.

19th: Mr Shepstone left this morning to go to Grahams town in order to accompany Revd: W. Shaw to Caffre Land to look out for a spot for a

Missionary station.

501

24th: A Prussian Botanist came to seek some men to travel with him, but did not succeed.

25th: Preached from Jon 5-28 & 29 to prove a Resurrection from the dead.

26th: Was gardening. Sowed Quince seed etc:

27th: Preached this morning from Psal 19-13. Afternoon from Isa 58-13 & 14. Evening a prayer meeting.

28th: This morning attended the meeting for public work & the casting of Lots for the first house, the forming the people into parties for the various parts of the work etc: Preached in the evening from Heb: 11-24 to 25 & married two couples; afterwards took supper with the new married people. Spent a very pleasant evening, may the Lord crown all with his blessing.

29th: The people at work, but Mr Wright ill. Preached this evening from Jon: 5-28 & 29 on the nature of the Resurrection.

30th: Rain all day. Made two window frames for the out buildings.

31st: Rain all day, heavy rains in the morning. Was writing.

August 1st: Was writing. Preached this evening from Jon 5-28 & 29 on the consequences of the Resurrection. This was our church meeting & it was proposed in future to appropriate the Friday evening, to the Church alone, previous to administering the Lords Supper.

[From 2nd to 12th August he was variously employed. Among other things he made new nests for the hen house and helped the people in public work. Mr Shepstone returned from Caffreland on August 6th.]

13th: Was the whole day assisting to lay out foundations for houses.

14th: Mr & Mrs Shepstone, the mason, left the Institution this morning. I am bound in duty to remark, that I had formed a great attachment to Mr S. for the service he rendered to the Station & on account of the manner in which he conducted himself. I have little doubt but he will prove a valuable Colleague to Mr Shaw in the Caffre Mission.

15th: Began to fix shelves for my books. A woman in the last stage of consumption called me to her & I found her in a very pleasant frame of mind, waiting patiently for her great change. Attended a funeral in the afternoon.

[Building activities once more occupied Barker's time and it was with obvious pride that he wrote of his study with its bookshelves and of the building of houses for the people, in particular Klaas Windvogel and also Jan Wildemans. A further joy for him was the responsive attitude of his people.]

20th: Worked at the outbuildings. Was called out rather late this evening to visit a dying Sister, but before I could get there she was no more. I trust she died in the Lord, her bodily sufferings were long & heavy, but her mind to the last was tranquil & stayed on the Rock of our salvation. I have never witnessed a more pleasing display of the effect of that Hope that maketh not ashamed.

22nd: Began to plaister my Study. Attended the funeral of the person who died on wensday evening. <sup>502</sup> Preached this evening from Math. 17-1 to 8.

23rd: To-day a public meeting for business was held, & the non-attendance of the children in the school was one particular part of that business. The parents were exhorted to send the children regularly.

24th: Preached this morning from Eph. 5-4. Afternoon from 3 Jon v.4. particularly to the Parents of children. Did not attend the evening service.

30th: Was leveling the ground in the yard etc: A sketch was taken of the village this evening by Mr Turvey. <sup>503</sup>

31st: Preached from Tim 1-5 this morning. Afternoon from Heb: 6-1. Buried a child. Evening a prayer meeting very pleasant. I trust the presence of the Lord was felt among us, O for many such Sabbaths.

September 1st: The address at the missionary prayer meeting respected the state of South Africa, the preservation of the missionaries in the Interior from late marauders. After which the 91 Psal. was read.

2nd: Was plaistering my study. Jan Wildemans <sup>504</sup> house was commenced. Recieved an invitation to assist in opening the Baptist Chapel at Grahams town on 7th inst. Preached this evening from Ezech. 18 latter part of v 31.

5th: Was preparing to Ride to Grahamstown on the morrow to attend opening a place of worship.

6th: Rode to Grahams town to attend the opening of the Baptist New Chapel, with Mrs B. & Mr & Mrs Edwards. <sup>505</sup>

7th: Mr Miller the Baptist minister preached this morning from 2 Chron: 6-41. I preached afternoon from Lev: 26-2. Mr Miller preached in the evening from Acts 5-39 & 40. The Sum of Rds 450 Collected.

8th: Rain all day, so, that we could visit few of the friends. Called on Rev Mr Geary the Clergyman, with whom I was much pleased.

10th: Returned home, and Messrs Shaw & Shepstone with us.

12th: Messrs Shaw & Shepstone left, having agreed with two of our people to accompany them on their Caffre Mission. <sup>506</sup> Preached this evening from Mark: 14-38.

[From 13th to 30th September he records the completion of the door and floor of his study, making desks for himself and the children and the

occupation of the "other" Mission house by Mr Wright. He tells too of his own "indisposition of his bowels" and of his discouragement at the lack of interest at experience meetings.]

October 1st: Rode with Bro Wright to Grahams town, as three of our people who had taken Cattle there on Saturday, which were taken from 2 Caffres the day before, had been detained on a charge of stealing them.

2nd: Returned from Grahamstown, could make nothing of the Intention of the people, the Landdrost said he did not know they were detained, but he examined them on the preceding evening. This I suppose he did know.<sup>507</sup>

5th: Rain. Made a form for the children.

7th: Rain, began a door. Preached from Jon: 6-26 to 28. Married a couple.

8th: Was writing etc: The experience meeting very pleasant. Rain.

9th: Was writing, Reading etc: Began the instruction of two young men in the evening. The colt was killed last night.

10th: Last night <sup>508</sup> was a most awful night of heavy Rain & wind from the S.W. This was a tremendous day of driving Rain, not to be described. In the afternoon our privy fell & the window frames were falling from the houses not finished. Mr Wright & self spent the whole forenoon in the school, conversing on the state of the people, on the necessity of a respite from public labour, arising out of their own circumstances & the near approach of the harvest. We concluded they must have three months respite to provide for their families etc: But O we little thought what awaited us. About half past 6 o'clock I was in the school for a ladder to examine the gable of the house. About half past 8 o'clock this evening the School, which had cost so much labour, fell with an amazing crash to about two thirds of its length on the weather side. On hearing the crash I called to Mrs B. to know what it was, who answered, come & look in the pantry if anything has fallen, but I think it is thunder. Thinking it was David Jantjies house, I resolved, in the midst of the rain, to go & see, but Mrs B. who was in the kitchen, said it was on that side. I now thought it was the other part of the privy & went out, but coming opposite the Back door of Mr Wright's house & seeing him at the door with a candle, I made toward it, when on lifting up my eyes & casting them on the school I perceived it in ruins. I stood aghast for a while, the tears flowing from my eyes. I then went to inform Mr Wright & we both came out together to view the destruction. After this we were in the utmost consternation all night, as the school had fallen we expected the houses to follow. This was a most distressing night as ever I met with. About midnight went with

Mr Wright, over to the old place, to see how all was there. Here we found most of the people drenched in their houses. One of the herders almost perished with wet & cold to-day, he left the cattle and came home, but on his arrival at home, could not speak, but through mercy he recovered. [Beside this entry, to emphasise the tragedy he wrote "school destroyed".]

11th: O the distress this morning presented to view. One house which was ready to thatch in almost total ruins. Three others with the door & window frames in, heaps of ruin. But O all this was nothing in my view compared to the loss of the school, our hopes, our expectations destroyed with a stroke, & what was worse, the dear children deprived those facilities of instruction which that building would have afforded as it was nearly finished. Rain forenoon. Afternoon a little fair. Mr Wright propped up the beams of his house, the walls wet through. Wrote Dr Philip at Cape Town & Mr Thomas of London respecting the distress. Another part of the school fell this morning.

12th: This morning was fair, the day exceedingly hot. The walls of the Mission houses getting wet more through, my house sunk considerably on the foundation, the gables & chimnies of both houses very wet. Preached this morning from Nahum 1-3 latter clause. In the afternoon held a prayer meeting which was very pleasant. Did not attend evening service.

13th: This morning it rained very steadily, but kept increasing through the day. Mr Wright propping his house & afterwards we began mine. As night approached our alarm became extreme. All our children were put to sleep in a little room I had fitted up in the yard for a study. After dark the rain descended in torrents, with thunder & lightening. The walls of the house were so very wet that nothing was expected but the destruction of them. About midnight, one of the Hottentots who inhabited his new house came knocking at my door to, inform me that one end of his house had fallen & to ask leave for his wife & family to join our children in my study. This night was the most awful of all, the rain by far the heaviest, & from the wet state of the walls of the houses, our situation cannot be described or conceived. I sat up all night in as much anguish of mind as tho: I had been in the most distressing storm at sea. Our river was swollen & overflowed the whole plain. There never was such a flood seen at Theopolis before by any of the people. 100-000 Bricks were spoiled. Two kilns that were burnt were washed away by the flood. <sup>509</sup>

14th: Never did I behold daylight with more pleasure than this morning. No one can conceive the anguish of mind we were in all night, expecting every moment the house would fall upon us, but God spared us. To-day the

propping of my house continued & at night I was so fatigued that I was very ill. This day showery.

15th: The propping the Mission & other houses continued this day. Last night we were much frightened. Our kitchen door was swelled with the rain that we could not shut it, about midnight there came on a sharp shower & the dog forced the door open, a stick only standing against it, this stick fell on the cat which called out and together with the fall of the stick made a great noise. We thought part of the house had fallen, & it was a long time before I could passify Mrs B.

16th: This day was showery, but not so bad. Our alarm for the houses had become so great, that the least noise excited the most pungent apprehension. Last night I enjoyed a tollerable rest, which I had not done for 8 nights before.

17th: This morning we began to take the thatch off the School & the Roof etc: off, in order to preserve them from further damage. Preached this evening from Prov: 2-10 & 11. <sup>510</sup> Was writing.

18th: Was writing. Wrote John Audly Esqr. of Cambridge. The thatch was all taken off the school. The roof not near so much damaged as might have been expected. The bell not injured. The doors & door frames whole. The window frames all whole & the sash frames very little injured. Some of the glass not broken, 4 of the free stone window cills whole.

19th: Preached this morning from Isa 26-16 & closed the service by singing a few verses of my composition. Afternoon from Jer: 9-7. Evening a prayer meeting. <sup>511</sup>

[The garden received Barker's attention between the 20th and 31st October and fences broken by the storm were mended and new areas dug over. He reports the use of further verses of his own composition as hymns on Sunday 26th October.]

November 1st: Was gardening. The door of the cubbord in the Hall was hung. Recieved information that the Worshipful Court of Circuit will be here on Monday next, with a request to furnish a waggon & oxen, with 4 saddle horses.

2nd: Preached this morning from : 1 Pet: 1-22. Mr Wright went round the place after the service commenced & brought in many, so that the place was crowded. Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. Evening a prayer meeting, well attended.

3rd: Recieved information that the gentlemen of the Court of Circuit would not be here to-day. Missionary Prayer meeting, gave the address, promiscious. [The word here is clearly promiscious, but he does not give

his text, so it is hard to imagine what he meant by this.]

5th: The experience meeting pleasant. Mr Kay came in the evening.

6th: Was working at the Carpenters bench. Mr Kay left. Was informed that the Court of Circuit would be here tomorrow.

13th: Last night Mr Maskell's store was robbed of a quantity of rice, Sugar & Coffee to the value of 10 to 11 Rds. The place was enclosed with flags & Plaistered, but the plaister not dry.<sup>512</sup> The flags were pushed on one side so as to admit the hand, & opposite the sacks piled one on another. Two sacks of Sugar, one Sack of Coffee and one Sack of Rice was out. We searched every house on the place, but found nothing. A woman said she saw a man in the night going from the direction of the store, with a dog towards the bush. She should not know the man but the dog she should know. She recognised the dog of Booy Windvogel from among the others, & on making enquiries for him, it was found that he & his wife went early in the morning to their garden. They were both sent for, the woman examined, persons interrogated as to the time the man & woman left the place in the morning. The man & woman examined, who held a different story as to the time & contradicted each other as to the path they took. There the matter stood late in the evening, when we left them in a state of suspense.

14th: This morning we proceeded to investigate the same affair to confront the parties as to the time they left home, & the man & woman as to the path they took when the man acknowledged that he had told a lie. The woman & the dog were produced & the dog recognised in the presence of the man. This was all we could make of the affair as the woman did not see him take anything, nor did she know that he was the man, but it was his dog & he said the dog would follow no one beside him - this was corroborated by others. There the matter was left for this day, our suspicions strengthened by a remark Booy's wife had let fall, that "This was what she had said & the word was scarce out of her mouth before it had come to pass". This she refused to explain.

14th: This morning the people pressed the man & woman to confess their guilt & Mr Maskell promised to forgive them if he had his goods restored. In the afternoon the woman said her husband brought some rice in the house on the Wednesday morning early, which they eat before daylight & that she said to him "he would not leave off untill he had brought himself into trouble". After this Booy confessed the theft & went twice to fetch what he had hid in the bush, but after troubling those who were with him, by leading them to different places, he would not point out the place. This we could not account for, but began to fear he had perhaps long practised

thieving & hiding & was afraid to bring the people to the place. He was made prisoner together with his wife & big daughter in order to be sent off the place.

15th: The whole family of Booy Windvogel were sent off the Institution in a waggon to Grahams Town, to the Landdrost. <sup>513</sup>

16th: Preached this morning from Num: 32 last clause of 23v. Afternoon from 1 Thess: 5-22 & baptised a child. Evening a prayer meeting. Heard from a person who came from Grahams Town, that the wife of Booy Windvogel attempted to cut her throat on the way to Grahams Town.

17th: Rode to Grahams Town this morning with Mr Maskell, who went to give information respecting Booy Windvogel. Found all the men in prison who were sent with them in charge, but these were liberated in the afternoon. <sup>514</sup> Mr Maskell was heard & requested to attend next morning. Spent the afternoon with Mr Geary.

18th: Visited three persons under sentence of death with Mr Kay in the prison. They were all charged with murder. I spoke to them & prayed with them. Saw Booy & his wife in the prison, but did not speak either lest by hurting her feelings the wound might suffer. Rode home.

19th: Held school with my children. The church was white washing so that I could not hold the experience meeting. Married two couples.

20th: Worked in the garden. Heard that the wife of Booy Windvogel died on tuesday. Wrote to my father.

24th: Was employed in preparing a statement of the case of Booy Windvogel, to send to Grahams Town.

Between 25th November and 3rd December the potato harvest was gathered in and a collection made for the poor fund. He wrote a letter to Mr Kemp of Terling and on December 3rd writes "The experience meeting was very pleasant. A woman with much feeling, related the providential escape from being bitten by a snake, which she experienced, while collecting aloes yesterday. Heard of some pleasing instances of hopeful concern in several of the people".

6th: Rode to the mouth of the Cowie, & slept at Mr Gilfillans.

7th: Rode this morning to Green fountain <sup>515</sup> to assist in opening a new place of worship for our Methodist brethren. Mr Kay read the church service, with appropriate Scriptures etc: I preached from Zech: 8-20 & 27. After which Mr Kay baptised several children. The congregation was about 250 persons. We then sat down to a cold dinner in a bush, about 120. Afternoon Mr Kay met the members of the church & preached in the evening from Josh: 24-27. After sermon the Lord's Supper was administered & I concluded the interesting services of the day.

8th: Rode round to see a few of the Settlers in the vicinity of Green fountain, as I have never been there before. Young Mr Bouker rode with me. Afternoon returned home & Mr Bouker<sup>516</sup> with me to see Theopolis.

9th: Rode to the mouth of our River with Mr B. Mrs Edwards was delivered of a daughter, but had a bad time. Preached from Psal: 4-6.

10th: Mr B. returned home, went with him almost to the Cowie mouth. Mrs Edwards taken very ill in the night.

12th: Was white washing etc: Preached from 1 Cor: 14-20. Church meeting. Andries Klaase was divested of the office of Deacon for neglect & contempt of duty.<sup>517</sup>

[During the next days Barker was occupied with completing the outhouses and with the religious work of the mission in preparation for the great event to follow.]

20th: This was a very hot day. The school was commenced by laying the corner stone in form. The ceremony was introduced by singing. Read the 4th of Zech: & prayed. Gave an address from Ezra 3-11, 12 & 13. After which Cobus Boezak laid the stone & we sang to the tune of Rule Britannia & concluded with prayer.<sup>518</sup>

21st: Preached this morning from Math: 28-19 & baptised an adult woman. Afternoon concluded the subject by pointing out the duty of baptised persons. Evening a very pleasant prayer meeting. A general feeling of gratitude appeared to pervade the whole.

23rd: Recieved information that Dr Philip was at Bethelsdorp, by the post last evening; also a letter containing particulars of the visit of H.M. Commissioners<sup>519</sup> to Pacalts Dorp, which letter was read to the people this morning with great interest, after which we returned thanks to God for his goodness to the Hottentots. Preached from 2 Sam: 12-24.

25th: Began to fence round the well. Mr Rutherford arrived about noon. Preached from Mark: 2-2.

26th: Was employed the fore part of the day in distributing a donation of clothing among the children from Mr Rutherford & Dr Philip.<sup>520</sup>

28th: Attended a funeral before service. Preached this morning from Psal: 103-20, the subject, Angels, proposed by Cobus Boezak. Mr Hart arrived soon after the service commenced. Afternoon from Job: 36-11. On the close of the year. Evening a prayer meeting. Mr Hart presented the sum of Rxd: 15 toward rebuilding the school & Rds 5 to the poor fund. Recieved an invitation to attend the annual meeting in Salem.

29th: Mr Hart left. Rode out with Mr Rutherford.

30th: Mr Rutherford left this morning for Grahams Town. Got some things

into my store. The day was so extremely hot that I was poorly in the evening & did not preach.

31st: Rode to Salem to attend the annual meeting. The reports of the auxiliary Missionary Society were so badly managed as to excite no interest. I preached from Luke 13-6 after which the watch night was held, but the rain was descending to that degree that few people could attend. Messrs Shepstone & Clark left this year & Mr & Mrs Wright came.

FOOT-NOTES1823

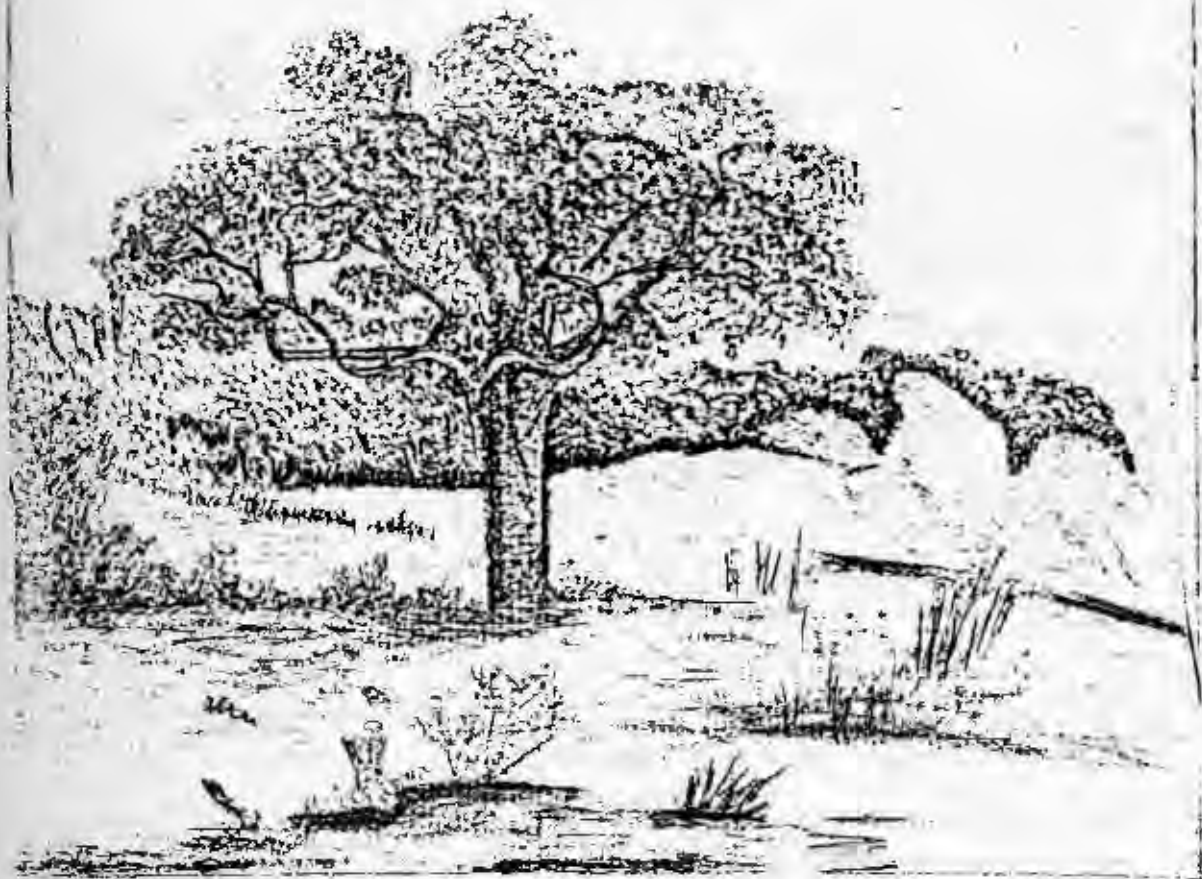
483. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
484. It is not clear whether such expeditions were planned - the lack of congregation suggests this. What is obvious (from the Journals of Ayliff & Snaw) is that the Settlers were most anxious to establish religious community.
485. All of these were children of the missionaries who married Khoi. The only one whose history is well-known is James Read Junior (who married Ann Barker). Without recourse to an agency, it has been found very difficult to trace their descent.
486. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
487. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
488. The men who enlisted became regular members of the British Army and were eligible for pensions at the end of service.
489. All details will be found in Appendix A(iii).
490. As Barker's educational level developed it is interesting to observe titles to his sermons, suggesting that he had moved from merely expository preaching.
491. While the Missionary's authority might be queried in temporal affairs, in matters of this sort he could act. But the Independent (or Congregational) form of Church Government necessitated the use of democratic processes.
492. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
493. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
494. Ibid.
495. Ibid.
496. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
497. The marriage of Christian and non-Christian is referred to here.
498. Shepstone, who had been employed as a Mason by the I.M.S., was a Methodist. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
499. See Wright family details: Appendix B(ii).
500. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
501. L. Krebs (1792-1847). Ludwig Krebs was a German naturalist who worked so much in the Eastern Cape. He sent a baby elephant specimen to Germany from Theopolis. (cf. Krebs Cape Naturalist). Identification confirmed in Thomas Philipps (p. 173): 1820 Settlers.
502. It is notable that, in spite of the fact that this woman was a Christian, Barker still merely "attended" the funeral.

503. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
504. See List of Khoi Names: Appendix C(vi).
505. William Miller (1779-1857) used to walk in to Grahamstown from Salem to hold Baptist Services until the land donated by John Miller in Artificers Square was used to build the first Baptist Chapel.
506. The Khoi were vital in this enterprise as they were used as interpreters by the Missionaries.
507. Further evidence of the totally unsatisfactory situation which existed with the Landdrost vis-a-vis the Khoi.
508. There follows a detailed description of the terrible storms which devastated so much of Albany. (cf. Butler: The 1820 Settlers pp.152-154).
509. This was a terrible blow, not only to the building operations at Theopolis but also to their trade in bricks. (cf. Butler: The 1820 Settlers p. 123).
510. The texts again were selected for the event, as they deal with the idea that knowledge and understanding will enable one to face disaster.
511. Most known descendants have been approached but, to date (1982), no copy of Barker's verses have been found.
512. No record can be found of this method of building but Theopolis ruins suggest the use of large roughly cut stones (resembling the flat flag stones) plastered on the outside to give added strength.
513. Such investigation was obviously needed before anyone could be caught and charged. It is notable that crime was seriously regarded and attempts made to co-operate fully with the authorities.
514. This is another illustration of a situation which must have exacerbated inter-group tensions, for so often those sent to see justice done were caught in a web of injustice themselves.
515. Green Fountain was the first Methodist Chapel in the coastal area, north-east of modern Port Alfred.
516. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
517. The severe discipline imposed was needed if the Khoi were to understand the importance of public example.
518. The service emphasised the ceremonial which must have formed a bridge for the Khoi who, like all primitive people, came from a culture in which ceremonial was part of customary practice. The reading deals with a somewhat obscure vision of a prophet, but the theme - the importance of God's appointed - is closely linked to the sermon which tells of the laying of the foundation of the great Temple in Jerusalem.

519. The Commissioners, Bigge & Owen, sent to investigate Government at the Cape. (cf. R.C.C. XXI p. 321ff ; R.C.C. XXVII pp. 342-397; P.P. 1830 XXI (584).)
520. The Distressed Settlers Association set up by Captain Moresby in 1820 did sterling work among those who had suffered losses through flood.

A Sketch made by Rev John Campbell in 1819.  
(held in the Africana Collection, Johannesburg Public  
Library)

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Ancient Wild Plum tree standing, always green, in the Centre  
of the valley immediately behind the Missionary station of  
Theopoles, Albany, South Africa, given by General Sir John Cra-  
dock when Governor of the Cape of Good Hope 1814 who when  
on the spot desired that this venerable tree should not be cut down

Observations.                      European Residents-

G. Barker, Missionary.

Peter Wright, superintendant of temporal affairs.

Thos. Edwards, school master,

Joseph Campbell, carpenter.

John Maskell, Shopkeeper, Residing at the station.

The school which had fallen was rebuilding. 4 houses inhabited at the new vilage.

January 1st, 1824: At Salem.

Preached this morning from Job. 36-41, but the rain was so great that the congregation was small. Only one female was present. A public dinner. It rained to that degree that no service could be held in the afternoon, but there was no Copy of the Covenant, so that it could not have been renewed. No wine for the Lord's Supper, so that it could not have been administered. The whole of the intended services were without arrangement & shewed great neglect on the part of the Preacher. Mr Kay did not preach at all.

2nd: Visited a sick person who had been confined to her bed twelve months. Returned home. Church meeting in the evening. Address from Jon 15-6. After which Doortje Prins was recieved into the Church.

3rd: Finished fencing the well. Mr Wm Smith<sup>521</sup> came to see Dr Philip who had not arrived. Mr Rutherford returned.

4th: Preached this morning from Prov: 9-10 & 11. Afternoon administered the Lord's Supper. Mr Rutherford from Dr Philip's church & Mr Smith of the Baptist church in Grahams Town, sat down with us. Evening a prayer meeting. Baptised 2 Children Morn:

5th: Dined with some of the people & Mr Smith with me. Evening Missionary prayer meeting, gave the address from Isa: 65-8. New Corporals were elected.

6th: Mr Smith left. Dr Philip arrived in the afternoon. Preached this evening Josh: 24 16-18.

7th: Walked round the place with Dr Philip etc: Afternoon rode out. Evening Dr P. addressed the people, promising to pay the opgaaf of as many as would commence the public work of the vilage, out of subscriptions on account of the loss by the rains.<sup>522</sup>

8th: Rode to Long fountain etc:

9th: Was preparing the Correspondence with Govt: for Dr Philip.<sup>523</sup> Preached this evening from Judges 13-23.

10th: Was writing etc: Rode to Mrs General Campbell's with Dr P: etc: Mr Geo Kemp came. <sup>524</sup>

11th: On coming to the church we found it full of children, & Dr P: was astonished. He proposed that a separate house should be procured for the children & Mr Edwards should hold worship with them. The church was full of grown people & extremely hot. Dr P. preached from Jon 3-3. Afternoon I preached from Psal: 96-9. The church was full. Evening Andries Jager gave an address before Dr: Philip.

12th: Rain all day, was writing. Burried a child. Married a couple in the evening. Received letter from Mr Thomas & Bro Jon Williams. The foundation of the New church was marked out & began digging.

13th: Dr P: & Mr Rutherford left to visit the Settlers. <sup>525</sup> Was writing. Rode to the sea to visit a sick child.

14th: Began to prepare for exercising the people in singing. Attended a funeral.

15th: Was writing.

16th: Was preparing my journal for England. Mr Kay came. Preached from Prov: 24-17 & 18.

17th: Finished my journal. Capt. Clark of the 6th Regt. & his son, came to see Dr Philip. Capt. C. is a man of information & I hope a Christian. Dr. P. & Mr Rutherford returned home from a tour among the settlers. Spent the evening very pleasant, in company with Dr. P; Capt: C. etc: <sup>526</sup>

18th: Capt: C. left for the Cowie, as he intended to go from thence to Cape Town & expected the ship to sail. Preached from Luke 7-50. Dr P: addressed the people in the afternoon from 2 Cor: 5-20. Jan Tshatshu gave an address in the evening.

19th: The rain prevented Dr P. from leaving this morning. We drew up the outline of the plan for a Court of Magistracy for the station, to consist of five Members who are to decide all matters of difference etc: <sup>527</sup> Dr. P: gave his farewell address to the people this evening.

20th: Dr Philip & Mr Rutherford left this morning, we rode with them to the Karika. I felt a great deal when Dr P. left, as I conceived he had not shown me that degree of respect due to the Senior at the Station. As I had much to do, I had expended much money. I hoped Dr P. would have called me to explain, & as several idle reports had reached the ears of Dr P: I wished to satisfy him on all these subjects. <sup>528</sup> Preached from Psal. 11-5.

21st: Young Piet Campher fell from the tree upon the saw pit, & I fear ruptured a blood vessel. No person attended the experience meeting

[Between the 22nd and the 27th George Barker "began to hear the first class

read in order to exercise them previous to the coming of the Commissioners of Inquiry". A visit from the schoolmaster at Salem, Mr Matthews concerned the attendance at his school of boys from the Mission to "begin with the English language".<sup>529</sup> Mr Coates,<sup>530</sup> also of Salem, wished to reside as a shoe-maker at Theopolis. Barker himself taught the Bible class in English & two boys were sent to Salem to "learn the shoe-making trade".]

28th: Mr Cornfield<sup>531</sup> took a sketch of the place with the scenery. Perceive more & more the effect of Dr Philip's conduct towards me, or perhaps conceive it is perceptible. O Lord give me the grace to bear & for-bear for thy name's sake. Married two couples.

29th: Bro Wright rode to Salem to arrange matters for the instruction of Andries Jager, preparatory to his becoming an assistant in the school, in the English language.<sup>532</sup> Received a parcel of Books from the Directors, also presents for the children of the school, & Papers from Mr Thomas.

30th: Boesaks house was begun thatching. Preached this evening from Psal. 89-7 at the Church meeting & Bro Jan Boesak<sup>533</sup> was proposed for a Deacon.

31st: Visited the sick this morning. Conversed with one young lad in a consumption, on the probability of his soon leaving the world, he appeared to be affected much more than I had before seen him. May it please God to touch his heart. A woman baptised on the 21st Decr complained of coldness & wept that her husband was no assistance to her in the ways of the Lord. I advised her to pray earnestly for him. Had an interesting conversation with a lad who was on the place with a farmers waggon, selling fruit. The boy was about 15 years old, not void of intellect, but without the least information on religious subjects.<sup>534</sup> In the evening Bro Jan Boesak was elected ceacon of the church. Addressed the congregation from Jon 3-16. A Boer was present.

Feby. 1st: Preached this morning from 1 Thess. 4-3. Afternoon administered the Lord's Supper. Evening preached from the same text, pointed out the difference between Sanctification & Justification.<sup>535</sup>

[At a missionary prayer meeting on February 2nd he used "the state of missions" (based on an annual report) as his theme. In the following days he reports hearing of the arrival of H.M. Commissioner in Grahamstown on the 5th; a visit on the 9th by Mr Shaw "with 5 Caffres one of whom was a chief named Kama".<sup>536</sup> Apart from this he "took up" and stored potatoes and on the 6th laid the foundation of the store.]

13th: Returned from Grahams town. The vilage was in great confusion. H.M. Commissioners had began to do business, on Wensday, the previous business was of little importance.

15th: Mr Buckenrode came this morning. Preached from Math: 5-16. Afternoon a prayer meeting. Evening preached from the same text. Mr Buckenrode<sup>537</sup> was present all day. Baptised a child in the morning.

16th: Mr B. left for the Cowie mouth. Began to prepare the Correspondence Cases etc: to lay before His Majesty's Commissioners.

17th: Was very busy preparing to go to the Commissioners. Recieved News Papers from Mr Thomas, with the proceedings in Parliament in regard to sending out the Commissioners of Inquiry to Africa. Preached this evening.

18th: Rode to Grahams Town & gave Documents to the Commissioners.

19th: Spent this day at Grahams town without being called before the Commissioners.

20th: Was sent for this morning to see the Commissioners at 9 o'clock. They began rather sharply with me in loose conversation & loose interrogations not at all connected with the Documents put into their hands & it was not untill the last that they aluded to them very slightly. Afterwards Stoffel Trompeter was examined & in the course of the day I saw the Commissioners several times who were very kind & condescending. In the afternoon I was translater for an old Hottentot woman from the District of Cradock. The Commissioners were very condescending.<sup>538</sup>

21st: Was busy with the Landdrost respecting Certificates of pensioners that had been forwarded to him & were lost. Called on the Adjutant of the Cape Corps for Duplicates of the same & returned home rather late.<sup>539</sup>

22nd: Preached this morning from Jon 5-24. Afternoon held worship, but not in the evening. Was deeply impressed with a sense of our obligations to God for his favour towards us, & the kind reception I recieved on behalf of the station by the Commissioners.

23rd: Left home this morning about 3 o'clock for Grahams town & arrived there about half past 8. The day was extremely hot, was running about the whole day, but only procured for the people cirtificates for to recieve their cattle. Could not procure Duplicates of the cirtificates of pension, as Major Somerset was absent from home, nor did I receive payment for the tow for the same reason. Rode home late & very fatigued.

24th: Was much fatigued the whole day & did not preach in the evening. The foundation of Mr Maskell's house was begun.

[From 25th of February until 9th March Mrs Barker's illness occupied a considerable part of her husband's time, Messrs Brownlee & Bennie spent the day at Theopolis on 27th & then went to visit the "mouth of the Cowie". The garden fence was repaired, the Indian corn "got in" and Barker "bottled a cask of porter received from London"]

10th: Two men came in search of a farm & to inquire about the land between us & the Sea, their attention was diverted to another spot.<sup>540</sup> The school was began thatching.

11th: Mr Hart came with his younger daughter from Salem, on their way to the Cowie mouth.

12th: Mr Hart left this morning. Preached from Prov: 14-35. Mr Wright & myself were assailed by the blowing of a mountain adder on our way home from church in the evening, which we killed.

[Mrs Barker's illness continued in the period from 13th to 29th March and finally on the 22nd a Doctor was summoned, though no comment was made on his visit. Mrs Hart returned from the Cowie on her way to Salem and Mr Wright paid the oppaaf in Grahamstown. Mr Barker's tax was Rds 9.]

30th: Rode to the Cowie with Mr Maskell, as soon as I got over learned that H.M. Commissioners were on our side the river & returned instantly across the river & rode towards home with all speed. On arriving Mrs Gen' Campbell's I was informed that the Field Cornett Curry<sup>541</sup> had been there to enquire the way to Mr Nourse's farm<sup>542</sup> & said that H.M. Commissioners & the Landdrost had lost their way just at hand. I waited to see if they came, but they did not. They were not more than 3 miles off Theopolis, & as they rode, could see nothing not the residence of an individual. The reason of their passing us & Mrs Campbell without calling is inexplicable. Preached from Job 40-3 & 4.<sup>543</sup>

[Up to the 10th April the health of Mrs Barker and Sarah gave cause for alarm. A Soldier's child died at Theopolis and was buried by Barker. The thatch on the school was completed. During a visit to the "mouth of the river" to see a sick person he heard that the Methodist Chapel at Grahamstown was to be re-opened on Sunday 11th and he and Mr Edwards decided to go.]

11th: This morning Mr Kay read the prayers & preached from Pro - In the afternoon I preached from Isa: 49-18. There were two Hottentot soldiers under sentence of death for desertion & Mr Kay was with them while I was preaching in the afternoon. I was with them as soon as the afternoon service was over & while Mr Kay was preaching in the evening. I had six Hottentots to spend the evening with me. I left them in time to conclude the service in the Chapel, & was with him again untill about 12 o'clock. The chapel is enlarged & rendered much more convenient, it is a good place to worship. The subscriptions amounted to Rds 260.<sup>544</sup>

12th: This morning I was with the prisoners at break of day, shortly after Mr Edwards came & then Mr Kay. I was very surprised to see the

prisoners draped in their death clothes with their arms pinioned on my arrival. About 7 o'clock the procession started to the place of execution, but the Cape Corps not being ready we had to wait for near half an hour. Messrs Kay, Edwards & myself walked with the one who could walk the other prisoner rode on a cart with the two coffins. About 8 o'clock one of them, Jan Cupido, was sent into eternity without a struggle. He met death with astounding fortitude. We had hopes of his desire for an interest in Christ & his penitence & profession of faith in the saviour was very pleasing. The other man was not taken off the cart. He had received a wound from the gun of a farmer when taken & was reprieved. On the Sabbath this poor man was very reserved. I could get nothing from him, he was suffering greatly from the wound & appeared to be little concerned at the prospect of death. This morning he was more communicative & gave the particulars of his desertion & apprehension, but as it was hinted that he would not die, we paid the most attention to the other. There is little hope that he will recover from his wound. His name is Hendrik Smitt. Returned home.

13th: Mrs B. still very much indisposed & Edward very ill. This evening we had a prayer meeting to entreat the Lord to provide the Cape Corps with a Christian instructor which was very interesting.

[Until the end of September the routine work of the mission continued. At first the ill-health of Edward & Mrs Barker & of the Edwards child continued to worry the mission folk and on April 15th he records that "Edward was so ill he was scarcely out of my arms the whole day". The plastering of the school was started & by 10th May the seats & desks were "put up in the school". The following incidents are worthy of note.]

April 21st: Held the experience meeting which was pleasant. Jan Wildemar came to me like a mad man under a sense of his sins, but I was told afterwards that he had been drinking honey beer, of which I am not certain.

22nd: Mr Edward's child very ill from last night. Spoke to Jan Wildeman this morning who was much the same as last night & almost as wild. Mr Edward's child died about half past 2 o'clock P.M. Held a prayer meeting in Mr Edward's house this evening & gave an address in English from 2 Sam: 12 last part of 23 verse.<sup>545</sup>

23rd: Buried the child of Mr Edwards this afternoon & preached this evening from Ec1: 7-3.

26th: Sent Wm Valentyn to Saler to exchange my young mare for a horse, which I had seen for sale.

27th: Valentyn returned with the horse which had thrown him & hurt him. I mounted him to try him & he threw me over his head. Preached from Ecc 7-4

& married two couples this evening. School was finished plaistering inside.

28th: Sent horse back to-day. Held the experience meeting.

29th: Last night at Bed time Mrs B. complained of pain & about a quarter before 1 o'clock this morning, was delivered of a son.<sup>546</sup> She was much quicker delivered than ever before, thus the Lord deals with us in mercy. She had been more than 3 months ill previous to her confinement & we feared it would be bad for her. Had the young mare back again. Valentyn very ill.

30th: Valentyn better this morning. Mrs Barker & child as well as we can expect. Preached from Ec1: 7-4 & 5.

[In the following days Mrs Barker's health fluctuated and the nurse was called away to tend her daughter's confinement and so George Barker turned nurse and comments "We did pretty well with it".

From 11th May Mrs Barker's health fluctuated considerably. Mr & Mrs Shaw visited the Barkers on their way back to Salem from Caffreland from 22nd to 24th May. Barker worked in the garden, repaired the fence and on June 3rd he records, "Five farmers waggons came on the place this morning with produce & sheep, which Mr Maskell bought. Bought a horse of one of the farmers, Hendrik Botha for Rds 80" and on June 4th Hendrik Smitt was appointed as Deacon. Services were well attended, Mr Maskell's house completed and peas, beans, potatoes and trees planted in the garden.]

In June he visited Greenfountain which visit is recorded as follows:

12th: Rode to Green fountain to preach on the morrow.

13th: Last night my horse got away. The Sunday school was held in the forenoon. Afternoon preached from 2 Cor: 5-20. Evening from 1 Cor: 1-10. The afternoon attendance was very good, altho: the weather was bad. It rained very hard in the evening or I should have gone to Mr Bouker's.

14th: Rain all day. Rode over to Mr Bouker's<sup>547</sup> after breakfast, & got exceedingly wet. One of Mr B's sons was looking for my horse, but could not find him.

15th: Rain all day. Was weather bound at Mr B's. My horse could not be found to-day. Recieved a letter from Mr Thomas.

16th: The morning fine. Got a horse to ride home with. Came home by Bathurst & called on several of the Settlers in my way. Saw the new chapel that is building in James' party & also the man who preached in that party.<sup>548</sup> My horse was a bad one & it took me the whole day to get home.

[Seven candlesticks to hang against the wall of the school were made & Martinus Buling was sent to fetch them. On 20th June Barker records the dedication of the school.]

20th: Mr Edwards began the service by reading the 8-1 Kings & prayer.

I preached from 2 Chron: 6-41. Afternoon I read 132 Psal. & prayed. Mr Edwards preached from 1 Kings 8-22 to 24. Evening Mr Edwards read Psal 118, & prayed. I preached from Psal 118-29. I gave out the hymns all day.<sup>549</sup> Thus we dedicated our school to God. The services were very interesting & I hope will be long remembered. My horse was brought home.

21st: Mr Edwards commenced in the new school, the forenoon was spent in arranging the classes & the afternoon in exercising the children. Attended a funeral.

[The garden where "carrots, turnips, onions, radishes, lettices and cabbage" seed were sown occupied a good portion of his time. Three days were spent in planting potatoes. On 26th June he wrote to Dr Philip and "proposed a plan for purchasing a farm in the district of Craddock for a Missionary Station".<sup>550</sup> He found the "well-filled" school a "gratifying sight" and was pleased to entertain Major & Mrs Pigot and show them the school on June 28th.<sup>551</sup> Mr Arnott from Bethelsdorp stayed with the Barkers from July 1st to 5th. He was taken to the river mouth. Other visitors included the Shepstones who arrived from Caffreland on July 7th and stayed until 20th, during which time Shepstone was taken ill & a doctor called. Mr Maskell returned to his shop "with a large assortment of goods" from Port Elizabeth and Capt. Butler<sup>552</sup> arrived on the same day - 8th July. The Revd. Mr Boardman & "Dr Pawl"<sup>553</sup> visited Mr Shepstone on 13th.<sup>554</sup>

"Small pieces of board were slung in the school for the children to begin the slate exercise". This experiment was obviously not a complete success & on 12th August Mr Wright rode with the missionary to the farm of Mr Ruedolph,<sup>555</sup> near Bushmans River, "to look at some slates to see if it would do to use in the school". They visited the mouth of the Bushmans River. Mr Shepstone returned on 2nd August and other visitors were "young Mr Bouker" and Messrs Philips & Dalgairin on the 3rd of August. A letter was dispatched asking Mr Burder<sup>556</sup> for "two setts of material" for the school. At the same time gardening activities continued and more potatoes along with "Indian corn & pumcins" were planted.]

An important comment on 20th July was "Drew up a memorial for the Land between our lands & the sea".<sup>557</sup> Work continued in the garden, fences were built and pigs were killed. Report of an incident on 24th follows:

24th: Killed the two last pigs for the season. In the evening as I was helping 2 boys make fast the hieffer to a post, she ran at me, knocked me down & kneeled on my breast & hurt me, but thro: mercy, not so much as might have been expected. Did not preach.

25th: Was poorly with my breast.

On the 28th August a "recruiting party" under the command of an officer visited the mission. The officer attended the service the following day.

5th: Heard Mr Duxbury<sup>558</sup> preach a plain sensible sermon from Acts 28, latter part of .5 verse, in the morning. Heard the Revd. Mr Geary preach a most excellent discourse in the afternoon from 1 Cor: 15-56 & 57. Preached in the evening from Psal: 27-4. The collections were 650 rds.

6th: Spent this day at Grahams town.

7th: Rode home from Grahams town.

8th: Was fatigued after my journey.

10th: Wrote Mr Burder for materials for the school. Felt my mind much hurt by a letter recieved from Dr Philip, in which he discovered plainly a desire to get rid of me & my services if possible.<sup>559</sup> O that God may support me under such trials & forgive him such unreasonable conduct. Preached from Job: 5-8 & 9. Church meeting.

12th: Preached from Acts 24-28 this morning & baptised Hannah Nocka an adult, & my own child John. Afternoon administered the Lord's Supper. Evening preached from Job 29-2 & 3.

13th: Wrote to the Landdrost permission to preach to the heathen at Grahams town & to Mr Kay to inform him that I had done so.

Barker frequently notes attendance at funerals, but apart from isolated examples he did not conduct a service. Mrs Barker's health was still bad so Mrs Edwards took John to wean him. "Caffre trees" were planted in front of the house. On the 22nd September the baby came back and a nurse was found. Some Port Wine was procured for the invalid.

#### September

7th: Recieved a letter from Mr Buckenrode & Dr Philip both recommending an early application to Wm Hayward Esqre Commissioner of adjustment of the Lands in Albany, for the additional land which we want for the Station.

28th: Drew up a Memorial to lay before the Commissioner of adjustment. Preached from Jon 10-4. Mrs B: still very ill.

29th: The old mare foaled & brought me a horse colt. Mrs B: very ill.

30th: A letter came from the Colonial office requesting admitting the Authority of the Field Cornett at the station with another from the Landdrost, but the one nor the other not commanding.<sup>560</sup> Mrs B. no better.

[October was usnered in with further illness of Mrs Barker and warm baths were tried to ease her. On the 7th Dr Smith called replacing Dr Cowie who was ill.]

8th: Sent a man to-day to the Doctor. Held the anniversary of our Society for the Relief of the poor. Mr Maskell was in the chair. Mr Edwards<sup>561</sup> moved

the first motion, which was seconded by Cobus Boesak; Mr Wright the second, which was seconded by Jan Tshatshu. Myself the third, which was seconded by Wm Valentyn. Mr Campbell the fourth, which was seconded by Hendrik Smit. The Report stated, that five who recieved benefit from the society had died during the year. That there are now seven depending on the society, some of whom are destitute of all means of support, but what arises from its funds. That there are four or five, who, to all appearance, must shortly fall on the society. That 145 Rds 2 Sk had been recieved, and a ballance left of 11 Rds 5 Sk. Preached after the meeting from Prov: 14-31. The meeting was very interesting.<sup>562</sup>

[Mrs Barker's ill health continued to grieve her husband and on 11th he reports her to be "in a state" of partial Solovation<sup>563</sup> from the medicine she had taken. Events of interest in October and November are listed below.]

18th: Rode to present the petition to Mr Hayward which had been prepared. Began to hold worship every evening. Mr Wright gave his first address.

21st: Was gardening in the morning. Mr Hayward & Mr Hope called. Rode with them to the mouth of our River for Mr H. to see the land we want.

22nd: Was gardening. Recieved the Magazines to March also a few slates for the school. Held worship.

25th: Mr Kay called on his way from the Cowie. Read the Pamphlet published by Mr Rivers, against the assertions of the Revd. Dr Philip & Mr H.E. Rutherford at the annual meeting of the society for the relief of Distressed Settlers, held at Cape Town on 18th of August. After reading it was much affected & felt a great deal for Dr P: & the cause of Missions. It would have been better if he had had nothing to do with the settlers & for all, if that Society had not been made a Political thing, of.<sup>564</sup> The young mare foaled.

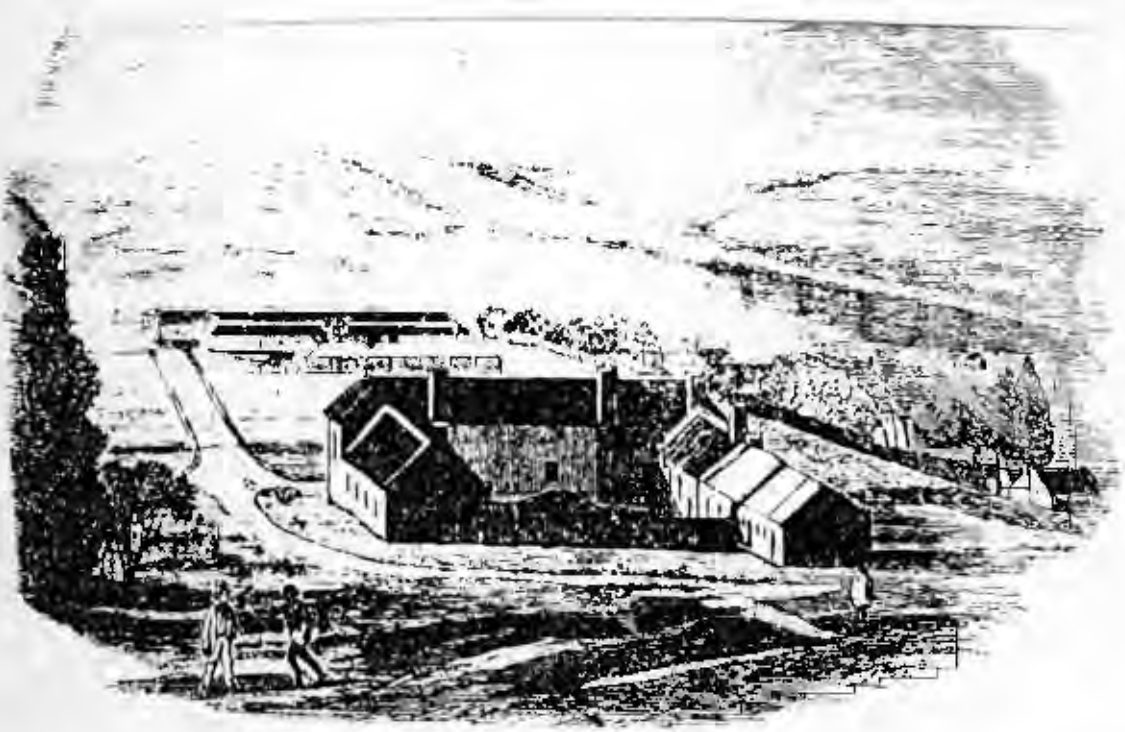
26th: Worked in the garden, planted Indian corn. The old church was broken off to build a Room for the Sunday school.

#### November

2nd: Very warm. Read part of Math. 5th & married 5 couples. Read Mr Pugh's letter to Dr Philip on the subject of his assertion at the public meeting of August 18th. I fear Dr P: has ruined his own character, if not the character of the Society.

3rd: Attended a sick little girl, who requested me to pray with her, the poor thing was very ill with the fever & had bled much at the Nose. Dined with the party who were married yesterday. Held the first Committee meeting of the Society for the relief of the poor.

4th: Mr & Mrs Edwards went to Bethelsdorp. Held school in the afternoon



Fort Theodosia Barracks developed by 1830. In February 1826, Thomas Phillips wrote: "On the left it was used by the Cape Corps as a very grand hall for the opening of their new Miss Room. The Miss House is in the foreground and the old Cape Corps barracks are incorporated in the building behind—the scene of their fighting during the battle of Christiansburg in 1819."



Fort Walker in 1826. The fort was built on a hillside overlooking the bay. A large number of soldiers are gathered on the parade ground. In December 1830 the treaty between the Khasikans and the British was signed. The Fort Walker, and Fort Walker, was destroyed to evacuate the Artillery and some regulars were moved from the fort to the ground.

(from Butler 1820 Settler)

Both these Forts were built by Khol from Theopolis and at both members of the Cape Corps (some from Theopolis) saw service.

for Mr E. Sunday school Prayer meeting. The [ - ] & the Cupola were commenced on the school.

7th: Preached this morning from Sol. Song 2-14 this morning. Two farmers were present. Afternoon administered the Lord's Supper. Evening preached from Sol. Song 5-16. After the evening service commenced W.T. Blair Esq. & Capt. Miller, two Indian Gentlemen arrived.<sup>565</sup>

8th: Spent an agreeable day with Messrs Blair & Miller, who are particular friends of Dr Philip & are come to visit the Institution & the Settlers, but although they inform me that Dr P: will gain his point in the present political squables, I think with Mr B. that he will ever remain a suspected character. Read Dr P's answer to Mr Pugh's letter. Rode to the mouth of the River. Read Gen: 3.

9th: Resolved to accompany Mr Blair to the Chumie<sup>566</sup> on Monday next, from Grahams town. Rode to the mouth of the Cowie with Messrs Blair & Miller who commenced their tour among the Settlers. Read Gen. 4.

11th: Was writing. Finished the Report etc: Wrote Dr Philip & sent him a receipt for my salary for the year. Was preparing to ride to Grahams Town on the morrow.

12th: Rode to Grahams town. Called at the Landdrost's Office but it was Court day & I could not see the Landdrost. Witnessed a most ludicrous manœuvre of a Mrs Bear, who had just come out of court, her husband being defended in a case of selling smuggled Spirits. - Attended a meeting for the heathen in the Wesleyan chapel. Read part of Jon 4th. About 14 present.

13th: The Landdrost was so busy with the Revd. Mr Ireland<sup>567</sup> that I could not speak to him till three o'clock. He, I thought recieved me coolly, but listened to my proposition to preach to as many heathen as I could collect for the morrow; acquiesced in the necessity of something efficient being done for them. Appeared pleased that I was ready to render every assistance to the school for the heathen etc. Reminded me that there would be a service according to the established Church of England, tomorrow at 12 o'clock. Told me that the Room which I wanted would be disengaged & free for me at any time. Walked over to the Barracks of the Cape Corps & made known my design of preaching at 11 o'clock to-morrow. The whole town was full of the dispute between Dr Philip & the Landdrost. Not a very favourable time for me to commence a work of this kind.<sup>568</sup>

14th: At about 9 o'clock this morning the Hottentot women from the Barracks began to assemble. The school had not been used for a long time & was in a dreadful state of filth; after brushing the Dust off the forms etc. we sat down & I conversed with them for more than an hour. Preached

from Rom. 10-13. Above 80 adults were present beside children. At 12 o'clock attended the established form of worship in the Methodist Chapel, it being Mr Ireland's first service, the place was crowded. Mr I. preached from Ezech 3-17 to 21 & read the Church service with great dignity. At 4 o'clock I gave an address to the heathen in the Methodist Chapel, who attend the Sunday school there. The number of children, of the Hottentots, who attend the Sunday school was small, but as I had given notice that I should be present a goodly number of adults, of those who heard me in the morning, were collected. Addressed them from Acts: 13-44. In the evening took part of the English services at the Wesleyan Chapel with Mr Kay, & of a prayer meeting after the services. Thus closed the first days attempt to begin something for the benefit of the heathen at Grahams Town, which feeble attempt, may God crown with his blessing. I found my friends, the Methodists, a little timorous, felt a little caution was necessary, not to excite prejudice, & was desirous not to manifest any opposition.<sup>569</sup>

15th: Received a note from Mr Blair that he & Capt. Miller would be at Grahams town early & was looking out for them until 3 o'clock, when they arrived in town unattended by any person. As they had declined proceeding to the Crumie as was proposed when they were at Theopolis, they were in great haste to leave the town. They partook of some refreshment at Mr Kay's, while I was getting their horses ready etc., & about 4 o'clock I rode out of town with them toward Uitenhage.

16th: Waited on the Landdrost, who received me with great kindness, was evidently pleased to hear the number I had to hear me, conversed freely on the subject of the school etc: As the school for the heathen children must be re-organised, & which he said should be done immediately, I offered to assist in collecting the children for which he thanked me. Rode home with Rain all the way and was very wet. Just as I was leaving Grahams Town Mr Thornhill,<sup>570</sup> a settler & lately from Cape Town accosted me very seriously on the subject of an accommodation between Dr Philip & Mr Rivers etc. He advised me to write to Dr P. on the subject but alas! what can I do more than weep for the cause. I can see nothing which can result from the unfortunate dispute, but the destruction of Dr P's character & the character of the Society.

[ Little of interest occurred between 17th and 26th November except the "preparation of a document for Dr Philip - a statement of the attack on the place by the Caffres in 1819". Items of interest to the end of the year have been selected.]

27th: Rode to Grahams Town, but rather late, as I could not get my horse.

28th: Preached this morning at the Wesleyan Chapel for Mr Kay from Ezech: 33 part of v.11. In the afternoon addressed the heathen from Luke 19-10 & walked over to the Hottentot Barracks & spent the evening in conversation & prayers in the house of Sergt. Claus.<sup>511</sup> Afterwards returned to the town & went to the Baptist chapel, heard part of the Sermon. Was pleased to see the place so well filled, they are on the increase.

29th: Was at the Barracks this morning & about among the soldiers, was rejoiced to find a great desire for religious instruction. O that it may please God to open a door to them. Called on the Landdrost, who told me the school room would be ready in a few days & should be at my service. Rode home.

4th: Was writing etc: In the afternoon Mr & Mrs Kitchingman, Mr & Mrs Morrison, Messrs Hockley & Read, & Messrs Read & Kemp arrived from Bethelsdorp on a visit.

5th: This morning the Sunday school room was opened for use. Mr Read commenced with reading & prayer, Mr Kitchingman gave the address. Mr Wright commenced the usual service by reading & prayer & I preached from Mal. 2-10. Afternoon Mr Kitchingman administered the Lord's Supper. In the evening Mr Read preached from - .

8th: Part of the property of the late Mr Ullbricht was sold by auction. Andries Andries auctioneer.<sup>572</sup> Bought three books.

9th: We all rode to the mouth of the Cowie, with the exception of Mrs Kitchingman, crossed the river, walked up the hill & went on board the Cowie packet & Bridekirk.<sup>573</sup> The horse which I rode fell with me in a large hole, but I was not hurt.

11th: Mr & Mrs Morrison & Miss Hockley rode to Bathurst. Rode to Grahams Town to preach on the morrow.

12th: Applied this morning to the Adjutant for the use of a Barrack room to preach in, this was readily granted & notice was given on the parade & at the English service. Preached this morning from Luke. Afternoon from Psal. 85-9. Afterwards I spent the evening in conversation, reading, prayer etc. among the people. Very hot.

13th: This day the Brethren & friends from Bethelsdorp left Theopolis. I stopped at Grahams Town hoping to have met the Bethdp. friends, but they were benighted at the mountain. Preached at the Baptist chapel this evening, instead of Bro Kitchingman who was expected, from Math. 6-6. Extremely hot.

14th: This morning our friends arrived early. Spent the day walking about the town etc. with them. They left toward evening, on the way home.

Excessively hot.

15th: Left Grahams Town this morning for Theopolis. The ride was very fatiguing, as it was so very hot. Got home about 12 o'clock, wet with perspiration & wearied. Found a letter from Dr Philip respecting complaints of Mr Maskell, which he wished us to answer.

16th: Recieved a copy of the statement of grievances from Mr M. this morning, the most ludicrous nonsense. Attended a funeral.

17th: Wrote to Dr Philip in answer to Mr M's statement & gave Mr M. a copy.

18th: Copied the statement of grievances of Mr Maskell to send Dr Philip, as it appeared that Mr Rutherford had not given it to him. Attended a funeral.

20th: To-day the sun was almost totally eclipsed, a very amusing day, in shewing to the people the progress & decline of the eclipse. The children were highly amused & some frightened. I had told the people the day before, that it would be over, one of them expressed his surprise that I should know the time of day it should happen, another said I do not wonder at it for a Missionary is so knowing that there is no coming at the bottom of him. The eclipse lasted 4 hours & I had work enough to black pieces of glass for the people & children. Recieved Dr Philip's pamphlet in answer to the correspondence published by the Govt. & Mr M's remarks on my reply to his complaint to Mr Rutherford, a very weak defence.<sup>574</sup>

[The remainder of the year was exceptionally hot but Barker rode to Grahamstown on the 25th (not noted as Christmas day) and, on the 26th preached at the Barracks and handed out "tracks" and in the evening heard Mr Shaw preach "an excellent sermon". His final report follows:

31st: Was writing etc: Church meeting, address from Exod. 13-10. Hannah Nocka should have been recieved into the church, but was absent. Piet Nimmo was proposed & Hendrik Smitt & Piet Campher appointed to converse with him.

No changes have taken place among the Europeans at the Station this year, but from report, changes are immediately expected; but not having heard officially on the subject, we know not what they are likely to be. Mr Maskell has complained of both me & Bro Wright which complaints are now before Dr Philip, with our answers. What effect they will have is uncertain, they are unfounded, nonsensical & false. Mrs Barker has been very ill this year, for the one half of it. Through mercy she is now better.]

FOOT-NOTES1824

521. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
522. Dr Philip's visit in 1824 was to ensure that the Missions presented the best possible front for the visiting Commissioners.
523. This correspondence appears in Dr Philip's Researches in South Africa Vol. II.
524. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
525. This visit is recorded by Thomas Philipps
526. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
527. There had always been "Heemraden" elected, but their power appears to have been limited to controlling working groups and arresting the unruly for removal to the Landdrost. This "court of magistracy" seemed likely to exert more power, as the name implies.
528. There is no way in which the "idle reports" can be identified, as Dr Philip's correspondence was not on file.
529. The boys who were sent to Salem were to attend Matthews school to learn English and, possibly learn a trade. Unfortunately the experiment was a failure as the Field Cornet arrested the boys for being without a pass. (cf. Philip: Researches Vol. I pp.173-4).
530. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
531. Cornfield (or Cornfield) was an artist whose work was among the first to be reproduced by lithography.
532. See Note 529 supra.
533. See List of Khoi Names: Appendix C(vi).
534. This was probably the "voorleier", but whether Dutch or Khoi it is impossible to determine.
535. The doctrines of sanctification and justification have long exercised theologians with the Old Testament and New set in juxtaposition. Barker, to judge by the text, was applying the doctrine to the sanctity of marriage but, more broadly, justification implies forgiveness of sin and adoption in the family of God with a concomitant manifestation of justification by works. Sanctification, with its implication of setting apart, is the completion of justification.
536. See List of Chiefs & Governors: Appendix C(v).
537. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
538. This visit of Messrs Bigge & Owen formed the basis for a report: R.C.C. Vol. XXXV p. 364, 5 April 1831.
539. This re-emphasises a point often made by Barker.

540. The Settlers had by this time realised that the lands granted to them were too small to be viable farms. As a result, there was keen interest in the coastal belt and in apparently "unclaimed" areas. As a result of claim and counterclaim, Theopolis was caught up in a land dispute which dragged on sporadically until 1832. (cf. Chapter IX in thesis).
541. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
542. Ibid.
543. The selection of text, with its overtones of the wrath of the Almighty, might indicate Barker's righteous indignation.
544. It is a measure of the enthusiasm of the Settlers that the church so recently built was too small.
545. Once more the text is selected with care as it deals with the implications of life after death - a text of hope.
546. See Barker Family Tree: Appendix B(i).
547. Tharfield. See Map II.
548. See Map II.
549. This appears a strange reference but oral evidence from missionaries suggests that it might imply giving the note, leading the singing or, to use a Scottish term, acting as Precentor.
550. This was the start of the work in Cradock where subsequently R.B. Taylor, Barker's successor, was to minister.
551. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
552. Ibid.
553. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
554. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
555. Ibid.
556. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
557. This concerned the claims for additional land which were made by Theopolis. (See C.O. 48/144 Dispatch on Theopolis Lands dispute).
558. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
559. This letter does not appear on the files, though there is little doubt that Philip disliked Barker. (cf. Kitchingman Papers pp. 110, 242).
560. The whole question of the control to be exerted by outside authority had been raised with Sir Rufane Donkin (cf. 6.6.1821).
561. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
562. Once more Barker was enforcing formal parliamentary procedure, a very important part of education for the Khoi. The text chosen dealt with the question of ministration to the poor.

563. Recourse to archaic English and medical as well as theological terminology have not unravelled this problem.
564. The distressing picture of Dr Philip, apparently demeaning his calling by debating political problems in public, caused considerable criticism among his colleagues. (cf. Butler: 1820 Settlers pp.167-172 for details of this dispute).
565. William Blair (who was subsequently a Director of the L.M.S.) and Mr Miller were Indian Civil Servants on their way back to Britain.
566. Brownlee's Mission on the Tyumie River. (See illustration).
567. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
568. This was the major problem faced by the men in the mission field for the hard-won contacts established were destroyed by Philip's public actions, no matter how well justified.
569. The close identification of Methodist clergymen with the Settlers was always a conservative brake on any political leanings; but they were on the whole not inclined to advocate politically liberal policies.
570. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
571. It is assumed that this was a Khoi Sergeant but variation of spelling in Army lists makes it difficult to judge.
572. This is a role which, as far as can be ascertained, was never listed among those acquired by the Khoi.
573. The Bridekirk was at the Kowie in 1824 and left in 1825. It disappeared en route to Port Elizabeth. (cf. Turpin: Basket Work Harbour p. 134).
574. Once more this correspondence is not extant. It should be remembered that Rutherford was the owner of the shop where Mr Maskell was employed.

## Observations.

Europeans Resident at the Station.

G. Barker, Missionary, Mrs Barker &amp; five children.

Peter Wright. Superintendent of the temporal affairs,

Mrs Wright &amp; two children.

Thos Edwards school master &amp; Mrs Edwards.

Joseph Campbell carpenter, Mrs Campbell &amp; two children.

John Maskell shopkeeper.

Six houses in the new vilage inhabited. The two Mission houses, the store, & three houses of the people.

The school in use & a temporary building for the Sunday school almost finished.

January 1st: Was writing etc: After I was in bed this evening I was called to visit a sick little Girl, but she could not speak on my arrival.

2nd: Preached this morning from Psal. 91- & first part of the 19th verse & baptised 3 children. Afternoon administered the Lord's Supper. Evening preached from Prov: 27-1. A pleasant day.

3rd: Was gardening, planted beans. Visited the sick little girl & found her beset with doubts respecting her admission into heaven by her demise, whereas before she had astonished those around her by contrary expressions. Attended a funeral. Missionary prayer meeting in the evening, Mr Edwards gave the address. The woman, we had in the house for some time, left us & we were entirely without anyone.

4th: Was variously employed. Read the 12th Chap. of Genesis. Mr Robertson, District Schoolmaster<sup>575</sup> at Graaf-Reinet, & Mr Stockenstrom came.

[Between 6th and 12th January Mr Read came from Bethelsdorp "quite unexpectedly" to fetch the Barkers. En route to Bethelsdorp they visited Grahamstown where Barker heard Mr Young preach and where he preached himself in the Methodist chapel. Mrs Barker and the children left for Bethelsdorp but the missionary remained to help found an Auxiliary Missionary Society. Following are representative extracts for January and February.]

January 13th: This day an Auxiliary Missionary Society was formed in the Methodist Chapel, Mr Onkruydt in the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs Snaw, Broadbent, Kay, Wm Smith, (myself). Duxbury Young & Roberts. Mr Shaw preached in the morning & Mr Kay in the evening. The collections amounted to Rds 238-6. It was the hottest day I ever experienced.

14th: Set off for Bethelsdorp this morning about 4 o'clock & rode beyond the Sunday River, where I overtook the waggon & Mrs B. I calculate I rode

70 miles.

[On arrival at Bethelsdorp he found the Bay much developed "since I saw it 4 years ago".]

24th: This day the anniversary of the Bethelsdorp Sunday school was held. I preached from Psal: 19- part of v.8. In the afternoon the business was transacted, the Report was read & the meeting addressed by myself, Messrs Monro, Read, Kitchingman, Corner, Mattrous Joris, G. Kemp & Klaas Christiaan. Mr E Kemp in the chair. The meeting was very lively. Mr Hockley from Uitenhage was present. The Revd. Mr Smith<sup>576</sup> was expected, but the weather prevented.

26th: The arch of the Bridge was finished to-day.<sup>577</sup> We left Bethelsdorp this morning & rode by way of Uitenhage to the Koega on our way home.

29th: Arrived home about 3 o'clock P.M. & found all well ourselves. My horse was lost at Bethelsdorp, & could not be found & we came home without him.

30th: Did not preach this morning, but gave an account of what I had witnessed while from home. Afternoon a prayer meeting. Messrs Carlisle & Philips Junr.<sup>578</sup> were present. Evening preached from - . Received the result of an arbitration in the affair between Mr Maskell & ourselves in a letter from Dr Philip. Never was a more foolish case put to arbitration, nor was ever a more unfair arbitration heard of. We had no friend, no justice, no hearing as the case is altered by the arbitrators.

February 5th: Was writing etc: Boezak mentioned to Mr Wright & self that several complaints had been laid against Mr Edwards for having some of the larger girls flogged over the form & held down by the Boys when in an improper state to be thus used by the boys, & I resolved to speak to Mr Edwards on the subject.

6th: As Mr Edwards was going into the school this morning, I told him what complaints had been made. I believe he turned some of the larger girls out of the school. Preached from 1 Cor: 8-9 on the danger of embracing a sentiment which I have too often heard lately declared. "That men are at liberty to neglect public worship, when that worship is not exactly conducted according to their own views, & that Reading the Bible at home, is as well pleasing to God as an attendance on public worship". Afternoon a prayer meeting & baptised a child. - Evening preached from Isa 26-13 & 14.

7th: Was again whitewashing the inside of the house. Misses prayer meeting, gave the address. Boezak & some of the people came to Mr Edwards this morning, on his coming to the school, for an explanation of his turning

the children out of the school. Somehow or other they got to words before the children & not understanding each other Mr E. shut the school door & went home! Boezak instantly declared that he would write to Dr Philip, which I believe was done. My own opinion of the affair is, both sides were in fault. Mr Edwards believes himself a little grieved it appears, which feeling Dr P. ought to remove, & to let it be particularly understood, whether any person beside the master has any interference in the school, & if any person, who he is to be, & how far he is to interfere. The power which Boezak takes is doing harm within & without the station, the existing divisions among the Europeans, will divide the people & ruin the station if not speedily prevented.

8th: White-washed the hall & finished the inside of the house. Mr E. came into the school this morning again. But another unpleasant affair took place. Mr W. thought Mr E. was angry with him & went to Mr E. to ask him for what, when it appeared both were offended with each other. Mr E. informed me of his intention not to communicate with the church until the business of these complaints is settled, as his mind is much hurt.

9th: Mr Edwards very busy investigating the complaints against him. Attended a funeral.

10th: Heard some of the statements which Mr Edwards was collecting, but as he was preparing an account for Dr Philip, I withdrew from any further interference unless he would agree to an adjustment of the matter at home.<sup>579</sup> Married a couple.

11th: Preached this morning from Rom: 6-3 & 40. Baptised two adults, Elizabeth wife of Piet Buis & Hester Prins, & a child. Elizabeth Buis witnessed a good confession, ascribing her first impressions to a sermon of Mr Reads on Math: 19-14, some years ago in Bethelsdorp. In the afternoon administered the Lords Supper, of which two new members partook for the first time. In the evening preached from Isu: 27-2 & 3. A pleasant & interesting day.

14th: Mr Edwards held no school in the morning because the children, he said, were too late; in the afternoon because there were too few. True, many who were present in the morning were absent in the afternoon, but this I thought was Mr E's fault and advised him to keep school & call over his Roll in order to secure their attendance to-morrow morning & as the only means, but he did not do it.

15th: To-day Mr E. held school & appeared more comfortable. Heard that Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor, might be expected to-morrow. By way of Salem from Grahams Town.<sup>580</sup>

16th: Expected the Governor, but he did not come. Was gardening.

17th: We thought the Governor might come to-day but he did not. Heard that he would be here on Saturday from the Cowie, having gone to Fort Wilshire first.

18th: Mr Edwards did not hold school to-day. Was writing etc:

19th: Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor, came about mid-day, with Col: Somerset, Sir Richard Plasket<sup>581</sup> & a train of officers & soldiers. They went into the school Room & His Lordship sat down & asked several questions. Sir R. Plasket adverted to the many complaints against the station & observed, that he could not get at the bottom of them, on my saying they were without foundation he said he believed them to be groundless. They did not stop long. Enquired whose houses the people were etc - what they thought of the place they did not say.

[Until April 1st they were troubled by their daughter Elizabeth's cough & by considerable heat. A dove-cote was built & Mr Corner returned the horse which had been lost at Bethelsdorp.]

March 1st: Mr Mathews came from Salem to inform us that the Field Cornett had seized all the Boys at his school & had carried two to the Prison at Grahams Town with Andries Jager's wife.<sup>582</sup> Messrs Witworth,<sup>583</sup> Broadbent & Shepstone paid us a visit.

2nd: Rode to Grahams Town & obtained the release of the above mentioned three persons, free of expence. Saw the new Landdrost, Major Dundas,<sup>584</sup> arrive in town. Rode home in the evening.

[At this time Hester Prins & Elizabeth Valentyn were put forward as new members in full communion. Elizabeth & Ann, the Barker's daughters, had whooping cough very badly and disturbed nights resulted. Mr Edwards apparently received a reply from Dr. Philip regarding the dispute with Boezak. Mr Brownlee, the Morrisons and the Pringles came to visit & the boys returned from school at Salem. Mr Maskeil started attending church again. The whooping cough extended to Edward & John & Mrs Barker was "not well" but the guests were taken to visit the mouth of the river. By 2nd April a trip was planned once more to Bethelsdorp but first Elizabeth Buys & Hester Prins were received as new members. Mr Benjamin Phillips of Cape Town was one of the visitors.

Once more en route to Bethelsdorp Barker visited Grahamstown where he preached at the Barracks. At Bethelsdorp he took part in the Auxiliary Missionary Society Services & visited Uitenhage & friends there. The exhausting return journey was accomplished in twenty hours of riding. The delegates to the Bethelsdorp meeting, including Barker, Boezak & Andries

Jager, addressed a service at Theopolis where a decision was taken to form an Auxiliary Missionary Society.<sup>585</sup>

Until 30th May matters proceeded smoothly. From Cape Town came Messrs Wright & Gleg (?)<sup>586</sup> and during their visit two funerals were held at once "such a thing I never saw before, neither here or at Bethelsdorp". The first visit to Maj. Dundas was recorded and planting of peas, turnips, radishes & onions at "the full of the moon" is recorded. A quarrel flared once more with Mr Maskell over pigs in the Maskell garden & two of the porcine intruders were shot. None of them appear to have been Barker's pigs. Mr Benjamin Phillips was a frequent visitor. A highlight was a visit from Mr Gush. The following are events of note.]

At Bethelsdorp.

3th April : The services commenced at 10 o'clock. Mr Helm began with a prayer. I preached from Esther 8-6 & Mr Kitch-man concluded. In the afternoon the business was transacted. Mr Kitchingman took the chair. Six resolutions were passed & the meeting very lively. In the Evening I began the services, Mr Monro preached from [ - ] & Mr Read concluded. The collections at the door were as follows. Morning Rds 46-7-2. Afternoon Rds 21-5-2. Evening Rds 11-7-4. The total receipts of the Bethelsdorp Auxiliary Missionary Society for the year amounted to Rds 803-7-4.

16th April : Was fatigued with yesterdays services. Attended a funeral. Mr Gush spent the evening with me & recounted some heart rending facts of the state of the Hottentots Bushmen & Slaves, which he had witnessed in his late journey through the Colony; particularly beyond Sneeuwberg.<sup>587</sup>

20th: Mr Oats came. Mr Corner arrived. Recieved the arrangement of the hymns from Bethelsdorp, attended a funeral.

28th May : Was writing etc: Another affair of witchcraft was laid before me to-day, which had been in hand some days. Two of the people had been seen running about in the night naked & both of them approach the Table of the Lord.

29th: Preached this morning from Eph. 1-17 & 18. Afternoon from Deut. 32-46. Subject; the duty of God's people in bringing up their children. Evening a prayer meeting. A Boer was present.

31st: Was writing. Attended a funeral. Called at the house where the people were prisoners who were charged with witchcraft & was shocked with what I saw of the proceedings. Came home & requested Mr Wright to put a stop to them, which he did; but perhaps rather too abruptly in that stage of affairs, as no means were taken to irradiate the feeling from the minds of the people.<sup>588</sup>

June 1st: Recieved a letter from Bethelsdorp stating that no person from thence can attend our proposed meeting on the 9th Inst; on account of Dr Philips being on his way to Bethelsdorp. Resolved to postpone the meeting until the Dr. arrives here.

3rd: This day Mr Hartley<sup>589</sup> arrived to assist Mr Maskell in his store. Church meeting address from Psal 119-133. On account of the present feeling of witchcraft, I begged the church to excuse me from administering the Lords Supper on the next Lords day, which was approved. This feeling is so prevalent even among the members that some decided step was necessary to stop the feeling if possible & this was considered the best.

4th: Recieved some English papers, but all too late to give information of the Missionary meeting in May 1824.<sup>590</sup>

5th: Preached this morning from Rev: 3-10. Mr B. Philips & Mr Hartley were present. Afternoon from Acts 4-12. Mr Hartley was present & took tea with us. Evening a prayer meeting. Mr H. present three times. This is a good beginning.

7th: Was writing. Attended a funeral. Just at tea time James Read & Johannes Ullbricht arrived & informed us that Messrs Helm & Read were just at hand, who arrived in the evening, to assist at our proposed meeting. They left Bethelsdorp on Sabbath evening at 11 o'clock.

8th: Agreed to hold the meeting on Friday, in order to give time for any person to come from Grahams Town, & wrote our friends there.

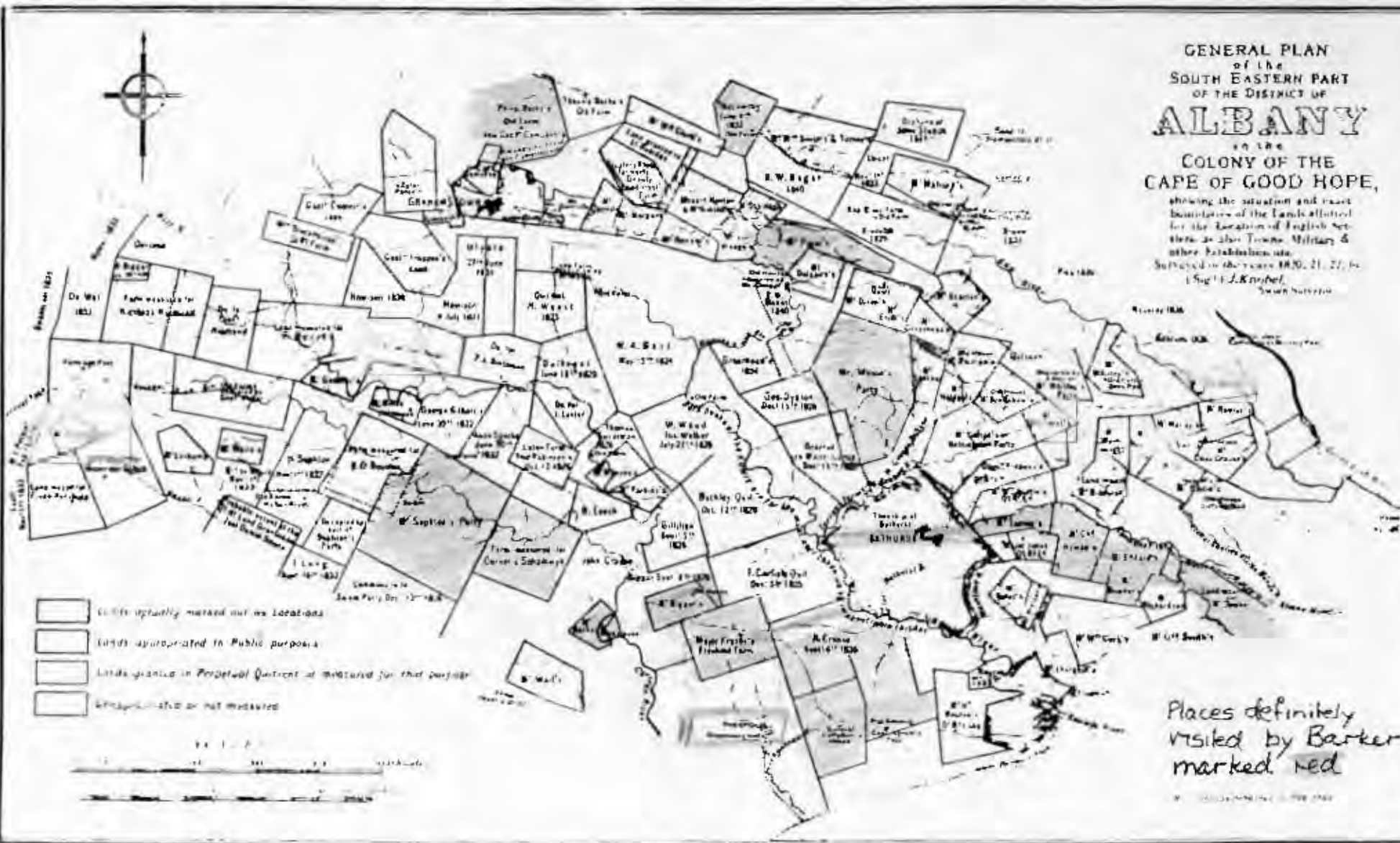
9th: Was engaged with the brethren etc: Held a prayer meeting in the evening preparatory to the morrows services.

10th:<sup>591</sup> This morning Mr Ayliff came early from Grahams Town, Messrs Duxbury & Nelson arrived just before the services commenced & Messrs Kirkman & Ralph<sup>592</sup> after we had begun. Mr Kay just after dinner. Mr Wright commenced the morning service by reading Isa 60 & prayer, Mr Helm preached an excellent sermon from Luke 10 latter clause of 37 verse & I concluded. In the afternoon the meeting for business was held. I prayed & Mr Wright was called to the chair. The first Resolution was moved by Mr Read, seconded by Andries Stoffels. 2nd by Mr Helm, seconded by Andries Jager. 3rd by Mr Edwards, seconded by Piet Campher, 4th by Mr Corner, seconded by David Jantjie. 5th by Mr Ayliff seconded by Mr Duxbury, Mr Read translated for him. 6th by myself, seconded by Willem Valentyn. Mr Kay proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman. The meeting continued after the candles were lighted. A most interesting meeting.

We dined 15 persons & had 10 to tea. Mr Hartley lodged three strangers, we three & Mr Wright two. The evening was spent at our house. Collection Rds 61 Sk 15.

GENERAL PLAN  
 OF THE  
 SOUTH EASTERN PART  
 OF THE DISTRICT OF  
**ALBANY**  
 IN THE  
 COLONY OF THE  
 CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

showing the situation and exact boundaries of the lands allotted for the location of English Settlers, as also Towns, Military & other Establishments.  
 Surveyed in the years 1820, 21, 22, & 23  
 by J. K. Knapel  
 Surveyor General



Places definitely  
 visited by Barker  
 marked red

11th: This morning our friends from Grahams Town & the Cowie left us, Mr Kay left at noon for the Cowie.

12th: Mr Read gave an address this morning to the Sunday school, in the Sunday school Room at 9 o'clock from Luke 9-62. I commenced the morning service with reading & prayer. Mr Helm preached from Rom: 12-12 first clause. A most admirable sermon. The best sermon I ever heard in Dutch. Mr Read preached in the afternoon from Psal: 9-17. In the evening I prayed first - then Mr Read -, Mr Helm gave a farewell address & concluded with prayer. The meetings were very interesting to ourselves & I hope to the strangers. Thus closed the first Missionary meeting at Theopolis, may they be many.

On the following day Mr Helm & Mr Ben Philips left by wagon and Mr Read on horse-back. On the 16th Mr Thomas Philipps called as he thought the Landdrost would be there.

17th: About noon the Landdrost, Major Dundas, Capt. Hope<sup>593</sup>, Mr Hope<sup>594</sup> the Land surveyer, Mr Thos Philipps & Mr Gilfillan paid us a visit. We talked over the subject of the land adjoining the station. It appeared that we are likely to retain the land previously given, but if possible they will deprive us of the Long fountain. They all went into the school. Major Dundas made no remarks in favor of the Station.

[ From 19th June to 5th July he recorded very cold weather. White washing of buildings was carried out and general work on the Mission continued. Catherine Scheepers, who was an adult, was baptised on the 19th and "gave a very pleasing account of the way in which she had been led to seek salvation through a crucified Redeemer". On the 26th he records well attended services, one of which was attended by a Boer. Visitors included Mr & Mrs Bisset<sup>595</sup> on the 18th; a Sergeant of the Cape Corps to whom 'tracks' were given for the men at the 'Kaka post';<sup>596</sup> and a messenger from Bethelsdorp who announced the coming of Dr Philip. On 29th June Barker rode with his wife to Mrs Genl Campbell's and thence to Mr Philipps. He received (presumably in the post) a copy of "Palmer's Catechism" from the Messrs Kemp.<sup>597</sup> Oxen were sent to meet Dr Philip at the Bushmans River. ]

5th: Rode to Salem to meet Dr Philip. Dr P. was not there nor was there any tidings of him. Mr Wright & some of the people returned home. I remained & preached from Psal 119 last verse, in English. There were more people than I expected to have seen. Slept at Mr Young's, but he was away from home, attending the District meeting in Caffre land.<sup>598</sup>

7th: Mr Wright returned to Salem this morning. Dr Philip arrived in the evening. Mr Wright & self slept in the waggon, Dr P. in the house.

8th: Returned home where I arrived to dinner, came with Dr P. in the waggon. Mr Thornhill came. Recd a letter & papers from Mr Thomas.

9th: Rode over part of the Land, visited the sequestered spot which Mr Dalgrains<sup>599</sup> applied for on the Kariëka which spot Dr Philip named Dingwel Vale.

10th: Preached this morning from Psal: 92-13. Two settlers were present. Afternoon Dr P. gave an address, but I made shameful work of translating, & I baptised 3 children of Sergt. Scheepers. Evening a prayer meeting, Piet Campher prayed with much pathos. I must observe that this was the first time of baptising a household - may it be the first fruits of a great harvest.

11th: Rode to-day to the mouth of the River, Long fountain etc: Dr P. dined with us. This evening a special church meeting was held, to receive Catherine Scheepers in to the fellowship with the church - she being lately confined we did not request her to be present. The circumstances being peculiar the meeting was solemn, but more so the announcing the decision to her in her father's house. Dr P: was present. She hopes to leave in a day or two, to proceed to Cape Town with her husband Sgt. S. going to Cape, we intend to introduce his wife to Mrs Beck.<sup>600</sup>

12th: Was writing etc: Rode out towards Mrs Campbell's to view the ground in that part.

13th: Dr P. rode to Mr Philipps & Mrs Campbells. Attended a funeral. Was writing etc:

14th: Rain. Drew up a statement of the distributions of the adjacent Lands, pointing out those parts to be taken from the Institution, Dr Philip dictated it. Afterwards copied this statement.<sup>601</sup>

15th: Was writing. Drew up a statement of the late Mr Ullbricht's being summoned to appear before the Landdrost Capt. Somerset at Grahams town, but 1 month & 10 days previous to his death, from his own papers etc: Dr P.<sup>602</sup> addressed the people evening.

16th: Was writing. Drew up a statement of my being called to Grahams town by Capt Somerset in the beginning of 1821.<sup>603</sup> Dr P's waggon went to fetch Mrs Philipps & family & Mrs Genl Campbell & family to church to-morrow.

17th: Preached this morning from Titus 2-11 & 12. Mr & Mrs Thos Philipps & Mrs Genl Campbell were present & Mr Maskell. After service we dined at Mr Wrights. Afternoon preached from [ - ] two Boers were present. Evening a prayer meeting.

18th: Dr Philip was preparing to leave, but as Mr Thos Philipps did not come he did not leave. The Dr gave a parting address in the evening, two Boers were present.

19th: Dr P. left this morning & I went with him, we came to Major Pigot's

where we remained the night.

20th: Major & Mrs Dundas came to Major Pigot's, who was confined to his bed, & we rode to Grahams town with them in the afternoon. Dr P. & Mr Philipps turned off to Capt. Campbells & I rode into town.

21st: Dr. P. came into town this morning & I took him to the Landdrosts office & left him there. He was engaged with the Landdrost the whole day. About 5 o'clock I recieved an invitation to dine at the Landdrosts & accepted it. Was much pleased with the manners of both him & his lady. Present Dr Philip, Capt. Campbell Mr Philipps & two daughters & myself. Dr P. went to Capt. Campbells to sleep.

22nd: Dr P. came into town rather late this morning & after making a few calls we left to follow the waggons which had gone forward about 10 miles out of town. The rain overtook us & we were drenched to the skin. On arriving at the waggon Dr P. asked me to accompany him to Graaf Reinet & would insist on my going to Somerset. I had no change of linnen & requested to be allowed to return to town to borrow linnen etc: Mr Thackery arrived at the waggon to consult Dr P. on calling Mr Monro to Grahamstown to raise an Independant church. The doctor did not appear to approve of the measure, at least of Mr Monro's going.<sup>605</sup> I rode into town with Mr Thackery for bread & other things for the journey.

23rd: Rain all day. I got very wet going from Watlands to the town, could not leave to proceed to the waggon untill late on account of the rain, reached the waggon about 1 o'clock. Dr P: had taken nothing having had no bread. The rain falling in torrents, & I went to bed very wet.

24th: This morning was fine & after breakfast I read the 84 Psal, & addressed the people. We proceeded about 11 o'clock & rode to the little Fish River & here we spanned out about 9 o'clock at night.<sup>607</sup>

25th: We proceeded this morning with fresh oxen & rode part of the night. Reached Somerset at midnight. On the road I baptised the child of a Boer at his particular request, the first time I had Baptised the child of a Colonist.<sup>608</sup>

26th: This morning Mr Pringle & Mr Onkruydt came to the waggon & we went to Mrs Onkruydts to breakfast where we met Mrs Pringle. Mr Read & Mr Brownlee came off the mountain from Mr Harts & the Revd. Mr Wright of Wynberg came in off a journey to the Tamboekies.<sup>609</sup> Paid my respects to the Landdrost in company with Mr Brownlee, visited the Mission, the Room preparing for a church, the building fitting up for public offices, the Doctor, the District Clerk etc.<sup>610</sup> In the afternoon we proceeded to Graaf Reinet & I accompanied the waggons to the farm house of Dirk Koetsee where we met the old Dutch mission-

ary Mr Foster, <sup>611</sup> who is in dotage, & was quite astounded to see us. The poor old man is dependant on the Boer, has lost his wife about 7 years, has no children & knows nothing of what is doing in the world. Dr P. noticed & sympathised with the old man & promised to do something for him as long as he lived. I was much pleased with the Dr's conduct toward him.

27th: This morning the waggons proceeded on toward Graaf Reinet & I took leave of Dr P; & his fellow travellers & went to Mr Harts. On my way I passed two farm houses. This is an interesting part of the country, each farm having a supply of water for irrigation, but it was barren of grass. I reached Mr Harts about 1 o'clock where I found Mrs Brownlee. Mr Brownlee had gone further on with the waggons & did not arrive untill after dark. Dr P. took my horse with him. In the evening I addressed a goodly number of Hottentots etc. in Mr Harts house.

28th: This morning I bought a horse of Mr Hart for Rds 100. About 12 o'clock I left to proceed toward home, reached van der Mervels <sup>612</sup> at half past 9 in the evening & slept there. No house on the road at which to call, the country dry & barren, no grass for the horses & no refreshment for a traveller.

29th: Procured a feed of green barley for my horses & proceeded toward Grahams town. The road more dreary than that which we rode over yesterday, no house to refresh at between van der Mervels & Grahams town. Arrived at Grahams town at 8 o'clock in the evening quite fatigued & the horses tired.

30th: Left Grahams town to-day after calling on a few friends, the horse tired, myself fatigued, but by the good hand of God upon us, arrived safe at home about 6 o'clock in the evening & found all my family as well as when I left them.

[Apart from recording the usual weddings and funerals, work in the garden, rainy weather and Mrs Barker's illness, the following items are the only ones of particular interest between August 1st and September 14th.]

4th: Was writing. Wrote to Mr Burder on the subject of the education of my children & requested, if nothing can be done for them here, to be furnished with a passage to England, that my children may enjoy the privileges of British education & be trained up in British Society. <sup>613</sup>

7th: Preached from a given subject, "Can a person know when he has done his duty in bringing up children", from Luke 17-10. This proposition was discussed in the negative. Attended a funeral. Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. Evening a prayer meeting.

12th: Was writing. Wrote Mr Thomas. Mrs Genl Campbell hired a man & his wife & was surprised that the man preferred 7 Rds per month to having

4 children maintained; he rather desiring to leave his children on the station. This circumstance indicates a right estimate of the benefit of the school.<sup>614</sup>

15th: Mrs B. very ill with a cold. Piet Nimmo was intoxicated with something which he got at Mr Maskells.

19th: Mrs B; something better. Was seeking my horse. Piet Nimmo came in the evening to acknowledge his intoxication & to beg pardon.

[In addition to the above items, Barker records the arrival of Valentyn's waggon with the material for the school from England. The arrival of an account of "Mr Smith's debate in the house of Commons on the Case etc"; and a meeting of the Committee of the Poor who voted a suit of clothes to a "poor leprous man". On 9th he rode to Grahamstown with the Edwards and Mrs Barker to attend the anniversary of the Baptist church. On the 10th they did some shopping and dined at Mr Hockley's.]<sup>615</sup>

11th: Mr Monro preached at the Baptist chapel this morning from Isa. 46 last part of 13th verse. In the afternoon I preached from Psal 50 last verse. Evening Mr Monro preached from Ezech: 34-11. The collections amounted to about 350 Rds. The place was well filled.

12th: Was shopping etc: Waited on the Landdrost. Dined at Mr Nelson's. Gave an address at the Baptist chapel in the evening from Prov: 29-18.

15th: This evening recieved an order to be ready for to-morrow morning to erect land-marks on the boundary of the Institution. Married two couples.<sup>616</sup>

16th: This morning commenced at the eastern side of the land, by the road leading to the Cowie mouth, & planted land marks to the N.E. angle, up to Col Frasers farm & along the Northern line as far as the Casouga river. Afternoon along the southern line from the Casouga to the Kariega beyond Long fountain.

17th: Planted land-marks on the Northern line from the Casouga to the Kariega, but far from the parail line on the other side of the Casouga. Was not satisfied with the line drawn to-day & could not comprehend how Mr Hope had given us a large distance to the Southward on Friday afternoon, so as to include Long fountain, & to-day about 80 yards to the Northward. On this side the Casouga we have but the bare distance of the original grant if so much. To the Eastward we have much land which has been cultivated from 1815, & on some of which crops are now growing.<sup>617</sup>

[Items of interest from 18th September until the end of October follow:]

September 19th: Was setting the Societies tools etc: right & writing etc: Mr & Mrs Wright were preparing to leave, they took tea with us in the afternoon.

20th: Mr & Mrs Wright left about 10 o'clock with two waggons. Whether

they will return is uncertain. I think not likely. We have been very comfortable together & for a young man, unacquainted with missionary stations Mr W: conducted himself extremely well. Dined with the persons who were married last week.

24th: Intended to have gone to Grahams Town to preach on the morrow in the Methodist chapel, but the morning threatened rain & I declined going. Mr Maskell sent by Mr Edwards to enquire if I would be friendly with him. I know what is my duty personally, but ought I not to consider the character of the Station injured? If Dr Philip has sent the affair home to the Directors, should I not make a stand for the cause sake? His not being friendly with me can do me no harm & I fear he has injured the character of the Station. - In the evening Mr M. sent me the newspapers before he had read them himself.

26th: Planted Land-marks at the S.E. angle of the Land of the Institution.

27th: Was gardening. Planted Indian corn. Received an invitation this afternoon to assist our Methodist brethren at the opening of a new chapel at the Nottingham party, to-morrow. Was preparing a sermon in the evening for the occasion.

28th: Had my horses by the hand to go to the opening of the chapel, but the Rain prevented me. Was preparing tracks for the people to read, & gardening in the afternoon. Received some Dutch books from Mrs Philipps.

30th: Was gardening. Church meeting. Address from Ps1: 112-4. Dita Trompetter & Antje Veldman were proposed to the Church. Willem Platjes & Jan Tshatshu to speak with the former. Piet Campher & Hendrik Smitt with the latter. <sup>618</sup>

October 3rd: Andries Jager, with his wife & family, left this morning to proceed to Pacalts Dorp to keep the school there. Missionary prayer meeting. Address from Psal: 96-10 first part.

From 4th to 11th October he was plagued by a "billious chollic".

12th: Was rather poorly, but better. Met the Committee of management for the annual meeting proposed to be held on Friday. Ruled to treat the poor old creatures with a cup of tea, between the Services.

14th: Public Anniversary of the Society for the Relief of the poor. Assembled at 10 o'clock. Mr Thos Edwards commenced by reading the scriptures & prayers. I preached from Deut: 15-7 & 8. Afternoon at 2 o'clock the Society met for business. I was called to the chair. The Report stated that the sum of Rds 127-4 had been received & Rds 106-2 expended. Three of the poor had died within the year. A new Committee was chosen etc: etc: & the meeting was addressed by Messrs Thos Edwards, W.F. Corner, Willem Valentyn,

Klaas Jager, Klaas Windvogel, Willem Platjes, Piet Campher, Hendrik Smit, Platje Hans & Jantje Witbooy. The meeting was very interesting considering the number of Natives who addressed it. Some of them with a degree of good sense. Rain all day. Whilst the afternoon meeting was assembled, Mr R. Edwards<sup>619</sup> from Pacalts Dorp, arrived to take Mr Wrights place.

[From 15th October the work of the Mission continued with further instruction in Palmers Catechism and with the normal services & collections. A present of books was received from the Sunday School Union<sup>620</sup> and Mr Barker and Mr R. Edwards went together to Grahamstown. On 21st October he records - "The new Sunday school room was used by Mr R. Edwards", on 30th October when Barker addressed the adults on the "priviledges of Religious upbringing".]

In November he records the following:

November 1st: Rode with Mrs B. & all the children to the sea.

2nd: Was writing etc: - One of the children was bitten by a snake on leaving the school in the afternoon.

3rd: The boy bitten by the serpent yesterday was this morning better than I expected to have seen him, likely to do well.

[He also "prepared a place for 2 pairs of pigeons" and he records the final admission to the church of Antje Veldman and Dietz Trompetter.]

10th: Mrs Barker was taken ill this morning & we called in the women about 5 o'clock. Mr Rutherford arrived.

11th: The women remained all night & all this day, but there was no alteration in Mrs B. Mr Read arrived with part of his family.

12th: To-day Mrs B: was very bad, but continued in the same state. The bell was fixed.

13th: It pleased the good God to relieve Mrs B. this morning about 3 o'clock & to add to our family a daughter.<sup>621</sup> It was past 4 o'clock before we could get Mrs B: into bed & she was fainting & quite exhausted. She never had so long a time before. But let the mercy of our God be recorded. She was extremely weak all day. Mr Read preached morning & evening, was not at worship.

14th: Mrs B. rested thro: the night much better than could be expected & was this morning revived to a greater degree than could have been hoped. Mr Read & Mr R. Edwards rode to Grahams Town.

15th: Mrs B. as well as we could expect. The child pretty well.

16th: Had some conversation with Mr Rutherford respecting Mr Maskell's complaints. Mrs B. doing as well as can be expected. Messrs R. & E. returned home.

17th: Mrs B: pretty well considering circumstances.

18th: Mr Rutherford interrogated the people as to Mr Maskells conduct toward them & heard any complaints.

19th: Messrs Read & Edwards with the people repaired the road the other side of the old place toward Granams Town.

20th: Mr Read preached for the benefit of the chapel to be built in Algoa Bay for the accomodation of the Heathen, from Isa 54-2 & 3, after which I baptised a child & concluded. The collection at the doors amounted to Rds 15. Afternoon I preached from Psal. 63-4. Evening a prayer meeting.

21st: Messrs Read, Edwards & Rutherford rode to the Bushmans River, to look at a new road about to be made. Mr Edwards fell from his horse & sprained his hand badly. Afterwards the people assembled & resolved to cut a new road at the Cariega Drift.

22nd: Mr E's hand very bad. Mr Read out with the people repairing the Road at Cariega. In the evening married a couple.

23rd: Mr Read's waggon & family left this morning. The people assembled with Mr Rutherford to decide on the waggons hire, the establishment of a market etc:

Afterwards Mr Read left. Mrs B. very weak, but doing as well as can be expected. Mr Wait with a complaint.

24th: Was preparing answers to the Queries of the Directors to be sent home.

25th: Was writing. Answered the queries proposed by the Directors in their papers, with a duplicate for Dr Philip. <sup>622</sup>

27th: Preached this morning from Acts 5-31. Afternoon the monthly Lecture from Prov: 3-13 to 18. Subject, How shall a person but value the priviledges of a religious education. Two things were noticed 1st by comparison. 2ndly its effects. Evening a prayer meeting. Boezak arrived at home from the journey which he went into the interior with Dr Philip. Mrs B. was out of her room for the first time after her confinement.

28th: Was writing. Mr R. Edwards & the people went to cut a Road thro: the Cariega Bush to the Bushmans River to the Modder Drift. <sup>623</sup>

[In December the affairs of the Mission occupied him. Piet Nimmo was re-admitted to membership and Speelman Mattruos suspended. Mission reports & accounts were completed and a Missionary Prayer meeting held on the 5th in the presence of Mr Kay & Mr Davies who came from the Cowie. The following extracts are significant.]

10th: Was writing. A Letter came from the Landdrost & a Constable for Annout Klassen contracted to Mrs Biggar. The four men whom Barker caught cutting thatch were ordered to Grahamstown. <sup>624</sup>

12th: Rode to Grahams town with 4 men against whom Mr Barker had laid a complaint for cutting thatch on his farm in the Cariega & for excessive insolence. The charge of cutting thatch I took on myself, having obtained permission of Satchwell<sup>625</sup>, a person left in charge of the farm, I had sent them there. The Landdrost had made other complaints against the Station on which I was determined to speak him. Never did I see a Magistrate put on such a stern countenance before. He charged the Station & the Missionaries & I replied. Sometimes we sat a long time without speaking, but he became more cool & we parted better than we met. Gave an address at the Baptist chapel in the evening from 2 Pet. 5-6.

13th: Heard yesterday evening that Mr Monro, who had been preaching at Grahams town 2 Sabbaths, left that morning early, in consequence of a letter from Dr Philip for permission for Mr M. to reside among them & the Society to support him, at the same time advising them to solicit the Missionaries of Bethelsdorp to supply them untill the Directors at home should decide on their request. I did my best to obtain information, but everything was so confused that I could get no satisfactory information from any one. From the various statements I concluded that Dr P: had said he could not sanction Mr M. to be absent so long from home & the school to be entirely neglected & one branch of the Mission suffer all, but had no objection to their being supplied by the brethren alternately. Mr Monro had been preaching to a branch separated from the Baptist church & to a few individuals who wished to have an Independant Baptist church formed, most of whom are of high principles. The call was a strange one, they had canvassed the town for names to a petition to the Dr for his residence among them, but in the most confused manner 'possible'.<sup>626</sup> Not one of the Missionaries had been consulted. Mr Duxbury was very ill & just as I was leaving was taken in a fit which detained me.

14th: Left Grahams Town this morning early & rode home. Committee meeting.

15th: Having promised, at their request, to supply Mr Monro's party for two Sabbaths, was to day sermonizing. They shall not have it to say that their interest fell to the ground because I refused assistance, altho: I don't expect to please. Two Sabbaths will be the share of this station & give them time to apply to Bethelsdorp, by the decisions of the Brethren there I shall be guided as to further assistance.

17th: Was prevented from setting off to Grahams Town untill late, rode the mare which had never been so far before & did not arrive untill past 9 o'clock.

18th: Preached this morning in the place which was formerly Mr van der

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Lingen's chapel from Heb: 9-27. Subject Death. The morning was wet. Evening preached from Acts 4-2. Subject. the Resurrection. The weather was better & more people attended.

19th: Before leaving Grahams Town, called on Mr Ayliff, who is stationed at the Barrack, & in conversation with him he regretted that our Society has not a person stationed in that town & intimated, as much, that we should have consulted with him about a place to assemble etc: - Arrived home in the evening.

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22nd: Mr McDonald came to-day & a man of the name of Guira an Italian, & a school master among the Boers. This man has been a soldier in the 60th Regt of foot, talks incessantly on religion, appears to possess zeal, but with as small share of knowledge. Mr Rutherford returned.

24th: Guira came to me & knowing I was going to Grahams Town, wished me to administer the Sacrament to him previous to leaving, this I told him was irregular, but withall could scarcely shake him off. Rode to Grahams town. Recd English papers.

25th: Preached this morning in the same place as last Lurds Day from Math: 2-1 & 2. Afternoon preached at the Baptist chapel from Psal: 78-5 to 7 for the benefit of their Sunday school, after which Rds 25 were collected. Evening preached at the same place as morning from 2 Cor: 9-16.

26th: Having been invited to be present at the anniversary of the Sunday school at the Baptist chapel this afternoon I remained. At two o'clock the meeting commenced with singing, the children were regaled with cake & wine. They then repeated a number of Hymns etc: which were not repeated yesterday afternoon. They sang several hymns alone although they had not been trained to it. They then took tea. The meeting was lively & interesting in a high degree, many adults promised to take a more active part & all were delighted. Attended a very interesting prayer meeting in the evening.

27th: Breakfasted with Mr & Mrs Pringle this morning at the William's and returned home.

28th: Was reading news papers from home.

29th: Reading papers & writing.

30th: This afternoon we hold a meeting to consider of establishing an Auxiliary Bible Society. It was resolved that as we have a Missionary Society & a Society for the relief of the poor, the establishment of another would be too much just now. - but that an annual meeting be held at or about the New Year & a collection made for the British & Foreign Bible Society & sent as a donation. Church meeting address from Psal 23-5.

As a surplus of money remained in hand from the collections made at the doors, it was resolved to purchase a pair of Plated Sacramental Cups.

31st: Was writing. Mr R. Edwards rode to Grahamstown & from thence to Salem to preach the morrow.

This year has produced changes among the Europeans. Mr Hartley came to assist Mr Maskell, Mr Wright & family left on account of the indisposition of Mrs Wright, but whether to return or not is yet uncertain. Mr Roger Edwards came to fill the place of Mr Wright. Mr Corner came to do some Carpenters work for Mr Maskell & afterwards Mrs Corner & family came, from Bethelsdorp.

FOOT-NOTES1825

575. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
576. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
577. This was the bridge at Bethelsdorp to which Dr Philip made reference. (cf. Researches, Vol. 1, p. 217).
578. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
579. This illustrates the problems created by the Independent's approach to church and mission government. The authority of the ruling missionary was circumscribed when it came to extra-church affairs, yet no directions were given so that Barker could not intervene in a school problem which must have impinged on the whole mission life.
580. Barker was using the longer but easier way through Salem from Grahamstown. See Map of Journeys.
581. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
582. From various entries it can be assumed that Field Cornets frequently acted beyond the scope of their authority, as witness the fact that the people imprisoned for not having passes were released without fine.
583. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
584. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).
585. The Auxiliary Missionary Society held regular meetings to pray for missions and to collect money for the mission.
586. Jonathan Gleig and Captain Warren, both "gentlemen from India" (cf. Philip: Researches Vol. II p. 104), were on tour with Philip in October 1825 (cf. Kitchingman Papers p. 81) and it is possible that Barker's interest in Mr Wright's activities in disciplinary matters caused him to use the name Wright. Otherwise no identification has been made.
587. In the agter-Sneeuberg area, which was wild country, frequent tales were brought in of maltreatment of the Bushmen.
588. Wright as temporal manager, together with the Heemraden or Corporals elected on the station, were responsible for discipline of secular affairs.
589. See List of Settlers; Appendix C(iii).
590. (cf. Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society).
591. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
592. Ibid.
593. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv)
594. See List of Officials: Appendix C(i:).
595. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).

596. This was probably a reference to the future Fort Hare which was on the Gaga River.
597. Catechism books printed by the Raikes Sunday Schools and were simplified for the use of children.
598. The Methodist system of regular district meetings led to far closer liaison and church government.
599. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii) and Map of Land dispute.
600. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
601. cf. Philip: Researches in South Africa Vol. II.
602. Ibid.
603. Ibid.
604. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
605. This records the first steps in the setting up of Trinity Church, Grahamstown. Monro was schoolmaster at Bethelsdorp at this time.
606. The area of Grahamstown where Col. Henry Somerset had his estate.
607. See Map I.
608. This is further evidence of Barker's ability to get on with the Boers and of the fact that there was not universal antagonism among the Boers towards the missionaries.
609. The Tamboekies (or Tambookies) were a tribe of mixed origin (Bushman and Xhosa) who were frequently subjected to raiding neighbours (cf. Le Cordeur pp. 27, 217). They ultimately had firm settlement in the Queenstown area.
610. Somerset East was founded in 1825, and this was the building of the local offices.
611. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
612. Van der Merwes Post. (cf. Appendix A(ii) on Forts).
613. cf. L.M.S. Correspondence: Barker to Directors 4.8.1825 (9/2/F).
614. Employers were responsible for feeding minor children of an employee or giving a slightly increased wage.
615. This is undoubtedly a reference to the debate in the House of Commons in Britain on the case of the death in detention of an L.M.S. missionary, Mr Smith, in the West Indies (cf. Mellor Chapter II).
616. This is a further reference to the long standing dispute over the boundaries of the Mission. (cf. Thesis Chapter X).
617. Ibid.
618. This clearly indicates the importance attached to church membership.
619. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
620. The Sunday School Union provided literature for Sunday Schools.

621. See Barker Family Tree: Appendix B(i).
622. The detailed form produced by the Directors must have given a far clearer picture of Mission affairs. (cf. Thesis: Appendix C(viii).)
623. See Map II.
624. The Barker mentioned here was a Settler: Appendix C(iii).
625. Ibid.
626. See Records of Trinity Presbyterian Church, Grahamstown.
627. When Van der Lingen was Cape Corps Chaplain, he had a small church in Grahamstown, 1814-1817.
628. It has not been possible to identify this gentleman. Barker's spelling may be the reason for the problem.

1826

JOURNAL AT THEOPOLISGeorge Barker,  
Missionary,

## Remarks.

Europeans Resident at the Station.

George Barker, Missionary, Wife &amp; Six children.

Roger Edwards, Superintendent of Temporal affairs,

Thos. Edwards, School Master, Wife &amp; one child,

John Maskell, Shopkeeper &amp; Wm Hartley assistant.

12 houses in the New village inhabited. -

The 2 Mission houses, the Store &amp; 9 belonging to the people.

Two Rows of Hutts erecting on the hill behind the school &  
the Mission houses, some of which are inhabited.

The school in a very prosperous state.

Mr Corner &amp; family here.

January 1st: Superintended the Adult Sunday School. Preached this morning from Psal. 102-12 & Baptised 3 children. - Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. The Hottentot woman Martha who was in England with Mr Kircherer & a man from the Chumie partook with us, Guira, who had remained on purpose, wished to partake with us, but as he is no regular member, & I know nothing of his character, I objected. Evening spoke from the parable of the barren Fig tree. Guira took leave of me in the evening to depart next morning. What the man is I do not yet know, he has read his bible, is very zealous, wishes to become connected with Missionaries; but he wants knowledge & prudence, yet I do think the man is sincere. Rumours have reached my ear that he gives himself out as a Missionary, that he is of very bad temper & can remain no where long, but perhaps they are idle reports. he did not meet with that reception here which he expected, perhaps this may do him good.

2nd: Guira left this morning. Rain & about 11 o'clock a heavy storm of hail & rain fell accompanied by thunder, the hail stones were large & broke the windows on the weather side. Mr Edwards returned home from Salem in the rain, but arrived before the heavy storm. Messrs Hartley & Corner coming from the same place were overtaken in the heavy storm. A letter came to hand last saterday from Mrs Philip to Mr R. Edwards, which I gave him this morning, saying that Dr P. wished him to go to Cape by return of the Usk. <sup>630</sup> This evening after dark he left for Bethelsdorp in the rain. For what the Dr wants him I do not know as he did not tell me the contents of the letter.

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3rd: Rain all day. A Mr Probert from Cape Town came on the place to

visit Mr Maskell, he is a member of Dr Philip's church & I learned more from him respecting that church than from any person before. He has been for some months put among the Settlers & has imbibed their hostile ideas in regard to the Hottentot.

4th: Rain at intervals. The flat roof fell in about 12 o'clock the beams quite rotten, no person was in it at the time. It fell on the bedsteads & injured them, also on a chest without a lid full of bottles of wine.

5th: Sunday school prayer meeting, the day fine.

6th: Mr Probert left. Mr Maskell returned from Bethdp. & Mr G. Kemp with him. Yesterday & to-day was enquiring into an affair which occurred on Monday & Tuesday nights. At old Piet Campher's Hut, Piet Campher Solomon & Hans Cobus slept on Monday night with 5 young girls. Piet slept on the bedstead with Coba Valentyn & the others on the floor. Solomon was sleeping in a hut adjoining & turned two young women out to the other house to occupy their sleeping place. The mother of the girls was privy to it all. This evening a church meeting was called & Solomon Campher was excluded the church. The case as taken down from the mouths of the witnesses was read in public this evening. I never met so barefaced a violation of decency in all my life.

The work of the Mission continued with numerous visitors and some interesting events until March 6th, when preparations for Mr Wright's ordination were made. Visitors in January included Mr Thackeray and Mr Kemp. Mr Edwards returned on the 11th as there was no ship for him to board. Mr Brownlee stayed from 11th to 13th when he departed to his new mission in Caffreland. Jan Tshatshu left Theopolis the following day to join Mr Brownlee. Some notable events follow.

10th: Esau Prins had his arm broken by a kick from an ox while ploughing. Mr G. Kemp dined & spent the afternoon with us pleasantly.

15th: This morning a great number of the larger girls left the school without assigning any reason & one was extremely impudent before the children. Mr R. Edwards preached in the morning from Luke 10: 2 last verses. Afternoon I preached from Luke 14-22. Evening a prayer meeting.

18th: Rode to Grahams Town. Heard Mr Duxbury preach an excellent discourse from 1 Cor. 10-12.

19th: Attended the preparatory Sermon for the Missionary meeting in the Methodist Chapel this morning, preached by Mr Kay. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon the meeting for business assembled, which was numerously attended & was very lively. The collections amounted to more than 400 Rds. The

meeting seperated past 9 o'clock. Col Somerset was to have taken the chair but was prevented. The Revd. Mr Davies was in the chair. Hot day.

28th: Very hot with rain. Recieved a letter from Bethdp which said that a Mr Miles <sup>632</sup> was expected from England to take Dr Philip's place. The papers which came to hand by the same post announced his arrival.

29th: Preached this morning from Jer: 44-4. Afternoon the monthly Lecture from Jon 5-39. Subject "Is it of importance to be able to read the Bible & why?" after which baptised a child.

31st: Mr Shaw came as we sat at dinner & attended the school in the afternoon with which he was highly delighted.

February 1st: Mr Shaw attended the school this morning previous to his departure & heard the children sing the two first hymns of Watts divine songs & said "It almost upset me". Were making Biscuits etc: to entertain the children of the school.

2nd: The children of the school were treated with cake & tea & were allowed to amuse themselves the whole day at play. We boiled the water under a Bush at the end of my garden & the children were seated in a circle to recieve what was prepared for them. They were highly delighted with their entertainment.

[The rain & hot weather continued in February. Changes in the government of the mission appeared to be imminent as the next entry indicates.]

4th: Wrote Mr Thomas. Two advertisements appeared in the papers recieved to-day, the one calling on all persons having claims on Dr Philip to bring them in on the 25th ult, the other stating that all bills must be drawn on the Revd. R. Miles & all correspondence addressed to the Revd. Jos Kitchingman, <sup>633</sup> the Corresponding Secretary, during the Dr's absence. Mr Maskeli recieved a letter which stated, that Dr Philip had left Cape Town for England & that Mr Foster <sup>634</sup> was coming to this station immediately. In what department is not said.

[Mr Daniel Roberts <sup>635</sup> a schoolmaster arrived on 8th February "to attend our school" before going to join Mr Shaw at the Mission in Caffrelano. Another visitor to the school on 9th February - was Mr Cary Hobson, while on illn Mr Hockley arrived for a three days' stay. Other visitors were Messrs Duxbury, Morrison & Young. Mr Duxbury preached & Sarker translated the sermon into Dutch. Welcome visitors from Bethelsdorp were the Wrights. Barker's disillusionment with Dr Philip is indicated in the following entry:]

25th: Recieved a Circular <sup>636</sup> which Dr Philip left on his departure, but full of promises the same as were made in 1819 & on which no dependance can be placed.

[Mr Wright preached on 26th February and on the same day Mr John Moodie<sup>637</sup> visited the school. A request arrived from Bethelsdorp regarding Mr Wright's ordination which was fixed for 14th March. Encouragement in their work was rare but 5th March was a good day.]

5th: Preached this morning from Psal: 34-20/English Bible 19 verse. The discourse appeared to have an effect as some came after service to thank me. Afternoon the Lords Supper, Evening Prayer meeting. The whole of the services appeared to be blest, the prayers in the evening evinced a deep interest in the services of the day. O Lord give us many such days.

[Invitations were issued to Grahamstown friends to attend the ordination service and these were carried to Grahamstown by Mr Wright on 7th March. The account of the ordination was given as follows]

10th: The brethren Helm & Robson arrived from Bethelsdorp to attend the ordination of Mr Wright on tuesday.

11th: Mr & Mrs McDonald passed this to the mouth of the Casouka to spend a few days there.

12th: Mr Helm preached this morning from [ - ] Mr Robson in the afternoon from Jon 3-16. Evening a prayer meeting. Mr Wright took the children. Rain.

13th: Was preparing a discourse for to-morrow. Messrs Duxbury, Morrison & Ayliff & two Dutchmen came to our house & several people to Mr Maskell's. All were at woship in the evening. Rain all night.

14th: This morning two waggons arrived from Grahams town with a number of Hottentots & two women with a family of children. About 10 o'clock the service began. Mr Ayliff, of the Wesleyan connexion, commenced with reading & prayer. Mr Robson from Bethelsdorp asked the questions & recieved the confession of faith. I offered the ordination prayer. Mr Helm gave the Charge from 2 Cor: 2- part of 16v. "And who is sufficient for these things". I preached to the people from Heb: 13-17 & Mr Duxbury a Baptist concluded with prayer in English. - We dined a large party of as many as our Hall would hold. - In the afternoon Mr Wright Baptised a child, of Sergt Major Klaas, for the first time.<sup>638</sup> - In the evening Mr Robson preached a most superior sermon from 2 Cor: 3-18. "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the Glory of the Lord". in English. About 30 Europeans were present. A party of singers from Grahams Town conducted that part of the worship & had two instruments of musick. We lodged 11 of the strangers & Mr Maskell more.

15th: Most of our Grahams town friends left this morning the Brethren from Bethelsdorp at a midday & Mr Ayliff & family in the evening.

16th: Mr Wright packing ready to leave. The people took away the waggon from before the door, the men took the sail off our waggon & the women crew the one from Bethelsdorp away. In the evening it was drawn up again. The people did not behave well, as it was evidently temporal advantage which they had in view.<sup>639</sup>

17th: Mr W. preparing to leave, just as they began to load the waggons a sudden thunder storm came on & detained them. No opposition from the people to-day. Rain evening.

18th: This morning the weather was fair & Mr W. loaded the waggons. About 1 o'clock Mr Wright & family left with two waggons. Rode to the mouth of the River & brought Mr & Mrs McDonald up, who had been alarmed the night before by Eliphants being near them.

19th: Preached from Psal 141-5. Afternoon explained the Catechism. Evening a prayer meeting. Mr & Mrs McDonald were present. Rain all day and the Congregations were thin.

20th: Rode to the mouth of the River on horseback with Mr & Mrs McDonald.

21st: Took Mr McDonalds waggon & rode to the mouth of the River & all of us bathed in the sea. Caught muscles & spent a pleasant day.

22nd: Mr & Mrs McDonald left for Grahams Town. Mrs Thomas Philips & 2 daughters & Mrs Capt. Campbell were here & visited the school, with which they were highly delighted.<sup>640</sup>

30th: Finished a Press in the Sleeping room. Some unpleasant altercation between the two Edwards' respecting the School, but of the particulars I am unacquainted. O that those who are employed in the cause of God would learn to bear & forbear each other & strive together as brethren to forward the good work of God. O Lord subdue our inbred corruptions & make us examples of holiness, piety & devotedness to thy cause.

31st: Was reading & writing. Met some of the principle members of the church to converse with them on the cause of a Lethergy on the part of some of the members. We were unanimous in opinion that it may in part be attributed to the insinuations of a certain Hottentot Doctor, in regard to Witchcraft being prevalent on the place. They told me that they hear he has said, that all the people are to die, at a certain given period except the Missionaries. O Lord in thy good time dispell the idea from the minds of all. We resolved to watch & pray against it. Church meeting address from Heb. 3-13. After which Mrs Corner was recieved into fellowship.

[In April letters arrived from Barker's mother and two Chronicles<sup>641</sup> from the Director of the Mission. Andries Jager arrived from Pacaltsdorp on 2nd. On 5th Barker rode to Granamstown where he preached in the Baptist chapel

& read aloud an account of Dr Bogue's death from the Chronicle. A dispute with Mr Biggar is recorded as follows.]

3rd: Rode to view the Road which had been cut on Mr Biggar's <sup>642</sup> land, previous to going into Court on the subject. Mr Read gave the address at the Missionary prayer meeting.

5th: Attended at the Court, but on account of a pressure of other business (there being 50 civil cases) our case was not heard. Preached at the Methodist chapel from Eph: 2-18 & 19.

7th: This morning at the opening of the Court, Mr Biggar expressed a wish to accomodate the matter. Mr Read & Mr B. settled the affair in the presence of the Landdrost & my presence as a witness was not needed. Rode home.

[Writing occupied much of his time but on 12th April he reports: "Recieved an invitation from the Committee for erecting an Independant chapel at Grahams town, to supply them next Lords Day as Mr Monro was gone to Bethelsdorp. I declined unless the rest of the brethren take a share".

There was considerable rain delaying Mr Edwards, who finally went to Grahamstown on the 20th to pay opgaaf. Horse sickness caused much concern which is recorded as follows: ]

[20 April]: I was much afraid my horse was dead with the disease <sup>643</sup> which is so fatal just now, yesterday we were seeking him all day & again to-day & this evening he came home safe. Slaughtered a pig.

[23 April]: My horse refused his food to-day.

24th: My horse was sick & I bled him & gave him a purging drench to-day.

25th: Mr Thos Edwards came to ask me to bleed his horse this morning which I did but he died immediately. About 2 o'clock my own horse died. This was the horse I purchased of Mr Hart when up the country with Dr Philip on then 28th July last.

[The annual meeting of the Missionary Society was appointed to be held on June 7th when "a brother" from Bethelsdorp would preach in the morning and Mr Ayliff & Mr Edwards in the evening. During this time the following events are notable.

The Barkers left for Bethelsdorp to attend the anniversary of the Auxiliary Missionary Society and were delighted to meet several friends including Mr Foster & Mr Brownlee. The succeeding weeks saw vigorous visiting as various anniversaries were celebrated in the region. Selected remarks create a picture.]

10th: The anniversary of the Auxiliary Missionary Society was held. Revd. Mr Smith <sup>644</sup> from Uitenhage attended, with Mrs Smith & Mrs Innis. <sup>645</sup> Mr Smith took the whole of the morning service & preached an excellent Sermon

from Isa 11-1 & 9. In the afternoon at 2 o'clock, the public meeting was held. Mr Robson in the chair. Mr Helm read the report. Mr Smith moved a resolution & spoke quite to the purpose. I proposed a vote of thanks to Mr Smith for his sermon etc: After dinner Mr S. left. In the evening I preached from 10-2. Mr Helm commenced & Mr Brownlee concluded. Collected Rds 50.

11th: Was fatigued with the exertions of yesterday.

12th: Rain all day. A Mr Steadman<sup>646</sup> from Cape Town came.

13th: Rode to the Bay in the company of Messrs Read, Helm, Foster & Brownlee. Dinner at Mr Monro's.

14th: Mr Brownlee preached this morning from Isa 4. 1-5. Afternoon attended the quarterly examination<sup>647</sup> of the Adult Sunday school, which was conducted in a very pleasing manner. In the evening preached from Acts 26-18. Subject, the best means to preserve a sense of our duties as Missionaries. I directed my address to the missionaries in particular.

15th: Was preparing for the ordination of Mr Brownlee. At 10 o'clock Mr Read commenced the Service by Reading & prayer. - Mr Foster asked the questions & recieved Mr Brownlee's confession of faith - Mr Helm offered the ordination prayer with laying on of hands - I gave the charge from 2 Tim 4-5 - Mr Helm addressed the congregation from Exod. 17-11 to 13. Mr Monro concluded with prayer. - Took tea at Messrs Kemps.

16th: Was in motion about 10 o'clock this morning toward home. The brethren accompanied me to the Zwartkops River, where we parted.

20th: Arrived at home about 1 o'clock to-day, after being exposed to a very cold wet night. - Found the children well. Brought some hymn books with us.

21st: Addressed the congregation this morning from Luke 24-35, & gave an account of the meetings at Bethelsdorp. Afternoon preached from Sol. Song 4-16. Evening a prayer meeting.

22nd: Mr Thos Edwards recieved a letter from Mr Miles to remove to Bethelsdorp, at which I was much surprised not having heard of such an intention. In consequence of Mr R. Edwards acknowledging to have known of it before, he & myself, had some words on the subject, this is the second time I have had an altercation with a brother with whom I was associated at the Station.

23rd: Mr Thos Edwards left the school this morning, intending to proceed immediately to his new sphere of labour.

24th: Mr R. Edwards kept school to-day, who will take the school I have not yet heard, or whether any person is determined upon.<sup>648</sup>

25th: Was writing etc: Preparing a Report for the anniversary of the Missionary Society.

26th: Heard that Mr Duxbury had lost his only daughter by death & resolved to go & spend the Sabbath.<sup>649</sup>

27th: Rode to Grahams Town. Arrived just as they were returning from the grave, found the father & Mother very low. Recieved a letter from the Directors.

28th: Preached this morning from Psal. 50-20 at the Baptist chapel. Evening same place from Ecl. 12-1 to a crowded house.

29th: Remained to attend a sale of horses, but did not purchase. Rode home & found Mr Brownlee here on his return from Bethelsdorp, having arrived on saturday evening.

30th: Spent the day with Mr Brownlee.

31st: Mr Brownlee intended to have left, but his horses could not be found.

#### June

4th: Preached the monthly Lecture from Exod. 31-13 to 17. Subject "Is it necessary under the New Testament dispensation to observe the Sabbath with that precision with which it was observed under the Old Testament dispensation", & baptised a child.<sup>650</sup> Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. Evening a pleasant prayer meeting.

5th: Visited a sick person. Mr Foster arrived from Salem where he preached yesterday. Missionary prayer meeting. The Committee of the Missionary Society met & the report & propositions were approved.

6th: Several of our friends arrived from Grahams Town & Miss Hockley came to our house, the others to Mr Maskell's.

7th: Mr Ayliff & some other friends arrived from Grahams Town this morning. About half past 10 o'clock, Mr R. Edwards commenced the service by reading the 71st Psal & prayer, Mr Ayliff preached from Mark 16-15, a very sensible discourse. I concluded with prayer. Afterwards we withdrew for some refreshment & then proceeded to business. Mr Edwards began with prayer & Mr Ayliff was called to the chair. Mr Edwards read the Report which stated that Rds 347-2 had been recieved the past year. - In Donations Rds 15 - In Annual Subscriptions Rds 95 - In Monthly Subscriptions Rds 175, or £26-0-10½.

1. Resolution, Moved by Barker seconded by Cobus Boezak.

That the Report now read be recieved with thankfulness to God.

2. Resolution, Moved by Mr R. Edwards, seconded by Jan Tshatshu.

That this meeting being convinced of the insufficiency of all human exertions without the blessing of God, Desire to pray God to grant the influ-

ence of his Spirit upon the efforts made to extend his kingdom in the world.

3. Resolution, Moved by Mr Foster, Barker interpreting, seconded by Piet Campher.

That this meeting is fully aware, that it is the duty of all to assist in spreading the knowledge of Salvation through Christ, & to obtain this end that children should be trained up in the ways of Missionary feelings; Entreats that the children of this place may have an opportunity of contributing their mite to the Society, & that Mr R. Edwards be requested to recieve the same from them.

4. Resolution. Moved by Mr Corner, seconded by Willem Valentyn.

That the Treasurer the Secretary, the Committee & the Collectors recieve the thanks of this meeting for their Services during the past year; and that the following persons be the officers of this Society for this year, Mr Barker Treasurer, Mr Edwards Secretary - and the Committee Cobus Boezak, Wm Valentyn, David Jantjie, Piet Campher, Piet Buis, Wm Platje, Frelander Laberlot, & Platje Hans.

5. Resolution moved by Mr Maskell, seconded by David Jantjies.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr Ayliff for his excellent sermon this morning & for his able conduct in the chair this afternoon.

In the evening Mr Foster preached an excellent sermon from Isa: 32-14 & 15.

Mr R. Edwards commenced with prayer & Mr Ayliff concluded.

8th: Our friends from Grahams Town left this morning & Mr Foster with them.

12th: Was called to visit Mr Lloyd<sup>651</sup> who was under heavy convictions & ill. Found it necessary to preach to him the Gospel. Visited him again in the evening.

13th: Was gardening. Commenced a singing meeting this evening.<sup>652</sup>

14th: Visited Mr Lloyd at his request early this morning. Wrote out a Will for him & took it to be signed this evening. Found his mind a little more composed to-day.

15th: Visited Mr Lloyd to-day & walked with Mrs B. to Mrs Genl Campbell's.

16th: Was gardening. Mr Steadman came to Mr Maskell.

17th: Was writing etc. Recieved sheep skin violin from Sergt. Major Scheepers which I intend to send to the Missionary Museum.<sup>653</sup>

18th: Preached this morning from 1 Tim 1-19 & Baptised a child. Afternoon from 1 Tim 3-15. Evening a prayer meeting. Messrs Steadman, Maskell, Hartley & Edwards took tea with us.

[The work of the mission went on quietly from 19th June to the 31st August. The usual crops were planted and "cashir" trees were set near the hedge. Vines

& trees were pruned and fences mended. The sermons on Sunday Observance were continued and there appeared to be considerable interest. In the middle of July there were several days of strong cold winds, but the weather was fine. Visitors included Mr Wainwright,<sup>654</sup> Mr Marsh<sup>655</sup> & Mr Urry, Mr McDonald as well as two German missionaries and Mr Young on his way home from the Cowie. Letters were received from Mr Thomas and from the Revd. Mr Miles (July 8th)<sup>656</sup> "for the first time" (since his arrival to take Dr Philip's place). The following are entries from this period.]

24th: Mr Brownlee's waggon left.

28th: Was gardening. Mr Brownlee's men left & Jan Tsatshu with them.

29th: Was gardening. Mr Edwards went to Grahams town to procure permission for the people to proceed to Caffre land to join Mr Brownlee.

July 1st: Was writing etc: Mr Edwards returned from Grahams Town with the news that Mr Monro had been there three weeks.<sup>657</sup>

3rd: This morning early Martha Arries was caught coming out of Mr Maskell's shop with various things which she had stolen & had been at the liquor & was most beastly drunk. She was confined in arrest untill Mr M. comes home, who went to Grahams Town yesterday. Missionary prayer meeting. Address from Jon 4 last part of v 35.

16th: About 9 o'clock this morning Mr Hallbeck from Genadendal & Mr & Mrs Schmidt from Enon came quite unexpectedly upon us.<sup>658</sup> Mr Hallbeck preached this morning an excellent discourse from Rom. 12-4 & 5. In the afternoon I preached from Isa: 10-3. Our friends left us toward evening to ride by moon-light towards Grahams Town. Evening a prayer meeting.

August 1st: Was gardening, Mr Marsh & Mr Urry came with some horses for sale.

3rd: Took a horse of Mr Marsh on trial for Rds. 100. Messrs Marsh & Urry left.

13th: Preached this morning from Rev: 2 part of 24th & 25th. Afternoon from Jer. 31-18. Evening preached in English from Jon 18, part of 38 verse. "What is truth". It is proposed to have an English discourse at least once a month. More of our people attended than usual. Six Europeans were present, three of whom cannot understand Dutch.

September 1st: Rode to Grahams Town to attend the anniversary of the Baptist Chapel, but on my arrival found it was a week too soon. Resolved on returning & to perform the duties of the Sabbath at hand.

2nd: A cold morning at Grahams Town. Returned home. Held the church meeting in the Evening. Address from Jon 17-22, Meitje Kleinveld who was formerly a member at Bethelsdorp, but who has not sat down for years was proposed to the church.

7th: Was writing etc: Made up a parcel consisting of documents & the sum of 64 Rds - 4 Sk. collected for the Bushmen at Philippolis under the instruction of Mr Clark of which Rds 22 were obtained at Theopolis & Rds 42-4 at Grahams Town.

9th: Rain. Rode to Grahams Town in company with Mr Hartley & had a very uncomfortable journey, were both very wet. Mr & Mrs Robson <sup>659</sup> had arrived at Grahams Town a while before me.

10th: This morning the weather fine. Heard that a Sunday school was commenced in Mr Monro's place of worship which I visited & found 6 Hottentots, was invited to preach to the Hottentots in the afternoon, as Mr Monro was away to Bethelsdorp. Preached at the Baptist Chapel, on account of the anniversary of the opening the place, from Chron: 6-18. The place was well filled, the Methodist Chapel shut up for the occasion & Mr Davies a hearer with us. We partook of a cold dinner, after which I & Mr Robson withdrew to Mr Monro's place of worship & although too late found but 14 Hottentots present, there being no Dutch Bible, I addressed them for a few minutes without Book. We then returned to the Baptist Chapel & heard Mr Davies, the Methodist minister, preach a good sermon from 2 Cor. 5 first part of the 14 verse. "For the Love of Christ constraineth us". After service we all took tea with the Baptist friends. In the evening I preached at the Methodist Chapel from Jon 4-24. The congregation was not large, the principle persons being again at the Baptist chapel & I was informed the congregation in the evening was the largest. Mr Davies & self joined the Baptist party again to supper. Thus closed a very pleasant day, party names seemed to be forgotten & all united in perfect harmony. <sup>660</sup> The collections amounted to 300 Rds.

11th: Spent the forepart of the day transacting business in the town. Dined & spent the afternoon with Mr Davies. Mr Robson preached this evening from Hosea 14 first part of 5th verse. "I will be as the dew unto Israel", at the Methodist chapel. The place was well filled.

12th: Prepared for returning. Left about midday with Mr Hartley. Mr H. had a fall from his horse, but providentially was not much hurt. On arriving at home found Mr Miles here who came on Monday evening. Could not converse much with him that evening.

13th: This morning Mr Miles had the people together, Mr Read interpreted. Mr M. was busy all the morning, but in the afternoon we had a little time. Resolved to send our girls to Mr Mathews School at Salem. <sup>661</sup> Not much said on the subject of our school. In the evening we conversed freely became more acquainted & I found Mr M. a most agreeable man. <sup>662</sup>

14th: Mr Miles left this morning for Caffre Land. Mr & Mrs Robson arrived in the evening. Attended a funeral.

15th: Spent the day with Mr Robson etc.

16th: Took Mr Robsons waggon & all of us rode to the Sea & Bathed etc: & spent the day very pleasantly there.

17th: Mr Robson preached this morning from Prov. 14 first part of 32nd verse. Afternoon I preached from Numbers 23 latter part of 10th verse. In the evening Mr Robson preached in English from Rom: 6 part of 13th verse, "Yield yourselves unto God". An excellent sermon.

18th: Mr & Mrs Robson left about midday for Bethelsdorp.

[Work in the garden & in the school occupied him from 19th September until 21st October. On 14th October he received a letter from Dr Philip in London, as well as the Missionary Chronicle. The mare foaled & he hired Jan Jager to care for the horses - a necessary step as will be seen. The following extracts are of interest from this period.]

26th: In consequence of Mr Edwards going to Bethelsdorp to meet his intended partner who is coming up from the Cape, I took charge of the school. About 5 o'clock P.M. Mr E. started. Attended a funeral.

27th: Mr Edwards mare got away from him at the Bushmans River & this morning he was here to seek her on foot, but I did not see him. He started again on foot with his bridle in hand. Held school. Mr H. Rutherford came.

October 4th: Held school. Mrs Barker took Elizabeth & Ann to school at Mr Mathews. Mr Edwards returned in consequence of delay in his intended marriage, the Bands having to be published at Grahams Town & Port Elizabeth.

8th: Preached from Mark 16-16. After which Elizabeth Nimmo, an adult, & an infant were baptised. The Baptism produced an amazing effect on all present, Europeans as well as natives. Her answers to the questions proposed were clear & very satisfactory. She ascribed her first impressions to a Sermon which Mr Kitchingman preached about 4 years ago, from Isa: 55-1. Her conduct had been very exemplary for a long time. May she prove a Saint indeed. Afternoon preached from Math. 22 - latter part of v. 4. Evening a pleasant prayer meeting.

9th: This morning Mr. H. Rutherford left for Cape Town to go on horse-back over land.

12th: Was gardening. It is supposed to have been wild Dogs which got among the horses & bit Six. My horse was brought home with a large piece of skin torn off his shoulder.

15th: Preached this morning from Prov: 14 last part of v. 34. Messrs Thackery & Wainwright & Bailey were present. Afternoon an address to young

females from lit: 3 part of v. 4. Evening Mr Edwards preached in English from Psal. 68. 20.

20th: Intended to have held the Anniversary of the poor Society to-day, but the heavy rain prevented. Rain all day.

21st: Was writing. Rain forepart of the day. Attended a funeral. Hired Jan Jager to take care of the horses for 6 months.

22nd: Preached from Acts 11 - last part of 18 v. Afternoon prayer meeting to remember Dr Philip at the throne of grace, which did not appear to excite that Interest which I expected. <sup>664</sup> Evening read & commented on the 3rd Chap. of Jonah.

23rd: Had the young chesnut horse cut. Worked very hard in the garden.

24th: Very heavy Rain all day, about midday a most tremendous storm which washed away the Potatoes etc: in the garden, ran through the houses & swelled the river above its banks. I have not seen such rain since 1823.

25th: Showery all day. Gathered up potatoes which were washed away yesterday & planted [Cashine] trees & sowed the seeds along the fence where I could not plant.

26th: Was taking up potatoes. Attended a funeral of a child of Andries Botha's.

27th: The Anniversary of the poor Society was held. Mr Edwards preached in the morning from 1 Cor. 15 last verse. I commenced with reading & prayer. About 2 p'clock the meeting reassembled & I began with prayer. Mr Hartley was called to the chair. He stated that the Receipts of the Society amounted to Rds 119-6. That the income exceeded the past year by Rds 24-4, & the expenditure by Rds 13-4. The meeting was addressed by Messrs R. Edwards & Hendrik Smit, W.F. Corner & Piet Campher, Jan Valentyn & Matje Hans. Andries Jager & Klaas Jager. Cupido Heemro & Piet Nimmo. G. Barker & Cobus Boozak. The following persons were appointed a Committee, Messrs R. Edwards, W.F. Corner, Willem Platjie, Piet Nimmo, Klaas Jager & Piet Campher. The Collectors appointed for the year were, Piet Nimmo, Andries Jager, Jantjie Witbooy & Frelander Laberlot. The meeting was very flat in the afternoon. In the morning Mr Edwards made some excellent remarks. Piet Nimmo related an anecdote of his calling on Hendrik Jacob, as collector, that Hendrik told him that he then had nothing to give him, but that he very much regretted it & wished to be able to pay his arrears of subscription; that he, Piet, told him if he really desired to give, God would give him the power & that hendrik called on him a few days after with 6 skellings saying that God had given him that sum unexpectedly & that he had brought it for the poor & advised the exercise of faith in supporting the Society. <sup>665</sup>

29th: Mr Edwards preached this morning from - . Afternoon preached the monthly Lecture, Subject What are the duties of the Wife to the husband, from Col. 3-18. Mr Corner took the children in the morning. Evening preached in English from Gen 3, part of v. 6.

30th: Rain all day, at mid-day a very heavy storm. The River rose higher than was ever known before, several gardens were much & all of them more or less damaged.

31st: Mr Edwards left, by way of Grahams Town, for Bethelsdorp to get married. Held school. Messrs Miles & Read sent for oxen to bring them on.

#### November

2nd: Held school, etc. Was looking all day in vain for the waggons of Messrs Miles & Read.

3rd: About 3 o'clock this morning the waggons arrived with Messrs Miles & Read from Caffre Land. We rose at that hour. At half past 2 o'clock P.M. they left us again toward Bethelsdorp. Held Church meeting. Elsje Nimmo, proposed to the church. School in the morning.

4th: Was writing etc: Mr Hobson brought Andries Laberlot as the person who sold him Boezak's cow which he had stolen for that purpose. As Mrs Barker myself & Edward were coming out at the Garden gate, I being first, I as near as possible trod on a mountain adder. Mrs B, saw it under my <sup>666</sup> foot & called out. Never do I remember to have had so narrow an escape from one of the most poisonous of African Serpents. Killed the Snake.

5th: Preached from I Cor: 11-28 in the morning & Baptised a child. Afternoon administered the Lord's Supper, Evening a prayer meeting.

[From 6th to 10th November he held school]. On 11th November Mr Edwards & his bride <sup>667</sup> arrived from Bethelsdorp. The following day they were able to attend church as Piet Campher "had charge of the school children".

Visits to Mrs Genl Campbell & the Reed fountain, <sup>668</sup> tea with the Edwards & a trip to the sea with Mr McDonald occupied him (along with gardening) & mission work until the 23rd. ]

24th: Rain this morning, but about 2 o'clock Mrs Barker & myself with Jane started with the waggon for Grahams Town. We remained all night on the Road at the Brak River.

25th: Arrived at Grahams Town about 9 o'clock this morning. Messrs Robson, Evans & van der Kemp arrived in the afternoon from Bethelsdorp. I had not seen Mr Evans before since 1819. <sup>669</sup>

26th: This morning I preached at the Baptist chapel from Thess: 3-1. Mr Robson preached at the Methodist chapel. Afternoon Mr Evans preached in Dutch at Mr Monro's place to a very pleasing number of Hottentots from



17. Mission Station in the Mountains (Engraving by J. Neill after T. W. Bowler, in The African Museum, Johannesburg)

(From Walton: Homesteads and Villages of South Africa)

A  
JOURNEY INTO  
KAFFRARIA  
DECEMBER, 1827.



The Rev. John Ayliff, one of the first generation of settlers, looking back on their lives in their new land.  
 A young Ayliff had worked for a silk manufacturer in Spitalfields. He was married on board the *Maria* on 25th June, 1820, in Algoa Bay. After his early attempts at farming, the call to religion resounded and he was eventually ordained as a Methodist minister. At Port Natal he identified himself closely with the Mingo. Dies during the mining experience during the South African War, of accompanying them on their journey across the Kaffraria lands allotted to them by the Colonial Government. He could have had no better trials with the spirit of a deeply religious man and his calm and serene, with a sort of looking cheerfulness. *The Journal of Harry Hoar*, in which he mentions to be caught with him at the mission and perhaps also with his acquaintance and conversation by the young settlers. (Museum Collection)

(From Butler: 1820 Settlers)

Mount Eden Mission Station 1854 • after Campbell  
 Collection



(From Historical Monuments of South Africa)



21783  
 MISSIONARY INSTITUTION OF ISERNI, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.  
 (From the ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS of April 3rd, 1847)

(From Holt: Greatheart of the Border)

the parable of the rich fool. - Evening I preached at the Methodist chapel from Thess: 2-8. Mr Robson preached at the Baptist chapel & had a collection for the chapel erecting in the Bay Algoa, which was the object of his visit to Grahams Town. <sup>670</sup>

27th: Did some shopping & called on different friends. In the evening went over to the Cape Corps Barracks intending to address the soldiers, but had not commenced 10 minutes before the Bugle sounded for duty & I was obliged to close. Mr Robson preached at Mr Monro's & had a full congregation & also a collection.

28th: Returned home & Mr Evans with us.

30th: Rode to the south of the Cowie with Mr E. visited several friends, saw the Buck Bay packet attempt to get out of the river in which she failed.

December 1st: The Court of Circuit, accompanied by the Landdrost passed this & stopped a few minutes, they went into the school etc.

[ At this point great preparations were being made for a visit to Caffreland recorded as follows ]

6th: Left home about 7 o'clock this morning for Caffre Land. Stopped a short time at Bathurst & proceeded to Mr Wainwright's to dinner. Arrived at Caffre Drift Post at 6 o'clock P.M. here Mr Ayliff joined Mr Evans & myself. Addressed the soldiers of the Post by permission of Capt. Lowen <sup>671</sup> from Luke 13-1 to 5. Slept at the house of Mr Atwell, <sup>672</sup> the storekeeper.

7th: Crossed the Fish River at half past 8 o'clock, just as the tide was coming in; had we been half an hour later, we could not have crossed. Saw Kama, <sup>673</sup> a chief at Bieka river, & stopped a while with him. Mr Ayliff's horse gave up before we reached the Keiskama, but he had another one which he mounted, the tired horse was soon after entrusted to the care of a Caffre for the night, who brought it safe the next morning. When crossing the Keiskama at a very bad drift, I slipped off a large stone into the river, nearly lost my hat with the stream, a small Spirit flask fell out of my pocket & was lost in the water. I recieved no harm more than getting wet. Arrived at Westly Ville <sup>674</sup> at Sunset & were cordially welcomed by Mrs Shaw Mr & Mrs Shepstone etc: Messrs Shaw, Kay & Shrewsbury <sup>675</sup> were gone to visit Hinza <sup>676</sup> in order for a final settlement of this latter Grant with the chief.

8th: Spent the day conversing with the Caffres through an interpreter, looking over the place. In the evening Ayliff & self took the experience meeting which was truly gratifying.

There were, of both sexes, 13 persons present all of whom related the state of their minds very simply, very feelingly & very experimentally.

9th: This morning Mr Ayliff proceeded on to Mount Coke <sup>677</sup> to supply for

Mr Kay & Mr Evans proceeded to Mr Brownlee's station <sup>678</sup> & I remained at Westley Ville. Spent the day as yesterday. Saw 6 men dressed in their war Caps, consisting of two bunches of feathers one on each side of the head made fast with a skin band, with their Shields, Assegaays etc: - & they cut a frightful figure, but had a warlike appearance. Visited the Kraals of the chiefs neither of whom were at home.

10th: The Service this morning commenced with singing a hymn in the Caffre language. Mr Shepstone read the decalogue <sup>679</sup> & the interpreter prayed. I preached, for the first time through an interpreter, from Acts 17-30. The Service was well attended & the people very attentive. In the afternoon I again preached from Jon 3-19. At Sun sett we saw some young rude fellows dancing at one of the Chief's place. Mr Shepstone & I walked to them. Mr S. remonstrated with them & they took it kindly, but excused themselves by pleading ignorance altho they had been at worship. In the evening an English sermon was read in Mr Shaw's house.

11th: Left Westley Ville this morning at 5 o'clock in company of the person who interpreted for me yesterday on an ox. Arrived at Mount Coke at about 10 o'clock, remained there about 5 hours & proceeded on to Mr Brownlee's. At Mount Coke there were a number of Caffres with milk & corn for sale, with whom I conversed etc: Saw them throw their assegaays at a Post for beads, a distance of 32 paces the fourth man struck it. Mr Ayliff was in bed after a sharp attack of a bilious cholic & I proceeded alone to Mr Brownlee's. Here I was relieved by our own people who are with Mr B. to assist him.

12th: Walked round the infant settlement, visited the Dam etc: & was delighted with the quantity & the quality of the water. When the water is led out it will make one of the finest villages in Africa. Addressed the people through Jan Tshatshu from Luke 18-1 to 8. Mr Ayliff arrived in the afternoon from Mount Coke.

13th: We intended to have left Mr Brownlee's this morning about 3 o'clock, but our man could not be found. At 5 o'clock we left & Mr Brownlee rode with us about 2½ hours. We saw many Kraals after he left us, crossed the river Debe on the Banks of which Dr van der Kemp resided when he was in Caffre Land, but lower down. We missed our road, having no guide, Mr Ayliff's horse gave up though he had done nothing all day but run alongside another. It was 5 o'clock in the evening before we reached Love Dale the residence of Mr Ross. <sup>680</sup> Heard Mr R. catechise this evening with which we were gratified. This station belongs to the Glasgow Missionary Society. <sup>681</sup>

14th: This day I spoke to the people from Jon 3-16. After breakfast Mr Ross furnished us with horses to ride to the Chumie. After-noon when our

horses were saddled & ready to return a thunder shower came on & prevented us, we spent the night with our brethren Thompson & Bennie. This Station is supported by the Colonial Govt. <sup>682</sup>

15th: At midday it cleared up & we left the Chumie & proceeded to Love Dale accompanied by Mr Thompson. On our way as we passed a Kraal we saw a dance just commencing but we did not wait to be spectators.

16th: We left Love Dale this morning, to proceed to the Colony, at 3 o'clock. Mr Ross rode with us until after the Sun rose. We had a hard days ride, were obliged to leave the man with one horse about 25 miles from Grahams Town. About 4 miles from Grahams town my horse began to flag, but I got him in very well. We arrived at Sun sett, after having ridden at least 70 miles.

17th: As our change of linnen was exhausted & we were in our disabelle, Mr Evans & self took leave of our fellow traveller this morning at 5 o'clock, with the hope of being at Theopolis in time for the service, but our horses being so fatigued, we were obliged to take the saddles off twice to halt about 5 hours & did not reach home until 2 P.M. I found all well at home, & had many instances of kindness to remember on the journey which must have exceeded 300 miles.

18th: Was a little fatigued after the journey. Recd a letter from Mr Wright of Griqua Town.

19th: Mr Evans departed this morning for Bethelsdorp, the Ann having arrived at Port Elizabeth in which he intends to return to Cape Town. <sup>683</sup>

[Until the end of the year he was occupied with services, reports & letters to friends. Elizabeth & Ann came on holiday from Matthews school. On 28th the Hockleys, the Andersons & the Hewsons came to visit. For the first time Barker mentions that his sermon on 25th December related to Christmas.]

31st: Preached in English this morning for Mr Monro, from 1 Tim 3 - first part of v. 16. The morning was wet & not many people present. Afternoon preached at Mr Monro's to upward of 100 Kottentots, from Tim 2. 3-5. Afterwards attended the examination of the children of the Sunday School at the Baptist chapel. In the evening preached the Anniversary sermon for that school in English from Exod. 2 part of v. 9. Take this child away & nurse it for me, & I will give thee thy wages. A collection was made after Sermon. When the evening service was over I went to the Methodist chapel to attend their Watch night. Mr Young preached on the Barren Fig tree, after which I addressed the Congregation, after me Mr Cock did the same & Mr Ayliff followed him. Mr Young ascended the pulpit at the close of the year & I commenced the new year with prayer.

This year has produced changes among the Europeans. Mr Thos. Edwards from this to Bethelsdorp, with Mrs E, & family on the 1st June.

A man of the name of Lloyd came to reside on the place in the capacity of a butcher. Mr Roger Edwards got married.

Europeans Resident at the Station.

George Barker, Missionary, Wife & six children

Roger Edwards, Superintendent of temporal affairs

& school master Pro tempore and Mrs Edwards.

John Maskell, Shopkeeper, & William Hartley assistant.

James Lloyd, Butcher, Wife & family.

W.F. Corner, Carpenter, Wife & family.

12 houses inhabited in the New Village.

The Store, The two Mission houses & Nine belonging to the people. -

Two houses are thatching & the Door frames set in a house which is building for a School master.

FOOT-NOTES1826

629. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
630. The Usk was a vessel which plied between Algoa Bay and Cape Town.
631. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
632. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i). When Dr Philip felt that it was necessary for him to present the case for the Khoi in London, a substitute was sent in the person of Mr Miles.
633. An attempt at division of labour was made but proved to be a failure as obviously no clear instructions were received.
634. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
635. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
636. This is a tribute by Shaw to the school and mission at Theopolis as Shaw was sponsoring Roberts. (cf. Le Condeun & Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 81-85).
637. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
638. As in the case of Barker's own ordination, the service was marked by a baptismal service conducted by the new ordinand.
639. From this entry it is obvious that those Khoi who were wagon-owners were expected to lend, not hire, wagons to the missionaries.
640. cf. Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, p. 250.
641. The Missionary Chronicle in which articles and pictures were published in order to give a more popular overview of the work than appeared in Annual Reports.
642. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
643. Oedema Mycosis.
644. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
645. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
646. Ibid.
647. It would undoubtedly be on such an occasion that a catechism would be used in public.
648. Thomas Edwards was teacher and Roger Edwards was Temporal Manager.
649. This is an illustration of Barker's obviously sincere desire to help those in trouble.
650. It is interesting to find the Victorian Barker discussing such a topic as Sunday observance.
651. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
652. Singing has always played a more significant role in the Coloured Churches than in most white congregations. In fact, much Biblical teaching was conveyed through the medium of the Revival songs and choruses.

653. Apparently most objects such as this have been sent on to various Museums in Britain. An "educated guess" suggests that it might be a "ramkiekie".
654. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
655. Ibid.
656. See L.M.S. Correspondence: 5.7.1826 (10/1/C).
657. This marked the formal start of Monro's ministry in Grahamstown.
658. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
659. Ibid.
660. This is an obvious reference to the splinter groups which formed the new churches. (cf. 22.7.1825 and Trinity Church, Grahamstown Records).
661. W.H. Matthews (List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii),) was granted land by W. Hayward (the Land Commissioner) to set up a school. (cf. Makin: The 1820 Settlers of Salem pp.129-30).
662. It is interesting to observe that both Barker and Moffat, stern critics of Philip and themselves not liked by him, were both admirers of Miles.
663. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
664. Dr Philip, in England to promote the cause of the Khoi, might well have been a greater centre of interest for the Khoi.
665. The Poor Society was, to all intents and purposes, an early social welfare organisation and served a useful purpose among those old people who were destitute.
666. It is obvious that the Khoi were adopting a most serious attitude to church affairs.
667. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
668. Rietfontein (Reed Fountain) was the name of the area where both Barville Park and Glendower were sited. Reed Fountain was the area in Southwell to which Settlers came. It is difficult to determine which is intended but it is probable that it is the Southwell area.
669. Barker refers here to his own ordination at Bethelsdorp (cf. 10.1.1819).
670. This was probably the small hall built next to the present Union Congregational Church in Chapel Street, Port Elizabeth.
671. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
672. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
673. See List of Governors and Chiefs: Appendix C(v).
674. This was Shaw's Mission, known today as Wesley, no longer a mission. (cf. Map of Journeys).
675. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
676. See List of Governors & Chiefs: Appendix C(v).

677. cf. Map of Journeys.
678. This was the Mission at Buffalo River - the one which subsequently became King Williamstown.
679. The Ten Commandments; Exodus Chap. XX vv. 1-17.
680. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
681. See Map of Journeys.
682. The Government found missionaries useful agents among the Xhosa and were thus willing to finance certain, approved men. Thompson was one of these.
683. The Ann plied between Cape Town and Algoa Bay.

1827

AT THEOPOLIS

G. Barker,  
Missionary.January 1st: At Grahamstown.

Mr Monro having proposed to have a service for the Hottentots, this being a Holy day. At 11 o'clock Mr Monro commenced with reading & prayer. I preached from Rev: first part of v. 7, on the second coming of Christ, about 130 Hottentots attended & I never preached with more life. At the close of the service I was so fatigued I could hardly stand. At 2 o'clock Messrs Davies & Young dined with the children connected with the Sunday School at the Baptist Chapel, in the chapel. Mr Young addressed the children from the Pulpit. - In the evening I gave an address at the Missionary prayer meeting at the Baptist chapel.

2nd: I don't know when I was so fatigued as this morning after the services of both days. Left the town at 11 o'clock to return home, the day was so hot that at the solicitation of the friends, I remained at the Barracks until 3 o'clock. Rode home & arrived about 9 o'clock in the evening.

[ Apart from a visit to the sea with his family, the 3rd to 12th January was a period of routine work.]

13th: Was writing etc: Mr & Mrs Edwards went to Grahams town.

14th: Took the school. Preached from 1 Pet: 4-17 this morning. Afternoon the monthly Lecture from Math: 5-32. Subject. "When is it lawfull for a man to put away his wife & for what reason". Evening a prayer meeting.

15th: Left this morning at 2 o'clock, by moonlight, for Grahams Town. Arrived at 9 A.M. Dined at Mr Monro's with the Revd. Mr Morgan.<sup>684</sup> About 5 o'clock P.M. the meeting of the Wesleyan Auxiliary Society commenced. Mr Davis began with singing & prayer. Revd. Mr Morgan was called to the chair. The Report was read by the Revd. Mr Davies the Secretary. The meeting was very numerous attended, was unusually interesting & was very lively. The collection 24£.

16th: Afternoon rode home, but I did not reach it until 11 o'clock at night.

17th: This afternoon took the 2 children to school & rode all night.

18th: Dined with Revd. Mr Young, left Salem this afternoon & arrived home 12 o'clock at night.

[ The period from 19th January to 5th May contains numerous brief entries referring to routine writing, preaching, painting & gardening. From this period representative and longer extracts have been selected.]

22nd: The house not having been painted since 1823, I white washed the parlour & painted it to-day.

24th: Prepared for white-washing the hall. James Ward came to request that I would supply for Monro, who is gone to Bethlesdorp, & is to be absent one Lord's Day.

27th: Rode to Grahams Town. Very hot. Afternoon went to see a Camel Leopard <sup>686</sup> which a young man had caught when quite young. The creature had been much injured by riding in the waggon, the skin chafed off etc: It was quite tame & permitted itself to be handled etc. About 6 months old.

28th: Preached this morning at Monro's place in English from 2 Pet: 2 part of first verse. "Precious Faith". Afternoon preached at the same place in Dutch from Jon. 3-3. Evening in English at the same place from 1 Tim: 1-15. In the morning the congregation was small. In the afternoon the attendance was not very numerous, but the evening service was well attended. Superintended the Sunday School. In the morning there were 3 Hottentot children to one English & in the afternoon 4 to one. Rain morning.

### February

6th: Major Dundas the Landdrost came towards evening to hire some of our people to repair the roads. Hot.

9th: All being ready the Major left this morning with his party of men to set them to work. Was writing. Very hot. Thunder & a little rain toward evening.

17th: Rode to Salem, was overtaken in a thunder storm & got very wet. Arrived at dark. Stopped a while at Skalkwyks, <sup>687</sup> Mrs S. was reading a prayer for a thunder storm.

18th: Rain. Preached from Rev: 1 - part of verse 7. Not many people were present on account of the Rain. Afternoon addressed the Sunday School. evening preached from Luke 8. part of verse 18, more people out in the evening than in the morning.

[ A visit from the Fosters led to expeditions to the Kowie & to Kasouga although Barker was too busy to go.]

March 2nd: Was gardening. Church meeting. Address from Mark: 11-25 & 26. Katryn Jacobs was proposed & Piet Campher & David Jantjies appointed to speak to her. Planted potatoes.

4th: Preached this morning from Rev: 3 latter part of verse 20. Mr Painter <sup>688</sup> & T.P. Adams <sup>689</sup> were present. Afternoon administered the Lord's Supper. Evening a prayer meeting.

19th: Received a case containing Sunday School Books, Slate pencils, a parcel from Mr Urry, Papers & a letter from Mr Thomas.

24th: Was writing etc: Received a letter from Mr Miles announcing an

augmentation to our Salaries.

25th: Preached this morning from Math. 21-22. On Prayer. Mr Ogelvie & a friend were present & a Boer. Afternoon from Ezech 37-1 to 14. Evening a prayer meeting. Read the 8th of Amos.

30th: Was clearing away the ground behind the house, very hot. Church meeting. Address from Math. 18-14. Katryn Jacobs was re-admitted into communion. The opportunity was interesting, her account of her feelings under her back sliding made a sensible impression on all present. Mr Thackery from Grahams town was present.

April 2nd: Rode to the mouth of the Kariga River with Mrs B. & along the beach to the mouth of the Kasouga.

4th: Was at work at the garden fences. Mr Joseph Walker came & slept with us also Mr & Mrs Kidwell & Mrs Osborne. At the experience meeting Elizabeth Buys said she was much effected at seeing some Caffres at the worship on Lord's Day. It brought to mind her resolution as a child. That she would embrace Christ when he was offered to the Caffres. In 1816 the Caffres recieved the word of God, but she still delayed to profess him & were it not for God's free grace should have continued in that state.

6th: Was writing etc: Mr & Mrs Kidwell, Mrs Osborne & Messrs Maskell & Kartley took tea with us.

8th: Preached from Eph: 6-18. On Prayer. Afternoon from Ezech: 12-27. Evening, read the 6th of Daniel. Mr Retief was present at all the Services.

13th: Mrs Barker left with the waggon & Sarah to Salem this morning. This being Good Friday I preached this evening from Acts 2-23. On the Crucifixion of Xt.

14th: Was writing etc: Recieved an invitation by Post to attend the anniversary of the Bethelsdorp Auxy Missy Society on the 9th of May next.

15th: This being Easter Sunday I purposed to give an address on the occasion suitable to the reflections of the day, altho, such forms have not been observed by our brethren.

16th: Rode to Reed fountain. Exchanged the mare with Mr Cary Hobson for a little black one.

28th: Was writing etc: Recieved a letter from Mr E. Evans informing me that his medical advisers recommend his going home to England without delay. I feel for him & his flock.

30th: Was busy packing a case to send to England by Mr E. Evans. Married 4 couples.

May

6th: Preached this morning From Jon 13-8 & administered the Lord's Supper

immediately after. In the afternoon started for Bethelsdorp & rode to Salem with the intention of preaching there, but found Mr Kay there & heard him preach.

7th: Left Salem this morning & reached the Bushman River about 12 o'clock. Intended to have reached the Sunday River this evening, but my horse was taken ill & gave up at the end of Quagga flat. I was obliged to stop on the flat at Pullens farm, <sup>695</sup> for the night.

8th: This morning my horse went reluctantly to the Addo hill & I was fearful I should have had to leave him, but before I reached Sunday River he was better. Arrived at Bethelsdorp about 8 o'clock in the evening. Found Mr & Mrs Hughes <sup>696</sup> there.

9th: Mr Smith from Uitenhage was to have preached this morning for the Bethelsdorp Auxiliary Missionary Society, but could not attend in consequence of having to go to Grahams town to preach there on Lord's Day. Mr Hughes from Lattakoo commenced with reading & prayer & I preached from Luke 10-17 & 18. Soon after the service the public meeting commenced. Mr Foster was in the chair. The Report was read by Mr Helm & stated that the sum of 180 Rds had been raised the past year. The meeting was addressed by Mr Robson myself Messrs Hughes Read & Cobus Boezak, Samson Tivot, Andries Stoffels & Gert Windvogel. There were no strangers & the meetings but thinly attended, <sup>697</sup> yet pretty lively & interesting. In the evening Mr Robson preached from "Be Steadfast", a good sermon. The collections amounted to Rds 51.

12th: After travilling all night, reached home this morning just before Sun-rise. Found all well thro: the blessing of God. Was tired, but prepared for preaching.

13th: Preached this morning from Psal: 138 last clause of the last verse. Afternoon gave an account of the meeting at Bethelsdorp. Evening a prayer meeting, read the 72 Psal.

14th: Was stitching some Sunday School books brought with me from Bethelsdorp.

15th: Was pasting Sunday school cards.

[ From 16th May to 24th June the hard work done by Barker continued. He visited the people, experimented with a new style in preaching, planted orange trees & "Caffre trees" <sup>698</sup> and paid his opgaaf. The following are selected extracts.]

27th: Preached from Psal 16-66 this morning. I had written a discourse, but sadly marred what I had written, never having been accustomed to pen my discourses, but stil altho: it perplexed me, if I continue I am convinced

it will do me good. Afternoon from Sol. Song 8-1, 2. Evening a prayer meeting. Read Isa 55. A cold day & the Congregation thin.

June 1st: Was writing etc: Mr Gilfillan & Mr Gardner<sup>699</sup> were here. Mr Edwards returned from Grahams Town. My opgaaf was Rds 9-5.

3rd: Preached this morning from Rom: 8-26 & Baptised a child. Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. Evening a prayer meeting, Read Job 16. Mr Jon Crouse & the Constable from Bathurst were here after runaway Hottentots. They found one of our people who is under contract to Mr Crouse & the man ran into the Bush. They were treated with disrespect & I fear the consequence.<sup>700</sup>

I greatly regret that persons should come on such business on the Lords Day & cannot but feel disgusted with thus having the worship of God interrupted & earnestly hope it will not occur again.

9th: Was writing etc: Recieved a letter from Thos Edwards, stating that Mr Miles had obtained permission of the Lieut Governor to re-establish the Mission at the Caledon Institution & now my heart rejoiced at this news, for I have felt much for that place.<sup>701</sup> May God provide a suitable instrument.

13th: Planted [Cashine] trees round the fence. Recieved letters from Bethelsdorp, which stated, that, Mr Helm is likely to proceed to the Caledon Institution. Mr Rutherford came to stop the night with us.

17th: Preached this morning from Isa: 56 part of v. 7. "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all people". Subject, Public prayers. Just as the service was ended, Sela Witbooy departed this life. She had been many years a member & a quiet inoffensive woman. I repaired to the house to pray with the family, who appeared deeply affected. Afternoon spoke from the beginning of the same verse. A boer & his family were present. Evening a prayer meeting. Read Rom: 11.

25th: Rode to see Elias Campher who had been shot when hunting Buffaloes, the poor man was in a dreadful state & lying in the field.

26th: Attended two funerals together, Daniel Witbooy's child which died on the 24th & Kaatje Andries who died yesterday. Mr Monro came just at dusk with some friends from Grahams town & Messrs Robson, Foster & James. Read at dark.

27th: A dreadfull rain all day, so that it was impossible to hold the intended meeting, or even to stir out of doors. We could hold no worship in the evening. This was rather a disappointment to us all.

28th: The Revd. Mr Fraser Minister of Beaufort & Dr Cowie of Grahams Town<sup>702</sup> arrived this morning. The weather fine. The morning service commenced at half past 10. Mr Monro preached from Luke 45 - part of 7 v. In the<sup>703</sup>

afternoon the meeting for business was held. Mr Robson commenced with prayer. The Revd. Mr Fraser was called to the chair. Mr Edwards read the report which stated that the sum of Rds 217.0.3 or £16-6-0½ had been raised in aid of the parent Society. The Resolutions were moved by Messrs Foster, Robson, Barker, Monro, Corner & Maskell, & seconded by Jan Valentyn, Wenzel Hoemro, Willem Valentyn, Cobus Boezak, Hendrik Smit & Mr Edwards. In the evening Mr Robson preached from [ - ]. The collections at the door amounted to Rds 36. Some friends from Grahamstown attended, among whom were Dr Cowie, Mr Webber, <sup>704</sup> Mr Hyman <sup>705</sup> etc:

29th: The Revd. Mr Fraser & Dr Cowie left early this morning for Grahams Town by way of the Cowie & Bathurst. Messrs Robson, Foster & Monro departed for Grahams Town. Was busy preparing for the Sabbath.

30th: James Read & self rode to Grahams Town found Mr Robson at Mr McDonalds, saw the chapel which was plastering.

July 1st: This day Union Chapel <sup>706</sup> at Grahams Town, which has been transferred to the Missionary Society, was opened. At 6 o'clock a prayer meeting was held at which Mr Monro gave an address. At 9 o'clock the Revd. Mr Fraser preached in Dutch from 1 Kings 8-29. At 11 o'clock Mr Robson preached in English from 1 Chron: 29-9. At 2 o'clock I preached from Isa 30-20 in Dutch. At half past 6 o'clock Revd. Mr Kay, a Wesleyan, commenced with reading & prayer, Mr Foster preached an excellent sermon from Psal. 48-8. The collections of the day amounted to 17£. The Chapel was not finished, but was so that it could be used.

2nd: Messrs Robson & Foster left for Bethelsdorp. Spent the day in doing business & visiting etc: Missionary Prayer meeting at Union Chapel. I gave an address in English.

3rd: Breakfasted at Mr Monro's, took leave of Revd. Mr Fraser, who was about leaving. Rode to the Barracks & spent the afternoon there. In the evening preached to a crowded assembly from Jon 3-19.

4th: Preached to the Soldiers this morning at 5 o'clock from 3rd Jon v. 4. Rode home & married a couple in the evening.

5th: Was fatigued with the exertions of the past few days. Dined with the married pair.

6th: Rode to see Elias Campher. Church meeting address from [ - ].

9th: Planted some trees etc: Held a meeting with the Church this evening, respecting a case which induced me to postpone the Ordinance yesterday. David Jantjes, a member of the Church, has falsified Mr Edwards. Mr E. called the whole of the people together to exonerate himself & clear his own character, this meeting fined him 25 Rds. Mr E. is a member of the

Church. 3 of the head of the police are members & one of the Deacons was present, but the man was degraded & fined without anyone mentioning the affair in the church, or to me. As I had expected some one would have brought it forward at the Church meeting & they did not, I postponed the Ordinance & called the meeting this evening. Having addressed the members on what I considered the impropriety of their conduct etc: David Jantjes was excluded from fellowship with us. <sup>707</sup>

12th: Was planting trees etc: Mr Long brought me a Black Mulberry tree, which I was very desirous to attain. I have long considered this Colony as being by nature adapted for the cultivation of silk & if so the Mulberry tree will be at some time of essential service & not knowing which of the two is best for the silkworm I was desirous to obtain both. I brought a white Mulberry with me from Grahams town on the 4th inst. <sup>709</sup>

14th: Was writing etc: Mr Doyle & family arrived in the evening from Cape Town, Mr D. to take charge of the school.

19th: The Landdrost came with Messrs Curry, (Capt) Crouse & the constable from Bathurst, about complaints against the people etc. The Landdrost proposed to have a constable at the place. I hear that he mentioned the affair of June 3rd as one reason why he should take the above mentioned step.

[ From July 20th repetitive entries of little interest have been omitted.]

31st: Was gardening. Recieved a side saddle for Mrs B. also Ridgley's Body of divinity from Cape Town.

August 3rd: Was gardening. Attended three funerals at the same time. A child of Piet Spandeels which was accustomed to drink water out of a tea kettle, drank scalding hot water yesterday evening & died in consequence this morning. Church meeting. Address 1 Jon 3. 1.

9th: Repaired the fire hearth. Mr Edwards set off on a journey on horseback to Bethelsdorp, Graaf Reinet, Somerset etc: Attended a funeral.

11th: Writing etc: Recieved an invitation to attend the Anniversary of the Baptist Chapel Grahams Town on the second Lords day in September.

12th: Preached this morning from Math. 14-23. On Private prayer. A good congregation. Just as we came out of Church a Constable arrived with a letter from the Landdrost, stating that in consequence of a threatened invasion of the Colony by a large body of Savages on the Frontier, he had to request that all the able bodied men we can muster may be held in readiness if required to assist in opposing them. Afternoon Preached from Luke 12-40. Evening a prayer meeting. Read Psal. 81.

13th: Was making a List of the persons warned on the order of the Landdrost of yesterday.

16th: Was gardening. Messrs Edwards & Maskell returned from Bethelsdorp, having relinquished their intended journey on account of the reports of the invading tribe.

18th: Was writing etc: Recieved a Letter from the Agents of the Cape Silk Company making enquiries on the subject of the object of that Company.

22nd: Rode to Salem, but was almost too late for the examination of the children. Our two biggest Girls were examined in Geography, the Subject was Africa. The Locust were in great numbers at Salem, a sight I never saw before.

25th: Was writing etc: Messrs Edwards & Doyle rode to the Cowie mouth to attend a sale. The men ordered to be held in readiness were requested to be at Grahams town on monday next & the Settlers were likewise ordered out, to be at the same place at the same time. <sup>710</sup>

26th: Preached this morning from Acts 7, part of 59 verse. Subject Ejaculatory prayer. <sup>711</sup> Afternoon held a prayer meeting to commend those to God who were about to leave us for the Commando. Andries Jager & Willem Platjes prayed much to the purpose. Evening a prayer meeting. Read the 33rd Psal.

27th: Was gardening. Our people left last night for the Commando.

September 3rd: Very hot. Therm. stood at noon, at 11/ in the sun. Missionary prayer meeting. Address from [ - ] .

6th: Rode out to Reed fountain. Recieved Magazines & Papers & Letters etc: from England. <sup>712</sup> A letter from Mr Thomas.

11th: Was reading etc: Rode out in the after-noon & the Mare fell with me, my leg was under her & my foot was sprained.

14th: My foot better, was writing etc: Recieved a note from Bethelsdorp informing me that Mr & Mrs Foster left on monday last for Cape to supply for Mr Miles whilst he is absent to Griqua Town.

16th: Preached from Acts 13-38. Just before the service commenced 12 men rode off the place & from the worship to meet the Lieut. Govn. & who altho: I protested against it, I could not prevent. After the service a messenger came to say that the Govn. would not be here untill to-morrow. Afternoon preached from Job 5-27. Information arrived that Mr Kayser <sup>713</sup> was outspanned in the Kariga. Evening address from Matt 12-42. A Boer was present all day.

17th: The pack horse & servants of the Lieut Governor & suit arrived this morning. Mr & Mrs Kayser arrived about 1 o'clock. The Governor & suite arrived between 2 & 3 o'clock. He spent some time in the School, walked thro: it twice & seemed much pleased with what he saw. He then visited several of the peoples houses with which he expressed himself surprised. <sup>714</sup>

He conferred on Boezak a Captains Staff. <sup>715</sup> I dined with him.

18th: At day light the Govr. & suit departed, thro: Salem toward Uitenhage. Mr & Mrs Kayser dined with us.

19th: Mr & Mrs Kayser left this day about 12 o'clock, for Caffre Land by way of Grahams Town.

22nd: The locust were over where the old vilage stood as thick as they could be, & even flying about the new vilage, but not in such numbers. Was studying.

24th: Rain this morning. Heard that Elias Campher was much worse, he died this afternoon.

26th: Was gardening etc: The field Cornet held an inquest on the Body of Elias Campher. Recieved the Prospectus of the South African Missionary Herald.

27th: Rain fore part of the day. A fine rain for the field. Was writing. Attended the funeral of Elias Campher.

29th: The locust very thick on the place & in the gardens etc: The dogs, cats, fowls, ducks & Pigs eating them. Was writing etc.

#### October

5th: Was writing. Church meeting. Address from Col: 3-8 to 12. A complaint against Piet Campher was preferred by Cobus Boezak, & which he declined bringing forward, was mentioned, but there was no person to substantiate the charge. He was nevertheless requested to withhold himself from the Ordinance to allow time to enquire.

12th: Was writing. Piet Nicolaas was brought home from the Cowie Bush, having been hurt by a Buffaloe. The animal had gored him in two places in the right thigh, & on the right temple. <sup>716</sup>

13th: Was writing etc: Dr Cowie came to see the man who was wounded by the Buffaloe & pronounced him not dangerous.

16th: Was preparing Report & Resolutions for the Public meeting appointed for to-morrow. A little rain.

17th: Mr Ayliff who was expected to preach, did not come, so that I was obliged to preach myself which I did from Job 30-25. In the afternoon I opened the meeting with singing & prayers. Willem Valentyn took the chair. The report was then read, which stated that the sum of Rds 135-4 had been recieved & Rds 126-6 expended. Mr Edwards moved that the Report now read be approved & was followed by Fillander Laberlot. Mr Doyle moved the second Resolution & was seconded by Piet Buys. I moved the third Resolution which was seconded by Hendrik Smitt. Cupido Heemro moved the fourth Resolution, which was seconded by Jan Boezak. Andries moved the fifth

Resolution which was seconded by Jantje Witbooy. The contributions amounted to Rds 10-3. The day was pleasantly spent although many people were absent.

18th: Was writing etc: Mr Kidwell was here. Received an invitation from Mr Davis to assist at the opening of a new Chapel at Port Francis on the 25 Novr. <sup>7'7</sup>

November 3rd: This morning about 2 o'clock Mrs B. called me up & about 3 o'clock I called the women to attend her. About half past 10 A.M. she was safely delivered of a daughter, a fine large child. The Birth was extremely trying, but God was gracious. Mr McDonald came.

16th: The right leg of the infant swelled & very hard, were poulticing it all day. <sup>7'8</sup> Mrs B. unwell. Rain all day.

18th: A fine soaking all day, just such a Rain as we much needed. Preached from Hosea 13-9 & Baptised a child. Afternoon we returned thanks in public for the refreshing rain. Evening a prayer meeting. Very few people at worship on account of the weather. The infant appeared a little better but its little leg was much swelled & hard.

25th: Rode to Port Francis/ or Cowie mouth/ to attend the opening a new Chapel which the Methodist friends had erected there. Messrs Shaw & Young from Caffre Land were there & Mr Davis from Grahams town with a number of the Grahams town friends. Mr Davis read prayers & Mr Shaw preached from Rom: 5-20 last clause. But where sin abounded etc: In the afternoon I preached from 1 Cor: 12-13. The place was well filled & the collections amounted to Rds 200. Mr Young was to preach in the evening. Rode home after the afternoon Service. Mr Maskell accompanied me.

29th: Was writing. Mr Maskell's chimney took fire & frightened him, but we extinguished it.

30th: Was writing. Church meeting. Address from Psal 5-9. The first number of a new Paper called the Colonist and published by Mr Bridekirk came to hand.

#### December

7th: Was writing. Wrote Mr Campbell of Kingsland.

8th: Was writing. Mr Morrison left. Mrs B. a little better but poorly. Mr & Mrs Edwards arrived from Bethelsdorp, Mrs E. having only been confined three weeks to-day.

13th: Mr & Mrs Morrison left this morning. Was the whole day busy with the people, endeavouring to adjust differences between some of the Church members.

14th: Was again busy with some of the Church members. In the evening

held the adjourned special church meeting. Ditz Trompetter was excluded for having used most disgusting & obscene language when quarreling with another woman. It was resolved to admit the members to the Lord's table by tickets <sup>719</sup> in future. The meeting was very interesting to me, & I hope to others.

17th: Was preparing to go to Salem for the children. Married six couples in the evening. Attended a funeral.

21st: Mrs Doyle <sup>720</sup> was delivered of a daughter about 3 o'clock this morning. Was writing.

23rd: Preached from the fourth Commandment & Baptised our little Girl by the name of Mary Ann. <sup>721</sup> Afternoon preached from Rom: 14-5 & 6. Visited a sick person. Evening a prayer meeting.

26th: Attended a funeral. The Corps was interred in a piece of land which we had selected for a new burying place. <sup>722</sup>

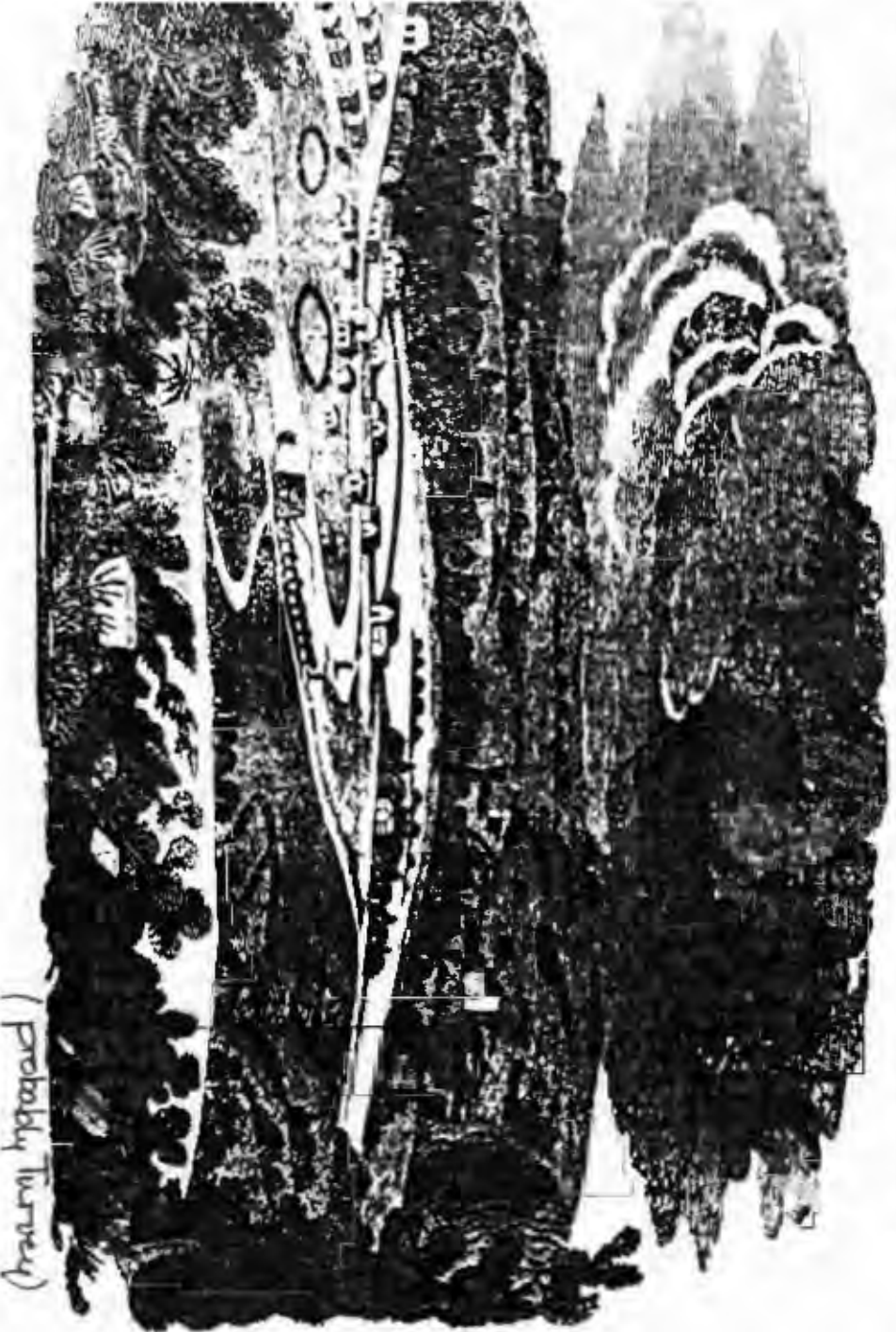
30th: Preached a discourse on the close of the year from Job 36-10 & 11. Afternoon a prayer meeting & in the evening the same.

31st: Rode to Grahams town. Attended the prayer meeting at Mr Monro's chapel & afterwards the Watch night at the Methodist chapel.

FOOT-NOTES1827

684. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
685. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
686. Here Barker is translating inaccurately from the Dutch. What he saw was probably a giraffe.
687. Cornelis Schalkwyk's farm appears on Knobel's Map of the Settlement, 1820-1822.
688. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
689. Ibid.
690. See List of Military: Appendix C(iv).
691. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
692. Ibid.
693. Ibid.
694. This was probably Piet Retief who owned land north-west of Theopolis.
695. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
696. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
697. To Barker, accustomed as he was to the well-attended services at Theopolis, the thin attendance must have come as a surprise.
698. *Erythrina Caffra* not only grew well and gave good shade but was also used for roofing shingles, which were reasonably fire-proof.
699. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
700. This is a further example of Khoi legislation in practice. Khoi who ran away from employment were captured and returned; and Barker's forebodings suggest that retribution might be the order of the day if there were opposition.
701. Saledon (Zuurbrak) was set up in 1811, discontinued in 1819 because Ziedenfaden was unsuitable and re-opened under Helm in 1827.
702. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
703. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(lii).
704. Ibid.
705. Ibid.
706. This chapel was in Dundas Street and was the mother church for both Trinity Presbyterian Church and for Union Church, Grahamstown.
707. This is an excellent example of the problem which existed in the separation of civic and spiritual control in the mission. While it is acknowledged that civic control should not have been the responsibility of the missionary, it would seem nevertheless necessary for him to have knowledge of civil discipline.

708. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
709. The Cape Silk Company was a short-lived company which was established to promote the silk industry.
710. Both Khoi and White Settlers were required to serve in levies in time of war.
711. These are brief petitions usually offered by members of the congregation after the Great Prayer in the service.
712. At this stage it appears that certain points were selected as post centres (cf. Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, p. 318).
713. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
714. Richard Bourke. See List of Governors & Chiefs: Appendix C(v).
715. This was a custom carried over from Dutch East India Company days, (cf. Chapter III in Thesis) and indicated Government approbation.
716. The Cape buffalo is notoriously wild and dangerous.
717. This was the Settler Church at Port Alfred.
718. This was probably caused by the breech birth of a very large child delivered by a clumsy midwife.
719. A system of cards or tickets has often been used in Protestant churches to enable the church elders or deacons to keep account of non-attendance and to prevent attendance by those excluded and those whose tickets were removed.
720. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
721. See Barker Family Tree: Appendix B(i).
722. This is the burial place across the Kasouga where Mrs Barker's grave, and others, can still be seen (1982).



(Probably Turkey)

VIEW OF THE SPAS RESORTS AT THE P. POLINA, SOUTH AFRICA (1827)



(Probably Italy)

1828

THEOPOLIS

G. Barker,  
Missionary.Observations 1828.

Changes among Europeans in the past year.

Mr Lloyd, the Butcher, &amp; family left.

Mr Hartley left the store &amp; the Institution.

Mr Doyle came to take charge of the school.

Europeans Resident at the Station.

G. Barker, Missionary, Wife &amp; 7 Children.

R. Edwards, Superintendant of temporal affairs Wife &amp; one child.

Mr Doyle, Schoolmaster, Wife &amp; 6 Children.

Mr Maskell, Shopkeeper, & Jas Read Junr Assistant. <sup>723</sup>

Mr Corner, Wife &amp; family.

16 houses inhabited at the New Village.

The Store. The two Mission houses.

The School Masters house. And 12 belonging to the people.

Another house is building in a line with the School masters house,  
for the Society, the walls of which are nearly up.

And one belonging to the people is nearly thatched.

1828

January 1st: At Grahams town. Mr Monro, being poorly, had not given notice of a service for this morning, but as I was there he sent round to say that a Dutch Service would be held. Not many were present, yet about 45 Hottentots attended, to whom I preached from Job 30-10, 11. The same sermon as at home last Sabbath. In the evening I met some of the Baptist friends & conversed with them on the state of their church. The opposition party mentioned the plans which they had thought of for future supply of the chapel & were evidently disposed to depose their present Minister. The New Magistracy were sworn into office at 12 o'clock to-day.

2nd: Was at work very hard to devise some plan for endeavouring to reconcile the Baptist church. Met the Deacons this evening after preaching & told them my opinion on the plans which they had formed & on the present state of their affairs & exhorted them to peace, I particularly entreated the Deacons to be unanimous & firm, & to strengthen the hands of their minister. Preached at the Baptist Chapel in the evening from Sol: Song 8-5 first part. <sup>724</sup>

3rd: My horse being absent since yesterday & not to be found, I applied to a person for one to bring me a certain distance, whence I had the promise of another, the man said he would send it, but did not. I was in

consequence obliged to remain.

4th: Left Grahams town this morning & arrived at home to dinner. Church meeting. Address from Psal. 16-6. Agillus May & Windvogel Trompetter, were admitted members.

5th: Was writing etc:

6th: Preached this morning from Gen. 47-9 & Baptised a child. Afternoon administered the Lords Supper to 61 Communicants. Evening a prayer meeting.

7th: Was employed all day adjusting differences between some of the members; more particularly the parties in an affair in which Mr Edwards & Wm Valentyn were involved, but in which we failed. Very hot.

[The weather from 8th to 11th was extremely hot & sultry and most of Barker's time was taken up with writing. Items of interest from the following period have been selected.]

13th: Preached this morning at Union Chapel in English, from Psal. 112-4. Afternoon in Dutch from Titus 3-8. Evening heard Mr Shrewsbury preach a Missionary sermon at the Methodist Chapel from Ezech. 37-9 & 10. An excellent discourse worthy of the eulogiums which it drew forth. I have not heard such a Sermon since I left England.

14th: Dined to-day with Mr Davies. The Anniversary of the Albany Auxiliary Missionary Society was held. At half past five o'clock Mr Davies opened the meeting with singing & prayer. I was called to the chair & Mr Davies read the report, which stated that the amount of subscriptions was more than in any former year. Mr Shaw moved the first Resolution, which was seconded by Mr Monro. Mr Shrewsbury moved the second Resolution, which was seconded by Mr Ayliff. Mr Kay moved the third Resolution, which was seconded by Mr Jenkins. Mr Young moved the fourth Resolution which was seconded by Mr Roberts & supported by Mr Wm Smith. Mr Thos Phillips moved the fifth Resolution which was seconded by Mr Davies & acknowledged by the chairman. The meeting was the most interesting of any that has been held yet.

15th: Bought a horse for 2 Oxen of Mr Ogilvie. Returned home from Grahams Town.

[From 16th January until 1st February he was "variously employed". The three Barker girls and Mrs Genl Campbell's two boys went back to school at Salem. Messrs Shaw & Shrewsbury visited on the 21st & Mr Shaw told of his work in Caffreland. The illness of Mr Thomas "the most valuable correspondent I have" was a cause for great regret. Public catechism of Theopolis children was commented on with pride.]

February 2nd: Was busy investigating an affair that was found groundless

to my joy. It was a rumour that the child Antje Veldman which was baptised on the 20th was not legitimately born, but the rumour turned out to be without proof. Church meeting. Jan Speelman who had been excluded the church for practicing the foolish deception of sorcery & for carrying on his person a small bud of which the natives of Africa are much afraid; came forward & confessed before the congregation the folly of giving heed to such fooleries. This he did in order if possible, to make an impression on the minds of the younger branches, & previous to his being proposed for readmittance into the Church. Antje Veldman was declared to be innocent, in our opinion of the rumour against her. Alcaster Coenradt & Johannes, lately joined to the Station & formerly members of Mr Van Der Lingens Church, <sup>725</sup> were received, as members. Jon Speelman was proposed. Piet Campher & Annaat his wife, were both excluded for disorderly conduct.

[ Between 3rd & 10th he was preparing for a visit to Bethelsdorp - the Sunday School Anniversary there. The Monros visited them on their way to the sea where it was hoped Mrs Monro would recover from "a bad leg". Unfortunately the hopes were not realised & the Monros returned home when Mrs Monro "was obliged to be carried". ]

11th: Rain last night which prevented us from leaving this morning so early as we otherwise intended. We rode to the Bushman River to breakfast, from Bushman River to Sunday River in the afternoon. At Sunday River the men proposed riding thro: which we did & arrived at Bethelsdorp about 2 o'clock in the morning.

12th: Was fatigued after the ride. Mrs Robson was confined with a son yesterday morning.

13th: Just before the Service Revd. Mr Smith from Uitenhage came. I preached from Rev. 1-3. In the afternoon Revd. Mr Smith took the chair. The Bible class read the 22nd chap. of Num; after which I catechised them. The report was very pleasing & the meeting interesting. The resolutions were moved by Messrs Sass, Robson, myself, Smith (who left the chair to move it) Read, Arnott, Van der Kemp, & Maskell and were seconded by the like number of Hottentots. Mr Smith was the only stranger present.

14th: Very hot. Dined at Mr Kemp's. Rode in the evening to Cradock's town. A thunder shower in the evening.

17th: Mr Robson went to Uitenhage & Mr Sass to Port Elizabeth. I took the service at home & preached on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, morning & evening. In the afternoon Mr Mediekamp <sup>726</sup> took the service & preached from Psal: 84-11 & 12. A good discourse. I was much delighted with the man.

18th: Left Bethelsdorp between 2 & 3 o'clock & rode to the Sunday River

on a horse provided for me, where we arrived at dark.

19th: Started early this morning & rode to the Bushman River where I rested. Afternoon rode to Salem where I came after dark.

20th: Arrived home this morning about 8 o'clock. Found all well through mercy. Was fatigued all day.

[The visit of the Lees<sup>727</sup> & McDonalds enabled the Barkers to visit the Mouth of the River to "bathe in the sea and ride along the beach". It was also the first time they ever "spent a night there". Other visitors on 29th of February were Messrs Davies & Robson. Steady work continued at the Mission until the end of June, disrupted only by continuing quarrels between Barker & Edwards & by visits & visitors. Selected high-lights are given here.]

March 1st: Rode to Reed fountain to attend a sale of Mr Bonnin's effects which were sold by a writ of the Sheriff, but although we arrived about 11 o'clock the sale was over & everything bought in again. Was writing etc:

2nd: Preached from 2 Cor: 8-21. Mr & Mrs McDonald, Mr & Mrs Lee & Mr Lee Junr & Mr Trueman<sup>729</sup> were present. Andries Jager was clerk for the first time. Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. Messrs McDonald Lee snr & Lee Junr: communed with us.

3rd: Mr Maskell arrived with Mrs Maskell about day break this morning, having got married at Uitenhage. Rode to the mouth of the river with the family & spent the day there. Evening Missionary prayer meeting address general.

8th: Rode to Grahams Town to be present at the formation of an Auxiliary Missionary Society at Union Chapel in connexion with the London Missionary Society.<sup>731</sup> The day was extremely hot, & the ride was fatiguing. Did not get in untill dark.

9th: Heard Mr Monro lecture from Sol. Song 3-1 & 2. Afternoon did not attend the Dutch preaching. In the evening Mr Davies preached the preparatory sermon from Rom: 10-14 & 15 which I did not hear. I preached at Wesleyan Chapel from Ezech. 18-31 with much liberty.

10th: Went to Mr Monro's about 11 o'clock & found him much dejected on account of opposition to the proceedings of the meeting having been threatened by Wm Smith. The morning hazy & Monro talked of putting the meeting off, which I opposed. Mr Morgan from Somerset arrived. At 5 o'clock P.M. the chair was taken by Mr Thornhill. The meeting was addressed by Myself, Mr Doyle, Mr Duxbury, Mr Davies, Mr Walker,<sup>733</sup> Myself, Mr Edwards, Revd. Mr Morgan, Mr Blair,<sup>734</sup> Mr Monro, Mr Brown<sup>735</sup> etc. No opposition was made. Mr Lawson & Major Duidas were present. The collections Rds 192.

11th: Heavy rain all day, could not get out of doors. Mr Morgan left in the rain. Could not leave town.

12th: Rain all day, could not leave for home. Preached in the evening at the Baptist Chapel from Math: 14-30, 31. Notwithstanding the rain about 30 persons were present.

13th: Called on the Civil Commissioner etc. & left the town about 3 o'clock & arrived safe home. <sup>736</sup>

15th: Writing. An inquest was held on the body of Katryn Zoldaat, who recieved a wound on the head some time since at a Boer's place. The Doctor was of the opinion that a Consumption was the cause of her death & not the wound. Attended the funeral.

April 4th: Mrs Barker & Edward with the little one, left for Salem, with the intention of going from there to Grahams town. Was writing. Church meeting. Address from 1 Cor. 2-8. Filida Jakobs was recieved.

12th: Having been invited to preach the Anniversary Sermon at the Baptist chapel on behalf of the Sunday School there I started on horse-back, but I found the horse was sick, & fearing the fatal disease of the Season I returned back. In the evening Messrs Read, Hamilton & Ayliff arrived just at dusk. The waggons with Mr E. Kemp, Mrs J. Kemp & Mrs Read & family arrived about 9 o'clock.

13th: Mr Read preached this morning from Psal 120-2 latter clause. Afternoon Mr Hamilton preached from Luke 19-41, 42. The place was crowded to excess. In the evening I preached from Neh: 4-10. The evening service was well attended.

15th: Rode to the mouth of the River with Mr Hamilton. Mr Read & family all went & spent the night there.

18th: Messrs Read & Hamilton left for Grahams town. And Mr & Mrs Kemp for Bathurst.

22nd: Katryn Niclaas was very bad, having been in labour since thursday last. The Doctor was sent for, but did not come.

23rd: The Doctor was again sent for. Katryn was delivered about 5 o'clock in the evening, but died very suddenly about an hour after.

24th: At two o'clock this morning Dr Campbell <sup>737</sup> arrived from Grahams town, having ridden thro: the night. He left again about 2 o'clock. Attended a funeral.

May 7th: Heard this morning from the people that Mr Edwards was going to Bethelsdorp this week, to finish the Roof of the Bay Chapel. On enquiry found it was resolved on, but as the waggon had to be repaired first, he intended to leave on saterday. On hearing this I gave up the

idea of proceeding myself to the meeting. Had an opportunity of writing to the brethren the reason why I should not come.

11th: Mrs Barker ill in bed. Preached from Psal. 54-5 & Baptised Mr Doyle's child. Afternoon a prayer meeting for the blessing of God to rest on the assemblies in London during this the Mission week, which blessing was affectionately implored by Wenzel Heemro & Hendrik Smitt.

26th: Was the whole day employed with a party who had been out Elephant Shooting for some months, & had disposed of all the teeth at various Canteens. As some of these are members of the Church I was determined to enquire into the affair. <sup>738</sup>

June 5th: Rode round to all the outposts & called at every house, which was a good days work for man & horse.

14th: Was sermonizing. Had another dispute with Mr Edwards. We never shall unite & be comfortable, until both change, which would to God was the case, for the Station suffers.

19th: Rode to Reed fountain. Recieved Magazines Reports, News papers etc from England, with a letter from Mr Thomas etc:

20th: Was informed of the death of Evan Evans who left his station at the Paarl, on account of his health. He died in Wales in Jany last. Attended a funeral.

22nd: Preached from Lam. 4-2. A kind of funeral sermon for Brother Evan Evans. Afternoon a prayer meeting.

27th: Was framing some Portraits etc: - Church meeting. Stoffel Boezak was excluded. Alcaster Coenrad admonished & other business deferred. Recieved a letter from Revd. Jno Campbell, Kingsland.

July 1st: In the afternoon Messrs Robson, Ayliff, & Van der Kemp arrived. Soon after Mr Duxbury & in the course of the evening Mr Brownlee.

2nd: Mr Brownlee preached this morning from Psal. 90-16 & 17. About 1 o'clock the meeting for business commenced. Mr Edwards began with Reading & prayer. Mr Robson was called to the chair. Mr Edwards as secretary. Read the Report. Mr Brownlee moved the first resolution, which was seconded by Hendrik Smitt. Mr Ayliff the Second, seconded by Jan Valentyn. Mr Corner the third seconded by Mr Duxbury. Mr Van Der Kemp the fourth, seconded by Jas Read Junr. Barker the fifth seconded by Cornelius Magerman, Mr Doyle the last, seconded by Mr Edwards. Just before the meeting closed, several friends from Reed fountain came in. In the evening Mr Robson began with reading & prayer, & Mr Duxbury preached in English, text Thy Kingdom come, & Mr Ayliff concluded. The Collections amounted to Rds 32. Messrs van der Kemp & Read Junr held the plates at

the door.

3rd: Messrs Ayliff & Duxbury left to-day, the others remained, Attended a funeral.

4th: We were conversing together etc. & preparing to go to Grahams town.

5th: Rode to Grahams town in company with Messrs Robson, Brownlee, Van der Kemp & Read Junr; arrived at dusk in the evening.

6th: Mr Chalmers<sup>739</sup> from Love Dale, preached a judicious discourse this morning from Prov: 8-34. Afternoon, Mr Robson read & prayed & Mr Brownlee preached from [ - ]. In the evening, I commenced the Service & Mr Robson preached from Phil: 3-8 former part. An excellent Sermon. Messrs Chalmers & Robson preached in English & Mr Brownlee in Dutch. In the evening the Baptist friends shut up their place. The Collections amounted to 9*fl*. This closed the first anniversary of Union Chapel.

7th: Our friends began to leave this morning & in the course of the day I was the only one remaining. Gave an address at the Missionary prayer meeting this evening at Union Chapel in English.

8th: Was doing a little business to-day which detained me too late to proceed home. Addressed a tollerable company of Hottentots in Mr Monro's nouse this evening.

9th: Rode home. Married a couple in the evening.

10th: Felt rather unwell, found that I had taken cold.

[Routine mission work & gardening occupied Mr Barker from 11th July until 7th August. The event, described in great detail, which most impressed him, was the death of the Senior Deacon, Willem Platje. This is among the entries chosen from this period.]

17th: Rode to Reed fountain with Mrs B. & dined at Mr Penny's<sup>740</sup> with Mr & Mrs Ayliff.

19th: Rode this morning to the Long fountain to see Willem Platjes he was ill but had lain but two days. On entering the Hutt, found his wife etc weeping, who said that he had just fainted. I asked him if he could speak & he answered yes, but his breath was very short. I asked how he felt, & he said Xt is alsufficient & that is all my hope. I observed that he had long served the Church of Christ & Jesus would not forsake him in death. He said with great emphasis, My services have been imperfect & on them I cannot depend, but God is alsufficient & on him I rest. We then conversed on the settling of his little property, which he said he wished to leave to his wife & desired me to make his will. I kneeled down to commend him to God, which I did with feelings not to be described & on rising saw him reclining on the bosem of his wife, & as we supposed

fainting, but he instantly breathed his last without a struggle. Mark the perfect man, for the end of that man is peace was the first thought which crossed my mind on seeing him depart. Was writing etc.

20th: Preached this morning on the 7th Commandment. Adultery the subject, & Baptised three children, one of them the son of Mr Edwards. Afterwards rode to long fountain to meet the corps of our departed Brother which was brought in a waggon on to the place. It was then taken off the waggon & placed on a Bier & a Pall laid over the coffin, both of which were used for the first time. The Deacons of the Church followed first, then the Relatives of the deceased, then the members of the Church two & two, then the other inhabitants of the place, & last Mr Edwards brought the children. The whole were extremely orderly, & the procession had an imposing effect, the like had never been seen at Theopolis before. Six of the older inhabitants were selected to bear the body to the grave. At the grave we sang his favourite Hymn, the 29th, then read the 15th Chap: 1 Cor: & gave a short address & Mr Edwards concluded with prayer. The deceased was Deacon of the Church from the establishment of the Institution in 1814 & I believe at Bethelsdorp also. He was a man of gentle inoffensive manner, & of unblamable conduct.<sup>741</sup> I never knew him to have a quarrel with any one. In the evening I preached from Mark 1-40.

25th: Was writing etc: Recieved an Ordinance respecting bordering Tribes.<sup>742</sup>

27th: Preached this morning from Job 19 part of 25 verse. "For I know my Redeemer liveth". A funeral sermon for Willem Platjes. Afternoon a prayer meeting. Evening an address from Mark 8-24, 25. Mr McD. present.

28th: Rode out with Mrs B. afternoon. Mr McD. went to Col: Fraser's farm & returned this evening.

30th: Was gardening. Attended a funeral. Heard that a man was found drowned in the Bushman River which is suggested to be Veldman Bootsman.

August 1st: Was gardening etc: Recieved an Ordinance setting the Hottentots & other coloured inhabitants of the Colony on a footing with the other, & white inhabitants.<sup>743</sup>

2nd: Thos Phillipps Esqr Justice of the Peace, came to investigate a case of theft. Sibina Stuurman, a girl in Mr Maskell's service, had taken goods out of the shop to the amount of Rds 62. She was committed on the evidence produced, & sent in charge of a Constable to the District Prison. May this be a warning to others.

[ From August until the end of the year items of interest have been selected. It was a period of great activity in the garden and a "Bower" was erected and a stony area cleared. All visitors are recorded. ]

10th: Preached from 2 Cor: 13-11 in the morning. Mr & Mrs Shepherd, from Grahams town visiting at Mr Doyle's were present. Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. Mr & Mrs Shepherd sat down with us. Evening preached from Prov: 1-23.

September 8th: Was preparing to go to the opening of the New Chapel at Port Elizabeth. <sup>745</sup>

9th: Rode to Salem & preached there in English from Rom: 8-13.

10th: Rode to Sunday River. The country very dry & no water on the road.

11th: Arrived at Bethelsdorp to dinner, found all well. Mr Messer came toward evening. Mr Kemp's house took fire, which was immediately discovered & providentially extinguished without much damage.

12th: To-day Messrs Davis & Kay arrived, Mr D: from Grahams town & Mr K. from Somerset.

13th: Spent the day in study etc:

14th: We all rode to the Bay this morning & Mr Davis preached in the morning in English from Psal 87-5. Mr Robson commenced with reading & prayer. Afternoon Mr Mettlerkemp began with reading & prayer & I preached from Psal: 126-3 in Dutch. Evening Mr Foster read & prayed & Mr Kay preached in English from Psal 84-7. The congregations were all good. The afternoon one particularly so & Rds 69 collected at the close. The chapel is very neat & a very good one. May the presence of the most high dwell there. We all dined & took tea at Union Cottage & rode to Bethelsdorp after the evening service. Rain on the road.

15th: Rain this morning. Mr Davis left in the afternoon.

16th: Rain all day. Mr Messer left for Uitenhage. In the afternoon I addressed the children at the monthly Lecture from Prov: 8-32. In the evening Mr Kay preached in English from Psal, 39-12.

17th: Mr Kay rode to the Bay. I had my horse saddled, but the rain prevented me from leaving.

18th: Left Bethelsdorp at 7 o'clock this morning. Messrs Read & Foster rode a little way with us. Reached the Bushman River about 8 o'clock in the evening.

19th: Started this morning about 7 o'clock & had heavy rain all the way to Salem, which we reached at one, an uncomfortable ride. By the good providence of God, reached home about 9 o'clock in the evening & found all well; & the people all returned from the Commando.

21st: Preached from Prov: 2-21 & 22. Afternoon gave an account of the proceedings at opening the Bay Chapel. Evening read 2 Kings 2 Chap.

27th: Rode to Grahams town to attend the Anniversary of the opening of the Baptist Chapel.

28th: Mr Monro shut his place this morning & preached for the Baptist friends, from Czech: 48-35. In the afternoon I preached from 2 Cor: 13-11. In the evening Mr Young preached, but I did not hear him. The Collections of the day were Rds 100. In the evening I preached for Monro from "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation".

October

746

9th: Rode to Mr Collis to see a sick man, found him very ill & ignorant, but desirous.

10th: Church meeting. Sarah Dansder was excluded for Adultery & other business transacted.

12th: Preached this morning from 2 Tim. 2-5, & Baptised a child. Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. Evening read 2 Kings 4 chap. Mr Rutherford was present at the morning service. After the morning service Messrs Sanderson Gore & another from Cape Town & Mr Thomson from Grahams town called & visited the school etc.

13th: Rode to Long fountain. Mr & Mrs Edwards rode out with the waggon to the mouth of the Fish River.

22nd: Was gardening. Recieved a Wedding Cake from one of the parties married on Monday.

25th: Rode to Grahams Town to attend the Anniversary of the Sunday School at Union Chapel.

26th: Heard Mr Monro preach part of his sermon this morning. Preached in Dutch in the afternoon from Acts 10-33. "Now therefore" etc: In the evening preached the Anniversary Sermon of the Sunday school in English from Prov. 22-6.

27th: To-day the children of the school were examined, & many of them recited select pieces, portions of Scripture, Hymns etc: highly to the satisfaction of all. The day passed off very pleasantly.

28th: Rode home & Mr Monro accompanied me.

29th: Spent this morning in the School, heard the Higher classes read & recite passages of scripture etc. Considering this was the first time, they did very well. Rode to the mouth of the River with Mr Monro.

30th: Held the Anniversary of our Benevolent Society. Mr Edwards preached in the morning from Deut: 15-7 to 11. In the afternoon the meeting for business was held. I opened the meeting with singing & prayer. Mr Monro was called to the chair. The Report stated that Rds 94-1, had been recieved, & Rds 102 expended. The resolutions were moved by Messrs Edwards, Doyle,

Read Junr. Barker, Jan Valentyn. And seconded by Messrs Marinus van Buling, Cantje Witbooy, Hendrik Smitt, Oranje Wildschut, Cornelius Magerman & Frederik Jordaan. It was by far the most lively meeting we ever had, & all seemed highly delighted. Mr E's sermon was a good one but wanted more clearness of expression.

31st: Mr Monro returned this morning. Recieved a letter from Dr Philip & some Catechisms from Mr Miles.

November 2nd: Preached this morning from Rom: 11-29 & Baptised a child. Barend Rudolph was present. Afternoon administered the Lords Supper. Evening Read 2 Kings 7 chap-

4th: Was gardening. <sup>748</sup> Mr Philipps & Revd. Mr Carlisle called & went into the school. Married a couple.

5th: Rain. Capt. Stockenstrom & a Mr Campbell <sup>749</sup> called & visited the School. Although I had never seen Capt. Stockenstrom before, we entered into very familiar conversation at once, on the late Ordinance & its effects, & on the state of the Hottentots in general.

7th: Recieved the Morning Chronicle giving an account of a Resolution passed in Parliament, on the motion of T.F. Buxton, respecting the Hottentots. May they appreciate the advantage they have recieved.

10th: Rode to Grahams town to attend the Assizes, with Messrs Maskell & Read.

11th: Went into Court this morning at 9 o'clock & did not leave it untill past 6 o'clock P.M. I was much satisfied with everything but the Interpreter, & he mutilated & spoiled the evidence entirely. The first case was for stealing money from a Jacket pocket, the sentence, two years hard labor. An English lad. The second case was against an English man, for borrowing a horse with intent to cheat the owner, whose horse the borrower sold. He pleaded guilty & was sentenced to 6 months hard labor. The third case, was for housebreaking & theft, two soldiers of the 55th Pled guilty. Two years hard labor. The fourth case was for stealing - a black boy. Plea guilty. Two years hard labor. The forth case was for housebreaking & stealing a carpet. Two years & half hard labor. The fifth case was stealing from Mr Maskells shop, a Girl of this place who lived with him. 6 months imprisonment with 6 weeks solotary confinement.

12th: Went to the Court, but as they were trying civil cases which were only debts, I did not go in. Rode home in the afternoon. In the evening gave the people an account of the trials etc:

19th: Was mending sacks, to put some Barley in.

21st: Was writing etc: Had my Barley brought home, 15 muiden, a very fair

crop for one muid. <sup>750</sup>

22nd: Rode to Grahams town to preach for Mr Monro on the morrow. The day very hot & the ride fatiguing.

23rd: Preached this morning in English from 2 Pet: 1-10. Afternoon in Dutch from 2 Cor: 5-10. Evening in English from Mark 16-16.

24th: After transacting some business rode home, it rained nearly the whole of the journey.

27th: The black mare foaled last night, a Chestnut mare colt. Mr & Mrs Monro came from the sea rather late.

28th: Mr & Mrs Monro left this morning at 8 o'clock. Was bad with my right ear.

December 3rd: Was writing all day. A young ox was spanned in for the first time, was strangled in the Yoke. Attended a funeral.

4th: Finished & sent off A Report of the Station to the Directors.

5th: Wrote Mr Thomas. Mr Edwards returned from Caffre Land.

6th: Was studying etc: Mr Ayliff came to preach to-morrow.

7th: Rode to the Cowie mouth. The river was so boisterous, being greatly agitated with a strong wind, which aided a strong current outward, that I was afraid I should not get over, but at last the Boatman put me over, altho: too late to take the morning service, as it had commenced before I arrived. Mr Davis preached from Exod. 20-24. Afternoon I preached from Luke 9-61. In the evening Mr Walker from Caffre Land preached from Heb: 4-14 to end. Afterwards the Finance was administered. The day was showery, & the wind blew a hurricane, but the attendance was good & the collections of the day amounted to nearly 10£. After the morning service the Boatman sent word that he could not cross with the boat, to take anyone back. Mr Ayliff came to the brink of the river & turned back, could not cross. <sup>751</sup>

8th: Crossed the river this morning & arrived home to Dinner.

9th: Was writing. Wrote Mr Bannister <sup>752</sup> in answer to a string of 13 questions respecting the Aborigines of this part & the conduct of Govt. toward them.

13th: Recieved a Box of Bibles & Testaments, English & Dutch from Mr Miles, to be sold for account.

15th: Mr Foster came from Grahams town. Was writing etc:

16th: Was writing etc: Mr Foster & Mrs Genl Campbell took tea with us. Attended a funeral.

20th: Recieved two Pidgions & two Rabbits for the children. Was writing etc.

22nd: Rode to the sea to spend a few days there, with Mrs B. & family.

25th: Rode up from the sea & preached in the afternoon from Luke 2-10 & 11.

28th: Rode up from the sea & preached from Neh: 9 - part of v. 19. Afternoon Catechised the children; this was certainly the most interesting opportunity which we have had, the children gave proof that they understood the language & subject & know something of the workings of Conscience & have an idea of good & evil. May God in Infinite mercy sanctify the knowledge which they obtain. After the afternoon service Rode to the sea.

31st: Returned home this morning, the day extremely hot. Evening held an interesting prayer meeting to close the year. Read the 90th Psalm & made a few general remarks on the sins which we have to confess, the goodness of God toward us, & our ingratitude. Hendrik Smitt prayed very much to the purpose.

This ends the Fourteenth Year since I left my Father's house to sojourn in a strange Land. Mercy & goodness have followed me all the way. Here I erect an Ebenezer & say, Thus far the Lord hath helped me.

723. The son of James Read of Bethelsdorp and Kat River, he subsequently married Ann Barker.
724. Barker might be accounted a busybody by some, but there is little doubt of his genuine interest in and desire to help his fellow settlers.
725. Van der Lingen had ministered both in Grahamstown and Graaf Reinet before joining the Dutch Reformed Church.
726. Mr Metlerkamp was Secretary of the South African Missionary Society.
727. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
728. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
729. Ibid.
730. Ibid.
731. Once more a group was set up to aid in fund-raising for a newly established L.M.S. church.
732. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
733. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
734. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
735. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
736. The Landdrost and Heemraden were replaced by judicial Magistrates and executive Civil Commissioners.
737. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
738. The system followed at the Institutions was that all trading was done through the Mission which, in return for its services and to raise money for its maintenance, took a percentage or paid wages to the men.
739. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
740. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
741. This obviously marked a new approach to Christian burial.
742. This is a reference to Ordinance 49 of 1828, which permitted Xhosa to obtain work permits.
743. This is a reference to Ordinance 50 of 1828.
744. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
745. This was the future Union Congregational Church in Chapel Street, Port Elizabeth, where Mr Robson was the Minister.
746. See List of Settlers: Appendix C(iii).
747. Ibid.
748. See List of Missionaries & Ministers: Appendix C(i).
749. See List of Officials: Appendix C(ii).

750. If this is compared with the Ullbricht return of 1819 viz. 3 muid planted and 8 muid gathered, Barker's was an excellent crop and indicative of considerable improvement.
751. Here there appears to be considerable doubt about the exact place where crossings of the Kowie River were made.
752. Saxe Bannister (1790-1877), a former Attorney General of van Diemensland in Australia, quarreled with the Governor there and came to the Cape in 1828, settling as a barrister in Cape Town. He toured extensively in the Eastern Areas and with Farewell made plans for an establishment at Port Natal. He is famous for his book: Humane Policy or Justice to the Aborigines of New Settlements Essential to a Due Expenditure of British Money, (published London, 1830).

EDUCATION AT THE CAPE

Commentary in the Journal and in reading on Mission history led to an investigation of Education at the Cape. It becomes obvious that the Mission schools must have been a cause of considerable envious ill-feeling on the part of the Dutch farmers first, and subsequently of the Settlers. The Dutch, particularly, as Calvinists, set a high value on literacy (especially Biblical History) as a pre-requisite for intelligent Church membership, yet education was denied to their children as the following history shows.

It has, justifiably, been claimed that much of the early education in South Africa was, in fact, education by living. Early on children had to solve environmental problems, ward off dangers and in their respective spheres boys and girls had to learn to face the needs of the household and of the flocks and herds. They early learnt the value of sturdy independence and of a strong religious faith. In a more conventional field education came under the immediate control of the Church through sick-comforters or itinerant schoolmaster examined by the Kerkraad. In its turn the Kerkraad was controlled by the Consistory of the Cape which was strongly influenced by the Presbytery of Amsterdam. Later (after 1714) Church influence was maintained through the Schoolarons, all of whom were members of the Church.

The ruling body at the Cape, the Council of Policy, ordained that all burgers were to attend church, thus marking from the start the close link which existed between Church and State. This link was clearly shown in the authority invested in the Consistory and Kerkraad as far as education was concerned for, while the Council of Policy sanctioned the actions of the educational authorities and received petitions regarding teachers, they did not themselves make educational pronouncements.

In 1658 a school for slaves under Pieter van der Stael was set up in Cape Town. This school was intended to teach slaves the rudiments of religion and sufficient Dutch to make them useful in their work. They were difficult pupils from West Africa; they played truant and had to be bribed first with rum and tobacco and later, in the school set up under Jan Pasqual at the instigation of the Lord of Mydrecht, with "soet-koekies".

European children, who received their education at the hands of the sick-comforter, must have rejoiced when the great white sails of the Indiamen hove into sight, for the barn loft in which they were taught was required for the accommodation of sea-weary sailors and days of holiday for the

children ensued.

In 1663 Sick-Comforter Back was officially appointed as schoolmaster and emphasis was laid on religious instruction and writing as a preparation for membership of the church. He could demand monthly fees from the parents of the twelve white children, one slave and four Hottentots who attended his school. In 1665, as a result of complaints regarding his behaviour, Back was exiled to Holland and first the Fiscal and then a series of sick-comforters undertook the duties of schoolmaster. The number of children increased and an improved, and enlarged, building was brought into use. The Lord of Mydrecht, a thorough and efficient Commissioner, instructed Simon van der Stel to extend and improve educational facilities and in 1690 Cape Town could boast its first kindergarten. Meantime, what might be regarded as the first apartheid legislation, was introduced (at the instigation of the Church) and in 1676 a school for Coloureds was established.

In the country districts, apart from itinerant teachers, Mankadan had established his school at Stellenbosch (1683) and Paul Roux set up his school at Drakenstein to cater for the Huguenots. The history of this school is a little obscured but it appears that in 1700 one, de Groot, was giving instruction, as successor to Roux, in both Dutch and French and in 1708 Bosman took over and continued instruction in both media. In the same year Stellenbosch reached a new "high" in education when Bastiaan Ceval took over as beadle and sick comforter and so as schoolmaster. The work of these "official" schoolmasters was supplemented, especially where French was concerned, by such teachers as Jean de Camau, David du Buisson and Jean Blignaut.

In 1714 Governor de Chavonnes took a firm hand in educational affairs and drew up an admirable codified set of rules which covered a wide range of educational topics. The position before de Chavonnes was confused, as no single body was really responsible for education and no general law existed. In Cape Town the Kerkraad exerted considerable authority but even here private schools with a minimum of state control existed. In 1707 De le Boq suggested a system such as that drawn up by de Chavonnes. In 1710 a visiting Governor General suggested a Council of Scholarchs but the matter again was dropped. Pasques de Chavonnes, however, was not a Governor to hesitate and in 1714 his "ordonnantie van die school ordenning" was issued. Teachers were to be examined with regard to "learning and life" - by the Council of Policy. Having passed this test they were instructed to teach the Lords Prayer, the Ten Commandments, Morning and Evening Prayers, the articles of Faith, Grace before and after meal, the ordinary prayers and the Catechism. The children also had to learn to sing Psalms. In

addition children were, if possible, to be taken to Church and on Monday the sermon (which was undoubtedly lengthy!) was discussed in school. At both church and school the sexes were to be strictly separated.

Books used were those found in Holland to be "suitable and useful" and a strict ruling was made that teachers were to "hear the children's work themselves", an obvious reference to the monitorial system. They were also to display the school rules and keep a strict register of attendance. In addition to which rules were made regarding the payment of school fees each month and the number of holidays to be granted. Finally the teacher himself has to declare his faith in the articles of the Calvinist church and in the Catechism and to sign certain of the articles of the Synod of Dort.

It is obvious that this law was aimed at controlling the sort of person who taught (viz. that they should be good churchmen if not good educationists) and also in making sure that, above all else, sound religious education should be the foundation of all education. A board of Scholarchs consisting of the Secunde, the Minister and the Captain of the Garrison (Helot, d'Helly & Bergh) was set up to see to the implementation of this law but the law was not then interpreted by the Council of Policy who retained control until 1734, deciding themselves whether a person were suitable to teach or not.

In 1714 Slicher's Latin school was established with Slicher himself as Rector and in his own eyes, at least, a very important person in education. In fact, the regulations laid down by this school with regard to teachers, the division of money and the books used can be said to have influenced de Chavonnes. Spelling, reading and writing in Dutch were taught as were Arithmetic and Latin. The school was very popular with those parents who wanted "advanced" education for their children and it rapidly increased in size. Slicher himself became a Minister of the Church and by 1730 the school was forced to close for lack of sound teachers.

There were too, private primary schools where religious education, the three R's, singing, Dutch, French and even Mathematics were taught. Some of these schools had more than one hundred pupils and the schoolmasters wanted the number of schools limited as they were dependent on fees to make a living. While these schools received wide support the classes were often too large to be manageable and it is regrettable to think that many of the "teachers" used the schools as stepping stones to "Higher" office! These private schools were, of course, according to de Chavonnes ordinance, illegal and in 1837 the Council of Policy, at the instigation of the Scholarchs (who were now taking a more active part in educational affairs) closed a school run by one Meyer, on apparently no better grounds than that it was "private"

and that not sufficient attention was given to religious instruction. It was in 1743 that the ministers decided that schoolmasters were only to use the Catechism of van der Palts and were to give "more devoted attention" to the articles of the Faith and prayers.

De Mankadan's school at Stellenbosch meanwhile flourished although the instruction was very limited, consisting of what have been named the four R's of the period. Constantly changing sick-comforters did not deter those whose interest in the school was first nurtured by Simon van der Stel. It is noteworthy that French as a separate language had by 1743 died out. By 1761 the office of schoolmaster and voorleser were combined and, while the Kerkraad remained powerful, better days followed for this "new" official who being better paid was more content with his lot.

In 1743 van Imhoff visited the Cape and made quite clear that he considered education, particularly in the interior, to be very deficient. His immediate reaction was to get the help of the predikants (a significant action?) who put the blame on the sparsely populated areas with inadequate churches. He suggested at once the building of more churches, the appointment of more ministers and sick-comforters and the establishment of boarding schools. In 1743 a parish was started at Waveren, in 1744 at Swarteland and in 1745 at Grootvadersbosch. This, of course, carried with it the implication of schools as well. van Imhoff suggested too that "examinations" be set for itinerant teachers but not much came of this, especially in outlying districts. He also suggested that Kerkraads should examine candidates but this rule proved so unworkable that it was, in fact, withdrawn in 1769. Religion, in fact, remained a bulwark against barbarism.

After 1782 the Scholarchs took a far more active part in educational affairs. In 1786 they allowed the establishment of a military school where mathematics and military strategy were to be taught. This school, briefly successful, was closed as the result of the D.E.I.C.'s retrenchment policy.

Ziegler also set up a school in Cape Town. He was a "private" teacher who, in spite of a scholarch's plan for a Latin school, wanted a Dutch-French school. After lively debate in the Council of Policy it was decided to allow him to open his school. This body (the C. of P.) turned a blind eye on the private primary schools but officially recognised the schools run by the Deacons for underprivileged children. Another private school was that set up by the Lutheran Church in 1791.

Conditions in the interior remained bad and the people here were still dependent on "released" company officials and on itinerant "rogues". After 1786 the Church and Scholarchs tried to get boarding schools set up but

this failed and in 1794 new rules were drawn up for the "release" of company servants. At Stellenbosch Ds Knoop and at Paarl Krugel were exceptions to the generally low standards existing in the interior.

It is obvious that the part played by the Church in education was considerable. Calvinism, with its strong tradition with regard to education, kept alive a desire for learning and encouraged the maintenance of good standards and of independence, freedom and integrity. Every member of the Church had to be literate before being accepted for full membership (this was so important that in many parts of the country it was referred to as boerematriek"!.) Education then at least in religion and arithmetic was vital and caused the Predikants to take an active interest in education and to throw their not inconsiderable weight into the battle for improved standards.

From 1665 until 1714 the Consistory was in control of education though this control existed mainly in Cape Town. The Kerkraad was responsible for the examination of teachers and it is obvious that the emphasis would be on sound religion rather than on sound general education. They supervised and examined schools and here again religious soundness was the criterion - thus in 1769 a schoolmaster who denied the stories of Noah, Moses and the Great Flood and who made derogatory remarks about Bible "heroes" was interviewed by the dominee. As no effective further steps were possible the matter was reported to the Governor and the man was banished. In 1785 the civil authorities laid down a curriculum, rules for discipline, hours of study and also, showing that the authority remained, they ordained that the dominee should visit the school twice a week. Furthermore schools could be closed on order of the Kerkraad as for example on the order of the Kerkraad of Drakenstein a schoolmaster, du Toit, had to close his school in Wagenmakersvallei in 1794.

It is interesting to observe the influence of the church too through individual ministers. In 1707 Ds le Boeg, writing to the Amsterdam Presbytery, caused an enquiry into education at the Cape. He pointed out many deficiencies - such as the inadequacy of many sick-comforters as schoolmasters by the fact that in one case a coloured and in another a known bandit were practising as schoolmasters. Soon after this disparaging report was sent - indicating the general decline in company standards - Chevannes drew up his new educational ordinance of 1714.

As a result of this ordinance the Board of Scholarchs was set up - really the first ad hoc "Board of Education". For long a dormant body, it was roused from its lethargy by the Report of a Regimental Chaplain, Dr Jean

Frédéric Spénlin. It gave an excellent, if gloomy, picture of education. Rousseau's influence is obvious in his words "Assist nature! Second her views!! Favour her intentions!!! Take advantage of her dispositions!!!! The rest will take care of itself". Surely an excellent summary of a position where nature was often the only teacher!

Finally let it be said that the deacons of Cape Town did sterling work among underprivileged and orphaned children in that city. The Church's influence then can be traced in administration (through Kerkraad, Scholarchs and Sick-Comforters), in supervision (through sick-comforter and dominee) in the content of education and in finance where sick-comforters were paid by the church and where church buildings were used.

Until 1714 the Consistory and indirectly the Presbytery of Amsterdam was directly responsible for education. In 1714, however, a Board of Scholarchs was set up indicating that sort of move common to most countries from church to state aided to state education. There was, of course, the usual attitude in such cases of strong opposition to state "interference". The Scholarchs were all members (and mostly elders) of the D.R. Synod and it can therefore be claimed that the Board was to all intents and purposes a Committee of the D.R. Church. However, as the demand for education grew (and so a demand for finance) more power came into the hands of the state and until the 1780's the Council of Policy wielded considerable educational authority.

The Scholarchs in 1737 became, to a certain extent and still limited by the Kerkraad, responsible for the choice of teachers. In the same year they drew attention to certain anomalies and asked for the dismissal of certain teachers. However, this power lapsed again and after 1743 and under van Imhoff's influence the Church reassumed its mantle of authority and from 1743-1777 the Kerkraad and not the Scholarchs examined prospective teachers and advised the Council of Policy regarding their appointment, thus once more belief rather than ability was the criterion.

As the Company declined so did the power of the Scholarchs increase and in 1782 the "Reglemente van Skolarge" was promulgated. It emphasised the points made by de Chavonnes and where it was new it closely resembled the "school-reglement voor die Stad Batavia" of 1778. At this time too Spénlin's report reached Holland and the Scholarchs were asked to comment on it. It should, at this point, be clear that conditions at the Cape were bad: there was discontent, tax evasion and smuggling and a total lack of authoritative leaderships. Education suffered accordingly and as Malherbe put it very bluntly "The Scholarchs were inefficient".

The scheme which they developed had much to commend it but neither finance

nor authority to back it. They acknowledged the weakness of the schools but blamed the teachers - not themselves, not those responsible for the appointment and payment of teachers. They recommended that well educated teachers from Holland should be appointed and they suggested that Latin, French and elementary Greek be taught. They indicated that a good income and certain privileges should be assured to the teachers and they suggested that probationer teachers might train under those who were well equipped.

The plan was practical and they collected money and set up a Latin school. However, little progress could be made, for the Council of XVII - a dying body - took long in answering and van der Graaf blocked progress for financial reasons. Thus on a high but frustrated note the Scholarchs died.

It would be wrong to finish without referring briefly to two classes of teacher - the sick-comforter and the itinerant. Borchers describing Cape schools before 1795 said "The ideal teacher is a man who is gentle, true, of good family and of good reputation. He is a man who knows how to write a good hand and who is good at reading; who knows sol-faing and who can sing psalms from notes; who neither lisps nor speaks too low; who can write letters and requests; who understands the scriptures so he can educate the people; and who knows how to set a clock, how to manage, oil and clean it".

The sick-comforters would have had a strong struggle to reach such a standard. Formalism was the keynote of their educational technique with religion as the main subject and the lesser three R's as subsidiaries. Work was a mechanical grind. Yet without these men education would have ground to a halt, and it should be remembered that their extra-mural duties (in the villages) were multifarious and their pay minimal.

There was, among the farmers who were moving out, a healthily independent streak, and it was among these men that itinerant teachers occupied themselves, often being employed in a defiant spirit by anti-state trek-boers. These were transitory schools and while some "meesters" were well-educated many were ill-educated and of little use, their only qualification being "soft hands" which indicated clerks rather than manual labour. Who were these meesters? They were clerks dismissed from service; escaped seamen; deserters from the army and freed officials who, if they were licensed to teach (as all itinerants should have been) had a certain sum taken off their salary and paid to the company to cover the expense of their "freeing". These men have been likened to the Sophists of Greece, the mendicant friars and many other "wandering" scholars of mixed education and background who, throughout History have influenced education.

Their chief virtue lay in the fact that they did bring education to the

rural areas where, besides teaching they wrote letters, were handymen and often tailors. Some were notable teachers like Pieter Joubert (from 1699-1716) and some through judicious marriages made sound positions for themselves like one Blignaut who left seven farms in his will. Mostly they were paid between 6 and 17 guilders with board and lodging. Some had a tobacco ration and Pieter Deloyk received 11 guilders and "een pond tabacc en een blauwe bafta".

Those who were licensed had official contracts and these indicate that they taught Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, were called "Receptors" or Schoolmasters and that one during the time of van der Stel was called "leermeister in die Musicque". It was the system of land tenure which led to the transitory nature of their occupation for as children of one family moved out to new loan-places their children - all much of an age - would be educated together and then there would be a long gap until their children required education.

Thus we see that, throughout this period 1652-1795, while many influences were at work, the Church particularly until 1780 played the dominant role.

When the British occupied the Cape in 1795 it was their avowed policy to change as little as possible the established way of life, but they did alleviate to a certain extent burdens which the inhabitants were finding intolerable - particularly with regard to torture and taxes. As far as education was concerned matters merely drifted, the Board of Scholarchs having ceased to exist. In the "Instructions issued to the Governor of the Cape Colony" (Lord Macartney) on 30 December, 1796 it was stated "that no person shall be allowed to keep a school in the said Settlement without your license first had and obtained, in granting which you are to pay the most particular attention to the morals and proper qualifications of the persons applying for the same". Whether this regulation was enforced any more effectively than similar regulations of an earlier stage is uncertain.

After the peace of Amiens the British departed and "one of the ablest administrators and educational reformers who ever set foot in South Africa" (E.G. Malherbe) arrived as Commissioner General for the Batavian Republic. This was J.A. de Mist of whom de Montmorency said "The foresight and absence of that expediency which sacrifices posterity to the supposed interest of a particular class or creed is truly remarkable, and stamps de Mist as an educationalist of the first order". Having surveyed the situation thoroughly, this remarkable man, realising that education was unco-ordinated and unsystematised, issued first a Memorandum and later an Ordinance so modern and so far-seeing that, had he remained longer, South Africa would have been able to boast one of the most advanced educational schemes in the world.

Helped by one Debbetz, an educational expert, de Mist postulated as a first necessity, adequately trained teachers of Dutch origin. These teachers, together with teachers trained for five years in a local training school, would lift standards and alter education in South Africa. Grants and scholarships were to be established to encourage young people to take up this profession and a ruling was made that, within five years of the promulgation of this act, none but certificated teachers could hold classes.

Free books were to be provided by the state and fees in cash or kind were to be paid on a pre-determined scale. Primary education was to be in the hands of landdrost and minister who, ex-officio, were members of the Board of Scholarchs where each district was concerned. Thus final authority lay with the Scholarchs under the Chairmanship of the Governor. These primary schools were called "gewone lees en skryf skoolen".

Day and Boarding schools were to be set up in the Secondary Section. Here the subject range was incredibly wide and far-seeing. Dutch spelling, speaking, reading and writing, of course formed a basis but there were in addition subjects such as Arithmetic, Book-keeping (Italian), Modern Languages, Mathematics, Geography, History (in both these latter fields a general survey as well as specifically South African studies) and Physical Training which included Music, Dancing, Fencing and Riding. Girls were to be taught "the most useful living languages, Music, Dancing, Drawing, and other useful civilising arts and proper healthful pleasures". They were also to "teach them female handwork, and domestic housekeeping, so that they could help themselves in their homes and not be entirely dependent on servants".

de Mist, strongly imbued with the ideas of the Revolution, and of a unified system of control, believed that a national educational system would build up the "Kultur". Thus a central Board of Scholarchs under the chairmanship of the Governor would have ultimate authority. An ad hoc committee of scholarchs - the Board of Education, consisting of seven members, was set up. These members were the Governor (Janssens), a member of the Council of Policy (J.P.M. Wakker), the President of the Orphan Chamber (van Ryneveld), two other members (J.J. Vols & P.J. Truter) and two ministers of the Hervormde Kerk (Ds Fleek & Ds Manger) and a minister of the powerful Lutheran church (Ds Hesse). These men were only in office for ten months before Napoleon once more went to war, the Cape was recaptured and the British took over. During this time little was done as, by some oversight, the financial section of the Ordinance was not promulgated. Honorary members of this Board were ministers and landdrosts of rural areas who discussed the affairs of their own schools.

The financial aspect of education presented de Mist with a considerable problem. The £3000 collected in 1791 by the Scholarchs was handed to the new Board. Provision was made for taxes on amusements, inheritance and vehicles - these taxes to be used for education. In Cape Town itself there was provision for a school-rate tax to be levied on property-owners and determined by the Council of Policy. This is the part of the Ordinance which was not promulgated.

Under the Company, to a greater or lesser degree, considerable influence had lain in the hands of the Church. The liberal-minded de Mist, feeling that education was a secular (and therefore neutral?) concern, put all control in the hands of the state so that no religious group could claim superiority. In spite of specific instructions that Religious Education was a part of the syllabus and would as far as possible be in the hands of the Minister concerned with each group, many people felt that this aspect of education was in fact retrogressive in character and definitely anti-church.

While compulsory education, as such, was not introduced, de Mist made provisions which indirectly constituted compulsion. No-one born after 1800 could hold governmental positions worth 300 Rd unless he had received education in a school run by a certificated teacher. Then too no-one could hold a position worth 1000 Rd unless he had passed through the highest class in the Latin or Secondary Schools established before and by this Ordinance. In addition all officials had to be able to speak, read and write Dutch.

It is clear that behind this legislation lay a desire for national unity, for solidarity and for the preservation of the mother tongue. In addition de Mist made it quite clear that he regarded church control of education as a divisive feature of national life. He stated "The public schools for the instruction of youth do not belong to any particular religious sect. They are nurseries to form good citizens for the State and, as such, are under the immediate superintendence and direction of the Government". (de Mist Regulation 1804). In other words the "boere-matriek" had disappeared and national efficiency and not church membership was now the goal of education.

Where did this new educational idea come from? de Mist was a true son of the age of Reason - the age of logic. He believed, erroneously, that happiness came through legislation. At the Cape, home of sturdy independence and entrenched tradition it is a moot point whether de Mist's "reasonable" approach would ultimately have been crowned with success, not because of any intrinsic demerits but because of the nature of the people.

The Revolutionary ideals which emphasised the importance of the individual brought a new governmental approach - the Cape was now regarded as a colony, not merely as a refreshment station on the way to India. de Mist, however, as an independent son of the Revolution believed in strong centralised authority which was an anti-revolutionary trend.

At home in Holland de Mist had observed the controversy between Church and State over the whole question of religious control. An Association had been set up called "Tot nut van het Algemeen" which was first to encourage the idea of National Education and later envisaged state control of Education. In 1801 a State advisory Board was set up in Holland and in 1806 there was State inspection of schools. These tendencies are reflected in much of what de Mist tried to carry out at the Cape.

That de Mist's ideas were too advanced and too secular for the conservative and religious Cape Dutch is almost certain for as Cubberley says, speaking of the American colonists, "Better no education at all from books, than instruction not based on religion" was the cry from one end of the colony to the other.

To put this excellent unified scheme into practice in such a diversified state was difficult. de Mist, in his Memorandum on the Cape, had realised the need for efficient local government if any reform in any field was to succeed. He also appreciated the fact that, as the population became more cosmopolitan, so a need would arise for a broader religious policy to cater for the various groups.

Bearing this in mind, we see first the establishment of the Board of Scholarchs with its local honorary members for primary education and then in 1805 the establishment of a schools Commission with Wakker as chairman and Os Hesse as secretary. The Latin school of 1793 was still in existence and this was encouraged both by de Mist, who attended a promotion ceremony, and by the Commission. One, Klein, was appointed Rector and with influential backing got all the help possible. He was given a salary of 1000 Rd and also the rent of the school building.

As far as girls were concerned, a certain Mr & Mrs Pahud, who had considerable educational experience, arrived opportunely at the Cape from Batavia. She had the necessary qualifications to teach handwork and what is now 6 Darling Street was hired as a girls' school. By 1806 there were twenty-five pupils but after the Pahuds had proved to be incapable of dealing with finance - it was in 1813 changed into a "privileged" school.

In the primary schools authority was given for 150 Rd to be paid to teachers but like de Mist's other financial schemes this came to nothing

and teachers were still dependent on school fees. The syllabus was wide especially in the schools in Cape Town and besides Dutch they offered French, Nature Study, Natural History, History and Geography, while at Voorman's school "Mathematics and associated subjects" were offered. In addition of course under de Mist's spreading religious umbrella there were church schools such as Rozenberg's Lutheran school.

In 1804, undoubtedly with de Mist's blessing and under the aegis of an Association "tot nut van 't Algemeen" (similar to that in Holland) a school "Tot Nut" was set up. This society was established by H.A. Vermaak in 1803. They decided to buy a spot for the building of an "advanced" school and a library. The school started in a small way with lessons from Mnr Brinkhof in Mathematics and Arithmetic. In this way the objects of the school became known and when applications from parents for the admission of children to the school were called for, a goodly number applied and the school opened with Brinkhof as teacher. Such good progress was made that a second teacher was appointed and considerable credit can be given to the society for arousing interest in the "new" education.

In the interior conditions were still bad and while provision was made for the appointment and supervision of teachers - these teachers were just not available. There were constant requests for ministers and teachers. "Tot Nut" called in to give advice suggested Boarding Schools but this was no solution for those in scattered and isolated communities. Church schools were set up at Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Swellendam and Graaf Reinet. In Stellenbosch there was actually considerable and unpleasant rivalry between Freiling's school (the famous Knoop school) and Storm's school. At Paarl a well known teacher, Jan van Lindebaum, who had taught there since 1795 was able in 1803 to set up an excellent Boarding School for boys. Non-European education was, to a very large extent, in the hands of the missionary societies such as the Moravians, the London Missionary Society, the Society of Missionaries and the South African Missionary Society.

It is undoubtedly true to say that de Mist was an educationist of no mean stature. It is idle to speculate as to whether his scheme would have worked - as a scheme it was ideal - but de Mist himself lacked an essential feature for a great leader; he did not "put himself where the other man stands" and for this reason would probably have found himself, to his great surprise, in the deep waters of social opposition.

In order adequately to present a picture of growing public awareness of education at the Cape, it is necessary first to present a brief outline of the History of education from 1806 and particularly in the last two decades

prior to Rose Innes' appointment in 1839.

Between 1806 and the departure of Lord Charles Somerset in 1825 there was no limit to the power of the Governor and it was almost inevitable that a clash would occur between the Dutch, who besides being sturdily independent (their hard way of life had encouraged this) were unaccustomed to a "busy" government and particularly such autocratic "Plantagenets" as Lord Charles Somerset. Opposition nearly always arouses interest and the Dutch farmers, with their inherited Calvinism, had a basic interest in education which interest was fanned by Somerset's autocracy. They resented being pawns in Europe's political game and as Froude says "the hotter spirits resisted; they were called rebels: and were shot and hanged.... If we had been wise we would have made allowance for the circumstances under which the Cape came into our hands; we should have tried to reconcile the Dutch to an alien rule by exceptional consideration.... We justified our conquest to ourselves by taking away the character of the conquered and we constituted ourselves the champion of the coloured races against them as if they were robbers and oppressors".

Between 1806 and 1814 - that is during the period of occupation - things were allowed to drift but both Cradock and Caledon were anxious to exercise their despotism benevolently and did, fairly successfully, apart from Cradock's Language Ordinance. This latter ordinance represented an integral part of British policy - the anglicisation of the Dutch. As Theal said "They were only a little over thirty thousand in number, and it seemed absurd that such a small body of people should be permitted to perpetuate ideas and customs that were not English in a country that had become part of the British Empire". As a result of this short-sighted and extraordinarily limited approach Cradock ordered that no-one who did not understand English could be appointed to any post in the Civil Service. Although only one in eight of the white population could speak English, Dutch was to be suppressed as the official language. Somerset carried this ordinance further by insisting that after 1825 only English should be used on official documents and only English and Latin was taught in schools. Naturally this anglicisation policy underlay all educational legislation and must be regarded as an important feature in the History of the Educational growth. One good feature was the introduction, to "anglicise"(:) the people, of Scots ministers and teachers. They integrated so well that they were absorbed by the church and led the way in education with their successors from Scotland so that any History of Education is filled with names like Rose-Innes, Robertson, Fraser, McGregor and Murray and later Muir, Stewart, Kern and Shepherd.

In 1811 the first steps towards reform in education were taken. The Chief

Justice on Circuit was asked to observe and report to a Commission on education in the rural areas. Conditions there had, in fact, changed very little over the years and Groswell writing of these areas at this time says "These men (i.e. itinerant teachers) were more frequently than not Irishmen with a rich Galway brogue or canny Scotchmen with a strong Highland accent and the English they professed to teach (having no qualifications to do so) was not taken from the 'well' undefiled." The parents were, in fact, anxious to obtain a good education for their children and were distressed at the conditions prevailing, as for example in the Graaf Reinet area where only 100 of the 3000 children were receiving adequate schooling.

Craddock, who realised the powerful influence exerted by the Church, reverted to the system which existed in pre-de-Mist days and linked church and school by setting up Kusterscholen. Teachers were to be examined in Cape Town, were to receive a plot of land, £60 a year and half the school fees. The Kerkraad controlled the school and was, in turn, subject to the 1811 Commission which in its turn was subject to the Governor. The size of country districts was to be drastically reduced and in each was to be an itinerant teacher who received his salary of £30 to £40 plus the fees which he collected. To provide for these plans a seminary was to be established in Cape Town. Once more the root of the problem of rural education was reached - there were no qualified teachers.

The Commission set up was a continuation of de Mist's Board of Scholarchs and was called the Bible and School Commission because besides its supervisory function in education it distributed Bibles. To its number were added the Lt. Governor as patron, the Colonial Secretary, the Military Chaplain, the Minister at Simonstown and clergy of the Dutch Reformed, Lutheran and Anglican churches.

Finance at first represented a problem and interest within the Commission was not strong but the main reasons for retrogression in education did not lie here. There was no authority for inspection and while the Circuit Court of 1811 did an efficient job and Somerset's friend, Judge Truter, sent in an excellent report in 1824, on the whole the Circuit judges were not qualified to report on education nor did they have time, facilities or authority. Then there was, once more, as de Mist had foreseen, a complete lack of co-ordination between local boards and the central commission. As far as the Commission itself was concerned all the members were men already fully occupied with their own professions and many of them with little interest in education. There was no strong executive leader for Ds Manger was old and unable to exercise the small authority vested in him as Chairman.

The schools, as the instruments of the government's anglicisation policy, were of course anathema to many and fuel was added to this fire when Somerset, without reference to the Commission appointed teachers who were to give instruction in English, Writing, Arithmetic and the Catechism but NOT in Dutch. These English free schools with teachers paid by the government would have filled a long-felt need but the autocratic insistence on English led to bitter opposition. As a result of this sort of opposition and as a result of a genuinely aroused public interest, private schools without the control of the Commission were set up. One of these was the South African College in Cape Town set up in 1829 under a board of seventeen directors both elected and nominated (by shareholders) and supported by all sections of the Community.

The Commission controlled the free schools which were run on the monitorial system and they also controlled the Koster or Church Clerk schools. The schools because of inefficient control and inadequate teaching were poorly attended and the Koster schools (there were 9 out of 132 in the Colony) soon died out. Money to run these schools was obtained by levying a tax on all outlets of Cape Town on Sundays and on the Green Point road during Race Weeks. The Commission was increasingly dominated by ecclesiastical affairs until by 1839 it consisted of three Dutch Reformed Ministers, one Lutheran, one Presbyterian and a secretary. It was in this situation that Rose Innes took over as Superintendent. In fact the secretary of the Uitenhage School Committee writing in 1837 said "It appears essential to the improvement of our schools that we be relieved from the control of the Bible and School Commission. Removed by a great distance from us, ignorant of our situation, and though I will not say indifferent to our grievances, yet certainly not active in redressing them, that body has retarded rather than advanced the progress of education in the remote districts".

These local committees were of considerable interest for in them lay the making or marring of education and they represented public conscience as far as education in rural areas was concerned. The early history of education showed the domination of the Kerkraad; later came the political despotism of the British and on the frontier, in matters educational, as well as in the attitude to authority there was a happy laissez-faire. Centralisation then was followed by the devolution of authority on smaller units and parents exerted local control for the Bible and Schools Commission set up district commissions (the forerunners surely of School Boards?) which, in many cases consisted of people unqualified to control education and appoint schoolmasters. One English schoolmaster protested as follows:

"The school committee visited the school for the purpose of hearing one of the periodical examinations. At the conclusion of the sitting the Chairman in a somewhat abashed fashion asked to be supplied with a list of the subjects in which they had heard the children examined!" Text books were in short supply and as Martinius points out "it is difficult to invent elaborate shopping arrangements with the devilish ingenuity of the arithmetic text-book compiler. It is difficult to teach reading in a void". This dearth of books was more serious because of the lack of qualifications on the part of the teachers. In fact in 1813 the Commission complained that books ordered six years earlier from Holland had not yet arrived. To solve this problem the Commission of Justice suggested a local printing press.

This educational turmoil was of course set against a background of social and political unrest. The Court of Heemraden and the Burgher Senate were swept away and while Roman Dutch Law was still in force the law courts were different. The frontier policy was described by one dispassionate observer as "philanthropy gone mad" and this wide "liberalism" led to an exodus of farmers who suffered from native marauders and by law could take no action against them; and who resented the exclusion of Dutch and the forcing of English. These were men who could be led and who regarded with the utmost suspicion a strong central government and control from Cape Town.

By 1816 affairs were in a bad state and schools at Graaf Reinet and Caledon were almost deserted for private "teachers" were being extensively employed. Judge Truter in his report showed that free schools had detracted from Church Clerk schools (both under the Commission) and that quite two thirds of the country children were not getting satisfactory education because they lived so far from drostdys. Truter suggested - what had been ruled in 1817 - itinerant teachers in rural areas and he also urged greater supervision.

As a result of this report new regulations were issued in 1827 setting out the functions of local commissions as follows: the superintendence of instruction in schools; quarterly meetings to be held to discuss education; extraordinary meetings for special purposes (of which meetings records were to be kept); examinations to be held quarterly (frequently neglected or misunderstood); commission members to visit schools (this to apply especially to the clergy); concern with progress, rewards; holidays; moral conduct of teachers and scholars and with the buildings; no books to be used except those sent through the central committee; final decision to lie with Bible and School Commission.

The Commission still felt keenly its inadequacy and in face of increased public criticism (fanned by Pringle and Fairbairn) and increasing numbers

of private schools they decided in 1834 to improve the regulations for the district commissions. An important concession to public demand was that in Dutch speaking districts Dutch was to be taught. They set down the fees for each class and allowed teachers to take in boarders; they could allow "free" pupils and they increased the salary to be paid - (on paper in fact it was an increase but in practice many teachers suffered). School commissions of not less than three members were to be set up wherever there was a school.

The local commission was given the power to nominate teachers. In addition the constitution of local commissions was fixed and they consisted of the Civil Commissioner, the Resident Magistrate, clergymen and elders of the Dutch Reformed Church and ministers of other churches as well as doctors. Once more it is clear the church was dominating education but the language ordinance did mitigate the strength of this domination. It was increasingly obvious that far closer inspection of both teachers and taught was needed and that professional superintendence was vital if education was to be the power it should be.

These Regulations, while they may still be said to form the basis for the running of School Boards and Committees were in fact of little use at the time because they were only adopted by those Commissions who wished it and many did not accept it because of adverse pay proposals for teachers. Another factor which caused considerable distress was that the government ignored the Commission and local Commissions.

In the meantime Private schools were increasing rapidly while free government schools decreased as the following figures indicate. In 1827 there were 26 Free Govt. schools, in 1839 there were 11. While in 1830 there were 39 private schools, in 1837 there were 86, in 1838 - 92 and in 1839 - 94.

The most famous of these schools was "Tot Nut", set up under the benevolent eye of de Mist; the Academy of Fairbairn and Pringle which was regarded by Somerset as such a hotbed of unrest and sedition that it was closed; and the school set up in 1825 under the patronage of Somerset to rival the Academy. In 1829 the "South African College", patronised by all and smiled on by many distinguished persons was established.

It will be obvious from the foregoing that individual demands or public opinion drove the authorities to make sporadic efforts to improve education but that, as foreseen by de Mist, a strong central authority was needed.

There were of course factors against centralisation. At this stage in History very few countries indeed had a systematised and centralised educational system so it was not a generally accepted concept nor was it part

of the tradition of any of the many racial groups. The Church, wishing to maintain power through the clergy, was not in favour of centralisation. Then too with a widely scattered and sparse population there were bound to be itinerant teachers and families liked to control these employees themselves. With the unsympathetic rule of Somerset there had grown up a feeling of antipathy towards the English; the State was English, therefore the state was bad and state control to be deplored and opposed at all costs. As education had always been run on a basis of voluntary contributions educational taxes were opposed and it was not regarded as a duty of the state to provide education. Finally and most important of all, there were few teachers who would pass the tests required and no one to see that they did.

In 1839 as a result of public agitation and under the strong influence of such men as Herschel, Fairbairn and Pringle, a superintendent, James Rose Innes M.A., a graduate of Aberdeen University, was appointed. He was to supply the continuity so much lacking in educational policy in the past. His duties were to carry out inspections of daily routine, subjects and classification of schools. From reports and the viva voce examinations conducted by local committees he was to issue certificates to suitable candidates. The government was to receive regular reports from him and he was to draw up a suitable curriculum (this was considered the best single thing he did in this country). He also selected text-books and not only did he appoint some teachers himself but also approved the appointment of others. Finally it was his task to keep them abreast of new methods of instruction.

Under Rose Innes a New System of schools was organised. In the main centres there were principal schools both high and primary, while in smaller centres there were second class schools which were primary. In these schools, the three R's, English, Dutch, geography, the outlines of history, physical science and religious instruction were given at Primary level while on Secondary level Latin, Greek, French, mathematics, surveying, physical geography and geology were added. Fees of £4 were charged in secondary schools while primary schools were free. There were also third class schools which were government aided private schools. School libraries were set up and it is significant that religious instruction formed an important part of the syllabus.

In the period under survey it is notable that certain people were the leaders of public opinion or represented Governmental attitudes. Of these we shall turn our attention to a few of the most outstanding, namely: Lord Charles Somerset, Sir John Herschel, Fairbairn and Pringle.

Somerset, who has been called the "Plantagenet of the South" was a man of natural ability and dynamic energy. He had a quick impatient manner and to

his opposition was a challenge. Unfortunately, while intellectually able, he frequently allowed emotion rather than intelligence to guide him. One of the most worthwhile things done by him was to bring out the Scots ministers and teachers whose impact on South African life was inestimable. (It is doubtful if Somerset would ultimately have approved their activities!) Somerset got Goulburn and the Earl of Bathurst interested in the recruitment of these Scots and Dr Thom, a former L.M.S. missionary in Britain on leave aided this campaign by interviewing likely candidates among whom was that Colossus among men, Andrew Murray. So great was the impression made by this man that Thom recommended that he "receive pay prior to his embarkation".

Somerset's ideas on education in South Africa are well summed up in a letter to Goulburn (the Under-Secretary for the Colonies). "It being extremely desirable that the children of the Colonists residing in the country districts at the Cape of Good Hope should have the means of obtaining the English Language. I take the liberty of submitting to Earl Bathurst the Expedience of having all the Schools in the Colony conducted by English Masters. I conferred some time since with the Rev Mr Thom and requested him to ascertain (from Scotland in particular) if proper and well qualified persons could be procured at what salaries..... The salaries of the Dutch schoolmasters at present inadequate to tempt a well-qualified man to emigrate being only 400 Rds (not quite £31 per annum) and for which they perform the duties of clerk to their respective churches". From this and other comments it is clear that Somerset thought only of education in terms of English.

Sir John Herschel was like Sir George Gray, a man of unusual penetration and one who was moving away from the Regency into a new and wider world. He believed that an Academy type of education was preferable to the traditional, classical or Grammar school type. There was no place in the Colony for an Eton or a Harrow - what was needed was a school with a bias towards modern languages as well as the classics to produce an educated upper class. Writing to the Rev Dr James Adamson, the Scots Principal of the South African College, he said "A good practical system of public education ought, in my opinion, to be more real than formal; it should convey much of positive knowledge, with as little attention to mere system and conventional forms as is consistent with avoiding solecisms. This principle carried into detail would allow much less weight to the study of Languages especially dead languages". Addressing the South African College, Sir John said that his was a scientific age, an age of inductive philosophy, an age of thought carried into action, an age when much thought should be given to the improvement of human conditions. Sir John wanted mass education and in this he undoubtedly

included the non-Europeans. However it should be pointed out that if he chose to ignore the Colour Bar it nevertheless existed.

In 1835 Bell, secretary to the government, drew up a tentative memorandum on education spurred thereto by comments of Fairburn and Pringle and by Herschel himself. This memorandum he sent to Herschel who, in a long and detailed reply, drew up a blueprint for a new approach to education. He commended the government for realising that education was a duty of the state and said that the only body able to conduct education efficiently and systematically was the government. He advocated strong central control but pointed out that local boards were essential to maintain local support. He, like many others, supported the idea of religious instruction but roundly condemned narrow denominationalism.

A man of sense, education, supervisory talent and understanding coupled with religious toleration was envisaged by Sir John as an ideal Superintendent. Further he should have full government backing and should visit schools regularly but unexpectedly as well as calling for regular reports from the schools. A good salary for such an official was essential.

To solve the difficulty in country areas he suggested itinerant lectureships in unusual subjects which would involve adults as well as children and would keep alive the interest in education. He felt that liberal expenditure on education was essential if the status of teachers was to be raised. In reply to Bell he stated categorically that the salaries envisaged were too low and deplored the fact that teaching was often a stepping-stone to other professions - notably to the Holy Ministry. This, he said, perpetuated religious demarcation and meant that teaching was not in itself a satisfactory and lucrative profession. There should be ample rewards in schools for both good teachers and good pupils.

All this indicates the unusual calibre of this remarkable man. Education under the notoriously lazy D'Urban was merely drifting and it was schools like "Tot Nut", which moved into a new building in 1833 with 300 pupils and 7 teachers, and South African College which aroused Sir John's interest and enthusiasm. The South African College in which he took such a great interest was set up by both Dutch and English-speaking people shortly after the departure of Somerset (a surely significant time?). There were two instructors in Maths and Science, one in English and one in Dutch. As government aid was not forthcoming shares were sold of which the Dutch Reformed Church bought a number. Governed by a nominated and elected Council of 15 the school remained strictly undenominational and offered wide courses. It is undoubtedly the source of many of Sir John's ideas.

Other suggestions which Sir John made concerned a Superannuation Fund, which not only gave security but also enabled teachers to retire gracefully, and recognition by rank of teachers. He suggested that bursaries for pupils to attend such schools as "Tot Nut" and particularly S.A.C.s would encourage the bright pupil and might provide a source of future teachers.

Writing in 1838 to Glenelg he suggested that education stored the mind, enlarged the capacity for learning and made good citizens. He regarded prizes with considerable caution and in unusual advance of his day was equally cautious about corporal punishment. Amazingly he includes suitable punishments; the use of General Knowledge Lectures; libraries with a wide and entertaining range of books; apparatus such as globes and scientific instruments; the building of "museums" by the children and innumerable other details which together form a most comprehensive scheme from a most remarkable man.

The Rev Dr James Adamson, charmed to find a fellow-traveller in this man of many parts, was the recipient of much counsel. This advice included the idea that education was for life and thus all aspects of life should be included. One outstanding mistake made by Herschel was that he condemned the teaching of one's mother tongue, while encouraging the use of "elegant" literature to develop style. An amazing man! There can be small doubt that despite his short sojourn here his influence was profound.

Today it would be difficult to find a journalist sufficiently learned to make any pronouncement of value on education. Fairbairn and Pringle belong to a different class. Pringle a Scots teacher/journalist was asked, when dissatisfaction with the Somerset regime was at its height, to found an Academy in Cape Town. This he did, sending for his friend Fairbairn, "that lion of a man" to help him. They applied on 18 November 1823 for permission to found a Classical and Commercial Academy. This opened in December in a house in Darling Street. The school was well supported by both language groups and taught, besides the 3 R's, Dutch, French, drawing and measuring, and commercial subjects. But alas for high hopes! The outspoken criticism of the government in their newspapers led to the closing of the school. Lord Charles was a powerful enemy.

To Fairbairn, Malherbe attributes much of the success of the appointment of a Superintendent and if comparison is made between the regulations drawn up for the "New System" and a memorandum bearing Fairbairn's signature a close connection will be seen.

Thus it becomes obvious that public conscience was aroused during the period 1819-1839 for a variety of reasons. Individuals speaking and writing like

Herschel, Fairbairn and Pringle, the arrival of outstanding schoolmasters like Adamson and Rose Innes, opposition to governmental anglicisation policy and the basic intense interest of the Calvinist in education as well as the sturdily vocal 1820 Settlers, all played their parts.

While much of the above research is not immediately germane to the history of Theopolis, it nevertheless sets the activities described in the diary in the educational context of the day and emphasises the dichotomy which existed between British Government and Dutch Settler thinking and also which would exist between Dutch and Mission religious and educational thought.

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Education in South Africa 1652-1922. E.G. Malherbe.  
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The Story of Education in S.A. Pells.  
Sketch of the Development of Rural Education 1652-1910. Martinus.  
Sir John Herschel & Education at the Cape 1834-1838. Ferguson & Immelman.  
Select Constitutional Documents. Tybers.  
History of South Africa. Eric Walker.  
History of Education in South Africa. M.E. McKerron.  
Piantagenet in South Africa. A. Kendal Miller.  
Thomas Pringle. Jane Meiring.  
Pringles of the Valley. Pringle.  
Die Afrikaner en Sy Taal. J. du P. Scholtz.

## APPENDIX A(ii)

FRONTIER FORTS AND FARMHOUSES

One of the major problems of the Eastern Frontier was, that while a theoretical division existed at the Fish River, the actual dividing line was an area so large that it ceased to be a frontier. The British, in an attempt to enforce the treaties made with Xhosa Chiefs, resorted to a variety of approaches to Frontier fortification. The role of the Theopolis Khoi in this defence was considerable. Many of the men were ex-Cape-Corps soldiers<sup>1</sup> and thus were liable to be called out on active service in Commandoes or in time of war.<sup>2</sup> In addition they provided the labour force initially and subsequently the materials for the buildings.<sup>3</sup> An additional point which makes the fortification interesting and germane to the Barker Journal is the co-operation which existed first at Fort Frederick and Bethelsdorp and subsequently at Theopolis and Lombards Post. It should be noted too that when Barker went to fetch Mrs Williams from Kat River in September 1818<sup>4</sup> the forts were used as resting places of comparative safety.<sup>5</sup>

Fort Frederick was built (and defended) by Dragoons and "well-disciplined"<sup>6</sup> Khoi (in 1795) at the command of Major General Francis Dundas,<sup>7</sup> the British Acting Governor. With the coming of the Batavian Republic (1803) the new district of Uitenhage was created and Colonel Cuyler was appointed not only as officer commanding the Fort and the Cape Corps but also as Landdrost.<sup>8</sup> At the same time van der Kemp was sent from Graaf Reinet and Bethelsdorp was set up under the protective wing of the fort.<sup>9</sup>

By 1812 Xhosa depredations had increased and Colonel John Graham<sup>10</sup> was sent with the Cape Corps to clear the frontier and to set up Military Head-quarters at Grahamstown. The East Barracks (Fort England) built by Khoi labour to accommodate the Cape Regiment was the scene of much of Barker's early evangelical activity<sup>11</sup> and many subsequent inhabitants of Theopolis received their military training there.

In addition to Grahamstown and Fort Frederick, Graham set up posts at Van Aardts, Kranz Drift and Kaffir Drift, all of which were of primitive construction but served as look-out areas at drifts<sup>12</sup> and also, as in the case of Barker and Ayliff, as secure resting places for travellers.<sup>13</sup> The fortified farm at Noutoe was soon abandoned but Lombards Post (Major Fraser's place) continued as a fortified farm until the 1850-1851 war when Whittles Lager was built and the troops used this base to quell the uprising of the former Khoi militiamen at Theopolis.<sup>14</sup> A further fortified farm which



played a role throughout the history of Theopolis was Barville Park, the home originally of General Campbell.<sup>15</sup>

Lord Charles Somerset, feeling that Frontier fortifications were inadequate, decided to set up a series of observation posts (1814-1819) solidly built and commanding all the main drifts.<sup>16</sup> It was to these posts that Ullbricht dispatched Khoi labour<sup>17</sup> and it was through these posts that Barker with his company of Khoi ex-soldiers passed with Mrs Williams and her possessions.<sup>18</sup> Starting at Van Aardts (where the Captain's wife was most hospitable) they moved on to Bester's, van der Merwe's and crossed the Little Fish River to the modern Companies drift. It is interesting to note that this circuitous route was followed because grass and water were plentiful. The journey continued by Junction Drift, Coetzer's and de Bruin's and from thence to Grahams-town. On the outward journey Barker had passed Committees Drift and Trompetters Drift and on a subsequent visit to Kaffraria<sup>19</sup> he crossed the Lower Kaffir Drift post. In this way it could rightly be claimed that the Journal directly indicates connection with numerous military posts and that the History of the Mission indicates implicit connection with the rest. The major involvement indicated in the Journal (apart from the visits) was in the building of Fort Willshire, a fort poorly sited, ambitiously large and subsequently destroyed. This was built on instructions of Somerset by Theopolis Khoi, building to the plan and under the supervision of the Royal Engineers.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Protest of Theopolis Khoi contained in a letter dd. 1834. (See List of Khoi names)
2. Numerous references in Journal.
3. Butler: The 1820 Settlers. P. 123-4.
4. See Barker Journal.
5. Ibid.
6. Gledhill: The Frontier Forts, Posts & Signal Stations (Number 1).
7. Ibid and List of Governors.
8. List of Officials.
9. Clinton: South African Melting Pot p. 8.
10. D.S.A.B. Vol. 1. P. 314.
11. Barker Journal. 1816-1819 & 1822-23.
12. Gledhill: Frontier Forts, Posts & Signal Stations.
13. Barker Journal. December 1826.
14. See Thesis Chapter X.
15. Stirk: Settlers of Swartkops.
16. Gledhill: Frontier Forts, Posts & Signal Stations.
17. Barker Journal 6 June, 1821.
18. Barker Journal. 29 August - 10th September 1818.
19. Ibid. 6 December, 1826.

# The living art of ear building in Transkei

by Colin T. Johnson  
Senior Lecturer,  
Department of Botany  
University of Transkei



Colin T. Johnson

Pro.

APPENDIX A (iii)HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLD GOODS

From the various Journals and accounts left by the Settlers it is possible to build a fairly accurate picture of what methods were used in building the earliest houses.

The Dutch had used a process of layering mud mixed with sand and grit. The ground plan was drawn with double lines or a framework of light sticks (which were purely guide lines) was set up. Between the lines the mixture was laid down with a space to a depth of about 500cm. and left to dry. Then the next layer was put down, and so on, until the desired height was reached. (See Diagram opposite). This was a slow process but, as Burchell pointed out, was remarkably strong and when white-washed indistinguishable from a brick and plaster building.<sup>1</sup> The method used in England and brought out by the Settlers was known as "Devonshire cob"<sup>2</sup> and was a more sophisticated form of the Dutch style as the mud was packed between movable frames. Bertram Bowker used a form of wattle and daub where two wattled walls, about 8cms. apart, were firmly erected and the mud mixture forced between the two.<sup>3</sup> This is a slow process and is not successful unless the wooden posts and the wattling are well seasoned. For this reason it is not favoured by the Xhosa today (1982). They do, however, sometimes use it and then leave the wooden walls to season well before packing in the mud and coating the exterior and interior with manure and mud.<sup>4</sup>

Barker used the method described by Shaw in his book "The Story of My Mission" and his account (May 1816) is of interest because nowhere else is a day by day account of the building given.<sup>5</sup> Holes were dug and poles planted probably about 250cms.<sup>6</sup> apart. As Barker makes frequent mention of reeds, it can be assumed that these were used to make the woven or wattled frames which filled between the poles and much favoured in early English building,<sup>7</sup> (see diagram opposite) and also in simpler form among the Xhosa. The wall plates, to which Barker makes reference, were large poles squared by an adze and fastened from end to end and across the building to form the basic framework for the roof.<sup>8</sup> To these, rafters were attached, and then the whole was securely thatched with bundles of reed or grass secured with tow (ox-hide rope) or woven cord made from rushes. Only after roofing was complete did they plaster the walls.<sup>9</sup> This method still used by the Xhosa ensures that rain does not run between the frame and the mud before the wall is dry, as might happen were the building not roofed.

The plaster described by Shaw<sup>10</sup> was made of clay and water but it appears likely that Barker, guided by knowledgeable Khoi, would have followed Xhosa practice and used dung mixed with the clay, as this gives a far harder surface when dry.<sup>11</sup> Anthills, which have good adhesive quality, were broken down to make the floors at Theopolis and it is possible that they mixed these with the local lime, manure and ox-blood, a mixture commonly used and when waxed, giving a sheen similar to mahogany and just as durable.<sup>12</sup>

Barker made window-frames and cleaned and stretched sheepskins across these as opposed to the calico referred to by Shaw.<sup>13</sup> With the facilities available at Theopolis and with Barker's own practical skills, there can be little doubt that doors carefully planed and painted wooden shutters gave the Theopolis homes a more sophisticated appearance than those of the often unskilled Settlers.<sup>14</sup> With the lime available Barker white-washed his home both inside and out and colour wash is mentioned in subsequent building operations. The kitchen was a separate building and more durable material was used as Theopolis brick<sup>15</sup> was already being made. (See sketch opposite).<sup>16</sup>

The buildings at Theopolis subsequently were made of the local<sup>17</sup> brick and of stone, using the "squared, coursed rubble stonework" method,<sup>18</sup> the ruin of one which still stands at Theopolis. The house built by Barker in 1822<sup>19</sup> was brick and mention is made of brick walls, glazed windows, splayed windows (see sketch opposite) and fixed shelves, while the kitchen was inside the house.

As so much mention is made of the blacksmithing and other work done by Barker, two pages of pictures are included here to illustrate the multiplicity of skills required by the earliest Settlers.

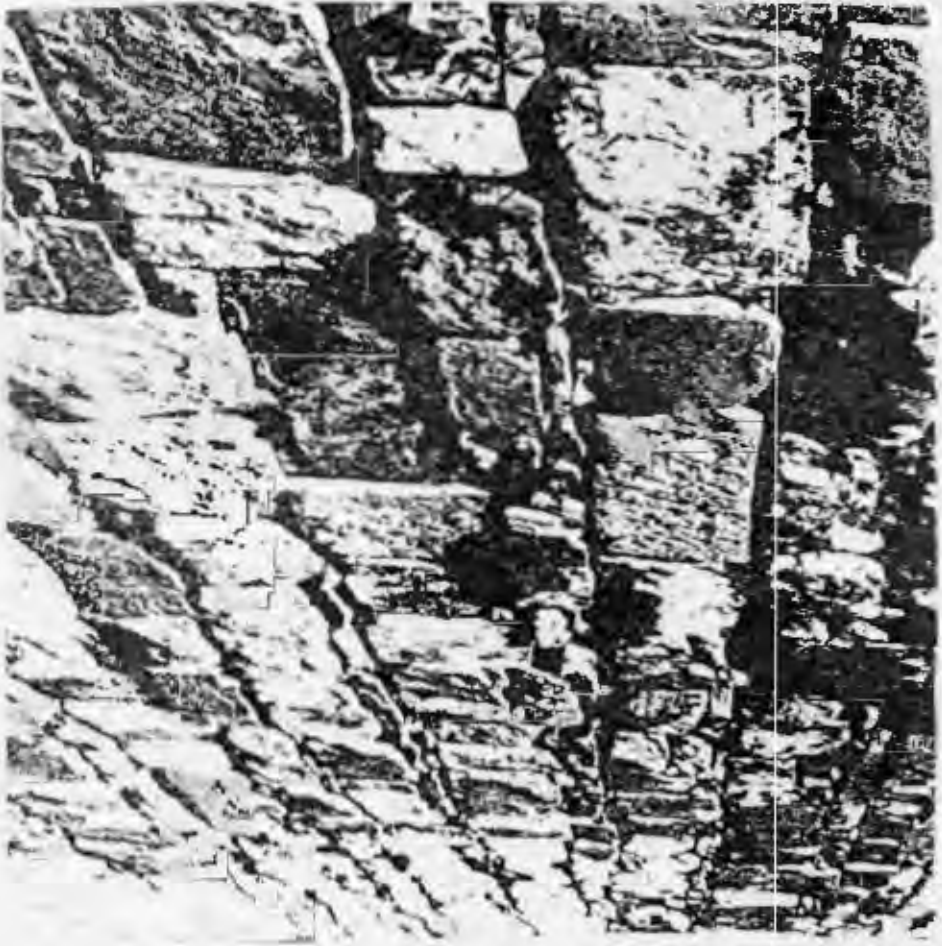
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1. Burchell: Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa Vol. I p. 87-88.
2. Lewcock: Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa p. 741.
3. Mss. Reminiscences of Bertram Bowker in 1820 Settlers Museum, Grahamstown.
4. Own observation, Bathurst Township 1982.
5. Shaw: The Story of My Mission p. 41.  
Barker Journal June 1816.
6. Walton: Homesteads and Villages of South Africa p. 63.
7. Lewcock: op cit p. 142.
8. Own observation, Bathurst St John's Church.
9. Barker Journal June 3 - June 8, 1816.
10. Shaw: op cit p. 40.
11. General practice among Xhosa. Own observation, Bathurst/Theopolis area.



rough

St. ... work ...



(Refer ... 19th Century Architecture)



... wall of ... Chapel ... ( ... )



12. Lewcock: op cit p. 150.
13. Shaw: op cit p. 41.
14. Barker Journal June 1816.
15. Shaw: op cit p. 40.
16. See rough sketch of Theopolis Mission, Barker Journal (June 1816).
17. Lewcock: op cit p.p. 140, 149.
18. See photographs opposite and Lewcock: op cit p. 154.
19. Barker Journal August 1822 to February 1823.

# HOMES of the 1820 SETTLERS



An Early Farm House



Thomas Phillips' Farm at Glendour (1824)



Early Shelter



Later Village Residence



Ardou Barker's dwelling — the reality! The collapse of the ridge pole is not surprising in view of the construction details he gave for a cottage of this type (see sketch on p. 131).



Water  
Vats



Salting Cask



Churn

THE  
COOPER'S  
CRAFT



Water Balties

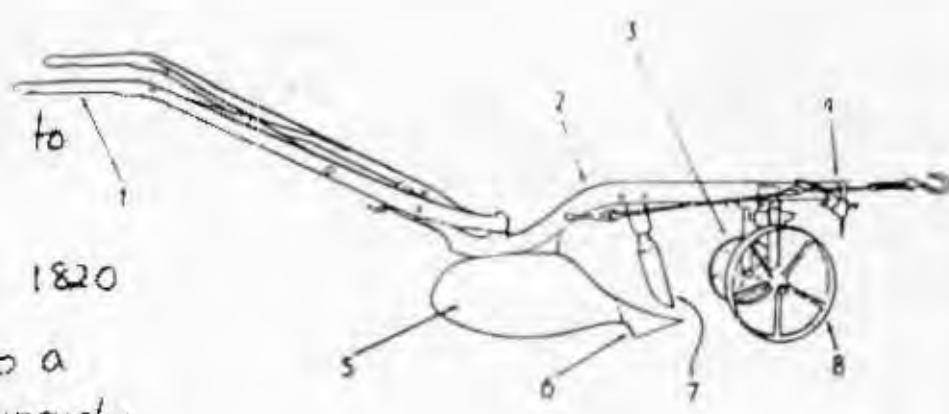
From Walton: Homesteads and Villages of  
South Africa.

[George Barker spoke of the balties made for Captain  
Bogle.]



A settler plough  
from Tharfield  
(from Butler  
1820 Settlers)

A plough similar to  
those used at  
Theopolis before 1820  
(Barker reference to a  
yoke schegan is obviously  
a jukskei)



PLOUGH

- 1. Handle. 2. Beam. 3. Land wheel. 4. Head. 5. Mould-board. 6. Share. 7. Coulter
- 8. Furrow wheel



"Trek-tou"

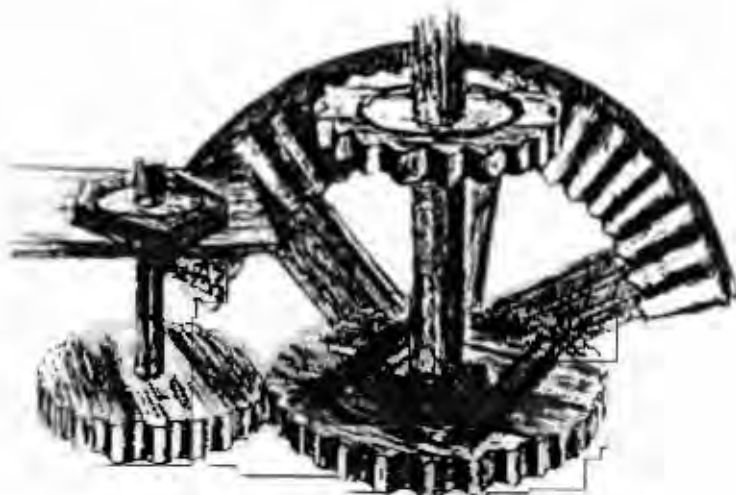


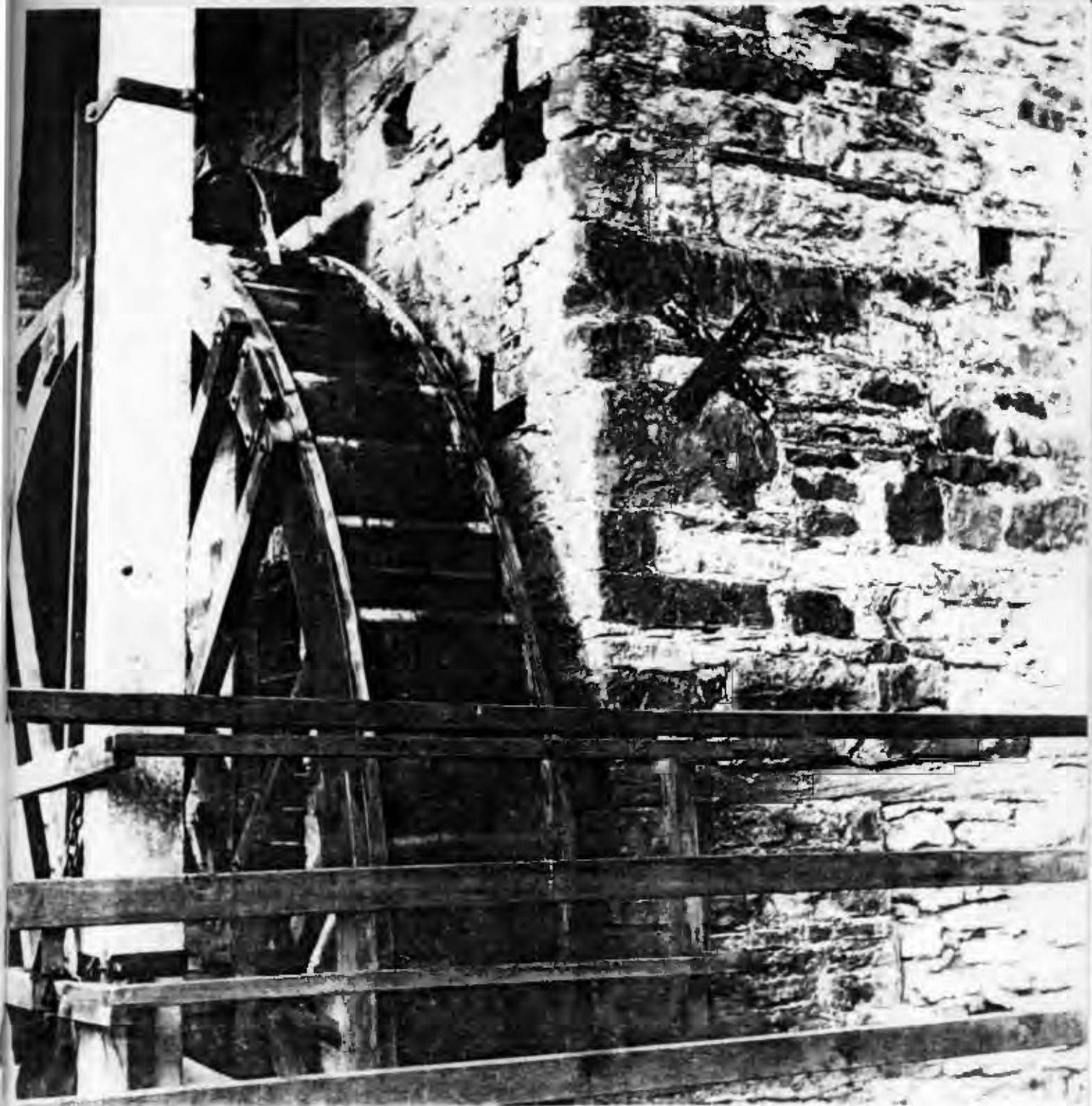
(from photographs at Bathurst Museum M. Currie)



WATER WHEEL

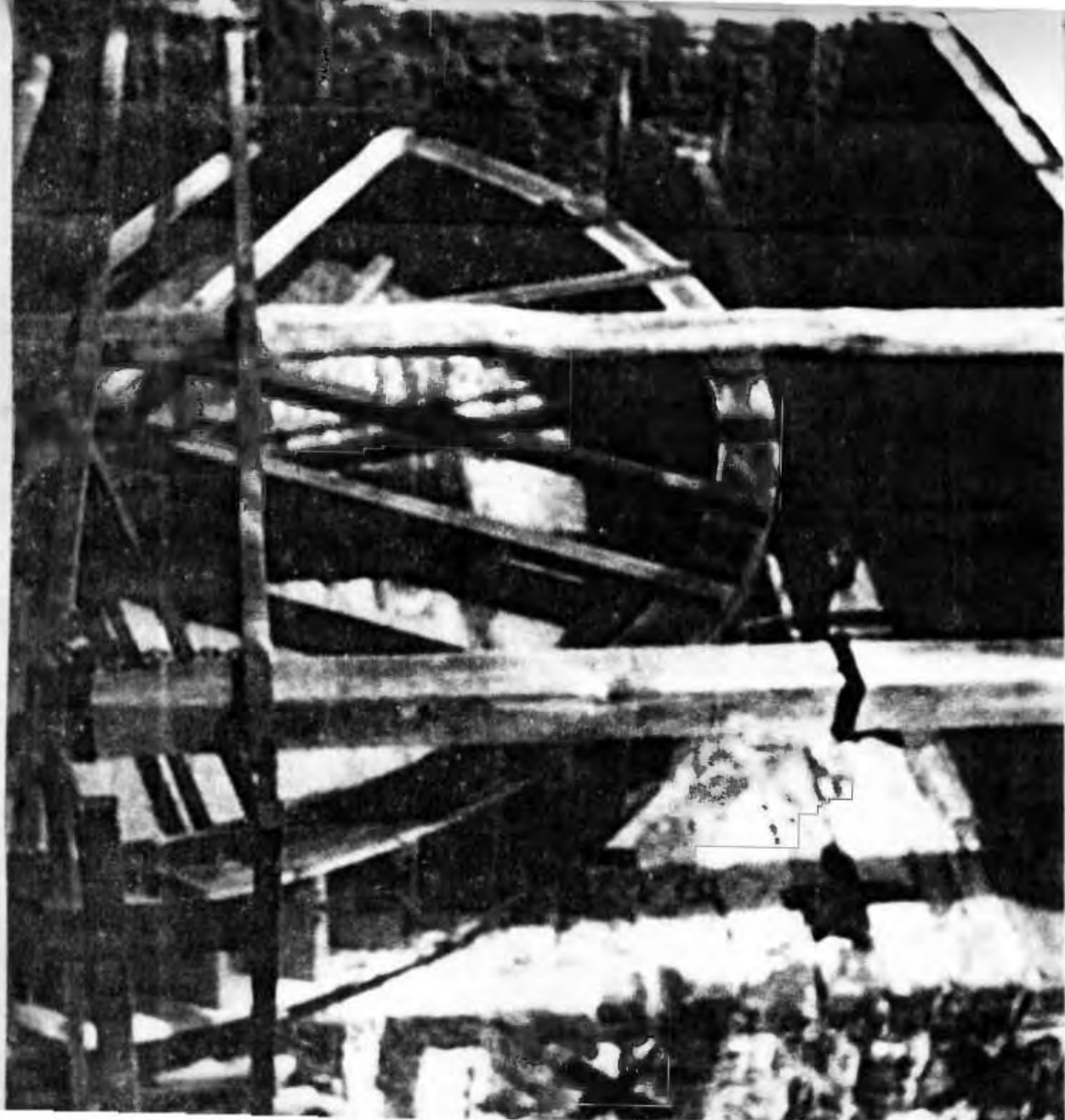
A Water Wheel is driven by the force of water from a chute which pushes the paddles round. Remarkably little water is required. (See Illustration I). A large gear wheel drives a smaller wheel and so on until the grindstone is reached. (See Illustration II).



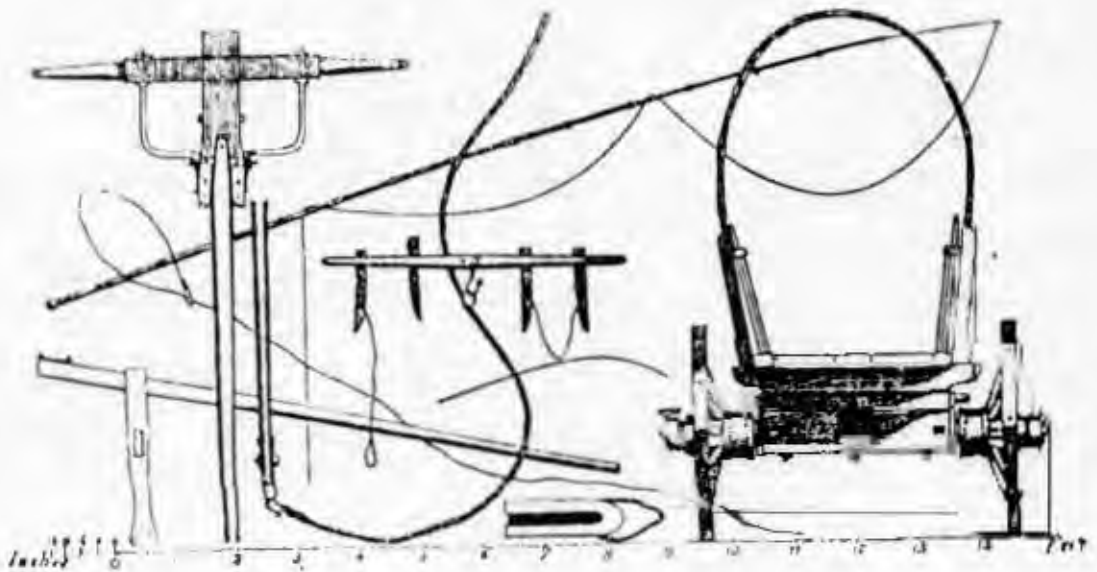
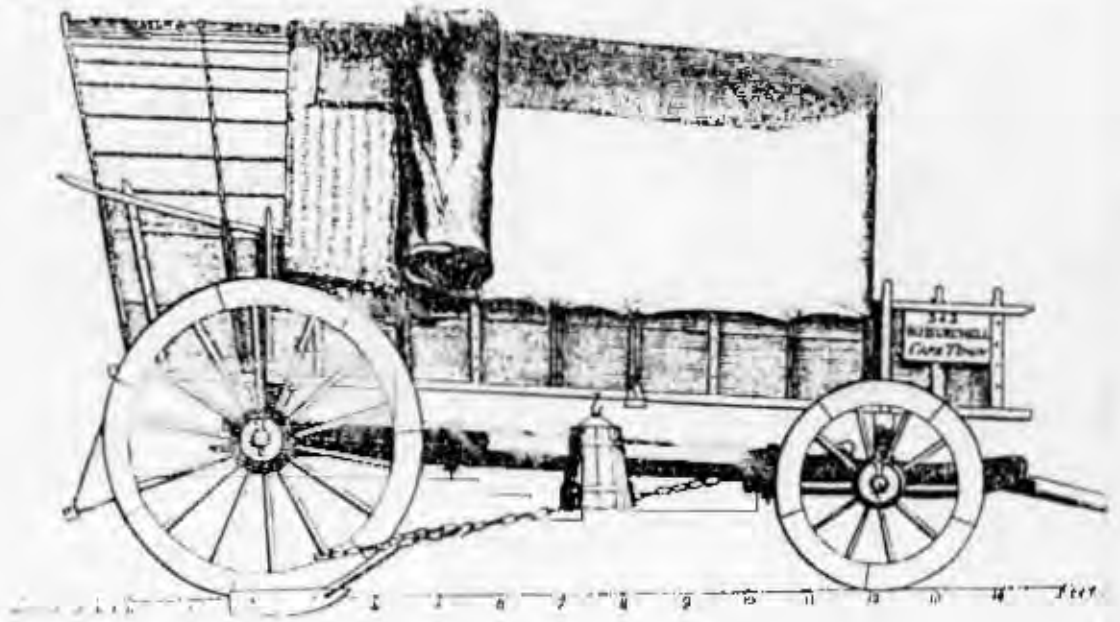


The water wheel at Bathurst (Bradshaw's Mill) is, according to some local legend, a copy of the mill built by Ullbricht at Theopolis (1818).

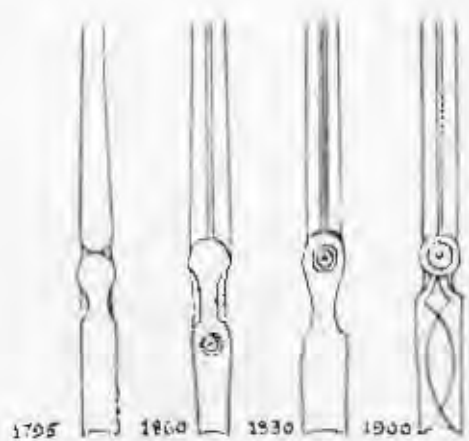
The wheel is roughly 5.5m. in diameter with paddles .5m. in width. Originally used for spinning, Bradshaw's was, like the Theopolis mill, later used for grinding corn.



(from Walton: Homesteads and Villages of South Africa)



50. A *kasebana* and its fittings (from drawings by W. J. Birchell)



1795 1860 1890 1900

Spoke Designs



Black Pagoda,  
Kanarak, India



Wheel  
Fastenings



Development of the  
Remskoer

# DETAILS of the KAKEBEENWA



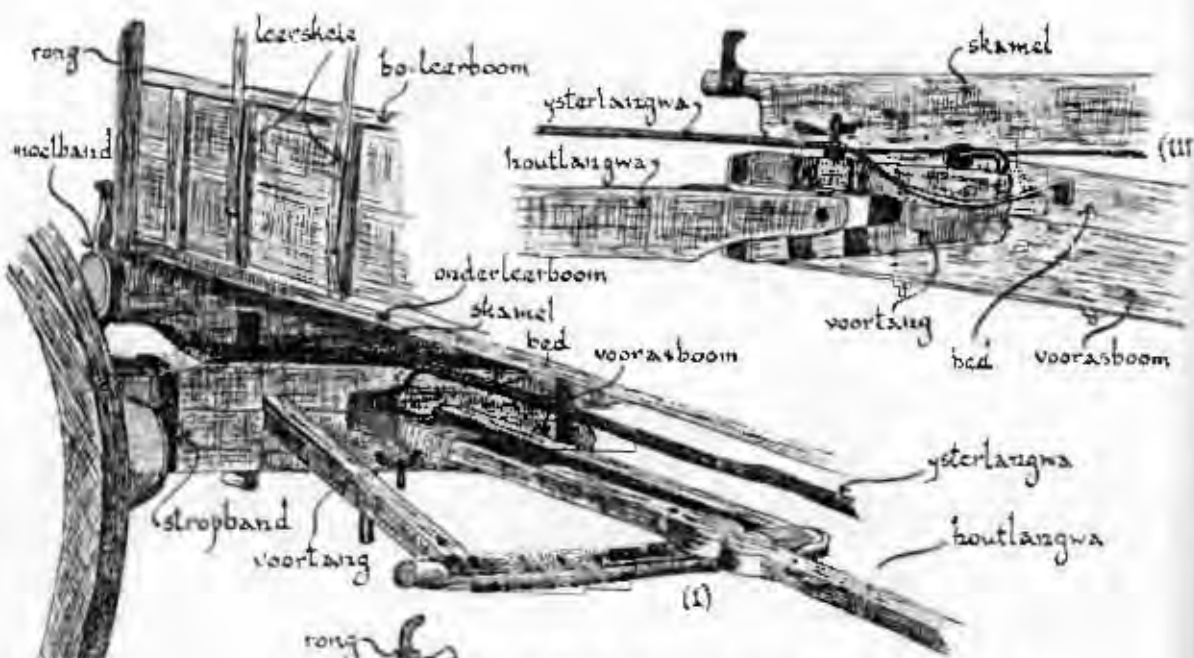
Ligter

Teeput



Water Casks

from Walton: Homesteads and Villages of  
South Africa



# KAKEBEENWA ONDERSTEL DETAILS

Walton  
1952

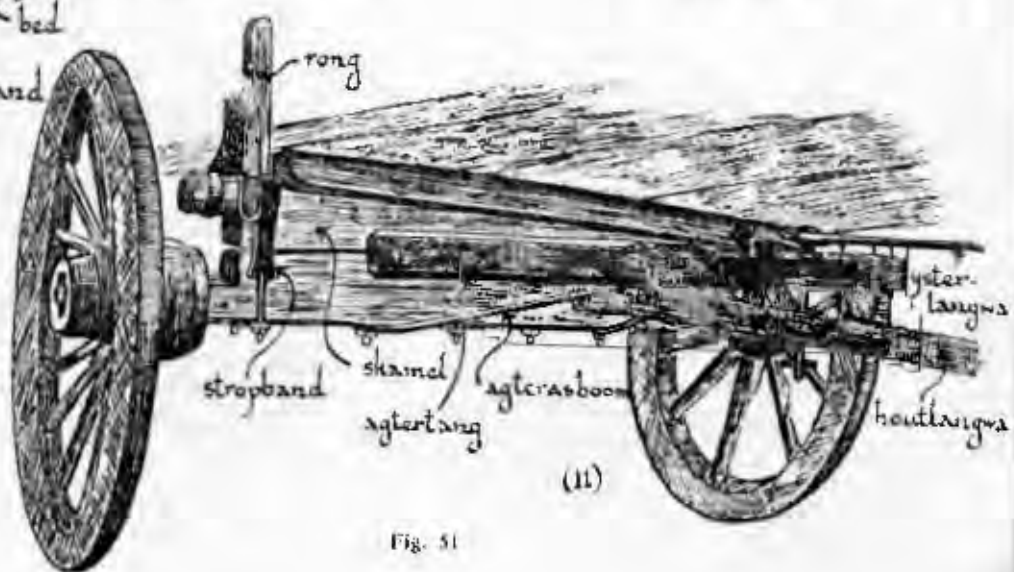


Fig. 51

Table of the Descendants

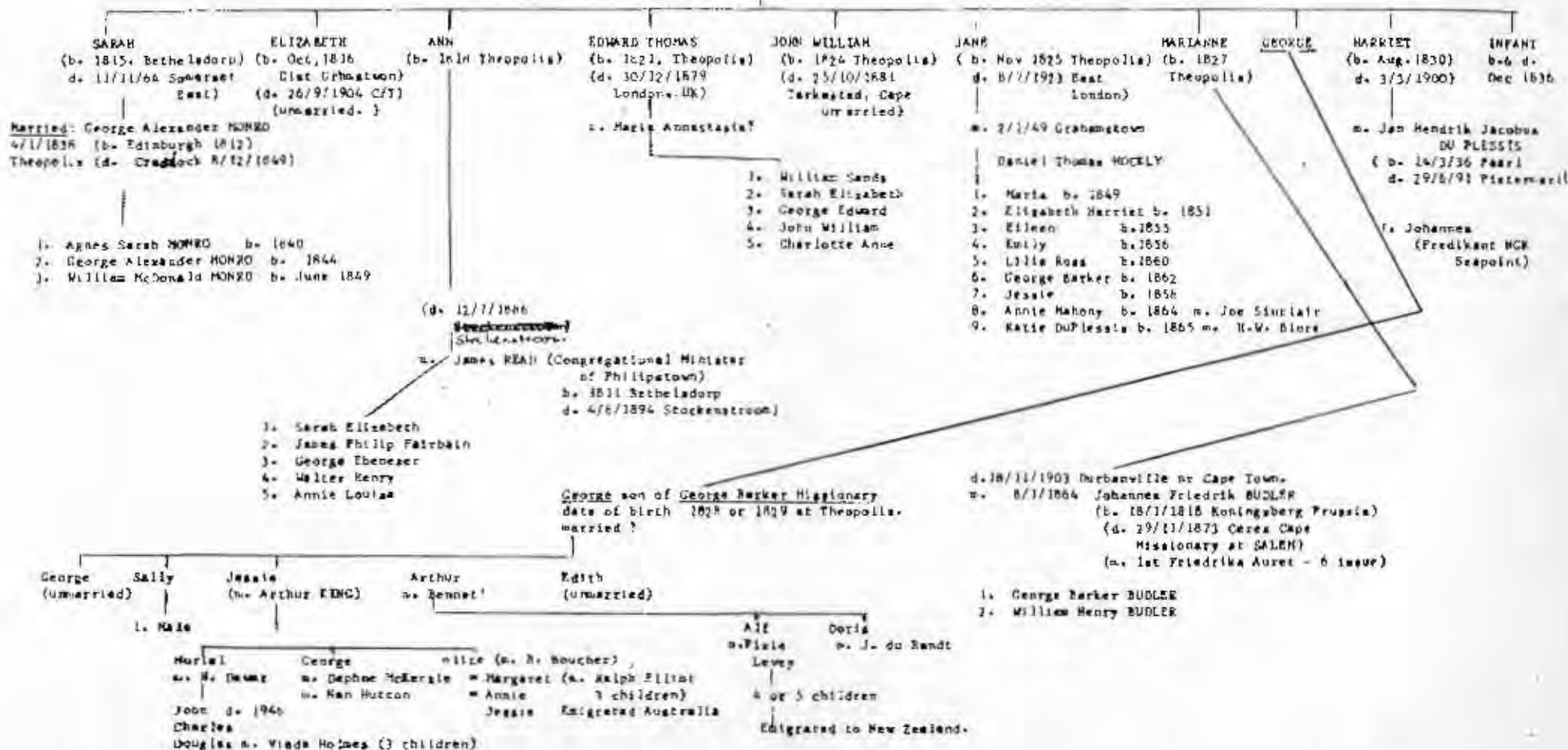
1) G E O R G E B A R K E R Missionary -

born: Winbush, Jefferson Walden, Essex, England 1786  
 died: Paarl, Cape Colony - 9/5/61  
 Married

b. ? 1790  
 d. 20/12/1836 Theopolia.

Sarah Williams of Shropshire  
 (at Coxsport, Wenta, Dec. 1814)

2) Elizabeth Smith = Opted - 5/4/1801, Capetown  
 d. - 2/4/1864, Paarl.  
 no issue.



APPENDIX ABIOGRAPHICAL INDICES

The Biographical Indices which follow have been drawn up to facilitate further research and to make for a complete picture of the life at Theopalis.

As many of the books used were not utilised for the thesis itself, a brief bibliography is given after each name. In the case of the Settlers, a brief bibliography is given and thereafter books are referred to by surname of author alone, except where a book applicable in one case only is quoted.

It should be pointed out that with both Missionaries and Settlers information is often very limited - indeed, surprisingly so. L.M.S. Records are brief and, at times, misleading. In the case of L.M.S. Missionaries, their Mission Number is quoted.

Unfortunately so little research has been done on Khot families that it has not been possible to give family information.

ADDENDUM

Hougham Hudson's name was inadvertently omitted from the list of officials and it appears on Page 283.

## APPENDIX A(iii)

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF MISSIONARIES, MINISTERS & MISSION WORKERS

In view of the fact that the Biographical Index includes reference to books not used in the thesis, a book list is given for each entry.

ALBRECHT, Christian	? -1815	L.M.S. 94
Abraham	? -1810	L.M.S. 95

These brothers were products of the Bohemian Church Mission School in Berlin. They arrived at the Cape in 1805 and were dispatched at once to Namaqualand. Their letters bear testimony to unutterable hardship. They were victims of the L.M.S. lack of planning and both died young men.

Refer: Briggs and Wing: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 26, 27.  
 Clinton: South African Melting Pot, pp. 78-83.  
 du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa,  
 pp. 113, 115-117, 211.  
 L.M.S. Correspondence: 6.10.1804 (2/4/D)  
                                   3.3.1806 (3/2/B)  
                                   26.5.1806 (3/2/D)

ANDERSON, William	1769-1852	L.M.S. 70
-------------------	-----------	-----------

In 1801 to Sak River with Kicherer, then to Afrikaners territory with Kramer. In 1802 he moved to Kok's Kraal where he did excellent work. Came into conflict with colonial authorities in 1814 over conscription of Griquas. In 1820 to Pacaltsdorp where he died in 1852.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 2.  
 Clinton: South African Melting Pot, pp. 73-78, 100-103, 108, 116.  
C.O. 6131.  
 Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819, p. 7.  
Transactions 1814. Minutes of Graaff Reinet Meeting, p. 197.  
 Wing & Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 24-25, 42, etc.

ARBOUSSET, J. Thomas                      1810-1877                      Paris Evangelical Mission

Joined Casalis and Gosselin at Kurutshe near Kuruman 1832. Famous for his school texts, catechism, psalms, hymns and a Grammar in Sotho. From his centre Morija (1833) in Lesotho, he travelled with fellow missionary Daumas and discovered and named Mont-aux-Sources. In 1846 he served on a British Commission on boundaries. As adviser to Moshweshe he signed Thaba Bosigo peace 1858.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 20.

Arbousset and Daumas: Narrative of an Exploratory Tour.

du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa,  
pp. 190-192, 199, 313-320.

E.W. Smith: The Mabilles, pp. 117-118.

AYLIFF, John                                      1797-1862                      Methodist

Arrived with Wilson's party of Settlers in 1820 on Belle Alliance. He was married at sea to Jane Dold on the Menai. At first he farmed at Beaufort Vale, then took charge of stores at Somerset Farm (1822-1825). He worked as a probationer minister 1825-1828 and was ordained in 1828. In 1830 he went as a missionary to Butterworth (1830-1839), then to Haslope Hills where he wrote his Vocabulary of Kaffir Language, having earlier written a series of articles on the Mfengu (G.T.J.) The next move was to Fort Beaufort where he set up the subsequently renowned Healdtown Institution. He died in 1862 at Fauresmith.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 28.

Godlonton: Memorials of British Settlers.

Hinchliffe (ed.): Journal of John Ayliff.

BARKER, George                                      1789-1861                      L.M.S. 141

BARKER, Sarah                                      -1836                      L.M.S. 141

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p.54.

Barker Journal 1815-1828.

Thesis Ch. IV in particular. Whole thesis refers.

BECK, J.H.

S.A.M.S.

He was born at the Cape and went to study at Gosport, returning with his wife in 1819 escorting Robert Moffat's bride-to-be, Mary Smith. He was the first permanent missionary of the South African Missionary Society. In Cape Town he had a congregation of six hundred Khoi and slaves. When Dr Philip went to the United Kingdom in 1824, Beck, with Mr Elliott, was to act for him, indicating a continuing connection between L.M.S. and S.A.M.S.

Refer: du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 95, 143, 145, 147.  
 Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 83, 85.  
 S.A.M.S. Records 1819+.  
L.M.S. Annual Reports (South Africa) 1820-1821.

BENNIE, John

1796-1869

G.M.S.

Well-educated in Scotland. Joined G.M.S. as catechist 1821. With Brownlee at Tyhume in 1821 he opened a school. A great Xhosa scholar, he founded Lovedale with John Ross in 1824. Called "the father of Xhosa literature", he produced the first orthography in 1824. From 1853-1869 served D.R.C.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 68.  
 du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa pp.184, 291.  
 Minutes Presbytery of Caffraria, 1843-1849.  
 Williams (thesis): The Missionaries of the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony 1799-1853, p. 47ff.

BOARDMAN, William

1775-1825

C. of E.

A schoolmaster, he was appointed chaplain to Wilson's party on Belle Alliance in 1820. Took over leadership of party. Founded Bathurst School 1824. Died at Beaufort Vale in the following year.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 75.  
 Hockly: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820, pp.30,56, 104, 146, 147, 151.  
 Morse Jones: Roll of the 1820 Settlers, p. 92.  
 Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, pp. 60,78,79,84,172, 220, 229.

BROADBENT, Samuel                      1794-1867                      Methodist

From Ceylon to Namaqualand 1821. First Methodist minister to work beyond the Vaal. Joined there by Stephen Kay. In 1825 moved to Wesley Mount Church, Lower Albany. Left 1825 for England. Retired 1863. Author of "Threlfall's Martyrdom".

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 123.

Broadbent: A Narrative of the Introduction of Christianity to the Barolong.

du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 176-179.

BROWNLEE, John                      1791-1871                      L.M.S. 169

A Scottish gardener, he came out with Moffat (1817) and went to Bethelsdorp. Disliked L.M.S. administration. Resigned 1818 and sent as Government Agent/Missionary to Ngqika at Tyhumie until 1825. Rejoined L.M.S. after ordination at Bethelsdorp 1826. Founded Buffalo Mission. A great Xhosa scholar and linguist.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 129.

Holt: Greatheart of the Border.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, pp.158,177,200,201,283.

BLRDER, Rev. George                      ? -1832                      L.M.S.

As Independent Minister of Coventry he was invited to write an address which was widely circulated and which concerned the founding of a Missionary Society in 1795. He was one of the first Directors of the L.M.S. and was Secretary from 1803-1827.

Refer: Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society Vol. 1, pp. 18-24, 25, 30-32, 39, 49, 82, 92.

Sibree: Register of Missionaries. Appendix E.

CAMPBELL, Rev. J.                      1776-1840                      L.M.S.

Educated at Edinburgh University he was much influenced by Isaac Newton. He formed a Tract Society and wrote religious books for children. Studied at

Hoxton College with Dr Philip. Did a great deal of L.M.S. deputation work including two journeys to Africa 1813-1814 and 1819-1820.

Refer: Campbell: Travels in South Africa.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape pp. 55ff, 70ff, 78ff etc.

Sibree: Register of Missionaries Deputations etc. 1796-1923.

Appendix C. Deputations.

Philip: Researches in South Africa (numerous references).

CAREY, William

1761-1834

The son of a weaver-schoolmaster, he trained as a shoe-maker but by the time he was fifteen he had mastered Latin, Hebrew, Greek and Dutch. As a Baptist Minister (1787) he was a keen advocate of missionary enterprise and in 1792 wrote "An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen". In 1793 he went to India and the modern Protestant missionary movement had begun. It was his letter from India in 1795 which inspired a group in London to launch the L.M.S. His sage advice to missionaries could have saved much trouble had it been heeded. From 1801 to 1830 he was Professor of Oriental Languages at Fort William College in Calcutta where he published Grammars in Bengali, Mahratti and Sanskrit.

Refer: Smith: Life of William Carey.

Moorehouse: The Missionaries pp. 37-41, 69.

Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society pp. 4, 5, 21, 117.

CHALMERS, William

1801(?) - 1847

G.M.S.

He came out to take Brownlee's place at Tyhume in 1827. Accompanying him from Scotland were his wife and two laymen, Messrs Weir and McDiarmid, who were to be instructors in handicrafts. After Chalmers' arrival and his vigorous approach to the mission had been given, work extended, gardens flourished and contact was made with a wide circle of people both black and white. However the wars, particularly of 1846, took their toll. The Chalmers took refuge with the Pringles and there, at Glentworth, William Chalmers died.

Refer: J.A. Chalmers: Echoes of a Ministry (Grahamstown 1892) pp. ii-xii.

Le Condeur and Saunders: War of the Axe pp. 95, 97, 102, 117.

CLARK, James

? -1864

L.M.S. 249

Sent out in 1821 as an artisan. Trained by Philip as a Catechist. Brick-layer at Theopolis 1822-1823. Moved to San work at Hepzibah and from thence to Kat River School in 1829. Came into conflict with Reads after 1835 war. Moved to Buxton and finally to Hankey in 1839.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp. 155, 158, 195.  
Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community in the Eastern Cape pp. 87, 135.

COLLISON, The Rev. Mr.

Described by Barker (3.11.1821) as a "visitor" and by Thomas Philipps as "a young clergyman from London".

No further information is available.

CORNER, William Fogler

(no dates given)

L.M.S. 128

A negro from Demarara, he arrived in 1811. At Bethelsdorp 1812-1816 and later at Hepzibah. He trained carpenters but was later dismissed by the Society on the reports of Thom, endorsed by Cambell and Philip in 1819.

Refer: Le Cordeur: Kitchingman Papers p. 28.  
P. Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 76.  
Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community in the Eastern Cape pp. 59ff, 71ff

DAVIES, W. J.

1810-1883

Methodist

Came out as a child in Thomas Philipps party. Studied Xhosa. Was ordained and served in "Kaffirland" 1831-1876. A Xhosa scholar, he revised Boyce grammar of Kaffir Language.

Refer: D.S.A.B. 1 p. 209.  
Morse Jones: Roll of British Settlers of 1820 p. 107.  
Shaw: Numerous references in Journal (ed. Hammond Tooke).

DOYLE, Thomas 1779-1851 L.M.S. (teacher)

Arrived in 1806 with 21st Light Dragoons. Discharged Cape Town 1817 but received permission to stay. Taught at English school in Loop Street. Moved to Theopolis School in 1827 and later to Grahamstown (no date available).

Refer: Morse Jones: Roll of the British Settlers of 1820 p. 110.

S.A.L. Quarterly Bulletin Vol. 35, no. 3, p. 94.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape p. 92.

DUXBURY, Samuel 1780- ? Independent Baptist

Arrived with Smith's party on Stentor 1820. Ordained in Grahamstown Baptist Church. Left for U.S.A. in 1860.

Refer: Batts: History of the Baptist Church in South Africa pp. 6ff.

Hockly: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 pp. 38, 146, 147.

Morse Jones: Roll of 1820 Settlers p. 111 (incorrect entry).

EDMONDS, John ? L.M.S. 36

Came to the Cape with Van der Kemp in 1799. He did not like the work and left the Society in 1800 to go to Calcutta where he became a teacher.

Refer: Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society pp. 484, 489, 491, 492.

Sibree: Register of Missionaries p. 3.

EDWARDS, Roger 1795-1877 L.M.S. 235

An artisan missionary - a carpenter. Pacaltsdorp 1823-1824. Theopolis 1825-1829. Kuruman area 1830-1852 as printer to Moffat and Livingstone. Expelled by Transvaal Boers in 1852 for a "seditious article". 1856 to Port Elizabeth to run "Figgo Mission".

Refer: D.S.A.B. 11 p. 215.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community of the Eastern Cape p. 97ff.

Wing & Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope pp.42,57,58,60,64,65,106,112,114.





Secretary of the L.M.S. Visited Guiana and Jamaica. In 1846 he was Home Secretary of the L.M.S. Came to South Africa on deputation 1848-1850.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 241.  
 Freeman: Travels in South Africa.  
L.M.S. Annual Reports, 1848-1851.

GEARY, Rev. William C. of E.

Chaplain in Grahamstown 1823. Appointed at instigation of Somerset. Served on Committee for Distressed Settlers Fund. After a "short and stormy" career he was recalled for criticism of the Government.

Refer: Morse Jones: Roll of British Settlers of 1820, p. 117.  
 Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, pp. 172, 209, 223, 230, 244, 251.  
R.C.C. XXI p. 418ff; R.C.C. XXII p. 222.  
Grahamstown Cathedral: A Short History, p. 22.

GOEYMAN, Jan L.M.S.

Listed variously as a translator (Briggs and Wing p. 53) and a Catechist (K.J. Wilson), Goeyman was a converted Khoi not listed in the L.M.S. Records. His name, however, appears in letters (26.8.1816, 17.9.1816, 25.9.1820) and Wilson suggests that he went on after 1825, when he rejected Philipps's new plan as a teacher.

Refer: Briggs and Wing: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 53-54.  
S.A.L. Quarterly Bulletin, March 1975, pp. 104-108.  
 L.M.S. Correspondence 18.10.1825 (9/??F). (Letter from Goeyman).

HALLBECK, Hans Peter 1784-1840

A well-educated Swede, he came first to Genadendal in 1817. His aim was to expand the Moravian Church as widely as possible. To this end he travelled extensively throughout the country. He founded missions at Elim (1824) and Enon (1827). His example and hard work was much admired in Germany and using his influence there he raised funds to found a training school for Coloured teachers at Genadendal (1837).

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 207.  
 B. Kruger: The Pear Tree Blossoms.  
 N. Reche: Hans Peter Hallbeck.

HAMILTON, Robert                      1776-1851                      L.M.S. 143

Arrived in 1816 with Barker, Williams and J. Evans. To Griquatown via Bethelsdorp. Started mission at Lattakoo in 1816 and at New Lattakoo (Kuruman) in 1817 with Moffat, where he died. A notably gentle man. His wife caused him great anguish. The church he built at Kuruman still stands.

Refer: Briggs and Wing: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 26, 55, 60, 75, 180.  
 du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p. 160.  
 Morse Jones: Roll of British Settlers of 1820, p. 123.

HAMMES, P.F.    D.R.C. (S.A.M.S.)

To date no information has come to hand (30.12.1982) but investigation is still proceeding. While the S.A.M.S. was only administrative agent for the L.M.S. (and their records are incomplete) the L.M.S. records are inadequate 1799-1815.

cf. Museum Curator: S.A. Sending-gestig Museum, Cape Town.

HELM, Henry    1780-1848                      L.M.S. 125

A German Lutheran, he arrived in Cape Town 1811. He worked at Silver Fountain 1812, Bethesda 1813-1815 and Griquatown 1815-1824, at Bethelsdorp 1825-1827 and Zumbraak 1827-1848. The latter station was cited by Moodie as a model of what could be achieved. Known as "Henry the Great", he was a quiet, steady worker.

Refer: Briggs and Wing: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 27, 28, 42, 102.  
 Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers (numerous references).

HEROLD, Tobias J.                                      1788-1857                      D.R.C.

The son of a sick-comforter, he was educated at Leyden University and returned to the Cape in 1811. As minister his work included Uitenhage and George and

IRELAND, Thomas

C. of E.

Military chaplain at Grahamstown 1824-1825. Commended by Philipps as an "excellent man" but "very high church".

Refer: Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, pp. 230, 311-312, 315.  
Butler (ed.): The 1820 Settlers, p. 306.

KAY, Stephen

Methodist

Arrived in 1820 on board the Duke of Marlborough. He settled at Salem in 1821 and ministered in the Albany district until 1825 after a brief stay with the Tswana. He founded Mount Coke in 1825.

Refer: Hinchliffe (ed.): Journal of John Ayliff (numerous references).  
Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw (numerous references).  
Shaw: The Story of My Mission (numerous references).  
Kay: Travels and Researches in Kaffraria.

KAYSER, F.G.

1800-1868

L.M.S. 263

A German, he studied at the university of Halle before coming to South Africa. He served in Kaffraria, spending most of his ministry at Buffalo Mission 1827-1833 and at Knapp's Hope 1835-1868. His letters give a clear picture of current events.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 139, 144, 149, 210, 221, 229-230, 244, 249-250, 254, 261.  
du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 215, 245.  
Barker Correspondence 1835.  
His Diary is being edited by Dr Chris Hummel of Rhodes University.

KITCHINGMAN, James

1791-1848

L.M.S. 167

Arrived in 1817. First at Steinkop then at Bethelsdorp 1821-1826. At Paarl 1826-1831. At Bethelsdorp 1832 until his death. Closely linked to Philip, he carried out the rebuilding scheme at Bethelsdorp in 1821.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers.  
As this covers a wide range of references no further work is mentioned.

KICHERER, John J.

1775-1825

L.M.S. 35

He was seconded from the Rotterdam Society to the L.M.S. for work in South Africa, where he arrived in 1798. He worked in Bushmanland and then founded Zak River (August 1799), moving with the people to Orange River in 1801. After visiting Europe with two Khoi (1803-1804) he returned and worked as a Government pastor at Graaff Reinet and Tulbagh.

Refer: D.S.A.S. 1 p. 425.

Sibree: Register of Missionaries, L.M.S. 35.

du Plessis: History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 101, 103-107, 110, 254, 425, 427, 428.

A. Dreyer: Ds J.J. Kicherer (in Puisgenoot, 18.12.1924).

#### KRUISMAN

It has not been possible to trace "Brother Kruisman" and it is assumed that he was a Khoi evangelist.

MERRINGTON, T.S.

-1890

L.M.S. 354

A teacher-evangelist, he married Kitchingman's daughter while teaching at Bethelsdorp (1837-1840). He moved to Theopolis 1840-1842 to help Christopher Sass and then moved to Somerset East (1842) where he was a co-founder of Gill College. From 1832-1890 he was minister at Bethelsdorp and helped found the Evangelical Voluntary Union in 1859.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers. (Many references. He was Kitchingman's son-in-law).

Wing and Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 45, 49, 53, 106, 112, 114, 230. Thesis Chapter IV

MFSSER, J.G.

1773-1845

L.M.S. 126

Arrived in 1811. At Swellendam 1811-1812, Bethelsdorp 1813-1819, Pacaltsdorp 1820-1823 (while temporarily "suspended" from his usual work), at Hankey 1823-1831 and at Uitenhage 1831-1842 where the work flourished and where he preached in Xhosa, Dutch and English.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp. 19, 67, 107, 111, 113, 141, 214-215, 216, 222, 230.

Sales: Mission Stations and the Coloured Community in the Eastern Cape, p. 76ff.

Wing and Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope, pp. 19, 21, 42, 46, 47, 66.

MELVILLE, John

1787-1852

L.M.S. 259

He arrived at the Cape in 1800 with his parents. In 1811 he was Assistant Government Surveyor and in 1815 Inspector of Buildings. He designed the Moravian Church at Mamre in 1815. (This is now (1982) a National Monument). His religious convictions led him to accept an inferior position as Government Agent at Klaarwater in 1822. In 1827 he joined the L.M.S. and worked variously at Philippolis, Hankey, Dysaldrup and Matjes Drift.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 357.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers (numerous references).

Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819, p. 276.

MILES, Rev. R.

L.M.S. 248

Pastor of the Independent Church at Brigg, Lincolnshire, he was appointed first to Demarara and then instead to substitute for Philip at the Cape in 1826. Criticised for his "fiery" politics by Read he apparently got on well with Kitchingman and visited "Kaffreland". At the Cape from 1826-1829.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 19, 81, 85-86, 89-92.

J.S. Moffat: The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat (several references).

L.M.S. Correspondence (numerous letters 1826-1829).

MILLER, William

1779-1857

Baptist

A member of Seanton's party, he settled first at Salem and then became a member of the founding Committee, both for the Baptist Church in Grahamstown (1824) and later for the Baptist Church in South Africa.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 613.

Batts: History of the Baptist Church in South Africa, pp. 4-6.

Hockley: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820, p. 145.



Van der Kemp to Bethelsdorp 1802-1816. Married a Khoi, Sarah (29.6.1803). At Kuruman 1817-1820. With Campbell to interior 1813. At Bethelsdorp and travelling with Philip 1820-1829. Called to Kat River 1829-1852.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 681.

Saunders: James Read: Man of Conscience in S.A. Outlook, March 1976, pp. 38-40.

Philip: Researches in South Africa (numerous entries).

Campbell: Travels in South Africa (numerous entries).

READ, James (Junior)                      1811-1894                      L.M.S. 343

Born at Bethelsdorp 1811. Married Ann Barker at Paarl 1842. Went to Kat River as teacher after working in Rutherford's store at Theopolis (1832?) Saved colonists at Kat River 1835. Wrote the "Kat River Settlement 1851".

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 668.

Godlonton and Irving: Inruption of the Kaffir Hordes (numerous entries).

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers (numerous entries).

James Read: The Kat River Settlement in 1851.

RIDSDALE, B.,                                      1819-1883                      Methodist

He joined the mission in Cape Town in 1843 and was sent to Namaqualand where he served among the Griquas. He wrote a book on the customs and beliefs of his Khoi parishioners which is regarded as an excellent source book. The climate was too trying for him and he first retired to Cape Town 1847 and then to England.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III p. 716.

Ridsdale: Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand (London 1883).

ROBSON, Adam                                      1794-1879                      L.M.S. 234

He studied at Gosport and after ordination came to South Africa in 1823. He was forced by ill-health to remain in Cape Town, where he met and married the widow of Joseph Williams. At Bethelsdorp 1825-1832 and at Port Elizabeth 1842-1870.

Refer: Eastern Province Herald August 28, 1870.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 24, 87, 98, 109, 112, 113, 134, 141, 210, 219, 553.

Records: Pearson Street Congregational Church, Port Elizabeth.

ROSS, John

1799-1879

G.M.S.

Graduate of Glasgow University, he was the first minister ordained in the Church of Scotland to come to South Africa. Sailed in 1823 with his wife (nee Helen Blair). Travelled through Karoo with Brownlee. Took printing press and with Thompson and Bennie produced simple religious publications. Helped found Lovedale. Encouraged concept of artisan missionaries. Moved to Pirie in 1830.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 683.

Shepherd: Lovedale 1841-1941 (numerous entries).

Williams: Where Races Meet (numerous entries).

SASS, Christopher

1772-1849

L.M.S. 123

Vide Thesis in general and, in particular, Chapters IV, V and X.

Refer: Campbell: Travels in South Africa Vol. I pp. 323-327.

SCHMIDT, Georg

1709-1785

Moravian

After a turbulent defiance of the Catholic authorities, he volunteered to come to South Africa in 1737. Approved by a Committee of Divines, he was allowed to set up a mission at Baviaans Kloof (Genadendal) which flourished, but he met opposition because he wished to baptise Khoi converts. Opposed by powerful churchmen he resigned in 1743 but the pear tree he planted bloomed when the Moravians returned (1794).

Refer: du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, pp.50-60,68,77,418ff.

Kröger: The Pear Tree Blossoms.

SHAW, William

1798-1872

Methodist

Came with Sephton's party on Chapman 1820. To Salem. Founded several Methodist

Churches. Was Superintendent of Cape Circuit Recruited Ministers. Established eight Xhosa missions. Retired 1856 (ill-health). President of British Methodist Conference 1865.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 711.

Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw.

Sadler: Never a Young Man.

Shaw: The Story of My Mission.

A thesis on William Shaw was written in 1981 at Rhodes University.

SHAW, B. 1788-1857 Methodist

Brought up in a devout farming family, he was ordained in 1814 and sent to Africa in 1815, where he first saw service as a military chaplain. He was encouraged to mission work by Schemelian of the L.M.S. He went to Little Namaqualand and was instrumental in improving farming methods among his people. He moved from Leliefontein to Cape Town (1826-1837) and thence to England (1837-1843). He established a model village at Raithby, near Stellenbosch, 1843-1849 and then was moved to Rosebank where he died in 1857.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 709.

R.C.C. XXXVI.

Hewson: Barnabas Shaw, Founder of Methodism in South Africa in Journal of Methodist Historical Society April 1956.

SHEPSTONE, John William 1795-1873 Methodist

A Settler in Holder's party on Kennersley Castle. Stone mason. Worked first at Bathurst, then at Theopolis. Joined Shaw as builder at Wesleyville (1823) and Morley (1827). Also served at Butterworth, Peddie and Kamastone, where he died. Decisive and courageous. Father of Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 714.

Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw (numerous references).

Shaw: The Story of My Mission (numerous references).

SURESBURY, William J. 1795-1866 Methodist

Sent out from West Indies to initiate work among the Baleka (1826). Started

at Wesleyville (1826), then moved to Butterworth (1827) and to Grahamstown (1833). He was, according to Philipps, a celebrated preacher.

Refer: Shaw: The Story of My Mission (numerous entries).

Harmond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw (numerous entries).

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler, pp.341,342,352.

SIEDENFADEN, John

1782-1863

L.M.S. 97

Sent from the Rotterdam Society. He arrived in 1805 and went to Namaqualand. He returned to the Cape in 1808 and thence to Knaïesberg. In 1811 he went with Wimmer to Zuurbrak and was finally dismissed (1825) after both Philip and the Governor laid charges.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 646.

J.A. Heese: Onderwys in Namaqualand.

SMITH, A.

D.R.C.

Very little information is available other than the fact that he was a Scot who served at Uitenhage after Herold.

Refer: Euufest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika p.67.

SMITH, Mrs. Mathilde

1749-1821

A supporter of M.C. Vos, she worked at the Cape and at Tulbagh among the slaves and the Knoi. In 1805 she worked at Bethelsdorp during the absence of Read and Van der Kemp. She was actively involved in missionary work throughout her life.

Refer: J. Philip: Memoir of Mrs Mathilde Smith, Late of Cape Town.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp.33,41,52.

du Plessis: A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, pp.64, 77, 129, 130, 136.

SMIT, E.

1778-1863

L.M.S. 115

An orphan, he was brought up in a children's home in Amsterdam and trained

for missionary work by the Dutch Society. He arrived in southern Africa in 1804 after a hazardous voyage and settled at Bethelsdorp 1805-1813. In 1814 he married the sister of Gert Maritz (later to be a Trek leader). He worked at Tooverberg (Colesberg) where he was ordained by James Read (1816). He moved from Tooverberg to Klipfontein (Beaufort West) 1818-1821 when he left the L.M.S. He moved to various teaching posts until in 1836 he accompanied the Trekkers to a tragic end in futility (1863).

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 728.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, p. 38.

Walker: History of Great Trek.

SMIT, Nicholas H.

1817-1881

L.M.S. 403

Born in Cape Town and brought up in Andrew Murray's church in Graaff Reinet. Was trained as a printer and joined L.M.S. as a teacher in 1838. Working with the Coloured section of the congregation he led the Coloured breakaway from Trinity Church which was built in Hill Street. A Church Commission forced him to leave and he went to Kat River, returning to Grahamstown in 1847 where he ministered at the Coloured Church until 1870.

Refer: Godlonton & Irving: Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes Vol. I p.154-155, Vol. II p. 240-244.

Long (ed.): Goldswain Chronicle Vol. II pp. 131-138.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers, pp. 193, 229, 235-236, 240-244, 247.

Thesis Chapter X.

THOM, George

1788-1842

L.M.S. 132 & D.R.C.

Arrived 1812 en route to India. Was active in the Mission until 1816 when he made a frank report to London. Held meeting (synod) of missionaries at Cape in 1817 and then joined Dutch Reformed Church at Caledon. At Tulbagh in 1825. Recruited Scots for the Dutch Reformed Church. Awarded an honorary D.D. from Aberdeen University.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 742.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 535-537.

Eewfeest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika p.18,67

THOMSON, William B. 1795-1891 G.M.S.

Recruited by Thom. Ordained 1821 in Scotland. Sailed with Bennie on Sappho. At Tynumie with Brownlee and Bennie as missionary and Government agent. Established mission at Balfour under D.R.C. then moved to D.R.C. at Hertzog.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 789.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, pp. 183, 248, 254.

Shepherd: Lovedale, p. 62ff.

Williams: Where Races Meet. (The Story of Thomson).

THRELFALL, William 1799-1826 Methodist

Arrived 1822 at Salem. Went to Delagoa Bay to start a mission. Health failed. Moved to Namaqualand. Murdered by Bushmen in 1826.

Refer: P.R. Kirby : William Threlfall and his Hottentot Murderer in S.A. Journal of Science 39 (1943) pp. 35-43.

Whiteside: History of Wesleyan Methodist Church in South Africa pp.55-56.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp. 94, 95.

Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw pp. 9,85,185,194,197,201.

ULLBRICHT, J.G. ? -1821 L.M.S. 93

Refer: Thesis Chapters III and IV.

(Very little information is available).

VAN DER KEMP, J.T. 1747-1811 L.M.S. 93

Refer: Thesis Chapter II.

Martin: Dr Vanderkemp.

L.M.S. Memoirs of Rev. J.T. Vanderkemp.

VAN DER LINGEN, A.A. 1774-1821 L.M.S. 72

He was sent to the Cape by the Rotterdam Society and the L.M.S. in 1800. He worked first with Vanderkemp at Graaff Reinet and then at Cape Town, where his work was limited by de Mist who did not want missionaries in already established parishes. In 1806 he went to Kuruman but ill-health compelled

him to return to Cape Town as Chaplain to the Cape Corps and to teach literacy. In 1811 he went to Algoa Bay and thence to Grahamstown in 1813. He travelled indefatigably visiting frontier posts. He retired in 1817 and returned to Holland in 1818 where he died.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 817.

J. Campbell: Travels in South Africa.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa p. 284.

Eeuwfeest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika p.82.

VAN LIER, H.R.

1764-1792

Refer: Thesis Chapter II.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa pp.61,69,71,72,129,419.

Eeuwfeest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika p.60.

VOS, M.C.

1759-1818

S.A.M.S.

Refer: Thesis Chapter II.

du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa pp.67,76,77,78,83,92,422.

Eeuwfeest-Album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk in Zuid Afrika,  
pp. 60-61.

M.C. Vos: Merkwaardig Verhaal.

WHITWORTH, James

? -1852

Methodist

Arrived at the Cape in 1824 and moved to Salem in 1852. It was he who went to the aid of the stricken Threlfall in Table Bay after fever had attacked many of the crew and passengers on board. While strict quarantine prevailed, it was Whitworth who saved the life not only of Threlfall but of the crew too.

Refer: du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa p. 57.

Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw pp. 11, 159, 209.

WILLIAMS, Joseph

1780-1818

L.M.S. 142

An artisan missionary, he came out with Barker, J. Evans and Hamilton (1815). He was chosen to establish the mission across the Fish (1816) at Kat River. He was active in organising the meeting of Somerset and Ngqika (1817). He died at Kat River in 1818.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 849.  
Holt: Joseph Williams.

WIMMER, Michael 1761-1840 L.M.S. 113

Arrived 1809. At Bethesdorp 1810-1812, Pacaltsdorp 1813, Caledon (Zuurbrak) 1816-1821. To Steinkopff 1821-1829. At Komaggas 1829-1831. Returned to Steinkopff 1831-1840.

Refer: Wing and Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope p. 19.  
du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa pp. 130, 204.  
(Very little information is available).

WRIGHT, Peter 1796-1843 L.M.S. 221

An artisan, he arrived in 1821. Trained as a Catechist. In 1823 at Theopolis as head of secular affairs. Ordained at Theopolis 1826. He then went to Griquatown where he became principal missionary in 1827. He moved to Philippolis in 1842 and died there in 1843. His widow, after a trip to Britain, retired in Grahamstown where she died in 1886. Their descendants are well-known as the Cronwrights (cf. Family details; Appendix B(ii)).

Refer: Stirk: Southwell Settlers pp. 2, 3, 54, 81, 101.  
Wing and Briggs: The Harvest and the Hope p. 53.

YOUNG, Samuel 1797-1884 Methodist

Arrived 1824. At Salem until 1827. Moved to Mount Coke and thence to Wesleyville.

Refer: Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw (numerous entries).  
Hinchliffe (ed.): Journal of John Ayliff pp. 37, 39, 73, 82, 100, 109, 114, 118.  
Shaw: The Story of My Mission (numerous references).

APPENDIX C(ii)OFFICIALS

BELL, John

1782-1876

After a distinguished career in the army this Scot became Quarter-Master General at the Cape (1822-1826) and chief secretary (Colonial Secretary) from 1827-1840. With an extensive knowledge of the Colony he became a right hand man of the Governors and his ability must be acknowledged when it is realised that he achieved his success without patronage. This skill was clearly displayed in an excellent memorandum on education (1837). After leaving the Cape he held further senior posts in Britain and gained both a K.C.B. and G.C.B.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 65.  
 Malherbe: Education in South Africa,  
D.N.B. IV.

BERG

This man is tentatively identified as O.M. Berg, Deputy Fiscal at Clanwilliam. No firm identification is possible.

Refer: Thompson: Travels in South Africa Vol. II, p. 82.

BIRD, Colonel C.C.

1769-1861

He was appointed to the Cape in 1797 as Quarter-Master General. In 1807 he was Deputy Colonial Secretary and in 1818 he was made Colonial Secretary. He was very knowledgeable about the Cape and it was a pity that political tensions led to his dismissal by Somerset in 1824. He continued to live at the Cape until 1843 when he retired to Belgium.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 76.  
 Hattersley: Christopher Chapman Bird in S.A.L. Quarterly Bulletin,  
 June, 1956.  
 Butler: 1820 Settlers pp. 44, 59, 215.

COLLINS, R.

1774(?) - 1813

He was a British officer who took part in the conquest of the West Indies and was appointed to the 83rd Regiment when Baird captured the Cape (1806). He became Military Adviser to Calcon and toured the Cape extensively to gain a grasp of that complex situation. He gave advice on the Bushmen in the North and was then appointed Commissioner to exert civil and military authority on Calcon's behalf on the Eastern Frontier. In this role he attempted to enforce segregation and also did an extensive fact-finding tour, travelling far beyond the Fish. His report is both comprehensive and illuminating. He left the Cape in 1811 and joined Wellesley's army in the Peninsula, dying in the Battle of Gouveia.

Refer: D.S.A.B. 1, p. 181

DUYFER, Colonel Jacob Glen

1775-1854

He was an American of Loyalist sympathies who was commissioned in the British Army. In 1806 he came to the Cape with Baird's Expeditionary Force. From 1806 to 1817 he was Second-in-Command of the Cape Corps, Commandant at Fort Frederick (1806-1815) and Landdrost of Ditenhage (1806-1828).

Refer: D.S.A.B. 1, p. 195.

Africana Notes and News XII, p. 2.

Butler: 1820 Settlers, pp. 38, 59, 113, 114.

Phillip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819, p. 68.

DUNDAS, Major W.B.

1785-1858

A veteran of the Napoleonic Wars, he lost his left arm in the Peninsular War (1812). He saw some active service with Colonel Henry Somerset at the Cape before his appointment as Landdrost of Albany (1825) where he was involved in the partisan grouping of the Settlers. In 1830 he left Africa and subsequently reached the rank of Major General.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 246.

Nash: Baird's Party of 1820 Settlers, pp. 87, 112.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler (numerous entries).

ELLIS, Henry

1790- ?

He was appointed Deputy Colonial Secretary on the recommendation of Bathurst in 1819. He was also Commissioner of Stamps. He was directed by Somerset to welcome the 1820 Settlers to whom he made a patriotic speech. He was described as a "young man of unusual insight and perspicacity".

Refer: Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 115.  
 Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler (numerous entries).  
 Nash: Bailie's Party of 1820 Settlers (numerous entries).

EVATT, Capt. Francis

1770-1850

Called the father of Port Elizabeth. An officer in the Light Dragoons, he served at the Cape from 1806. At Fort Frederick he was Commandant in 1817 and from 1825 he was Government Resident at Port Elizabeth. He kept the vital port facilities efficient during the Wars of 1834-1835 and 1846-1847. He was held in high esteem in Port Elizabeth.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 148.  
 Peter Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 pp. 120-121.  
E.P. Herald 2.4.1850 (Obituary).  
 J.J. Redgrave: Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days.

FRASER, G.S.

1783-1823

He arrived at the Cape in 1806 as a Captain in the Cape Regiment serving under Colonel Collins. He was moved to the Frontier where his Commanding Officer was Colonel Graham. After serving with great distinction in 1812 he was Deputy Landdrost in the Albany district. He surveyed the Fish area for military posts and was granted the farm at Lombards Post. He aided Somerset in negotiations with Ngeika and led a raid against Ndlambe. His ride to Cape Town in 1819 was an epic and he was Commandant of the Frontier until his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 240.  
R.C.C. Vol. V pp. 7-11.  
 Cory: Rise of South Africa Vols. I-II.

HAYWARD, William

He was appointed Assistant Commissary General of Accounts at the Cape in 1815. In 1825 he was appointed Special Commissioner to investigate and arbitrate land disputes in the Albany district, which task he fulfilled with tact and discretion. He subsequently served as Auditor of Accounts in 1826 and 1827.

Refer: Edwards: The 1820 Settlers in South Africa pp. 107, 110, 122-123.  
Keppel Jones(ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 216-220, 222.  
Nash: Bailie's Party of 1820 Settlers pp. 35, 67, 68, 71, etc.

LIND

(It has been impossible to identify this official and it must be assumed that Barker probably misspelt the name).

JONES, Major James

A veteran of the Peninsular War, he had served under Donkin and was appointed as Commandant of the Frontier and Landdrost of Albany in May 1821. His appointment, to the regret of many of the Settlers, was not sanctioned by the Colonial Department and he returned to Europe.

Refer: Butler: 1820 Settlers pp. 158, 159.  
Edwards: The 1820 Settlers in South Africa pp. 74, 83.  
Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 99, 104, 105, 106, 107, 126.

MORESBY, Capt. Fairfax

1786-1877

He entered the Royal Navy in 1799 and by 1819 he was a Post Captain commanding H.M.S. Menai. He was ordered to the Cape as Senior Naval Officer under the Commissioner, Sir Daniel Brenton. After helping with the landing of the Settlers he surveyed the coast from Cape Recife to the Keiskama. He was instrumental in setting up the Distressed Settlers Fund.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 375.  
Keppel Jones (ed.): Inomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp.45-50,60-61,71,221.  
Rainier(ed.): The Journals of Sophia Pigot pp.12,17,55-57,60-62,140-142.

ONKRUYDT, M. van Nuldt

He was Secretary to the Landdrost at Grahamstown before moving in 1825 to Somerset as Resident Magistrate until his retirement in 1837. Philipps, Ayliff and Shaw all appeared to regard him with considerable affection - an unusual situation with a government official!

Refer: Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler p. 259.

Harmond Tooke (ed.): The Journal of William Shaw pp. 57, 194.

Hinchliffe: Journal of John Ayliff pp. 91, 100, 116.

C. Pama: Die Wapens van die Ou Afrikaanse Families.

PLASKET, Sir Richard

1782-1847

A career diplomat who was Colonial Secretary from 1824-1827. His tour with Somerset to the Eastern Districts included an exploratory visit to the Fish River and investigation of land claims. He appears to have been a business-like but reserved person who made no great impact on people.

Refer: Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 236, 237.

Nash: Baillie's Party of 1820 Settlers pp. 77, 87, 88.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers pp. 73, 75-76.

RIVERS, Henry

1785-1861

Appointed as Landdrost of Albany after the summary dismissal of Major Jones. His unpopularity is clear from contemporary comment but it must be acknowledged as a difficult position and at Swellendam, where he served as Landdrost and Civil Commissioner 1825-1842, Riversdale was named in his honour. He was later Treasurer of the Cape Colony (1852-1854) and Chairman of the Prisons' Commission.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 596.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 107-111, 220-221, 224-228, 300.

Hockly: The Story of British Settlers of 1820 pp. 76, 87, 88, 93, 94.

Butler: 1820 Settlers pp. 20, 158, 159, 160, 167, 168, 170, 171.

SOMERSET, Henry

1794-1862

Eldest son of Lord Charles Somerset. A Peninsular War veteran he served at Waterloo and came to the Cape as Captain in the Cape Corps (1818). In 1819 he was posted to the Frontier where he was Acting Deputy Landdrost. He was Commandant at Simonstown (1821-1823). He purchased his Majority in 1823 when he returned to Grahamstown as Commanding Officer of the Cape Corps. From 1828 he was C.O. of the Cape Mounted Rifles. He finally left the Cape in 1852 and served in India before his death in 1862.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 691.

Rivett Carnac: Hawks Eye.

Godlonton: A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes.

STOCKENSTRÖM, Andries

1792-1864

He was the eldest son of the former Landdrost of Graaff Reinet and he held the same office from 1815-1828. In 1828 he was appointed Commissioner General of the Eastern Districts and from 1836-1839 served as Lieutenant Governor. During this time he founded the Kat River Settlement (1829) and also gave evidence before the Aborigines Committee in London (1835). He was honourably retired in 1840 with a title and a pension. Regarded as a brave and far-seeing man, he had to put unpopular legislation into effect.

Refer: Galbraith: Reluctant Empire pp. 138-150.

Dracopoli: Sir Andries Stockenström 1792-1864.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: The War of the Axe (numerous references).

Hutton (ed.): The Autobiography of the Late Sir Andries Stockenström.

TRAPPES, Capt. Charles

1776-1828

He came to the Cape with the 72nd Regiment and was made Second-in-Command to Lt. Col. Willshire of the 38th Regiment. He was the first Landdrost of Albany but, although he was not an efficient or popular administrator, he did help to maintain peace on the Border. From Bathurst he was transferred to Worcester.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 748.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler pp. 54, 71-73, 83-84, 88, 90-92, 104-108, 111, 112.

Nash: Baillie's Party of 1820 Settlers pp. 37-44, 46, 47, 49.

VAN REENEN, Dirk Gysbert

1754-1828

A Cape land-owner, brewer and burgher officer, he was the son of a distinguished father. They were known as progressive farmers, using the latest methods. He journeyed with Janssens through the Cape and was instrumental in the establishment of Bethelsdorp. In 1803 he negotiated with Xhosa along with Janssens.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 796.

(V.R.S. No. 18).

Blommaert and Wilde(ed.): Die Joernaal van D.G. van Reenen.

VAN RYNEVELD, W.S.

1765-1812

A D.E.I.C. official, he was President of the Council of Justice and came of a family of Landdrosts and officials in the Western Cape. He was a trained lawyer with great ability and knowledge, much used by the Batavian authorities and by General Craig. His advice probably led to the Hottentot Proclamation of 1809 and to the Institution of Circuit Courts. His services on Commissions were distinguished and he was influential as Chief Magistrate and Fiscal in Cape Town (1806). By 1809 he was Chief Justice of the High Court and in 1811 served on the Circuit Court.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 806.

WARDEN, H.D.

1800-1856

A British soldier and official, he was the founder of Bloemfontein. He came to the Cape in 1819 and was appointed as an Ensign in the Cape Corps. In 1824 he was promoted Lieutenant and in 1835 he commanded D'Urban's fourth detachment with the rank of Captain. The detachment, consisting mainly of farmers, bore the brunt of much of the fighting. After service in Natal he became Magistrate of Transorangia in 1846 with his base at Philippolis and his home on the farm Bloemfontein. An able administrator, he became British Resident in Transorangia with the rank of Major.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 863.

HUDSON, Hougham

Hudson was a member of Dyason's party who after rendering distinguished service in the Xhosa wars was also first Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in Port Elizabeth and subsequently Agent General for the province of Queen Adelaide. His son was a public servant and was Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in Somerset East.

Refer: Hockley: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820.  
 Maxwell and Mc Geogh (Ed.): The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs.  
 Long (Ed.): The Chronicles of Jeremiah Goldswain.

APPENDIX C(iii)BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF SETTLERSBIBLIOGRAPHY

The books listed here are those most frequently used and to which reference is made by author's name only in the Biographical Notes:-

e.g. G. Butler; The 1820 Settlers,  
hereafter: Butler.

- Ayliff J. : John Ayliff Journal 1821-1830 (ed. P. Hinchliffe).  
 Burrows E. : A History of Medicine in South Africa.  
 Butler G. (ed.) : The 1820 Settlers.  
Dictionary of South African Biography (D.S.A.B.)  
 Godlonton R. : A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes.  
 Goldswain J. : The Chronicles of Jeremia Goldswain (ed. U. Long).  
Grahamstown Journal (G.T.J.)  
 Hockly H.E. : The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa.  
 Jones E.M. : Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa.  
 Le Cordeur : The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism.  
 Lewcock W. : Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa.  
 Makin A.E. : The 1820 Settlers of Salem.  
 Nash M.D. : The Bailie Party of Settlers.  
 Philip Peter : British Residents at the Cape.  
 Philipps T. : Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler (ed. Keppel Jones).  
 Pigot S. : The Journals of Sophia Pigot (ed. M. Rainier).  
 Sheffield T. : The Story of the Settlement.  
 Stubbs T. : The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs (ed. Maxwell and McGeogh).

ADAMS, T.P.

1780-1843

He arrived on the Chapman in Bailie's party. As a poet and eloquent spokesman for the people he was well-known, but his farming ventures failed and, reduced to dire poverty, he moved to Grahamstown where he tried teaching, accountancy and a legal agency.

Refer: Theal: R.C.C. Vol. XVI, pp. 284-286.  
G.I.J. 2.11.1843.  
T.P. Adams Papers (Cory Library).  
 Nash: p. 129 and numerous references.

ALLEN, Charles (?)

Probably Charles Allen who, after his arrival from Mauritius (1815), was appointed both Secretary to the Landdrost and Vendue Master at Uitenhage (1815-1820+). He was also Secretary of the Matrimonial Court.

Information is limited but from context the identification seems accurate.

Refer: Philip: p. 5.

ANDERSON, George

1762-1836

As the Hewsons and the Hocklys, also members of Bailie's party on the Chapman, were known friends of the Barkers", it can be assumed that this was George Anderson who belonged to the same group.

George Anderson was a cabinet-maker and upholsterer who practised his trade in Bathurst. His son, Robert, was murdered by the Xhosa in 1821. In 1834 Anderson became Field Cornet of Bathurst but after the War of 1835 he had to abandon his home, so he moved to Grahamstown where he died in 1836. His home, with its signs intact, can be seen in Lawrance Street, Grahamstown (1982).

Refer: Sheffield: p. 255.  
G.I.J. 5.5.1836.  
 Nash: pp. 18, 30 and numerous other references.

ARNOLD, David

1795-1851

He arrived in 1817 with Moodie's party. He was allowed, on Cuyler's recommendation, to leave the party and he settled in Uitenhage to practise his trade as a cooper. He married a Bethelsdorp woman, Catharina van der Jeugh (2.10.1819), and trained apprentices at the mission while living at Cradock's Town, home of Korsten. He was later indentured to Korsten in Algoa Bay and subsequently moved to Colesberg as a farrier (no date available).

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 22 (refers).

Morse Jones: p. 17.

Philip: p. 10.

ATTWELL

Tentative identification as William Attwell, a baker, son of R. Attwell of Crause's party.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 23.

Hockly: p. 204.

BAILLIE, John

1788-1852

Leader of an independent party on the Chapman. Located at "The Hope" in Lower Albany. He investigated a harbour scheme on the Fish. Destitute after the war of 1834-1835, he joined the Colonial Infantry. By 1836 he was investigating a potential harbour on the Buffalo and finally drowned on an exploratory tour to the Umata River (1852). In the interim he was the centre of a cause célèbre concerning the killing of a Boer, du Plooy, but was granted a free pardon by Sir Harry Smith.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 34.

Nash: Baillie's Party of 1820 Settlers (whole book refers).

BARKER, Arthur

1787- ?

A member of Wait's party on the Zoroaster, he was granted the farm Waterford on the Kariega River. It was his proximity to Theopolis which led to a dispute with Barker over thatch grass (1825). In 1843 he sold Waterford to

William Wright of Tarkastad. His sketches give an interesting example of plans for building which fell short in execution.

Refer: Butler: pp. 126, 130, 131, 153, 155.  
Hockly: p. 205.  
Stirk: p. 81.

BEAR (Mrs.)

As court files do not exist for minor offences, it has not been possible to identify this case.

BIDDULPH, Simon

1761-1842

It seems probable that it was Simon Biddulph as he set up a store in Bathurst in 1821. cf. Nash.

Arriving as a member of Baillie's party on the Chapman, he separated from the group and acquired his own farm at Birbury (in Trappes Valley) and a plot in Bathurst. With vested interest in Bathurst, he suffered heavily with the move of the magistracy to Grahamstown. From 1835-1840 he was a store-keeper in Graaff Reinet, returning to Bathurst in 1840.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II, p. 60 (refers in note on J.B. Biddulph).  
G.I.J. 15.2, 1844.  
Nash: p. 135 and numerous references.

BIGGAR, Alexander

1781-1838

He led a party on the Weymouth and was granted the farm Woodlands (at Southwell). His farming venture having failed, he sold Woodlands to William McLuckie (1828) and went into the transport business, first at Mill Farm, Grahamstown and subsequently (1835) at Port Elizabeth. From there he moved to Port Natal where, having identified himself with the Boers, he took part in the Battle of Blood River (1838) and was subsequently killed in a skirmish.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 73.  
Hockly: pp. 36, 91, 171, 175, 177, 179.  
Stirk: pp. 13, 14, 56, 81.

BISSET, Alexander

1788-1874

A member of Willson's party on Belle Alliance, he had a plot at Beaufort Vale but subsequently moved to Bathurst (1825) as Post Master. There his children (the eldest of whom was later General Sir John Bisset) attended the Bathurst school. From Bathurst the family moved to Fairfax and then to Grahamstown.

Note: A footnote in Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler, p. 174, has confused Alexander with his son, John. The footnote claims that Alexander was Quarter-Master in the War of the Axe. cf. Le Cordeur and Saunders: The War of the Axe, pp. 179, 184, etc.

Refer: D.S.A.B. :, p.78.  
Philipps: p. 174.  
Morse Jones: p. 25.

BONIN, Samuel

1780-1843

A member of Sephton's party on the Aurora, he shared allotments at Salem with Matthews and George Clark. He died at Salem in 1843. His illustrious descendant was Samuel Bonin Hobson, author and politician.

Refer: G.T.J. 9.4.1843.  
Makin: pp. 40, 60, 62, 130, 132, 133.  
Morse Jones: p. 26.

BOVEY, R.M.

1793-1869

The well-educated son of a gentleman farmer, he emigrated with Bailie's party on the Chapman. Until 1825 he took part in various expeditions and interested himself in a fishing enterprise on the Fish River. In 1825 he was granted a farm adjoining Theopolis towards the coast, but apparently never farmed there. In 1837 he moved to Fort Beaufort where he was active in civic affairs.

Refer: G.T.J. 23.3.1837.  
Morse Jones: p. 93.  
Nash: p. 137 and numerous references.  
Thomas Philipps: pp. 131, 188, 237.

BOWKER not clearly identified but probably John Mitford Bowker 180?-1847

His father, Miles Bowker (1759-1839), led a party of Settlers on Weymouth but J.M. Bowker came to South Africa in 1822. After active service in the war of 1834-1835 he was Government Agent at Fort Peddie. An implacable critic of Stockenström, he was suspended from office in 1839. After two vain appeals against his suspension he went farming in the Fish River area in 1841 and for the remainder of his life was known for his sharply critical speeches against government and mission policy.

Refer: D.S.A.S. 11, p. 94.

Bowker: Speeches, Letters and Selections from Important Papers, Volume 1, Africana Collectanea.

Le Cordeur: pp. 67, 79, 85, 111, 113, 144, 147-149, 152, 154-155.

Mitford Barberton: The Bowkers of Inarfield.

BRADY

Probably Robert Brady who came out in Campbell's party to Barville Park (ss: Salisbury). No other information is available.

Refer: Hockly: p. 209

BUTLER, Capt. Thomas

1777- ?

Leading Butler's party from County Wicklow, he was first sent to Clanwilliam and later moved to Sidbury, a farm on the Assegan River. His poverty was reported to the Society for Distressed Settlers and his ex-servant, Montgomery, offered to help him pay his return fare to Ireland.

Refer: C.O. 136 (Butler's Letter from Clanwilliam)-

Butler: pp. 119, 175-176, 281.

Hockly: pp. 37, 41, 54, 58.

CALDECOCK, Dr. Charles

1781-1821

He came as a surgeon to the parties on Brilliant but died soon after landing in Algoa Bay. His sons prospered and one became Mayor of Grahamstown.

Refer: Burrows: p. 163.

Hockly: p. 210.

CALLANDER, James

1757-1820

A master mariner who had seen service with the Royal Navy, he plied the South African coast from the Cape to Mossel Bay in his own boat (1797-1798). In 1798 he settled at George from which base he chartered the Knysna Lagoon and in 1817 proposed the building of a dockyard there. He died at Uitenhage in 1820.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 122.

Huisgenoot 28.1.1928. J. Callander, 'n Romantiese Loopbaan.

CAMPBELL, Major General Charles

1772-1822

Having sent his bailiff, Cypress Messer, ahead of him, General Campbell arrived on the Salisbury in 1822 to take possession of Reed Fountain which he re-named Barville Park. He died as a result of an accident in May 1822. His young second wife and his numerous family remained until 1833 when they returned to England. The farm was sold in 1842 to Edward Dell and was (and still is in 1982) famed as a fortified farm.

Refer: Hockly: p. 36.

Morse Jones: p. 97.

Thomas Philipps: pp. 111, 136, 230-231, 236, 243.

Stirk: p. 52.

Barker Journal, Appendix A(iii).

CAMPBELL, Capt. Duncan

1782-1856

Formerly a Captain in the Royal Marines, he led a party on Weymouth. After settling at Thorn Park (formerly Botha's farm) near Grahamstown, he became a Heemraad and firm supporter of the Government, but Somerset's summary actions after 1824 altered his attitude. By 1828, as a leading sheep farmer, he became Civil Commissioner and in 1834 Magistrate. Involved in an unpleasant civil suit with Stockenström in 1838, he returned to farming. He left for England shortly before his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 123.

Nash: numerous references.

Thomas Philipps: numerous references.

G.M.J. Obituary 10.3.1857.

CAMPBELL, Joseph

He arrived as an independent Settler under indenture to Nourse (1819). He later was indentured to Damant.

As he was in the Eastern Province, it can only be assumed that this was the Joseph Campbell, carpenter at Theopolis. No record appears of him in L.M.S. records.

Refer: Philip: p. 56.

CAMPBELL, Dr. Peter M.R.C.S.

1790-1837

From 1820, on his arrival on Aurora in Sephton's party, he was licensed to practise medicine in the Cape Colony. As a prominent Freemason, he took an active part in the social life of Grahamstown. He extended his medical practice to include the practice of apothecary.

Refer: Burrows: pp. 163, 167.

Makin: pp. 42, 152, 191, 208.

Shaw: pp. 19, 38, 47, 103, 133.

CARLISLE, ?

John (1797- ?) and Frederick (1801-1863) Carlisle were brothers, John being the leader of Carlisle's party on the Chapman. He married Catherine Philipps and became a leading sheep farmer, while his brother Frederick was Deputy Sheriff of Albany and active in politics. Frederick is also famous for the amputation of his leg under anaesthetic. Their brother, William, joined them in 1825, apparently as a chaplain. It is assumed that William Carlisle visited Theopolis but there are no real grounds for any assumption.

Refer: Hockly: pp. 159, 172.

Philipps: numerous references.

G.T.J. 19.6.1847, 26.6.1847.

CHASE, John James Centlivres

1795-1877

A member of Baillie's party on the Chapman, his remarkably colourful career

took him from Baillie's location through Fredericksburg, Graaff Reinet, Kleinmond and Klaarwater and ended in the Landdrost's office, first in Grahamstown (1829) and then in Cape Town (1830-1837). He married Korsten's daughter (1837) and moved to Port Elizabeth where, as a leading business and political figure, he became first a member of the Legislative Assembly (1864-1865) and then of the Legislative Council (1866-1877). He was the assumed author of the paper which attacked Philip's "Researches in South Africa"

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 165.  
 Le Cordeur: numerous entries.  
G.T.J. 19.9.1833.

#### COATES

This might have been either Philip Coates who was issued with a Colonial Pass in 1801 or William Coates who was Quarter Master of the 54th Foot, 1819-1820+.

Refer: Philip: p. 69.

COCK, William 1793-1876

Emigrated as a leader of a group on the Weymouth and settled next to Thornhill on the Kowie River. His first business venture with Thornhill was followed by a partnership in the firm, Cock and Lea, which as army butchers supplied salt beef to the Cape and Mauritius. His interests also included the Kowie harbour scheme. The first Easterner to be appointed to the Legislative Assembly, he was also leader of the Kowie Volunteers, a Frontier Commando. In 1850/1851 he was on the Board of Defence.

Refer: D.S.A.B. ?, p. 73.  
 E. Gledhill: W. Cock, Pioneer, in A.N.N., Sept. 1960.  
 Le Cordeur: numerous entries.  
G.T.J. 18.11.1876.

#### COLLINS (or Coilen)

No clear identification is possible, the only suggestion being William Thomas

Collier (1801- ?)

Refer: Sheffield: Story of the Settlement, p. 125.

COMPEL (Cowper?)

It has been impossible to identify this man. Not only is the writing almost indecipherable, but the visitors with him appear to have been members of Stanley's party on the John, (Messrs Solomon Shepherd and Hugh Millen) and no name which approximates to Compel appears on the John list. (cf. Sheffield, Morse Jones, Hockly). Other Cowpers could not have been present on this date.

CORNFIELD, John Francis

1799-1834

A teacher and artist, Cornfield (also known as Comfield) and his wife Eliza arrived with Smith's party on the John. Their baby (born at sea 24.2.1820) was nursed at Bethelsdorp. The Cornfields left Grahamstown in 1824 and opened a school for young ladies. In 1829 Cornfield set up as a merchant in Cape Town but after 1834 all trace of them is lost. He is best remembered for his album of water-colours, now in the Fehr Collection. He helped produce the first lithographs in South Africa.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 170.

A. Gordon Brown: Pictorial Art in South Africa, pp. 33-34.

Hockly: p. 152.

COWIE, Dr. Alexander

+1797-1829

Arrived at the Cape on 24.7.1823. No record of his background or medical studies has been found but he was recommended by Dr Barry (D.S.A.B. II, p. 36) and was District Surgeon from 1823-1828. Having established himself as a much-loved physician, he was compelled to resign (1828) when ordered to treat civil servants free of charge. He went on an expedition with Benjamin Green as a trader to Natal where they were guided to Dingane's kraal by Henry Fynn. They went on as far as Delagoa Bay but on the way back both died of malaria.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II, p. 147.

Philipps: p. 37.

Krebs: Cape Naturalist, pp. 77-78, 109.

## COOPER (Cowper)

Although Nash identifies this tentatively as William Cooper of Bailie's party, this seems unlikely as Captain Callander was, at the time of his death, staying with the Coopers (Cowpers), (cf. Barker Journal 1820), and it is thus concluded that they were not Settlers. It seems more likely to have been Robert Cooper who was discharged (?) from the Cape Regiment in 1810 and who had a young son, James (as Barker states).

Refer: Nash: p. 138.

Philip: p. 74

## CRAUSE, Lt. John

1793-1864

He sailed in the Nautilus in 1819 and as he was a Lieutenant in the 50th Regiment he received a grant of land in Donkin's village at Fredericksburg in the so-called Ceded Territory. As compensation for loss of this land he was granted 2000 morgen in the Southwell district. At the same time he was made a member of the Albany militia (cf. Hockly, p. 80), subsequently becoming Commandant. Before his death in Grahamstown he had been J.P. in Graaff Reinet.

Refer: Stinks: pp. 76-77.

Phillips: p. 173.

Nash: p. 139 and numerous references.

## CURDIE, Michael

This is a tentative identification. He obtained a Colonial pass in 1818 as a member of Moodie's party, though no occupation is listed. In 1820 he was discharged from Moodie's service and in 1825 signed a will at Uitenhage giving his address as Cradock. His property was left to heirs in Scotland.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 18.

Philip: p. 84.

## LURRIE, Walter

1784-1836

He was a purser in the Royal Navy who, while he joined Willson's party, did in fact have capital and was able to open a shop in Bathurst shortly after

his arrival. In 1823 he was made a Field Cornet. His son, Walter (1819-1872), who was Thomas Stubbs' closest friend, was originally a farmer but subsequently became Commandant of the Albany Unit of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police. Having fought in the Wars of 1846 and 1851, he served the country with distinction and was knighted in 1860. He gave evidence to the Select Committee on the Theopolis lands dispute (1861) regarding the rebellion of 1851.

Refer: Maxwell and McGeogh (ed.): Thomas Stubbs Reminiscences (numerous entries).  
Butler: p. 138.  
Nash: p. 82.

CYRUS, George

1811-1862

He was the son of Samuel Cyrus of Sephton's party. After four years at Salem the family moved to Grahamstown, when Samuel Cyrus got a licence to trade at Fort Willshire. The young George became a fluent interpreter of Xhosa and was much in demand. In 1834 he left on an historic visit to Natal with Capt. Allen Gardiner. On his return to Grahamstown, after playing a not undistinguished role in the Natal expedition, Cyrus was appointed as official interpreter at Grahamstown and commanded the Fingo Levies in the War of (1850-1851).

Refer: Makin: pp. 86-93.  
A.F. Gardiner: Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country.  
Stubbs: pp. 42-45, 141, 147, 157, 160, 238.

DALGAIRIN, Charles

1778(?) - 1835

Apparently a very inept Settler, he was a leader of a party on Northampton who "lost" his three small daughters for three days just after landing. Later, after settling at Blaaukrantz just below Pigot Park, he lost his oxen. By 1835 he had moved first to Somerset Farm, then to the Kariega (Moneysworth) and thence to Uitenhage where the spring on his farm ran the wrong way to be useful to him; this spring was eventually Uitenhage's main water supply. Dalgairin died at Graaff Reinet in 1835.

Refer: Sheffield: p. 262.  
Philipps: Numerous references.  
Pigot: Numerous references.

DANGLEISH, J.E.

? - ?

He was discharged from the Royal Artillery in 1817 and obtained a Colonial pass. In 1819 he opened a shop in Cape Town but this subsequently went bankrupt. In 1830 he was reported in Port Elizabeth where he witnessed a will and in 1835 he married Elizabeth Ashmead.

Refer: Phillip: p. 86.

No further information can be found.

DAMAN, John Sandcroft

1775-1825

Having seen considerable overseas service, he came to the Cape in 1814. He married Maria Korsten in 1817 while he was Paymaster at Fort Frederick. He returned to Norfolk in 1819 but soon both he and Thomas joined the party of emigrants led by their youngest brother, Edward. This party was eventually located at Lammas on the Gamtoos River.

Refer: Phillip: p. 87.

Buller: p. 75.

Morse Jones: p. 106.

DELL, Samuel

1816-1890

Samuel was one of the sons of Edward Dell of Inornhill's party. They were forage contractors and had bought Barville Park. An active member of many associations, he founded the United Farmers Association whose prime function was to recover stolen stock but they also co-operated with patrols.

Refer: Stubbs: numerous references.

Morse Jones: p. 108.

Stirke: pp. 45, 54, 61.

DEITZ, Arnoldus Bernardus

1768-1832

He came to the Cape from the East Indies and set up as a shopkeeper and agent for Korsten in Grahamstown. With Pohl and Retief he was one of the "big three" building contractors and won the contract to build the gadi in Grahamstown.

Refer: Lewcock: pp. 196, 199, 201, 245, 247.  
 Chase: Old Times, Odd Corners, p. 4.  
 Philipps: pp. 153, 225, 227, 230, 232.  
 Pigot: pp. 65, 75, 188.  
G.T.J. Obituary 20.1.1832.

FAIRBAIRN, John

1794-1864

Little is known of his background but he read Classics, Theology and Medicine at Edinburgh University without graduating. Summoned to South Africa by his ex-University friend, Thomas Pringle, he helped establish both a school (later to become S.A. College 1829 of which he was a Governor) and also to set up the South African Journal (1824) which was discontinued after two issues. After various vicissitudes the freedom of the press was established in 1829 and the Commercial Advertiser represented the views of liberal-thinkers. His active and lively reporting kept him in the public eye and in 1850 he was elected to the Legislative Council. A further claim to fame is his share in the founding of the Old Mutual Insurance Company in 1845.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II, p. 225.  
 Lewin Robinson: None Daring to Make Us Afraid.  
 Pringle: Narrative of a Residence in South Africa.

FINN

No clear identification can be made but this was probably James Finn, a carpenter in Parker's party.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 35.  
 Hockly: p. 218.

alternatively

FYNN, Henry Francis

1803-1860

He is famous as a pioneer Natal trader, authority on the Zulu people and Government official. He was at Algoa Bay from 1818-1822 when he left for Cape Town and subsequently for Natal where he travelled extensively with Lt. F.G. Farewell and established the port later known as Durban.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p.305.

Lantern (December 1951), article on The Fynn Papers by B.J.T.Leverton.  
Natal Archives: H.F. Fynn Papers.

FORD, John

1823-1884

A son of William and Hannah Ford, he was also half-brother to the Keetons as his mother married Benjamin Keeton. John himself married Eliza Gray and at the time of the war of 1851 they had moved from Lombards Post to Gamtoos for the safety of their flocks.

Refer: Hockly: p. 219.

Stinks: pp. 10, '1, 16, 22, 49.

FRANCIS, David

1784-1854

A member of Scanlon's Irish party on the East Indian. Settled originally at Cianwilliam but moved to Albany. Led agitation against Somerset and went to England (probably at the instigation of Thomas Philipps) to lay a charge against the Governor. Eventually became Port Captain of Port Elizabeth (1828) and Collector of Customs(1832).

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 116.

Hockly: p. 219.

Philipps: pp. 207, 340, 370.

FULLER, Henry

1781-1850

Although Fuller came out as a member of Dixon's party, it is notable that Barber referred to him as a leader and he did in fact take over after they had settled at Waas Plaats. Later he moved to Newton at Southwell where he and his sons took an active part in the Frontier War, including the attack on Theopolis.

Refer: Hockly: p. 36.

Stinks: pp. 6, 78-79.

Unpublished letter: H.I. Waters to Bishop Robert Gray at Cape Town.

## GARDNER

It is impossible to determine whether this is J. Gardner of Griffiths' party on the Stentor or E. Gardner who led his own party on the Sir George Osborne.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 37.

GILFILLAN, William Frederick Anderson

1769-1855

He first came to southern Africa with the 60th Foot and served from 1811-1818. He returned with the Settlers in 1820, with Thornhill's party on the Zoroaster. He married Thornhill's daughter, Ann. He saw active service in the wars and was mentioned in dispatches. Later as Magistrate of Cradock he led the Cradock Levy.

Refer: Philip: p. 143.

Morse Jones: p. 118.

GOLDSWAIN, Jeremiah

1802-1871

He came to South Africa in 1820 as a member of Wait's party on the Zoroaster. He was an active member of the Albany Levy. After an unsuccessful start he moved to Burnt Kraal outside Grahamstown. His lively accounts of frontier life are contained in his "Chronicle".

Refer: Long: Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain.

Goldenton and Irving I p. 298, II pp. 28, 56.

Stubbs: numerous references.

Morse Jones: p. 139.

GRANT, John

(Tentative identification)

1770- ?

Paymaster for the 38th Foot, he was in charge of the Commissariat at Bathurst and in the same year was granted one morgen of land. As Storekeeper at Bathurst he earned 1/- (one shilling) per day, with 2/6 (two shillings and six pence) per day as pension. In 1825 he was granted the land on the left bank of the Kariega (Grant's Valley), about 1000-1500 acres, where he remained until his death.

Refer: Records: Port Alfred Historical Society (undocumented).  
 Stark: pp. 11, 19, 82, 83.  
 Phillips: p. 150.

GRAY, William

1801-1851

He emigrated as an indentured servant with J.F. Ford and was released in 1822. After working at various tasks, by 1840 he was able to buy Captain Henry Crause's farm Walsingham. Very active in farming affairs he was made a Field Cornet and it was in this capacity that he gave warning of the Theopolis uprising and took part in the skirmish (with Stubbs Rangers against the rebels) which led to his death in 1851.

Refer: Nash: pp. 55, 101, 115, 120.  
 Stark: Numerous references.  
 Morse Jones: p. 120.

GREEN

Tentative identification as Charles Green, Master of the Winifred (1822) and later of the Buck Bay packet.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 121

GUSH, Richard

1789-1858

He was a member of Septon's party on the Brilliant. A very active and vocal Settler, he was a Quaker who took to trading. He is renowned for his peaceful and extremely brave stand against the Xhosa during the war of 1835.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 338.  
 Makin: pp. 96-98.  
 Butler: p. 186.  
 Butler: Richard Gush of Salem.

HART, Robert

1777-1867

He arrived in 1795 as a soldier and ultimately succeeded MacKinnill at the Government Farm at Sorensset in 1816. He was called the first English-speaking

South African and was an excellent farmer and indefatigable traveller. It was he, who with Barker, fetched Mrs Williams from "Kaffirland" in 1817. He was a friendly and devout man of great moral integrity.

Refer: Butler: p. 129.

Phillips: pp. 176, 185, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 259, 260.

Pamela Pfohlott: Father of the Settlers in Eastern Province Herald, 13.6.1970.

HARTLEY, Thomas

1802-1886

He arrived with his father in Calton's party on the Abury. He worked in various positions until he went farming in the Bathurst district and won the prize for the best pineapple on the Bathurst Show in 1863.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 124.

A detailed Manuscript and photographs of this family are in the hands of Mrs N.G. Hutton of 3 Francis Street, Grahamstown.

HEATH

1794-1845

It seems likely that this was John Heath of Baillie's party whose location was reasonably near Theopolis.

Refer: Hockly: p. 224.

Nash: pp. 24, 47, 61, 71, 147 and numerous other references.

HEWSON, Edwin R.

1801-1851

It would seem that this was the Hewson known to Barker as he married Anne Mouncey and after living in Bathurst moved to Spanish Reeds in Trappes Valley. The three wars ruined him and he finally died in Graaff Reinet where he had hoped to earn his living as a gunsmith.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 126 (inaccurate entry).

Nash: pp. 21, 71, 100, 101, 117, 119, 120.

HOCKLY, Daniel

1787-1835

He was a silversmith who came out in Baillie's party on the Chapman. He settled

at Uitenhage, where Mrs Hockly ran a school. He died in Graaff Reinet. His son, Daniel (1826-1897), married Jane Barker. His descendant, H. Hockly, was a well-known advocate and settler historian.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 42.

Nash: pp. 26, 30, 31, 99, 115, 118, 119.

Hockly: pp. 47, 146, 162.

HOWARD, William

1777-1847

He was leader of a party which came out on the Ocean. He was a schoolmaster who recorded events in prose and verse, a famous example being his poem on the RuSL.

Refer: Butler: pp. 83, 138, 296, 304, 305, 320, 326-327, 332.

Batts: History of the Baptist Church.

Sheffield: p. 101.

HUNT

Hockly lists four Hunts and there is nothing to identify any one of these.

HUNTLEY, Hugh (?)

He served in the Cape Regiment until 1818 and then after his marriage (1818) opened a shop in Uitenhage, after which he moved to Grahamstown where he took an active part in the Battle of 1819. As a building contractor and land speculator he was well-known in Grahamstown.

Refer: Lewcock: pp. 198, 233, 283.

Philip: pp. 199-200.

HYMAN, Charles

1799- ?

A very pious man, he was allocated land on the Kleinemono River about five miles from Bathurst. His party which came out on the Weymouth included the Deberhams, whose daughter married Jeremiah Goldswain. His party was reduced to destitution by the floods of 1822 and he went to Grahamstown to teach.

Refer: Butler: pp. 78, 91, 151, 300.  
 Goldswain Vol. 2, pp. 39, 42, 45-48, 52, 53, 54, 55, 150.  
 Morse Jones: p. 131.

INNIS, William

He was a mason in Pigot's party on the Northampton. No further information has been discovered.

Refer: Hockly: List of Settlers p. 226.  
 Pigot: pp. 80, 123.

JAMES, Samuel

1790-1856

He was a party leader on the Weymouth. He died at Cradock.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 132.  
 Ayliff: pp. 62, 74, 76, 113.  
 Hockly: p. 60.

KEFTON, Becher

1832-1851

He was the eldest son of the Settler, Benjamin Keeton, and his wife, Hannah. He died in the War of 1851.

Refer: Slink: pp. 10, 11, 24, 30.  
 Keeton family records are held by Saunders Keeton at Lombards Post, P.S. Grahamstown.

KEMP

It is assumed that these were the brothers Ebenezer and George Kemp, who arrived at the Cape in 1815 and set up a business enterprise in Cape Town.

Refer: Philip: p. 218.  
 Philip: Researches in South Africa, numerous references in chapters on Theopolis and Bethelsdorp.

KERR, Samuel Thomas

He was given a Colonial pass (20.9.1817). He was on the Tax Roll at 17 Gwyler Street and in 1821 married Theodora Cornelia Scheepers. In 1825 he was a Field Cornet at Dierhage.

Refer: Phillip: p. 220.

KIDWELL, Alexander

1782-1844

He came out with holder's party on Kennersley Castle. He soon moved to Grahamstown where he helped found the Baptist Church in which he was a lay preacher. He was a tinsmith by trade.

Refer: Makin: p. 70.

Hockly: p. 228.

Sneffield: p. 264.

KING

Possibly Philip King who came out in Bradshaw's party on the Kennersley Castle. Father of Dick King. He lived near Bathurst (cf. Mitford Barberton p. 176) but there are so many Kings listed that it is difficult to identify him. There is no corroborative evidence in other journals.

Refer: Hockly: p. 228.

KIRKMAN

This was probably John Kirkman of George Smith's party on Stenton, but no definite identification is possible.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 45.

KURSTEN, Frederick

He lived in Craddock's Town (named in honour of the Governor's visit in 1822), near Port Elizabeth. From the early days he was active in trade and was called by his son-in-law, J.C. Gnase, (not without justice), the founder of

Eastern Province Trade. He had branches of his business in Uitenhage, Grahamstown and Graaff Reinet.

Refer: J.C. Chase: Old Times and Odd Places.

Phillips: pp. 49, 59, 232.

Pigot: p. 141.

Neumark: p. 139.

Lorimer: Panorama of Port Elizabeth, pp. 20, 21, 22, 57, 140, 165.

## LEE

It appears impossible to identify Lee with any certainty. However, it is probable that this was the butcher, Lee, mentioned by Tom Stubbs and also by Makin in his history of the Salem Settlers.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 46.

Stubbs: p. 138.

Makin: pp. 35, 36, 45, 53, 85, 133.

## LLOYD

it would appear that this would be William Lloyd as Henry Lloyd was at Salem school in 1826 and William is the only one mentioned in the area earlier.

Refer: Stirke: p. 53.

## LONG, Jeremiah

1780-1834

He was a gardener and botanist attached to Smith's party on the Stentor and, as he farmed near Riet River, it is quite possible that he and Barker met.

Refer: Morse Jones: pp. 46, 137.

Rockly: p. 230.

## LOVEMORE, Henry

1777-1851

A wine merchant from London, he brought his wife, children and domestic servants to South Africa on the Chapman. He bought the farm Bushy Park for £1000 on his arrival. His descendants still farm in the same area where Henry was

a foundation member of the Uitenhage and Albany Agricultural Society.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 137.  
 Hockly: p. 231.  
 Nash: p. 53.  
 Mitford Barberton: p. 189.

#### MARSH

There is no way of identifying which Marsh this was, Thomas Marsh the jeweller or — Marsh of Waterloo. The latter is listed by Hockly as independent, it appears more likely to be he, especially as Thomas had gone with Sephton's party to Salem.

Refer: Hockly: p. 231.  
 Makin: p. 133.

#### MASKELL, John

He arrived at the Cape in 1819 and there is no record of his early life or of his later activities. He is written up as Markell by le Cordeur and Saunders (cf, Kitchingman Papers, pp. 66, 67) and also by Sales, pp. 87, 95. However, his name is clearly Maskell (cf. Philip, p. 269; Philipps, p. 318 and Barker Journal).

Refer: Philip: p. 269.  
 Philipps: p. 318.  
 Sales: pp. 87, 95.  
 le Cordeur and Saunders: pp. 66, 67.

#### MATTHEWS, William Henry

1793-1867

He came out with Sephton's party on the Aurora and almost at once started the Salem Academy which was to be such a boon to the children of the Settlers and Missionaries. Their trust in Matthews was not misplaced and his schools were known far and wide.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 140.  
 Hockly: p. 151.

Shaw: p. 150.

Butler: p. 295.

Makin: pp. 40, 47, 60, 62, 129, 130, 132, 133.

#### MAYNARD, Levi

He was one of Sephton's party who came out on the Aurora. The family moved to Cape Town almost at once and the two sons prospered. James at one time owned much of the Wynberg and Newlands area and became a member of the Assembly in 1854. The other son, Henry, donated the drinking fountain in the Grahamstown Church Square (cf. Hunt: Municipal Government in Grahamstown, p. 161 in AYB 1961.)

Refer: Makin: pp. 61, 133.

Hockly: p. 231.

Butler: p. 177.

Sheffield: p. 173.

#### MILLEN, Hugh

1799-1835

He came over in the John in 1820 in the party led by John Stanley. He went to work as a mason at Kuruman Mission in 1825. From 1827 he joined David Hume in trading journeys which took them frequently into Mzilikaze's country. He died on his travels.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 48.

Hockly: pp. 232, 141.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: p. 72.

#### MOODIE, Donald

1794-1861

A Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, he moved with his brothers, who emigrated in 1818, to the Eastern Frontier to farm. There he was appointed Magistrate at Port Alfred and held various posts of distinction. He married Sophia Pigot and much of his life (apart from his prolific writing) is recorded in her journal.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 489

Pigot: pp. 100-120.

Moodie: Ten Years in South Africa.

MORGAN, Nathaniel

1792 - ?

He was a young surgeon who led his party (Morgan's party) out on the Ocean. He became surgeon to the 38th Regiment and was a member of the Committee for Relief of Distressed Settlers.

Refer: Goldswain: pp. 79, 198.

Hockly: pp. 35, 127, 158, 233.

MORRISON, George

?

He arrived at the Cape in December 1810 in an American ship from Boston. He worked first as a shoemaker in Cape Town and apparently in 1815 moved to Graaff Reinet, although records suggest that he did not stay there but went to Uitenhage where he bought a plot in 1817. James Callander stayed with the Morrisons and appointed Mr Morrison as his agent.

Refer: Philip: p. 288.

NELSON, T. (?)

1786-1863

It is probably correct to assume that this was Thomas Nelson, a labourer, who sailed on the Belle Alliance in Willson's party. He was an active member of the Methodist Church. He died at the Beka River Mouth.

Refer: Makin: p. 63.

Hockly: pp. 124, 146, 183.

DATES, John

He was a shoemaker who came out in Sephton's party in the Aurora and was one of a group of lay preachers in the Methodist Church. He was later granted land in Grahamstown.

Refer: Makin: pp. 46, 60, 65, 130, 132, 133.

Hockly: p. 234.

O'DONNELL, Edward

? - 1843

He arrived at the Cape in 1816 and soon became Under-Sheriff and Postmaster

at Uitenhage (1816-1820). He obviously continued in this capacity as in 1838 he signed himself as a pensioner. He and his wife were both born in Ireland.

Refer: Philip: p. 308.

O'FLINN, Daniel

1792-1851

He came out on the Chapman. He was a Medical Officer at Bathurst until 1822 when he left and took up a post at the Loper Hospital at Stellenbosch, of which town he became Mayor in 1838.

Refer: Philipps: pp. 51, 52.

Morse Jones: p. 146.

OSBORNE

It can be assumed that this is Mrs Osborne, the widowed sister of Alexander Kidwell? of Holder's party. No other information is available.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 70.

PARKER, William

1778- ?

He was the head of the large Irish party which arrived on the East Indian. A religious bigot, he caused great annoyance to most people in authority. He was particularly opposed to the Catholics and wrote an article: Jesuits Unmasked.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 147.

Nash: p. 46.

Butler: pp. 81, 94, 137, 221.

PAINTER, Mrs. Harriet (?)

It is assumed that this was Mrs Harriet Painter of Sephton's party and whose son, Richard, was the member of the Legislative Council.

Refer: Mahin: pp. 32, 40, 51, 60, 62, 130, 132, 134.

Hockly: p. 235.

PAWLE (Paul), James

1789-1851(?)

He sailed in Belle Alliance in 1819 and practised as a surgeon in Lower Albany for five years before moving to George as District Surgeon (1825). After his retirement in 1842 he served as a Justice of the Peace and Church Warden in George.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 147.  
Hockly: pp. 158, 236.

PEARSON, Joseph

1801- ?

It is assumed, for want of further evidence, that this must have been Joseph Pearson of White's party on the Stentor. No further information has been found.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 52  
Hockly: p. 236

PENNY, Charles

He was a member of Sephton's party who first lived at Reed Fountain in Southwell, then moved to Grahamstown where he was a storekeeper, and finally to Salem. His son, Charles jnr. (1813-1888), remained at Reed Fountain and took a prominent part in the wars.

Refer: Stirk: Penny Family Tree, p. 112 and numerous other references.  
Makin: pp. 46, 51, 53, 60, 62, 130, 132, 134.

PHILIMINE

It has been impossible to trace any reference to this family and it must be assumed that it is a Khoi name.

PHILIPPS, Thomas

1776-1859

He was a Welshman and leader of a party on the Kennersley Castle. A man of birth and education, his letters make a wonderful commentary paralleling Banker's Journal, but in a different social context. He was a vociferous

leader and spokesman for the Settlers and a notable Trekker sympathizer.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II, p. 542.

Butler: Portrait p. 314 and numerous references.

Nash: numerous references.

Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps, 1820 Settler.

PIGOT, Major George

1773-1830

He was a natural son of George, Lord Pigot. A Major in the Dragoons, he retired to farm in England in 1808. He came to South Africa as head of a proprietary party with twenty men and their families. They settled in Blaaukrantz and he named his home Pigot Park, where he was active in farming sheep and cattle.

Refer: Rainier (ed.): The Journals of Sophia Pigot.

Morse Jones: p. 150.

Nash: numerous references.

Philipps: numerous references.

ROULTNEY, James

It is assumed that this was James Roultney, a tailor, who came out on the Ocean in Morgan's party with his wife, Ann

Refer: Sheffield: p. 265.

Morse Jones: p. 53.

PRINGLE, Thomas

1789-1834

A poet, journalist and philanthropist, he was head of a small party of Scots Settlers. He played an active part in the political life of the Colony until his return to Britain.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 656.

Nash: pp. 13, 69, 70, 76, 78, 84, 85, 112.

Meiring: Thomas Pringle, his Life and Times.

Pringle: Narrative of a Residence in South Africa.

## PROBART (?)

A member of Philip's congregation in Cape Town, he was probably an independent settler on the Waterloo.

Refer: Hockly: p. 238.  
Morse Jones: p. 54.

## PUGH

Two Pughs are listed by Morse Jones and Hockly but it is impossible to determine from the context which man it was.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 54.  
Hockly: p. 238.

## PULLEN

This was probably Thomas Pullen who came out on the Nautilus. The references to Quaggas Wlakte suggest that the family had moved from the original grant in Trappes Valley. However, today (1982) the Pullen descendants are in Trappes Valley at "Spanish Reeds".

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 54.  
Oral Evidence (1982): Pullen family.

## RALPH

Once more the context gives no clue as to identity.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 54.  
Hockly: p. 239.

## RETIEF, Piet

1780-1838

Probably the Voortrekker leader who, after various business and farming ventures, was appointed Field Commandant in the Eastern District in 1822. He was much concerned with raids on cattle and this would account for his visit to Barker.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I, p. 585.  
E.A. Walker: The Great Trek.

## RHODES

Two Rhodes have been mentioned by both Hockly and Morse Jones, but it is impossible to determine from the context which one it was.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 55.  
Hockly: p. 240.

## ROBERTS, Daniel

1807-1866

He came out with Sephton's party on Aurora. He trained as a teacher at Theopolis from where he went as a missionary teacher to Wesleyville with Shaw. The tale of his extraordinary adventure with the chiefs could be added to Gush's story of bravery.

Refer: Makin: pp. 66, 67.  
Shaw: numerous references.  
Morse Jones: p. 152.

## ROBERTSON, William

1805-1875

He came to the Cape in 1822 as a teacher at Graaff Reinet. From 1827-1831 he studied Theology at Aberdeen University in Scotland and returned to South Africa in 1831 to become Dutch Reformed minister at Swellendam. A much-loved minister, he was Moderator in 1860 and helped to found the Theological Faculty at Stellenbosch.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 152.

## ROE, Robert

Probably Robert Roe of Gardner's party who came over on the Sir George Osborne.

Refer: Hockly: p. 16.  
Morse Jones: p. 56.

ROSE, John

1792-1855

He came out in a sub-division of Baillie's party. In January 1821 he asked to move to Cape Town to follow his trade as silversmith. From 1830-1855 he was clerk at the Commercial Exchange.

Refer: Nash: p. 157 and other entries.

Morse Jones: pp. 56, 153.

Butler: p. 176.

RUTHERFORD, Howson Edward

1795-1862

He emigrated from England in 1818, was much involved in commerce and was a founder of the Commercial Exchange. An active philanthropist, he was also an M.L.A. from 1854.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 729.

Philip: p. 366.

Nash: pp. 65, 70, 71, 72, 111

SANDERSON/GORÉ

It is speculated that this is the Messrs Sanderson and Gray who executed the work for the drinking fountain in Church Square, Grahamstown, which was donated by Henry Maynard.

Refer: Butler: p. 177.

SATCHWELL, Richard

He was a member of Wilkinson's party on the Amphitrite. Although listed as a clerk, he was appointed as manager on Arthur Barker's farm, Waterford.

Refer: Hockly: p. 241.

Starks: p. 81.

Morse Jones: p. 57.

SEPHTON, Hezekiah

1776-1843

He was a carpenter. After a turbulent beginning in London, he was asked to

lead a large party in the Aurora. Shortly after his arrival, as a result of a fracas, he was obliged to withdraw as leader. This party settled at Salem.

Refer: Nash: pp. 16, 38.

Makin: numerous references.

J. Hancock Notebook (Albany Museum).

SHEPHERD, William

1786-1855

He arrived on the Brilliant in Gush's party but subsequently moved to Grahamstown. He was a shareholder in the Grahamstown, Kowie and Bathurst Shipping Company and was mentioned for his services in the War of 1846-1847. In 1852 he was a Municipal Commissioner in Grahamstown.

Refer: Makin: numerous references.

Morse Jones: p. 155.

Hunt: Municipal Government in Grahamstown, pp. 175-176.

SMITH, Andrew

1797-1872

He was a distinguished naturalist who originally studied medicine and practised (1822-1825) in Grahamstown. He was the first Superintendent of the South African Museum and led expeditions to the North. He was Director General of Medical Services in the Crimean War.

Refer: Krebs: Naturalist in South Africa, p. 163.

Butler: pp. 199, 208, 212, 228.

Phillips: pp. 135, 159, 160, 170, 228, 229, 235, 249.

SMITH, William

1794-?

He led a party on the Northampton. He was a surveyor (listed in Lewcock) and was one of the participants in the party to celebrate twenty-five years of the settlement.

Refer: Hockly: pp. 36, 183.

Lewcock: Early 19th Century Architecture in South Africa, p. 444.

Stubbs: pp. 138, 195, 270, 281.

Morse Jones: p. 59.

STUBBS, Thomas

1809-1877

He was a Settler whose father was killed shortly after the arrival of the family in Albany. His adventurous life and energetic Command of Stubbs Rangers are recorded in his Reminiscences, in which a colourful personality emerges.

Refer: Maxwell and McGeogh; The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs.

TAIT, Peter

It is assumed that this identification is correct. He led a party in 1818 under Moodie and subsequently a party in 1820. He was warmly recommended by Lord Bathurst.

Refer: Philip: p. 413.

THACKWRAY, William

1780- ?

Thackwray came out in Smith's party on the Weymouth. A wheelwright and carpenter by trade, he soon set up business in Grahamstown where he was active first in the Baptist Church and later in Monro's congregation. His sons were James, a member of the House of Assembly (1854), and William, a noble hunter.

Refer: Hockly: p. 246.

Makin: p. 82.

Butler: pp. 204, 226, 228.

Records of Trinity Presbyterian Church, Grahamstown.

THOMPSON, George

1796-1889

He came from the north of England and lived in Cape Town. He was concerned in many business enterprises. An exploratory business trip to the Eastern Cape in 1821 and again in 1822 are recorded in his Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, edited by Vernon Forbes.

Refer: Pigot: p. 77.

Philip: p. 421.

Thompson (Ed. Forbes); Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa.

THORNHILL, Christopher

1733- ?

He led his own party on the Zoroaster. As Thompson shows with his sketch, he had a model farm as he had farming experience at home in England. His son-in-law, Lt. Gilfillan, ran the farm while Thornhill involved himself in business.

Refer: Thompson: Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa.

Butler: p. 154.

Morse Jones: p. 162.

G.T.J. 7/17 Sept. 1865.

Thornhill family records in hands of Miss Rosemary Thornhill.

TURVEY, Edward

1781- ?

The leader of a party of Irish Settlers on the Sir George Osborne. While little is known of his farming activities, much more is known of his adventurous journeys with expeditions such as that of Dr Alexander Cowie and Benjamin Green to Umtata River (1829). It is assumed that his sketch of Theopolis (1823 and 1824) was used in Missionary Sketches.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 165.

Hockly: pp. 36, 162.

National Art Gallery, Cape Town.

A. Gordon-Brown: Pictorial Art in South Africa, pp. 32-34.

URRY, James

He came out in Sephton's party on the Brilliant. He settled at Salem as a tailor but moved to Artificers Square in Grahamstown.

Refer: Makin: pp. 40, 60, 85, 130, 132, 134.

Hockly: p. 248.

Stirk: p. 57.

VON BUCKENRODE, Baron Wilhelm Ludwig

1782-1846

He arrived in 1803. He was a 2nd Lt. in the Cape Regiment in 1804. In 1813 he lost building contracts in Grahamstown but in 1816 he was building court-

nouses, so it is assumed that his business acumen increased. In 1823, from his farm in the Swartkops-Perseverance area, he accompanied Bigge and Colebrooke on their travels. A stern opponent of Col. Cuyler, he was an enthusiastic friend to Philip and Fairbairn.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV, p. 751.  
E.P. Herald Obituary 28.11.1846.  
 Lewcock: p- 444.

WAINWRIGHT, Jonathan 1768-1851

He led a party of Settlers on the John and settled to the east of Bathurst, where Thomas Stubbs makes mention of him. His son, Daniel, was a teacher. Wainwright himself moved to Cradock where he died.

Refer: Morse Jones: p. 165.  
 Hockly: pp. 37, 248.  
 Stubbs: p. 80.

WAIT, William 1764-1851

Originally a partner of Thornhill's in sponsoring his party, Wait came out on the Zoroaster. Goldswain was a member of his party. Wait died at Salem.

Refer: Goldswain Vol. I, numerous references.  
 Nash: pp. 40, 78.  
 Morse Jones: p. 165.  
 Butler: pp. 126, 128, 157.

WALKER, John 1798-1879

Having training as an apothecary, he joined Baillie's party and after various temporary posts he was appointed master of the Free School in Cradock (1823). He married Ann Wainwright and in 1831 opened a school at Cradock with Daniel Wainwright. He finally moved back to his post in Cradock.

Refer: Nash: p. 160.  
 Morse Jones: p. 165.

## WARD:

It is assumed that this was John Ward of Calton's party on the Aibury.

Refer: Hockly: p. 249.

## WILLSON, Thomas

He led a party on the Belle Alliance but he deserted them as friction increased. Boardman took over as leader while Willson moved to Algoa Bay and thence back to England. (It is interesting to note that the Willson allotment near Bathurst is still (1982) known as "Willson's Party" among the Xhosa).

Refer: Nash: pp. 16, 22, 25, 27, 30, 36, 38, 53, 120.

Phillips: p. 182.

Burlet: p. 84.

Hockly: p. 56.

## WOEST, Bernard

The only information available concerning Woest is that he was a Field Cornet in Grahamstown in 1835 and a Captain in the War of 1851. He also initiated a fund for building a road in 1838, which road is today called "Woest Hill" on the road between Grahamstown and Southwell.

Refer: Le Cordeur: p. 171.

alternatively

## WOEST, Johann Pieter

He was Commandant in the Burgher levies and was seriously wounded in the battle at Theopolis. He was based at Olifant's Hoek.

Refer: Stubbs: pp. 42, 142, 143, 272.

APPENDIX C(iv)BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF MILITARY MEN

In view of the fact that the majority of these men are not material to the history, research has not covered as wide a field as has been the case in other Biographical Indices. However, Regimental lists have been consulted and where distinguished officers or men are concerned more detail has been given.

ABBEY (ABEY), Major K.R., of the 72nd Highlanders.

He served from 1816-1820 at the Cape acting as Colonial Paymaster and A.D.C. to the Governor (1817-1818). In 1819 he was sent for a brief period to take Colonel Willshire's place. It is probable that he remained until 1822 with his battalion. He was instrumental in helping Mrs Williams come away from Kat River after her husband's death (1818).

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 1.  
C.O. 4840 No. 414. Bird to Cuyler, 28.9.1818.  
Holt: Joseph Williams pp. 93, 146.

ANDREWS, Capt. J.C.

He served in the Cape Regiment from 1812-1817. In 1813 he took command of one of the forts on the Fish River. His men captured Frederick Bezuidenhout and the execution of the Slachtersnek rebels took place at his post.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819.  
Campbell: Travels in South Africa.  
Cory: Rise of South Africa Vol. I pp. 291, 329, 341.

BIRCH, Capt. Richard, of the Royal Africa Corps.

He served on the Eastern Frontier from 1817-1821. When Barker met him he was at de Bruins post of the Frontier. Subsequently he was a visitor at the Pigots. It is thought that with Captain Sparks he may have been a Settler at Fredericksburg.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 27.  
 Kainer (ed.): The Journal of Sophia Pigot pp. 73, 75, 88.  
 Holt: Joseph Williams p. 93.

BLACK, Capt. George, of the 54th Foot.

He arrived at the Cape (11.8.1819) and proceeded to the Frontier with his wife. As D.C. at Fredericksburg he was in charge of the building of a new road until 1822.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 29.  
 Keppel Jones (ed.): Thomas Philipps 1820 Settler p. 117.

BOGLE, Capt. Andrew.

He served as a Lieutenant in the Cape Regiment 1806-1814 and as Captain from 1815 to 1817.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 33.  
 Campbell: Travels in South Africa Vol. I, p. 102.

CAMERON, Lt., J. McK., of the 72nd Highlanders.

He started as an ensign (1806-1807), was promoted Lieutenant (1810) and Captain (1816). He moved to the 60th Foot 1818-1819. He had married Gezina Knopp (1811) and it was this lady whom Barker met.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 54.  
 Long (ed.): Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain pp. 33-38.

CARMICHAEL, Lt. Dugald, of the 60th Foot.

Starting as ensign in 1811 he served in various areas including the Eastern Frontier 1816-1819.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 59.

CLARK

(It has not been possible to make any clear identification here as the 6th

Regiment did not serve in the Cape Colony nor was the 60th Regiment in southern Africa at this time). A tentative identification might be Surgeon Thomas Clark, who served in the 72nd Highlanders and remained in the Uitenhage area until 1825.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 67.

CLAUS

Several men of this name appear in the lists of the Cape Regiment.

Refer: Military Lists 1798-1829.

CLOETE, Abraham Josias (1794-1886).

After serving in India he was sent to the Cape where he supervised the landing of the 1820 Settlers and, after service in Cape Town, fought in the War of 1834-1835 and was sent to relieve Port Natal in 1842. In the War of the Axe he was Quarter-Master General and served again in the 1850 to 1853 War. In 1854 he was knighted and ended his career in the 19th Foot as a General.

Refer: Le Cordeur and Saunders: The War of the Axe p. 92.

FRASER, Major G.S.

Refer: List of Officials.

FRASER

The two Frasers (or Frazers) referred to by Barker are impossible to identify with any certainty owing to the paucity of information. The only tentative identification is:-

Ensign William Fraser of the 72nd Highlanders and who served in the Cape Corps  
and

Ensign Thomas Fraser of the 54th Foot.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 134.

GILFILLAN, Lt. William, of the 60th Regiment.

Refer: List of Settlers.

HUNT, Ensign Edward, of the Royal African Corps.

(Incorrectly cited by Barker as of the 72nd Regiment). He was killed on patrol near Grahamstown in January 1819.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 199.

KNIGHT, Lt. T.S.

In the Cape Regiment 1815-1819 and as Lieutenant 1819-1820+. He was stationed at Fredericksburg 1821-1822 and was in Uitenhage in 1823.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 224.

Rainier (ed.): The Journal of Sophia Pigot p. 100.

LDWEN

(The only Lowen recorded was an Ensign in the 81st Foot who served at the Cape 1799-1802. It is possible that he transferred to the Cape Regiment later).

LUCAS, Sgt. Major, in the Cape Corps.

(It is possible that he was a Khoi as his name does not appear on the lists of immigrants). He was a Christian who aided Shaw by arranging for him to preach at the Barracks. Subsequently he built a large room where services could be held.

Refer: Hammond Tooke (ed.): Journal of William Shaw pp.7,42,46,191,192,194.

Shaw: The Story of My Mission pp. 101-102.

MCDONALD, Sgt. Major Alexander, of the Cape Regiment.

He married Hannah Thomson, a widow, in 1811. They lived in Grahamstown but also had a shop in Uitenhage. (This is a tentative identification).

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 247.

MCKENZIE, Major D., of the Royal African Corps.

He served from 1818-1820+, obviously on the Frontier, as the buying and selling of a plot in Grahamstown is recorded.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 253.

McLEAN, Lt. Alexander, of 72nd Highlanders or Lt. Charles, of 72nd Highlanders.

Both were on the Frontier with their regiments but it was probably Lt. Alexander McLean whom Barker met as he commanded the Kaka (Gaga) Post.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 257.

McMUNK, R.A., Surgeon of 38th Foot.

He only served in southern Africa from 1818-1820. He was checking leprosy with the Landdrosts in the Eastern Districts.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 258.

McNIEL (probably McNeil), Lt. Donald, of the Cape Regiment.

He left southern Africa in 1817.

Refer: Philip: British Residents in the Cape 1785-1819 p. 260.

MURESBY, Captain of the H.M.S. Menai.

He was in Algoa Bay to see the Settlers safely landed. He was most disturbed by the poverty-stricken state of some of the Settlers and together with Captain Evatt and Sir Jaheel Brenton he founded the Distressed Settlers Fund. After service in Africa he was promoted to Admiral. In Algoa Bay he was granted a plot on the Baakens River where he built a house.

Refer: Rainier (ed.): The Journal of Sophia Pigot p. 140.

Butler: The 1820 Settlers pp. 99-102.

E.K. Lorimer: Panorama of Port Elizabeth pp. 29, 31, 35, 40.

OGILVIE, William.

An Armourer, he arrived at the Cape in 1815. He married Maria Hollings, the Somerset's Governess. He subsequently became a Director of Companies and died at Claremont (1850). It is possible that he was the gunsmith to whom John Stubbs was apprenticed.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 309.

Maxwell and McGeogh (ed.): The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs pp.13,254.

PAGE, Capt. Daniel, of the 60th Regiment.

Served in Cape Town 1815-1818 and on the Frontier from 1818-1820 as Brigade Major. It is possible that he did not return to Britain with his regiment, as the 1822 description of Grahamstown refers to his house.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 314.

S.A.L. Quarterly Bulletin XXII No. 3.

PEARSON, Capt. William.

Discharged from the 60th Foot in 1816. It has not been possible to establish his further career.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 321.

RENEVELD

(Barker's writing of this name is not clear and identification, even with recourse to Regimental Records, has not been fruitful).

SAUNDERS

(It would appear that this was Lieutenant W.S. Saunders of the Royal African Corps who served from 1818-1820+ at the Cape).

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 370.

SCHEEPERS, Sgt.

He must have been a member of the Cape Regiment but erratic spelling makes identification difficult.

STEWART, Capt.

Although Sophia Pigot mentions Capt. Stewart, it has been impossible to identify him with any certainty as the evidence is insufficient.

STRETCH, C.L. (1797-1882)

He arrived at the Cape with the 38th Regiment in 1818 and was of great help to Willshire during Nxele's attack on Grahamstown in 1819. He worked variously as surveyor, engineer and officer in the Cape Corps, becoming eventually a Government Agent. After the War of 1851 he was M.L.A. for Fort Beaufort and subsequently M.L.C. for the Eastern Districts. His diary throws considerable light on the Frontier in 1835.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 721.

Crankshaw (unpublished thesis): The Diary of C.L. Stretch.

Maxwell and McGeogh (ed.): The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs pp.233-237.

SOMERFIELD (identified as Major Thomas Summerfield of the 38th Foot).

He served as a Captain 1807-1815 and as a Major 1815-1818.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 410.

WILSON, Capt. Henry, of the 72nd Regiment.

He landed with his troop in Algoa Bay in 1817 and marched to the Frontier.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 466.

WILSON, Capt. Henry, of the 72nd Highlanders.

He served from 1816 to 1820+ in southern Africa. In charge of a post on the Fish River, he arrived in Algoa Bay in 1817.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819 p. 466.

WILLSMIRE, Sir Thomas

1789-1862

After service in the West Indies and the Peninsular War he was appointed Commandant on the Eastern Frontier (1819) shortly after his arrival at the Cape. In 1819 with 350 white soldiers, a few Khoi troops and five field guns he vanquished Ndlambe and his 10,000 warriors. A fort named after him, but designed by Major Holloway, was begun but not completed in the Neutral area. In 1823 he went to India and died in retirement in Kent.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 849.

Lewcock: Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa  
pp. 156(n), 429.

Lyden: Major General Sir Thomas Willshire in Africana Notes and News Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 135-138.

#### DESERTERS FROM THE ARMY

James Conner of the Royal Africa Corps deserted from Grahamstown with Michael Ryan. They murdered Anthony Gerard and stole arms and ammunition. They were arrested and court-martialled.

The other men to whom Barker makes reference viz. Erwin, Dunn, Gryer and McKenna, do not appear on any of the Military Lists.

Refer: Philip: British Residents at the Cape 1785-1819.

## APPENDIX C(v)

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF GOVERNORS AND CHIEFS

AFRICANER, Klaas

? -1821

He was a chief among the Khoisan in Transorangia. Originally a commando leader, he retreated to an island in the middle of the Orange from whence he raided, with impunity, the surrounding tribes. Eventually however, he met Robert Moffat with whom he formed an association, finally agreeing to move and to adopt a more peaceable way of life. So much were they linked that Moffat persuaded this ferocious chief to go with him to Cape Town to discuss this new way of life. There was a delay in Moffat's return and Africaner died before he could join the Moffats.

Refer: Lovett: History of the London Missionary Society pp. 523, 527, 530, 531, 540, 584.

Elphick and Giliomee: The Shaping of South African Society (1652-1820) pp. 256, 260, 261, 263.

BAIRD, Sir David

1757-1829

A professional soldier he served in the Highland Light Infantry in India, where he was taken prisoner. In 1797 he was appointed Brigadier General at the Cape but returned to India in 1798. In 1803 he came back to South Africa in command of the expeditionary force to re-capture the Cape. Landing at Blouberg he defeated the Dutch and was made Acting Governor. After a contretemps in South America, Baird returned to Britain and then took part in the battle of Corunna in the Napoleonic Wars.

Refer: D.S.A.B. Vol. I: p. 21.

M. Arkin: John Company at the Cape in AYB, 1960 II.

BOURKE, Sir Richard

1777-1855

He was an Irishman educated in England and commissioned to the Grenadier Guards. He served both in South America and the Peninsula and by 1821 had reached the rank of Major General. In 1826 he was appointed Acting Governor at the Cape in Somerset's absence, with the expectation of superseding him. He was largely responsible for drafting the slave legislation of 1828 and it

was he who permitted Xhosa to seek work permits (Ordinance 50 of 1828). He served subsequently with distinction in Australia and New Zealand.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 106.

Lancaster: A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban pp. 133-135.

King: R. Bourke.

SALEDON, Alexander du Pré, Earl of

1777-1839

The only son of a distinguished father, he was appointed Governor to the Cape in 1806, arriving in 1807. Faced with the task of keeping costs low and maintaining a Colony, which Britain valued only for the port, he nevertheless endeavoured to alleviate the hardships experienced by Colonists. During his stay the judiciary was reformed, Collins made his reports on the Frontier areas and Khoi legislation was introduced (Proclamation of 1809). Like many of his successors, his Frontier policy was somewhat indecisive. His interest in farming led to the introduction of merino sheep to South Africa.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III p. 12.

J. Campbell: Travels in South Africa pp. 352-353.

Elphick and Giliomee: Shaping of South African Society pp. 219, 222, 230, 237, 261, 311-315.

COLE, Sir Galbraith Lowry

1772-1842

The son of a noble Irish family, he followed a military career in the Light Dragoons and had reached the rank of Major General by 1813 and General in 1830. During his distinguished military career he saw service in Malta, Sicily, Egypt and Spain and was a member of the army of occupation. In 1822 he became Governor of Mauritius and in 1828 he succeeded Somerset at the Cape. Faced with problems of the economy of slave legislation and the Eastern Frontier, it was he who settled the Khoi at Kat River and who initiated a written treaty system with Xhosa chiefs. He retired to England in 1833.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I:1 p. 163.

Hunt: Sir Lowry Cole.

Leverton: Government, Finance and Political Development at the Cape 1806-1834 in AYB, 1961 Vol. 1.

CRADDOCK, Sir John Francis

1762-1839

He was the son of an Anglican Bishop and through his father's influence joined the army, where he gained rapid promotion. He served in Ireland, the Mediterranean, India and Portugal and in 1811 was appointed Governor of the Cape. He was the first of the military Governors. One of his first acts was to order Col. Graham of the Cape Regiment to clear the Xhosa tribes from the Zuurveld (1812) and he set up a series of military posts from Cradock to Grahamstown. During his governorship the "Black" Circuit (1812) toured the Frontier, the quitrent system of land tenure was introduced to reduce population spread and Cradock himself toured the country and encouraged education.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 148.

G.M. Theal: History of Southern Africa Vol. V.

Elphick and Giliomee: The Shaping of South African Society pp. 123, 222, 226, 229, 230, 233, 237.

DE MIST, Jacob Abraham Uiterhage

1749-1823

De Mist, who was Commissioner General of the Batavian Republic, had taken an active role in the National Assembly in Holland, where he was a strong supporter of those principles which he applied at the Cape. Having shown his skill as an administrator, he was asked (in Holland) to draw up his comments on administration at the Cape. This he did in the famous Memorandum and was subsequently sent to the Cape to put government, education, the judiciary, finances and defence in order. His visit to the Cape, his tour to the Frontier and his recognition of many of the problems in justice and administration earned him considerable respect. It is a further tribute to his talents that he remained a senior and respected administrator after the restoration of the monarchy in Holland (1815) and until his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 174.

Augusta de Mist: Diary of a Journey to the Cape.

Malherbe: Education in South Africa 1652-1922 (numerous references).

de Mist: The Memorandum of Commissary J.A. de Mist (Cape Town 1920).

DONKIN, Sir Rufane Shaw

1777-1841

After serving in the Peninsular War he was sent to India in 1815 where the death of his young wife, Elizabeth (nee Markham), in 1818 had a profound influence on his career. Invalided to the Cape, he was Acting Governor during Somerset's absence on leave (Jan. 1820 to Nov. 1821). A literary man, he subsequently became both an F.R.S. and an F.R.G.S. Great uncertainty is entertained about his time at the Cape and his actions with regard to the Settlers.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 235.

Bromley: Administration of Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin (unpublished M.A. thesis R.U.C. 1936).

Letter-Book of Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin.

Millar: Plantagenet in South Africa.

DUNDAS, Major General Francis

1759-1824

He had served in the army in the American War of Independence and after rapid promotion was appointed Lieutenant Governor at the Cape (1797). In 1798 Lord Macartney, the Governor, returned to England owing to ill-health and Dundas took over (21.11.1798) just at the time when the Graaff Reinet Rebellion started. This was followed in 1799 by a Xhosa/Khoi uprising. Macartney's successor, Yonge, arrived in 1799 but was recalled in 1801. In 1803 Dundas handed over to the Batavian Republic and returned to England, having thus effectively been Governor of the Cape.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III, p. 245.

Marais: Maynier and the First Boer Republic.

Theat: Records of the Cape Colony 1797-1803.

D'URBAN, Sir Benjamin

1777-1849

D'Urban's military career commenced in the Dragoons in 1793 and continued to the Peninsular War where he was Quarter-Master General to Beresford. His services earned him a K.C.B. and K.C.H. as well as promotion to Major General in 1819. After serving as Governor in Antigua and British Guiana he was appointed to the Cape in 1834, where his experience in a former Dutch slave-owning colony and in introducing constitutional form stood him in good stead.

At the Cape he had to handle the transition to emancipation, the rebellious Boers, vagrancy, apprenticeship and compensation for slaves. His combined role as administrator and Commander-in-Chief was complicated by the divisive elements at work on the Frontier, and a change of government in Britain which resulted in the dispatch from Glenelg in 1836. He retired to Wynberg from 1838-1846, after which he moved to Canada as Commander-in-Chief of troops there.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 205.

Lancaster: A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

Le Cordeur: The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism (numerous refs.)

JANSENS, Jan Willem

1762-1838

After a career as a military man he was appointed Secretary of Defence in 1800 in the Batavian Republic. Appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief to the Cape in 1803 where, immediately after being sworn in by Commissioner de Mist, he undertook a comprehensive journey to the interior to discover the exact situation for himself. On the journey he was accompanied by D.G. van Reenen, an experienced Cape farmer. The journey, which embraced meetings with farmers, Xhosa chiefs, missionaries and Khoi, led him as far East as the Kat River. Naturally a pessimistic man, he was nevertheless energetic in re-organising the defence of the Cape and was a most conscientious Governor until the capture of the Cape in 1806. His subsequent military career was distinguished.

Refer: D.S.A.B. III p. 447.

J.A. Wärd (ed.): Die doernaal van D.G. van Reenen.

KAMA

1798-1875

Gqunukhwebe chief, he was the son of Chungwa and brother of Phato. He and his wife (a daughter of Ngqika) were converts of William Shaw. As a result of their neutrality in the Frontier wars they won the dislike of other tribes. Awarded land near Whittlesea for services to the authorities, Kama is notable for his peaceful relations with the authorities. He was always a devoted Christian and one of his sons was one of the first Xhosa Methodist ministers.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 355.

Shaw: The Story of My Mission, (numerous entries).

MAITLAND, Sir Peregrine

1777-1854

Maitland was an Englishman who joined the British army in 1792 and fought in Flanders, through the Peninsular War and at Waterloo. He was decorated by Britain, Russia and the Netherlands. He was subsequently Lieutenant Governor in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and Commander-in-Chief at Madras. He came to the Cape in 1844. Maitland was faced with problems in Transorangia as well as with the perennial problem of the Eastern Frontier, where adjustment of treaties and boundaries awaited him. By 1846 he was involved in the War of the Axe and made Stockenström Commander-in-Chief of Burgher forces. Old and tired, he rode far and wide and might have been grateful for his recall to England in 1847.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 432.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: The War of the Axe (numerous entries).

A.K. Fryer: Government of the Cape of Good Hope 1825-1854, in AYB 1964 1

MACOMO

1798-1873

Eldest son of Ngqika, he was a hero of the battle of Ama Linda (1818). He established his first kraal in the Kat River in 1821 and was accused of raiding adjacent territory. His brother, Tyali, joined him there. After an attack on a Thembu kraal in 1829, Cole banished him from the Kat River and the Khoi were brought in to a Settlement. Drought and frontier tensions led to a new invasion of the Cape Colony in 1834 and by the peace Macomo was allowed to return to his lands. Popular with the white officers and broken when his Regency ended, he drank more and more. In the War of 1850-1853 he was actively involved. Although he had always enjoyed contact with missions, he never became a Christian. He died on Robben Island.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 439.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: War of the Axe (numerous references).

Le Cordeur and Saunders: Kitchingman Papers (numerous references).

Péires: House of Phalo.

NAPIER, Sir George Thomas

1784-1855

He came of a distinguished English family and early made a name for himself

in military circles in spite of the loss of his arm at Ciudad Rodrigo (1812). With no administrative experience, he was at a disadvantage when appointed to the Cape in 1837 as Governor. Stockenström was a man in whom he reposed great trust in spite of colonial attitudes. During his governorship the perennial Frontier problems were complicated by the Voorrekkers, by clashes in Natal and the usual need for economy. He developed much of the infrastructure of the Cape.

Refer: D.S.A.B. IV p. 391.

Galbraith: Reluctant Empire.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: War of the Axe pp. 189, 199-201, 218.

NDLAMBE

+1740-1828

He was Regent of the Rarabe and of the right-hand house, a man of great ambition. Ngqika realised more and more the ambition of his regent-uncle and the antagonism between them added to the Frontier chaos. As his power increased he needed allies and the Boers filled this role. Ndlambe meanwhile moved into the Zuurveld, where in 1803 he met Janssens but subsequent evasions and even meetings with him suggested that he was an unreliable ally. By 1812 the situation on the Frontier was so bad that Dracock decided to have Ndlambe driven out of the Zuurveld. Ngqika by this time was the recognised ally of the British and after Ndlambe's defeat of his nephew at Amalinda he attacked Grahamstown, where three of his sons were killed. His power was broken.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 586.

Peires: House of Phalo (numerous references).

Hammond Tooke: Segmentation and Fission in the Cape Nguni Political Units.

NGQIKA

1775-1829

He was of the right-hand house of the tribes west of the Kei and his authority extended over the whole house of Rarabe. During his minority his uncle, Ndlambe, was Regent. Unfortunately the two did not agree and warfare between them became endemic after Ngqika reached his majority. While Ngqika was making empty promises to Somerset, Ndlambe was consolidating his position and used his power to defeat his nephew, Ndlambe, in June 1818. With British support Ngqika regained his power and was brought under pressure to permit

the establishment of the Neutral Territory. His power declined and he died in 1829, a broken man.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 59.

R.C.C. Vol. XXXV.

Soga: South Eastern Bantu (numerous references).

Peires: House of Phalo (numerous references).

NXELE (Lynx, Makana, Makhanda)

± 1790-1820

Starting his career as a diviner after a youth spent on a Boer farm, he became personal wardoctor to Ndlambe. He made a close study of military and religious practice among the whites in Grahamstown (1812-1818) and regarded the missionaries, Van der Lingen and Read, as his allies. With a strange assortment of Christian and Xhosa religious belief he became convinced of his own divinity and saw the world as a religious battleground. As supreme wardoctor he led the armies to ravage the Colony and in May 1819 attacked Grahamstown where he was defeated, taken prisoner and subsequently drowned in an escape attempt off his prison at Robben Island (1820).

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 596.

Peires: House of Phalo pp. 69-71.

Soga: The South Eastern Bantu pp. 30-40.

POTTINGER, Sir Henry

1789-1856

He spent much of his early life in India and the Far East after running away to sea at the age of twelve. His role in the cession of Hong Kong to Britain was important (1842) and he was noted for his attention to detail. On his return to Britain in 1845 he was voted a pension by Parliament. An unwilling candidate for the Governorship of the Cape, he was in fact given the post of High Commissioner at the Cape which gave him authority beyond the Borders. Once more the Frontier was a preoccupation, as he arrived in the midst of the War of the Axe (1846-1847). His governorship was not successful but probably he regarded the Cape as a stepping-stone to his Governorship in India 1848-1854.

Refer: D.S.A.B. I: p. 557.

Le Cordeur and Saunders: War of the Axe.

Galbraith: Reluctant Empire.

SANDILE

1820-1878

He was a son of Ngqika from the right-hand house and was educated by his half-brother, Macomo. On his father's death in 1829, his mother was appointed Regent and Sandile was put in the charge of his half-brothers, Macomo, Tyali and Anta until his initiation in 1840. Apparent vacillation in his policies, both with regard to his own people and to the whites, has given him a bad name but he had the major task of handling difficult times including wars and the cattle killing in 1856. He was finally killed by an Mfengu patrol at the end of the ninth Xhosa war.

Refer: D.S.A.B. 11 p. 615.

Peiros: House of Phalo.

D. Brownlee: Reminiscences of Kaffer Life and History.

Soga: The South Eastern Bantu.

SMITH, Sir Henry George Wakelyn

1787-1860

He joined the army in the Rifle Brigade and later served in South America. A distinguished career in Spain was followed by an appointment as Adjutant-General to the British forces in America. In 1828, after various postings, he was sent to the Cape as Quarter-Master General to Sir Lowry Cole. At the start of the sixth Frontier War (1834) he rode from Rondebosch to Grahamstown in six days to organise defence there. He recruited two battalions of Khoi infantry, training them and getting to know them well. During his time on the Frontier and at the Cape he got to know southern Africa well and after an absence from 1840-1847 in India was welcomed back as Governor. A controversial and colourful figure, he was well-motivated, prone to exaggeration and faced with major Frontier and executive problems.

Refer: D.S.A.B. 11 p. 673.

Hutton (ed.): Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith

Harrington: Sir Harry Smith - Bungling Hero.

SOMERSET, Lord Charles Henry

1767-1831

See Thesis, Chapter 1, p. 9.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 685.

Kendal Miller: Plantagenet in Africa

M. Roberts: Lord Charles Somerset and the "Beaufort Influence" in AYB, 1961, II.

TSHATSU, Jan

1791-1868

He was the son of a chief of a minor tribe from the Buffalo River area, although at the time of his son's birth, the senior Tshatsu moved to the Swartkops River. Tshatsu's father took him for education to Bethelsdorp, where he learnt to read and write, was trained as a carpenter and in 1815 was baptised. He married a Khoi. He was invaluable to the L.M.S. as a lay preacher, interpreter and "ambassador" to the Xhosa people. He went with Philip and Read to London where he gave evidence before the Aborigines Committee. Any assessment of his character is difficult.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 751.

Peires: House of Onalo.

Holt: Joseph Williams.

Holt: Greatheart of the Border.

TYHALI

Before 1800?-1842

He was a son of Ngqika from the left-hand house and while little is known of his early life he was deeply resentful of his father's agreement with Somerset in 1819. He was inclined to follow the lead of his brother, Macomo, and with him he returned to the "Neutral" belt near the Kat River. It was Tyali who, with Macomo, after many unhappy frontier incidents, attacked the Colony in 1834 and then took refuge in the Amatola fastnesses. Apparently a weak man, he was, like his brothers, broken by the confiscation of the tribal lands. He died in 1842.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 755.

Peires: House of Phalo.

Soga: The South Eastern Bantu.

VAN GOENS, Ryckhoff

1642-1687

Born in Batavia and educated in Holland. He was the son of a distinguished

D.E.I.C. official. At the age of fourteen he entered the service of the Company, eventually gaining the rank of Councilor-Extraordinary and Governor at Ceylon. As Admiral of a fleet he visited the Cape in 1681 and there, as a visiting Commissioner, he drew up regulations for Van der Stel. From December 1684 to May 1685 he stayed again at the Cape, making more regulations for the slaves and the Free Burghers.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II.

Walker: History of South Africa pp. 39, 40, 42, 51, 76.

VAN RIEBEECK, Johan A.

1619-1677

The son of a ship's doctor, Jan van Riebeeck set sail himself in the same role in 1639. He made rapid progress in the Company and travelled extensively in the East and in South America. In 1651 he set sail from Texel for the Cape, which he did not like. He set up the infra-structure for a refreshment post including the controversial granting of land to free burghers (1657) and the establishment of his own farm. He made considerable study of the Khoi and travelled as extensively as possible. He also introduced slaves. From the Cape he moved to Batavia where he lived until his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 798.

Raven Hart: Before van Riebeeck, Callers at the Cape 1488-1652.

WADE, Thomas F.

1784-1846

British soldier and acting Governor of the Cape, he had served in the Peninsular War including a period on the staff of Sir Lowry Cole (1810). He was Cole's private secretary in Mauritius and at the Cape, where he gained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. After his period as Acting Governor (1833) he was made Deputy Adjutant General on D'Urban's arrival. Wade was much involved in the Kat River area and with the chiefs, Macono and Tyali. Sympathising with the Colonists, he allowed a Vagrant Act through the Legislative Assembly (1833) but it was disallowed. He returned to England in 1835 where he served in various roles until his death.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 825.

Runt: Sir Lowry Cole (numerous references).

Macmillan: The Cape Colour Question pp. 233-234, 243.

APPENDIX A(i)(a)BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF WARDOCTORS

The wardoctor (ithola or igogo) was responsible for making the warriors fierce by giving them medicine and, in addition, by issuing of ritual prohibitions. Their power was very considerable, especially that of men like Mlangeni and Nxele.

MLANGENI

circa 1830-1853

Of the Rarabe tribe and son of Kala, he lived at Line Drift on the Keiskama. After the defeat of the Xhosa in 1847 and the desecration of Ndlambe's grave, Mlangeni became the wardoctor to lead his people to victory. He was carefully guarded and in spite of the efforts of Sir Harry Smith, who referred to him as "this mad boy", he was able to rally the tribes to do battle. Even after his death in 1853 his influence was still felt, for he was believed to be living in Lesotho and alleged remarks of his materially affected the cattle-killing of 1857.

Refer: D.S.A.B. II p. 475.

Le Cordeur: The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism 1820-1854 p.245.

Maxwell and McGeogh: The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs

pp. 36, 37, 39, 47, 238, 239.

Feires: The House of Phalo pp. 74, 136, 168-169.

NXELE (Lynx, Makana, Makhanda)

± 1790-1820

Starting his career as a diviner after a youth spent on a Boer farm, he became personal wardoctor to Ndlambe. He made a close study of military and religious practice among the whites in Grahamstown (1812-1818) and regarded the missionaries, Van der Lingen and Read, as his allies. With a strange assortment of Christian and Xhosa religious belief he became convinced of his own divinity and saw the world as a religious battleground. As supreme wardoctor he led the armies to ravage the Colony and in May 1819 attacked Grahamstown where he was defeated, taken prisoner and subsequently drowned in an escape attempt off his prison at Robben Island (1820).

Refer: D.S.A.B. I p. 596.

Feires: House of Phalo pp. 69-71.

Soga: The South Eastern Bantu pp. 30-40.

## APPENDIX C(vi)

KHOI NAMES AT THEOPOLIS

The following people were all resident at Theopolis at some time between 1815-1834. The names have been taken from Barker's Journal and Letters or from the protest note signed in 1834 against the Proposed Vagrancy Act. (See CG 48/144 p. 215). Those who served in the Cape Corps are marked with an asterisk and if any rank were achieved this is indicated. Spelling is very variable and the Cape Corps lists show the same diversity. Where uncertainty of interpretation of script existed, square brackets [ ] are used. Those who gave evidence to the Military during the Rebellion of 1851 are marked "Witness". It is difficult to identify those who took part in the rebellion but tentative identification of three who were sentenced to death has been made. One of the Theopolis men, Andries Botha, may well be the Kat River Field Cornet named by Sir Harry Smith as a conspirator with Sandile. Close study of the letter quoted by Colonel Henry Somerset in his dispatch, (British Blue Books on South Africa Correspondence Relative to the State of the Kafir Tribes and the recent out-break on the Eastern Frontier 1858 (1428).) reveals the fact that someone unfamiliar with Dutch or Afrikaans transcribed the names and an "educated guess" is all the researcher can use. Thus, those definitely identified are marked "Rebel" and those where identification is uncertain "Rebel?".

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| * AFRICANDER, Floris.                 | BOTHA, Andries. Leader of Rebellion?         |
| * AFRIKA, Whiteboy.                   | BRANDER, Annatjie.                           |
| ANDRIES, Andries. (auctioneer)        | BUYS, Elizabeth.                             |
| * ANDRIES, Klaas.                     | BUYS, Hannah.                                |
| * APOOLS, Ruiters. Rebel.             | BUYS, Hendrik.                               |
| ARRIES, Marla.                        | BUYS, Piet.                                  |
| BOARDMAN, Matroos. Cpl.               | * CAFFER, Daniel.                            |
| BOARDMAN, Reuter.                     | * CALABASH, Adam.                            |
| * BOESAK, Stoffel. Cpl.               | CAMPHER, Arnoot.                             |
| * BOESAK, Stoffel.                    | CAMPHER, Elias. (hunter)                     |
| * BOEZAK, Cobus. (hunter & deacon)    | * CAMPHER, Jantje.                           |
| BOEZAK, Jan. (hunter)                 | CAMPHER, Piet. (carpenter, helped in school) |
| * BOEZAK, Klaas.                      |  |
| * BOEZAK, Plaatje. Sgt. (wagon owner) | CAMPHER, Philip.                             |
| BOOTSMAN, Jan.                        | CAMPHER, Solomon.                            |

- CHRISIJAN, Klaas.
- \* CLASS, Hendrik, S.M.
  - \* COENWADT, Alcaster. Sgt.
  - \* CUPIDO, Hans.
  - \* DAVID, Hendrik.
  - \* DESEMBER, Adam.
  - \* DRAGOENDER, Rondganger.
  - \* DRAGOENDER, [                    ]
  - \* DUNSTER, Malagas.
  - \* FORTLIN, Johannes.
  - \* GOERA, William.
  - \* GOLATH, Plaatje.
  - \* GOORA, Klaas.
  - \* [GREDD], Stoffel.
  - \* GULDENHUIS, Kobus.
  - HAAS, Kiviet.
  - \* HAASBRÖEK, Whiteboy.
  - HAGEVELD, Valentyn. (herden)
  - HANS, Plaatje.
  - \* HENDRIK, Martinus. Cpl.
  - \* JACK, Gideon. Sgt.
  - JACK, Hendrik. Witness.
  - \* JACOBS, Jan. Cpl.
  - JACOBS, Moses. Witness.
  - JAGER, Andries.
  - \* JAGER, Armoed.
  - JAGER, Klaas. O.M. Rebel?
  - \* JAGER, Kobus.
  - \* JAGER, Piet. Cpl.
  - JAGER, Tys
  - \* JAKOB, Valentyn.
  - JAKOBS, Filida.
  - JAKOBS, Katryn.
  - JANTJES, Louus
  - \* JANTJES, David. Sgt. Sentenced to  
Death 4.7.1851
  - JAMEYER, Jan.
  - JAPHTHA, Jan.
  - \* JORDAAN, Frederik.
  - JORIS, Matruos.
  - \* JURIS, Jys.
  - \* JURY, Cobus.
  - KAMPHER, Pieter.
  - KIVIET, Dragoender.
  - KLAAS, Andries. (deacon) Rebel.
  - \* KLAAS, Klaas. Sgt.
  - \* KLASS, Plaatje.
  - KLEINBOOY, Reuken.
  - \* KLEINBOOY, Stuurman. Cpl.
  - \* KLEINBOY, Ruiter.
  - \* KOBUS, Arnoldus.
  - \* KOBUS, Cupido. Sgt.
  - KUPIDO, Klaas.
  - LABERLOTTE, Filander. (shepherd)
  - LABERLOTTE, Freelander. (deacon)
  - LABERLOTTE, Leentje.
  - LABERLOTTE, Plaatje.
  - \* LINKS, Daniel. Sgt.
  - \* LINKS, Jantje.
  - \* LINKS, Joseph.
  - \* LINKS, Kiviet.
  - LINKS, Sarah.
  - \* MAGERMAN, Cornelius. Chairman Protest  
Group 1834
  - \* MAGERMAN, Wilfred.
  - \* MALAGAS, Adries.
  - \* MALAGAS, Dirk.
  - MATROOS, Speelman.
  - MATROOS, [                    ] (wagon owner)
  - MAY, Agilius.
  - \* MICHAELS, Cupido.
  - \* MICHAELS, Daniel.
  - \* MICHAELS, Speelman.
  - NAATE, Africander.
  - NAATE, Filido
  - NAUSKI, Windvogel (miscreant)
  - NICOLAAS, Pieter. (hunter)
  - \* [NIEWENVELD], Plaatje.

- \* NORRIS, William. Cpl.
- \* PLAATJE, Jan.
- \* PLAATJE, Piet.
- \* PLAATJE, Stuurman. Sgt.
- \* PLAATJES, Harriman.
- PLAATJES, Pieter
- PLAATJES, Willem.
- PRINS, Esau.
- PRINS, Hester.
- \* ROOTSMAN, Plaatje.
- RUITER, Kleinbooy. (hunter killed by buffalo)
- \* RUITER, Zwartbooy.
- \* RUITERS, Stoffel.
- \* SCHEEPERS, Hendrik. Sgt.
- \* SCHNAPPS, David. Sgt.
- SCHOONBERG, Witbooy.
- SMIT, Hendrik.
- SMIT, Pieter. (horse herder)
- \* SMITH, Atricander.
- \* SOLDAAT, Jan. Sgt.
- \* SPANDEE, Piet. Cpl.
- \* SPIELMAN, Cobus.
- SPOGTEN, Jan.
- STOFFEL, Andries. (deacon)
- \* STOFFEL, Johannes.
- \* STOFFEL, Plaatje.
- STUURMAN, Klaas.
- STUURMAN, Sabrina.
- \* SWAATBOY, Slinger.
- \* TRUMPETTER, Cobus.
- TROMPETTER, Stoffel.
- TROMPETTER, Windvogel.
- \* TRUMPETTER, Wondergat.
- VALENTYN, William.
- VELOMAN, Antje.
- VIEGELAND, [ ]
- \* VRYDAG, [Timmerman]
- \* WHITBOY, Jan.
- WILDEMAN, Jan.
- WILDSCHUT, Oranje.
- WILLIAMS, [ ] (pensioner Cape Regt.)
- WILLIAMS, Lena.
- WINDVOGEL, Booy. (convicted thief  
15.11.23)
- WITBOUY, Daniel.
- WITBOUY, Jantje. Rebel.
- WOLDAAT, Katryn.
- \* [ ], Andries.

} Sentenced  
to Death  
4.7.1851





From 11. When the dance of the bearded men began  
where the floor is not weathered we could not stand  
when the hands in the windows are all made of wood  
and the boards upon them for eyes have stood.

From 12. When the dance with the ball in the lot  
when every season has its "squares" and  
when the hollow wood whistles thro' the old holes, some  
and a thousand years down through the roof when it rains

From 13. When the dance when the long fence & beam  
and the "Hanging" at side thro' its shadow may pass!  
When the fire and the jacket, the smoking and burning  
From 14. When the dance and "Lodgings" and many have passed -

From 15. When the dance when the moment that sets  
and forgotten, some strange speech out of their lips  
with "his name" and "his name" in the heart of the night  
as he sits on the roof by the gate, in the night.

From 16. When the dance when a building is to be  
which might have been all well enough when they were  
But perhaps, and the dance of some 10 or 12 years  
From 17. When the dance when, it appears.

It was intended for Rivers but ~~Consett~~ instead  
Along its length, eggs have been made from lead,  
There were down through the roof mixed with sulphate and the  
went out through the noose in a thick dirty flood.

What one was good Switzer and birds is now clay  
But the house are all long ago gone to decay,  
The house twisted down during the heavy flood  
And the sea leaves now show on the floor when they stone

Though it is not quite dead yet its going that way  
For it certainly is rather cracked & I must say,  
In fact the old beauty is all most alone  
Necessarily is an empty little man!

The ceiling is cracked and exposed some fresh plaster  
(I don't mean Beachyton!) to make it look faster,  
It also it will all very soon be visible down  
One may be give down on a bench in the corner!

The house I would like you was built by a Poet,  
At the time when all Rivers was supposed to sink,  
But he is a sailing down made his way straight  
But left both the beauty and down to their fate!

---