

Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony

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Protestant Revivalism and Mission Endeavour

"Go forth into all the world and preach the gospel to all nations," Jesus is said to have commanded his disciples. Christianity is clearly in theory a proselytizing religion, though the degree to which particular Christian communities have heeded this injunction has fluctuated greatly throughout history. In the late eighteenth century an international Protestant missionary movement arose in Europe and was exported to much of the world, including South Africa.

Scholars have until recently tended to assert either that the eighteenth-century rise of missionary enthusiasm was a consequence of the development of industrial capitalism or that it was the product of an internally generated evangelical drive to revitalize the church from within. Either explanation is simplistic in isolation; other factors were also influential. Notably, expansionist Protestantism was shaped by religious and political violence in Europe during and after the Protestant and Catholic Reformations.¹ For example, the Pietist movement, which sponsored the first modern Protestant missions to India in 1706, was closely tied to the religious and political ambitions of Protestant German princes, and it channelled local disaffection with Catholic Habsburg domination. The Renewed Unity of the Brethren, or Moravian Church, was founded by German-speaking Protestant refugees from Habsburg persecution who settled at Herrnhut, the Upper Saxony estates of a pious nobleman, Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf.² From the early eighteenth century, Herrnhut systematically dispatched missionaries, briefly to South Africa, and with more lasting effect to the New World, where they became exemplars for later British efforts.³ Across Protestant Europe, out of religious conflict and in an atmosphere of millennial expectation, large-scale religious "revivals" emerged – broad movements of spiritual renewal, repentance, and conversion to evangelical Protestant Christianity. Britain, one of the principal countries that sent missionaries to South Africa, experienced two such waves of evangelical revival, one peaking in the 1730s and 1740s, with the wildfire spread of Methodism,⁴ and a second, several decades later, re-invigorating the Calvinist dissenting denominations with roots in seventeenth-century Puritanism. Some common threads ran through these revival movements: beliefs about the actions of God in history working through human intermediaries, and expectations that individuals would be transformed at the crucial moment of conversion, or rebirth, which every person must experience in order to be saved.

The first British missionary societies arose from the second wave of revival: the Baptist Missionary Society, founded by the Particular (or Calvinist) Baptists in

1792, and the putatively interdenominational London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795,⁵ were both revivalist in emphasis. Other missionaries, from a different tradition or period, had other aims. In general, until the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, Anglican conservatives distrusted evangelical "enthusiasm" and ecclesiastical "irregularity" too much to sanction overseas mission work; despite the tentative early efforts of the fledgling Anglican evangelical Church Missionary Society, the earliest missionaries were thus dissenters, disbarred in England until 1828 from full political participation and attracted to militant and radical tendencies in Protestantism. As missionary activity became more widely accepted and admission standards tightened, missionaries tended to be of higher social class, better educated, and more likely to value social and ecclesiastical order.⁶

The first British missionaries were most often members of the upper working classes, especially in newly industrializing areas where the power of the Anglican Church was weak; but since missionaries needed a measure of literacy, they were never drawn from the ranks of the completely destitute. They tended to believe in aggressive self-improvement and the need to subjugate nature to human will. Often coming from recently rural areas made richer by a degree of industrialization and not yet devastated, they had a relatively benign view of industrialization. Indeed, in line with popularized precepts of the Scottish Enlightenment, many, like the Rev. Adam Ferguson, professor of philosophy in Edinburgh, tended to see the development of "commercial society" as integral to all progress.⁷

The missions of continental Europe had a different social, political and theological background. With key exceptions like H. Marsveld (a Dutchman) and H.P. Hallbeck (a Swede), most Moravians, who had preceded British missionaries to the Cape and re-established their mission in 1792, were born in the villages of Saxony, and remained members of the European Moravian communities. Most received their brides from there and sent their children to Europe for education, never building up kinship links in the Cape, either with whites or with Coloureds. Trained as artisans, they introduced craft production to Moravian mission stations, creating in South Africa central European villages, on a model probably never realized in the villages they had left.⁸

A few Dutch men (and women) had joined the LMS in its early years, but the mission work of the German and Huguenot churches did not begin until after the Napoleonic wars. While the French Protestant mission was primarily an imitation of British developments in minority churches,⁹ German missionary societies emerged from a second wave of Pietism, a reaction to the secularizing modernism of the French Revolution, and were, as a result, politically acceptable to the establishment. The Prussian monarchy identified itself closely with the Berlin Missionary Society.¹⁰ The principal backers of the Rhenish society, which was to work in the Cape and the future Namibia, did not come from the artisans and the "respectable" working class, as would have been the case in Britain, but rather from the local elite of factory owners and merchants in the Wupper valley north of Cologne,¹¹ although its missionaries came from a much wider area.¹²

The Religions of the Dispossessed: Khoisan and Slaves

The first work by European missionary societies in South Africa was among the

Khoikhoi, then known by whites as "Hottentots" – a formerly stock-herding people who inhabited most of the region later absorbed in the Cape Colony – and among the San, then called "Bushmen," a group closely related to the Khoikhoi but normally without cattle or sheep. The German-speaking butcher Georg Schmidt had begun work for the Moravians in 1737 among the Hessequa Khoikhoi of the Overberg region of the western Cape, then a centre of Khoikhoi settlement, now the village of Genadendal.¹³ One of his earliest converts, Vehettge Tikkuie, recalled fifty years later that, in Schmidt's day, "the people had not been as poor as they were now." They had been numerous, and had had "plenty of cattle" and "more than enough meat and milk."¹⁴ The VOC authorities forced Schmidt to abandon his work in 1743, as a result of pressure from the Dutch Reformed clergy (see pp. 28–29). By 1792, when the Moravians restored the mission, the Khoikhoi of the area had few cattle and were compelled to rely on farmwork for subsistence. Their last attempt at revolt occurred in the 1790s.¹⁵ In the eastern Cape the mostly Gonaqua Khoikhoi tried in vain to resist dispossession. In a three-year rebellion from 1799 to 1802, they suffered large-scale loss of stock, land, and access to water, and were increasingly reduced to servitude to local white farmers.¹⁶ The community structures of the Khoikhoi across the colony had been profoundly weakened before they came into contact with missionaries.

The fluid religiosity of Khoikhoi was able to absorb symbols from other cultures. Different groups used different but related terms for divinities. The nineteenth-century Nama worshipped a supreme being known as Tsuni-//goam, who could be approached through prayer and was possibly benevolent. Evil forces were concentrated in an evil deity, named Gaunab, whose centrality, however, may have grown after contact with Christian ideas of Satan. Mythic figures, such as the ancestral hero Heitsi-eibib, operated in the secular realm but reflected the nature of either Tsuni-//goam or Gaunab.¹⁷ Sacred dancing was central to worship, the Khoikhoi dancing at night, especially before a full moon, to the accompaniment of sacred songs. Christian converts abandoned dancing at night, and refused to sing Khoikhoi songs, but often substituted all-night religious meetings and Christian hymns.

In Khoisan culture there were healing rituals, initiation rites for boys and girls, and a range of taboo beliefs and purification practices. Animals occupied an important place. An elderly man interviewed by Moravian missionaries in 1808 told them that all members of his community had a particular link with the spirit world in the shape of an unearthly animal that followed them throughout life and brought news in times of crisis.¹⁸ Snakes were considered to cause illness and misfortune, and healers who had undergone special training were thought able to cure the bodies of sufferers. Storytelling bound together myth, heroic narrative, and the ordinary: the heroes of Khoisan folktales were not powerful figures, but often tricksters who escaped danger through cunning. Many Khoisan tales were about animals. Dreams were a crucial means of communication between human and sacred beings: they were considered prophetic, and their interpretation a matter of common conversation. Prophetic figures with particular powers to know things and to affect events could come to the fore, notably in the rebellions in both the eastern and western Cape just before the missionaries' arrival,¹⁹ and adherence to war prophets

continued at least until the Kat River rebellion of 1851.

The other main group of dispossessed were the slaves brought to the Cape from all the shores of the Indian Ocean – from Mozambique through Madagascar, Sri Lanka, South India, Bengal, to Indonesia. They came with a wide range of religious convictions. The vast majority of Cape slaves were not Muslims when they disembarked in Cape Town, and historians have been unable to discover any widely shared religious expressions among them before the spread of Islam (and Christianity), except for a general belief in various forms of magic.²⁰

By 1770, Islamic services were held in Cape Town, and at least one man, Tuan Nuruman, was providing runaway slaves with Islamic talismans to protect them from recapture; however, until the foundation of the first mosques around 1800 only a tiny proportion of Cape Town's slaves was Muslim (see chapter 16). Christianity had a longer history among Cape slaves,²¹ but had even fewer adherents than Islam. Most slaves, except those who belonged to the VOC (see pp. 34–35, 270–72), were not baptized as Christians unless they were manumitted. Most slave-owners resisted instructing their slaves in religion, because, at least after 1770, a converted slave could not be sold.²² Some slaves were admitted to the household devotions, but the seats set aside for slaves in the Cape Town church were usually empty.²³

“Going to Bethel”: Settlers, Missionaries, and the Khoisan

In 1792 the Moravian brotherhood was able to resuscitate the mission which Georg Schmidt had been forced to abandon half a century earlier. After arriving in Cape Town, the first three missionaries, Hendrik Marsveld, Daniel Schwin and Christian Kuhnel, proceeded to Baviaans Kloof, later renamed Genadendal, “the valley of grace.” There they met a few people, notably Vehettge Tikkuie, whom Schmidt had baptized as Magdalena, who had kept alive his message and who showed the missionaries the New Testament Schmidt had left behind. By 1792, when the Moravians restored the mission, the Khoikhoi of the area had few cattle and were compelled to rely on farm work for subsistence.²⁴ Initially there was considerable enmity against the mission on the part of the local farmers, but within a few years they recognized that many mission Khoikhoi had to continue to work on the farms, and that the mission formed no short-term threat to the established order. On the contrary, the discipline and artisanal labour which the missionaries imposed on the inhabitants of their station provided a model which the colonists believed should be emulated elsewhere, just as Genadendal was to form the model for the Christian communities that later missionaries wished to establish on their stations.²⁵

The Moravians were soon followed by an LMS mission to the Cape. Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp – philosopher, theologian, doctor, soldier and courtier to the Prince of Orange – was its first head. He travelled in 1799 to the Ngqika Xhosa, accompanied by the reluctant John Edmond, an Englishman who had joined the LMS hoping to return to Bengal.²⁶ Johannes Kicherer and William Edwards headed north to the Sak River, in response to requests from three LMS Khoisan captains, Orlam, Vigilant and Slaparm.²⁷

These first missionaries and those who followed them expected the lands of the

heathen to be under the dominion of Satan, convulsed by moral and political chaos. They soon learned that the frontiers of the colony were bound up in colonial relationships in which the missionaries participated and from which they could not extricate themselves. They further decided that Satan was abroad in the colony itself. In the midst of the Third Frontier War (1799), the Xhosa ruler Ngqika, suspicious that Van der Kemp might be a colonial agent, considered having him killed, but instead granted him a tract of land and used him to communicate with the colony, to bring rain and also to heal the sick.²⁸ In contrast, the Sak River San initially welcomed the missionaries as potential white patrons, as well as diplomatic agents, of use in their continual warfare with European intruders.

Van der Kemp's first hard-won converts in Xhosaland were a handful of Khoikhoi clients of the Xhosa, most of them women and thus among the most powerless of their community. Kicherer's star converts and his most stable adherents were Khoikhoi and "Baster" (mixed-race) outsiders to San society (although in this case the Khoikhoi tended to be wealthier than the San).²⁹ The pattern was repeated elsewhere. The migrant Khoikhoi and Baster groups of Transorangia eagerly sought missionaries, as did the Nama, far from the colony.³⁰ The Moravian mission to the Hessequa was more successful than its founders had expected; the eastern Cape mission stations of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis developed a network of Khoikhoi preachers.³¹ Despite its original expectations, the LMS (like the Moravians) soon came to focus most intensively on the Khoisan and their mixed-race descendants, establishing clusters of stations in the eastern Cape, in Transorangia, and in Little and Great Namaqualand. Missions to the Xhosa and later to the Tswana, in contrast, won few converts in their early days. Khoikhoi-descended groups thus tended to become spiritual and material brokers between Europeans and other Africans. Most missionaries worked formally through Khoikhoi intermediaries. At times, Khoikhoi, such as Cupido Kakkerlak and Jan Hendrik, ran their own missions. This later became a source of tension between Khoikhoi evangelists and certain white missionaries. Such links between Khoikhoi groups, and cross-cutting relationships across the wider community, help explain the relatively rapid acceptance of at least nominal Christianity by a surprising number of Khoikhoi groups. By the early 1830s, the Xhosa in the eastern Cape termed the Khoikhoi and their descendants "the people brought to life by the word of God."³²

Those Khoisan who were already partially acculturated, and whose economic independence was largely eroded, responded more readily to the agenda of the missionaries than did members of more intact societies. On mission stations such Khoisan could regain a measure of authority over their lives. The appeal of Christianity was doubtless bolstered by the strong opposition of white settlers – who benefited from the equation between Christianity, a white skin, and economic and political dominance – to the Christianization of their Khoisan dependants. Khoisan, particularly those born of sexually exploitive mixed-race unions, knew the settlers' views, and for many of them an alliance with Christian missions was a defiant move, rather than a simple acceptance of the religion of their masters.³³ They had heard Van der Kemp and other missionaries castigate "Christian" Dutch settlers as the true enemies of Christ. Christianity furnished the means for a claim

to, equal status, and permitted some Khoisan converts to take over a familiar Protestant rhetoric of the pure remnant within the erring church, and to claim that they, not the local farmers, were the real Christians. Many of Khoikhoi descent, especially those in more desperate situations within the colony, came to believe that Christianity was in a sense for them, providing proof that their God had not forsaken them. In 1834, Hendrik Smit of the eastern Cape LMS station of Theopolis stated that he

was surprised when the Bible came among us and asked the reason but no one could tell me; the reason was the oppression of the Hottentots which God saw. Previous to this we were like a man enclosed in a cask stuck full of nails, which cask was rolled down hill, and because it was down hill there was no cessation of suffering, it was always rolling.³⁴

There were more concrete material advantages to Christianization. Beyond the colony, in Transorangia and Little Namaqualand, small groups living by trading, raiding, hunting and, where possible, pastoralism actively sought out missionaries. They had many reasons, among them the livestock the missionaries brought with them, their trading links to the colonial interior, their technological knowledge, their capacity to communicate in writing with the colony and with other groups, and the capacity of whites (though not necessarily the missionaries themselves) to help Khoisan obtain guns and gunpowder, those most coveted of goods in economies based on raiding and hunting. The mission station also offered the chance to acquire mechanical skills. In the colony it provided a place to leave stock and children, and served as a legal bastion against *de facto* enslavement.

The political implications of the eastern Cape "Hottentot" mission, on the other hand, were ambiguous. Consider the foundation of Bethelsdorp. Van der Kemp, recalled to the colony from Xhosaland, finding himself plunged into the midst of the Third Frontier War, was soon acting as a reluctant mediator between the British and rebellious Gona farm-workers who had recently lost their land, stock, and independence.³⁵ He persuaded a number of rebels to make peace in exchange for amnesty and a promise of land – promises which were to prove insubstantial. In the midst of struggles and negotiations, Read and Van der Kemp accepted the offer of Governor Dundas to allow them to establish a "Hottentot institution" at Algoa Bay. Of the 799 people worshipping with the missionaries at Graaff-Reinet, 301 decided to leave together to found the community which eventually became Bethelsdorp.³⁶ As the group departed, Van der Kemp read the language of collective purification in the text of Genesis 35:2-3, "then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that were with him: put away the strange Gods that are among you, and be clean and change your garments and let us arise, and go to Bethel, and I will make there an Altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the ways which I went."³⁷

The move was divisive for the Khoikhoi. Rebels living in the Zuurveld resented the withdrawal from conflict and attacked Bethelsdorp several times; Klaas Stuurman's kinsman Andries Stuurman was killed by a stray bullet in a dark night attack. Nevertheless, once the war had petered out and the incoming Batavian government that had replaced the British in Cape Town had imposed peace, a number of Khoikhoi rebels came in from the bush to Bethelsdorp, rather than return to

white farms. Their presence intensified settler opposition to a place of refuge for robbers and Murderers.”³⁸ In one sense the Khoikhoi laid down their weapons when they moved to Bethelsdorp; in another, they took up new ones.

Van der Kemp and Read, as Calvinist pre-millenarians, believed, in common with several members of the LMS directorate, that the second coming of Christ was imminent. They held that God sends warnings to the guilty before punishing them, and believed, as did many European Protestants, that God acts through nations and other collectivities and passes judgement on erring communities.³⁹ Van der Kemp even saw the Third Frontier War itself as God’s vengeance, anticipating in 1802 “that the desolation will go further” and that God would make the natives “the instruments of his wrath.”⁴⁰ The political implications of this apocalyptic view were profound. In a comment encapsulating the inherent ambiguity of the missionary project, the Batavian governor Janssens complained that Khoikhoi soldiers from Bethelsdorp or the surrounding area were more likely to be good and trustworthy soldiers but also more likely to act as “ringleaders” in leading others to “disorder ... call[ing] out the name of Mr. Vanderkemp not in the way of lamentation, but in the tone of provocation.”⁴¹ After leaving the colony, Janssens wrote that, should the Cape ever be returned to the Netherlands, most of these “wretched missionaries” should be sent away with great haste.⁴²

Throughout the first two decades of the century, settlers and missionaries competed to control the destiny of the Khoikhoi. The aristocratic Van der Kemp showed little interest in changing Khoikhoi culture fundamentally: “all civilization is from the Devil,” he purportedly proclaimed.⁴³ Most other missionaries wanted the Khoikhoi to acquire the means to “settle” in an independent community, to become “respectable,” and to acquire the rudiments of an individualistic capitalist culture. By contrast, labour-hungry local farmers and officials sought to remake the once-nomadic Khoikhoi into landless farm labourers, living permanently on white farms. They sought to intimidate mission stations into closing; they spread rumours that missionaries had nefarious designs against the Khoikhoi; and sought to bring mission Khoikhoi back under their control through a variety of legal and illegal techniques including, often, violence.⁴⁴ Andries Jager recalled many years later that this was “a time of sorrow” and “oppression under which I have often wished I was dead (God forgive me) to be eased of my burden.”⁴⁵

In the early 1800s, Van der Kemp, his close colleague James Read, and other LMS missionaries struggled, with some success, to obtain redress for crimes committed against the Khoikhoi. The investigation of criminal charges brought by Khoisan against Graaff-Reinet farmers and, more generally, the introduction of a circuit court were seen, probably correctly, as their doing. This campaign caused considerable dissension in LMS ranks, as dissident missionaries such as the Germans Messer and Sass protested against what they saw as their colleagues’ focus on politics at the expense of good order and civilization, pointing to the Moravians’ Genadendal as an example of a truly beneficial mission station. At issue was a fundamental disagreement about the sort of Christianity to be practised and propagated. The radical millenarianism of the first missionaries was being overtaken by a much more quiescent Christianity, both in Europe and in South Africa.

Quarrels between missionaries grew worse after the death in 1811 of the powerful Van der Kemp, and the arrival of George Thom and Robert Moffat, who held firm ideas about the appropriate relationship between "civilized" and "uncivilized" peoples. Matters came to a head in 1817, with the unveiling of a series of sex scandals, including the revelation that James Read, who was married to the Khoikhoi woman Elizabeth Valentyn, was the father of the illegitimate baby of a church deacon's daughter. In its wake, Read was dismissed from his post as director of LMS missions in southern Africa, and demoted to "resident artisan." These events were part of a general move to bring missions under tighter control, and to draw sharper lines between Europeans and Africans, as seen in 1820 when Robert Moffat took over and renamed as Kuruman the Tswana station "Lattakoo," now known as Dithakong, initially run largely by Khoikhoi agents.⁴⁶ Read's goal of rapidly ordaining an African clergy was quietly dropped, and, as elsewhere in the world, the LMS practice then prevalent of marrying into local congregations virtually ceased.

The Scottish Independent minister John Philip was sent to South Africa in 1820 to clean up the faltering LMS mission, especially in the turbulent eastern Cape.⁴⁷ Philip was a true son of the Scottish Enlightenment. He offered the Khoisan an identity somewhat different from that proffered by Van der Kemp's millenarian promises but one that offered converts the expectation of increased temporal power. He proposed that the Khoisan acculturate further and rapidly show what nineteenth-century Scots deemed the outward signs of "civilization," such as property accumulation, cleanliness, and Western-style clothing and housing, as a political tool to confound those critics who would deny them individual rights. This contract between Philip and the Khoisan coincided with the drive of the British government to liberalize the economy of the Cape Colony, so as to encourage trade, property accumulation, greater monetization, class distinctions, and the virtues of thrift and hard work among the populace. This moralized "modern" economy was a development Philip sought to encourage, on a much smaller scale, among Christian converts.⁴⁸

Philip conducted his campaign on two fronts. First, he hoped to persuade the British government's Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry, sent to report on the governance of the Cape in 1822, to recommend improvements in the legal status of the Khoikhoi. To this end he organized visits to mission stations, recently redeveloped to look as "rational" and European as possible, with straight streets and square houses.⁴⁹ He then made a dramatic trip to London in 1826 to plead for equal civil rights for all free people in the colony, irrespective of colour, linking this cause to the general struggle for the abolition of slavery. He won an order giving the Khoisan "freedom and protection." Almost simultaneously, the Whig Acting Governor of the Cape, Richard Bourke, issued Ordinance 50, granting substantially the same privileges.⁵⁰

Whether or not Philip was as instrumental as he believed in obtaining Ordinance 50, the ordinance was a major victory for the LMS.⁵¹ It seemed to offer hope for the Society's promise that converts would be able to participate in the white economy on equal terms in exchange for undergoing fundamental cultural change. The link that the LMS under Philip's tenure made between economic and spiritual con-

cerns depended on a particular idea of freedom. The economic arena could only function as a venue for salvation if individuals were free economic actors: the free choice to perform economic acts lent moral dignity, in contrast to forced labour, which degraded both employers and employees. In a parallel fashion, the moral arena both demanded and created freedom. Sin was slavery; true freedom was only to be gained through the knowledge of God and the self that conversion gave. Philip's famous statement that all he wanted for the "Hottentots" was the right to bring their labour to a free market and the rest would follow had many more implications than is immediately apparent.⁵²

Ordinance 50 has been extensively criticized by historians, for its supposed lack of efficacy⁵³ and for its framers' liberal capitalist premises. It was, however, supported fervently by a wide range of Khoisan within the colony who benefited from it, as is suggested by the rush of protests against the projected re-institution of vagrancy legislation in the mid-1830s.⁵⁴ The ordinance allowed Khoikhoi to own land and abolished pass-law legislation and *de facto* forced labour. These were profoundly important changes, although crippling economic discrimination replaced the old legal restrictions, and Khoikhoi demands for the return of land in the wake of Ordinance 50 were never met.⁵⁵ "Every nation has its screen," said the Bethelsdorp resident Platje Jonker in a protest meeting against vagrancy legislation in 1834; "the white men have a screen, the colour of their skin is their screen, the 50th ordinance is our screen."⁵⁶ Such wholehearted acceptance of the necessity for freedom cemented the alliance between the LMS and the Khoikhoi, which held even through the steady disillusionment of the 1830s. At least temporarily, the millenarian vision propagated by Van der Kemp had been submerged, in the minds of the LMS converts, by Philip's gradualist vision of an improving Christian community.

Christian Sub-Imperialism: Namaqualand and Griqualand

In reaction to government discouragement of their work in the colony, many early missionaries went north to the mountains of Little Namaqualand and the Orange River valley. There they encountered people of at least partial Khoisan descent, many of whom had emigrated from the Cape Colony to escape adverse conditions. They were open to the message of the missionaries and eager for the material aspects of colonial culture, notably Western clothing and firearms.

There were two main streams of missionary activity in the north. The western stream was pioneered by Germans in the service of the LMS, but was eventually taken over by Wesleyans and agents of the Rhenish Society. The initial work in southern Namibia foundered because the missionaries could not gain purchase on what was still a very mobile society. There were a number of emotional conversions, but the permanent settlement that missionaries demanded of their converts was both socially and ecologically impossible. Missionaries became pawns in the violence of political struggle, which eventually led to the murder of the young missionary William Threlfall and his more experienced Nama assistant Jacob Links.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Christianity remained a central part of many Namibian communities' ideology. Jonker Afrikaner, the Oorlam ruler of Windhoek, for instance, was himself a fervent preacher with an interpretation of scripture developed in isolation from the missionaries, whom he was later to accuse, among many other things, of

being "blasphemous twisters of the gospel."⁵⁸

South of the Orange the mission stations of Steinkopf, Komaggas and Leliefontein were all established before 1820. Johann Friedrich Hein, a mixed-race convert, pioneered the Rhenish mission work in the Richtersveld from the 1840s and was eventually ordained nearly half a century later. These settlements provided protection and some land at a time when Namaqualand was being divided up between white farmers. Nama converts swiftly developed tight communities with a republican form of administration under the supervision of the missionaries. Their main hope, as the captains of Steinkopf and the Richtersveld explained to the British in 1847, was that the land they had always occupied would be protected "from the Boers and others who are not from amongst us, so that we can lead a quiet, still and honest life."⁵⁹

In the region north of the middle Orange, where the LMS was active from 1801, loose networks dominated by the Kok and Barends families congealed around missionaries and formed into new political organisations. The missionaries believed that they were creating a Christian state under their own leadership. Persuading their followers to adopt the ethnic name "Griqua,"⁶⁰ they claimed influence over the appointment of the Griqua captains, wrote the constitution and law book of the new state, and even minted coinage for it, complete with the dove emblem of the LMS. In fact, though, their direct political influence was limited. They could not, for example, persuade the Grikwas to take service in the colonial army, as the British government requested. Many missionaries were forced to leave their stations after failed interventions in Griqua political and social affairs.⁶¹

Yet Christianity became a core component of Griqua identity. Criteria for admission to full membership of the church were strict. At least in Griquatown, prospective members had to relate the story of their conversion to the church, and one of the deacons took it down in writing.⁶² Nevertheless, adherence to the church became a marker for allegiance to one or other of the political factions in various Griqua captaincies.⁶³ Eventually, Christianity was used to legitimate the more settled captaincies of Griquatown and Philippolis. At the same time, it was used as a weapon to expand Griqua influence to the north. Before an attack on the Ndebele, Barend Barends gave a sermon exhorting his forces "to go and murder an innocent people in the name of God and religion," as it was later cynically reported.⁶⁴ More peaceably, Griqua evangelists worked to convert the Southern Tswana, and to bring them under Griqua political influence, an aim that required the removal or subordination of the white missionaries working among them. In the 1830s the Grikwas attempted to oust Robert Moffat from Kuruman and the Frenchman Jean-Pierre Pelissier from Bethulie. The failure of these moves marked the end of this episode of Christian sub-imperialism.⁶⁵

*"The Slaves of Satan and of Men"*⁶⁶

The religious revival among whites at the Cape from the late 1780s and the beginnings of the missionary movement led to a much more serious attempt to spread the Christian gospel to the slaves, the Rev. H. R. van Lier providing much of the impetus. Van der Kemp, on his arrival at the Cape in 1799, stimulated the foundation of the South African Missionary Society in Cape Town. Five years later

the Society had 400 members and had established daughter societies in several Cape towns.⁶⁷

Slave-owners did not allow their slaves to go to mission stations, which anyway were not in areas of significant slave population, except for Groen Kloof (later known as Mamre), founded by the Moravians in 1808. Slaves were preached to in Cape Town, the small towns of the western Cape, or on the farms; others were included in the private devotions on the farms or houses where they lived, as were some Khoisan in the towns or on the farms. But not all slaves and Khoisan were required, or even allowed, to attend the prayers, hymn singing, and Bible readings. When settlers felt their control over their labour force threatened, they tended to oppose Christianization of their workers and slaves. Conversely, slaves and Khoisan were more likely to convert when proselytization was opposed by the farmers, less likely when they saw Christianity propagated as a weapon of social control. One farmer told a Khoikhoi labourer who asked permission to go to Genadendal in 1794 that he could receive religious instruction on the farm, but the man replied that in his years there he had never been taught the truths of the gospel.⁶⁸ Others would recall later how their exclusion from religious ceremonies had awakened their desire to hear the Word of God.⁶⁹ Increasingly in the nineteenth century, however, the more pious white families did what they could to facilitate the conversion of all those who lived on their farms. Often, the instruction of slaves was the responsibility of unmarried girls.⁷⁰ This practice was part of the landholders' constant struggle for control over dependent labour. In 1838 many households in Graaff-Reinet ceased to provide religious instruction on their farms because, with emancipation pending, the masters did not know whether the ex-slaves (now known as "apprentices") would continue to live with them.⁷¹

Where a congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) already existed, the ministers demanded to examine and baptize any converts, who would then become members of the congregation. Thus, in Cape Town, the NGK controlled the chapel established in Long Street by the South African Missionary Society, known as the *Gesticht*, under the auspices of a committee of management which arranged services conducted by available clergymen.⁷² Only in 1819 was a pastor appointed and a congregation independent of the NGK established. In Stellenbosch, pious members of the congregation had been giving religious instruction to about a hundred slaves in 1799, but not until 1820 could the representative of the LMS, who had worked there since 1800, administer baptisms, signalling the beginnings of a new mission congregation.⁷³ LMS missionaries also began work in Paarl and Tulbagh, funded largely by contributions from the local missionary society, and in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, and Grahamstown. From around 1830, the Rhenish mission took over the work at Stellenbosch, Tulbagh, and Worcester, and in 1829 the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society founded a church in what is now Wellington. The Methodists, at least in towns of the colony, made no distinction between mission work and ordinary pastoral care of settlers, nor did the many churches in Cape Town, including the Presbyterians, the Union Chapel of the Congregationalists and, indeed, the NGK.

Missionaries working among the Cape's slaves were dependent upon the slave-owners both for access to the slaves – a master could forbid his slave to go to ser-

vices, or refuse to allow a missionary to enter his farm – and very often for his salary. Indeed, some early missionaries, like some NGK clergy, were themselves slave-owners.⁷⁴ The message the slaves received was generally one of the necessity of obedience, of resignation to one's fate in this world, and of the hope for glory in the world to come. Missionaries justified their work to the master class by claiming that Christian slaves made more trustworthy servants, but the relations between missionaries and the farmers were often tense all the same.⁷⁵

Before final emancipation in 1838, few slaves were converted. Their rejection of Christianity, the religion of their masters, was, in a sense, a rejection of slavery. In missionary eyes they remained "slaves of Satan and of men." Christian congregations did not welcome slave converts as equals, nor did Christianity provide any improvements in their lives. Islam was generally more attractive to slaves than Christianity, at least until 1838 (see chap. 16). Yet for a number of slaves Christianity provided a modicum of solace in an otherwise harsh and hopeless existence. As one ex-slave commented to a missionary, "Sir, the world is hard, but heaven is beautiful."⁷⁶

"The Lord is Known To Be Unfriendly to Injustice": From Ordinance 50 to the Kat River Rebellion

Mission Khoikhoi celebrated Ordinance 50 as the guarantee of their liberties.⁷⁷ Descendants of the eastern Cape Khoikhoi thereafter tried to ally themselves with missionary liberalism to gain access to the white-run, legally encoded land tenure system that had so pointedly excluded them. The Khoikhoi were not granted the amount of land they claimed as the remnants of their ancestral homelands. In 1829, Andries Stockenström nevertheless helped persuade the administration to grant plots to individual Khoikhoi settlers in the well-watered Kat River valley, in order to create a buffer between the white settlers and the Xhosa. It was necessary to expel the Xhosa leader Maqoma, who was living there, although the Gona Khoikhoi claimed prior ancestral right dating back before Xhosa conquest.⁷⁸

The settlement was independent, but long remained associated with the LMS and its quest to establish the Khoikhoi as acculturated and fully equal members of a racially integrated society. This association was emphasized when the Philipton church called the missionary James Read senior to be its independent minister. Many of the early settlers had been among the most successful inhabitants of LMS mission stations, notably Theopolis, Bethelsdorp, and Hankey, though the majority had been previously scattered throughout the colony. There was some tension between the two groups.⁷⁹ The newcomers provided a pool of potential Christian converts; soon Read was describing religious revival in Kat River. By 1834 some 5,000 inhabitants were settled in villages throughout the area; some thirty villages, with three-quarters of the population, had LMS congregations. Another group, led by some eighty families of "Bastards," mostly of mixed white and Khoisan parentage, accepted the government agent William Ritchie Thompson as their minister. They tended to have lived with Dutch farmers and to have done well out of the relationship, bringing with them substantial property in stock and tending to claim superiority on class and ethnic grounds over the poorer "Hottentots."⁸⁰ The arrival, in addition, of many ex-slaves and Xhosa-speaking

Mfengu, as well as intermarriage and sexual relations between whites and Khoikhoi, was changing the ethnic composition of the congregations. The LMS claim became less convincing that missions were defending the "ancient possessors of the soil" from exploitation.

The settlement was important not only to the LMS in South Africa but to the entire British abolitionist movement. Between 1829 and 1834, in the final stages of the emancipation of slaves, abolitionists were arguing strongly for the desirability of free black labour. After abolition they needed to prevent the reimposition of *de facto* slavery under stringent vagrancy and apprenticeship regulations.⁸¹ The Kat River was used as an example of a prosperous and "civilized" free black community in which men were able to assume the true independence essential for manhood, and women, implicitly, to fulfil the gender roles appropriate to "civilized" society.⁸² Free labour replaced free grace in a new version of the conversion narrative, the Kat River Khoisan portrayed as a regenerated community saved by economic independence. "As soon as they were enabled to emerge from conscious degradation, and the door of manly ambition was flung open to them," the Khoisan could undergo an "entire change of character."⁸³ The Khoikhoi themselves used such arguments to defend civil equality during the struggles of the 1830s.

The LMS advocates of the Khoikhoi were briefly powerful in the late 1820s and early 1830s when the abolition of slavery, free labour, and the management of the poor roused passions and dominated parliamentary debate. The LMS also had personal contacts in the Colonial Office. Under evangelical influence, the British government overturned a Cape vagrancy ordinance, on the grounds that it conflicted with Ordinance 50, and returned land conquered in the 1835 war to the Xhosa.

In such circumstances, it is not surprising that many Khoikhoi within the LMS ambit were convinced that Christianity could bring power to the oppressed and peace to the land. During his 1835 visit to Britain, with John Philip and the Reads, to give evidence before a parliamentary committee on the colonial status of aboriginal peoples, Andries Stoffels, a Gona from Bethelsdorp who had moved to the Kat River, proclaimed before the 1836 annual public meeting of the LMS that "the Bible charmed us out of the caves and from the tops of mountains. The Bible made us throw away all our old customs and practices, and we lived among civilized men." The Bible brought peace: "the only way to reconcile man to man is to instruct man in the truths of the Bible." Stoffels affirmed: "we are coming on; we are improving; we will soon all be one," a reflection of the LMS's assimilationist rhetoric as well as an implicit claim to the right to political participation (see *Missionary Chronicle*, June 1836, pp. 550-52).

The LMS successes of the 1830s proved the apogee of the LMS's political power. Khoisan and ex-slaves were by now amalgamating as Coloureds. Friction between missionaries resurfaced. John Philip and the Read family continued to cooperate with the Kat River and Griqua leadership in the development of an aggressively missionary church under control of local congregations, in a pattern analogous to that of Congregationalists in Britain. In the Kat River a core of at least eight "native agents" were developing an expansionist culture of evangelism. The Philipton church established mission stations in response to appeals from Thembu,

San, and Mpondo leaders,⁸⁴ the political implications disturbing both the Wesleyans, who thought the LMS was poaching, and conservatives within the LMS, notably Robert Moffat and Henry Calderwood, who wished to maintain missionary control over church life. The result was another attack on the Reads, father and son, which left them increasingly isolated.⁸⁵ At the same time, the Khoikhoi churches, which seemed to offer the same career ladder for ministers as the white church, often failed to do so. Over half the Kat River teachers resigned in the early 1840s over the issue of inadequate pay, while "native agents" were remunerated at considerably lower rates than their white counterparts and rarely accorded equal social status.⁸⁶ The early LMS vision of Africa Christianized by Africans had begun to founder.

The rising economic expectations of the mission communities and the heady promise of the early years of the Kat River Settlement were increasingly unfulfilled. The destruction caused by the frontier wars of 1835 and 1846–47, in which many Khoikhoi served on the colonial side, was exacerbated by the avaricious maladministration of successive magistrates.⁸⁷ The price of collaboration was growing and its rewards shrinking. The perennial problem of overcrowding and the lack of an agricultural base on the mission stations was not solved, despite large-scale and expensive projects, notably the construction of a water tunnel to irrigate Hankey. The economic integration and prosperity Philip had once offered did not materialize. The economy remained racially segregated and European settlers looked with jealousy at such land as the Coloureds did possess.

When "Mlanjeni's war" broke out in 1851 many Khoikhoi refused to turn out once again for the colonial army. A smaller number, led by a half-Xhosa half-runaway slave, Hermanus Matroos, joined the rebels. Khoikhoi flocked to the rebel standard from throughout the colony, most, "particularly the more violent of them," in the elder Read's words, "young giddy Men," though, on his visit to a rebel encampment, Read also reported seeing "very many women and children together."⁸⁸ A number of rebels came from Theopolis and from the Moravian station of Shiloh. Missionaries claimed that the majority of rebel Khoikhoi were from white farms rather than mission stations or Khoikhoi settlements, which may have been partly true, since the farmworkers had less to lose than those with access to their own land, no matter how unclear the title. Many rebels expressed hatred for the English settlers and distrust of the forthcoming establishment of the (white-dominated) representative assembly at the Cape. They combined an ideology of "Hottentot nationalism"⁸⁹ with the fervent millenarian Christianity their fathers had learned from Van der Kemp. Indeed, many rebels said prayers and sang hymns before battle, and a letter written by their leader Willem Uithaolder stressed "trust ... in the Lord (whose character is known to be unfriendly to injustice) ... and he will give us prosperity – a work for your motherland and freedom, for it is now the time, yea the appointed time and no other."⁹⁰ Christianity was well out of control of the missionaries who had brought it.

The war was a disaster for the LMS mission. Although both the Read family and many of the Kat River Khoikhoi actively sought peace, the white colony accused the Kat River Settlement, as a whole, and many other mission Khoikhoi of rebellion. Captured rebels were hanged, sometimes summarily;⁹¹ rebel property was

confiscated and sold to white settlers. The Theopolis mission was broken up; Philipton was burned to the ground; the Kat River Settlement was devastated and much of it purchased by white settlers. In a display of colonial vindictiveness, Andries Botha, a veldcornet and community leader in the Kat River, who had fought for the British in several wars, was condemned to death for treason after a show trial, although the evidence suggests his innocence.⁹² The rule of law, for which the LMS had fought so hard, was turned against the Khoisan.⁹³ Philip had died in 1851; the elder Read died four days before Botha's trial began. Andries Botha himself was eventually reprieved, but the death sentence he had received symbolized the death of a great deal more.

*"Spiritual Liberation" and "Civil Liberty"*⁹⁴

In the different context of the western Cape many of the same themes were being played out. After a four-year period of so-called apprenticeship, the slaves of the Cape Colony were finally freed on 1 December 1838. In the years that followed, many slaves received Christian instruction. Many moved to Genadendal, Groen Kloof, and Elim, in particular, whose combined population rose from about 2,500 to about 4,000 between 1838 and 1840. The missionaries had not encouraged new settlement, but the freed slaves often went to join friends or even relations living in the mission villages.⁹⁵ Here, they were under pressure to form nuclear families. Housing was not provided for single women on most stations. Nevertheless, many ex-slaves welcomed the opportunities given to women and adolescent girls to withdraw from the formal labour process altogether, or to return home each evening from their places of employment.⁹⁶ Children, too, could be saved from the "apprenticeship" to farmers that was often used to bind a complete family to the farm.⁹⁷ As with the Khoikhoi before them, missions also provided former slave women with some defence against sexual exploitation by farmers, an integral part of the "old system."⁹⁸

Many of those who came to the missions left again after a few years, discouraged by the difficulty of finding work and by the rules of the mission.⁹⁹ Yet by 1848 22 per cent of the Coloureds in the rural western Cape, most of whom had been slaves, were living on the mission stations;¹⁰⁰ many more were maintaining ties with the missions while living and working elsewhere; and still more had spent some time there. In the first decade after emancipation, farmers considered the mission stations likely to tie up labour in useless idleness; therefore attempts were made to close them down, but increasingly missions were defended by neighbouring farmers who benefited from the flexibility they allowed in the utilization of labour.¹⁰¹

Many adult former slaves living near a mission began to frequent the evening and Sunday schools and services; the enrolment of children in the mission day-schools also increased sharply. St. Andrew's Presbyterian church in Cape Town had adults at the reading classes.¹⁰² The core of the LMS's work in the town shifted to the school in Dorp Street, with the chapel there almost a subsidiary of the school.¹⁰³ The mission work of the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) in Cape Town was substantially similar.¹⁰⁴ So, too, the Rhenish missionaries and their wives in the country towns were as much schoolteachers as pastors. In 1841, for instance,

the mission in Stellenbosch was teaching about 200 children and as many adults (slightly more than half of these in the evenings), in addition to more than 250 at Sunday school. In Tulbagh and Worcester, the numbers were smaller, but not in relation to the size of the towns.¹⁰⁵ In 1838 a school for the training of teachers was opened in Genadendal. Its graduates spread throughout the colony.¹⁰⁶

One old lady, finding herself too old to learn to read, had to be reassured that illiterates could enter the Kingdom of Heaven.¹⁰⁷ Other converts no doubt had a more secular approach to schooling and religious instruction, the mission stations providing some measure of escape from the harshness of farm life, even though many of their inhabitants continued to work as agricultural labourers, on short contracts. Whether or not literacy and baptism gave the residents of Stellenbosch who flocked to the Rhenish Society's schools any tangible short-term benefits, their achievement was a symbolic challenge to their erstwhile owners, and they also allowed their children the opportunity to escape the quasi-bondage imposed on many rural ex-slaves after emancipation. From such educated groups, the Coloured elite would emerge.¹⁰⁸

Unlike their fellows in the east of the colony, the ex-slaves and Khoisan of the western Cape did not build a political radicalism on the basis of their Christianity.¹⁰⁹ They had experienced social advance on the basis of religious teaching, and indeed some feared that their children, born in freedom, would take this advance for granted.¹¹⁰ They did not feel betrayed by unkept promises. Many acquired the vote in 1854 for the first elected Cape assembly. Literacy was one of the conditions of the franchise, which gave them a degree of power and recognition, and they used it. In the constituency of Caledon, the inhabitants of Genadendal and Elim made up three-quarters of the electorate in the 1850s. The old reliance of mission Christians on informal missionary influence was now replaced by formal representation of their interests (though not by one of themselves) in parliament.¹¹¹ In the countryside, more so than in Cape Town,¹¹² this entailed an exaggerated loyalty towards Britain in the abstract and political antipathy towards the representatives of the Dutch and English farmers,¹¹³ who often claimed that the ex-slaves and Khoisan were the pawns of the missionaries. It is probably truer to say that Christianity had given them the means and the confidence to be independent of their erstwhile masters.

Full emancipation also gave these church members the confidence to demand control over the life of their churches. In some churches, notably in the Gesticht and St. Stephen's Presbyterian church in Cape Town,¹¹⁴ and in the Rhenish missionary chapel in Stellenbosch,¹¹⁵ ex-slave congregations insisted on the right to choose elders and deacons from among their own number. In both Grahamstown and Cape Town LMS congregations seceded in protest at the removal of their pastor.¹¹⁶ These schisms were not theological in origin,¹¹⁷ but derived from Coloured Christians' success in gaining ascendancy, in partial compensation for their inequality within the wider society.

From the 1850s, the LMS in Europe itself encouraged such tendencies. After the defeat of Christian radicalism with the Kat River Rebellion, and with the Society financially stretched, missionary control became less important than the Congregationalist ideal of financial self-support. Many Cape church members

seemed better off than the potential donors in Britain. Charity from overseas was seen as "a real evil rather than a benefit." The Griqua Church in Philippolis became self-supporting in 1855, and in the 1870s almost all the LMS churches in the colony followed suit.¹¹⁸ Legislation was passed in 1873 by which plots on the LMS mission stations could be transferred to individual ownership. The sanctions buttressing missionary paternalism thus disappeared.

In contrast, the Moravian missionaries maintained control over their villages. Their right to expel those they considered a danger to the villages' discipline was confirmed in court.¹¹⁹ This caused some resentment, but the villagers' attachment to their birthplaces was producing a specific Moravian sub-culture, maintained even when numerous migrants from Genadendal, Elim, Mamre, and Pella moved to Cape Town. There they maintained their connection through the church at Moravian Hill, in District Six.¹²⁰

The other churches, Methodist, Anglican and Roman Catholic, had no place in their ecclesiastical structures for a separate mission church. The standard structure of parishes, priests and bishops was thought sufficient.¹²¹ The NGK, in contrast, sanctioned segregation of Coloureds within local churches, but this did not initially lead to the creation of mission stations.¹²² In consequence, from the 1850s onwards, it is more reasonable to speak of the Cape's various denominations, not its missions.

"Secondary Blessings": The Quest for "Civilization" and Respectability

From the very beginning, the idea of converting the "heathen" was, for almost all European missionaries, whether Dutch, German or British, inextricably linked to that of "civilizing" them. The romantic reactionary view of civilization as intrinsic to sedentary peasant communities was always strong, particularly among the Moravians.¹²³ Like many of his fellows in the LMS, John Philip, under the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment – and recent Scottish history – stressed the rapidity whereby changes in consciousness could both lead to spiritual salvation and provide the "secondary blessings" of social and economic progress.¹²⁴ Other missionaries, such as Henry Calderwood, saw the "civilizing process" as protracted and directly linked to European political domination of Africans.

At all events, even allowing for missionary exaggeration of both pre-conversion barbarity and their own achievements, significant cultural transformation accompanied Christianization.¹²⁵ By the 1830s and 1840s converts and others were wearing Western clothing, learning to read, speaking a Dutch creole, arranging their villages according to missionary wishes in squares and straight lines, aspiring to cash wages, and (at least, superficially) adopting Western marriage patterns.¹²⁶ When James Read married Elizabeth Valentyn, he wanted her to wear her kaross to the wedding, but she compromised by wearing a Western petticoat kaross-style, around her shoulders.¹²⁷ Still, many people of Khoikhoi descent resisted the notions of work discipline, capitalist time, and individualism that missionaries sought to impose upon them; they maintained old patterns of clientage and shared with clients, friends, and relatives in hard times to the point of destitution.¹²⁸ Even though missionaries were justifiably proud of their networks of schools, often run by young Khoisan men and women, parents pulled their children out of school

when their own was needed and resisted English style restrictions on their children.¹²⁹ There were regional and class variations in the adoption of Western cultural forms. Ironically, among the most willing to adopt aspects of Western culture were the motivated settlers of Kat River, so much despised and feared by their white neighbours, while more dependent farmworkers had little incentive to acculturate. Most did so in the end, most dramatically, in the disappearance of the Khoikhoi language in the Cape by the end of the nineteenth century.¹³⁰

William Elliot complained in 1841 that his baptism class in Uitenhage was unnaturally large because "a profession of Christianity is considered among the coloured people of these parts, a necessary badge of respectability." By the 1840s, this was a typical response. British members of the social strata from which missionaries tended to come regarded temperance, work, self-discipline, and chastity as powerful weapons against degradation. Respectability was also part of a formidable upper-class arsenal of social control.¹³¹ The Khoikhoi and slaves had known real degradation, and their concepts of shame and honour had been exposed to severe pressure.¹³² For some, the result was self-hatred.¹³³ Under such circumstances, Christian respectability was indubitably, for some, a means of gaining self-respect, of reconstructing community, and of restoring the honour lost by servitude. It was also a means of assuming the cultural anxieties and values of another people.

Respectability was often, also, quite brutally, an instrument of survival. Before Ordinance 50, for example, those who looked "disreputable" were unable to travel without danger of arrest and impressment into contract labour. A number of women were so afraid of the consequences of becoming pregnant out of wedlock that they concealed the birth and were later tried for infanticide. The government had to request the missions no longer to expel such women.¹³⁴ Inhabitants of Hankey were permitted to use newly irrigated land only on condition of remaining respectable in the eyes of the resident missionary, William Philip. In the 1850s, the Rev. A. Robson had full control over the "Hottentot Location" in Port Elizabeth, receiving applications for settlement and arranging the expulsion of squatters.¹³⁵ Mfengu in Uitenhage in 1842 were saved from eviction only because the resident LMS missionary, William Elliot, intervened by testifying in detail to their respectability.¹³⁶ The *South African Commercial Advertiser*, just before emancipation, noted that the newly freed slaves would be "dependent on employment for food, and on character for employment."¹³⁷

Nowhere is the use of "respectability" to regain control over a fragmenting community clearer than in rhetoric about drinking and temperance.¹³⁸ Church-based temperance societies, a non-conformist import with a considerable history in Britain,¹³⁹ acquired new political meaning in a society where many Khoikhoi blamed whites for the devastating introduction of alcohol among them. "The Canteens were brought here by the English settlers to ruin us," protested Venzel Mins in 1834, "and are to be found in almost every street, by which they are made rich, whilst we are now poor vagrants."¹⁴⁰ "Tell your children to what brandy has reduced the Hottentot nation," urged Andries Stoffels at the second anniversary of the Kat River Temperance Society, also in 1834. The same speaker demonstrated the razor-thin line between respectability and ruin:

Bethelsdorp; in riding past a canteen my attention was attracted by a vast number of people standing before it. I stopped and watched the persons who went in and out; I saw an English girl going in to take a soopie [i.e. a dram]; after her two of the king's soldiers went in and took each a soopie. The canteenman gave them the best kind ... A Hottentot went in to take a soopie, but he got the very refuse, for it looked so dirty that I thought it would be impossible to drink such stuff. Well, thought I, this is one way of killing the people of my nation ... Just as I rode past the bridge I met two of my acquaintances, who had once been two of the most respectable Hottentots I ever knew – lying drunk in the street and fighting with each other; I pitied them, but would not stop, for I rode past them as fast as I could; I was afraid to be seen talking with such people. I thought again the Hottentot nation is now going to ruin!¹⁴¹

By 1842, the Kat River “Total Abstinence” society had more than 700 members. The Philipton church would accept only “total tea drinkers” as church deacons.¹⁴² At the same time, alcoholism remained a pressing problem for the Coloured community, and the system of paying workers partly with a “tot” of wine remained prevalent.¹⁴³

The interaction between notions of gender and notions of respectability showed the same combination of the defensive and the constructive. Women used mission stations and the ideology of respectability to gain protection and to strengthen themselves in relationships with men, or to escape them altogether. One unnamed ex-slave woman came, “with several others of her relatives and friends,” to Kat River on the completion of her apprenticeship, and shortly thereafter converted. Her common-law husband lived in a “place of much wickedness” but left her at Kat River “to enjoy the means of grace.” When he finally insisted that she return, she said “she would rather die than go to witness what she had formerly done and seen and to be exposed to Temptation,” but, according to the elder Read, she had “no alternative.” In return she requested that her spouse enter into a Christian marriage. Unfortunately, while waiting at Kat River for the banns to be published, she had an accident with a loaded gun and shortly thereafter died of tetanus, proclaiming, “If I die ’tis what I wished [and] prayed for – I shall only go to Jesus sooner than I expected.”¹⁴⁴

After emancipation, large numbers of ex-slaves had their common-law marriages legalized, although the requirement that “Christian” names be used delayed matters on Moravian stations, since converts only received such names at baptism, after a lengthy period of preparation.¹⁴⁵ The Christian ideology of marriage and monogamy does not appear to have been accepted fully by all congregational members. Rather, the patterns of easy marriage and divorce seem to have been replaced by informal marriages in which the formal blessing of the church was not sought: perhaps church marriages were held to be harder to dissolve and thus less readily entered into. A dispute arose at Grahamstown after the minister, Nicolas Smit, to bring the sinning to an end, followed the wishes of the Coloured congregation in marrying a couple who had been living together. His shocked superior, John Locke, believed that some period of repentance and proof of a changed life was required

before a wedding was celebrated. In such a situation, one can imagine that appeal to the formal missionary power structure was a resource open in particular to women, but that much congregational sexual behaviour was self-policing.

On the other hand, the Christian ideology of separate spheres reduced the access of women to the power structures of Christianity from early to mid-century. "Enthusiastic" women could preach in unorthodox settings in the early days of missionary activity, and doubtless continued to do so. Unmarried young Khoikhoi women took charge of missionary schools and may well have had considerable authority as the only representatives of missionary societies in remote areas. Women's prayer groups and "personal experience" groups provided women with venues for action and spiritual expression. But the formal structures of all the missions, as they solidified into churches towards mid-century, were male-dominated. As the Read wing of the LMS fought to institutionalize and professionalize "native agency" and to create a salaried body of native schoolteachers, women were squeezed out: they do not appear on the LMS payroll and were not presented in the lists of "native agents" available for sponsorship by British congregations and individuals. Just as female missionaries were reduced to the role of wives from the 1810s on (before the late-century feminization of the European missionary movement), Khoikhoi women now went out to mission stations and into the African interior as the wives of native agents.¹⁴⁶ In this, they were part of a general move by Khoisan converts to Christianize, to civilize, and generally to teach other African groups supposedly beneficial economic behaviour. For example, the people of Kar River churches raised subscriptions to buy seed for nearby San, while a number went to the mission station they had founded with ploughs to demonstrate agriculture.¹⁴⁷ Some also adopted the language of civilization to make an explicit contrast between themselves and neighbouring Bantu-speakers.

In general, the claim to be "advanced" could be, and was, used by spokespeople of Khoisan or slave descent to back up demands for greater political power. Perhaps even more crucially, Christianization and the widespread adoption of new norms of respectability were, for some Coloured groups, building blocks for the re-invention of community. This pattern stands in vivid contrast to *Mfengu* or Xhosa communities, which felt attacked by the sporadic conversion of disaffected individuals. For Coloured churches, whose membership included most local people, church rituals (for example) expressed a new order and a shared history, based on the idea of the purified and reborn community, a process that became all the more important as the community itself became more ethnically diverse.

By the later nineteenth century – with the exception of the Muslim community of Cape Town and its environs – the missionaries' work had been done. Throughout the Cape Colony the mass of those whose grandparents had been slaves or dispossessed Khoisan had become Christian. For many, conversion had led to a sharp improvement in their social status; for the majority, probably, what the missionaries saw as liberation in matters spiritual was not accompanied by the promised temporal improvement. The implications of this failure had still to be worked out.

Settlement, Conquest, and Theological Controversy: The Churches of Nineteenth-century European Immigrants

RODNEY DAVENPORT

A New Diversity: Beliefs and Practices of the Settler Churches

The authorities in nineteenth-century South Africa saw the Christian churches as a subordinate but important element in colonization. The colonists themselves saw the churches rather as reassuring cultural props in an unfamiliar environment. Church leaders faced crucial decisions: to accept state dominance or resist it, to serve the needs of the settler community or to reach beyond it, carrying out the Biblical injunction to "preach to all the world." If they chose the missionary alternative, they had to decide whether to focus sharply on the propagation of the gospel or to present Christianity as part of a wider cultural package, including literacy and technical skills, the suppression of "pagan" customs and beliefs, and the defence of subordinate peoples against injustices perpetrated by the state or the colonists themselves.

During the 1790s the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, in the wake of a French invasion, lost its established position; the newly secularist state professed neutrality in religious matters, and Lutherans and Arminians successfully gained recognition as a result. At the Cape the VOC had already readmitted the Moravian missionaries in 1792 and permitted Lutherans to practise their religion in public. The Cape church was attuned to a new, more flexible dispensation. When the British arrived in 1795, they recognized the Reformed Church (NGK) as in *de facto* possession of the field and paid stipends to the NGK clergy. Yet they also encouraged the work of the Moravian missionaries, and extended the right of public worship to Cape Muslims for the first time.¹

The Batavian occupation in 1803–6 brought French revolutionary deism to the Cape, with Commissary-General J. A. de Mist's church ordinance of 1804 providing equal protection of the law to "all religious associations which for the furtherance of virtue and good conduct respect a Supreme Being."² The NGK, as the dominant church in the Colony, accepted financial assistance for clerical salaries and capital expenditure and surrendered power to the state over the regulation of public worship. The consistories (or meetings of elders) of all Dutch Reformed congregations were required to have a government official, the political commissioner, in attendance, to keep political discussion within bounds. The political commissioner controlled NGK funds. The link with the Classis (Synod) of Amsterdam was broken, and the Cape NGK was granted the right to set up its own synod. No synod actually met until 1824, eighteen years after British rule had returned for a second time, when it began to draft its own regulations. It took De Mist's Church

30. Jan van Riebeeck, *Van Riebeeck's Journal*, 3 vols. (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1952), vol. 2, 43, 405-6.
31. "Journal of Zacharias Wagenaer" in H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal 1662-1670* (Cape Town: W.A. Richards and Sons, 1901), 67-8; Gerstner, *Thousand Generation Covenant*, 179-83.
32. Lichtenstein, *Travels in South Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*, trans. Anne Plumptre, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colborn, 1812, 1815; repr., Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1928, 1930), vol. 1, 116.
33. This book, originally presented by the Dutch Reformed Church in Swellendam, can be found at the University of Cape Town Library, Rare Book Collection.
34. See Gerstner, *Thousand Generation Covenant*, passim.
35. Some synodical decisions of the Dutch Reformed Church included a fourth group, gypsies.
36. Baptismal Records of the Cape Town Congregation in the Dutch Reformed Church Archives Cape Town.
37. Willem Barentsz Wylant to the Classis of Amsterdam, 20 April 1655, in Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 1, 5.
38. Two committed suicide, two died as prisoners on Robben Island.
39. C. A. L. van Troostenburg de Bruijn, *Biographisch Woordeboek van Oost Indische Predikante*, s.v. "Daniel van Arckel" (Nijmegen: P. J. Milburn, 1893), 15. Sadly the Khoikhoi infant died the same month she was baptized. "Minutes of the Church Council of Cape Town, March 3, 1669," Dutch Reformed Church Archive, File G1 1/1 1/2. These events are also recorded in Peter de Neyn, *Lust-hof der Huwelyken* (Amsterdam: Johannes Rotterdam, 1730), 229.
40. Rev. Philipus Baldaeus, a visiting minister in transit to Indonesia had to be ordered by the Council of Policy to baptize slave children with no European parentage (Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 1, 29-30); Rev. Jacobus Overney (1679) wrote to the classis about the procedure and was told not to baptize such children in light of the rulings of the Synod of Dort (Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 1, 28, vol. 2, 10). This direction of classis apparently was implemented, but then reversed by Van Reede tot Drakenstein in 1685, who noted, "Even white children, indisputably descended from Christian fathers, remained unbaptized." "Journaal van zijn Verblijf aan de Kaap," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap (Gevestigd te Utrecht)*, 62 (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1941):184.
41. See Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 345, 375-6.
42. Cape Town baptism register, Cape Town Dutch Reformed Church Archive, File F G1 8/1-8/2.
43. Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 1, 64-65.
44. "Journal of Zacharias Wagenaer," 13 September 1665, in *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal 1662-1670*, 155.
45. François Valentyn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the Matters Concerning It*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1726; Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1971 and 1973), vol. 2, 259.
46. The form for the administration of the Lord's Supper is in many ways a counter-balance to the baptismal form's positive view of the spiritual state of all baptized. The Lord's Supper was denied to the "spiritually unfit."
47. Adam Fas, *Diary*, 23 December 1705, atp. 130.
48. Eric Anderson Walker, *The Great Trek* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1934), 53; John M. Carter, *The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa* (Edinburgh: W. and C. Inglis, 1869), 130-2.
49. Kolb, *Naauwkeurige en Uitvoerige Beschrijving*, vol. 2, 309; Charles Peter Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia. Performed Between the Years 1770 and 1779*, 3 vols. (London: W. Richardson and J. Edgerton, n.d.), vol. 2, 159, 255; Lichtenstein, *Travels*, vol. 1, 175.
50. Chris Loff, "The History of a Heresy" in *Apartheid is a Heresy*, ed. John W. de Gruchy and Charles Villavicenzio (Cape Town, David Philip; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 10-23.
51. Gerstner, *Thousand Generation Covenant*, 250-2.
52. Willem Barentsz Wylant to the Classis of Amsterdam, 20 April 1655, in Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 1, 4.
53. *Das Tagebuch und die Briefe von Georg Schmidt, dem Ersten Missionar in Südafrika (1737-1744)*, ed. H. C. Bredekamp and J. I. Hattingh (Bellville: University of the Western Cape Press, 1981), 44, 46.
54. The Cape Town Church Council to the Classis of Amsterdam, 9 April 1703, in Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 1, 35.
55. Church Council of Drakenstein to the Classis of Amsterdam, 4 April 1703, in Spoelstra, *Bouwstoffen*, vol. 1, 35.
56. "Journal of Isbrand Goske," 29 July 1674; in *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal 1671-74 and 1676*, 209.
57. *Tagebuch*, ed. Bredekamp and Hattingh, 344 (author's emphasis).
58. For an overview of the development of the Moravian mission see Bernhard Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms: A History of the Moravian Mission Stations in South Africa, 1737-1869* (Genadendal: Genadendal Printing Works, 1966).
59. H. A. van Reede tot Drakenstein, "Journaal van zijn Verblijf aan de Kaap," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap (Gevestigd te Utrecht)*, vol. 62, 184.
60. Petrus van der Spuy, *Dank-altaar Gode ter eer opgericht, of eene Plechtige Redenvoering ter Gelegenheid van's Ed. Comp's Hondert Jaarige Possessie des Gouvernment van Cabo de Goede Hoop: In een Verklaring en*

Toepassing van Ps. CXLVII vers 12, 13 en 14, 8 April 1751 (Utrecht: Gysbert Tieme van Paddenberg en Abraham van Paddenberg, 1753), 28.

61. William J. Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824; repr., London: Batchworth Press, 1953), vol. 2, 111.

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1. On this whole process, see W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

2. Gillian L. Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 25–50, 148–85; W. R. Ward, "The Renewed Unity of the Brethren: Ancient Church, New Sect or Interconfessional Movement?," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 70 (1988): 77–92, and *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, chap. 4.

3. Elizabeth Elbourne, "To Colonize the Mind: Evangelical Missionaries in Britain and the Eastern Cape, 1790–1837" (D.Phil. thesis: University of Oxford, 1992), 59–62; Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, chs. 7, 8.

4. Scotland had a tradition of such revivals going back to the covenanting time of the 1640s. For an introduction to the literature on Methodism and the evangelical revival, see John Walsh, "Origins of the Evangelical Revival," in *Essays in Modern Church History*, ed. G.V. Bennett and J.D. Walsh (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1966); and D. Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society: 1750–1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1984).

5. Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Evangelical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian England, 1795–1830* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1983).

6. See Deborah Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), esp. 19–22.

7. See Michael Crawford, "Origins of the Eighteenth Century Evangelical Revival: England and New England Compared," *Journal of British Studies*, 26 (1987), on Ferguson's tenets.

8. Jan Boneschansker, *Het Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap in zijn Eerste Periode: Een Studie over Opwekking in de Bataafse en Franse Tijd* (Leeuwarden: Dijkstra, 1987), esp. 72–4.

9. Jean-François Zorn, *Le Grand Siècle d'une Mission Protestante: la Mission de Paris de 1822–1914* (Paris: Karthala et Les Bergers et Les Mages, 1993), 357–61, 554–65.

10. See Robert Hoffmann, "Die Neupietische Missionsbewegung vor dem Hintergrund des sozialen Wandels um 1800," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 59 (1977): 445–70; W.O. Henderson, *The Life of Friedrich Engels*, 2 vols. (London: Cass, 1976), vol. 1, 4–5; Eduard Kriele, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Mission*, vol. 1: *Die Rheinische Mission in der Heimat* (Barmen: Verlag des Missionshauses, 1928), 39.

11. Hoffmann, "Neupietische Missionsbewegung." See also Friedrich Engels, "Briefe aus dem Wuppertal," *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1985), vol. 1, III: 32–52 [an attack on 'hypocrisy' of Pietist mill-owners, among them his own grandfather].

12. See *Jahresbericht der Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*, 17 (1847): 128–9.

13. *Das Tagebuch und die Briefe von Georg Schmidt, dem Ersten Missionar in Südafrika (1737–1744)*, ed. Bredekamp and Hartingh (Bellville: University of the Western Cape Press, 1981), 26, passim; Bernhard Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms: A History of the Moravian Mission Stations in South Africa, 1737–1869* (Genadendal: Genadendal Printing Works, 1966), 11–46.

14. *The Genadendal Diaries: Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries H. Marsveld, D. Schwinm and J.C. Kühnel, Volume 1 (1792–1794)*, ed. H.C. Bredekamp and H.E.F. Plüddemann (Bellville: University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, 1992), 68.

15. Russel Viljoen, "Khoisan Labour Relations in the Overberg Districts during the Latter Half of the 18th century, c. 1755–1795" (M.A. thesis: University of the Western Cape, 1993), esp. 205–16.

16. Richard Elphick and V.C. Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1840*, ed. Elphick and Giliomee (2nd ed., Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), 22–8; Susan Newton-King, "The Enemy Within: The Struggle for Ascendancy on the Cape Eastern Frontier, 1760–1799" (Ph.D. thesis: University of London, 1992), 226–90; V.C. Malherbe and Susan Newton-King, *The Khoikhoi Rebellion in the Eastern Cape, 1799–1802* (Cape Town: UCT Centre for African Studies, 1981), passim.

17. Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-IlGoam: The Supreme Being of the Khoi-khoi* (London: Trübner, 1881), 122–45; Alan Barnard, *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa: A Comparative Study of the Khoisan Peoples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 251–63; Winifred Hoernlé, *The Social Organization of the Nama and Other Essays*, ed. Peter Carstens (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1985); Sigrid Schmidt, *Katalog zur Khoisan-Volksverählungen des südlichen Afrikas*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag Quellen zur Khoisan Forschung 6.1 & 6.2, 1989).

18. *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, Established among the Heathen*, 4 (1808): 422–3.

19. Russel Viljoen, "Revelation of a Revolution: The Prophecies of Jan Parel, alias 'Onse Liewe Heer,'" *Kromos*, 21 (1994): 1–21; V.C. Malherbe, "Hermanus and His Sons: Khoi Bandits and Conspirators in the Post-

Rebellion Period (1803–1818),” *African Studies*, 41 (1982): 192–3.

20. Robert Ross, *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), esp. 13, 20–21; Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), esp. 41–51, 97–8.

21. Father Guy Tachard, *Voyage de Siam, des Pères Jésuites envoyés par le Roy aux Indes et à la Chine* (Paris: Arnould Seneuz and Daniel Horthemels, 1686), cited in R. Raven-Hart, *Cape of Good Hope: The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation as Seen by Callers*, 2 vols. (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1970), vol. 2, 279; see also Marius F. Valkhoff, *New Light on Afrikaans and “Malayo-Portuguese”* (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1972), 88.

22. Repealed in 1812. See *Records of the Cape Colony*, ed. G. McC. Theal, 36 vols. (London: Swann Sonnenschein, 1895–1906), vol. 8, 500.

23. Robert Shell, “Religion, Civic Status and Slavery from Dordt to the Trek,” *Kronos*, 19 (1992): 43; J.S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People, 1652–1937* (London: Longmans, Green, 1939; repr. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1968), 168.

24. Viljoen, “Khoisan-Labour Relations,” 205–16.

25. Bredekamp and Plüddemann, *Genadendal Diaries*, passim; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 47–120; Russel Viljoen, “Moravian Missionaries, Khoisan Labour and the Overberg Colonists at the End of the VOC Era, 1792–95,” 49–64; Robert Ross, “The Social and Political Theology of the Western Cape Missions,” both in *Missions and Christianity in South African History*, ed. Henry Bredekamp and Robert Ross (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), 101–4.

26. On Van der Kemp, see Ido H. Enklaar, *Life and Work of J. Th. van der Kemp, 1747–1811: Missionary Pioneer and Protagonist of Racial Equality in South Africa* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1988); W.M. Freund, “The Career of Johannes van der Kemp and His Role in the History of South Africa,” *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 86 (1973); A.D. Martin, *Dr. Van der Kemp* (London: Livingstone Press, n.d.); Elizabeth Elbourne, “Concerning Missionaries: The Case of Dr. Van der Kemp,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 17 (1991).

27. Nigel Garth Penn, “The Northern Cape Frontier Zone, 1700–1815” (Ph.D. thesis: University of Cape Town, 1995), 411–12.

28. LMS-SA 1/3/C: Van der Kemp, “Journal of the Caffre Mission,” 2 July–28 Sept. 1800; LMS-SA 1/3/D: Van der Kemp to LMS, 28 Dec. 1800.

29. Penn, “Northern Cape Frontier Zone,” 430.

30. Martin Legassick, “The Northern Frontier to c.1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People,” in *The Shaping of South African Society*, ed. Elphick and Giliomee; Robert Ross, *Adam Kok’s Griquas: A Study in the Development of Stratification in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); John Campbell, *Travel in Southern Africa Undertaken at the Request of the Missionary Society* (London: Black, Parry, and T. Hamilton, 1815), 252–3.

31. V.C. Malherbe, “The Life and Times of Cupido Kakkerlak,” *Journal of African History*, 20 (1979): 365–79; Jane Sales, *Mission Stations and Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800–1852* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1975), 75–7; Bredekamp and Plüddemann, *Genadendal Diaries*, passim.

32. Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines, British Parliamentary Paper 535 of 1836, evidence of James Read Junior, 594.

33. John Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa, in the Years 1797 and 1798* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1801), 148; Bredekamp and Plüddemann, *Genadendal Diaries*, 91, 193, 239; E. Elbourne, “Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity,” in *Missions and Christianity in South African History*, ed. Bredekamp and Ross.

34. LMS-SA 14/2/B: George Barker to LMS, 6 Oct. 1834.

35. For evidence of Khoikhoi resentment over theft of land in the Third Frontier War and after, see V.C. Malherbe and Susan Newton-King, *The Khoikhoi Rebellion*; Barrow, *Travels*, vol. 2, 110 (citing Klaas Stuurman); for Andries Stoffels’s recollections, CA A50, “Minutes of a Philipton Meeting,” and miscellaneous Cape papers on Kat River settlers at Rhodes House, Oxford.

36. LMS-SA 2/2/D: Van der Kemp to LMS Directors, 1802 Annual Report; see also Enklaar, *Van der Kemp*, 110–24; Sales, *Mission Stations*, 17–20.

37. LMS-SA 2/2: Van der Kemp to LMS, Annual Report, 1801.

38. LMS-SA 2/A/2: Read to LMS, Botha’s Place, 18 March 1802. The “Report of the Commission of Circuit for the Districts of Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage and George,” cited in Theal (ed.), *Records of the Cape Colony*, vol. 9, 75, still complained about extreme Khoikhoi lawlessness in 1812.

39. On pre-millenarianism and the belief in God’s judgements on nations, see chapter 22, and Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

40. Van der Kemp to Van Ryneveld, 19 July 1802, cited in Bannister, *Human Policy*, clix-clxv.

41. LMS-SA 3/1/A: Janssens to Van der Kemp, 28 Feb. 1805 (LMS translation).

42. The document in question is printed *in extenso* in P.J. Idenburg, *The Cape of Good Hope at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1963), 84.

43. "Minutes of the First Conference Held by the African Missionaries at Graaff-Reinet (1814)," ed. F.A. Steytler, *Hertzog-Annale van die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, 3 (1956): 110.
44. Elbourne, "To Colonise the Mind," chaps. 5 and 6; Susan Newton-King, "The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-1828," in *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*, ed. Shula Marks and Antony Amore (London: Longman, 1980), 171-207; Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828"; D. van Arkel, G.C. Quispel and R. Ross, "Going Beyond the Pale: On the Origins of White Supremacy in South Africa," in *Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa*, ed. R. Ross (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993), 90-102.
45. LMS-SA, 14/2/B: George Barker to LMS, 6 Oct. 1834.
46. Doug Stuart, "'O That We Had Wings': Race, Sexual Politics and the Missionaries" (paper presented to the Institute of Historical Research, London, 29 Oct. 1990); "The 'Wicked Christians' and the 'Children of the Mist': Missionary and Khoi Interactions at the Cape in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Collected Seminar Papers of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies*, London: *The Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, vol. 18, 1-13.
47. On Philip, see Andrew Ross, *John Philip (1775-1851): Missions, Race and Politics in South Africa* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985) and W.M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey* (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1927).
48. Stanley Trapido, "From Paternalism to Liberalism: The Cape Colony, 1820-1824," *International Review of History*, 12 (1990): 73-104; J.B. Peires "The British and the Cape, 1814-1834," in *Shaping of South African Society*, ed. Elphick and Giliomee, 490-9; On the wider picture, C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1989).
49. John Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, 2 vols. (London: James Duncan, 1828); *The Kitchingman Papers: Missionary Letters and Journals 1817 to 1848 from the Brenthurst Collection, Johannesburg*, ed. Basil A. le Cordeur and Christopher C. Saunders (Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press, 1976), 68, on Philip's instructions to individual stations.
50. Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoisan to 1828," 47-50; Peires, "The British and the Cape," 497-8; see also the Bourke papers, Rhodes House, Oxford.
51. LMS-SA 14/2/B: George Barker to LMS, 6 Oct. 1834.
52. Cited in Macmillan, *Cape Colour Question*, 216.
53. Leslie C. Duly, "A Revisit with the Cape's Hottentot Ordinance of 1828," in *Studies in Economics and Economic History*, ed. M. Kooy (London: Macmillan, 1972), 26-56.
54. Edna Bradlow, "The Khoi and the Proposed Vagrancy Legislation of 1834," *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, 39, 3 (1985): 99-103; much raw material is contained in *Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines*, British Parliamentary Papers 535 of 1836, 723-63, and 435 of 1837, 151-74.
55. *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 25 June 1834, letter from "A Hottentot."
56. MS-SA14/2/B: George Barker to LMS, 6 Oct. 1834.
57. Barnabas Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, 2nd ed. (London: Adams & Co., 1840), 317-20; Tillman Dederling, "Southern Namibia c.1780-c.1840: Khoikhoi Missionaries and the Advancing Frontier" (Ph.D. thesis: University of Cape Town, 1989), esp. 131-235 and "The Murder of William Threlfall: The Missionaries in Southern Namibia and the Cape Government in the 1820s," *South African Historical Journal*, 24 (1991): 90-111.
58. Cited in Brigitte Lau, *Southern and Central Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's time* (Windhoek: Archeia, 1987), 82.
59. Elfriede Strassberger, *The Rhenish Mission Society in South Africa, 1830-1950* (Cape Town: Struik, 1969), 63-78; W. Peter Carstens, *The Social Structure of a Cape Coloured Reserve: A Study of Racial Integration and Segregation in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1966), notably 23 and chs. 8 and 9; "Opting Out of Colonial Rule: The Brown Voortrekkers of South Africa and their Constitutions," 2 parts, *African Studies*, 42 and 43 (1983-4): esp. 42: 144-50; Shaw, *Memorials*, esp. chaps. 9-13.
60. "Bastaard," their common appellation, was offensive, and "Griqua" promoted a sense of dignified self-awareness.
61. Martin Chatsfield Legassick, "The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840: The Politics of a Frontier Zone" (Ph.D. thesis: UCLA, 1969); Ross, *Adam Kok's Griquas*; H.A. Parsons, "The Coinage of Griquatown," *Numismatic Calendar*, 35 (1927); *The Missionary Letters of Gottlob Schreiner, 1837-1846*, ed. Karel Schoeman (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1991), chaps. 2, 3.
62. Prosper Lemue to Société des Missions Évangéliques, 23 March 1831, published in *Journal des Missions Évangéliques (JME)*, 6 (1831): 318-320.
63. Schoeman, *Schreiner*, 93.
64. Hendrick Hendricks as reported in Philip to Shaw, LMS Philip papers, 3/1/C, cited in Legassick, "The Griqua," 428.
65. Legassick, "The Griqua," chaps. 10 and 11; Ross, *Adam Kok's Griquas*, 28; Timothy Keegan, "Dispossession and Accumulation in the South African Interior: The Boers and the Tilhaping of Bethulie,

1833–1861,” *Journal of African History*, 28, 2 (1987): 191–209; Werner van der Merwe, “Die Berlynse Sendelinge van Bethanie (Oranje-Vrystaat) en die Kora, 1837–1856,” *South African Historical Journal*, 17 (1985): 40–63.

66. Bissoux to Directors, PEMS, 22 Nov. 1830, *JME*, 6 (1831): 70.

67. Freund, “Van der Kemp,” 380; P.S. de Jongh, “Sendingwerk in die Landdrosdistrikte Stellenbosch en Tulbagh (sinds 1822 Worcester), 1799–1830” (M.A. thesis: University of Stellenbosch, 1968), 19–24.

68. Bredekamp and Plüddemann, *Genadendal Diaries*, 264.

69. Elizabeth Elbourne, “Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity,” *Kronos*, 19 (1992): 12–13.

70. See letter, presumably from Ds. Arie Vos of the LMS, Tulbagh, 26 June 1824 in *Nederduitse Zuid-Afrikaanse Tijdschrift*, 1 (1824): 234.

71. *Godsdienstverslag*, Graaff-Reinet, 8 Oct. 1838, CA NGKA R3/2.

72. P.J.J.S. Els, “Kerkplanting by die Suid-Afrikaanse Sendinggenootskap: ‘n Sendingswetenskaplike Ondersoek na Gemeentevorming in die Suid-Afrikaanse Gestig” (Ph.D. thesis: University of Stellenbosch, 1971). See Robert Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 358. In 1937 the Society came under the NGK Synod.

73. A.H. Huussen Jr. and S.B.I. Veltkamp-Visser, *Dagboek en Brieven van Mewes Jan Bakker (1764–1824): Een Vriese Zending aan de Zuidpunt van Afrika* (Amsterdam: Suid-Afrikaanse Instituut, 1991), 70.

74. *Ibid.*, 78. Dominees also owned slaves, e.g. both Borchers and Van Lier; cf. S.B.I. Veltkamp, “Meent Borchers: Predikant in Overgangstijd (Jengum 1762 – Stellenbosch 1832)” (Ph.D. thesis: Unisa, 1977), 258; T.N. Hinekom, *Helpers Ritzema van Lier: Die Lewensbeeld van ‘n Kaapse Predikant uit die 18de Eeu* (Cape Town and Pretoria: N.G. Kerk Uitgewers, 1959), 298.

75. Ross, “Social and Political Theology.”

76. Daumas to Directors, n.d., in *JME*, 11 (1836): 155.

77. For the celebration of Ordinance 50 by the Bethelsdorp Khoikhoi on the visit to Dr. Philip in 1830, see the journal of Samuel Rolland, 17 Feb. 1830, *JME*, 5 (1830): 240–50 and *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 20 Mar. 1830, and subsequent issues.

78. The Khoi claimed that the Xhosa had only recently moved into the region. LMS-SA 11/3/D: Read to Orme, 30 July 1829; CA A50, “Minutes of a meeting held at Philipton.”

79. LMS-SA 23/3/A: James Read senior and junior to LMS, Kat River, 12 Nov. 1847.

80. Donovan Williams, *When Races Meet: The Life and Times of William Ritchie Thomson, Glasgow Society Missionary, Government Agent and Dutch Reformed Minister, 1794–1891* (Johannesburg: A.P.B. Publishers, 1967), 118–19.

81. See also Robert Ross, “James Cropper, John Philip and the *Researches in South Africa*,” in *Africa and Empire*, W.M. Macmillan, *Historian and Social Critic*, ed. Hugh Macmillan and Shula Marks (London: Temple Smith for the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1989), 140–52.

82. Thomas Fowell Buxton papers, Rhodes House, Oxford, vol. 13, 125–45; Priscilla Buxton to John Philip, 20 Sept. to 17 Dec. 1833; *Edinburgh Review*, 58 (Jan. 1834): 363.

83. Thomas Pringle, *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*, 2nd ed. (London: Moxon, 1835), 279–80.

84. Sales, *Mission Stations*, 125, 132; James Read Sr., “Account of the Labour of Native Teachers Supported by Private Individuals and Churches in England in Connection with Philipton Congregation, Kat River,” 1 April 1844, LMS-SA 20/1/C; Christopher C. Saunders, “Madolo, a Bushman Life,” *African Studies*, 36 (1977): 145–52.

85. Noel Mostert, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa’s Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), 834–5; Rev F.G. Kayser, *Journal and Letters*, ed. Chris Hummel (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman for Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1990), 164–81; Le Cordeur and Saunders, *Kitchingman Papers*, 249–50.

86. The Wesleyan agent Jacob Links, for example, was never described as anything other than an “assistant” when he was murdered with the white missionary “martyr” Threlfall in Namaqualand, even though Links was a seasoned agent and Threlfall completely inexperienced. See note 57.

87. Jan Christiaan Visagie, “Die Katriviernedersetting, 1829–1839” (Ph.D. thesis: Unisa, 1978), 55–316; Tony Kirk, “Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829–1854,” *Journal of African History*, 14 (1973): 411–28.

88. LMS-SA 26/1/C: Read to LMS, 13 April 1851.

89. Stanley Trapido, “The Emergence of Liberalism and the Making of ‘Hottentot Nationalism’ 1815–1834,” *The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Collected Seminar Papers of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, vol. 17, 34–59.

90. See Uithaolder to Kok, 11 June 1851, Orange Free State Archives, HC 1/1/3, also printed in *Further Correspondence Relative to the State of the Kaffir Tribes*, British Parliamentary Paper 1428 of 1852, 152; Uithaolder and others to Cathcart, 17 Jan. 1855, in *Translation of a Communication Received by the Governor from Certain Rebel Hottentots Now Without the Colony, Addressed Jointly to the Governor and to the*

Parliament, Cape Parliamentary Paper, C6, 1855; Mostert, *Frontiers*, 1151–2.

91. Mostert, *Frontiers*, 1152, 1158.

92. *The Trial of Andries Botha* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1852).

93. Mostert, *Frontiers*, 1146.

94. Both phrases come from a sermon given in Wellington on the eve of emancipation by the Rev. Isaac Bisseux; see Bisseux to Directors, 23 Dec. 1834 in *JME*, 10 (1835): 113–14.

95. John Nicholas Carel Marincowitz, "Rural Production and Labour in the Western Cape, 1838 to 1888, with Special Reference to the Wheat Growing Districts," (Ph.D. thesis: University of London, 1985); Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 196; Hallbeck to Bell, 8 April 1839, in CA CO 485.

96. Pamela F. Scully, "Liberating the Family? Gender, Labor and Sexuality in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823–1853" (Ph.D. thesis: University of Michigan, 1993), esp. 71–4, 191, 222–34, 351–8, shows that at Genadendal very few mothers of small children worked, whereas at Synthal (Tulbagh) 53 of 59 women did mainly day work. According to the Cape of Good Hope, Legislative Council, *Master and Servant: Addenda to the Documents on the Working of the Order in Council of the 21st July 1846* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1849), nearly all children over 12 worked without apparently being tied by apprenticeship.

97. V.C. Malherbe, "Indentured and Unfree Labour in South Africa: Towards an Understanding," *South African Historical Journal*, 24 (1991): 90–111; D. van Arkel, G.C. Quispel and R.J. Ross, "Going Beyond the Pale," 94–102.

98. For descriptions of slave vulnerability to masters' sexual demands, see e.g. Patricia van der Spuy, "Slave Women and Family Formation in Nineteenth Century Cape Town" (unpublished paper, University of Cape Town, 1993), 129–32.

99. Elizabeth Helen Ludlow, "Missions and Emancipation in the South Western Cape: A Case Study of Groenkloof (Mamre), 1838–1852" (M.A. thesis: University of Cape Town, 1992), 182–5.

100. This calculation is made from figures from *Master and Servant: Addenda* and the *Cape of Good Hope Statistical Blue Book for 1849* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1849); for this purpose the rural Western Cape has been reckoned to be the western division of the colony (east to and including George), minus Cape Town and the districts of Clanwilliam and Beaufort West, since figures for the Namaqualand stations were not available.

101. Robert Ross, "Emancipation and the Economy of the Cape Colony," *Slavery and Emancipation*, 14, 1 (1993): 131–48; Ludlow, "Missions and Emancipation," 206; Marincowitz, "Rural Production and Labour," 178–9.

102. G.C. Cuthbertson, "The Impact of the Emancipation of Slaves on St Andrew's Scottish Church, Cape Town, 1838–1878," *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 3 (1980): 49–63.

103. Elizabeth Helen Ludlow, "The Work of the London Missionary Society in Cape Town, 1812–1841" (B.A. Hons. thesis: University of Cape Town, 1981), 44f.

104. *Godsdienstverslagen*, CA NGK archives R1/2.

105. *Jahresbericht der Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*, 12 (1840–1): 12–14.

106. Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 185.

107. Letter from Schwester Henriette Kulpmann, 19 June 1844, *Das Missionsblatt, herausgegeben von der Missions-Gesellschaft zu Barmen*, 19, 23 (1844).

108. Ross, "Emancipations and the Economy", 145; Vivian Bickford-Smith, "Meanings of Freedom: Social Position and Identity among Ex-slaves and Their Descendants in Cape Town, 1875–1910," in *Breaking the Chains*, ed Worden and Crais, 289–312.

109. Edna Bradlow, "The 'Great Fear' at the Cape of Good Hope, 1851–2," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 22, 3 (1989), 401–21; John Marincowitz, "From 'Colour Question' to 'Agrarian Problem' at the Cape: Reflections on the Interim," in *Africa and Empire*, ed. Macmillan and Marks, 157–60; see E. Helen Ludlow, "Groenkloof after the Emancipation of Slaves (1838–1852): Leavers, Soldiers and Rebels," in *Missions and Christianity*, ed. Bredekamp and Ross.

110. William Ellis, *Three Visits to Madagascar during the Years 1853, 1854, 1856 ...* (London: John Murray, 1858), 244.

111. Stanley Trapido, "White Conflict and Non-White Participation in the Politics of the Cape of Good Hope, 1853–1910" (Ph.D. thesis: University of London, 1970), 384–5; Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, 256–7.

112. Vivian Bickford-Smith, "Keeping Your Own Council: The Struggle between Householders and Merchants for Control of the Cape Town Municipal Council in the Last Two Decades of the Nineteenth Century," *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 5 (1984), 200–1.

113. Trapido, "White Conflict and Non-White Participation," chap. 10; Bill Nasson, *Abraham Esau's War: A Black South African War in the Cape 1899–1902* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Cape Town: David Philip, 1991), especially chaps. 4 and 7.

114. Cuthbertson, "Impact"; I.J. van der Walt, "Eiesoortige Kerkvorming as Missiologiese Probleem met Besondere Verwysing na Suid-Afrika" (thesis for the Doctorate of Theology: Potchefstroom University of Christian Higher Education, 1960), 477; Els, "Kerkplanting," 163ff.

115. Strassberger, "Rhenish Mission Society," 28–9; *Jahresberichte der Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*, 18

(1847): 82.

116. Ludlow, "The LMS in Cape Town," 60ff; on Grahamstown, there is a mass of correspondence in the LMS archives, notably the whole of file LMS-SA 19/3A.

117. But see James Read Sr., "Account of the Labour of Native Teachers Supported by Private Individuals and Churches in England in Connection with Philipton Congregation, Kat River," 1 April 1844, LMS SA 20/1/C [reference to a 'native' teacher at Kat River accused of 'brain fever' for rejecting orthodox doctrines].

118. Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, 2 vols. (London: H. Frowde, 1899), vol. I, 575-9; the quotations are from a letter by Robert Moffat and David Livingstone cited on page 574; Ellis, *Three Visits to Madagascar*, 241-3; A. Appel, "Bethelsdorp: Van Politieke Simbool tot Alledaagse Werklikheid," *South African Historical Journal*, 18 (1986): 166-8; Marincowitz, "Rural Production and Labor," 180-7; Ross, *Adam Kok's Griquas*, 78.

119. Bechler v. Van Riet, cited in *Cases decided in the Supreme Court of the Cape of Good Hope*, ed. M.W. Searle, vol. 5 (Cape Town: Juta, 1902), 203-8.

120. Bernhard Krüger and P.W. Schaberg, *The Pear Tree Bears Fruit: The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa-West (II) 1869-1960, with an Epilogue 1960-1980* (Genadendal: Moravian Book Depot, 1984), 18-19; Kerry Ward, "The Road to Mamre: Migration and Community in Countryside and City in the Early Twentieth Century," *South African Historical Journal*, 27 (1992): 198-224.

121. William Eric Brown, *The Catholic Church in South Africa: From Its Origins to the Present Day* (London: Burns and Oates, 1960); *The Cape Diary of Bishop Patrick Raymond Griffith for the Years 1837 to 1839*, ed. J.B. Brann (Mariannhill: for the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, 1988). On the Methodists, see letter by William Shaw to Bell, 2 April 1839, CA CO 485.

122. Chris Loff, "The History of a Heresy," in *Apartheid is a heresy*, ed. John W. de Gruchy and Charles Villavicencio (Cape Town: David Philip; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 10-23.

123. See Ross, "Social and Political Theology" [Hallbeck's 1836 letter on the occasion of the centenary of Genadendal]; Terence Ranger, "The Local and the Global in Southern African Religious History," in *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 65-98.

124. A. Ross, *John Philip*, esp. 52-116.

125. See J.S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People*, 33-5.

126. On squares and straight lines, Peter Anderson, "No-Man's Land: Landscaping Neutrality on the Cape Frontier" (unpublished paper presented at African Research seminar, Oxford University, 11 June 1991).

127. LMS-SA 8/1/B: Read to Mrs Hamilton, 6 April 1819, enclosed in Mrs. Hamilton to LMS, 20 April 1819.

128. LMS-SA 18/4/B: C. Sass to LMS, Theopolis, 15 Sept. 1842. On clientage at Kat River: see Kirk, "Kat River Settlement," 416-19.

129. See for example the arguments (in different polemical contexts) of William Foster of Bethelsdorp in 1828 and of George Barker of Paarl in 1842: LMS-SA 18/2/B: Barker to LMS, Paarl, 8 Feb. 1842; LMS-SA 10/C/1: William Foster to George Burder, Bethelsdorp, 17 June 1826.

130. Iahm, *Tsuni-!Goam*, 118.

131. LMS-SA 18/1/C, W. Elliot to LMS, 3 June 1841. For the debate about respectability in relation to social control and the meaning of evangelical religious movements in a developing capitalist society, see E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Classes* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963); E.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society* (London: Fontana, 1988); T. Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976); Bernard Semmel, *The Methodist Revolution* (London: Heinemann, 1974).

132. Barnard, *Hunters and Herders*, 192; Winifred Hoernlé, *The Social Organisation of the Nama and Other Essays*, ed. Peter Carstens (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1985), 57-89; John Edwin Mason, "Hendrik Albertus and his Ex-slave Mey: A Drama in Three Acts," *Journal of African History*, 31 (1990): 423-45.

133. E.g. Frans Mager's speech reported in "Adjourned Public Meeting at Philipton, Kat River, Resumed August 12th," *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 6 September 1834.

134. Scully, "Liberating the Family?", chap. 8. In their defence, missionaries stated that they would not have expelled a woman who showed proper remorse.

135. William Philip to John Philip, 25 May 1843, CA VC 1415; Gary Baines, "The Origins of Urban Segregation: Local Government and the Residence of Africans in Port Elizabeth, c.1835-1865," *South African Historical Journal*, 22 (1990): 74-6.

136. LMS-SA 18/4/A, W. Elliot to LMS, 12 August 1842.

137. *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 21 Nov. 1838.

138. Missionaries were much firmer on the use of those narcotics which did not form part of their own culture, notably dagga (*Cannabis sativa*). See e.g. *Bericht der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft*, 2 (1831): 29.

139. Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 64-127.

140. See note 34.

141. *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 6 Sept. 1834. See also Andries Stoffels's outspoken comments at the second anniversary meeting of the Kat River Temperance Society, in the *Graham's Town Journal*, 10 April 1834.

142. LMS-SA 18/5/C: Read Snr. to LMS, Annual Report of the Kat River Mission.

143. Pamela Scully, "Liquor and Labor in the Western Cape, 1870-1900," in *Liquor and Labor in Southern Africa*, ed. Jonathan Crush and Charles Ambler (Athens and Pietermaritzburg: Ohio and Natal University Presses, 1992), 56-77.

144. LMS-SA 18/1/C: James Read Snr. to LMS, Philipton, 26 May 1841.

145. Scully, "Liberating the Family?," chap. 6, esp. 299.

146. See James Read Sr., "Account of the Labour of Native Teachers Supported by Private Individuals and Churches in England in Connection with Philipton Congregation, Kat River," 1 April 1844, LMS SA 20/1/C.

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1. See Rodney Davenport "The Consolidation of a New Society: The Cape Colony," in *Oxford History of South Africa*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 275.

2. Andries Dreyer, *Bouwstoeffe vir die Geskiedenis van die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Dusseau, 1936), 8-23.

3. Considerations of cost and convenience led to the stabilization of synods on a quinquennial basis from 1829, and this necessitated the grant of enlarged provisional powers to the Ring assemblies. See Adriaan Moorrees, *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika, 1652-1873* (Cape Town: SA Bybelvereniging, 1937), 553, 577-9.

4. Moorrees, *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*, 622-5.

5. Tobias N. Hanekom, *Die Liberale Rigting in Suid-Afrika: 'n Kerkhistoriese Studie* (Cape Town: HAUM, 1951), 309.

6. William E. Brown, *The Catholic Church in South Africa* (London: Burns and Oates, 1960), 6-9; Barnabas Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1970 facsimile of 1820 original), 51, 91-2, 145-6.

7. Margaret Donaldson in *A History of Christianity in South Africa*, ed. Johannes W. Hofmeyr and Gerald J. Pillay (Cape Town: HAUM, 1994), 81-8.

8. See *The Unity of Christendom: A Correspondence Relating to Proposals for Union between the English and Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1871), and Johannes du Plessis, *The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa* (London, Edinburgh and New York: Marshall Bros., 1919), 254-9. For the expansion of Anglican dioceses, see the chronological list given in Osmond Victor, *The Salient of South Africa* (London: SPG, 1931), 114, and Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963), passim.

9. For the activities of the LMS, see chapters 2 and 4 of this volume.

10. Andrew Ross, *John Philip (1775-1851)* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), chap. 4.

11. D. Roy Briggs and Joseph Wing, *The Harvest and the Hope: The Story of Congregationalism in Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, 1970), 102-5; Norman Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South-East Africa, 1835-1880* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1976), 24-5.

12. Briggs and Wing, *The Harvest and the Hope*, 110-21.

13. Frank Quinn and Gregory Cuthbertson, *Presbyterianism in Cape Town: A History of St. Andrew's Church, 1829-1979* (Cape Town, privately printed, 1979), 3-5, 15-20; *Dictionary of South African Biography* (Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1968-), vol. 1, 5-7 [Adamson], vol. 3, 632 [Morgan] and 754-5 [Stegmann].

14. Edwin Pons, *The Southern and Central Streams of Presbyterianism in Africa* (Kitwe, privately printed, 1982).

15. William Shaw, *The Story of My Mission in South-Eastern Africa* (London: Hamilton and Adams, 1860); David Hammond-Tooke, *The Journal of William Shaw* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1988); Celia Sadler, *Never a Young Man: Extracts from the Letters and Journals of the Rev. William Shaw* (Cape Town: HAUM, 1967); *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. 1 (1968): 711-14 [Shaw].

16. Sidney Hudson-Reed, *By Taking Heed: The History of Baptists in Southern Africa, 1820-1977* (Roodepoort: Baptist Publishing House, 1983). The trend towards ethnic separation, initially noticeable with the German Baptists, also became characteristic of other Continental Lutheran colonial churches.

17. According to S.P. Engelbrecht, *Geskiedenis van die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika*, 3rd ed. (Cape Town: HAUM, 1953), 7, this name implies "that the religion (*religie*) of the Church is reformed (*gereformeer*), and that its form of service (*godsdienst*) is restored (*hervorm*) and purged of false Roman doctrines."

18. Engelbrecht, *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk*, 15.

19. Du Plessis, *Andrew Murray*, 57-67.

20. Engelbrecht, *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk*, 12-13, 16. For the dispute over non-biblical psalms in the Cape church, see Spoelstra, *Die "Doppers" in Suid-Afrika, 1760-1899* (Johannesburg: Nasionale Boekhandel,