

THE HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER I.

THE MAKING OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Bartholomew Dias plants the Cross on S. Croix Island, and discovers South Africa in 1486—Visits of Portuguese, English, and Dutch—Dutch East India Company plant a Colony on the Cape Peninsula in 1652—Character and Progress of the Settlement—First Establishment of Dutch Reformed Consistory—Attitude of Dutch Reformed Ministers and Catechists towards the Heathen—Dealing of the Authorities with the Natives—Slavery at the Cape—Beginnings of Education—Emigration of Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685—Pierre Simond, the first French Huguenot Minister—Hostility between Dutch and French Nationalities—Subsequent Fusion—Its effect upon the South Africa of to-day—Decadence and Misgovernment of the Dutch East India Company—Effect of the American and French Revolutions in South Africa—First Kafir War, 1781—Second Kafir War, 1789—The Orange Faction and the “Nationals”—The Surrender of the Cape to England in 1795.

THE fifteenth century was a great period of adventurous voyages of geographical discovery. The Portuguese, encouraged by the piety and enterprise of Prince Henry the Navigator, sailed into unknown

seas to discover a route to the East Indies, with the same courage that Columbus showed when he discovered America.

In 1486 three small vessels were despatched by John II., King of Portugal, to find an ocean road to India by sailing round Africa. The traditions of earlier navigators, who may possibly have doubled the Cape, were long lost in the mists of historic antiquity. One vessel was left behind on the West Coast near the equator, but two vessels of fifty tons each, under command of Bartholomew Dias, boldly sailed into the unknown Southern Seas. He first landed at Angra Pequena Bay, now the port of German South-Western Africa, and set up a stone cross on Pedestal Point, which, after standing in its place for more than 300 years, is now in the Museum at Lisbon. He sailed southward again, and was carried past the Cape to Algoa Bay, where, on Holy Cross Day, he landed on the rocky islet which he named "Ilheo da Santa Cruz." The island of S. Croix, as it is now called, lies eight miles distant from the pier of Port Elizabeth. It must always recall the memory of the first Christian men who touched South African soil, and of the first Christian service held in South Africa.

Bartholomew Dias and his crews landed with their chaplain, who celebrated the Holy Eucharist before the council was held to decide on their further course. Reluctantly Bartholomew Dias decided to return, and after proceeding as far as the mouth of the Kowie, he landed again at S. Croix to bid farewell to the cross he had set up, and sailed westward to discover the

Cape, where he met with the bad weather which is so frequent off Cape Agulhas and Cape Point. He called it the "Cape of Storms" (*Cabo Tormentoso*), but King John, who saw that Dias had solved the problem of the sea route to India, changed the name to the Cape of Good Hope (*Cabo de Bona Esperança*).

In 1495 King John was succeeded by Don Emmanuel, who despatched in 1497 an expedition under Vasco da Gama, and after having doubled the Cape, on Christmas Day he passed Natal, and gave it the name it still bears (*Tierra de Natal*), in memory of the Festival of the Incarnation, when Christian men first saw it. Vasco da Gama sailed on and landed on the northern side of Delagoa Bay. After this he touched at Sofala and reached India.

The Portuguese avoided the South African coast and did not attempt settlement. In 1510 D'Almeida, the Portuguese Viceroy, called at Table Bay on his homeward voyage from India. A dispute arose between his men and the Hottentots, whose village was on the present site of Cape Town. The Viceroy landed a force to chastise the Hottentots. A battle took place on the site of the present parade-ground, and D'Almeida, with sixty-five of his officers and men, fell before the assegais of their nimble foes, who suffered little loss in the attack.

This incident is worth recording, because it was a chief factor in preventing the Portuguese from attempting a settlement in South Africa. Had they done so, and had they maintained their power, South Africa would never have become what it is now.

Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Durban would have been places on a level with the miserable half-caste civilization of Delagoa Bay, Inhambane, and Mozambique. The decadence of Goa and Angola is witness enough to the failure of the Portuguese as rulers and colonists in India and Africa.

The English and Dutch soon began to seek commercial relations with the East Indies, and it became evident that the Cape was a convenient port of call, and that its possession was the key to India. In 1591 an English fleet, under Admiral Raymond, put into Table Bay on the way to India, and traded with the natives for fresh meat. The first fleet, fitted out by the English East India Company under Admiral Lancaster, put into Table Bay in 1601, and remained seven weeks to enable the men to recover from scurvy. For the next fifteen years the fleets of the East India Company used Table Bay as a regular port of call, and in 1619 the directors resolved to build a fort there, and made overtures to the Dutch East India Company to set up a joint establishment. The Dutch Company refused to join them, and in July 1620 an English fleet, under Captain Fitzherbert, proclaimed English sovereignty at the Cape, and hoisted the British flag on that part of the Lion's Head which is now used as a signal station. They called it King James's Mount, but did nothing else to take effective possession of the country.

England was soon to be convulsed by the struggle between the King and the Parliament. The seeds of trouble were sown by James I., and his unfortunate

successor reaped the harvest. The long and bitter conflict that ended with the death of Charles I. on the scaffold gave England no leisure to think of extending her colonial possessions. The Dutch East India Company stepped in, and on April 6, 1652, Commander Jan van Riebeeck, with the ships *Dromedaris*, *Reiger*, and *Goede Hoop* arrived in Table Bay to plant the flag of the Netherlands and to found a colony. Van Riebeeck was an able man and eminently fitted for his position. A fort was soon built, gardens were laid out, and great care was taken to maintain friendly relations with the Hottentots. The expedition consisted of 181 men exclusive of officers. The Company did not leave them without the ministrations of religion.¹ The settlement was not considered large enough for one of the Company's paid chaplains, but a catechist (or "sick-visitor," as he was called in Dutch Reformed phraseology), named Wylant, landed with the colonists, and conducted services regularly. These catechists were not allowed to preach, but were obliged to read printed sermons.

Dysentery, scurvy, and famine beset the infant

¹ The Dutch authorities were equally careful of the cause of religion in their other colonies. Dean Hook, in a speech at Leeds, at a meeting of the S. P. C. K. in 1840, alludes as follows to the contrast between English and Dutch rule at Ceylon—"Look at the island of Ceylon. When the Dutch were in possession they built churches and schools; but when England came into possession we called that bad policy. The churches were neglected, the schools were suffered to decline, the former system of idolatry was re-established, and its priests had increased salaries awarded."—*Life of Dean Hook*, p. 273.

settlement, for the Hottentots would not sell their cattle. Out of 116 men, only 60 were able to work. In this time of sore distress Mr. Wylant ventured to preach to the people in his own words, instead of using the prescribed printed sermon. But the Dutch Reformed ecclesiastical discipline was rigid enough to reach the solitary and isolated catechist at the Cape. The Ecclesiastical Court at Batavia complained to the Dutch Governor-General of India, and a despatch was sent to Commander Van Riebeeck ordering him to restrain such irregularities. The natives were very difficult to deal with. The Hottentot clans near Table Mountain were always at war with one another, and they were perpetually stealing from the colonists.

But the Dutch of that date were free from race prejudices. Van Riebeeck brought up a Hottentot girl in his own house and taught her the Christian religion. She was baptized afterwards by the name of Eva, and married to a Dutch surgeon named Van Meerhof. The Company provided a bridal feast, and gave the bride a wedding present of £10.¹ Van Riebeeck held the view that the profession of the Christian religion placed black and white on the same level. He approved of mixed marriages, and it appears from the register of the Fort, that in 1656

¹ The sequel to this story is a sad one. After the death of her husband, Eva relapsed into dissolute ways and neglected her children. The officials remonstrated with her in vain. She reformed for a time and relapsed again. On her death, in 1674, Governor Goske allowed her Christian burial, and she was interred within the church at the Castle.

one Jan Wouters married a freed slave named Catharina. But the mixing of races is an unmixed evil. The descendants of the early Dutch colonists at the present day view mixed marriages with an abhorrence which is shared by the English of South Africa. Some English Independent missionaries, at the beginning of this century, married Hottentot and slave women from good but mistaken motives, and subsequently a European lady married a Kafir minister of religion. There is ample justification for South African public opinion against mixed marriages. Each race has its own national characteristics. The native races of South Africa are perfectly capable of developing a Christianity and civilization of an independent type. The offspring of mixed marriages are generally remarkable for exhibiting the faults of both races and the virtues of neither. But to return to our subject. A careful study of the Cape records and archives proves beyond a doubt that the early Dutch settlers showed every desire to treat the natives well, and to bring them under the influence of a Christian civilization. The stern Calvinism of the Dutch Reformed faith did not tend to produce a tolerant type of Christianity. The authorities would not allow a Roman Catholic Bishop, who was accidentally detained at the Cape, to perform any public services. But their contemporaries, the English Puritans and the Scotch Covenanters, were just as intolerant as the Netherlanders at the Cape. There was a simple piety about them which appears even in the official records. In Van Riebeeck's diary, in 1654, the

anniversary of the settlement is commemorated as follows—"It is resolved to celebrate this day, being the 6th of April, in honour of God, and with thanksgiving, so that it be instituted for ever as a fixed day of thanksgiving and prayer, and that thus the benefits granted to us by the Lord may not be forgotten by our posterity, but always kept in memory to the glory of God." There had been a good deal of sickness amongst the colonists in 1656. Van Riebeeck set apart June 29 as a day of fasting and prayer, and issued an official admonition that the people were not to sit down to meals without asking a blessing from God, and returning thanks after the meal was over.

Those who disobeyed this order were fined a shilling for the first offence, and two shillings for the second, with further punishment to follow. We may smile at the impossibility of making people pious by Act of Parliament, but the effect of Van Riebeeck's injunction upon their ancestors is felt at the present day throughout the Boer population in South Africa. A traveller in the country districts of the Cape Colony, or in the remote parts of the Transvaal and Free State, will find that the most illiterate and uncultured of the Boer farmers scrupulously obey the order of Van Riebeeck. Grace before and after meals is an essential part of the Boer's religion.

In 1657 a new departure was made. Hitherto all the Europeans were the soldiers or servants of the Dutch East India Company. A certain number of them now became colonists and burghers, and had

farms allotted to them. The colony began to be a reality. Vines and other fruit trees were introduced, oaks and firs were planted, horses were imported from Java, and sheep were sent out, carefully selected from the best flocks in Holland. Rabbits were sent out for Robben Island, but with strict injunctions not to turn them loose on the mainland. The Dutch were wiser than the Australians in this matter. South Africa has been spared the rabbit plague that has proved so ruinous in Australia two hundred years after our coast islands were stocked with rabbits.

The Government gardens at Cape Town became in time the most famous botanical gardens in the world, until they ceased to be cared for after the colony finally became English in 1806. The beautiful oaks and fir plantations which now adorn the Cape Peninsula, Stellenbosch, and the Paarl, owe their origin almost entirely to the diligence of the early Dutch settlers.

Slaves were introduced into the colony in 1658, but slavery in South Africa was never disgraced by the brutalities which accompanied it in other countries. One of the first slave regulations of Van Riebeeck was that the slaves should be taught the Christian religion, and if a slave became a Christian and was baptized he became free. The first school in South Africa was opened in 1658 by the catechist Van der Stael, who was Van Riebeeck's brother-in-law, for the instruction of slave children. In 1659 the Burgher militia was formed to assist the regular garrison in the defence of the colony. Van Riebeeck's law of universal military

service is still in force in the Cape Colony, where every able-bodied man is liable to be called upon to defend his country. It was enforced in parts of the colony during the Basuto War of 1881.

In April 1662 Mr. Van Riebeeck was succeeded by Mr. Wagenaar as Commander of the Cape Colony. He had governed the infant settlement wisely and well. He was jealous of the interests of the Company, and hampered the free Burghers with trade restrictions. But he did his best to maintain good relations with the Hottentot clans, and he laid the foundations of the South Africa of to-day upon a basis of order and civilization that has stood the test of more than two centuries.

Commander Wagenaar's first Council meeting renewed the regulations forbidding colonists from insulting or molesting the Hottentots. War broke out between England and Holland in 1665, and the Company at great cost began to build the historic Castle at Cape Town, which is still the residence and head-quarters of the general in command of the troops in South Africa. One of its foundation stones was laid by the Rev. Johan Van Arckel, the first regularly appointed Dutch minister in South Africa.

In August 1665 the first Dutch Reformed Consistory was established. It consisted of the minister, the deacons (who were selected by the Civil power), the elders (whose election was confirmed by the Civil power), and the "Political Commissioner," who was a member of the Council of Policy which governed the colony. This Erastian subjection of matters religious

to the control of the Government continued until the Dutch Reformed Synod obtained, in 1843, from the Legislative Council of the colony, an "Ordinance," or Civil enactment, which liberated its action from the direct control of the State.

The Heidelberg Catechism and the Confession of the Synod of Dort have always been the authoritative standards of the Dutch Reformed Communion, wherever it has been planted. Its South African branch has adhered absolutely to those standards in their literal integrity, and has shown the greatest dread of the laxity of belief which has been connived at by the Dutch Reformed authorities in Holland during the present century. In 1663 the school, which had been temporarily closed, was re-opened. The children of Burghers were taught for a small fee, whilst Hottentot and slave children had free education, and were taught *pro Deo*, to quote the wording of the regulations. A controversy arose upon the subject of baptizing the children of heathen parents. The *classis* of Amsterdam decided that they could be baptized if due care were taken that they were "Christianly and virtuously brought up," but some objected on the score of the impossibility of carrying out this condition. Mr. Van Arckel died, and was temporarily succeeded by Mr. Johannes de Voocht, who carried out his predecessor's policy of baptizing slave children. On a Sunday in 1666, the congregation were assembled for worship in the great hall of the old fort. Commander Van Wagenaar and his officers were present, and also Mr. Baldeus, chaplain of an India-

man lying in Table Bay. Mr. de Voocht preached, and baptized a European child. A slave woman then came forward with her infant for baptism, but before Mr. de Voocht could begin the baptism, Mr. Baldeus rose in protest and stopped the service, saying that he knew more about the question than any one present. The Commander was astonished, the congregation were disturbed, and Mr. de Voocht gave way. Dutch Reformed ministers have always exercised a most commanding influence in South Africa, and if we seek a parallel for it we shall not readily find it in the influence exercised by Presbyterian ministers in Scotland, or Lutheran ministers in Germany. This influence remains in South Africa to the present day, and is a most important factor in the social, political, and religious life of the country. But the interference of Mr. Baldeus was contrary to instructions received by the authorities at the Cape. Commander Wagenaar summoned his Council of Policy (a body whose meetings were always begun with prayer), and the question of the baptism of heathen children was solemnly debated.

This blending of civil and ecclesiastical authority in the government of the colony, which found its expression in the constitution of the Church Consistory, and made it a natural process for the Civil government to debate a theological question, had many evil after-effects. British Governors, 150 years afterwards, claimed and exercised the power of an "Ordinary" over the English clergy, and in one case an English Governor tried to force a clergyman to unite in marriage an uncle and niece.

But although the Cape Council of Policy had better have left ecclesiastical questions alone, we are bound to admit that their decision in this instance was a just one. The interference of Mr. Baldeus was pronounced unwarrantable, and Mr. de Voocht baptized the slave woman's child on the following Sunday.

These by-gone controversies are worth recording, because they show that the Dutch in South Africa 200 years ago were alive to their responsibilities with regard to the spread of Christianity and civilization amongst the slaves and Hottentots.

In 1666 Mr. Wagenaar was succeeded by Commander Van Quaelberg, who held office till he was succeeded in 1688 by Commander Borghorst. During his term of office the French took possession of Saldanha Bay with a powerful fleet. But when the fleet had sailed, the French landmarks were destroyed by the Cape authorities, and a small military post formed at Saldanha Bay to prevent further encroachments. In 1670 Mr. Van der Broeck arrived as Special Commissioner to inspect the settlement. He dealt firmly with the beginnings of a great evil. The cheap produce of the Cape vineyards had already caused the establishment of too many licensed public-houses and canteens. The Commissioner and Council closed all of them except nine, which were left to provide board and lodging for strangers visiting the port. In 1670 Mr. Borghorst was succeeded by Mr. Hackius, who died in 1671, and was succeeded by Mr. Van Breugel, as a temporary appointment. In

1671 Mr. Goske visited the Cape as Special Commissioner. He found the beginnings of the evil of a half-caste population, and tried to deal with the matter by legislation. He ordered the slaves to be sent to church twice on Sunday, and taught to say prayers by the Catechist, and also that the women should, when sufficiently instructed, be baptized and lawfully married to men of their own colour. But the evil continued and still continues, although the last quarter of the nineteenth century shows a distinct abatement of it. In 1672 Mr. Van Overbeck arrived as Special Commissioner. The Hottentot clans of the Cape Peninsula had been decimated by small-pox, and had become hangers-on to the European community. The Commissioner thought that it would be as well to purchase the rights of the Hottentot chief Schacher, who ruled these clans, and a legal document was drawn up and signed to that effect on April 19, 1672, which is still preserved in the Deeds Registry at Cape Town. An agreement between a European community and a handful of natives who lived by domestic service, and doing little pieces of work for the Burghers, was necessarily a one-sided bargain, but it defined for the time the boundaries of the colony, and preserved the Hottentots within colonial limits from the attacks of their native enemies. Gradually the Hottentot chiefs accepted the alliance of the Cape Government, and became the vassals of the Dutch East India Company. When a Hottentot chief died, his successor was formally acknowledged by the Commander, and accepted from

him a staff of office as a symbol of authority and allegiance to the Company.

In July 1672 war broke out between France and England, as allies, against the United Netherlands. The Dutch were hard pressed, and the invading army of Louis XIV. in person occupied three out of the Seven United Provinces. William of Orange became Stadtholder, and soon changed the aspect of affairs. Charles II. had dragged England into the contest against the will of the nation, and peace between England and the Netherlands in 1674 followed the resolute resistance of William of Orange, who ultimately drove the French out of the provinces they had occupied. The Cape was the outpost most in danger. From time to time an English occupation was feared by the authorities, and in 1672 the colony, which by this time possessed a population of 600 Europeans, became a Governorship, and Mr. Goske, who had visited it as Commissioner, became the first Governor. He took vigorous defensive measures, and in December 1672 captured S. Helena, which was at that time the refreshing station of the fleets of the English East India Company. A Dutch garrison was left at the fort, but Commodore Munden recaptured the island in May 1673, and it has since remained a part of the British Empire. But Governor Goske was not entirely occupied in matters of offence or defence. The small community at the Cape was the only organized settlement of Europeans in Africa, and their measures of orderly government laid the foundation of the widespread European civilization which forms the

South Africa of to-day, with its keen local patriotism and strong national feeling. The details of civilization two centuries ago, and the regulations in which it was embodied, are not unworthy of record, if South African citizens desire to understand the heritage of law and order they have received from the early Dutch colonists. Land in South Africa is still surveyed in Dutch *morgen* and *erven*, and the use of the English *acre* and *rood* is unknown. A carpenter will use an English foot-rule, but the lineal measurement of land is still carried on by the Cape or "Rhyndland" foot, which differs from the Imperial standard.

The Roman-Dutch law is still the basis of South African jurisprudence, and will never be superseded by English law. The Dutch language will always be the mother tongue of the majority of South African people, who, although they learn English and speak it fluently, have the same strong feeling for their mother tongue as the Welsh show for their own ancient language.

Governor Goske founded an institution in 1674 which is still in existence.

The deacons of the Dutch Reformed Consistory already helped destitute people, and provided for destitute orphan children from charitable funds. In 1679 they had a capital of £1535 available for these purposes, which was eminently creditable to so small a community.

But something more was wanted for minors and orphans of another class. Governor Goske founded the Orphan Chamber, which was composed of five

officially appointed trustees, who were the guardians of orphans and minors, and who preserved the legal rights of minor children by a previous marriage in the case of the re-marriage of a widower or widow. No re-marriage could take place in the colony without a formal certificate from the Orphan Chamber that the rights of the children by the previous marriage were secured. At the present day an Order of Court is substituted for the certificate of the Orphan Chamber, but the principle is rigidly maintained, that no re-marriage can take place until the rights of children by a previous marriage are legally secured. A clergyman is punished if he solemnizes such a marriage, and all marriage registers in the Cape Colony contain a column to be filled in which is headed "Parents' consent or Judge's Order," the former applying to minors, and the latter to the cases above-mentioned.

Governor Goske's Council were absolute in matters ecclesiastical. The Dutch Reformed Consistory submitted two names for the election of an elder, and the Council of Policy refused both of them, and called for a fresh appointment. This subjection of ecclesiastical matters to the Civil power exercised an evil influence in South Africa, which has been felt in recent times, and has reacted on the English Church in Natal as well as in the Cape Colony.

When all danger of England capturing the Cape seemed over, Governor Goske left, and was succeeded in 1676 by Mr. Johan Bax, who died at the Cape in 1679. The foundation stone of the present Dutch Reformed Church in Adderley Street, Cape Town (then

known as the Heerengracht), was laid in April 1678, but the building was not completed till 1703. The clock-tower of the old fabric is still standing, and was carefully restored in 1893. An acting appointment of brief duration intervened before the appointment of a man who left his mark upon the colony. Commander Simon Van der Stel took office in October 1679. He was an ardent patriot, and his chief desire was to make the Cape Colony a close copy of a province of his beloved Netherlands. He began to examine the country, and rode into a lovely and fertile valley where he founded the town of Stellenbosch, named after himself. He obtained scientific botanists to take charge of the Company's garden, which became the most perfect collection of plants, trees, and flowers in the world. Little is now left to show what the garden must have been 200 years ago, except the beautiful avenue leading to Government House, Cape Town. In 1683 the first school at Stellenbosch was opened in a building which on Sundays was used for religious worship. Stellenbosch is now the educational centre of the Dutch Afrianders throughout South Africa. The Victoria College, with its able staff of Professors, gives an education whose excellence has been shown in the Honour Lists of the Cape University, besides successes won at Edinburgh University (which is the favourite resort of South African students of Dutch descent), and also in the older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.¹

¹ It is necessary to mention these facts, because English public opinion very frequently errs from ignorance of South African

Stellenbosch also contains the Theological Seminary for candidates for the Dutch Reformed Ministry. Many a Boer farmer with a clever son looks to Stellenbosch as an educational Mecca, whether he wishes his boy to be a minister, a doctor, or to enter the Civil Service.

Commander Simon Van der Stel is better remembered in South Africa as the founder of Stellenbosch, than as the man who first saw the value of Simon's

matters. We have heard of persons, otherwise intelligent and well informed, speaking of the Boer population of South Africa as a body of ignorant and uncultivated men. The Africander colonists of Dutch and Huguenot descent are frequently included under the term "Boer" or "farmer," as descriptive of their European nationality and ancestry, whereas it really describes the mode of life adopted by most of them. There are few Boer farmers of the lowest class who are as unintelligent as the peasantry of Saxon descent who form the agricultural labourers of the south of England. Most of them are shrewd and resourceful, bold pioneers, keen shots, and excellent men for guerilla warfare. Many of them are distinctly clever. President Paul Kruger of the Transvaal is a type of the uneducated class. He has attained his present remarkable prominence, as a statesman and diplomatist, by the sheer force of his firm character and shrewd intellect. Sir Henry De Villiers, the present Chief Justice of the Cape, is a type of the educated class. He was offered a seat on the Privy Council, which is a unique distinction for a colonial born judge. He declined the honour mainly, it is believed, because he would not leave the country of his birth. The Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, the leader of the Africander Party in the Cape Parliament, is another type of the same class. He is one of the most prominent and enlightened colonial statesmen in the British Empire, and his patriotism for his native land is manifested by his far-sighted determination to maintain the union between South Africa and England.

Bay, although Simon's Bay has become an impregnable naval station, and the key of British maritime supremacy, as commanding the sea route to India, Australia, and New Zealand.

We have already mentioned the arrival in the colony of Moslems from Batavia, who were the ancestors of the considerable population of Mohammedan Malays in South Africa. Some of these Malays were sent to the colony by the Dutch East Indian authorities as political prisoners.

Sultan Ageng, the last independent Prince of Java, was aided by the English and by Sheikh Joseph, a Moslem religious teacher of great influence, in his resistance to the Dutch. He was defeated, and Sheikh Joseph surrendered to the Dutch in 1683. He was sent to the Cape in 1694, and died at Sandvliet in the district of Stellenbosch in 1699. His tomb, which is called the Kramat, is still a centre of pilgrimage for the Moslems of South Africa. After the lapse of nearly two centuries, it is carefully guarded, as a holy place, and the Malays enter the enclosure with uncovered feet to pray at the tomb of their venerated saint. Mohammedanism in South Africa has a very strong hold upon the Malay population, who are sober and decent citizens. In the presence of an overwhelming majority of Christian Europeans, the worst features of the religion of Mohammed do not find expression, and conversions from the Malay population are at present comparatively rare.

Governor-General van Drakenstein visited the Cape

in 1685, and made various fresh regulations. The emancipated slaves had proved idle cumberers of the ground, and had become burdensome to the Church funds as paupers. For this reason he enacted that only well-conducted slaves were to be emancipated, although the rule of freeing slave children, baptized in infancy, and brought up as Christians, remained in force. Slaves under twelve years of age were sent to school and taught reading, writing, and the Christian religion. The Dutch Reformed minister had to visit the school twice a week, and on Sundays after the sermon he caused them to repeat the Heidelberg Catechism. No white children were allowed at this school. The idea of divorcing religion from education is utterly foreign to the minds of our Boer population unto this day.

A State system of undenominational education has been for many years at work in the Cape Colony. In Australia and New Zealand, where the schisms and sects of English Christianity have followed the Flag, and influenced the whole population, sectarian jealousies have combined to banish religion from the State schools. The only part of South Africa where such a policy has a chance of prevailing is the Colony of Natal, where the English population is larger than the Dutch. Religious education is the rule of the State schools of the Transvaal and Free State Republics, and in the Cape Colony the undenominational system exists only on paper. The School Committees can sanction religious teaching, and the Dutch Reformed ministers and their elders are all-powerful throughout the country

districts. We may state broadly that definite Christian teaching, such as Mr. Athelstan Riley has been contending for at the London School Board,¹ is the rule in all South African State schools where the Dutch population is in the majority. Here is a definite point gained by the careful religious foundation laid by the Dutch pioneers of our civilization two centuries ago.

Governor General van Drakenstein made one serious blunder. He allowed the Company's officials to hold farms and trade on their own account. Van der Stel was granted the farm Constantia, which he made famous for the product of Constantia wine. In years to come the abuses which resulted from this unwise permission were amongst the chief causes of the downfall of Dutch rule at the Cape. In 1687 a church was built at Stellenbosch, and a congregation regularly formed. Van der Stel in the same year founded the village of Drakenstein, which afterwards became the home of the Huguenot refugees. He was a great tree planter. He ordered every farmer to plant one hundred oak-trees, which he supplied from the Government gardens. Nearly 5000 oaks were successfully planted by his order in the Cape and Stellenbosch districts alone.

¹ The main difficulty that beset the religious controversy on the London School Board in 1893, has been to define the meaning of the word "Christian" as applied to the teaching in schools. It is naturally more difficult to define what is meant by "Christian teaching" in the midst of the complex beliefs of London, than in the simpler atmosphere of South Africa.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. in October 1685, was an act of persecuting intolerance that cost France the loss of thousands of her best and most industrious citizens.

For some time previous to this date French Protestants had been emigrating into the Netherlands in small parties, and had attached themselves to existing Dutch Reformed Consistories, with the privilege of holding services in their own language. The Dutch East India Company thought that Huguenot emigrants would be serviceable in South Africa, so inducements were offered, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, for a selected number of them to settle at the Cape. In 1687 the Huguenot emigrants embarked in the ships *Voorschoten*, *Borsseburg*, *Oosterland*, *China*, and *Zuid Beveland*, in number about 150. The majority were young men, as it was difficult for men with families and women to escape from France. The French Huguenot minister Pierre Simond, with his wife and family, came to minister to their spiritual wants. Commander van der Stel was civil to the French emigrants, but he bitterly resented this influx of foreigners into the colony which he desired to keep for "my own Netherlanders." The kindly Cape Burghers raised a subscription to meet the pressing necessities of the refugees. Some of them were settled at Stellenbosch, but most of them, and eventually almost all of them, formed a strong community at Drakenstein. Pierre Simond was a man of deep earnestness and strong will.

The French congregation at Drakenstein was considered a branch of the Dutch congregation at Stellenbosch, and a school for the emigrants' children was opened there. Van der Stel tried to avoid giving the Frenchmen farms and allotments near one another. He desired to blend the two nationalities as speedily as possible. But the Huguenots would not submit. They clung together and petitioned the Commander for a Church and Consistory of their own. The Rev. Pierre Simond headed the deputation, and Van der Stel denied their request in emphatic language, accusing them of ingratitude and sedition. The Huguenots appealed to Holland, and held a public meeting in which they resolved not to intermarry with the Dutch. They declared that they had braved the anger of Louis XIV., and that it was not likely they should be afraid of Van der Stel. Many of the Dutch Burghers retaliated, and the races, who were afterwards blended into one people, were, for the time being, in deadly enmity.

The Revolution of 1688 took place, and the decadence of the Dutch Republic began when William of Orange became King of England. In 1690 the Dutch East India Company conceded to the Huguenots the right of a separate Consistory at Drakenstein, but ordered that all French children should be compelled to learn Dutch in the schools. Van der Stel's policy of amalgamation eventually prevailed, and under the rule of his son, William Van der Stel, who succeeded his father as Governor in 1699, the French language was dropped in the public

worship of the Consistory of Drakenstein in 1702. Mr. Simond was succeeded by the Rev. Hendrik Bek, and a catechist was allowed to minister to the Huguenots in their own houses in French. When Paul Roux, the French catechist, died, the Drakenstein Consistory requested the Council of Policy to appoint a successor, as there were still living some twenty-five old people who did not understand Dutch, but in 1723 the Dutch East India Company decided that the Council of Policy must refuse their request. The suppression of the French language was a high-handed proceeding, but it was thoroughly done, and the Huguenot element in the population was merged into the common nationality of the colonists. But it was too distinct a type not to make its influence widely felt. At the present day most of the leading men amongst the Dutch Africander population of South Africa have French names, and show their French ancestry by certain national traits in their character, which generations of intermingling with Teutonic stock, and the use of Teutonic speech, have been unable to obliterate and efface.

Hitherto we have traced a story of successful colonization, based upon wise foundations of law and order. But the decadence of the United Netherlands affected the commerce of the Dutch East India Company, and the Cape Colony suffered accordingly.

The Governorship of the younger Van der Stel historically marks the parting of the ways. The Company could not pay its officials at the former high rates, and the officials were allowed to trade on their

own account. The administration of the Cape became corrupt. A Burgher named Adam Tas protested against Van der Stel's Government monopolies, and was arrested and kept fourteen months without trial. The Huguenot and Dutch farmers of Drakenstein rode armed into Stellenbosch, and defied the Civil authority successfully. Other arrests were attempted, and some were carried out when the Cape Burghers' petition of grievances was answered favourably from Holland.

Governor Van der Stel, his second in command Elsevier, the Stellenbosch magistrate, and (we regret to add) the Rev. Petrus Kalden, the Dutch Reformed minister of Cape Town, were summarily removed from office for using their public position as a means of feathering their own nests. Adam Tas and the arrested Burghers were released, and Governor Van Assenburgh, a military officer of some ability, was appointed to replace Van der Stel in 1708.

A sketch of the state of the colony at this time would show a prosperous community of Burghers who were very jealous of their rights, and full of opposition to the least indications of tyranny or corruption in their Government. South African national feeling had already begun to find voice, and the colonists were not any longer content to exist for the benefit of a trading company in the mother country. Cape Town had become a place of considerable size and importance, and the farmers were gradually extending the boundaries of the colony by taking up unoccupied land.

In 1713 South Africa was first visited with small-pox. The plague practically destroyed the independent existence of the Hottentot clans throughout the western districts of the Cape Colony. The European population suffered terribly. For two months the Court of Justice did not meet, and the dead were buried without coffins, because all the available planks in Cape Town had been already used for coffins. The subsequent political consequences of this terrible scourge were most important.

The farmers became isolated, and began to take up fresh farms in the vast stretches of country left unoccupied after the destruction of the Hottentots from small-pox. Further and further they planted their outposts into the then unknown interior. They were far from the three places of worship then established in the colony. Their children grew up without going to school. They were too far from the seat of Government to be protected by the law if they were assailed, and they were beyond the reach of the law if they themselves offended. They gradually became a law unto themselves, and led a wandering nomadic life as the pioneers of the ever-extending fringe of civilization.

They began to care very little about the sayings and doings of the Cape Town authorities. The story of the Cape Governors of the eighteenth century is not very interesting. The authorities were in a very awkward position. The Burghers kept spreading further and further inland, and the Government had no real power over them. Obnoxious ordinances and

regulations only served to make the rule of the Dutch East India Company more and more detested. In 1743 Baron van Imhoff, the Governor-General of Netherlands India, called at the Cape on his way to Batavia, and inspected the colony. He reported "that he had observed with amazement and sorrow how little interest was taken in the public services of religion, and in what a depth of indifference and ignorance in this respect a great part of the country people were living." By his exertions two new centres of the Dutch Reformed faith were founded, round which grew the present villages of Tulbagh and Malmesbury. At this time the European population consisted of about 4000 Burghers and 1500 servants of the Company, which included the Civil servants and the garrison. Van Imhoff gives the results of a hurried tour of inspection, and his judgment upon the country farmers is perhaps too severe. Some of them taught their slaves and Hottentot labourers the Christian religion; and some of the coloured congregations, who are now under the charge of German and other missionary societies, owed their foundation to the efforts made by the farmers to gather their dependents together and minister to their spiritual needs. The Church registers between 1665 and 1731 show that 1121 slave children were baptized and 46 adults. The number is not large, but when we remember the controversies and difficulties raised on the subject it shows that the people were not absolutely unmindful of their duty. In 1737 George Schmit came to South Africa as the first Moravian missionary.

The authorities gave him every facility until he began to baptize his converts in 1742. The validity of his ordination was disallowed by the Dutch Reformed authorities, and he had to retire to Europe, as the Dutch East India Company would permit no deviation from the established religion. Schmit's little congregation of thirty-two Hottentots was left to disperse itself. A Hottentot woman, named Magdalena, used to gather a few together and read to them out of the Dutch New Testament which Schmit had given her.

In 1792 the authorities relented, and gave permission to three Moravian missionaries, Marsveld, Schwinn, and Kuhnel, to settle at Genadendal, the scene of Schmit's labours fifty years before. Part of a wall of Schmit's house was still standing, and Magdalena was the sole survivor of his converts. She showed the missionaries her treasured New Testament, and pointed out the pear-tree planted by Schmit, under which she used to gather the Hottentots round her to hear the Word of God. Genadendal has now become a flourishing Moravian station, and visitors are shown Magdalena's New Testament, which is carefully preserved in a box made of the wood of Schmit's pear-tree.

In 1745 there were five Consistories of the Dutch Reformed Communion in South Africa, namely, those of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Tulbagh, and Malmesbury. Once a year they met in Synod and held a joint Consistory. But the authorities in Holland disliked any manifestations of local self-

government in religious matters, and in 1759 the Cape Government suppressed the annual synod because the Amsterdam *classis* considered that its meetings constituted an unwarrantable assumption of authority. It is wonderful that so much religious life survived amongst the Dutch Reformed ministers and congregations. They were in temporal subjection to the Civil government of the Cape, and they were in spiritual subjection to the authority of the Amsterdam *classis*. They had no power of initiative. They were powerless to form fresh centres of worship, and could not follow up the ever-advancing outposts of civilization. No wonder that the Boer pioneers got beyond the reach of schools and places of worship. In 1751 Governor Ryk Tulbagh was appointed, and his memory is still revered as that of a kindly and firm ruler, and a determined foe to corruption of every kind. He held office for twenty years, and did his best to redress grievances and develop the colony. But he had to administer an evil system, and the Netherlands were weakened by the factions of the Orange party (who, in 1747, had succeeded in making the Prince of Orange, as Stadtholder, an hereditary chief magistrate), and the Republicans pure and simple who objected to the change. The Cape Town officials were strong adherents of the Stadtholder, and the Burghers of the outlying districts were strongly Republican. Governor Van Plettenberg took office in 1774, and found circumstances too much for him. He was weak and incompetent. His Fiscal, or Attorney-General, Advocate Boers, earned

the detestation of the Burghers by his bribery and corruption. His other subordinate officials were just as bad. No transaction could be carried on with Government without bribery. The American revolution set the Burghers thinking. In distant frontier farms the tidings of colonists resisting oppression from the mother land were eagerly canvassed. In 1779 four delegates from the colonists went to Holland to lay their grievances before the authorities. Van Plettenberg and Boers replied to the charges laid against them, but the Dutch East India Company saw that their conduct had alienated the colonists so much that Boers was removed.

In 1781 the First Kafir war took place.¹ The

¹ The three native races of South Africa are essentially and ethnologically distinct. The Hottentots and Bushmen are from the same stock, although as distinct from each other in race descents as Celts and Teutons. The Bantu tribes are of different origin, and come from the north and north-east coast of Africa. They possess a strong infusion of Semitic blood, and are racially quite distinct from the negroes of the West Coast.

The modern distinction of the Bantu tribes may be arranged as follows. The northern Bantu tribes are the Basuto, Bechuana, and several minor clans who use a variation of the common Bantu language that is free from the "clicks" which the Southern Bantu nations have derived from contact with the Hottentot language, which, as a spoken tongue, was full of these sounds so strange to European ears. The Southern Bantu may be roughly subdivided into the Zulus, Fingoes (a Zulu subdivision), and the Kafirs. The Matabele kingdom was formed by a Zulu army, under Moselikatse, who were unsuccessful in a distant expedition during Chaka's reign, and who preferred to face the unknown interior rather than return to

expansion of the colony eastward had at length brought the pioneers in contact with the Bantu race,

brave the wrath of the Zulu tyrant. They swept out the Bantu tribes of the Transvaal, and enslaved the Mashonas, who were also of Bantu race. Gazaland is also now inhabited by tribes of Zulu origin. The characteristics of the Bantu race may be traced in all the dominant tribes from the Soudan to Kaffraria. The Soudanese who hurled themselves at the British square at Abu Klea were men of the same race as the Zulus who conquered at Isandlwana. Their round huts, their weapons, and their general mode of life show their kindred origin.

In the middle of the seventeenth century South Africa was roughly divided between the Hottentots of the south-west, the Bantu of the south-east, who were gradually pressing the Hottentots westward, and the nomadic tribes of Bushmen, who are akin to the pigmy tribes of the central African forest-lands. The Hottentot race was immeasurably inferior to the Bantu Kafirs, who were pressing upon them westwards from the Kei river. The Bushmen, notwithstanding their capacity for rude drawings on their rocks and caves, were as inferior to the Hottentots as the Hottentots were to the Kafirs. Kafir and Hottentot waged relentless war with the Bushmen, who were murderers, marauders, and cattle thieves. The Hottentots were a pastoral people. Their knowledge of handicrafts was limited, and their tribal organization was weak. They were therefore bound to lose their national existence, wedged in as they were between the European colonists of the Cape and the Kafir colonists on their eastern border. At the present day they have lost their language, and speak a *patois* of Cape Dutch. The Hottentot remnant have become the farm-labourers of the western districts of the Cape Colony. Most of them are nominal Christians at all events, and many are adherents of the Moravians, or the Independents, who form the London Missionary Society. The Bushmen survive in the Kalahari district, and along the banks of the Orange River where there is little civilization. The remnant of this race is as untamable now as it was two centuries ago. The Bantu races exhibit many elements of national

and this first conflict between the colonists and the Kafirs was the prelude of a struggle that continued for a century, even if we may hope it found its final close in the Basuto war of 1881, and the Tenth Kafir war which closed in the same year. At this time the Great Fish River was the boundary between the Kosa Kafirs and the colony. There were no Dutch troops on the frontier, and the farmers had to defend themselves, their homesteads, and their cattle. The Kafir Chief, Rarabe, sent civil messages to the farmers regretting the cattle thefts, but he carefully protected the thieves. Adrian van Jaarsfeld, a frontier farmer of some leadership and ability, was appointed commandant of the eastern frontier, and attacked the Kafirs, who had crossed the Fish River, with a Burgher force and some Hottentot auxiliaries, and totally defeated them. He took over 5000 cattle

stability. They have possessed for centuries an elaborate code of native law. They are brave soldiers, and possess good intellectual powers. They show a tendency to increase in numbers under European government, and they readily assimilate the arts of civilization. The great South African problem of to-day is to discover a *modus vivendi* between these people and the rapidly developing European civilization of South Africa. It can only be done by Christian missions wisely directed. The Zulu, the Basuto, and the Kafir have never been enslaved. They are *men*, and must be dealt with as such. They are as superior to the Chinese, and the lower class of Hindoos, as the Goths and Teutons of the fifth century were to the effete Romans whose empire they overthrew. The main obstacle to missions among them is polygamy. If this barrier were removed these tribes would rapidly become Christians, and play a great part in the future development of South Africa.

from the Kafirs, a goodly portion of which had been stolen from the farmers, and he divided the spoil amongst the Burghers who had taken part in the expedition.

The year 1781 saw the outbreak of war between England and Holland in alliance with France. The Cape authorities were naturally alarmed, as the English who called at the Cape very often spoke openly of the desire of England to take possession of the Cape Colony. The Netherlands were distracted by party spirit, and the commercial and maritime supremacy of the United Provinces was a thing of the past.

In March 1781 a powerful English fleet sailed from Spithead to capture the Cape, under Commodore Johnstone, with 3000 troops on board under General Meadows. But the British expedition was surprised, while at anchor in Porto Praya roads, by a strong French fleet under Admiral Suffren. The British fleet beat off their assailants, but were too much shattered to proceed to the Cape without refitting. Suffren sailed at once for the Cape and landed troops to defend the colony. But Johnstone soon followed him, and took possession of Saldanha Bay. After capturing five Dutch Indiamen, the British commander saw that the Cape was too strong to be attacked, and set sail for England with part of the fleet, sending the troops on to India. But although this first attempt was unsuccessful, the British Government made up its mind to possess the Cape Colony. The colonists, though disaffected towards the Cape Town authorities, rallied to the defence of their country against outside

attacks. But directly the pressure of invasion was removed the elements of discontent became more active than ever. In 1785 Colonel van der Graaff became Governor. In 1786 the new magistracy and district of Graaff Reinet was founded to embrace the whole frontier district. The town was called after the Governor and his wife, and the excellent site was chosen for the township in the bend of the Sunday's River, which now renders Graaff Reinet one of the most beautiful towns in South Africa. The frontier farmers who were under the jurisdiction of the new magistracy of Graaff Reinet were bold and brave pioneers. They had lost touch with civilization, and had been used to a constant warfare of self-defence. The newly appointed Landdrost Woeke was an ill-tempered drunkard. His secretary, Maynier, lived to become the best hated man on the frontier. The incompetence of the Graaff Reinet authorities produced anarchy and a spirit of independence among the frontier farmers. We shall be able to trace to these joint causes the foundation of the short-lived Graaff Reinet Republic, which produced more vigorous offspring in the Transvaal and Free State Republics of the emigrant farmers some fifty years afterwards. It is a significant fact that Paul Kruger, the famous President of the Transvaal (after the War of Independence in 1881), was born in the Graaff Reinet district, and, as a child, went forth with his father in the stormy pilgrimage of the emigrant Boers in search of freedom in the unknown wilderness.

In March 1789 the Chiefs Langa and Cungwa

crossed the Fish River and began the Second Kafir War. The farmers retired before the invaders, and the incompetent Landdrost of Graaff Reinet called out a Burgher force. The Cape authorities tried to buy off the Kafirs and patch up a peace, but it was useless. The Kafirs retained the spoils of war, and the Burghers were dismissed without striking a blow at the enemy. In 1793 Landdrost Woeke was succeeded by Maynier, whose memory is still held in detestation by the descendants of the frontier farmers. He was a supple and time-serving official, anxious only to please the authorities of the Dutch East India Company at Cape Town, and he was not shrewd enough to perceive that the government of the country was slowly but surely slipping from their grasp. The colonists of Graaff Reinet were no match for the subtlety and meanness of his false and slanderous misrepresentation of their doings. They took the law into their own hands, and a small party of armed Burghers captured 800 cattle. Again the Kafirs crossed the Fish River, and laid waste 116 farms out of the total of 120 which had been occupied between the rivers Kowie and Zwartkops, the territory afterwards colonized by the English settlers of 1820. The authorities of the Cape ordered the Landdrosts of Swellendam and Graaff Reinet to take the field. But divided counsels prevailed, and after capturing some cattle, the Second Kafir war ended with a peace *on paper* which Maynier devised to please the Government. The Kafirs retained the fruits of victory. The colonists went

back to their ruined homesteads with their hearts filled with rebellion and despair.

Colonel van der Graaff had retired from the Government in 1791. Cape Town in those days was a centre of luxury and extravagance. The Governor's stables contained 120 horses. He rode in a state coach, and wasted the revenues of the Company with his reckless personal expenditure. He was quarrelsome as well as incompetent. At the Council Board, on one occasion, he drew his sword on an official he disliked, who escaped injury by defending himself with his cane. The days of the Dutch East India Company were numbered. The lavish expenditure of the Cape Town citizens and officials had no basis of commercial prosperity. The coffers of the Company were being rapidly emptied, and it was within a measurable distance of insolvency. Van der Graaff's Fiscal, or Attorney-General, Mr. Van Lynden, fled by night on board ship and sailed for Holland. He had used torture on a white citizen, and forced him to confess a crime of which he was afterwards proved innocent. After a short interlude, under Mr. Van Rhenius, the government of the colony devolved upon Messrs. Nederburgh and Frykenius, who had been appointed Special Commissioners to re-organize the colony. In June 1792 the Burgher Councillors desired to interview the Commissioners in the name of the people, in order that grievances might be redressed. The Commissioners at first declined to receive them as representatives of the people, and public meetings were held protesting against the taxes