

self again under the parental roof. The physical rest, we may well conceive, was highly needful. The youth of twenty-one had already shouldered more than a man's burden, and the question which engaged the anxious attention of his parents was whether the health of their strenuous son could endure the heavy strain which was being placed upon it. The rest indeed was all too short, lasting for less than a fortnight. During this brief breathing-space he enjoyed the singular privilege of baptizing a little sister, born on the 22nd September, who received the name of Helen. On the 11th November he is again in harness at Bloemfontein, and casting his eyes northward across the Vaal River, with intent to carry Gospel ministrations to the "regions beyond." That the strain of the past months was already beginning to tell upon his otherwise sound constitution is evidenced by the somewhat ominous note struck in a letter to his father—

Monday morning, two o'clock [3rd December]. Yesterday I had a rather large congregation of Dutch and a tolerable one of English, and even in the morning before I began I felt tired; for I really never have time to get quite *uitgerust* (thoroughly rested). I am not without my fears that I may be sadly knocked up before I get back, though I promise that I shall do all I can to spare myself, for I hear enough about it from all the good friends here. I trust that I shall be continually accompanied and supported by your prayers, my dearest father; and oh! I care little whether I have strength enough or no, if my own soul were but in a fitter state for commencing such a solemn work. Oh! for the anointing of the Spirit for my unclean lips, and His softening and enlightening and renewing grace for all who hear.—I am not able now to write particulars about all my plans: this I will do from Mooi River, where all our arrangements will be definitely made.

CHAPTER V

ACROSS THE VAAL

I often know not what to think of the leadings of Providence, in how far it may have been in tender mercy to my own soul that I was prevented from going thither [as minister to the Transvaal]; although the letters I sometimes receive make a very strange impression upon me. All the people, otherwise so divided, are united in fixing their choice upon me.—ANDREW MURRAY.

THE visit which Murray paid to the emigrants across the Vaal River was brief in its duration, but momentous in its consequences. The whole tour lasted but little more than six weeks. He crossed the Vaal on the 7th December, 1849, and re-crossed it on his homeward journey on the 22nd January, 1850. During this period he must have covered, north of the Vaal River, a distance of some 800 miles, and that chiefly by ox-waggon. He preached at six different centres, conducting in all thirty-seven services; he baptized 567 children; and he admitted to membership 167 young people, being less than half the number of candidates that presented themselves.

The far-reaching results that flowed from this visit were of an importance out of all proportion to its length. There existed on the part of the emigrants across the Vaal a not unintelligible suspicion towards ministers of the D. R. Church of the Cape Colony, which was at that time strongly tinged with Erastianism. Its clergymen were appointed by the Governor; their salaries were paid out of the public treasury; and though a certain latitude was permitted them in the acceptance or refusal of calls to particular congregations, the formal approbation of the Governor was requisite if the call was to be sustained. These regulations obtained in the case of Andrew

Murray, who had received his appointment as minister of Bloemfontein from Sir Harry Smith, and drew his stipend from the Colonial Treasurer. It was natural for the emigrant farmers, who had trekked to the far north in order to escape from British influence, to look askance at a young minister who held his sacred office through the grace of a British Colonial Governor. The importance of Murray's first visit lay in the fact that it allayed the suspicions of the Boers, knit their hearts to the ardent young pastor who brought them the ministrations of grace, and evoked expressions of confidence¹ in the Cape D. R. Church, and of a desire to remain in corporate ecclesiastical communion with that body.

Of the details of this tour of visitation we have happily full accounts, both in the *Kerkbode*, and in letters addressed by Murray to his father. We shall therefore let him tell the story in his own words, with but an occasional elucidatory comment.

To his Father.

MAGALIESBERG, 22nd December, 1849.

I should certainly ere this have begun to write some account of my journey, but have hitherto been prevented, I may say, by a press of business; for the little spare time I have had has generally been on the road, when I could not conveniently sit down and write. I trust you received the hurried lines I sent you from Mooi River [now Potchefstroom] in which I told you of my arrival there. I was received with the greatest friendliness and apparent confidence, though I believe there had been some doubts on the part of the Landdrost as to whether he would allow me to come, for fear of British influence. The congregation was large, but I found it very difficult to fix their attention, evidently from their long separation from the means of grace. I trust that some impression was produced, if I may judge from their talking about the sermons. On Monday I had sixty-five candidates for membership, of whom thirty-two were received; and I was really astonished at the way in which many could read. On Monday evening I held my last service, at which they were *voorgesteld* (presented).

On Tuesday morning we left for the Zwarte Ruggens, to the north-west of Mooi River. The Landdrost Lombaard took me out on horseback, and with him I had a good deal of conversation about the state of the country, especially of the Morikwa, whence he had just returned.

¹ This restoration of confidence was also largely due to the visit of the Revs. Faure and Robertson in the preceding year (*see* p. 76 above).

The second church-place ought to have been there, but for want of time it had been appointed on the borders of that district. It was expected that we should there have the largest congregation, but on our arrival (after three days' travelling in an ox-waggon) we found that the congregation was smaller than at Mooi River. The people in the Morikwa are most unsettled, and a few ringleaders lead them astray, especially in religious matters. The most of those who are waiting for the *trek* to Jerusalem are in that neighbourhood, and I was very sorry that my further arrangements prevented my going among them, though this perhaps was also the Lord's doing, as they might possibly have turned me back.

On Friday I spoke the whole day to the parents of the children brought for baptism, and held a service in the evening. On Saturday morning and evening there was preparation, and between the services I spoke to the most of those who wished to partake of the Lord's Supper, which was dispensed on the Sabbath, and of which some sixty partook. Many of these appeared to feel the solemnity of the occasion, while others, although I had tried to speak as plainly and faithfully as I could, gave too plain proofs that they came without the proper preparation. I trust, however, that the Lord was with some of us. I was very much pleased with Caspar Kruger, the deacon, from whose place I am writing, as the church is to be held here to-morrow. He says that he there first was enabled to rejoice in Christ, though long seeking after Him. It is the first time that he has partaken of the Sacrament. He acknowledges that he has long, through the obstinacy of his heart, rejected Christ.

On Wednesday we left for Gert Kruger's, your friend. On the way we called on one of those who refuse to come to church. After a couple of hours' conversation I left him, deeply grieved at the ignorance of these poor people [i.e. the "Jerusalem pilgrims"]. England is one of the horns of the beast, and of course those who receive her pay are made partakers of her sins. I hardly knew whether to weep or smile at some of his explanations of the prophecies and of Revelation, all tending to confirm their hope of being soon called to *trek* to Jerusalem. By the way, he for the moment quite puzzled me by showing me the *kantteekening* [marginal note of the Dutch version of the Bible] on Revelations xvii. 12, where all the countries of Europe are mentioned as being typified by the horns of the beast, *except Holland*,—and under it he included, of course, the true Africaners.¹

¹ The marginal note in the "Staten-vertaling" (i.e. translation authorized by the States-General) of the Dutch Bible, to which reference is made above, runs as follows:—"Now when the empire of the West began to decline, ten kings arose from it, and the second beast obtained a good opportunity of appropriating for himself all the power of the first beast. And these ten kings have been for long reckoned and described in this manner: the King of Naples, the King in Portugal, the King in Spain, the King in France, the King in England, the King in Denmark, the King in Sweden, the King in Poland, the King in Hungary, the King in Bavaria."

In the afternoon I rode to Gert Kruger's, where I was most warmly received. With him I had a great deal of conversation on the state of the country, from which, as well as from my own observation, I really think that the people are getting settled (though there are a few discontent spirits here and there), and many are beginning to do very well indeed. Gert Kruger says he considers either John or myself their rightful possession from the promise you made at Mooi River. I really know not sometimes what to answer the people—they do so press me to come here. I must acknowledge that, were I not bound to Bloemfontein, which I have not the least desire to leave, I could not refuse their request. You may perhaps think that I have not sufficiently weighed the difficulties which present themselves here, but I think I feel them. The field is really ripe for the harvest, and many, many are longing for the preaching of the Word, though with others it is nothing but a desire for the sacraments.

Yesterday morning I arrived here at Caspar Kruger's, after having crossed the Magaliesberg. The country along both sides of the mountain is really beautiful and very fertile. It is not so flat as about Mooi River and is beautifully wooded, with many fine streams. Fruits ripen early. The apricots are past, and I have been eating peaches, figs, apples and melons, and even a few grapes. I have also seen orange trees, well laden with fruit.

25th December.—Through the Lord's goodness I can again record that I have been holpen thus far, and I trust that you have also been assisted in your labours on this occasion. I have been much with you in spirit, and I have tried to rejoice with you in the remembrance of this blessed day. On Friday evening I had my first service, and then two preparation services on Saturday, which, with speaking to the parents of more than eighty children who have been baptized, fatigued me a good deal before Sabbath came. The congregation was very large, so that the place prepared for the services had to be doubled in size, and this, with the open air, require a great deal of exertion to make them hear. On Sabbath I was very hoarse, but got on very well, and was enabled to preach and to serve four tables without my voice failing. When I came home, though I did not feel fatigued, I was so worn out that when I lay down for a few minutes I slept full three hours most soundly, and was quite refreshed for the evening service.

Yesterday morning we had service very early, after which I sat full ten hours in the *aanneming* (confirmation) with some eighty young people, of whom forty-two were received, and were this morning *voorgesteld* (presented). The attention from the commentment was much better than at either of the former church-places, and some of the people appear to have received deep, might it but be saving, impressions. The interest manifested in the hearing of the Word was great, and from the earnestness with which some spoke about it I would hope that the Lord has been with us. I have to thank and praise the Lord that He has so supported me, body and soul, but still there is much to complain of—a hard, unfeeling and unbelieving heart, even in the midst of earnest

preaching, and much self-confidence and pride. The way in which the people here treat me tends but too much to elevate me, even though I be unconscious of it. The impressions which appear to have been produced have made the people still more anxious that I should come here, and some of them have been pleading with me for hours that I should accept a call.

On Saturday two men arrived here with an ox-waggon from Zoutpansberg, bearing a letter from the Commandant Potgieter. They beg me to come thither, as the poverty of many of the people will not allow them to travel thus far, and since it would not be safe to leave the frontier towards Moselekatse, where they are altogether unprotected. The distance—fourteen *schoften*¹ to the north-east from here—alone prevented me from going. Potgieter asked me to appoint a time when some other minister, or else myself, should come to them, and I have fixed September. When the men heard that they could not be visited for such a time, they were in tears, as they had hoped I might go with them, and when they left again they could not speak. I hardly know what to say when the people begin to discourse about their spiritual destitution, and their desire after the Word. They plead their application to the *Ring* (Presbytery) two years ago, and Papa's promise to help them, and urge the situation of Bloemfontein between Mr. Reid and Mr. van Velden as a reason why they should have a minister here on the *withoek* (far corner). Suppose another minister, say John Neethling, should refuse to come here, but be willing to take Bloemfontein, what would you think of my coming here? Perhaps you say, Foolish boy! but the way in which some of the people here plead really moves my heart. Many are in a fit state for receiving the seed of the Word. May the Lord in His mercy help them.

MOOI RIVER, 17th January, 1850.

My last letter I concluded on Christmas Day, and I shall simply commence this letter by resuming the narrative from that date. From C. Kruger's we travelled in a south-easterly direction, and after crossing the Magaliesberg we reached Andries Pretorius',² where we stopped for the night. He treated me with great kindness and made great professions of sorrow over the decay of religion in the land. I rode a consider-

¹ A *schoft* is the stage which an ox-waggon covers, without unyoking the oxen—about 10 miles. As the distance from Rustenburg to Zoutpansberg is 300 miles, it would seem as if Murray uses it here in the sense of a day's journey by ox-waggon—20 to 25 miles.

² Andries Pretorius, the famous Boer patriot and conqueror of the Zulu king, Dingaan. He was defeated by Sir Harry Smith at Boomplaats (1848), and £2,000 was offered for his apprehension (*see* above, p. 84). Under this sentence he still lay, nominally, when Murray met him. He was the chief Boer signatory of the Sand River Convention (1852), which secured the independence of the Transvaal.

able distance with him on horseback the next day, when he asked me if he might not come to the Lord's Table, as he had so longed for it at the last church-place. I spoke as faithfully as I could; and he said that it really was his most earnest desire to serve the Lord, but acknowledged that he was living in enmity with Bührmann the Hollander, and I am glad to say that he stayed away from the Table. He desired to be remembered to you, as also did his brothers Piet and Bart, the former of whom is very well spoken of here. I had also a good deal of conversation with A. Pretorius on political matters, but into this subject I shall not now enter. This much I can say, that there does not exist the least fear for another outbreak [of the Boers against the British], though there is a small war-party who are doing all they can to disturb the peace. Unfortunately they are but too much encouraged in secret by some parties in the Sovereignty, and even in the Riet River, who profess to be loyal British subjects. But I see I must not begin with this, or I shall not know where to end.

From Andries Pretorius' we rode a small *schoft* to the farm of D. Erasmus, where church was to be held. Here I had the usual work, and though the congregation was not as large as at the former church-place, the number of children brought for baptism was much greater (125), as the people of these parts had not been able to attend the services of Messrs. Faure and Robertson. I had a service on Friday evening, two on Saturday, and on the Sabbath I dispensed the Lord's Supper. It sometimes makes me unhappy to think that I must preach God's Holy Word with so little preparation, and though circumstances prevent my studying much, yet I might live much more in a state of mind which would be a continual preparation. Oh! could I but more live in heaven, breathing the spirit of God's Word, the Lord would abundantly make up the want of regular study.

After the service I was very unwell, and was advised not to preach again in the evening, which advice I followed. On Monday I had only a very short service, for the confirmation of those who had been admitted as members on Saturday, and for the baptism of the children. I had caught a severe cold from the continual draughts to which I was exposed, especially when coming heated out of church, and the cold was accompanied with rather severe fever. Immediately after service I had to ride on horseback for several hours, the waggon having gone on early in the morning, since the distance we had to travel to the next church-place did not allow of our losing any time.

During the week we journeyed nearly due east to the district of Ohrigstad. The town and neighbourhood have been abandoned, though exceedingly fertile, on account of the disease which has carried off so many victims during the last two years, and all the people have trekked out to the Hoogveld (plateau), where the climate is as salubrious as can be wished. For the greater part of the way we travelled through a thickly-wooded country, very sparsely peopled, though we were able to spend every night on a farm. The church-place and its neighbourhood along the Hoogveld is quite bare, and much cooler than a great

part of the low country through which we had travelled. We reached our destination on Friday afternoon. New Year's Day was spent in the desert. On that day we travelled eleven-and-a-half hours in order to reach a habitation, or else we would have had to spend the night in the *veld*, which is still infested with lions. During the whole of New Year's Day I thought much of our dear home, and I am sure the absent members of the family also formed the subject of your conversation. How many and how great are the mercies which the Lord has granted to us since the beginning of 1849.

VALSCH RIVER, 25th January, 1850.

When I reached the church-place I was still very unwell, but was strengthened to do my work. The congregation was not very large, as the intimations had unfortunately not reached all the people. I baptized seventy-five children, and was told that there was a still larger number left unbaptized in this district. When we left the place on the Tuesday, I had for my fellow-traveller the far-famed Hollander Bührmann. He is a plain Amsterdammer, who came out here to be a schoolmaster, and who has been compelled, perhaps not very unwillingly, to take part in political affairs. He occupies no office, though every place in the Government has been offered to him. He does good, I believe, in trying to keep the people at peace, but is rather *permantig* (stuck-up), as the people say. He is religious, but I fear has not true piety. By some he is much looked up to, and by others despised and hated. I had much conversation with him on all sorts of subjects, political not excepted, of which I may afterwards communicate the results to you.

During the journey back from Ohrigstad district I was still unwell, and very weak, but recovered gradually; so that by the end of the week, when we reached Magaliesberg, I was nearly quite well, though still weak and very much fallen off in flesh. I had purposely not intimated any service for Sabbath the 13th, that I might have a day of rest; and I am thankful that I did so, as I was much refreshed for the hard work at Mooi River. Unfortunately I did not enjoy so much quiet as I had hoped for, as there were two or three other families come to the place, and my companions always strove to be with me. (I did not mention that Caspar Kruger and Frans Schutte accompanied me for the whole journey.) I trust, however, that the day did not pass without a blessing for myself. On Monday we left, and spent the night at Gert Kruger's, of whom I have formed a high opinion. He gave me a letter for you, on the subject, I believe, of my coming here. He feels very strongly on the matter, and I must say again that, were I not bound to Bloemfontein, I know where I should go. On Thursday afternoon, after having seen the *Oog* (source of river) in the morning, we reached Mooi River.

Monday the 21st was the day appointed for the sitting of the Volksraad, and this brought a large number of people to Mooi River. There were above 400 waggons; and a very large place, which had been prepared,

and which could contain about 1,000 people, was not sufficient for more than the half. I was really astonished, when I rose in church on Sabbath morning, to see the multitude that was assembled. I preached on Friday and twice on Saturday, not without a blessing, I trust, though I cannot say that my own soul was in a very lively frame. I sometimes doubt whether it really be the Lord's assistance by which I am enabled to preach, or whether it be merely natural powers which, when excited, lead me to preach earnestly, and apparently with deep impression on the hearers.

On Sabbath I dispensed the Sacrament, and had by far too many communicants, though I had tried to set forth as faithfully as possible what Psalm xxiv. 4 represents as the way to God. My own heart was somewhat enlarged in speaking on the name Emmanuel, but I found that very few of the people are in a state to appreciate such subjects. What they want is *knorren* (scolding), and if that but produced any good effect, I would willingly *knor*; but I sometimes feel sad at the thought that the blessed Gospel of God's love should be degraded to be nothing else than a schoolmaster to drive and threaten.

On Monday I preached on 1 John iv. 7, and tried to speak as plainly as possible on all the contention and enmity which prevails amongst them, especially in reference to the Raad, where disputes sometimes run very high. The meeting of the Raad had been postponed till Tuesday because of the service. Many professed to be very thankful, and I really think that a good feeling was produced, and that many felt the necessity of striving after peace and unity. In the evening I had another opportunity of speaking strongly on the same subject in my farewell address from Philippians i. 27. I dare not say otherwise than that I was much assisted from on high, both in body and spirit. The congregations were very large, and as the place for service was partly open, I had to exert myself very greatly, and on Monday was very hoarse. Yet I was so strengthened as to be well heard, and I have not felt my chest pained or even wearied. At ten that night I began with the church meeting, which lasted past midnight till two o'clock. Among other things they again asked me to come amongst them, and though I decidedly said that I did not see the least opening to do so, they insisted; and I believe they intend sending me a *beroepschrift* (letter of call), and also petitioning the Synod on the subject. May the Lord Himself in His mercy supply the needs of this poor destitute people!

There is one point on which I still wish to ask your opinion. I never prayed for the authorities, and of course the people observed it, and Wolmarans spoke to me about it. I felt it to be a delicate matter, and wished much to know how the preceding Commission [i.e. Messrs. Faure and Robertson] would have acted. I do not know myself what to think of the proceedings of the Boers against the English: in many respects they appear to me to be justifiable; but on this I hope to speak with you afterwards. Even supposing that they have done wrong, they appear to me to be of "the powers that be," as they are now tolerated by Government; and as well as Paul could pray for all

authorities, and for the Romans too, might I pray that the authorities may be ruled by the fear of God, and the Raad be enabled by His wisdom to do all for God's glory and the good of the people. I hope to receive from you a full statement of your opinion as to whether I have done right or wrong in this matter. I felt that I might be led to do it for popularity's sake, and I prayed the Lord to preserve me from the same.

On Tuesday morning, after only two hours' sleep during the night, I left on horseback; and I must confess I felt the parting from some whom I had learnt to know well, and to whom I had become much attached. I rode with Elder Wolmarans to Jan Kok's to baptize a child two days old; but before we got there we were thoroughly drenched. Though I had no shift of clothes (the waggon being behind), and was obliged to let my clothes dry on horseback, I have felt no bad consequences, through God's goodness. Elder Wolmarans, Andries Pretorius and many others desired to be remembered to you.

You may imagine how very strange and varied my feelings were on crossing the Vaal River again. I had passed over it hardly knowing whither I went and what might happen, and when I looked back at the Lord's leading over the way, all the strength and assistance I had enjoyed, the blessing of which I had been the unworthy channel to not a few, I trust, and the measure of comfort with which He had enabled me to do the work;—and when I then thought on the little progress I myself had made in grace, on the want of true love to my fellow-sinners, on the hardness and indifference of my wicked heart, on the absence of that true heavenly-mindedness in which an ambassador of Christ ought to live, on all the pride and self-sufficiency with which I had taken to myself the glory which belongs to God alone—surely I had reason to glory and rejoice in God, and to weep in the dust at my own wickedness. How fatherly have not the dealings of my Covenant God been with me, how unchildlike my behaviour towards Him. Oh! bless the Lord with me, my dearest father, and praise Him for all His loving-kindness and long-suffering, praying that the Lord Himself would pardon and renew me, that I may be fitted truly to glorify Him.

BLOEMFONTEIN, *7th February, 1850.*

At length I have again reached my dwelling-place (for home I cannot call it), and shall try and finish my narrative. From the Vaal River I rode to old Daniel Cronje's on the Rhenoster River, where I had service that Tuesday evening and twice on Wednesday. The number of people was very small, as many of them had been attracted to the services at Mooi River by the sitting of the Volksraad. On Thursday I took my departure for Valsch River, and after having again experienced God's goodness in finding the Rhenoster River just low enough to get through (though it had been excessively full the night previous), reached the church-place on Friday morning. There was a very good congregation assembled, and though I felt rather unwell, I was helped to perform the usual Communion services on Saturday, Sabbath and

Monday. On Tuesday I left again for Winburg, which I reached on Thursday.

You cannot imagine the excitement of the people at Winburg about the appointment of Mr. van Velden to Harrismith, and I cannot say with what astonishment and indignation I was filled on receiving the intelligence.¹ Such unprincipled robbery! Such debasing of Christ's servants to be the servants of political speculation. Here there are 3,000 souls, many hungering and thirsting; there not thirty. But enough. The matter gives me much work in writing to Cape Town whilst I am anything but well. But the Lord will provide.

The continued prosperity of our journey was interrupted at Valsch River by a solemn stroke of the Lord's hand. Deacon P. Coetzer died there on Tuesday, 29th January, after having been my companion in all our journeyings. He had been ill about fourteen days, and complained of pain in all his members, especially his back. Some say it is the Delagoa disease, but this I cannot believe, as we kept far from the district where it has hitherto prevailed. He died trusting in the Lord, and I believe truly one of those who will be for ever with Him in glory.

The tremendous strain which arduous journeys such as that which has been described cast upon the youth of twenty-one could not but tell upon his strength. He informs the home circle that on his arrival at Bloemfontein he was still "weak, thin and very pale." The recovery which he made from the serious illness which had assailed him across the Vaal awakens frequent expressions of gratitude towards God. "Many people say that Deacon Coetzer died of the Delagoa disease, to which so many have succumbed in the back part of the country beyond the Vaal. As I was unwell at the same time, and exhibited the same symptoms with which his illness began, the report was spread that I was suffering from the same malady. On my arrival at Winburg I found the people so alarmed that they almost persuaded me that I had the Delagoa disease. Though I could not see any danger myself, yet I could not help thinking of death, and through the Lord's goodness the fear of death was taken from me."

¹ The Rev. Dirk van Velden, a young Dutch minister, was the pastor designate of Winburg. On his arrival in Cape Town, however, the Governor appointed him to the charge of Harrismith. The strong remonstrances of Murray and the Winburg people effected the cancellation of this appointment, and Mr. van Velden was ultimately installed as pastor of Winburg in December, 1850.

The Sovereignty, especially along its south-eastern border, remained politically in a condition of perpetual inquietude. About this time a farmer named van Hansen was cruelly murdered, together with his wife, four children and two servants, by a party of Bushmen, who appeared at his door and demanded to be supplied with tobacco. The murderers were retainers of Poshuli, brother of Moshesh,—a robber-chieftain whose depredations kept the farmers of the vicinity in a continual ferment of anxiety. The untoward conditions prevailing on the frontier are referred to in letters written during the month of April, 1850—

After I parted from John I had a very pleasant ride to Adam Swane-poel's. The number of waggons [of the folk who had assembled for service] was about forty, but that number was very unexpectedly diminished. After the morning service on Sabbath a message was brought to one of the farmers from his father-in-law, bidding him to come home immediately, whether his child was baptized or not, as all the people in the Koesbergen were going to trek. The message confirmed a report that had previously been spread, that the Caffre chief Basouli (Poshuli) had fortified Vechtkop, and that the Caffres had sent away their cattle, and appeared to be secretly preparing for war. At the close of the afternoon service nearly the half of the people left, and the minds of the remainder were very much disturbed. From the conversation I had with Mr. Vowe¹ on Monday, I fear that there is truth in the report, and it is suspected that Basouli is aided in secret by some more powerful chiefs (Letsea,² some say, or Moshesh), as he is too weak to attempt anything alone. I shall let you know as soon as anything more decided happens. May the Lord in His great mercy restore peace in these times, that His Word may have free course and be glorified.

Our three magistrates at the last Circuit Court sentenced five Bushmen to death for the murder of van Hansen and family, and one for the murder of a Caffre. All the six are in prison here. Saturday's post brought the Governor's confirmation of the sentence, which is to be carried out to-morrow week. We have a catechist here from Thaba Nchu to instruct them. Still, I shall try and do something for them through him, in order to prepare them for that awful moment. At their execution I cannot be present, as I have to leave on Monday after the sermon for Burgersdorp, and have church appointed on the way thither at Hendrik Snyman's.

¹ Resident Magistrate of Smithfield.

² Eldest son of Moshesh.

In spite, however, of disquieting rumours and occasional interruptions, Murray applied himself with assiduity to his parochial tasks. The instruction of the young was one of his chief cares. The dearth of qualified teachers in South Africa, as well as the grievous lack of ministers, was the cause of loud lament at each meeting of synod or presbytery. Teachers had to be imported from abroad, and those who arrived at these shores received immediate appointments. Towards the end of 1849 two Hollanders named van der Meer and Groenendaal landed at Cape Town from a Dutch ship, and were assigned by the Governor to those distant and needy fields, Bloemfontein and Riet River. Van der Meer was accompanied by his wife, and Murray relates that on his return from one of his numerous visitation tours he found this worthy couple installed in his parsonage,—robbing him of his privacy, but relieving his solitude and adding sensibly to his comfort. His church building, in the meanwhile, was making steady progress, and tenders were invited for the construction of a school-house, which it was proposed to erect by public subscription.

Correspondence of every description engrossed the most of his spare time. The burden of four parishes, and the pressing needs of the emigrants beyond the Vaal, lay heavy upon him, and occasioned much anxious thought and a heavy official correspondence. To the members of his family, and especially to his father, he writes with regularity and occasionally at great length. He exchanges letters with friends at the Cape, with parishioners like Andries Pretorius and Gert Kruger on the further side of the Vaal, and with men of the evangelical circle in Holland, like Dr. Capadose. Nor, even in these early days, was there any lack of visitors at Bloemfontein, for though remote the town was central, and highways radiated from it to every part of South Africa. Missionaries passed through with considerable frequency, among others Robert Moffat, the famous pioneer of missions to the Bechuana, the Rev. J. J. Freeman, Secretary of the London Missionary Society, and the Helmore family, whose later history forms so tragic a page in the annals of South African Mis-

sions.¹ Bishop Gray of Cape Town, to whom reference has already been made, was a visitor in the winter of 1850. Murray mentions this visit in a letter to his brother—

We had the Bishop here last Sabbath. He wished me to tell you that he will most likely come to Burgersdorp from Cradock. I rode out with him for a distance of one-and-a-half hours (nine miles) on horseback last Tuesday, and had a little chat. He is exceedingly active, and will not rest till he has churches everywhere. I tried to probe him on Puseyism, but he says there is no such thing in the Colony, only different shades of opinion. "The jealousy of the Dissenters, and the ignorance of others, is the cause of all the outcry." I told him that if he sent a man of evangelical sentiments [to Bloemfontein], I would be delighted to welcome him as a brother.

Though Murray's health seems to have gradually improved during the winter of 1850, he had no relief from incessant travelling, sometimes by horse-waggon or Cape cart, sometimes (as in the territory beyond the Vaal) by ox-waggon, frequently on horseback, exposed to biting cold in winter or tropical downpours in summer, and always over ill-made and ill-kept roads. Occasionally he was overtaken by some "moving accident by flood or field." Of one of these he tells in a letter to his father—

I had a great deal of rain on the way back [from Smithfield], and was twice detained by *spruiten* (river-courses) being full. On Thursday I experienced the Lord's gracious preservation at Kaffir River. You know the *drift* (ford) is very ugly, and the horses, though good, were unaccustomed to the water. We unharnessed two horses, and made the boy ride on one, to lead the waggon through. In the middle of the stream the rope broke, and the boy was obliged to make for the bank. Our leaders took fright at the noise of the water dashing against the stones, and turned round twice in the stream, so that they nearly broke the pole. While the coachman was engaged in putting the front horses straight, the right wheeler, who could not stand against the strength of the stream, fell right over the pole, and both he and the left wheeler so kicked and struggled as to completely free themselves of the harness. With all this confusion the waggon had been swept from the paved roadway, and as the horses were powerless to draw it up-stream, were obliged to make for the nearest point of the bank, and there to *outspan*. We then sent to Bekerfontein for spades, dug a road for ourselves, and then obtained some mules from a waggon standing on the banks of the

¹ *Vide* Du Plessis: *Christian Missions in South Africa*, pp. 272-275.

river, and so were drawn out. Through the great goodness of God we thus got through with no other loss but that of time, though the hind-harness was a little broken. I suppose that we were nearly half-an-hour in the river, with the water sometimes washing against the *buikplank* (floor) of the waggon. Oh! for a heart to recognize God's goodness aright, and to feel more and more bound to His gracious love and service.

In the course of July Murray paid a brief visit to Graaff-Reinet, and was greatly refreshed by his intercourse with the home circle. The residents of his birthplace seem to have made much of him, for he refers to the period of excitement through which he passed, and to the marks of esteem which were accorded him. His stay was short, as usual, and on the 18th July we find him back at Bloemfontein, and writing to his parents in the following terms—

To his Parents.

Through the goodness of our gracious Heavenly Father, I arrived here in safety yesterday (Wednesday) evening, and take up my pen at the first leisure moment to do myself the pleasure of corresponding with you. The *doormalkaar* (confused) state in which I found the house, and the business with which I have already been assailed in regard to the building of the church, and all the other duties still awaiting me, drive my thoughts to the dear home I left, and from which I shall now so long be absent. Though my journey possess nothing very interesting, yet I shall begin my narrative from Tuesday morning. That day we had a long and not very pleasant ride against the wind, and reached Hendrik Ekkert's a little after sundown. We found him not at home, though he had told me that he expected to be back on Tuesday from Richmond; and we were obliged to content ourselves with bedding on the *rustbank*¹ and on some chairs in the *voorkhuis*,² of which the old Englishman fortunately had the key. On Wednesday we had a much more pleasant ride, though we could not reach Willem Venter's owing to one of the horses getting sick, and spent the night at Wildfontein with the van der Walts. During the day I was able to collect my thoughts after the excitement I had been in, and enjoyed almost more in the retrospect of the hours spent among the dearly-beloved members of the family at Graaff-Reinet, than when there. I tried to feel the exceeding privilege of loving each other in Jesus, and the greatness of the blessing granted us in the assurance that not even death, much less any short distance on this earth, can separate us from the love of Christ. . . .

¹ *Rustbank* = wooden couch, seated with leather thongs.

² *Voorhuis* = sitting-room, into which the front-door opens.

On Thursday we rode further, and after having left my riding horse dying at Willem Venter's, reached Colesberg after noon, but too late for the post. I found Mr. Reid and family well, and rode on that evening to old Christian van der Walt's. From him I heard a good deal about the Colesberg troubles. He says his reasons for signing the petition for the removal of Mr. Reid is the old business of the *Gezangen* and the *Herderlijke Brief*.¹ The latter appears to lie very heavy on him, especially the obnoxious expression of "doorboren het hart van Gods kinderen." At the Sacrament in Colesberg there was only half a table of men [at Communion], and a few more of women, principally Seacow River people.

On Friday we crossed by the pont, though the river was very empty, and reached old Hendrik Snyman's about two, whence I started immediately with him and the Viljoens for Henning Joubert's, which we reached about ten at night, having ridden twelve hours that day. We outspanned for an hour at Mr. Pellissier's, who enquired very kindly about you and expressed a longing to see you. On Saturday I rode to Smithfield, which I reached about three o'clock, and on enquiry I found that no post was to leave that week. We had a pretty good congregation there, though there were not many people from beyond Caledon. I feared much that we would have very unfavourable weather, but in this matter God's goodness also cared for us, and though I had to preach in tents in the open air, there was neither wind, rain nor excessive cold to disturb us. In addition to my Dutch services I had also an English service, which I have been requested to hold regularly when I come. The Dutch people were attentive, sometimes interested and impressed. Oh! for more evident marks of the Spirit's presence and power. . . . The time I spent at Smithfield was very pleasant, and I was made very comfortable in their tent by the Viljoens. The new churchwardens, with whom I am on the whole very well pleased, were *voorgesteld*. I am glad to be able to say that a beginning has been made with church building. We received several tenders, and accepted one for £325. I think I mentioned that the dimensions were sixty-five feet long, seventeen wide and ten high in the clear. After the people knew that a commencement was to be made they subscribed very liberally.

On Tuesday I left Rietpoort, and yesterday evening I arrived here, finding the house as I left it. Mr. Stuart has gone to Bethany, but is still my guest. So are the van der Meers, though they propose to go to-morrow into Drury's house, which they have bought for £100. It was a very great disappointment to hear that the Helmoers spent a week here during my absence, so that I have a second time missed the pleasure of seeing them. I found a very kind letter from Dr. Capadose awaiting

¹ This refers to the attitude of a section of people who sang only Psalms at public worship, and refused to unite in the singing of *Gezangen* or Hymns. The Presbytery of Graaff-Reinet addressed a *Herderlijke Brief* (Pastoral Letter) to them on the subject, some expressions in which gave much offence. *See also p. 89.*

me, and felt ashamed at this new memento of the affectionate interest with which many had looked on us in Holland. And when I think of the tokens of esteem so lately conferred in Graaff-Reinet on such an unworthy subject, I really feel humbled. Oh ! for the time when our souls shall praise the Lord aright for His mercies.

I also had a letter from Rev. van Velden which has put me sadly about. He says it will be impossible for him to be at Winburg before 15th October, and thus it would be the middle of November before we could start for the North, where we would just be in the unhealthiest of the season. This is, however, not all ; but the disturbed state of the country there (according to the reports of the travellers) makes me anxious to go as soon as possible, if the preaching of the Word might not move them to peace and quiet. I have here been advised to go as soon as possible, but have not been able to decide, and trust that my God will make the way plain before me. I am a little anxious now, as September is not far off, and arrangements will require soon to be made. I shall anxiously await Papa's answer as to whether I should still wait, or would be warranted to go alone. . . .

A day or two later he writes again to his parents—

As to the matter which occupies so much of my thoughts, I received a letter from Mr. Faure on Saturday saying that the Governor has asked him to let me know that my journey must be postponed till I receive further intelligence. I shall write to-day to Mr. Faure to try and get leave, for it appears to me a most abominable application of the starvation principle, to deprive them of the Gospel for their political offences, and what is more, to lay a whole people thus under the ban for the sins of a few. I am sure that the great majority are living in quiet and peace, and anxiously longing for the promised visit. I pray to be made willing to wait, and to do the will of Him who can say, " I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it."

Since writing the above I have received a letter from John's *neef* (cousin) ¹ Bührmann, requesting me in the name of the Volksraad to come over, and to make my arrangements so as to be at Mooi River at the time of the sitting of the Raad in October. May the Lord prepare a way for me and direct my steps.

His journey to the Vaal River emigrants was clearly costing him much anxious thought. The obstacles laid in his way were enough to have daunted a man who had laid the welfare of the Voortrekkers less deeply to heart. In addition to the adverse attitude of the Governor, and the unaccountable delay in the arrival of Rev. van Velden at Winburg, he was served

¹ Bührmann married a Miss Neethling, cousin of Rev. J. H. Neethling (" John ").

at the last moment with a subpoena as witness in an important Court case. This threatened to throw his whole journeying programme out of gear. In those early years, when telegraph-lines had not yet penetrated to the Sovereignty, and mails were carried no further north than Bloemfontein, it was difficult to arrange itineraries, and arrangements once made must needs be scrupulously adhered to. Fortunately, the magistrate was amenable to reason, and authorized a private examination of Murray under oath, so that the latter was able to set out on his second visitation tour across the Vaal River on the 9th of October, having obtained ten weeks' leave of absence for the purpose.

The story of this second tour we shall tell in his own words, derived partly from the account written for the *Kerkbode*, and partly from his more private letters to his parents.

After having conducted divine service at Valsch River, I arrived at Mooi River Town on Friday, the 16th October. There I was welcomed with the greatest joy by those who were present from various quarters for the session of the Raad, which had just that day come to a close. I was soon convinced that this visit was well timed, for from all parts of the congregation the people streamed together, in numbers of certainly not less than 500, although many had been prevented from coming by the drought and the harvesting season. In the village itself I was pleasantly surprised at the sight of the walls of a roomy cruciform church, nearly ready to be roofed over. I could not but conclude that, in spite of much that is faulty, a truly great interest is here displayed in religious matters.

Though the church was still incomplete, we were able to make good use of it on this occasion, for canvas spread over the walls sheltered us from the sun. The only complaint was of lack of room, since the building was barely large enough to contain the whole audience. I noted great interest in all the services, though the excitement in connexion with the session of the Raad could not but have a detrimental influence; for the feelings of many had been greatly disturbed. The preaching of the Word, nevertheless, was not unattended with blessing. More than one came to assure me how good he had found it, after having suffered want for so long, to experience satisfaction of soul in the Word of life. The usual services were held on Saturday, Sabbath and Monday. On the latter day seventy-four children were baptized and twenty-four young people confirmed and presented to the congregation.

At Mooi River the people immediately began again to speak to me

about my coming hither, and I gave them the same answer, that were Bloemfontein but supplied, I would gladly come over. In the course of the journey I have at times longed to labour here. Truly the harvest is great. I believe the churchwardens are going to send me a regular call, and also a petition to the Synodical Committee, signed by the people. This is not in the least my work, and I distinctly told them that I did not see the least possibility of leaving Bloemfontein, but advised them rather to call John Neethling.

On Tuesday morning we started for Suikerbosch Rand, and rode nine hours by ox-waggon north-eastward to the Gats Rand, where a small congregation was collected of those who could not come to the *dorp*. I preached that evening and next morning, and baptized eleven children. A woman was here brought to me to speak to, in distress about her salvation. I cannot imagine a more fearful case of a person under the power of Satan. She has already attempted some five or six times to take her own life. It appears that she was formerly very religious, but now she says she is lost,—and such perversity in condemning herself I never saw. When she hears of God's grace or Christ's mercy, it only increases her own misery; for this, she says, will be her condemnation, that she refuses such mercy and her heart rejects such a God. When I came to her she begged of me with clasped hands not to speak to her, as she would have to answer for every word; and when I offered to pray she burst into tears, saying that she would only mock God. Speaking to her one would think that she was in full possession of her reason, and she shows an intimate knowledge of the Bible. I really trembled at the power of Satan, and wondered at the goodness of God in not surrendering more of us, who abuse the day of grace, as she says she has done, to the terrors of His wrath.

Two days' more travelling due east by ox-waggon brought us to the farm of Koos Smit, in the Suikerbosch Rand. This is a rather hilly district, healthy and fruitful, occupied by respectable and rather religious people, mostly from Beaufort and Zwarteberg (Prince Albert), among whom old David Jacobs has been the means of keeping alive a certain degree of religion. The congregation amounted to upwards of 200, and gave no reason to complain of inattention, though I felt humbled at the absence of the power of the Spirit with the Word. . . . We had services on Thursday and Friday night, on Saturday and Sabbath. Out of eleven candidates only two were received into membership, and thirty-eight children were baptized.

As the distance to Lydenburg was great we were obliged to travel on horseback through a bare and uninhabited country. The waggon was sent forward on Saturday in order to afford us lodging, and on Monday morning we started early and rode for about nine hours in a north-easterly direction. On Tuesday we went some ten hours further, over high flats with good water and grass, but without wood, and therefore not yet inhabited. On Tuesday night we reached the farm of Andries Spies, where church had been appointed for a few people in the neighbourhood, who were too far off to reach the other church-

places. There was a small congregation of some fifty persons, to whom I preached thrice on the Wednesday, administering baptism also to eleven children. Thence we started early on Thursday morning, and after travelling fourteen hours we reached Lydenburg on Friday morning at about ten o'clock. About eight hours on this side of Lydenburg the appearance of the country suddenly changes, and I was quite taken by surprise on suddenly finding myself in the midst of high rugged mountains, and travelling on roads with which the Sneeuwberg roads can hardly be compared. It is a beautiful grass country with large streams of water, and is well supplied with the *suikerbosch* (protea). Lydenburg lies in a valley between two of these large mountain-ranges, the slopes of the Drakensberg, and is about four hours distant from the unhealthy country. Ohriststad is about six hours to the north-east of Lydenburg, but is deserted. Though so near each other the climate of each is different. Places sometimes adjoin each other of which the one (the lower) is unhealthy, and the other quite safe. Lydenburg has only two families living there as yet, though Ohriststad had some twenty large houses built, and a still larger number of residents.

I was hardly off-saddled before I had to begin my work, as we had to leave again early on Monday morning. Both on Friday and on Saturday I had to sit late with the work that had to be got through. The congregation was large and the people were very attentive, and I was enabled to preach in earnest, so that by Sabbath afternoon I was perfectly exhausted. I had seventy-nine applicants for membership, of whom forty-nine were received, and 109 children were baptized. I was here as elsewhere pressed on all sides, and even with tears, to come to this side of the River, and if not, at all events to pay them another visit. On my saying that I trusted they would soon have a visit from some other minister, an old friend of Papa's, Andries Beetge, answered, " But is not a year too long a time for us to suffer hunger ? " and I could give no answer in return.

On Monday morning a little after sunrise we were again in the saddle, as church had been appointed for some people, who could not come to Lydenburg, on the Tuesday morning at a place some ten hours distant. We would have been there in good time, had we not been detained by rain in the afternoon. Here, however, as elsewhere, we found such kind people that we were made quite comfortable, and next morning we proceeded the remaining two hours to the appointed farm, where a small congregation was waiting. To them I spoke a word of exhortation, at the close of which they expressed the intensest desire for a more frequent ministration of the means of grace. After service we rode five hours further, always due east, along the same road which I travelled last year when so unwell ; and I could not but feel grateful for the strength granted on the present journey.

Next day we had ridden only a couple of hours when we were detained, as the orders for conveyance had not reached the place, and I enjoyed a day of rest ; but I only felt my fatigue and weariness so much that I was incapable of doing anything. As the time was too short for us

to travel by the high-road, we were obliged to take a short-cut through uninhabited *boschveld* (bush country), where we slept in a waggon on Thursday night, and thence reached the Bath at the Waterberg on Friday mid day. In the course of our ride we saw the white and the black rhinoceros, camelopards (giraffes), and an elephant, besides a multitude of smaller game.

SCHOONSPRUIT, 27th November, 1850.

My first sheet I wrote mostly at the Bath, and have since then been prevented by continual occupation from again writing. On our arrival at the Bath we found only some twelve waggons, standing in *lager*, on account of the Caffres, and heard that the people of the neighbourhood were all gone to another *lager* near Magaliesberg. Church had been appointed here for the Zoutpansberg (Potgieter) people, and I was glad on Saturday evening to see thirteen waggons, well-loaded, arrive from there—a distance of nine *schoften*. I had a letter from Potgieter, lamenting that I had not fulfilled the promise I had half made to go thither, and begging soon to have the privilege of the ordinances there, as more than half of the people had been prevented from coming. And need of it there certainly is, as was proved by the applicants for membership, for of twenty-five only two were received. I did not administer the sacraments here, but was enabled to set forth Christ for the free acceptance of a simple faith with almost more plainness and earnestness than elsewhere. . . . I did not, however, feel that certain reliance on God which I wished. I saw clearly that faith is a fight, and at moments I laid hold of the Lord, but alas! I am so little accustomed to crucify the flesh and really to believe, that I found it hard work, which will require much more strenuous effort, much more wrestling with God in private, than I have hitherto given. Oh! may the Lord give me true faith. I feel now that this is a sad life of mine, and that it requires a person of much more spirituality and habitual intercourse with heaven than I have, to travel in this way, as there is so very seldom the regular opportunity for private devotion; and there is really nothing that can be a substitute for intercourse with God. I preached on Saturday and Sabbath, and intended leaving on Monday, but we were detained by rain. I could not then resist the entreaties of people who had come so far to hold additional services on the Monday. Baptism was administered to thirty-six children. May the Lord but add His blessing.

Before leaving the Bath I may mention that it derives its name from a beautiful warm bath, which is highly prized for its medicinal virtues in cases of fever, wounds and weakness. The stream is much larger than that of Buffels Vlei (Aliwal North), and hotter, but without the taste of gunpowder. On Tuesday morning we left the Bath early, and after riding four hours came to Pienaars River, which we found overflowing its banks, so as to be perfectly impassable. We rode some four hours up along the stream, and fortunately found the water run

down, so that we could cross. In the evening we reached the *lager*, after having been eleven hours in the saddle. We heard that the Boers had had a fight with the Caffres, but from all I have been able to learn by the minutest enquiries from all parties, the blame does not appear to be on the side of the Boers.

At the *lager* they asked me to baptize their children as they would not be able to come to the church. I refused, as I thought the most might manage to come, and the *lager* was to break up next day. I felt too that they were wholly unprepared for the administration of such a holy ordinance, drinking and cursing having been but too much the order of the day. The *lager* people, I should say, were mostly from the *Hakie-doorns*, where none but the wild sort live. I do not know whether I did right, but it is to me a very difficult matter to administer the ordinance to those who are without any preparation, though it is also hard to refuse it. And this appears to me to be one great argument for the first available minister being sent hither, as the ordinance is so often profaned unknowingly, while the people of the Colony all have a better opportunity of being instructed in the matter.

On Wednesday we had again a ride of ten hours, which brought us to the house of Frans Schutte, on this side of the Magaliesberg. He had been my companion the whole way from Mooi River. We went to his farm in order to have a day of rest, though such a short rest made me feel my fatigue all the more, and I was unable to derive that profit which I had expected from a day of quiet. I was even too listless to take up a pen and write to my beloved parents. On Friday we rode a couple of hours to the new church-place and site of a village on the north side of the mountain. The position of the town is pretty, with the mountain behind and a large view in front. The woods are still rather dense on some sides, and there is no lack of water. Some seven or eight houses have been commenced, and the church building is considerably advanced—all in the hope of soon having a minister. It is a large building eighty-five feet by thirty, and the walls are to be sixteen feet high. The congregation was so large that the church could not contain all the people, and I had to exert myself so much to make all hear, that I was quite knocked up when I came to rest on Tuesday.

You know what I think of the Magaliesberg people. My favourable opinion was confirmed as regards many of them. Contrary to my own expectation I was greatly helped to preach with some measure of feeling, and though I know not whether impressions on the unconverted will be abiding, I do trust that the Lord will gather some there. Before leaving I had the satisfaction of seeing that some whom I believe to be truly God's children had been edified and quickened by the ministration of His most unworthy servant. I felt greatly humbled when one man who had formerly spoken very despondingly said at parting, "I hope afterwards to have an opportunity of telling you what great things God has done for my soul."

At Magaliesberg I had the usual services on Saturday, Sabbath and Monday : 109 children were baptized (one child of thirteen I was obliged

to refuse), and of seventy-seven applicants for membership thirty were received. In the spare moments the people were continually recurring to the one topic in which they are so interested, the obtaining of a minister, and Frans Pretorius wished me to tell Papa that he is ready, if I come, to fulfil his promise, to leave his farm and to come and live in the village, in order to take care of me. The matter causes me much thought, and I hardly know how to come to a decision when I get the call. My own inclination would soon decide the matter, though I really cannot assign a reason for the liking I have taken. But still I would tremble at the thought of taking a single step without a clear conviction that it is the will of the Lord. Though I do not yet see in what way, I feel assured that God will not forsake the work of His own hands amongst this people. A faithful God must satisfy that desire for the Word which He Himself has excited.

The churchwardens pressed me to come again in April for a couple of Sabbaths, in order to open the churches at Mooi River and at Magaliesberg. When I promised to do my utmost to get Mr. van Velden or John to come at that time, they said that all the people wished myself to come. I do not write this from vanity, but to ask Papa for an opinion. The churchwardens continually urged as a strong reason for my going thither, the extraordinary unanimity of the people in calling for me, and I must confess that I was myself sometimes staggered by the urgency with which they invited me. This was especially the case in the Morikwa, whither I went for the first time, and where many on parting came to me with tears, to beg me to come again rather than send another. It occurred to me that it might be a token of God's will in the matter, that the whole people, otherwise so divided, should unite so firmly in fixing their choice upon me, and will take no refusal. . . .

On Tuesday the 18th we left Magaliesberg by ox-waggon, and travelled a small *schoft*, to near the place in the Zwarte Ruggens where I had church last year. Here I got some of the oranges of the land, and really they were as large as I have ever seen. The other fruits are far advanced but not yet ripe. (At Magaliesberg the previous week I had already enjoyed several dishes of figs and apricots.) On Wednesday we rode for about six hours on horseback due west to the Morikwa, and next day had travelled some five hours, when we were suddenly and unexpectedly stopped within an hour of the church-place. We were informed that we would not be allowed to go further till I had given an account of myself. Though my churchwardens begged that I should be allowed to proceed at least as far as the church-place, they refused. I was thus detained a sort of prisoner. Fortunately the people in the house were very kind, though the master of the farm declined having family worship that evening, which we accordingly held in the tent of Gottfried Mocke. In the course of the evening Adriaan Stander in whose name we had been stopped, arrived, and from him we learnt that it had been done without his order or consent; but as a good many people were expected to be present next morning at my examination, he requested me to stay. Next day I took my seat upon the waggon-

box, while some forty Boers stood round to put me on trial. A Brakel¹ was brought forward, and all sorts of nonsensical demonstrations about the duty of coming out of Antichrist were urged, in order to prove that I could not be a true minister till I came out from under the English Government to this side of the Vaal River. Of course there was no arguing with such people, and after answering some of their questions I simply stated the object of my mission, and left them to enjoy an imaginary triumph. The greater part of the people were quite satisfied, and those who refused to come to the services were but few in number. I felt perfectly calm, but the two churchwardens from Magaliesberg were exceedingly annoyed. We afterwards learnt that they fully intended to turn us back, in fact, a letter had been sent to the field-cornet, saying that he need not bring us. They would have succeeded too, had not Stander arrived with such a strong party.

It was Friday noon before we reached the church-place, on the farm of Hans Steyn. The district of the Morikwa is but small—some three or four hours on horseback in diameter—but very thickly inhabited along the banks of the river, the farms being often not more than three thousand yards distant from one another. The country is nicely wooded, but rather too much confined between the hills, and therefore *bedompig* (hot and close). For the small space of ground there are many inhabitants, mostly of the restless sort. At church there was a pretty good attendance of upwards of 200, sixty-three children were baptized, and of thirty applicants fourteen were admitted as members. On account of the restless state of many of the people, I did not administer the Sacrament here, but preached three times on Sabbath. On Monday there was again a public dispute with the party of those who wish to go to Jerusalem. I was opposed to this, but some of the congregation demanded it, as a good many were sometimes shaken by the arguments adduced. The three heroes, Paul Roos, Stoffel de Wet and Jakob Erasmus, came forward, and immediately began to prove that England is a horn of the beast (Rev. xvii. 3), and that I could not be a true servant of Christ. They exposed their own ignorance most completely in their misconceptions of the *hantteekeningen* (marginal glosses), and all but their own party were satisfied with the folly of their assertions about the marks of the beast, etc. I need not repeat all the nonsense, I may almost say blasphemy, which they uttered. I was very sorry to see them going in fancied security and holiness on the way of destruction; for they literally seek their salvation in their opposition to the Antichrist. May the Lord have mercy on them. Though the issue of the matter was quite satisfactory, I was very sorry that the meeting took place, as the attention of the people was completely drawn away from the solemn truths they had heard the preceding day, and which had produced some impression.

¹ Willem à Brakel (died 1711), a Reformed theologian of irreproachable orthodoxy, whose chief work *Redelijke Godsdiens* (Reasonable Religion) enjoyed great popularity among strict Calvinists.

On Monday (25th Nov.), we started about mid-day on horseback, and rode till after dark in south-easterly direction, on our way to Schoonspruit, where service had been intimated for Wednesday. We were misinformed as to the distance, and had thus to ride very hard. On Tuesday we were in the saddle by 4 a.m., and at 6 a.m. I held service for a congregation that had previously been appointed to meet us. Then we rode from 9 a.m. till dark to the first farm on Schoonspruit. We were disappointed in not finding horses there, and I was obliged to betake myself to an ox-waggon. Travelling all night, we reached the village at sunrise next morning. I was much wearied, and preached only twice that day and once the next to a congregation of tolerable size. I may mention that Schoonspruit runs nearly parallel with Mooi River, and the dorp [now Klerksdorp] is some five hours due west from Mooi River township [Potchefstroom]. On Thursday and Friday I proceeded by easy rides down along the Vaal River for some ten hours on horseback. On Saturday I had but a small congregation of some 150 persons, as most of the farmers of the neighbourhood had *trekked* on account of the drought. On Monday after service I crossed the River, and you may imagine that it was with peculiar feelings that I looked back at the way by which the Lord had led me, and the mercies which had been the unmingled portion of my cup.

Before Murray reached Bloemfontein on his homeward journey, he was able to welcome the Rev. D. van Velden as colleague in the pastoral work of the Sovereignty. Mr. van Velden was a Hollander, who after six years of work in a small parish in Belgium, accepted an invitation to come out to South Africa, and receive the appointment to the cure of Winburg. After a perilous sea-voyage from Cape Town, and a prolonged stay at Pietermaritzburg, he arrived at his destination in November, 1850, and on the 9th December following was formally inducted to the charge by Andrew Murray. The advent of van Velden set Murray free from the supervision of the two congregations of Winburg and Harrismith, though he remained *consulent* of Smithfield and Riet River, and continued moreover to look upon the Vaal River folk as his special care.

These emigrants spared no efforts to prevail on the young minister to throw in his lot with them. He was presented with a unanimous call to the pastorate of Potchefstroom, while a memorial with eleven hundred signatures was laid before the Synodical Committee of the D. R. Church, begging that body

to use its influence to secure the acceptance of the call. The impression in Cape Town seems to have been that Murray would accede to this earnest invitation ; and the *Kerkbode* records that " it is not improbable that Bloemfontein will soon be vacant, seeing that the desire for this young pastor is so urgent, and those sheep can surely no longer be left without pasture."

It was natural that this pressing summons to a new sphere of work should cause Murray a prolonged and painful mental struggle. In a letter to his father he reverts at some length to this matter. As reasons for accepting the invitation he urges the marvellous unanimity of the call, the people's evident attachment to his person, and their total spiritual destitution—" ten thousand souls given over to the world and the devil." He believes that by a redistribution of work, Bloemfontein and the other congregations of the Sovereignty can be provided for. " Mr. van Velden could come here every second month, John could take Smithfield, and the minister of Colesberg could easily take the Riet River under his charge." He is convinced that the Vaal River people cannot be effectively served by periodical visits. " Commissions can only visit them irregularly: Mr. van Velden has a sickly wife and children, and he will not, I fear, be prepared to take such a journey very often." He feels sure that Bloemfontein will not long remain vacant. " Sir Harry [the Governor] would use his influence, and the importance of the place would demand its being soon supplied." But for the poor, destitute *trekkers* no one pleads. " What young minister would be willing to go across the Vaal River ? I have been brought in the leading of Providence to take an especial interest in this people, which may not be excited in the heart of anyone else. God has now set before the Church an open door across the Vaal River, and if we enter not in, it may soon be shut." He refers to the " anxiety with which Pretorius and others asked my advice, and the willingness they manifested in some cases to take it," as proving that a minister, though committed to political neutrality, could exercise far-reaching influence in assisting to preserve peace and quiet. He then mentions the names of some friends who

were in favour of his accepting the call, namely Mr. Stuart, the magistrate, Mr. Wuras, the German missionary of Bethany, and Mr. Moffat, Sr., afterwards Dr. Moffat. His letter concludes with the earnest prayer, "May the Lord direct my dear father in advising me, and may He give His poor servant the comfort of an assurance that he is doing His will."

The letter in which his father replied to this appeal for advice has unfortunately not been preserved. But it is evident that the verdict of the home circle was adverse to his going to so distant and extensive a field of work. His mother feared that he would be overtaxing his powers in the effort to minister to "ten thousand souls" so widely scattered. His father believed that the Sovereignty had a prior claim upon his time and strength. To views so definitely expressed Andrew could not but yield a filial acquiescence, and on the 9th March, 1851, he announced, to the great joy of the Bloemfontein congregation that he had decided to remain among them.

There can be no question that in thus deciding Murray was guided by the Spirit of God, and that his continuance in the pastorate of Bloemfontein was not merely advantageous to the Church in the Sovereignty, but spiritually and physically beneficial to himself. One cannot but speculate, nevertheless, on what might have been the course of history, both political and ecclesiastical, in the Transvaal, had Andrew Murray at this time decided to settle among the emigrants as their pastor. He must from the first have assumed a commanding position and have wielded widespread influence. Under such influence the suspicion with which many of them regarded English and other foreigners must have been allayed; missionaries and mission societies must have had freer access to the country, and have been accorded greater encouragement; the forces that made for disunion and disintegration among the emigrants must have been strongly counteracted; and the D. R. Church of the Cape Colony, to which these emigrants had always belonged, would have vindicated its right to their gratitude and loyal devotion, and would have left them less exposed to the invasion of unsympathetic sectaries from Holland.

CHAPTER VI

FURTHER VISITS TO THE EMIGRANTS

It requires a person of much more spirituality and habitual intercourse with heaven than I have, to travel in this way, as there is so very seldom the regular opportunity for private devotion; and there is really nothing that can be a substitute for intercourse with God.—
ANDREW MURRAY.

MURRAY'S interest in the emigrant farmers being undiminished, he prepared in May, 1851, to cross the Vaal River for the third time. On this occasion he was accompanied by his brother John and the young wife of the latter. The visit was a hurried one and lasted less than four weeks. The only places visited were Potchefstroom and Rustenburg, where the newly-completed church edifices were duly dedicated to the service of God. As on former occasions large numbers flocked to the services, and the roomy churches were quite unable to contain the congregations. Loud were the laments which assailed Murray's ear on the score of his refusal of their call. "Are we to be always pastorless?" they cried, nor would they be comforted by the oft-repeated reminder, "The Lord will provide."

The reason for so brief a tour is probably to be sought in the political situation. In every direction the horizon looked dark. The year 1851 was disastrous for the whole of South Africa. The Cape Colony had just been plunged into the Eighth Kaffir War—the longest, most sanguinary and most costly of its conflicts with the natives. Widespread unrest prevailed among native tribes in all parts of the country. The question of a boundary between the Basuto and their white neighbours was as far as ever from satisfactory settlement.

Matters were indeed so threatening an aspect, that the British Resident felt himself compelled to summon all able-bodied burghers to Bloemfontein for a punitive expedition against the Basuto chief.

The Boers of the Sovereignty, who believed that Major Warden would have been better advised to leave the native chiefs severely alone, and allow them to compose their own quarrels, made but a feeble response. Not more than 150 of the men who had been commandeered appeared upon the stated day. With these and 160 soldiers stationed at Bloemfontein, Major Warden proceeded towards Basutoland, being reinforced along the road by various native levies, numbering upwards of one thousand. At Viervoet, a mountain near the mission station of Mekuatleng, this force sustained a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Basuto, and its scattered remnants were compelled to fall back upon Bloemfontein (30th June, 1851).

All efforts on the part of Major Warden to restore the prestige of the British name and British arms were without avail. The Boers could not be prevailed upon to form another commando and invite further defeats. The position in which the British Resident now found himself was unenviable in the extreme. Called to police a country as large as England, he found his authority practically limited by the bounds of the Bloemfontein commonage.

At this juncture the Boers in the Sovereignty who were still disaffected towards British rule, resolved upon a step which bordered on rebellion, and in less troublous times would certainly have been construed as such. They invited Andries Pretorius, still under sentence of outlawry, to cross the Vaal River and take upon himself the office of pacificator of the Sovereignty. They then proceeded to Moshesh, and on the 3rd September, 1851, concluded an agreement with him, by which he bound himself to leave the Boers and their possessions in peace, while they on their part promised to refrain from interference in tribal quarrels.

This sudden *dénouement* in the political situation caused

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great excitement in Bloemfontein. Murray writes to his brother thereanent in the following terms—

Quite early on Saturday morning (27th September) Major Warden sent Mr. Allison ¹ over to me to show me a letter from Andries Pretorius to the British Resident, informing him that he had been invited by Moshesh and the white inhabitants of the Sovereignty to come and act as mediator, and that he intended coming with nothing but the most peaceable intentions. The Major informed me of this because he wished to remove the 150 troops now at Winburg to this place, and wished me to assist him in getting waggons to bring Mr. van Velden also hither. As the removal of the troops would be the signal for general confusion, I went and urged the Major to leave the troops there. This matter is now not quite decided. I also saw two Boers, Linde and Vermaak,² who had been at Moshesh's, and they gave me information about the state of matters at Winburg which amazed and distressed me. When they were at Moshesh's there were some Boers begging the chief for a commando of Caffres to waylay and attack the troops who were on their way from Natal to this. You are aware that the more rebellious Boers have been instigating Molitzani to steal all the cattle of the adherents of the Government in Winburg district: they have been marked men. Those who are known as *maatschappij* men (men of the society) have had nothing stolen, or else everything returned as soon as they applied to Molitzani. Sikonyella, again, is the ally of the Government, and he has now begun stealing from the friends of Pretorius, who, of course, affirm that this is at the instigation of the Wessels' and the Government people. A sad state of things truly!

Those farmers whose cattle have been stolen by Sikonyella have appealed to Andries Pretorius, together with large numbers of those in the Winburg district who are in any way dissatisfied with the Government. I believe that they sent on five different occasions to fetch him, but he has always refused. They have at length persuaded him to come. The consequence will be that he will so far mix himself with the enemies of the Government, that he will be obliged to assume a hostile position towards it, and will thus ensure vengeance on himself and his people. I do believe the man honestly intends to be a peacemaker. I see, however, that the rebel party on this side of the river have been flattering his ambition with the hope of getting a name if he succeed in acting as mediator.

But you will perhaps think that all this need not have excited me so much. I have, however, to tell you something more. I have resolved to go to the Vaal River, and try and get Pretorius to stay there. Do not think the matter a hasty resolution. I have thought and prayed

¹ Clerk to the British Resident, and Registrar of Deeds.

² The two signatories, on the Boer side, to the Agreement concluded with Moshesh on 3rd Sept. (*see* Theal, Vol. III., p. 313).

much over it, and it appears my duty to try now to prevent what may be the cause of much bloodshed. The thought struck me on Saturday morning : what I heard from Linde and Vermaak made me doubt, and it was only this morning that I was able to decide. I was far from well yesterday. It will be very difficult to get horses ; and I trust that my plans may in mercy be thwarted, if it be not the Lord's will that I go. I feel the want of a friend on whose advice I can depend. Mr. Stuart is the only one, and he of course urges me to go.

The way was, however, opened, and Murray left for Mooi River, probably on the day following the writing of the above letter. A certain Adolph Coqui, a shopkeeper of Jewish-Belgian extraction, who was on his way thither, kindly gave Murray a seat in his cart ; and thus journeying, with frequent detentions owing to heavy rain, he reached Potchefstroom on Saturday the 4th October. His mediation had the desired effect. Pretorius relinquished the idea of interfering in the affairs of the Sovereignty, and the disturbances which would have resulted from such a step were happily averted.

On that same day, and probably with Murray's assistance, Pretorius addressed an important communication to Major Warden, expressing the desire of the Vaal River emigrants to enter into a lasting treaty of peace with the British Government. To this note the British Resident sent an amicable reply, stating that it lay beyond his province to arrange such a treaty as Pretorius proposed, but affirming his readiness to transmit to the High Commissioner any suggestions which the Boer leader might make. The British Government had by this time arrived at the tardy conclusion that it was futile work seeking to impose its rule over people who would have none of it. These views were shared by Sir Harry Smith, who accordingly appointed two Assistant Commissioners, Messrs. Hogge and Owen, to proceed to the Sovereignty, armed with large powers to settle matters generally.

The Commissioners reached Bloemfontein towards the close of 1851. One of their first acts was to issue a proclamation in the name of the High Commissioner, rescinding the sentence of outlawry passed on Pretorius, and withdrawing the offer

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of rewards for the apprehension of his proscribed followers. On the 3rd January, 1852, Murray writes—

The Commissioners have thought fit to take a good deal of my opinions on Transvaal matters, as well as on the state of things generally, and thus I often have an hour's conversation with Major Hogge. You are aware that Pretorius has been pardoned. On the 16th instant it is intended to have a meeting a little beyond Sand River, for the Commissioners to receive twelve delegates from beyond the Vaal River. Major Hogge has requested me to be there to act as translator, as it is of consequence that they should have some one they understand well. I shall very likely go, as I feel that they might break upon some insignificant point, which a very little explanation might rectify.

From a letter to his brother it appears that Murray was able to carry out his intention to be present at this historical conference,¹ at which the Transvaal people secured the acknowledgment of their independence. He left Bloemfontein on the 12th January, accompanied by his sister Maria, who, however, remained at Winburg while her brother proceeded on the further journey. There is, unfortunately, no extant account of his experiences and impressions at the conference. Suffice it to say that the meeting took place as arranged on the 16th January, and on the following day was signed the Sand River Convention, by which the British Government "guaranteed to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government." Thus closed an important chapter in the history of the Boer people, in which Murray played no insignificant part.

During the year 1852 there were two events in Murray's career which stand out as of more than ordinary importance—his fourth visitation tour to the Transvaal, and his visit to Cape Town in order to attend the quinquennial² meeting of the Church Synod. In the fourth tour to the north he covered

¹ See also Hofstede : *Geschiedenis van den Oran e Vrijstaat* (1876), p. 103.

² In later years the Synod met at more frequent intervals than once in every lustrum.

more ground than on any previous occasion, his absence from Bloemfontein lasting just three months, from the 1st March to the 3rd June. He was accompanied by his friend J. H. Neethling, minister of Prince Albert, whose companionship was a great relief to the inevitable monotony of ox-waggon travel, and to whose graphic pen we owe a very full description of the scenes and experiences they passed through. The route which they followed may be briefly described. Following the usual custom, they made directly for the village of Potchefstroom, on Mooi River; then travelled eastwards to the Suikerbosch Rand, where the town of Heidelberg now stands; and from there journeyed in north-easterly direction to Lydenburg. This was the course of Murray's second tour, from which, however, they now proceeded to diverge. Bearing north for several days, they reached at length the most northerly settlement of whites then established in South Africa, that of the Potgieter party, in the Zoutpansbergen. From here they turned back, and travelling *viâ* the Warm Bath reached Rustenburg in the Magaliesberg Range; thence to the Morikwa (Marico) where the village of Zeerust has since arisen; and from the Morikwa *viâ* Schoonspruit (now Klerksdorp) back to the Vaal River.

From the most interesting account of this extensive tour, across the length and breadth of the Transvaal, which Mr. Neethling has left us, we can make only a few extracts. The detention at Mooi River gives him the opportunity of offering us a vivid picture of what a religious gathering of Boers was like in by-gone days—

In the morning at 9 o'clock the congregation was assembled in the church—a building which is able to contain, in my estimation, some six hundred people. Every bit of space was occupied. The smallest empty spot was always large enough for a *veldstoeltje*,¹ and no one objected to a little discomfort in the seating arrangements. With the exception of a wailing infant here and there, nothing disturbed the attention of the audience. The singing was powerful, the prayers unanimous. Every eye during the sermon was fixed upon the speaker; many a countenance bore witness to the most earnest attention. My

¹ Lit. *field-chair*,—a small folding seat used in travelling.

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brother's preaching was simple, warm and sincere. The congregation understood him—that was plainly to be read in their faces.

At the close of the service each one takes up his *veldstoeltje*, places it under his arm, and proceeds to his tent. At the close of the series of services on Monday, the tents are quickly taken down, and within a brief space the last of the large number of waggons has borne its living freight away homewards. At one of the services ninety-seven children were baptized. By the carefulness of the churchwardens all the arrangements were carried out with an order and regularity which surpassed expectations. Very touching did I find it when a couple of children presented their baptismal papers themselves. I cannot forget the innocence which the face of one of them revealed. He was a blond child of some four years old. When he had handed me the paper containing his name, he closed his eyes, and awaited with sweet simplicity the sprinkling of the baptismal water.

Neither on this nor on any previous tours did ministers of the Gospel require to provide their own conveyances, or give themselves the least concern regarding travelling arrangements. These were the care of elders, deacons and friends generally. At no stage of the journey were Murray and Neethling without journeying companions. Murray indeed complains sometimes of the lack of privacy which he experienced. It was counted an honour to escort these servants of God for a day, two days, or even a week upon their journey. Beyond Suikerbosch Rand they had the company of the Rodolf family, in their own waggon, "to whom," writes Neethling, "we owe heartiest thanks for a thousand kindnesses." Commandant Frans Joubert and Field-cornet Nel accompanied them a two days' journey, as far as the ford of the Crocodile River, and displayed the most intense anxiety lest they should heedlessly venture into the unhealthy Zoutpansberg region. On leaving Rustenburg, at a later date, they had as guide and escort, Field-cornet Paul Kruger, who in after years rose to eminence as President of the Transvaal Republic.

The start from Mooi River, and their further experiences on the road to Lydenburg, are thus described by Neethling—

Eight active oxen stand yoked before the waggon, and the journey in Transvaal territory commences. The immeasurable veld stretched before us. Zoutpansberg, the furthest point at which the courageous

South African has ventured to settle, was the remotest place to which we desired to bear the seed of God's Word. But what a distance! Four weeks of almost incessant travel—of travel such as the ministers of our Church alone can compass, aided by the love of the congregation, with constant and rapid progress. I knew nothing of the country through which our journey lay. I knew only that we would sometimes travel for a whole week through territory quite uninhabited, or inhabited by Caffres only. I heard the valorous Boer make mention, with a show of respect, of the lion, which he sometimes calls the *vuilbaard* (dirty beard), but to which he cannot deny the crowning virtue of bravery. Not infrequently I listened to stories about the fierceness of the buffalo and the ill-temper of the rhinoceros, and those places were carefully described where animals like these would prove a menace to our journey. Then again I heard of an evil to be still more dreaded—the yellow fever, which demands the extremest circumspection.

After a wearying day's journey we enjoyed many an hour of quiet rest, sitting around a bright and steady fire, or lying lengthwise in the soft grass. Each of our journeying companions knows what he has to do. The "sexton" at night time hands us the Book, and we express in brief devotions the gratitude which we feel towards God for His continual care. Thereafter I many an evening still lay talking to our fellow-travellers about hunting experiences and hair-breadth escapes; and their narratives frequently gave me cause to marvel at the courage, strength and activity of the Dutch-African race, and as frequently to praise the love and goodness of a protecting God.

Our journey was rendered both speedy and pleasant by the great kindness of those farmers who dwelt along the road. This kindness must have been very noticeable, for it drew the attention even of *April*, the native who leads our oxen. I see him yet, sitting at the fireside, where I fell into conversation with him. Seated on the ground with his chin resting on his knees, he regarded us fixedly for a long time, and then remarked, in his broken Dutch, that we must surely be very great chiefs, since he everywhere observed the Boer *bazen* (masters) remove their hats, and invite us to enter their dwellings. Yes, long before we had arrived, a new span of oxen was already collected in the *kraal*, and as soon as we approached they were yoked to the waggon, and the master called out *April, loep!* (April, hasten!) The natives can find no explanation of this eager politeness, than on the supposition that we are great chiefs.

The respect shown to us as preachers of the Gospel makes an equally deep impression on the natives. On a former occasion my friend [i.e. Andrew Murray] was conducting services in this vicinity. A Caffre, who was no longer a stranger to the customs of white folk, observed him narrowly while preaching. Now, as everyone knows, my friend is not the quietest of preachers. The native understood not a single word, but recorded his impression of the scene in these words: "I never thought that the white men stood in such dread of their chiefs. Look at the young chief yonder (i.e. Murray). He points his finger at the

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people : they sit quiet. He threatens them : they sit quiet still. He storms and rages at them : they sit as quiet as death ! ”

In the northern and eastern portions of the Transvaal, which are quite cool and healthy during the dry winter months, malarial fever is exceedingly prevalent after the tropical summer rains. Even under modern conditions, when the prophylactic properties of quinine are known and utilized to the full, malaria claims many victims, and in those early years the ravages of the disease were extremely severe. Such was the case in 1852. It was a deadly year, especially for those emigrants who had settled in the low-lying parts, and were shut in by lofty mountains. Murray had faithfully promised to visit the small community of *trekkers* who owned Potgieter as leader, and who had established themselves on the southern slopes of the Zoutpansberg Range. But the news spread southwards that the Potgieter party was suffering from repeated attacks of fever, and that several individuals had already succumbed. The young ministers were strongly advised not to adventure themselves into such unhealthy regions. They pointed out, however, that word had already been passed and arrangements made, and that they therefore felt bound to continue their journey. Their anxious friends then stipulated that, should the Zoutpansberg people fail to meet them, as arranged at the ford of the Crocodile River, or should it appear that the disease was still spreading, the travellers were not to proceed further northwards. To this stipulation Murray and Neethling agreed. But waggons and oxen were found waiting for them at the tryst, the malady appeared to be abating, and those sent to fetch them evinced such eagerness that, even had they desired to turn back, the pathetic condition of the stricken community would have beckoned them forward.

After travelling almost uninterruptedly for eleven days from Lydenburg, they reached the Zoutpansbergen on the 9th April, and were received with every manifestation of joy. The little band of emigrants had sustained heavy losses. Out of 150 souls, all told, twenty-four had fallen before the dread

disease, and of these no less than eighteen were cut off within a fortnight. There was no home which was not plunged in mourning; and this circumstance, together with the fact that the majority of these isolated people had been without the ordinances of religion for many years, contributed to make the visit of the two pastors a solemn and searching time. "For the poor people of Zoutpansberg," writes Murray, "it was a veritable feast, the very children rejoicing at they hardly knew what. Nine waggons accompanied us to the *lager*, and on arrival we found other fifty standing there. The knowledge of the candidates for membership was very considerable, and out of forty applicants twenty-four were accepted. Three children brought for baptism were over the age prescribed by Church law—two were nine years old, and one was thirteen—but forty were admitted to the solemn rite. We did not dispense the Lord's Supper, on account of the state in which many of the people live, though I must confess that I was agreeably disappointed in not finding them so careless as was represented." At Murray's suggestion the congregation, having assembled on a certain evening for the purpose, followed a well-known apostolic precedent, and "selected elders by show of hands."¹ After thus providing the community with (ruling) bishops and leaders, and commending them to the grace of God, the two travellers bade their friends farewell and turned their faces southwards.

In the course of the return journey they met, at the Warm Bath, Commandant Potgieter himself, who was there seeking rest and restoration from the malady to which, in less than a twelvemonth, he was to fall a victim. Murray describes him as "a very venerable-looking old man," and [Neethling's picture is, "a man of tall stature and venerable countenance, wholly built to be a commander, though now somewhat bent under the weight of years and increasing physical weakness." Potgieter professed his profound gratitude that God had at length answered his petitions, and had made possible this pastoral visit to his poor neglected people in the north.

¹ Acts xiv. 23 (Weymouth's translation).

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From the full records of this tour we make but one more abbreviated extract. It is from a letter of Murray's, describing their experiences in the Magaliesbergen.

To his sister Maria.

On Friday [30th April] we entered the lower part of the Magaliesberg country, and though travelling through the least populated portion we soon found sad traces of the sickness. In a small patch of country behind the Mountain some thirty people had been carried off, and there were still a great many ill. I found many very deeply impressed under the chastening hand of God. We remained at Rustenburg for more than a week. After preaching thrice on Sabbath, we held services twice every week-day—once in the early morning and once in the evening. As John Neethling took the catechumens, I expected to have plenty of free time for myself. I was, however, disappointed. The continual friendly calls of the people, and regular visits to seven or eight sick folk, kept me uninterruptedly occupied. There were also several cases of people in apparent anxiety of soul, but groping in great darkness; and I felt it a privilege to have so much occasion for offering Jesus to individuals, although the evening often found me thoroughly worn out.

Two or three cases really refreshed me. One was that of a young woman who had lost her father and two of her little ones, and had herself been lying upon a long and painful sick-bed. The exceeding simplicity of her faith, and her childlike language with respect to death and heaven, edified me greatly. Another case was that of a young man whom I rode some eighteen miles to see. I found him seeking and apparently anxious. I tried especially to enforce the truth that Christ is ours by gift; that we have but to accept, to believe "He is mine," and we are saved. After prayer I bade him good-bye, as we intended leaving very early next morning. In the evening he sent for me, and on my arrival said that he wished simply to say that he had found Christ. With great emphasis he repeated the words, "God has given Christ to me: I have found my Saviour." He then expressed the wish to depart and to be delivered from this world of sin. When I last heard of him he was still living, but very weak.

At Mooi River I had to perform the painful duty of visiting a criminal, Pieterse, under sentence of death for murdering a neighbour. He has been sentenced after a trial by jury, and the sentence only waits for the confirmation of the Volksraad to be executed. Poor man, he appeared to deceive himself with some hope of pardon as a ground for postponing conversion.

The case referred to in the last paragraph is one of the most remarkable in the annals of justice in South Africa. Mr.

Jacobus Stuart, who as one-time Secretary of the Volksraad had every means of knowing the facts, tells us that Pieterse had, in a bout of drunken frenzy, murdered his nephew Oosthuizen. Seized with remorse, he had voluntarily surrendered himself to the Landdrost of Potchefstroom. This official, calling together his fellow-councillors forming the Heemraden,¹ instituted a careful trial and found Pieterse guilty of murder. Sentence of death could by the law of the land only be passed by the Volksraad, and to this body the case was accordingly referred. What could they do? Drunkenness and subsequent remorse were mitigating circumstances, but they could not grant release from the divine law, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." The Volksraad therefore passed the death sentence. But who would carry it into execution? A gallows did not exist in the whole land. To entrust the execution of the sentence to an Englishman was undesirable, to entrust it to a native was impossible. The Field-cornets met together and decided that, as they were responsible for the maintenance of law and order, the execution of the condemned man was their duty. Lots were cast and three men were thus chosen to perform the dread act. Troops of friends visited Pieterse in his cell, to mourn with him, to comfort him and to pray for him. On the appointed day he took a friendly farewell of his judges, and it was a friend's hand that inflicted upon him the last penalty of the law.²

Murray returned to Bloemfontein in the beginning of June, 1852. Little though he thought it, this was the last pastoral visit he was destined to pay to the congregations across the Vaal River. By a singular conjunction of circumstances the ties which bound him to the Transvaal people were suddenly and finally severed. In describing briefly these circumstances it is necessary to anticipate somewhat the true order of events, but the reasons which henceforth barred Murray's way to the north are best set forth at this stage.

¹ Burgher council.

² Stuart: *De Hollandsche Afrikanen*, p. 265.

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In the month of November, 1852, there landed in South Africa a man who was to play a remarkable part in the ecclesiastical history of the Transvaal. This was the Rev. Dirk van der Hoff, a Hollander, who at the instance of a certain Professor¹ Lauts came to South Africa with the definite object of ministering to the pastorless *voortrekkers*. A few weeks before his arrival the Synod of the D. R. Church was in session at Cape Town. On hearing that a young minister was shortly expected, to labour among the emigrants, the Synod pointed out that Professor Lauts held no authority to appoint ministers for the D. R. Church of South Africa, and that Mr. van der Hoff, before he could be recognized as pastor of Potchefstroom (or any other charge), would have to conform to the rules and regulations of the D. R. Church. The attention of van der Hoff was specially directed to two conditions upon which alone his appointment could be considered valid—he must, by signing the formularies of the D. R. Church, indicate his adhesion to the doctrines which the Church held, and thus receive “legitimation” (as the technical expression runs), and he must have been regularly invited to Potchefstroom by a formal “letter of call” from the consistory of the congregation. These conditions van der Hoff, on his arrival, fulfilled, so that the call could be duly sustained.

It was near the end of May, 1853, before van der Hoff

¹ Ulrich Gerard Lauts (1787–1865), professor at the School of Marine at Medemblik (Holland), published in 1847 his work *De Kaapsche Landverhuizers* (The Cape Emigrants), in which he described briefly the events connected with the Great Trek, and appealed to the people of the Netherlands to supply the emigrants with ministers, teachers and doctors. In issuing this appeal Lauts cast upon the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape Colony aspersions which he was unable to justify, and for which he was taken to task by the Rev. Dr. Abraham Faure. “The emigrants were visited,” wrote Lauts, “by Scotch and English ministers of religion, who spoke the Dutch language imperfectly or not at all, who frequently deviated completely from the doctrines of the Synod of Dort, and among whom there were some who were known to the Boers as unworthy of the ministerial office” (*Op. cit.*, p. 3, cf. p. 38). It cost Dr. Faure no difficulty to refute these calumnies, which he did effectively in the first number of the journal commenced by him in 1849 under the title of *De Kerkbode* (pp. 8–13). Another protest against misrepresentations, in Holland, of the attitude of the Cape Church towards the emigrant farmers, by Rev. P. E. Faure of Wynberg, appeared in *De Kerkbode* of November, 1850 (pp. 352–4).

reached his destination. According to Presbyterian Church law a minister's connexion with his congregation takes effect from the date of his being formally inducted or introduced by the brother minister who has been acting as pastor of the vacant congregation, and who in the D. R. Church is known as the *consulent*. Andrew Murray, who had visited Potchefstroom on four different occasions, and who therefore stood towards that congregation in every sense *in loco pastoris*, was the acknowledged *consulent* of Potchefstroom. On him therefore devolved the duty of inducting van der Hoff, and the date for that ceremony was provisionally fixed for the 31st July, 1853.

On the 15th June preceding, van der Hoff addressed the following letter to Murray—

I have to-day received a communication from the Landdrost and Heemraden of this congregation, in which I am informed that the joint *Krijgsraad* (War Council) has resolved, together with two members of the Volksraad, Messrs. S. Krieger and M. H. Pretorius, and at the earnest request of Elder Snyman of Rustenburg, "to call together a general assembly on the second Monday of August, in order to discuss the question of Rev. van der Hoff's induction." They have also requested the Volksraad to hold its session at the same time, and have invited all consistories and all sensible people who are interested in the matter. On account of this action we request Your Reverence to postpone your visit somewhat longer.

We can imagine the amazement with which Murray, who had some inkling of what was going on behind the scenes, perused this document. The congregations in the Transvaal had been regarded from the first as forming part of the D. R. Church of Cape Colony; the ordinances of religion had been administered to them by clergymen of that Church; they had presented a practically unanimous call to a minister of that Church, Murray himself; at their own request they had recently been incorporated by Synodical decision (21st October, 1852) into the D. R. Church; their minister designate, Mr. van der Hoff, had just solemnly signified his assent to the doctrines and promised obedience to the laws of the said Church—and here were congregations and people preparing to cut

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the bonds which united them to the Church of their fathers.

At Rustenburg, on the 8th August, 1852, the Volksraad and the General Assembly, in separate session, arrived at resolutions of similar import, namely to sever their connexion with the D. R. Church of the Cape. The reasons adduced were two only: "(1) The conditions, or promises, of supplying us with ministers have not been fulfilled; and (2) We cannot submit to the ecclesiastical laws of the D. R. Church of South Africa." In this manner arose the separatist body known as "de Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk" of the Transvaal, so named in contradistinction to the historical Church from which it had broken away, viz. "de Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk"—both titles being precisely equivalent to "the Dutch Reformed Church."

Whether van der Hoff was ever legally inducted is doubtful. The question gave rise to considerable friction and heart-burning, as the following letter testifies—

POTCHEFSTROOM, 8th September, 1853.

TO THE REV. D. VAN VELDEN,
WINBURG.

REV. SIR,—A rumour is in circulation among us that you have said, in the presence of several individuals, that Mr. van der Hoff, minister here, *must* be inducted by Mr. Murray or yourself, and that, if no intimation as to the date of such induction were received from this side, Your Reverence would not leave it at that, but would come hither, uninvited, with Rev. Murray, and then would like to see if the induction would not be held. Now though we give no credence to those rumours, it might occur that Your Reverence (either alone or accompanied by Rev. Murray) could come hither with the aforesaid purpose, namely the induction of Rev. van der Hoff, minister here; and it is on this account that we must advise you to refrain from such a journey, which will be in vain, since the highest Church body and the highest political authority in these territories have decided that the induction shall not take place. The Rev. van der Hoff being a legally ordained minister of the Dutch Reformed Church ("Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk"), his presentation or induction is unnecessary. . . .

[Signed by]

A. SMIT,
G. V. SCHOEMAN,
H. H. LOMBARD, Landdrost.

To this missive Mr. van Velden sent the following reply¹—

¹ *De Kerkbode*, 1853, p. 356.

WINBURG, 14th September, 1853.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Your communication of the 8th inst. reached me the day before yesterday, and I would have replied by return post, but was prevented through being occupied all day with the examination of young people for confirmation.

In answer I must say that I was extremely surprised to see that you give response to what you do not believe. You speak of rumours. Well, of that there is no lack, and the most singular and extraordinary rumours frequently course through the country. To that category belongs also the rumour of which you make mention in your letter. You acted wisely in not giving credence to it, but your response to the same makes me fear that a certain amount of credence has nevertheless disturbed your minds. This makes me hasten to set you at ease.

With reference to the visit of my brother Murray, whom I saw recently, I do not believe that His Rev^o. has the least intention of again visiting you. Your fear of such a visit I therefore believe to be quite groundless. It is true, he intended coming, because the congregations across the Vaal having made earnest application to belong (with the other congregations) to the Synod of our Church, brothers Murray and Neethling had secured the consent of the Synod to your application. Your congregations accordingly were added to the Presbytery of Transgariëp (Trans-orange), and the Rev. A. Murray, as *consulent* of the Transvaal congregations, was to have inducted your minister. The information you now impart excites my astonishment. You have decided that your minister is not to be inducted, because His Reverence is a legally ordained minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. Very good. But are you not aware that in Holland every minister, even though he be already ordained, must nevertheless be presented by the *consulent* to every congregation in which he desires to labour? Are you not aware that the same procedure has always been followed, and still obtains, in our D. R. Church in South Africa?

So far as I am concerned, if I had been appointed as your minister, I would have acted as I actually did on coming to Winburg—I would have confined myself to preaching, and would have postponed the administration of the Sacraments until such time as I had been duly presented or inducted by the *consulent* of the congregation. For all that, when I arrived in South Africa I had already been eight years ordained. In your letter you speak of two bodies which are wholly unknown to me. First, you mention the highest Church Body. Now, I know of no higher ecclesiastical authority among you than the consistories of the various congregations. Presbytery or Synod does not, so far as I know, exist across the Vaal. A very comfortable state, for there is now no tribunal whatever to try either a minister, should he transgress in doctrine or conduct, or a member of the consistory. And yet the danger of such transgression is great already and will become ever greater. In our days, too, we should remember Philipians iii. 2.

Well, this is none of my business. If you wish for no ecclesiastical

tribunal other than one which has jurisdiction over members of the congregation, but not over ministers and members of consistory, then I can only hope that things will move smoothly among you. For my part I desire, as honest man, as Christian, and as a servant of Him who will have all things done decently and in order, an ecclesiastical tribunal that there may be a legal authority, in case any minister can be convicted of false doctrine or evil conduct. An honourable and faithful minister will never be afraid of such a tribunal. A minister who fears it is not a man whom I can trust. Enough. You speak of your highest Church Body. That Body decides as to the induction or non-induction of your minister, and your minister acquiesces—he who is himself chairman and head of your *only* Church Body, the consistory. Truly, I am not able to understand that. I shall place it in the category of things too high and wonderful for me.

You make mention, in your communication, of another body—namely, the highest political authority. What! does political authority decide ecclesiastical matters for you? Poor Church, that must bow beneath the world. The Gospel of my Saviour does indeed teach me to reverence the powers that are ordained of God, and I desire to pray for them; but the same Gospel forbids me absolutely to permit the Church of Christ to cringe to the world or worldly authority. That Church is free under her Head and King. That Church is exalted far above the world and the authority which the world wields. So far as I am concerned (in this matter I cannot speak for Brother Murray—he is well able to do that for himself), if I were *consulent* of your congregation, and had to come and induct your minister, I would have vouchsafed not a syllable in reply to a letter on ecclesiastical matters, in which your highest political authority had intervened. Finally, I pray for you with all my soul that the Lord of the Church would richly fill your country with orthodox, faithful and God-fearing ministers, that under their guidance and their instruction, sanctified to the heart by the Spirit of God, you may learn greatly to esteem ministers like the never-to-be-forgotten Murray; for it is they whose case the Lord will judge. See 1 Thessalonians v. 12, 13. May the Lord in mercy shield you from the judgments which might overtake you and your children because of the shameful abuse with which you have visited the minister of Bloemfontein. May He richly endow you with the spirit of humility, and of wise sagacity and circumspection, in order that you may be preserved from actions which might result in eternal detriment to yourselves and your poor descendants. Proverbs xii. 15 and xix. 20.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
 Your obedient servant and friend,
 D. VAN VELDEN, V.D.M.

Enough has been said on Murray's relations towards the Transvaal congregations to show that his was not the hand which severed the bonds that united him closely to the people

beyond the river. The schism was due less to religious than to political motives. Ministers from Holland, though strangers to the customs and the vernacular speech of South Africa, were less objectionable to the Republicans than men of their own country and their own tongue, who owed allegiance to the British flag. Of this unsympathetic attitude towards ministers of the Cape Church the Hollander element took full advantage. It is difficult to determine how far the final decision to sever connexion with the Cape Synod was due to the influence of van der Hoff, and how far it resulted from the determination of the people themselves to achieve ecclesiastical as well as political independence.

Two matters, however, are perfectly clear. The first is this, that if the ecclesiastical schism was occasioned by political motives, it occasioned in its turn prolonged political dissensions. The evidence for this statement is unimpeachable. Dr. Theal, the South African historian, says: "The resolution that the Church of the Republic should be independent of the Synod of the Cape Colony was a question which divided the people into two factions, and was discussed with as much bitterness in 1857 as four years earlier. The ecclesiastical dispute brought on a change in the political condition of the country."¹ That this change was not for the better but for the worse is shown by the Transvaal historian, Mr. F. Lion Cachet, who observes: "The Transvalers were divided into two parties, not by questions of doctrine, but by a question of Church government. The ecclesiastical schism had the effect of both leading up to and hastening the political schism which followed shortly after. Lydenburg, which in matters ecclesiastical had renewed its connexion with the Cape Synod, was served by ministers who belonged to that Synod; while the minister [van der Hoff] who was salaried out of the public funds and officially acknowledged by the Volksraad, received his *congé* from the Lydenburg congregation. . . . The meetings held did not always end peacefully. Excitement ran high, and the

¹ Hist. since 1795, Vol. IV., p. 33.

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two chief parties, as yet but loosely united, were led forward from ecclesiastical to political disunion."

Another point in this unhappy history stands out clearly. It is this, that though van der Hoff may not have been primarily responsible for the schism (as he always denied that he was), he nevertheless displayed the greatest activity in spreading it. At the so-called "General Assembly" at Rustenburg, which decided for separation from the Cape Synod, the consistory of Lydenburg was unrepresented, and it refused at first to identify itself with the separatist movement. Van der Hoff, however, succeeded in persuading the Lydenburgers to believe that the Cape Synod stood under the supervision of the British Government, that ministers of the Cape Church were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the Queen, that Cape ecclesiastical law placed whites and blacks upon a footing of equality, and that no modifications in the Church's laws and regulations would be granted to the congregations of the Transvaal; and by these arguments he prevailed upon them to cast off their allegiance to the mother Church. But they soon repented of their ill-considered action, presented the disingenuous van der Hoff with his discharge from the office of *consulent*, and asked with much penitence to be re-admitted to communion with the Cape Church. Their prayer was granted. The grievances which van der Hoff had sought to create in their minds were shown to be without foundation. They were presently incorporated in the Presbytery of Transgariep (i.e. Orange River), and so re-united to the body from which they had temporarily seceded. And in this manner was the D. R. Church of South Africa re-established in the Transvaal territory, where it has not merely maintained itself until this day, but has steadily grown in numbers and influence, until now it holds the premier position among ecclesiastical bodies north of the Vaal.

CHAPTER VII

THE ABANDONMENT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND THE FIRST EUROPEAN VISIT

You would hardly think me the man for drawing up a protest, yet I have been busily engaged with Dr. Frazer in doing so.—ANDREW MURRAY.

DURING the last three months of 1852 Murray was absent from the Sovereignty, attending the quinquennial meeting of the Synod of the Church in Cape Town. He journeyed *via* Graaff-Reinet and Prince Albert, and at the latter place, on the 3rd October, performed the induction ceremony of his friend and future brother-in-law, Rev. J. H. Neethling. The Synod remained in session from the 12th October to the 2nd November. This was his first attendance at a meeting of the highest assembly of his Church, and his consciousness of inexperience must have kept him silent upon many questions where his opinion was entitled to consideration. The matters which awakened his interest and brought him to his feet were principally three: the claims which the Transvaal congregations had to incorporate into the Synod; the duty and privilege of entering into closer fraternal relations with the French Reformed Church, engaged in missionary work in Basutoland; and the urgent need of establishing a theological seminary in South Africa, in order to supply the Church with God-fearing and orthodox ministers. Young though he was, his words and earnest demeanour carried weight, and many of the older brethren must have thanked God for the accession to the ministry of men of the spiritual and intellectual force of the brothers Andrew and John Murray.

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In the meantime momentous events were transpiring in the Sovereignty during the latter months of the fateful year 1852. Sir Harry Smith had been recalled. Towards the end of the year Sir George Cathcart, who followed him, succeeded in bringing to a close the costly and protracted Kaffir War, though peace was only formally concluded early in 1853. The Governor now turned his attention to the Orange River Sovereignty, recognizing as he did the crying necessity of restoring in that territory the prestige of British arms. In the month of November he crossed the Orange River at the head of a body of 2,500 troops, with a view to impressing the native tribes with a sense of his power and authority. The depredations which the turbulent natives had committed were enquired into, and the losses sustained by the farmers of the Sovereignty were assessed at £25,000. General Cathcart accordingly mulcted Moshesh, the Basuto chief, at whose door these depredations chiefly lay, in a fine of 10,000 head of cattle and 1,000 horses. On the stated day but a fraction of this fine was forthcoming, and an attack upon the Basuto stronghold, Thaba Bosiu, was therefore undertaken in the early hours of the 20th December. The Basutos offered unexpected and strenuous resistance, and the battle of the Berea Mountain almost resulted in disaster to the British. The sagacious Moshesh was satisfied with redeeming his promise to "show his teeth," and he therefore sent the British Commander a conciliatory letter, suing for peace; and Cathcart, now completely disillusioned as to the enemy's strength and courage, was glad to get off so cheaply. Referring to these happenings, Murray writes from Bloemfontein on the 30th December as follows—

To Rev. John Murray.

Most of our poor townspeople will spend anything but a happy new year. All is doubt and uncertainty. The Governor has had a fight with Moshesh, in which the former was almost obliged to retreat, though he took some cattle. Immediately afterwards he concluded a peace—all the officers begging to go and punish the Basutos, and the officials, I believe, protesting. It is reported that Owen has resigned, but this is very doubtful. Everybody thinks it certain that he [Cathcart]

intends sacrificing the Sovereignty. And meantime it is confidently expected that Moshesh will soon come to retake the cattle. I hardly know what to think of matters.

As Murray and others rightly saw, British rule in the Sovereignty was *in articulo mortis*. The battles of Viervoet and Berea were the writing on the wall. The authority of the Government had become so lamentably weak that there was no alternative between radically mending it and summarily ending it. Either the country must be policed by a body of troops large enough and powerful enough to compel the obedience of refractory tribes, or it must be entirely relinquished. The English ministry of the day chose the latter alternative. Early in 1852 Earl Grey, Colonial Minister in Lord John Russell's administration, had already written: "The ultimate abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty should be a settled point in our policy." The battle of Berea merely brought matters to a head, and expedited the carrying out of this policy.

The official selected as Special Commissioner to secure the withdrawal of British authority was Sir George Russell Clerk, a former Governor of Bombay. He arrived in Bloemfontein in August, 1853, to perform what proved to be a highly unpopular task. The abandonment of the Sovereignty was opposed by many (at the outset perhaps by the majority) in the territory itself—by English colonists, who had embarked a considerable amount of capital in the country, and saw their vested interests endangered; by anxious missionaries, who viewed a change of government with unconcealed dismay; and even by Boer settlers, who held that the British, after weakly suffering a state of chaos on the Basuto border, should at least reduce that chaos to order, before adopting a policy of scuttle.

The first action of the Commissioner was to summon a meeting of elected delegates from each of the five districts of the Sovereignty to meet at Bloemfontein on the 5th September, "in order to decide upon some form of self-government."

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Though not wholly unexpected, the decree of abandonment nevertheless fell upon the inhabitants as a bolt from the blue. "You have heard the news," writes Murray to his brother on the 11th August, "the Sovereignty is given up. Sir George Clerk is preparing to break up all the establishments. A meeting of delegates is called for the 5th September, to decide upon the form of self-government to be adopted, and to take over the country. You can imagine in what a state of excitement everybody is. There appears to be no hope of any change, as the instructions are decided." And again, a few days later: "Our Commissioner appears to be determined to go through with his instructions. My hope of the new government succeeding appears to diminish as the prospect comes nearer. We have reason to fear for the meeting of delegates: they will most likely be almost equally divided. Had we a good majority against the abandonment, we might hope to do something. At Fauresmith we got a good many to sign a protest against it. We hope that Sir George Clerk might perhaps see the necessity of referring the matter once more to England."

The meeting of delegates was held in the Dutch Reformed Church. It was a historical gathering. Murray had been requested to be one of the delegates for the district of Bloemfontein, but had declined nomination. From the description given by Mr. Joseph Millerd Orpen, who was present as one of the representatives of Harrismith, we take the following sentences—

There were ninety-five of us, including the field-cornets, and of these seventy-six were Dutch and nineteen English. The church in which we met was a big T-shaped building, with a pulpit on a low platform opposite the shank. It had a clay floor and no seats. A table which had stood in front of the platform was moved a little to the right. The delegates, with a crowd of spectators, stood, half filling the church.

When Sir George Clerk arrived, he was taken up to the little platform by the Rev. Andrew Murray, the young, eloquent, earnest and greatly respected clergyman of the Dutch congregation. . . . Sir George's Commission was first read out in English and in Dutch. There was nothing about abandonment in it. It gave authority to administer government, and contained this injunction: "We do hereby require and enjoin you . . . to take all such measures and do all such things as

may lawfully and discreetly be done by you for settling the internal affairs of the Orange River Sovereignty, and for determining the disputes which exist among the natives and other inhabitants thereof, and for enabling the said inhabitants to establish peaceable and orderly government."

After the reading of his Commission, Sir G. Clerk read an address to us, which directed us in Her Majesty's name to prepare ourselves to take over the government of the territory whenever British jurisdiction should be withdrawn. Practically he advised us to elect a chairman at once, and then to draft the outlines of a republican constitution; and then, as the drought and the weather made it difficult to stay longer away from our homes, to appoint a Committee, which would remain in office till we could re-assemble, and would consult about details. On finishing his address he made the regulation three bows to the assembly, preparatory to retiring. At once a big babel of voices arose. A short, active delegate from the Witteberg skipped up on to the platform, and talked and gesticulated. Nobody could understand anybody else, till the Rev. A. Murray, who was still on the little platform, raised his hand demanding silence. He told us we should find tables and seats prepared for us there in the afternoon, when we could meet, elect a chairman and proceed to business.

We met accordingly, and found a T-shaped, four-foot-broad table, formed of planks on trestles, in the west end of the church, with forms, mostly of planks, placed around it. Mr. Murray kindly translated between us. When the votes for a chairman were counted, sixty fell to Dr. Frazer, who had been chairman of a similar meeting of delegates the preceding year. He accordingly took the chair, while Mr. Murray continued to give his kind assistance in translating. He sat or stood at Dr. Frazer's right hand, and next to him on the right was Mr. J. H. Ford, who was elected secretary. Next to him was Mr. J. P. Hoffman, future first President of the Free State. Mr. Hoffman at once took a prominent part in the proceedings. He moved that the Commissioner's address should be printed, and that we should adjourn till next day, Tuesday, 6th September, at 10 a.m. Halse seconded and the motion was carried.¹

Before dispersing the delegates took three important steps. First, they passed a unanimous resolution to forward to the Commissioner a protest against the decision of the British Government to abandon the country; secondly, they laid down in eleven propositions the conditions on which alone they would be willing to consider the question of self-government; and thirdly, they appointed a committee of twenty-five members to confer with Sir G. Clerk, strictly enjoining the

¹ Orpen: *Reminiscences of Life in South Africa*, pp. 267-271.

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said committee "to entertain no proposals for the formation of an independent government until these eleven points should have been adjusted by H.M. Commissioner to their entire satisfaction."¹ On the 8th September, when the delegates met for the last time, Murray wrote as follows—

The meeting passed off well beyond expectation. At its close yesterday they passed an address to Sir George Clerk, containing a protest against the whole measure,—although the patriot party did not know what they were doing. Everything is now left to a Committee, who have to correspond with Sir G. Clerk, eleven points of treaty having been decided upon to lay before him as conditions of capitulation.

The eleven points were these—

1. The settlement of the Griqua question with Adam Kok ;
2. The adjustment of the boundary line between the Sovereignty and Moshesh ;
3. Non-interference of the British Government between the inhabitants and natives ;
4. Non-molestation of the inhabitants by allies of the British Government or persons from beyond the Vaal ;
5. Compensation to all who might be compelled to leave the country ;
6. A share in the customs dues levied at Cape and Natal ports ;
7. Absolution from allegiance to the British Crown ;
8. Settlement of disputes regarding farm boundaries ;
9. Cancellation of all existing treaties with native chiefs ;
10. Permission to purchase munitions of war and unimpeded transit from the coast ;
11. Unlawfully imposed fines to be returned.

Having thus "done good business and made history in those three days"—the expression is Orpen's—the delegates departed for their homes, leaving the conduct of further negotiations in the hands of the committee of twenty-five. This committee within a few days requested its chairman, Dr. A. J. Frazer, and the Rev. Andrew Murray to proceed to England as delegates, in order to lay before the Ministry an extensively-signed petition against abandonment. Under the date, 20th September, 1853, Murray writes thus—

To his Father.

In my last I expressed a wish that I might have a special interest in your prayers, as I might be in special need of guidance. What I then

¹ Theal, Vol. III., p. 341.

alluded to, but did not dare to mention because of its uncertainty, induces me now to write. The matter is this : two delegates are to be sent to England from the Sovereignty. Sir George Clerk appears to waver, and there is still hope that it may not be too late, as we have reason to believe that the decision of the Ministry was not so final as it was represented to be. An opinion has been very generally expressed that the minister of Bloemfontein ought to be one of these delegates, and in the course of a short time I may receive a requisition to that effect. You may imagine that there is much that is pleasing in the prospect, especially if the possibility of doing the country any good be held out. My own health would also plead for going. I have felt far from strong during the past four or five weeks, and Mrs. Schreiner has made me promise to write about it. A weakness in my back, legs and arms, with a sort of nervous trembling in my hands, make me believe that I would be the better of rest ; and I had resolved to ask for three months' leave of absence during the heat of summer. This object could now so well be obtained by the voyage to Europe and back.

I feel that there are very great dangers connected with going on such a mission. As regards my people, a growing interest in their welfare would not allow me easily to leave them, the object of so many prayers, without fear lest impressions made might be lost and promising blossoms all be destroyed. And personally I cannot conceal from myself the dangers I incur of losing, amidst excitement and bustle, any measure of quickening and enjoyment which the Lord has lately been granting me. However much there is to attract on the one hand, I hardly think my fears would allow me to accept. I do, however, believe that if I may go, my God will show me the way.

Murray ultimately accepted the nomination, and left Bloemfontein in the course of November for Graaff-Reinet, where he was joined by his fellow-delegate, Dr. Frazer. They proceeded immediately to Cape Town, where they were detained until the 21st January, 1854, when they sailed for England in the steamer *Queen of the South*. They arrived at their destination towards the end of February, and were granted an audience with the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Aberdeen Ministry, on the 16th March. But before this matters had moved on with great swiftness in the Sovereignty, and this development of the situation we must now describe.

The procedure of the Special Commissioner, after the two delegates had taken their departure for England, is described from personal knowledge by Orpen—

In the meantime Sir George Clerk was using all the influence and

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pressure he could bring forward to induce the people to undertake an organized movement in opposition to the protest of the assembly of delegates. He made no public announcement, but we heard that he was telling the people that the resistance was futile, and that, if it was continued, he would at last hand over the government to any people who chose to accept it, or would simply withdraw, leaving us to do as we pleased. He travelled about, evidently with the purpose of making this widely known, and it was plain that he was anxious to hurry matters on in order to complete the abandonment before the deputation could cause serious embarrassment to the Ministry in England.¹

Besides the powerful influence which the Commissioner exercised, other forces were at work which strengthened what Murray had called "the patriot party." Adriaan Standera, strong republican, and one of the men who had been proscribed by the British Government after the battle of Boomplaats, returned to the Sovereignty from the Transvaal, and used every endeavour to induce the inhabitants to accept independence. The missionaries and their circle, in their antagonism to the abandonment policy, indulged in somewhat wild talk of the injustice of creating another Boer State to oppress the natives; and such talk could not but stiffen the backs of the republican party, while enfeebling the resistance of the loyalists to the threatened withdrawal. The result of all these influences was seen in the secession of several members of the Committee of Twenty-five, and among them was Mr. J. P. Hoffman.

At this stage the following notice was issued at the instance of the Commissioner—

BLOEMFONTEIN, 19th January, 1854.

TO THE COMMANDANTS AND FIELD-CORNETS.

It is hereby notified that those persons who, on the part of the inhabitants, are now prepared to discuss with Her Majesty's Special Commissioner the terms on which the independent government of this territory will be transferred into their hands, will assemble at Bloemfontein on the 15th day of next month.

H. LOWEN,
Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate.

On the 15th February there was witnessed in Bloemfontein a curious and unique sight. Two antagonistic gatherings were

¹ Orpen : *Reminiscences*, p. 286.

held. The first was that of the republican party, presided over by Mr. Hoffman, professing to represent the majority of the inhabitants of the Sovereignty—as indeed, at this time they almost certainly did. The other was the Committee of Twenty-five, which, however, had been so much weakened by secession and by the absence of Dr. Frazer, that they mustered only thirteen—a sufficient number to constitute a quorum. The latter meeting immediately passed a resolution declaring themselves in permanent session as the only legally constituted representatives of the inhabitants. They had been commissioned, they maintained, by the assembly of delegates to treat with Sir G. Clerk in the matter of the eleven points, and to take no step in the direction of self-government until these points had been “adjusted to their entire satisfaction.” The Commissioner stigmatized this committee as the “obstructionists,” and took the drastic step of serving them with a discharge, as the following notice testifies—

RESIDENCY, *17th February, 1854.*

TO THE CIVIL COMMISSIONER
OF BLOEMFONTEIN.

SIR,—With reference to my circular of the 9th August last, I am directed by Her Majesty’s Special Commissioner to request you to make known to the inhabitants of your town and district that the assembly of delegates, then convened, having misconstrued and defeated the object for which it was called, is dissolved.

I have, etc.,

HENRY GREEN,
British Resident.

The Committee thus summarily dismissed thereupon addressed to the Duke of Newcastle a protest against the action of the Commissioner, in which they expressed themselves in the following forcible language: “We declare the late acts of Her Majesty’s Special Commissioner, Sir George Russell Clerk, to be illegal, unconstitutional and in violation of the terms of Her Majesty’s Commission.” Sir George Clerk, having dissolved the Committee, now turned his attention to the body of men whom he recognized as representatives of the people. With them he was soon able to come to terms.

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Meeting in secret conclave for some days in succession, they discussed the draft of a convention which should secure self-government to the people living between the Orange and the Vaal. On the 23rd February the Convention of Bloemfontein was signed by Sir George Russell Clerk on the one part, and twenty-five representatives of the people on the other. It consisted of nine articles, and guaranteed in the fullest sense the independence of the country, "which independence shall . . . be confirmed and ratified by an instrument . . . finally freeing them from their allegiance to the British Crown, and declaring them to all intents and purposes a free and independent people, and their Government to be considered and treated henceforth as a free and independent Government."

By this Convention the Orange River Sovereignty was metamorphosed into the Orange Free State. The change of government was fortunately unaccompanied by bloodshed. We have Orpen's authority for the statement that when once the abandonment was accomplished very few, if any, bitter feelings were cherished, except against Sir George Clerk himself and the Coalition Ministry. A provisional government was elected to serve until a permanent personnel could be appointed. Of this temporary administration Mr. J. P. Hoffman was president; Mr. Jacobus Groenendaal, the schoolmaster of Sannas Poort, acted as secretary; and five others were added as members of the Government. A landdrost was also appointed for each of the five districts of Bloemfontein, Winburg, Harrismith, Sannas Poort and Smithfield. The first Volksraad met in March, and organized the civil establishment upon a securer basis, and in the following May Josias Philip Hoffman was duly chosen by plebiscite as first State President. The little republic was thus fairly launched upon its new career.

While the inhabitants of the Orange River territory were making history in this fashion, their delegates, Messrs. Frazer and Murray, were vainly endeavouring to gain the ear of the Ministry, and to obtain some consideration for the views of the dissentient minority. But even before they set foot in

England the Bloemfontein Convention had been signed, and the delegates found themselves facing a *fait accompli*, which the Ministry was glad to be done with, and positively disinclined to reconsider. Other matters were engaging the public attention, and in particular the Eastern question was already tending towards that crisis which was soon to issue in the Crimean War. The affairs of a handful of people in a corner of South Africa were too trivial to be worth much thought.

In a letter to his father, dated 10th April, 1854, Murray gives the following account of their doings—

As regards our mission here, on the 16th of March we had an interview with the Duke of Newcastle. He received us most kindly, but informed us that the matter was so far settled that he expected the first mail to bring him the report of the arrangements being completed, as final orders had been despatched in November last. We felt there was very little hope, and were almost prepared to give up the question, were it not for the fear of being afterwards accused of doing so little. On putting ourselves into communication with Mr. Adderley, he advised us to get a legal opinion as to the power of the Crown to abandon without consulting Parliament.

The question was brought up in the House of Commons on the 9th May—Murray's twenty-sixth birthday—when Mr. C. B. Adderley¹ moved an address to the Queen, asking for a reconsideration of the Order in Council by which British authority was withdrawn from the Orange River Sovereignty. One or two speakers on the Government benches, including the Attorney-General, replied to Adderley's strictures, maintaining that the abandonment was both perfectly legal and wholly expedient. Not a single voice was raised in support of the motion, and the mover was therefore obliged to withdraw it. "The whole business," writes Murray, "has given me a sad insight into political proceedings, and in fact every one says openly that not justice but expediency and party policy rule

¹ This Mr. Adderley, in 1849, had courageously advocated the cause of the Cape in the Anti-convict Agitation, and in his honour the principal thoroughfare of Cape Town was re-christened Adderley Street.

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the day, except in some few matters where public feeling can be strongly stirred. In our case even friends said it was impossible [to get the abandonment cancelled], owing both to the insignificance of the matter (!) and the bad name the Cape has from its Caffre wars."

During the period of his detention in London Murray fulfilled several preaching engagements. His fame as an earnest and deeply spiritual preacher was soon noised abroad, and led to a proposal which he esteemed a great honour. This was the invitation to occupy the pulpit of Surrey Chapel until such time as the Rev. Newman Hall, the new minister, could arrive. Owing partly to the demands on his time which his mission made, and partly to the unsatisfactory state of his health, Murray was obliged to decline, though he preached in the Chapel on the evening of the day on which the retiring minister took his farewell.

To his father he writes—

As to my engagements here, they are not so frequent as they might otherwise be, as we have often to wait at home, to be ready for any official calls of duty. I have preached thrice for Dr. Morison, who suffers much from ill-health. I do not know what you will think of what happened last week. Surrey Chapel (Rowland Hill's) has become vacant by the Rev. Mr. Sherman's leaving. The Rev. Newman Hall, who is to succeed him, does not come for three months, and I have been applied to to take charge of it for May and June, with the offer of a parsonage, etc. I have, of course, declined the offer. Several other invitations to preach I have also declined. I suppose, however, that I shall be engaged about once every Sunday. I feel my general health much improving and my strength increasing greatly too, except in my arms and hands, where I generally still feel the old pains.

To his sister he writes a few weeks subsequently—

As regards my health I cannot speak very favourably, and you may imagine that I now long for rest. Perhaps I ought not to preach at all. I find it difficult to refuse altogether, and preaching is in fact most refreshing to myself. On Sunday evening, for instance, I preached at Surrey Chapel to a congregation of some 3,000 from the words: "I beheld, and lo! in the midst of the throne a Lamb, as it had been slain." The subject has been most edifying to myself. All Monday I was enabled to rejoice in meditating on it, and amidst my engagements yesterday and to-day it has been most quickening still. I think the Lord

gives me favour in the sight of the people [of Surrey Chapel], though my violent manner is much against me.

In the course of April he spent a brief ten days in Holland. The following is the account he gives—

To his Brother (Rev. J. Murray).

I left London on Wednesday the 12th, and reached Rotterdam safely towards the afternoon. As I intended staying only a week, I hurried on the same night to Amsterdam, after having spent a couple of hours very pleasantly with the Herklots. Many were the kind enquiries after yourself and all the friends. You cannot imagine how strange the feeling was when I found myself in Holland, the very smell of the houses recalling old impressions, and I was myself surprised to discover how strangely Dutch manners struck me. I arrived very late at Amsterdam, and early next morning was on my way to Mrs. Waller, where I breakfasted. I need not say that the welcome was warm and hearty. The children are so grown that I would hardly have recognized them. Mrs. Waller is still the same kind, motherly friend and open-hearted Christian.

By twelve noon I was in Utrecht, and soon found Charles¹ rooms, on the Oud Kerkhof, next to van Zutphen's, where Klaas² lived. He was not in, and I had half an hour's quiet thought to look back on all the way the Lord had so strangely and so graciously led me. You may imagine how glad the meeting was. I immediately recognized in him the most extraordinary likeness to you,—an opinion which I found entertained by all of your friends; and I had hardly sat down before he spoke of my likeness to dear Mamma. At first there was the strange feeling one sometimes has after long absence, a difficulty as to where to begin talking. In the course of the day I became acquainted with all the *Kapenaren* (Cape students). I know you will be glad to hear of them, and without judging I shall give you the general impression. De Smidt and Thomson have just done propædæutica: they appear to have some talent and to be good students. In religion there is every desire after the one thing needful. They are serious Scotch students, and there may be more than this. I regret that the bustle of the visit prevented more private and individual intercourse. All the others appear to me to be well-inclined, and much might be hoped from good influence. Only Charles and Hofmeyr see van den Ham often, but I asked leave to introduce some of the others. De Smidt and Thomson will, of course, now avail themselves of his "theologisch gezelschap" once a week. I trust Beets, who goes to Utrecht early in June, may also exert much influence. . . .

On Saturday I called on van den Ham, where I had again a most warm reception. I was surprised to see how deeply the Cape *beroep*

¹ His younger brother.

² N. J. (afterwards Professor) Hofmeyr.

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(call) had affected him. He and Beets had both been on the point of accepting. Had it not been for his father, I think we should have had van den Ham.¹ We had much interesting conversation on the state of Holland. Christians appear to consider matters looking darker than I had expected. The possibility of *afscheiding* (separation) if Meyboom be forced upon Amsterdam (as will very likely be the case) is seriously talked of; and though the ministers would not yet go, they fear the consequences. The appointment of Ter Haar has been a sad proof of how entirely the orthodox party is shut out from the possibility of doing anything publicly for the Church. I called on Merens, but he did not know me. As it was Saturday evening, we were put off to a *broodje* [equivalent to a "cup of tea"] for next week.

On Sabbath morning we had an excellent sermon from van den Ham; in the afternoon in the Jacobi from Bösken. I could at moments really fancy that I had not been a month out of Holland. Between the services I attended a nice, large Sabbath-school, where Charles assists, and in the evening all the *Kapenaren* met for prayer and reading. I was sorry to find that they did not do this in general, and that there were some doubts as to its possibility. A sermon from van Hoogstraten on Monday (Easter Monday) was very nice of its kind, and a visit to him afterwards was hearty, as he always is. Madame (his wife) has been far from well of late. I was surprised to find him a warm advocate for the Kweekschool [Theological Seminary]: if we could not succeed in getting professors [in Holland, he proposed] we should take two of our own *Kapenaren*. The evening we spent at Meur. van Boetselaar's and I was not surprised at the affection with which Willie had spoken of them. At nine we went to a meeting of Eltheto, where I met Nicho.² I had written to him to come, though he had to be at Amsterdam next day. We spent a pleasant evening in general conversation on the interests of our Redeemer's kingdom, especially in Africa.

On Tuesday evening there was to be a meeting at Amsterdam of some twenty ministers for ecclesiastical conference. Their motto is "Ernst en Vrede" [Earnestness and Peace], and their object the maintenance of Church rights and doctrines. At Nicho's request I accompanied him and had no reason to regret it. We lodged at the Pierson's—always diligent and energetic Christians, though I had still the same feeling of preference for Mrs. Waller. The meetings were most interesting,—Beets, van den Ham, van Oosterzee, Doedes, Heldring, J. J. van Toorenbergen, Hasebroek and others taking part. *What to do* was the great question. "Combine more directly with the Groen party and the Amsterdam ultras for fear of a disruption." But it was decided not to, because the standpoints were too different. Both had a mission which would be best accomplished independently of each other. A protest

¹ The Synodical Committee of the D. R. Church of S. Africa had called the Revs. N. Beets and F. G. van den Ham as first professors of the proposed Theological Seminary, but they had felt themselves obliged to decline.

² His friend, N. H. de Graaf.

against the new *Bijbelvertaling* [Bible Translation] was agreed to : also a petition in favour of the voice of the people being heard in the election of ministers and churchwardens ; and a protest against the new *onder-teekeningformulier* (formula for subscription). I was really delighted with the spirit of the meeting, as well as at the opportunity for observing different characters. On Wednesday I was asked to the dinner, which I enjoyed much too. They all appeared to feel that they may soon be placed in very difficult circumstances, and they fear much for the future of the Church.

On Thursday I saw Mr. Smith of Perth, Free Church Professor in the Amsterdam Seminary. I enjoyed the visit. There are some sixteen students, destined to be evangelists, though I fear the Free Church did not understand this when she took up the thing. The Thursday evening with Dr. Merens astonished me (and Charlie also), as we found all his sympathies were with the Russians. It was the same next day with old Bouman, who declared he would always pray for the victory of the cross over the crescent. When I saw him on Friday, he appeared to be haunted by some idea of my unfaithfulness at his *colleges*. Vinke was very hearty. Poor Mevr. Royaards is very much cut up at the thought of all the *Kapenaren* and their relation to her departed husband. Mevr. Schuyt had still a word for Scholten. We dined with van den Ham, and I think I surprised him by telling him all I thought of the relations of Boers and missionaries to each other.

On Monday I started for Rotterdam, in company with Th. Burgers. There we met Beelaerts, who certainly has the most unprejudiced and extensive views with regard to the Cape which I have yet met with. I forgot to mention that in Amsterdam I met with a Mr. Swart, who is extremely anxious to do something for the Cape. He is a member of the Amsterdam Committee. When I told him of my hesitancy to cooperate on account of laxity in life and doctrine on the part of those they have sent, he acknowledged the justice of what I said—he is a friend of Hasebroek—but observed, “ Could we but find the men.” I am not without hope of getting some good men—if the Transvaal won't have them, then at all events for the Sovereignty.

On Tuesday morning we started for Middelburg. Taats' welcome you can imagine. He is still quite the same, and happy in his labour. The call to the Cape cost him a bitter struggle : he only resigned on account of his parents, and would have liked none better than van Tooreenberg (you may not otherwise hear, and therefore this in private) ; and Tooreenberg has declined conditionally, but if he gets an official call, he will very likely accept. Everybody thinks he would do well. We dined with him at Vlissingen on Wednesday, and then started for London. . . .

During the whole of May Murray remained in London, endeavouring to obtain from the Colonial Office some concessions, by way of compensation, for the Sovereignty inhabitants

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who had been so unceremoniously absolved from their allegiance to the British Crown. He made use of the opportunity to attend some of the May meetings in Exeter Hall, but does not seem to have been very greatly impressed. "The speaking in general was inferior to what I should have expected. I fancied that under the excitement of a crowded audience of 5,000 attentive listeners, I myself could have been stirred to make a speech." The Evangelical Alliance breakfast was the function which he declares to have found most interesting.

As soon as he could shake himself free from the claims of his mission, he departed for Scotland. The re-union with his uncle's family in Aberdeen was a happy one. Both there and in Edinburgh he put forth efforts to find young men who would be willing to proceed to South Africa as ministers and teachers. But his endeavours were unavailing. His uncle, moreover, held out small hopes of success, for the Free Church had during the past two years supplied the colonies with some forty ministers, and was now herself threatened with a dearth of probationers. In Holland Murray fared no better in his quest: men of piety and orthodoxy, whose circumstances left them sufficiently untrammelled to go abroad, were few and far between; and those who were free were not always willing. The conviction, clear before, was rendered deeper and more urgent, that the only remedy for the state of ministerial destitution in South Africa was the establishment of a theological seminary of their own. And Murray's strong desire to see such an institution arise was doubtless strengthened by his uncle's keen interest in the recently sanctioned Free Church College at Aberdeen. "Uncle is all triumph at the last Assembly's having sanctioned the Hall here. They appear to have gotten two admirable men as professors."

The state of his health at this time gave him cause for the gravest concern. "I feel my strength so worn," he writes, "that I do not believe that even perfect rest for three or four months would restore me, and a single summer in Africa would lay me prostrate. The doctor says that my whole system has been much more seriously affected than I have any idea of,

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and that prolonged rest is necessary to restoration. And even then the system will remain very weak, unless allowed time to gather strength. He disadvises my leaving England before the winter." In accordance with medical advice he visited for several weeks a water-cure establishment at Ben Rhydding in Yorkshire, but the benefit to his health was discouragingly small. In September he crossed over to Holland, where he remained for about a month. The doctors, however, recommended another course of water-cure, which he took at Boppard on the Rhine. Writing from there to members of the home circle, he says—

You will all have been together, enjoying each other's society, during the Presbytery week, and talking about your brother, and the prolongation of his stay until November, little thinking how much longer his absence is still to be. Here I am, trying a second water-cure establishment. In Holland I found I was still so far from strong, and so incapable of bearing the least excitement or exertion without fatigue, that I consulted a medical man, who positively advised me to stay over the winter in Europe, and thought that a few weeks' continued trial of the cold-water cure might do me good. What I chiefly suffer from is the pain in the hands and arms. Half an hour's lively conversation, or earnest application to anything that requires thinking, immediately makes itself felt there. I cannot even write a note without feeling the pain in my arms; and the pain in the arms is but the index of a general weakness in the nervous system. The doctor says that the whole constitution must be strengthened before the pain can be removed.

In November he was back in Holland, and there he remained until the middle of the following January, enjoying the kindly hospitality of a large circle of friends. From Utrecht he wrote a most interesting letter to his brother John, from which only the briefest extracts are possible—

To Rev. John Murray.

On my way down the Rhine I halted at Bonn, where I met a great many friends—amongst others Prof. Krafft, who remembered our visit in 1847. I spoke to him on the subject of getting young ministers. He said that, apart from the difficulty of getting Reformed candidates in general, the number of students had so decreased since 1848 that they were hardly able to supply their own wants. On my asking about the advisability of obtaining a German professor, he felt much interested

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in the matter, and went over the list of ministers and professors. We found only one he could at all recommend. I shall have some conversation with van den Ham about this, though I have no idea that it will be possible to get one to our mind. . . .

I also dined with Prof. Bleek—you remember the squinting, fat little man. His son, a great philologist, is going out to Natal with Bishop Colenso to reduce the Zulu language to writing, as well as to study the other African languages. He went out with a large expedition last year, but was taken ill on the West Coast. You would hardly have thought that the dry commentator could have been so hearty and kind as the old gentleman was. . . .

As to church matters here in Holland, you know that the protests of the Amsterdam and Hague petitioners against Meyboom and Zaalberg were rejected by the Synodical Commission, while the Harderwijk Classis, which had also petitioned against the Amsterdam address, got a *vermaning* (admonition) to mind their own business, and not disturb the peace of the Church. The Amsterdam *adressanten* have now issued a last protest, appealing to the judgment of the great day against the violence done to the Church. *Ernst-en-Vrede* met last week and is to publish a more moderate address. Beets and the *Nederlander* (Groen) have been having a warm discussion, as the former had reprehended the too violent language of the Amsterdam address. Otherwise matters are quiet. . . .

You will ere this have heard of the ill success of our calls for the professorships of the Seminary. I was surprised to hear how different people in Germany (Krafft, etc.) insisted on the necessity of a Seminary at the Cape, and also how little difficulty some of our friends here (especially van Hoogstraten) feel in two of our Cape ministers being chosen. You will undoubtedly ere this have heard that your own name has been mentioned in this connexion. It may be premature to say so, but should you be called I do pray that you may feel at liberty to accept. In fact, I hardly see how you could decline. What I have seen of the students here convinces me more and more of the necessity of the Seminary. From what I have looked at of the *wetenschap* (science) here, I feel how easy it would be for you to rub it up again. You would be surprised to see how familiar everything looks.

Early in 1855 Murray crossed the Channel, intending to leave London for South Africa almost immediately. The winter was, however, a severe one, and their vessel was detained by frosts until the 9th of March. The voyage commenced inauspiciously, and stress of weather compelled them to put into Plymouth; but when once they were clear of northern storms and mists they made satisfactory progress. Two young friends, a Hollander named Vels, and a South African, Albertus

Stegmann, helped to relieve the monotony of the voyage, which lasted until the fourth week of May. His health by this time was greatly improved, though he still had to exercise great care, and avoid both over-exertion and over-excitement.

After a stay of some three or four weeks in Cape Town, he set out for Bloemfontein by way of Ladismith, Prince Albert and Gräaff-Reinet. Of his welcome to the parental home and his brief stay there we have no record, but his father would appear to have accompanied him to Bloemfontein, where he arrived in the course of August, 1855, after an absence of one year and nine months. His fellow-delegate, Dr. Frazer, had remained permanently in England.¹ It need hardly be said that the Bloemfontein folk welcomed their returning pastor with every demonstration of gratitude and affection. "I feel quite ashamed," he writes, "at all the warmth of friendship and kindness with which I have been received, and I fit more easily into the Bloemfontein life than I had expected." Regarding his health he is obliged to confess that "I was very much fatigued when Papa was here, and could hardly enjoy his society. Since his departure I have been resting more, and feel better and calmer than since landing."

¹ Dr. Frazer was an army surgeon who had settled down in the Sovereignty. After the failure of his and Murray's mission, he remained in London as an attaché of the Foreign Office, and during the Crimean War was sent with Sir F. Williams to Kars with the rank of colonel. Subsequently he received a diplomatic appointment in Scotland, where he died in the late sixties.

CHAPTER VIII

LAST YEARS AT BLOEMFONTEIN

I am persuaded that an unbiased retrospect over the past efforts of the Christian Churches to formulate the essence of their faith, though it must inevitably move one to a certain sadness that, in their quest after the truth as it is in Jesus Christ, their common Lord, they found it necessary to part so frequently and at times so widely from one another, may with equal justice move one to a feeling of pride and satisfaction that the quest has been so unremitting, so earnest, so conscientious, so fruitful in discovery, so rich in educative experience.—
PROFESSOR WILLIAM A. CURTIS.

NOT only his own congregation at Bloemfontein, but the Church at large welcomed Murray back to South Africa. That he was not forgotten during nearly two years of absence is proved by the fact that two calls were presented to him—one from the congregation at Colesberg, while he was still in Europe, and one from the congregation of Ladysmith (Natal), shortly before his return to Bloemfontein. Both invitations he felt himself constrained to decline. About the time of his return he writes as follows on matters in general—

To Rev. John Murray.

I thank you sincerely for the assurance of your prayers, which will stir me up to remember you still more specially. Since Papa left there is little news. The Raad broke up to-day. The results of its deliberations are on the whole very satisfactory.

I am very thankful that I feel so well and comfortable. I was able yesterday to preach with more composure than I have ever yet done. I trust the course of sermons which I have announced on the Mosaic Worship will aid me in my endeavour to cultivate calmer habits in the pulpit. May the great secret of success in this matter—the quieting influence of God's presence and peace—be mercifully vouchsafed.

In domestic matters everything is going on well. I feel wonderfully

at home and enjoy the quiet. My hopes as to a possible restoration of my strength begin somewhat to revive. I yesterday received a letter from Henry Faure, enclosing a call from Ladysmith. What you write about the *Kort Begrip* (Shorter Heidelberg Catechism) I feel to be very tempting, and I have already been looking over my old manuscripts. I must, however, have some time to deliberate before I come to a decision. I see that I have written on the Old Testament as far as Jacob, and of the *Peep of Day* I have done twenty-six chapters. I long for your book: you must send it with Willie to Cape Town.

I much regret that I entirely forgot to send you any books with Papa. I shall try and avail myself of the first opportunity to do so. I can hardly advise you in the matter of ordering books from England or Holland. In Dutch I know of scarcely one of great value, except the translation of Vinet's *Homiletiek*. Oosterzee's *Christologie* will be too large. Some of my new English books I can send you for perusal, or recommend after having read them myself. You know the name of Trench. I have just ordered again Arnold's Life. Get my copy of *The Earnest Student* from Graaff-Reinet. It combines deep Scotch piety with large and suggestive views of German theology. The Memoirs of the Haldanes you can get there too. Papa's praise will ensure your reading it, nor will you regret it. The Memoirs of Harrington Evans and Nettleton are both excellent. They were also to come to Graaff-Reinet. Mention any books you have become acquainted with that you would recommend. I am in hopes of doing more in the way of reading than heretofore. . . .

Give me your advice on the following questions. Dr. Krause would feel a difficulty in answering the questions of the Baptismal service demanding the education of the child in the Reformed Faith. There can be no objection to baptizing the child privately and substituting a more general promise? I cannot feel at liberty to demand *doopouders* (godparents) from truly Christian parents. Another question. The Germans have felt a scruple in coming to the Lord's Table, because they consider it a virtual confession of the Reformed Faith—equivalent to becoming members. They have asked me whether I would object to dispensing the Supper to them in a private room.

I had last week the opportunity of forwarding across the Vaal three intimations of our presbytery meeting. I also wrote to Lydenburg and Rustenburg in answer to their request to us to pay them a pastoral visit, saying that Neethling and I had spoken of it, and that we hoped that a deputation would be with them in April. I begged of them to let me know whether it was still desired by the people.

The meeting of the Presbytery of Transgariëp (as the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers was known) took place at Winburg in October of the same year. Judged by its far-reaching effects in after years, the most important matter brought to the notice of the Presbytery was an offer

from Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape Colony, to aid the young State in the establishment of a college for the instruction of youth and the training of men for the teaching profession. Sir George Grey proposed donating, from imperial funds at his disposal, a sum of money for this laudable purpose, and appointing the Presbytery as board of management to control the institution in accordance with the terms of a suitable trust-deed. It need hardly be said that this generous offer was gratefully accepted. Further action was entrusted to a committee of which Mr. Murray was the leading spirit. A week or two later he writes to his brother—

Your idea in regard to getting a headmaster for our school is exactly what I have proposed to the Governor. He has promised £1,500 to erect a building capable of containing thirty boarders. We have just bought three water *erven* (plots) for £300. It is a pity that one has a house on it : this makes it so dear. We are to get the plans from Cape Town.

This matter of a central educational institution came up also before the Volksraad, when the State President, Mr. J. N. Boshof, intimated that Sir George Grey had notified his readiness to increase his original gift to £4,500, so that, in addition to the sum required for the erection of a suitable building, the salary of the headmaster should be guaranteed from interest accruing. In less than a twelvemonth the preliminaries had been arranged, and on the 13th October, 1856, the ceremony of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Grey College was performed by President Boshof, amid the universal acclaim of the inhabitants of Bloemfontein. The first trustees of the College were Pres. Boshof, Rev. Andrew Murray and Mr. J. D. Griesel, elder of Bloemfontein. When the College was formally opened on the 27th January, 1859, a Dutch and an English teacher had been secured, but no headmaster had been as yet appointed ; and Mr. Murray undertook for a time the onerous duties of rector, which implied, however, in addition to general supervision, merely the control of the boarding department. This noble institution, second in point of age

only to the South African College among the higher educational establishments of South Africa, has during the sixty years of its existence done a work of incalculable importance for the whole of the Orange Free State. And the Grey College is but a portion of the debt which South Africa owes to the sympathetic and practical interest of that great colonial statesman, Sir George Grey.

The year 1856 was notable for one of the momentous events of Murray's life—his marriage. The lady who consented to become his bride was Miss Emma Rutherford, the daughter of an influential Cape Town merchant. Her father, Mr. Howson Edward Rutherford, emigrated to South Africa in the early part of the nineteenth century, and by his integrity and Christian principle soon acquired a high position in the esteem of the metropolitan community. He was an active member, and treasurer from its inception, of the "Cape of Good Hope Society for aiding deserving Slaves and Slave-children to purchase their freedom,"—a philanthropic body established in 1828, to which belonged most of the prominent Capetonians, from the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, downwards. In the Anti-convict Agitation of 1849 he played a prominent part, being one of the deputation which pressed the views of the inhabitants upon the Governor. When Cape Colony received the grant of representative institutions in 1854, he was returned by the electors of the Western Province as member of the first Legislative Council under the new provisions. The suburban home of the Rutherford family, first at Green Point and afterwards at Claremont, was noted for its generous hospitality to missionaries of every society and denomination.

Through the services of Dr. Philip, the well-known secretary of the London Missionary Society in Cape Town, Andrew Murray was introduced to this Christian home, and here, on the occasion of his return from England in 1855, he first met Miss Rutherford. During this visit nothing was arranged, but a correspondence was opened which led to another visit to Cape Town in May, 1856, and ultimately to their engagement. No very great time elapsed between the engagement and its

happy consummation. A long postponement was not to be thought of, and as travel in those days was an expensive and wearying business, the bride-elect did not inflict upon her future husband the necessity of another pilgrimage from Bloemfontein to the Cape, but gave her consent to a speedy marriage.

The Rutherfordos were members of the Church of England, and the bridegroom was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, so that friendly discussions were necessary as to the place and the performance of the ceremony. All difficulties were happily solved by the decision that the marriage should take place in the Dutch Reformed church at Wynberg, that the service should be conducted in the English language, and that the officiating clergyman should be the bridegroom's uncle, Rev. G. W. Stegmann, minister of the Lutheran Church of Cape Town. A honeymoon, in the accepted sense of the term, the young couple cannot be said to have had. They were married on Wednesday, 2nd July, passed the first night at Stellenbosch, thirty miles away, and the next at Ceres, seventy miles further on the homeward journey. Sunday, the 20th July, was spent at Graaff-Reinet, where the new sister was received with affectionate joy, not unmixed with curiosity. Towards the end of the month, apparently, he was back at Bloemfontein.

In comparison with the preceding period, the last four years of Murray's sojourn at Bloemfontein were void of stirring incidents. His health was not yet such that he could engage with impunity in the toilsome and abundant labours of the early years. His duties as rector of the Grey College were not indeed heavy, being confined to general supervision, and the boarding of a number of pupils, but they nevertheless circumscribed his wanderings to his own parish, and journeys to distant congregations became comparatively infrequent. He secured greater leisure for study, and commenced those literary labours which assumed such proportions in later years. Towards the end of 1856 he writes as follows to his brother—

To Rev. John Murray.

John Neethling has passed this way. He enjoyed his journey to Natal extremely. His *rencontre* with van der Hoff was rather warm. The latter must have heard a good deal that was more plain than pleasant. The congregation of Lydenburg appears to be quite unanimous in its attachment to the Synod.

I exceedingly approve of your *Leiddraad voor Zondagscholen* (Manual for Sunday-schools). Give me either this to do, or Newman Hall's *Come to Jesus* to translate. I will set about it immediately. I hesitate about at once beginning the composition of the *Leiddraad* from fear of your having done it already, as well as from the idea that you are so intimate with the Bible history that you can better judge of the proper portions to be selected. . . . I would also say that if another edition of the *Kindervijbel* be called for very soon, do not enlarge it. It would hardly be fair to the owners of the first edition. In using it, I shall have my eye on what I think might be improved.

I long much to see you : so does Emma : but I really do not know when I am to give Andries Louw and P. Roux a turn during their absence to the Presbytery meeting in Natal—probably on the 12th and the 19th October. But just then you will not be at home. I would hardly like to be out an additional Sunday in the Colony, as my professed (and indeed only real) reason for declining to attend the Natal Presbytery is my reluctance to leave my people.

Here matters are somewhat quiescent at present. I have no doubt in my own mind of Cox's guilt—in fact, I think even Vels fears he murdered his wife, though not his children. I fear he will yet be let loose, as the irregularity of the first trial has rendered a second necessary, and general usage, as well as Colonial legal opinion, considers this a most unusual step.¹

¹ These lines refer to a harrowing tragedy, and a subsequent trial for murder, that convulsed the whole State. The facts are these : On a farm about two miles from Bloemfontein lived an Englishman named Charles Leo Cox, who had married the daughter of a neighbouring Dutch farmer called Bouver. On the 26th April, 1856, his wife and two children, aged respectively two years and eight months, were found dead, with marks which pointed to violence. Cox was arrested (though loudly proclaiming his innocence) and charged with murder. There being as yet no regular court of justice, the case was brought before a special tribunal consisting of the Landdrosts of Bloemfontein, Smithfield and Winburg, and a jury. The prosecution was in the hands of the State Attorney, Mr. A. B. Roberts, and the accused was defended by Attorney C. J. Vels. The English-speaking inhabitants of the State expressed their conviction that Cox was innocent, the Dutch element was as firmly convinced of his guilt. At a certain stage in the proceedings the Landdrost of Smithfield, Mr. Ford, withdrew from the Bench, saying, "I will not remain ; I am off." Next day another member was added to the court, which then sentenced the accused to death, the jury having previously found him guilty. An appeal against the verdict was immediately registered, and the case was

Our Raad meets in a month to settle matters with regard to Moshesh. I do not believe the war rumours. Boshof has strong views on the subject of the "blacks" and their perfidy. I have no idea what the Raad will do. I trust the quiet of the Colony will make them think before deciding on a war—also, the little taste of commando life in Witsie's expedition.

We are just settling down. Emma likes the place, and gets on well with the Dutch people, barring her deficient language. She is very anxious to be useful: you suggest how! We are very happy, and I trust very grateful.

In spite of the hopes expressed in the above letter the political horizon remained persistently overcast. Several years elapsed before the young State obtained sufficient security from outward menace to develop its own internal resources. The Basuto tribes remained a source of anxiety and danger. Moshesh was a wily diplomat. While professing peace and amity, he was surreptitiously fomenting rebellion. But his machinations were not unknown to Sir George Grey, whose secret agents informed him of Moshesh's efforts to incite the Kaffir chiefs on the Eastern border. In 1858 war was declared by the Free State Volksraad. In connexion with the outbreak of hostilities Murray addressed the following letter to his father-in-law, Mr. H. E. Rutherford—

Andrew Murray to the Hon. H. E. Rutherford.

The object of my writing now is to ask your opinion on a very important question, whether it would not be possible to obtain the interference of the High Commissioner in this unfortunate war with Moshesh. The last few weeks have led me to reflect more deeply upon the fearful curse that any war is, upon the special iniquity attending, not so much this struggle itself, as the original cause of it, and upon the duty of England, as in my view answerable for that iniquity, to try and avert the war.

The cause of the war may be stated in very few words. Sir Harry

brought up before the Executive Council of the Volksraad as Court of Appeal. This body found that the trial had been subject to so many irregularities and informalities, that a new trial was necessary, and it accordingly directed that Cox should be re-tried. This was done. The Court of Landdrosts found that his guilt was proved, and sentenced him to death; this sentence was approved by the Executive Council; and at the end of October, 1856, Cox was executed. And thus ended a long and exciting trial, in which feeling ran high, and many angry words were exchanged between the disputants on either side.

Smith, in February, 1848, declared every man the owner of the ground he occupied at the time, and soon after gave instructions to have a boundary line made whereby all such ground should be marked off from the territory of Moshesh, as well as other chiefs. The line was made by Major Warden, and Moshesh's assent was gained. English and Dutch farmers hold title-deeds from the English Government of all the farms up to that boundary line. When the country was abandoned, our Government received from England the State with the boundaries it then had, and engaged to respect all the title-deeds issued by the English Government. The ground within the above-mentioned boundary line of Moshesh—i.e. on our side of it—had never been cleared of Basutos, in consequence of which quarrels were continually arising, which again led to thieving. After repeated treating with Moshesh and vain engagements that he would return certain numbers of stolen cattle, the frontier people say that they cannot live on their farms, and demand protection. Our Government claims the disputed ground as ours, has its grant of them by the English Government to individual farmers, and to the State as a whole, to show, and considers it therefore its duty to fight for its injured subjects, who are kept from their farms by the people of Moshesh.

This is the state of the case on our side. If Moshesh be allowed to tell his story, it will, however, be evident that he must consider the war to be a most grievous injustice. He declares that he repeatedly arranged with Sir Harry Smith, and had his promise, that there should be no line, that he, after many vain protests, was compelled to give his assent to the boundary, that even after this the provisions in regard to the lands of his people on our side of the line were never fulfilled, that all the Queen's Commissioners—Major Hogge, Mr. Owen, General Cathcart, Sir George Clerk—acknowledged the injustice of the boundary in question, and that now he is no longer bound by it, as the English Government have broken their part of the original contract by withdrawing from the country.

Now I cannot but think that all the blame of the war rests upon England. Upon high Christian principle our Government here cannot be justified, but upon the ordinary principles of worldly policy, I think perfectly. The question now arises whether it be not a special duty for England to endeavour to avert this war, or at least to prevent its continuance, and the still greater losses to Moshesh which will, I expect, be the result of it. I think it extremely probable that the war may continue for some time, and that a favourable opportunity might offer for the High Commissioner offering to arbitrate. I do not think the people would be unwilling to listen to this, though Mr. Boshof himself would not readily enter into such a scheme. The great body of the people, however, are not interested in the war, and soon begin to weary of it.

If you thought it possible to draw the Governor's attention to it, I would be glad. When war comes so near, the thought becomes inexpressibly fearful of Christians slaying such numbers of poor heathen. Should you wish first to have more information you will find, in the

little volume of the *Argus* Special Commissioner, *History of the Basutos*, the case of Moshesh well pleaded. The prejudice against the Boers is, of course, evident, and leads sometimes to misrepresentations.

To describe the campaign of 1858 in detail lies beyond the province of this biography. Suffice it to say that the Boers drove their adversaries back to their inaccessible mountain fastnesses, from which they refused to be dislodged. Swarms of Basuto light horsemen then descended upon the undefended portions of the State, destroying homesteads and driving off great herds of cattle. The report that their homes were being ravaged proved too much for the discipline of the Boer army, and the burghers desisted from besieging an impregnable mountain, saddled their horses, and took the shortest way back to their farms. In view of the possibility of a complete *débâcle*, Pres. Boshof hastily called in Sir George Grey as mediator, and a peace was patched up. The war thus ended indecisively, and both parties felt that hostilities were bound to be renewed at no very distant period. Two more costly wars were waged between the Free State and the Basuto, and it was only by the annexation of Basutoland to the British Empire in 1868 that the question of the boundary between the two countries was finally laid to rest.

On the 20th April, 1857, a daughter was born to the family at the Bloemfontein parsonage. "I have to communicate to you," writes Andrew to his brother John, "the glad tidings of the birth of a little daughter last Monday morning. God has been very kind. Emma has suffered but little, and the babe is doing well."

The great ecclesiastical event of 1857 was the quinquennial meeting of the Synod in Cape Town. The days of swift and easy railroad transit were still far distant, and the 700-mile journey demanded long and anxious preparation, especially since mother and babe were to be fellow-travellers. The Synod was due to open its sessions on the 13th October, so that the Murrays must have taken their departure from Bloemfontein before the end of September.

At this Synod certain far-reaching decisions were taken. One was the resolution to carry into immediate execution the project, mooted many years before, but always for some reason or other temporarily shelved, of establishing at Stellenbosch a theological seminary for the training of ministers. Another resolution that involved important consequences was the decision to inaugurate a vigorous forward policy in the missionary undertakings of the Church. In both these projects Andrew Murray had long been keenly interested: on behalf of both his voice was now raised in forceful pleading.

From the proposal to establish a theological seminary many of the older ministers expressed the strongest dissent. They were firmly of opinion that severance from Holland and the Dutch universities meant intellectual and spiritual loss, and that the ties which bound the Cape to the homeland should therefore not be relaxed but drawn more closely. In spite, however, of their opposition, the motion to proceed to the immediate erection in South Africa of a training college for the ministry was carried by a large majority. Since the attempt to obtain men from Holland had failed, the Synod resolved to elect two professors from its own personnel, and a plurality of votes indicated the Revs. G. W. A. van der Lingen and John Murray for the honour. The former of these declined the appointment, upon which the Rev. N. J. Hofmeyr was elected in his stead. Thus came into being, on the 3rd November, 1857,¹ an institution which has been an inestimable blessing to the cause of Christ in South Africa.

The other matter of more than ordinary importance which engaged the attention of the Synod was the question of missions. The Committee for the Missionary Cause (*Commissie voor het Zendingings Wezen*), appointed from Synod to Synod, was at this time composed of several ministers of the older type. Their report showed that during the period 1852 to 1857 they had received £1,050 in contributions to the missionary fund, had expended but £700, and had in hand a balance of £350. The members of the Committee were probably well

¹ The formal opening at Stellenbosch took place on the 1st November, 1859.

pleased with their able and cautious administration of the funds entrusted to their care, but the younger ministers, among whom were Andrew Murray, J. H. Neethling and N. J. Hofmeyr, were little satisfied with the progress shown. They pleaded that the Synod should turn its gaze to the regions beyond, and commence a missionary undertaking on the further side of the Vaal River, "if possible on the confines of the congregation of Lydenburg."

The Synod was sufficiently alive to its responsibility to fall in with the views propounded, and appointed as new Committee the young men above named, together with an older brother, Rev. P. K. Albertyn, to moderate youthful enthusiasm and inexperience. Andrew Murray was spared to see "a little one become a thousand," and the resolution of 1857 bear glorious fruitage in the years to come.

Towards the end of his Bloemfontein period Murray was thrown into contact with a man who played a remarkable, if not always very laudable, part in the ecclesiastical history of South Africa. This was the Rev. Dirk Postma, a minister of the Separatist Reformed Church of Holland, who arrived at the Cape in 1858, commissioned by his Church to enquire into the condition of the Transvaal Boers, and to engage in mission work among the natives. At the Cape he met in friendly conference several of the most prominent ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, such as Professors Murray and Hofmeyr, Dr. Abraham Faure, Rev. J. H. Neethling, and others, and then proceeded to Natal, *en route* to the Transvaal. During his sojourn there he also made the acquaintance of the minister of Bloemfontein, as is evident from the following letter written by Andrew Murray on the 30th November, 1858—

To Professor John Murray.

You will have heard that I had a most prosperous and pleasant journey to Natal. I went at the request of the churchwardens of Winburg to try and get Postma as their minister. He declined giving me any positive answer till he had first spent some months across the Vaal. Then he would see whether he felt at liberty to join our Church. Though

he has no objection to sing the hymns when officiating for us, he is not sure whether he could accept them altogether as obligatory. I spoke very seriously to him on the danger I thought there would be in his establishing a body of Separatists across the Vaal. I must confess I am not without very serious apprehensions as to the result of his mission.

Van Heyningen is afraid of Lydenburg. They have told him so much of its poverty and insecurity, that he would be glad of an opening to accept Winburg. I still think of calling Postma. What do you think of Martin? Huet's company I enjoyed very much. We spent a fortnight together.

I was glad to see the advertisement of my book [*Jesus de Kinder-vriend—Jesus the Friend of Children*]. I would only wish my name left out of it. What do you think from your experience would be the time needed to get in the capital that has been laid out? You have never yet let me know what the printer's bill comes to. I would be sorry that you should suffer the least inconvenience in making my money arrangements. Only let me know betimes, and I will manage. Let me know too what impression the thing makes. You will be gratified to hear that Beelaerts writes that he uses your *Kindervbijbel* with much pleasure. He says: "It has caught the right tone."

You can fancy how anxiously I look forward to my College prospects. I think of commencing about the middle of January with two teachers, one Dutch and one English. The whole thing is surrounded with special difficulties, and I feel I have need of special faith in undertaking the work and in dealing hereafter with the individual boys. I began it with the strong desire that to some of them at least it may be made the means of salvation.

About our teachers' scheme Hofmeyr [of Colesberg] will have told you. I purpose ordering by this mail six more at a £60 salary, as I have hitherto done nothing for my own congregation. I am extremely anxious to avail myself of the Government allowance for itinerant schoolmasters. Religious education must, I think, become the watchword of our Church before we can expect abiding fruit on our labours. God forbid that I should limit the Holy One of Israel, or reject the lesson that He is teaching from America [in the great 'revival], but still I think that in the ordinary course of things education is our hope.

On Postma's arrival in the Transvaal the ecclesiastical situation underwent a rapid though not wholly unexpected transformation. Within two months of his appearance at Rustenburg he had seceded with three hundred members from the existing Church, and the Separatist movement had commenced in South Africa. The Transvaal Volksraad, which had already had a taste of the bitterness and strife engendered by religious dissensions, was greatly exercised over this seces-

sion, and invited ministers and representatives of all the Churches in the Transvaal to a general assembly to be held at Potchefstroom on the 26th of April, 1859, with a view to arriving at a *modus vivendi* and healing the breach. To this invitation reference is made in the following letter, dated Bloemfontein, 8th March, 1859.

To Professor John Murray.

The enclosed two letters I consider of importance enough to forward to you, with the request that you of the Stellenbosch triumvirate¹ will let me have your opinion as to what we ought to do. Ought we to decline going to the meeting at Potchefstroom? I cannot feel the very least sympathy in the prospect of co-operating with van der Hoff. And it may be just as well to prove to them the need there is of a union with the Synod. You will observe that the second *Afgescheiden* (Separatist) congregation will most likely be in Bloemfontein. Let me have your opinion, please, by return of post.

I have just received the first copy of the *Kindervriend*. I like it, but am disappointed that it is not more simple. It is to myself intensely interesting as containing the expression of what filled my mind some time ago. There are passages that I hardly believed that I myself had written.

Thanks for your last kind note, and the wish that I may soon be released from school duties. I hardly wish it. I feel deeply interested in the work, and do not think it will be too much for me, as long as I have no direct instruction to give. It is an experiment to try what influence can be exerted upon the boys by daily intercourse. Will the result be more encouraging than in preaching? Pray for me that the spirit of faith and love may possess me, that wisdom and diligence may be given me from on high for the work. Emma and I are both surprised that things go on so smoothly. Our number to-day is fourteen, with the prospect of four more at the end of the month.

The Volksraad had very fierce discussions on the subject of our annual grant, Hamelberg and Groenendaal trying to prove that the whole thing was to foster an exclusively English tendency. They, of course, wanted it exclusively Dutch. The Committee has told them that they can only abide by the Trust Deed, which puts the two languages on a footing of equality. The grant will most probably be withdrawn next year. I do not know that it will be any real loss, as it will free us from continual interference. If I saw any prospect of getting the fit man, I would immediately apply to Scotland.

Have you read *English Hearts and Hands*? Such a simple narrative

¹ Professors Murray and Hofmeyr and Rev. J. H. Neethling.

is worth gold in revealing the secret springs of persevering and successful labour in our holy work. We need more such love in all its warmth, its largeness of heart, its bright hopefulness, and we need more strong faith in the power of a love higher than our own.

The next stage in the movements of the Separatist party is described in a letter written from Bloemfontein on the 1st May, 1859—

To Professor John Murray.

I forward by to-day's post to Faure an account by Hofmeyr of the proceedings at Potchefstroom. After five days' discussion they had agreed to receive Postma as minister of Rustenburg, leaving him at liberty to sing what he liked. His churchwardens were not present, and so he could give no answer to the proposals. Hofmeyr appeared to be keen as to the result: the resolutions taken appeared to have satisfied the Doppers present. I fear the whole thing is an illusion.

Postma has been at Venter's since last Thursday evening, receiving signatures to the declaration of adhesion to the new Church. All my Doppers have joined. To-morrow elders are to be appointed, and the Sacrament is to be dispensed at Johannes van der Walt's. Postma then goes to Burgersdorp with one of your deacons, who came to fetch him, viz. Andries Pretorius. Postma called on me in passing for five minutes, when I pressed him to stay. Venter said he would bring him on a visit this week, but I have a note from Postma saying that they cannot find time to come.

It certainly does appear strange that after an apparent consent to deliberations and measures for healing the breach across the Vaal he should now act thus. I believe that we have as yet very little idea of the influence the movement will have on the Church of the Colony. I sometimes think that it may do good that our monopoly is brought to an end. As to myself, the words have sometimes occurred very strongly, "He will let out the vineyard to other husbandmen, which shall render Him the fruits in their season." We have never been able, even when willing, to reach the real, stiff Dopper mind. Our language was strange to it: these new ministrations, possessing their confidence, may reach hearts that appear to us quite closed against the Gospel.

And what will the effect be on the voluntary question, when these people find themselves in the position of dissenters who have to contribute to the support of a State Church? I look upon the whole thing as the direct work of Providence, and though I would have been anxious to open our church for psalm-singing congregations and ministers, yet as no opportunity for acting in the matter was afforded, I am content.

The large-hearted Christian charity which breathes in these lines was displayed on another occasion when Murray requested

Mr. Postma to occupy the pulpit of his church—a proceeding which called forth the rebuke of the Presbytery of Transgariep, as the following extract from the minutes of the 13th October, 1859, shows—

The Chairman [Rev. A. A. Louw] submits for discussion the appearance of Rev. Postma, and his actions, especially in the congregation of Bloemfontein. He considers it necessary that the meeting shall not allow the matter to pass unnoticed, and therefore asks for information as to the attitude and action of the Consistory and the Minister of Bloemfontein, with reference to permission to Rev. Postma to occupy the pulpit. After a prolonged discussion, and the requisite information from the deputed elder of Bloemfontein, the Chairman submits the following resolution :

That in view of the actions of Rev. Postma, in view of the condition of our Church, and in view of the significance and influence of the act of the Consistory and Minister of Bloemfontein, the Presbytery feels itself compelled to disapprove of the neutral attitude of that Consistory in admitting Rev. Postma to the pulpit, as incautious and harmful.

At this time Andrew Murray was already recognized throughout the Church as a young minister of great ability and of exceptional earnestness and intensity of purpose. Many were the invitations which reached him to transfer his ministrations to another and more important sphere. In the course of 1858 he received calls to Robertson and to Prince Albert : on the departure of his brother John from Burgersdorp, he was invited to the pastorate of that place, and on his first refusal the call was renewed. In 1859 the congregations of Victoria West and Pietermaritzburg addressed earnest appeals to him to take pity on their pastorless condition. But all these invitations he put from himself, chiefly for the reason mentioned in a letter to his brother four years earlier : “Tell Louw [minister at Fauresmith] that one consideration that led me to refuse Colesberg was the desire not to leave him alone in the Sovereignty.”

Towards the end of 1859, however, he was invited to the pastorate of Worcester, an important and growing township lying about a hundred miles east of Cape Town. This call stood in another category and pressed upon him with peculiar

force. Worcester was an important educational centre ; it lay within comparatively easy reach of the metropolis ; it had been ministered to for thirty-five years by a worthy minister of the old school, and stood in need of firmer control and the infusion of greater energy. Considerations such as these led Murray to view the call as an indication of Providence that he ought now to relinquish the work at Bloemfontein, to which he had given eleven years of his life. The invitation was accordingly accepted, and arrangements entered into for assuming the responsibilities of the new cure in May of 1860.

The congregation of Bloemfontein heard of the decision of their beloved pastor with undisguised dismay. It was indeed a painful task to sever the many ties which bound people and pastor together. Mrs. Murray preceded her husband to the Colony, intending to spend some weeks with her parents, who purposed leaving for England in the near future. The last three months of Murray's stay were crowded with manifold activities. The teachers whom he had procured from Holland arrived at Bloemfontein in a batch, and had to be provided for and despatched to their respective spheres of work. He had to disengage himself from the many responsibilities which rested upon him as rector of the College. The Board was fortunately able to secure a successor in the person of the Rev. George Brown, who assumed duties as soon as Mr. Murray left. Above all, there loomed ever larger and nearer the heavy duty of taking leave of his sorrowing flock. " I think daily of Worcester," he writes to his wife, " but there is a dark cloud to pass through before reaching it. The parting here hangs heavily upon me. I have more than once read Acts xx. and 1 Thessalonians ii., and mourned. That ' ye know ' and ' ye are our witness, and GOD ' I cannot use. There are many people I dare not look at, because I have been unfaithful."

Murray preached his farewell sermon at Bloemfontein on the 28th April. The Bloemfontein community had previously given expression in tangible fashion to their sincere appreciation of his labours. Already in 1858, before there was any thought of his departure, the English section had presented

him with a purse of £75 to mark their gratitude for the English services which for a long period, and at considerable self-sacrifice, he had conducted for them. The townfolk took public leave of him at a tea-meeting held early in April, 1860, and presented him with another gift of money, accompanied by an expression of personal esteem, and of profound regret that so many agencies which owed their existence to his efforts must henceforth be deprived of his fostering care.

And thus, amid tokens of the deepest grief, Andrew Murray relinquished the pastoral staff which he had assumed eleven years before. In spite of all the self-accusations which assailed him, his ministry in the Free State had been fruitful in the highest degree. The parish assigned him was far too extensive for any single individual, however energetic, however robust. Energy, and energy of the most spiritual type, Andrew Murray never spared; and his physical strength he spent as freely—too freely, in fact, as the breakdown of 1854 proved. The results which flowed from his ministry were in every way remarkable. In after years the younger men who succeeded to his labours found in every part of the Free State men and women who had vivid and cherished recollections of “young Mr. Murray,” and who traced their conversion, or the impulse to a more consecrated life, to his powerful public preaching and his earnest individual exhortations.

CHAPTER IX

THE WORCESTER PASTORATE AND THE GREAT REVIVAL (1860-1864)

If such things are enthusiasm or the fruit of a distempered brain, let my brain be evermore possessed of that happy distemper! If this be distraction, I pray God that the world of mankind may be seized with this benign, meek, beneficent, glorious distraction.—JONATHAN EDWARDS.

THE congregation to which Mr. Murray was now called to minister in the providence of God formed a marked contrast to that which he had just quitted. The parish of Bloemfontein, at the time of Mr. Murray's departure, possessed a superficial extent of not less than eighty miles from north to south and one hundred and twenty from east to west. The parish of Worcester was very much more circumscribed: on the east Mr. Murray was separated from his nearest ministerial neighbour at Robertson by only thirty miles, while the distance to his nearest colleague westwards, at Tulbagh, was very little more. Greater still was the contrast between the two congregations in outward aspect. The town of Bloemfontein has no running water, and even the district, though not devoid of rivers, owes hardly anything to irrigation, but depends for its fertility upon the rain and the dew. The district of Worcester, on the other hand, belongs to the best-watered portions of South Africa. When Governor Lord Charles Somerset, in 1819, selected the site for a new township, he did so with a keen eye to the possibilities of the situation. Worcester lies upon a broad plain with a gentle slope towards the Breede River, while a tributary of the latter, the Hex

River, affords an unlimited supply of pure, fresh water. The main highway which connects the western districts with the south-east by way of the Breede River, and with the Great Karroo by the Hex River Pass, runs through the village. The visitor who treads its broad streets, shaded by oaks or lined by tall gum-trees, looks down long vistas that open out in every direction upon lofty blue mountains. A more complete contrast it would be hard to find between Worcester, with its smiling gardens and gurgling waters, and Bloemfontein, lying on the edge of a treeless, barren plain, and flanked only by low flat-topped *kopjes*.

The intellectual and spiritual condition, too, of the new pastorate differed greatly from that of the congregation which Mr. Murray had just left. Shortly after the foundation of the village of Worcester a congregation of the D. R. Church had been established, which in 1824 had been able to welcome its first pastor in the person of the Rev. Henry Sutherland, one of the Scotch clergymen who had been secured for South Africa by the efforts of Dr. Thom. Mr. Sutherland was a man of great piety and devotion, though he never succeeded in mastering the Dutch language, and confessed that he was better at prayer than at preaching. His influence, nevertheless, pervaded the congregation, which he served with great faithfulness for more than thirty-five years, and Worcester counted at this time not a few individuals whose religion, though somewhat formal and precise, was by no means lacking in earnestness and reality. Better educational conditions prevailed at Worcester than Bloemfontein, in spite of the Grey College, could boast of, and very few of the farmer lads and maidens grew up without having had a few years, or at the least a few months, of schooling. In the new congregation Mr. Murray's flock was within easy reach. His parishioners were no longer stock farmers, owning many thousands of acres apiece, and dwelling upon farms which were sparsely scattered over a wide area, but agriculturists, whose farms, a couple of hundred acres in size, were situated within a few minutes' drive of each other. It was to very different conditions and to a very

different spiritual atmosphere that Mr. Murray came when he exchanged Bloemfontein for Worcester.

His settlement in the charge of Worcester synchronised with the holding of a Conference which, in its beneficent results for Church life and work, possesses for the historian of the D. R. Church an importance outweighing that of many Synods. The establishment of a Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch was the first effort of the D. R. Church to provide an indigenous ministry, and thus to stand, ecclesiastically, on its own feet. At the opening of that institution in November, 1859, the ministers present authorized the "Stellenbosch triumvirate" (Professors Murray and Hofmeyr and Rev. J. H. Neethling) to issue an invitation to members of all Christian Churches to attend a Conference at Worcester in the following April, in order to discuss great Church questions and burning problems like the following: missions, education, revivals, the sanctification of the Sabbath, intemperance, the Christian ministry, Christian literature, the public Press, etc. The programme was sufficiently ambitious, and only the most cursory examination of these great matters was felt to be possible; but it must be remembered that, owing to the immense distances and the imperfect means of travel, Christian conferences were as yet unknown in South Africa, while the signs of new life were only beginning to stir in the somewhat sluggish veins of the Church, which now sought to give expression to present needs and future hopes.

Mr. Murray at once grasped the significance of the proposed gathering, and in a letter to his brother, dated Bloemfontein, 19th January, 1860, discussed some of the details with characteristic penetration—

To Professor John Murray.

I am still in doubts whether I would be able, and in fact whether it would be desirable, as Jan¹ suggests, to be inducted with the Conference. I was indeed delighted with the idea of it and the hope of being present, but I do not know whether its excitement would be a desirable

¹ Rev. J. H. Neethling.

time for having one's spiritual vocation renewed ; unless indeed we had faith to hope that it would be a time of God's mighty power. I feel much the prevalence and the danger of carnal excitement, of the blood and heat of nature in spiritual work.

In regard to the Conference I have been anxious to say a few things. 1st. Do you not almost think that in some points it would be more desirable to have it composed of ministers and members of the Dutch Church alone ? This is what I had been led to expect from the first announcement of it in the *Keyhbode*. In Europe the individual action of the various Churches has been too strongly developed, and united labour is what is necessary to complete their efficiency. With our Church the need, I think, is a stronger individual development. We have no chance of competing with Churches in which the blood and power of a European life and organization circulates. We need to conquer the difficulties of our isolation and of the slow action of our Church courts. The prospect of this being done made me rejoice. But I must confess I do not see much that will result from a Conference of English-speaking missionaries and ourselves. Our people are still so separated from the English on the one side and the natives on the other, that you will find harmonious action to any great extent an impossibility. You know what a friend of the Alliance I am, but I do think that a first meeting like that at Worcester would issue in higher results, if confined at present to the friends of our Church.

2nd. In regard to the subjects to be brought forward, I think you must be very careful about the public treatment of them. The discussion, for instance, of the state of the Press will, I think, do more harm than good, unless your plans for a religious paper are well arranged, and you are sure of success. My opinion is that by private discussion you might succeed in fixing on a number of men to keep religious questions before the public through the medium of existing papers. But if you try and start an opposition to the *Volksblad*, many will stick to it without knowing why, and be led by it into more determined liberalism than it as yet advocates.

3rd. And now, what strikes me as one of the most needful points for deliberation, if not by the whole Conference then by our section of it, is the supply of ministers for our Church. Servaas [Dr. S. Hofmeyr] has told me what he has written on the subject in *Elpis*. I fear it will not be of much use. My idea is this, that we ought to realize in our Presbyterian system all the benefits of the Episcopal Church order. What we need is some man (call him an Agent) or some small Committee, at whose disposal funds ought to be placed by the liberality of a few friends of our Church, in order to enable him to get out men from Europe or America. Just think of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Pears in the Graaff-Reinet Presbytery, both above seventy, of five Free State and five Natal congregations vacant, and so on, and what is to become of our Church ? Were there an active man or Committee, would not the Burgersdorp congregation be induced to call a man like Callenbach, or the Aberdeen people to take a man from Scotland, whose expenses in Holland for six

months could be borne by our Church here, if not by the Colonial Committee in Scotland ?

I see great dangers arising from our want of ministers. On the one hand a secret feeling of dissatisfaction is unconsciously springing up and becoming strong against a Church that does not supply the wants of its members, as well as against individual ministers who venture to leave their parishes vacant, without the immediate prospect of a successor. People do not reason : they are led away by their feelings. They feel that there is blame somewhere, and a feeling of coldness arises towards the Church as impersonated in the clergy. I speak from what I have seen and heard in connexion with Hofmeyr's and my own departure from the upper country. Now if we really acted in concert and energetically, we surely could get some ten or twelve ministers from Europe or America. And if our Church authorities are so constituted that they either will not or cannot act, let the Conference do it. Let men be appointed who have the confidence which you fear Huët has not, and through their instrumentality let us enter into correspondence with the Churches of Europe. If something be not done, and at once, many will be alienated from our Church, some in open membership, others in secret feeling.

And the other danger to which I was going to allude is almost greater. We retain the members of our Church, but supply them with poison. We compel orthodox churchwardens from very despair to call men whom they do not trust, but who will in course of time exercise a deadly influence upon them. Our conscience tells us that it is not a right state for Christ's Church to be in, when the unclean in life and the unsound in faith are welcome, yea, are introduced by the Church to the people as fit to lead them to heaven, as worthy of their confidence and entitled to their obedience. And yet we know not how to secure the action of the Church in removing this fearful stain of guilt. Surely those of us who mourn the evil ought to do anything to save our own consciences and our Church, as well as our fellow-men, from such dangers.

So wide-spread was the interest which the Conference aroused, that the *Volksblad* despatched to Worcester a special reporter, from whose pen we have a very full account of what transpired on the 18th and 19th of April. This account was reprinted from the pages of that newspaper, and issued to the public in the shape of a royal octavo double-columned pamphlet of fifty-two pages. The attendance was representative of some twenty congregations, though it is noteworthy, to one who studies carefully the list of ministers who took part, how few of the fathers of the D. R. Church evinced their interest by being personally present. Only five of the older men attended the

Conference, while of the eleven younger ministers, seven were either sons or sons-in-law of the Rev. Andrew Murray, senior, who was himself there to represent the old guard. Among the prominent ministers and missionaries of denominations other than the D. R. Church, may be mentioned Dr. Adamson, formerly of the Scotch Church in Cape Town, Rev. Tindall of the Wesleyan Church, and Revs. Zahn and Esselen of the Rhenish Mission. The subjects, introduced by papers read to the gathering, and subsequently thrown open for discussion, consisted of the following : *Revivals*, introduced by Dr. Robertson, minister of Swellendam ; *Christian Philanthropy*, by Rev. Ruytenbeek, missionary of Wynberg ; *Literature for the People*, by Prof. Murray ; *The Hallowing of the Sabbath*, by Dr. Abraham Faure (*in absentia*) ; *Missions*, by Dr. Philip Faure ; *Christian Governments*, by Rev. de Smidt of Robertson ; *Y.M.C.A. Work*, by Rev. Cachet, a young Dutch minister then labouring as missionary among the Mohammedans in Cape Town ; and *Education*, by Rev. J. H. Neethling. Acting upon the advice given by Andrew Murray, the committee of arrangements had omitted from their programme the debatable question of the Public Press. On the evening preceding the Conference, as well as on both evenings during its session, were held largely attended prayer-meetings, which contributed in no small measure towards the maintenance of the spirit of brotherliness and high earnestness in the discussions.

Towards the end of the second day Andrew Murray, acting on the suggestion contained in his letter to his brother, proposed that the Conference should now terminate its proceedings, in order to allow the members of the Dutch Reformed section to discuss a matter of great urgency which appertained to them alone. Before the Conference as thus re-constituted he laid his proposals with reference to an immediate supply of ministers. They ran as follows—

1. That this meeting considers it desirable to depute a brother from its midst to Holland, Germany, Scotland, and if necessary America, in order to obtain the needful *personnel* to supply the lack of ministers, missionaries and teachers.

2. That a Committee be appointed which shall carry this matter into execution. The Committee shall arouse interest . . . collect a fund of money . . . enter into correspondence with congregations and persons who desire assistance, and issue the necessary instructions to the deputy.

3. The meeting entrusts this mission to Dr. Robertson of Swellendam, and should he be unexpectedly prevented, the Committee is directed to find a substitute.

In moving this resolution Mr. Murray spoke as follows—

It is barely necessary to say anything in explanation of these proposals. But first, with reference to ministers—we have twenty-six vacant congregations. In addition, we have several congregations which will become vacant within the next three or four years. Ten of our ministers have already borne the labour and heat of the day, and have the right to demand assistance, while it is our duty to render that assistance. But where are we to find assistance? Can we devise no plan by which to supply the need? The reply may be, "Is there not a large number of Cape students in Europe whom we may soon expect here? May we not rely on the Theological Seminary, of which we have heard so much, and for which so much money has been collected?"

But when we consider the number of charges that are vacant, when we remember how largely the number of vacancies will increase during the next few years, and when we add the number of congregations that stand in urgent need of assistant ministers, we must be convinced that, even were the twenty students now in Europe immediately available, the existing need would not yet be supplied. And when these had received appointments the need would be doubly great. Up-country there is a crying need of ministers, which is on the increase. In the whole of the Free State there are but two ministers, while there are six vacant parishes and three centres at which new congregations will shortly be established. In all Natal there is only one minister, while six congregations likewise are pastorless. The government of Natal has made provision for the salary attached to three of these charges, and complains that they are not supplied. It is impossible for things to remain as they are. "What is the Reformed Church about that it sends us no men?" is the question asked. In the Free State the Volksraad has voted the salaries of five ministers at £275 each; and the question is repeated, "What is wrong with the Church that she takes no advantage of our offer?" From across the Vaal we hear the same complaint, "Of what use is it for us to be connected with the Dutch Reformed Church? We can get no ministers from her." It surely is the vocation of the Church to concern itself with the matter, and to attempt to supply this demand.

Hitherto I have spoken only of ministers. The last Synod took a solemn decision to undertake a Foreign Mission. And not a moment too soon, too; for there is great danger that we shall be left completely

behind, while the country is being occupied by other missionary bodies.

In vain have we written to France, Germany, Switzerland and America for assistance in carrying out this project : no men can be found. We know that our mission work must be placed upon a better footing ; but how are we to do that unless we can find men for the work ? Hence the idea of sending a brother to Europe and America to seek the needful personnel. It may be asked, " Will not our own young men, in whom the impulse to adopt the ministerial calling is so slight, be even more discouraged from following it ? " He who puts a question like that knows very little of the existing need. Moreover, in this matter people act as they do in purchasing popular wares : the greater the demand, the greater the supply. The more ministers there are, the more villages will be established and congregations created, and the greater will be the demand for more ministers and more assistants.

It is hardly necessary for me to speak of teachers. When the question of education was discussed, the crying need for more facilities was pointed out. I see a chance of finding appointments within a twelve-month for fifty teachers. I saw what happened in the case of five teachers who arrived but a very little while ago. People doubted whether I would find work for the five. As a matter of fact, they had hardly arrived, when I found situations for them ; and five more persons, who badly needed teachers, turned back disappointed. Some one to-day observed what a boon it would be if Government were to find the salaries of a number of itinerant teachers. The Free State Government has acted nobly in this matter. The Volksraad has provided the salaries of twenty-five such teachers at £30 per annum (*hear, hear !*). But the money remains lying in the treasury, for the men cannot be found.

The minister of Swellendam has remarked that our fellow-countrymen are hesitant about confiding in unknown persons. They want to act as they do when they purchase a horse or a sheep—look it carefully over first. When they have spoken three words with a new arrival, they are satisfied. One man is pleased with the stranger's friendly manner, another with his fine appearance, another with his fluent speech, and so forth. As soon as they are here, matters soon adjust themselves. With reference to ministers, some congregations are willing to present a call in blank ; but most congregations are afraid of calling an unknown man. They would like to see and hear him first, and they say, " Let him come to our country first and we will call him." It is for this reason that we think it necessary to commission some one to visit Holland, and to bring out a number of ministers and missionaries ; for we are convinced that they will soon receive appointments.

The resolution proposed by Mr. Murray was carried with enthusiasm, and the mover was appointed, together with Professor Hofmeyr and Elder J. A. le Sueur of Cape Town, as Committee to take action in accordance with the second

clause of the motion. It was estimated that a sum of £2,500 would be necessary to cover the expenses of the delegate to Europe, as well as the passage-money to South Africa of the men whom he hoped to secure. The enterprise, it may be conceived, drew wide-spread attention, and Mr. Murray found himself busily employed in issuing appeals to the Church, visiting congregations, addressing gatherings, and, in general, in stimulating interest and calling forth financial support.

Dr. Robertson meanwhile signified his acceptance of the commission entrusted to him, and after a hearty public farewell in the Great Church in Cape Town, set sail for Europe in June, 1860. On his arrival in Holland he found a serious religious situation, which, because of its direct bearing on developments in the near future in South Africa, is here described in his own words—

Dr. Robertson to the Members of the Committee appointed by the Worcester Conference

UTRECHT, 12th October, 1860.

DEAR BRETHREN,—Nearly two months have now elapsed since my arrival here, and in the meantime I have come into contact with many people drawn from all circles, and have also had the opportunity of preaching at several places and to very large gatherings. I desire to convey to you unreservedly the impression which I have received during my stay in Holland, leaving it to you to make such use of it as you wish.

All Christians admit that the condition of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands is exceedingly parlous. Liberalism—for so the prevalent form of unbelief is called—has spread itself over the whole land, and seeks to rob the Church of Christ of its most cherished truths. The trinity, the divinity of Christ, the personality of the Spirit, the vicarious suffering of Christ, and naturally all that stands in closest connexion with these truths, are not merely denied but assailed. Miracles are declared to be impossible, and it is flatly denied that they ever happened, while everything that is said of the miraculous in Holy Scripture is declared to be legend or allegorical story. Yes, there are many who hold that the resurrection and the ascension of Christ are not facts, but that whatever is said of these events must also be accounted legendary. The eternity of punishment is, of course, also denied as in conflict with God's goodness and love; and as for sin, it is looked upon as necessary, and therefore derived from God, or at least willed by Him.

I refrain from lengthy observations on these terrible errors, but feel

bound to add that those who judge strictly and conscientiously are of opinion that, of the 1,400 or 1,500 ministers in Holland, only about one hundred can be looked upon as thoroughly orthodox; while others who judge more favourably think that they could find about two hundred. Is it to be marvelled at that under such circumstances I could secure but few orthodox ministers in Holland? The congregations in general—let me say this to their honour—desire to have pious and orthodox clergymen. I should find little difficulty in obtaining ministers of liberal leanings for the Cape; but these I do not wish to accept. It would be in direct conflict with the trust committed to me, as well as with the declaration demanded by our Church of all ministers.

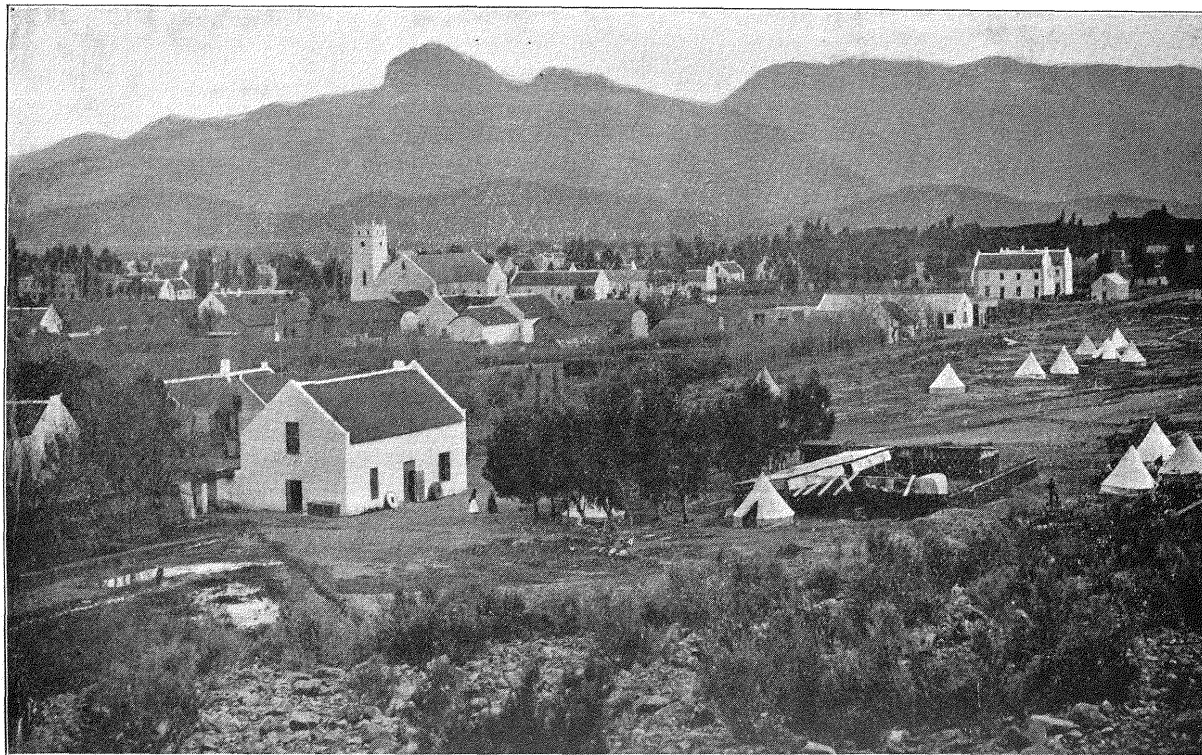
And here I cannot omit adding that not a few ministers have approached me and declared that they could not conscientiously sign the declaration which the Cape Church requires, and at the same time expressed their astonishment that certain clergymen now at the Cape, whose views when here were well known, have had the courage to do so. It is generally acknowledged here that no minister of liberal views who desires to act honestly can sign the declaration demanded at the Cape. The declaration submitted for signature in Holland amounts to nothing. A man can sign it, and still freely preach the greatest heresies. If our Cape Church is to remain orthodox and faithful to the confessions of the fathers, it ought to admit no ministers coming from Holland, whether they be South Africans or Hollanders, without previously instituting a serious examination into the faith that is in them, and obtaining from them a clear and unequivocal affirmation of their adhesion to the fundamental truths which our Dutch Reformed Church confesses.

Dr. Robertson's mission was crowned with complete success. In Holland, indeed, he could obtain only two young ministers, Rev. G. van de Wall, who had emigrated to America some years previously, but who, arrested by Dr. Robertson's appeal while on a visit to the homeland, now felt impelled to hearken to the urgent call from South Africa, and Rev. H. van Broekhuizen, the former's brother-in-law. Turning to Scotland Dr. Robertson met immediately with a most encouraging response. Eight licentiates of the Free Church expressed their willingness to spend at least six months in Holland for the purpose of learning the language, and then proceeding to the Cape as pastors of congregations in the D. R. Communion. One of the number, Alexander McKidd, volunteered for service in the foreign mission field, and was one of the first two men to engage in mission work beyond the Vaal River, the other

being Henri Gonin, a Swiss. In all, Dr. Robertson was able to secure for the D. R. Church the services of eleven ministers¹ (out of the twelve he was commissioned to find), two of these being destined for the mission field. He also brought out two thoroughly qualified principals for the public schools at Murraysburg and Burgersdorp, at a salary of £300 per annum, and two private-school teachers for the parish of Glen Lynden, at salaries of from £80 to £100. He reported, moreover, that he could have found many more teachers of excellent character and qualifications, had any congregation definitely commissioned him to engage them. Four pious catechists from Holland completed the tale of Dr. Robertson's acquisition of men to supply the many vacancies in needy South Africa. The wisdom of the resolution adopted by the Worcester Conference, and the wisdom of the choice of Dr. Robertson as deputy, were now clearly apparent. The men who came out in response to the appeal of the Cape Church proved in almost every case worthy of the trust reposed in them, and continued, some for a longer and some for a shorter period, but most of them for many years, to serve with the greatest fidelity and devotion the land and people of their adoption.

The induction of Mr. Murray to the pastorate of Worcester took place on Whitsunday, the 27th May, 1860. The charge was delivered by Professor Murray, who preached from Acts ii. 1, and the installation was conducted by Rev. R. Shand, *consulent* of the congregation. In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Murray delivered his inaugural sermon, preaching from 2 Corinthians iii. 8, "How shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious?" Great congregations attended these diets of worship, and many members of neighbouring parishes evinced their interest by being present. A feeling of deep earnestness prevailed. Great expectations were aroused that the Lord would richly own the ministry of His servant, who had that day assumed the pastor's staff with

¹ Four have been mentioned above. The others were: William Cormack, Dugald McMillan, John and Thomas McCarter, Thomas Menzies Gray, Andrew McGregor and David Ross, M.A.



Worcester, about 1877.

solemn vows. Nor were these expectations disappointed; for, as we shall now see, a gracious God was preparing not the Worcester congregation only, but many others throughout the country, for remarkable manifestations of the power and vivifying influence of His Holy Spirit.

It was from the Worcester Conference that the first impulse went out which issued in a wide-spread and most blessed spiritual awakening in the D. R. Church. At that Conference the subject of *revivals* had been dealt with by Dr. Robertson, who in his paper recalled to mind the many occasions on which God had visited His Church with a fresh outpouring of the Spirit of prayer and supplication, and with a great revival of vital religion. He then put the question whether such a revival was not equally necessary in South Africa, and proceeded to state the conditions upon which alone God could be expected to revive His work in the midst of the years. An earnest discussion followed. The Conference listened with deepening interest to the account given by Dr. Adamson of the rise and progress of the revival which had recently visited America, and of the circumstances which fostered its growth and spread. These addresses made a deep impression on the Conference, and its individual members carried back to their homes a new sense of responsibility towards their neighbours, and of silent expectation that God would mercifully visit His people with fresh outpourings of His grace.

The revival commenced in quiet fashion, and without the employment of any special agencies for rekindling the flame of spiritual life. The congregations which were most largely represented at the Conference were those in which the awakening of religious fervour was soonest apparent. Prayer-meetings showed increased attendances, and many new prayer-circles were established. The first congregations in which a true arousal became visible were those of Montagu and Worcester. A remarkable feature of the movement was that the awakening was not confined to towns, but showed itself powerfully even on remote farms, where men and women were suddenly seized with emotions to which they had been utter

strangers a few weeks or even a few days before. In the Breede River ward of the Worcester congregation, several months previously, a weekly prayer-meeting had been instituted, in which, however, so little interest was displayed that the usual attendance was but three or four. But when the influences of God's Spirit began to be felt, young and old, parents and children, white and coloured, flocked to the gathering, driven by a common impulse to cast themselves before God and utter their souls in cries of penitence. From Montagu came the following glad report: "On Sunday evening (22nd July) a prayer-meeting was conducted by Revs. Shand and de Smidt, when the spiritual fervour was so great that people complained that the meeting ended an hour too soon. A year ago prayer-meetings were unknown: now they are held daily, and sometimes as frequently as three times a day, and even among children. Some have doubted whether this be the work of God's Spirit; but we have witnessed cases in which a man has come under strong conviction of sin, and on that account has suffered indescribable anguish, from which nothing was able to deliver him but prayer and simple faith in the expiatory sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The village of Worcester was powerfully affected by the rising tide of blessing, and, for a time at least, strange scenes were witnessed, which an outsider, unacquainted with the workings of the Spirit of God, would have called undiluted fanaticism. An eye-witness, Rev. J. C. de Vries, has left us the following account of what occurred at meetings at which he was present—

On a certain Sunday evening there were gathered in a little hall some sixty young people. I was leader of the meeting, which commenced with a hymn and a lesson from God's Word, after which I engaged in prayer. After three or four others had (as was customary) given out a verse of a hymn and offered prayer, a coloured girl of about fifteen years of age, in service with a farmer from Hex River, rose at the back of the hall, and asked if she too might propose a hymn. At first I hesitated, not knowing what the meeting would think, but better thoughts prevailed and I replied, *Yes*. She gave out her hymn-verse and prayed in moving tones. While she was praying we heard as it were a sound in the distance, which came nearer and nearer, until the hall seemed to

be shaken, and with one or two exceptions, the whole meeting began to pray, the majority in audible voice, but some in whispers. Nevertheless, the noise made by the concourse was deafening.

A feeling which I cannot describe took possession of me. Even now, forty-three years after these occurrences, the events of that never-to-be-forgotten night pass before my mind's eye like a soul-stirring panorama. I feel again as I then felt, and I cannot refrain from pushing my chair backwards, and thanking the Lord fervently for His mighty deeds.

At that time Rev. A. Murray was minister of Worcester. He had preached that evening in the English language. When service was over an elder (Mr. Jan Rabie) passed the door of the hall, heard the noise, peeped in, and then hastened to call Mr. Murray, returning presently with him. Mr. Murray came forward to the table where I knelt praying, touched me, and made me understand that he wanted me to rise. He then asked me what had happened. I related everything to him. He then walked down the hall for some distance, and called out, as loudly as he could, *People, silence!* But the praying continued. In the meantime I too kneeled down again. It seemed to me that if the Lord was coming to bless us, I should not be upon my feet but on my knees. Mr. Murray then called again aloud, *People, I am your minister, sent from God, silence!* But there was no stopping the noise. No one heard him, but all continued praying and calling on God for mercy and pardon. Mr. Murray then returned to me, and told me to start the hymn-verse commencing "*Help de ziel die raadloos schreit*" (Aid the soul that helpless cries). I did so, but the emotions were not quieted, and the meeting went on praying. Mr. Murray then prepared to depart, saying, "God is a God of order, and here everything is confusion." With that he left the hall.

After that the prayer-meetings were held every evening. At the commencement there was generally great silence, but after the second or third prayer the whole hall was moved as before, and every one fell to praying. Sometimes the gathering continued till three in the morning. And even then many wished to remain longer, or returning homewards, went singing through the streets. The little hall was soon quite too small, and we were compelled to move to the school-building, which also was presently full to overflowing, as scores and hundreds of country-folk streamed into the village.

On the first Saturday evening in the larger meeting-house Mr. Murray was the leader. He read a portion of Scripture, made a few observations on it, engaged in prayer, and then gave others the opportunity to pray. During the prayer which followed on his I heard again the sound in the distance. It drew nearer and nearer, and on a sudden the whole gathering was praying. That evening a stranger had been standing at the door from the commencement, watching the proceedings. Mr. Murray descended from the platform, and moved up and down among the people, trying to quiet them. The stranger then tiptoed forwards from his position at the door, touched Mr. Murray gently, and said in English: "I think you are the minister of this congregation: be careful

what you do, for it is the Spirit of God that is at work here. I have just come from America, and this is precisely what I witnessed there."

One Saturday evening HESSIE BOSMAN, who was afterwards married to Rev. McKidd, the missionary, came to the village. At that time she had a school in the Boschjesveld, and when she came to town she lodged with my parents. I said to her at once that she must not think of going to the prayer-meeting, as it would be too much for her in her weak state of health. She replied: "No, I must go, even if it should prove my death; for I have prayed so much for these meetings, and longed so much to take part, that I cannot remain away. No, come what may, I am going!" She attended, and was the third to engage in prayer that evening. While she was pouring out her heart the whole meeting broke forth into prayer, while she fell unconscious to the ground. I carried her out to the parsonage, where they were some time in bringing her round. That night she had to remain the guest of the parsonage, and next day she was herself again. Her later history, her marriage to Mr. McKidd, and her death in the mission-field, are well known. She is now rejoicing before the throne above.

The fruits of that revival were seen in the congregation for many years. They consisted, among others, in this, that fifty young men offered themselves for the ministry, and this happened in days when it was a difficult matter to find young men for the work of the ministry. May God in His mercy again visit South Africa as He did in those days!

When the revival had passed the stage of violent emotion and was running a calmer course, Professor Hofmeyr attempted, in an address to the South African Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, to describe the changes it had effected—changes which in many cases were little less than a revolution. Of the town of Montagu he remarked that the indifference with regard to religion, for which the place was formerly noted, had made way for a tone of seriousness which had imparted itself to the whole community. The appearance of the village had undergone a complete transformation. Even those who felt compelled to disapprove of certain features of the revival were obliged to confess that the general improvement in the conduct of the inhabitants within a few months was really wonderful. In the case of Wellington, again—the congregation with which Andrew Murray was to be so inseparably identified in future years—the consistory stated in its report to the presbytery that the parish had made greater moral and spiritual progress in the last few weeks than in the whole

course of its history since its establishment. The same story was heard from the village of Calvinia, lying far away in the north-west. The local member of Parliament, writing thence to his wife, affirmed that he could find no words to express his sense of the marvellous change which had come over the inhabitants since his visit in the previous year.

In this revival, as indeed in all revivals, the strong emotional element discernible in the movement attracted many who were only superficially influenced. But that the leaders of the Church were alive to the reality of this danger is shown by the wise words of Professor Hofmeyr—

We cannot conceal our fear that not a few mistake the natural, sympathetic influence of one mind upon another for the immediate action of the Spirit of God. They join themselves to those who are really earnest in their religious aspirations, and imitate their conduct, but such imitation lasts only as long as the impression continues. To such the world will eagerly point, rejoiced to find another pretext for condemning a piety which is really Scriptural. We are greatly grieved at the self-deceit to which emotional people such as these are subject ; but in the present state of human nature we can expect no revival which does not stand exposed to this danger.

However this may be, we thank the Lord that we have good reason to affirm that since the revival began many have been added to the Lord's flock. Some of them lived in open sin : others, again, perhaps the majority, were men of unimpeachable character in the eyes of their fellow-men. In the light cast upon them and their actions by the Spirit of God they discovered the depth of their inward depravity, and the sad estrangement of their souls from God. In some cases the feeling of misery was for a time overwhelming, and this realization of their own uncleanness and of the transcendent holiness of God, was not, as a rule, the direct result of the preaching of God's Word. There is a farmer whom I have known for years, a man of quiet and retiring disposition, who in company takes but little part in the general conversation. Two or three weeks ago he was suddenly seized with a feeling of terror when he thought of his sins. For a few days he was subject to a most violent inward struggle, which ended in a joyous and promising conversion. Shortly afterwards he was visited by some of his friends who knew nothing of the change of heart which he had undergone. They were greatly moved when this silent man began to speak to them, in deeply earnest manner and with searching look, of the old truths which through the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit had become new to him.

The revival was not confined to one section of the community,

but affected all ranks without distinction of age or colour. A large portion of the blessing fell on the youth of the congregation. Many of them, who formerly were wholly given over to the pursuit of idle pleasures, came to conversion, and immediately engaged in serious labours for the betterment of their surroundings. They were stirred with feelings of intense sympathy towards their still unconverted relatives and friends. In a certain farmhouse a child who had come to conversion was overheard praying most fervently for the spiritual welfare of his parents, with the glad result that both father and mother yielded themselves to God. Of another young girl, whose heart had been won for Christ, her mother wrote that the marvellous change in the disposition and the conduct of her daughter was to her a divine gift of infinitely more value than all her earthly possessions.

Nor was the revival limited to the European section of the population. Numbers of natives living upon lonely farms as day-labourers, and counted very often as the offscourings of society, came under the influence of the vivifying Spirit. A farmer passing across the veld caught one day the sound of loud lamentation, as though some burdened soul were pouring out its griefs before God. He approached the spot from which the sounds issued, and great was his emotion on finding there a young Fingo girl, who was in the employment of his wife, wrestling with God in prayer for the forgiveness of her sins in the name of Jesus Christ. On returning home he inquired if she had previously exhibited any anxiety about the condition of her soul. His wife replied that the girl had asked her only the day before if Christ had died for her as well as for white people, and if she, too, could hope for pardon and peace.

The spiritual zeal engendered by the revival revealed itself most happily in endeavours to aid the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. In various congregations immediate steps were taken to establish auxiliary missionary societies. At Worcester a gift of £200 for missions and larger contributions towards the British and Foreign Bible Society, testified to the new spirit which animated the community. In Calvinia a

villager gave up his comfortable home and betook himself to a "location" of half-breeds, in order to proclaim to these neglected beings the love of God in Christ; the local Christians making themselves responsible for the maintenance of preacher and family.

As to Mr. Murray's direct share in promoting and guiding the revival movement, we have the testimony of Rev. C. Rabie, who writes as follows—

Mr. Murray arrived at Worcester just at the right time. The congregation had been faithfully served by old father Sutherland, but the religion of the majority was merely formal. Only one or two of the oldest members used to engage in prayer, nor was it permissible for women to take audible part in the prayer-meeting. No one would venture at that time to affirm that he was converted or regenerated: that was held to be great presumption. Mr. Murray's share in [the earlier part of] the Conference of 1860 was confined to a prayer, but it was a prayer so powerful and so moving that souls were instantly brought under deep conviction of sin, and we may safely say that the revival which ensued dated from that moment.

When Mr. Murray commenced his ministry on the 27th May with his sermon on "the Ministration of the Spirit," there was a general movement among the dead bones. His preaching was in very deed in the ministration of the Spirit and of power. It was as though one of the prophets of old had risen from the dead. The subjects were conversion and faith: the appeals were couched in terms of deadly earnestness. Let me mention some of his texts. "What meanest thou, O sleeper? Rise and call upon thy God" (Jonah i. 6). "He that believeth not shall be damned" (Mark xvi. 16). At a sacramental service: "Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment?" (Matt. xxii. 12). His pulpit manner was very violent, and bookboard and Bible were soundly belaboured.

Mr. Murray was a man of power in his catechizations. I was one of those privileged to be confirmed by him. He carried his catechumens to the Bible, and made them read and explain it. When the class was over, two or three were directed to remain behind, in order that he might speak with them about the condition of their soul. These were moments never to be forgotten. Not a few date their spiritual birth from those talks. His pastoral visitation carried terror to the hearts of his parishioners. If his preaching was like thunderbolts from the summit of Sinai, what would personal rebuke be like? People felt under the earnestness of his individual dealing that they were being ground to powder. On one occasion, at the close of a prayer-meeting, he proceeded to deal with each individual present. One lady, observing how her pastor drew nearer and nearer to where she sat, became gradu-