

UNDEFEATED AMBITION IN AN UNSYMPATHETIC EMPIRE: THE KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT  
IN THE CAPE COLONY, 1853-1872

by

Katie Carline

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University  
Halifax, Nova Scotia  
August 2015

© Copyright by Katie Carline, 2015

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	viii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 HUMANITARIANISM AND THE ORIGINS OF THE KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT IN THE 1830S.....	2
1.2 THE KAT RIVER PROJECT: LAND, CHRISTIANITY, EDUCATION, AND RESPECTABILITY .....	12
1.3 OF REVELATION AND REVISION: THE KAT RIVER AND THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	16
1.4 THE AIM AND SCOPE OF THIS PROJECT.....	21
CHAPTER 2: “DEATH AT ONCE WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO THE CONTINUED PERSECUTION WE ENDURE”: THE KAT RIVER REBELLION AND ITS AFTERMATH.....	27
2.1 THE COURSE OF THE REBELLION.....	28
2.2 LOCAL MOTIVATIONS FOR REBELLION.....	30
2.3 THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF THE REBELLION.....	34
2.4 REBELS.....	38
2.5 LOYALISTS .....	43
2.6 THE AFTERMATH OF THE REBELLION AND THE END OF LIBERAL HUMANITARIANISM.....	48
CHAPTER 3: “WE NOW UNDERSTAND THE CHRISTIANITY OF MONEY”: THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE AND ITS USES IN THE KAT RIVER.....	62

3.1 PEASANT PRODUCERS OR PIOUS PAUPERS? THE KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT C.1855-1870 IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN CAPE.....	63
3.2 “THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE IS I BELIEVE OF DEVINE APPOINTMENT”: THE KAT RIVER IN THE WORLD OF BRITISH MISSIONARY ACTIVITY, C.1855-1870.....	69
3.3 USES OF THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE: COMMERCIAL AND LAND-OWNING CONGREGATIONS.....	75
3.4 USES OF THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE: EDUCATION AND ECCLESIASTICAL CAREERING.....	90
3.5 ARIE VAN ROOYEN AND THE RIGHTS OF A VOLUNTARY CHURCH.....	99
3.6 CONCLUSION.....	104
CHAPTER 4: “WE KNOW OUR OWN CIRCUMSTANCES AND WHAT WILL BE FOR THE TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL WELFARE OF THE FINGOE PEOPLE”: CHANGING ETHNIC IDENTITIES AND THE EXPANSION OF THE KAT RIVER PROJECT .....	106
4.1 FINGO CONVERSIONS AND THE EXPANSION OF THE KAT RIVER PROJECT.....	108
4.2 “ONE OF THE GRANARIES OF THE COUNTRY”: AGRICULTURE AND RESPECTABILITY AT OXKRAAL.....	119
4.3 THE “PECULIAR PRESTIGE” OF THE LMS AND ITS USES DURING THE “FINGO EXODUS”.....	127
4.4. “THE CHILD WAS KNOWN TO US WHEN HE WAS A BOY”: THE READ FAMILY IN THE KAT RIVER.....	137
4.5 CONCLUSION.....	142
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION: “THIS GROUND WAS WASHED CLEAN BY BLOOD”.....	143
5.1 THE KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF IDENTITY AND RESISTANCE.....	144

5.2 THE END OF THE LMS IN THE KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT.....	147
5.3 THE KAT RIVER AND KHOESAN IDENTITY IN MODERN SOUTH AFRICA.....	153
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	161



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	The Kat River Settlement in the Eastern Cape, c.1829-1866.....	5
Figure 1.2	The Internal Divisions of the Settlement, c.1850.....	7
Figure 4.1	The Eastern Cape after the “Fingo Exodus”, c.1866.....	113

## **ABSTRACT**

The Kat River Settlement, established in South Africa's eastern Cape in 1829, became a place where Khoesan Christians built an independent outpost of respectable colonial society. The Settlement lost official and missionary support after the residents' rebellion of 1850-53, and scholars treat this episode as the end of the Kat River project. But this diminution of outside support did not cause Kat River residents to relinquish their aspirations. In the two decades after the rebellion, they responded to bleak economic prospects and supporters' apathy by using church institutions to claim equality with British congregations, protect their economic interests, pursue education, and incorporate new communities into the Kat River project. These efforts reveal how Khoesan people combatted their disadvantages in a colonial state and participated in imperial networks of Christianity. Examining Kat River after 1853 demonstrates how the Settlement's ideals endured and continue to inform contemporary Coloured cultural politics.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

CO	Colonial Office Records, Cape Archives Repository
LMS	London Missionary Society
LMS-SA	Incoming Correspondence from South Africa, London Missionary Society Records, Council for World Mission Archives
SACA	<i>South African Commercial Advertiser</i>

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This project could not have been completed without the help and forbearance of many people. My supervisor, Dr. Phil Zachernuk, posed insightful questions and offered suggestions that allowed me to imagine new possibilities for research and puzzle out the implications of my arguments. I am also grateful for the input of my thesis examiners, Dr. Gary Kynoch and Dr. Amal Ghazal. Dr. Robert Ross, of the University of Leiden, kindly shared his transcriptions of documents from the Cape Archives. Finally, I am thankful for my classmates and friends, my parents, siblings, and Nick Baker, who commiserated, encouraged, and celebrated with me throughout this process.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In 1829, several thousand Khoesan people move to the Kat River Settlement on the eastern border of the Cape Colony, which had been set apart for them by governmental and missionary supporters as a “refuge,” in the expectation that they would use the land to become “civilized” and “respectable,” and so assimilate into settler colonial society. Although the Kat River was not specifically a missionary project, the idea of the Settlement and many of the people who moved there were associated with the London Missionary Society (LMS), an organization run by Congregational churches in Britain. The Kat River Settlement, which encompassed approximately 800 square kilometres of a valley in the eastern Cape, has been studied frequently in South African history, both because its initial project of racial assimilation hints at a different path that South African history might have taken, and because the rebellion which happened there in 1850 provides both rare and dramatic documentation of African political consciousness in nineteenth-century colonial South Africa and a marker of the turn towards a segregationist state. However, most of the extant scholarship on the Settlement stops at 1853, when the rebellion was crushed, Khoesan Christians lost the support of their former philanthropist friends, and it became apparent that the original goals of the Settlement would not be achieved. Historians have not yet asked how Khoesan Christians in the Kat River, the people who had invested the most in the idea of the Settlement, responded to their changed situation after the rebellion. This thesis is a study of what happened in the Kat River after 1853. Using correspondence from LMS missionaries and their Khoesan congregants, this thesis argues that

after the rebellion, people in the Kat River continued to pursue the original goals of the Settlement while adapting to changing politics in the eastern Cape and changing ideas in the world of missionary Christianity. They accomplished this through creative use of LMS church institutions, despite the apathy of the colonial officials and former supporters across the empire.

*Liberal Humanitarianism and the Origins of the Kat River Settlement in the 1830s*

The Kat River Settlement originated at a specific moment in local colonial and imperial politics. From the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 to the emancipation of slaves in colonial territories in the 1830s, British imperial politics had a distinct humanitarian flavour, in the sense that officials and public activists believed that colonial governments should protect and ameliorate the condition of people whose lands had been taken, especially in Australia and the Cape Colony, by increasingly large waves of settlers from Britain.<sup>1</sup> The term humanitarian does not mean that early nineteenth-century British colonial rule was necessarily just or benevolent, simply that it was couched in a specific vocabulary which spoke of preserving national honour by recognizing the equal humanity of conquered indigenous people, and the necessity of incorporating them into a civilized society.<sup>2</sup> In the Cape Colony, this meant passing protective

---

<sup>1</sup> Fae Dussart and Alan Lester, *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines Across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1-6.

<sup>2</sup> Dussart and Lester, *Colonization and the Origins*, 7-24; Elizabeth Elbourne, "The Sin of the Settler: The 1835-36 Select Committee on Aborigines and Debates on Virtue and Conquest in the Early Nineteenth-Century British White Settler Empire," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 4 (2003).

legislation on working rights and property ownership for freed slaves and indigenous Khoesan people, as well as providing education and encouraging conversion to Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

In the Cape Colony, the liberal humanitarian agenda was promoted by an informal network of administrators, politicians, and missionaries. Probably the most famous member of this network was John Philip, the Superintendent of the LMS in South Africa. His 1828 publication, *Researches in South Africa*, was an attempt to show the “intimate connexion between Civilization and Christianity,” and how “by the preaching of the gospel, individuals... may be suddenly elevated to a surprising height in the scale of improvement.”<sup>4</sup> Philip specifically campaigned for an end to pass laws which allowed Khoesan to be arrested for vagrancy and forced into contracts as farm workers. Philip was credited at the time with the passing of Ordinance 50 in 1828, a piece of protective legislation that removed civil disabilities such as the pass law. The benefits of Ordinance 50 were promoted by Philip’s son-in-law John Fairbairn, the editor of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*.<sup>5</sup> The newspaper argued that conversion to Christianity, “the consumption of British manufactures,” and the natural incentive of economic self-interest would transform Khoesan people “from the state of wandering and mischievous Barbarians to that of fixed and peaceable Citizens, happy and serviceable to the

---

<sup>3</sup> Khoesan, sometimes Khoisan, is a composite term of twentieth-century vintage. It combines the older ethnic terms Khoikhoi (literally, “men of men”) and San (technically a pejorative term; sometimes Bushman or /Xam). Most modern historians opt for Khoesan or Khoisan in describing the indigenous population of the Cape Colony, as historical differences between Khoe and San people are disputed. The composite nature of this ethnonym is especially appropriate to this thesis because it highlights the constructed nature of ethnic identity. In the nineteenth century, Khoesan were called, and called themselves, Hottentots, a term that is today offensive but that will be used when quoting from period documents. See Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853* (Kingston, ON: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), 72-73; Michael Paul Besten, “Transformation and Reconstitution of Khoe-San Identities: AAS Le Fleur I, Griqua Identities and Post-Apartheid Khoe-San Revivalism (1894-2004)” (PhD. Diss., Leiden University, 2006), 3.

<sup>4</sup> John Philip, *Researches in South Africa; Illustrating the Moral, and Religious Condition of The Native Tribes* vol. II (London: James Duncan, 1828), 354-55.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Bank, “The Politics of Mythology: The Genealogy of the Philip Myth,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25 (1999): 463-64.

Community.”<sup>6</sup> Fairbairn subscribed to the ideas of contemporary classical political economists like David Ricardo and Nassau Senior who saw self-interest as the surest way to improve the material condition of the poor: the needy would be motivated to improve their condition if they could operate without repressive interference from the state or the distraction of charity.<sup>7</sup> The *Commercial Advertiser* believed the same principles could work in South Africa, if Khoesan could own property: “Give [the Khoesan] positive material interest in the soil they cultivate,” wrote one correspondent, and “teach them the mighty meaning of that magic pronoun *My*, and you will admit them at once to all the endearing charities of *Home*.”<sup>8</sup>

Fairbairn and Philip’s interest in “improving” the living conditions and social standing of Khoesan people intersected with the goals of a Cape politician, Sir Andries Stockenstrom. Stockenstrom was from a Dutch-speaking family of mixed racial heritage.<sup>9</sup> He wanted to set aside land for Khoesan farmers. With Fairbairn and Philip’s support, Stockenstrom engineered the establishment of the Kat River Settlement on land from which the Xhosa chief Maqomo had recently been forced. Although the land grant was criticized by some settlers who argued that Africans were incapable of being respectable and prosperous when left to their own devices, the project did have some appeal for the new community of English settlers who, after 1820, had begun to establish themselves in the Albany region of the eastern Cape. The Albany settlers, whose political hub was Grahamstown, were often critical of the Cape Town government for its perceived neglect of their safety. The *Grahamstown Journal* advocated for more defensive

---

<sup>6</sup> *South African Commercial Advertiser (SACA)* 4 April 1829; *SACA* 15 August 1829.

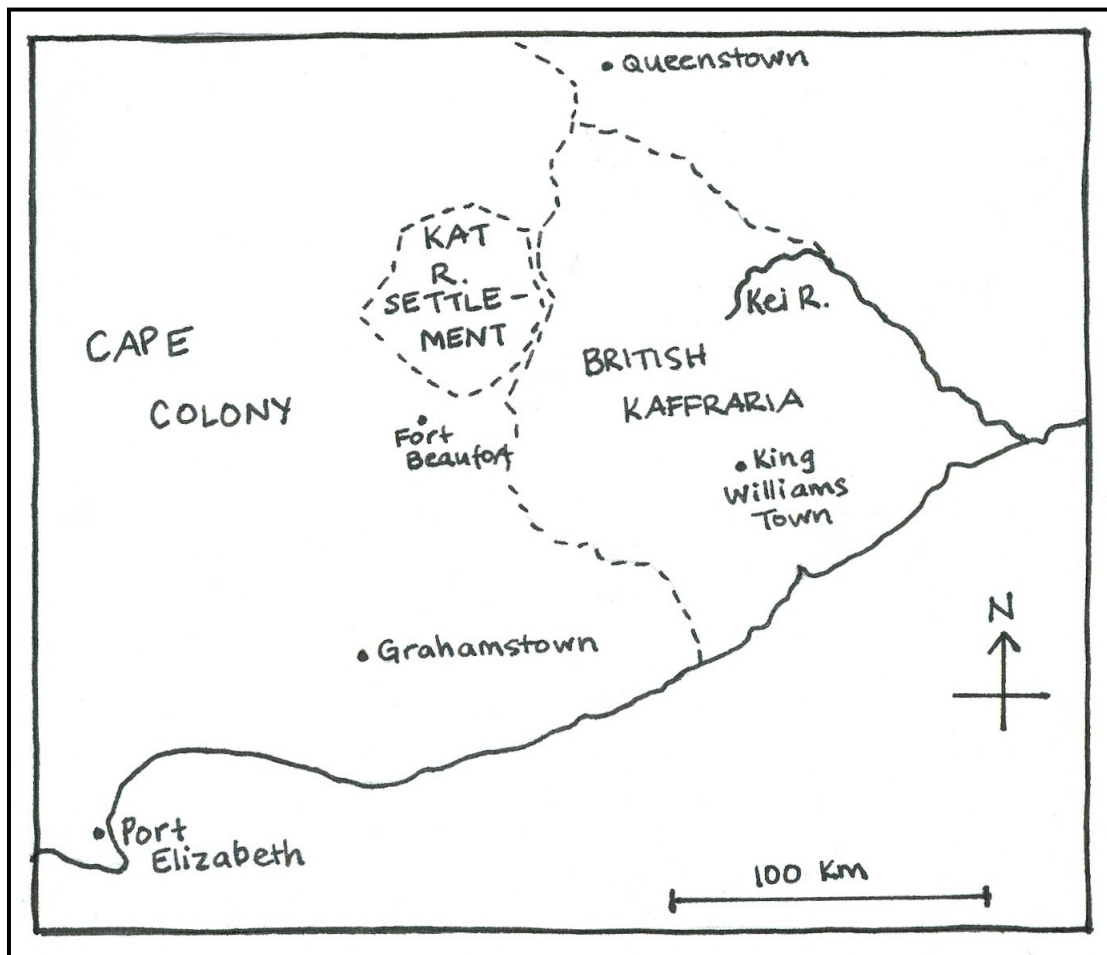
<sup>7</sup> On the links between nineteenth-century political economy and evangelical Protestantism, see Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

<sup>8</sup> *SACA* 18 December 1830.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 173.



measures against the Xhosa who had recently been pushed out of part of the eastern Cape, and whose territory now began at the edge of the colony's border, across the Keiskamma River.<sup>10</sup> The settlement of a large population of loyal Khoesan along this border was reassuring to some eastern Cape settlers; as Stockenström put it, "the better and more efficient part of the Hottentots [would become] a breastwork against a powerful exasperated enemy."<sup>11</sup>



The Kat River Settlement in the Eastern Cape, c. 1829-1866

<sup>10</sup> Basil LeCordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, 1820-1854* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

<sup>11</sup> Robert Ross, *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa: the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1853* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 30. See also a letter from an "Albany correspondent", *SACA*, 3 February 1830.

Stockenstrom and Fairbairn secured approval for the Kat River Settlement from the governments in Cape Town and London, but the execution of their plans required the support of LMS missionaries and Khoesan converts. In 1829 the LMS had been in the Cape Colony for 28 years, longer than any other English-speaking missionary society. The first LMS missionaries, Johannes Van der Kemp and James Read, had caused controversy with their outspoken critiques of the colonial government and white settlers, and because of their marriages to African women.<sup>12</sup> Van der Kemp had married a former slave from Madagascar, while Read had married a Khoesan woman from his congregation. Many Khoesan people converted to Christianity in the first decades of the nineteenth century, whereas there were few Xhosa or Tswana converts until the later decades of the century.<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Elbourne suggests that evangelical Protestant theology — which emphasized individual sin, emotional conversion moments, equality among believers, and reward after death — was appealing to Khoesan people who had lost their precolonial land and social structure, and who by the nineteenth century were mainly scattered as landless labourers on settler farms. Although accepting Christianity required an admission of personal guilt, it simultaneously offered a new identity for those dissatisfied with their social situation.<sup>14</sup> When the Settlement was founded in 1829, LMS missionaries accompanied Khoesan settlers from mission stations to their new land on the eastern frontier of the colony. James Read immediately became the minister of the church in the main town of Philipton, assisted by his son James Read, Jr. About three-quarters of the Settlement's population were LMS adherents, and

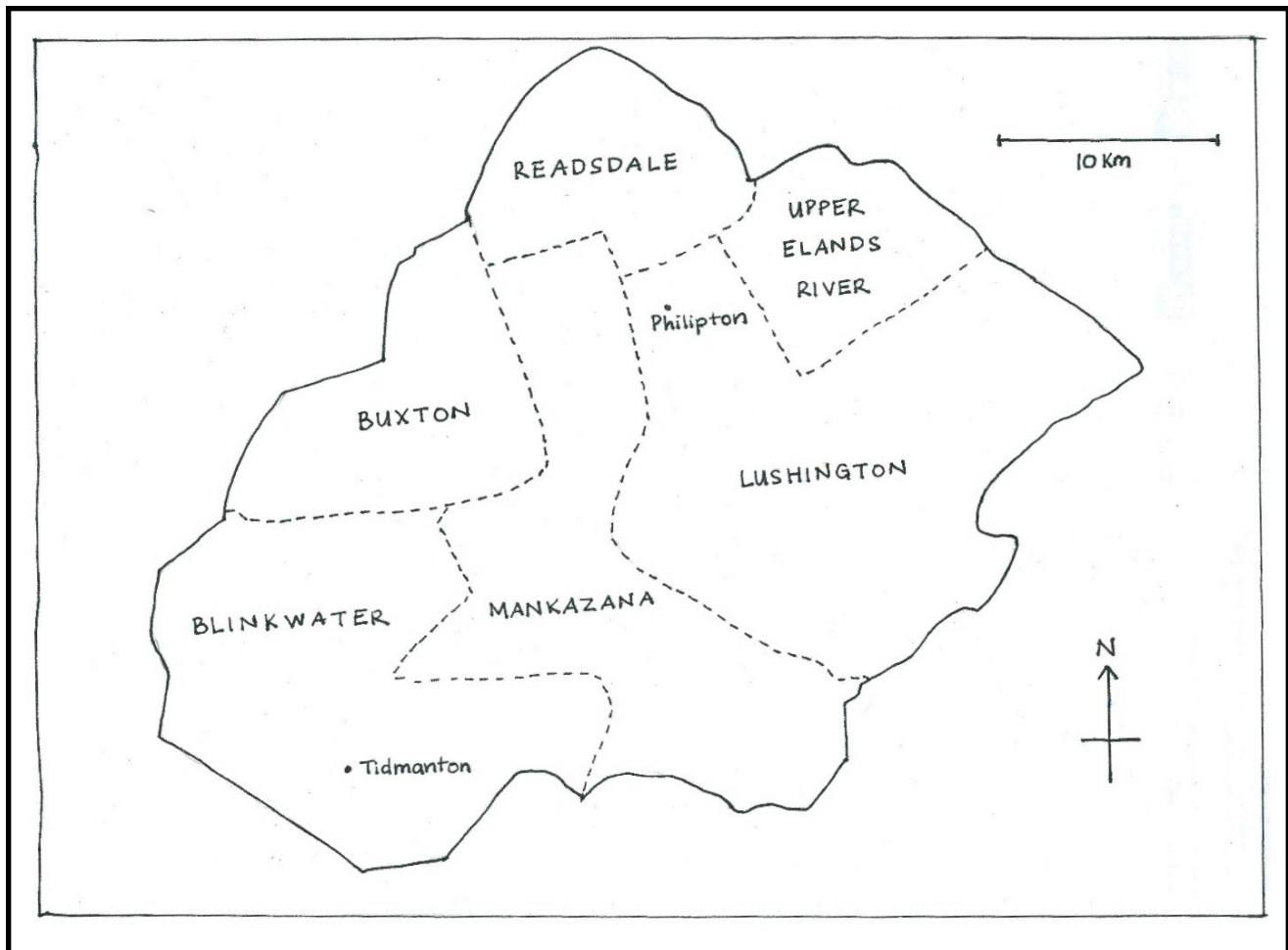
---

<sup>12</sup> Julia Wells, "The Scandal of Rev James Read and the Taming of the London Missionary Society by 1820," *South African Historical Journal* 42 (2000): 136-160.

<sup>13</sup> Hildegard Fast, "In at One Ear and Out at the Other: African Responses to the Wesleyan Message in Xhosaland 1825-1835," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 23 (1993): 147-174.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 173-196; idem, "Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity," in *Missions in South African History*, ed. Henry Bredekamp and Robert Ross, (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1995), 66-67.

many of them had come to the Settlement from other eastern Cape mission stations at Theopolis and Bethelsdorp.<sup>15</sup> The Settlement's close association with the LMS was visible in the naming of its administrative divisions, which included areas called Readsdales and Buxton. The towns of Philipton and Tidmanton were both named after LMS functionaries. At its peak, the population of the Settlement reached approximately 5,000.<sup>16</sup>



**The Internal Divisions of the Settlement, c.1850<sup>17</sup>**

<sup>15</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 266-67.

<sup>16</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 2, 161.

<sup>17</sup> Other maps of the Settlement show further divisions, also named after LMS or official supporters. These included Upsher (a Mrs. Upsher supported an LMS school), and Fairbairn (the editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*). Ross, *Borders of Race*, 46.

The Reads, Senior and Junior, were friendly with both Fairbairn and Stockenstrom, and Fairbairn's newspaper enthusiastically enumerated the aspects of respectability which the Kat River Khoesan demonstrated. The Kat River Temperance Society was formed in 1832, and had 700 members within a year; its adherents were so zealous in their abstention, the paper reported, that "[some] who had begun to plant vineyards, have torn up the plants with their own hands."<sup>18</sup> From this, the editor wrote, "it appears that they are capable of setting an example to the most moral and religious districts of the Colony."<sup>19</sup> Kat River Khoesan were keen to pursue educational opportunities by building schools and demonstrated their success as farmers by their ability to pay for building projects.<sup>20</sup> The *Commercial Advertiser* printed the letters and speeches of Kat River residents in order to show how they were participating responsibly in Cape society.<sup>21</sup> The *Commercial Advertiser* also printed speeches and letters from the Kat River on topics of general political interest, from proposed vagrancy legislation, to the possibility of representative government, to the arrival of new magistrates and Governors, to the convict ship incident of 1848 (when Colonial Secretary Earl Grey made the unpopular decision to send a ship full of convicts to the Cape).<sup>22</sup> The petition of one Kat River congregation against the convict ship encapsulates the message liberal humanitarians wanted to spread about the incorporation of respectable Africans into colonial society. "We therefore beseech your Honour," the petitioners asked the Governor, "for the honour of the British name... [not to] demoralize the entire colony with crimes of the deepest die [sic]."<sup>23</sup> The petitioners' equation of their own honour with that of

---

<sup>18</sup> *SACA* 11 January 1832, 28 January 1832, 28 November 1832, 2 January 1833.

<sup>19</sup> *SACA* 11 January 1832.

<sup>20</sup> *SACA* 10 October 1829, 5 January 1833, 5 July 1834, 7 February 1844.

<sup>21</sup> *SACA* 13 March 1833.

<sup>22</sup> *SACA* 24 November 1832, 16 August 1834, 3 September 1834, 10 September 1834, 4 October 1834, 28 January 1835, 5 November 1836, 10 June 1837, 12 September 1838, 16 July 1842, 12 January 1848.

<sup>23</sup> *SACA* 5 May 1849.

the “British name” demonstrated to the *Commercial Advertiser*’s readers that Kat River Khoesan had achieved the respectability and political awareness that would allow them to claim British honour as their own.<sup>24</sup>

The Cape colonial circle of activists on behalf of the Khoesan, comprising Philip, Fairbairn, Stockenstrom, and the Reads, was part of a larger network of humanitarianism across the empire. A number of anti-slavery campaigners, especially the British Member of Parliament Thomas Fowell Buxton, took up the cause of the Khoesan. Buxton and Philip were among the founding members of the Aborigines Protection Society, which focused its attention particularly on Australia and the Cape Colony.<sup>25</sup> The apotheosis of the Kat River as the representation of the goals of humanitarian officials and missionaries came in 1835-36, with the meeting of the Select Committee on Aborigines. The Parliamentary Committee was organized by Buxton, and its goal was to illuminate abuses of indigenous people and propose metropolitan oversight of colonies, to facilitate “the moral recreation of sinful settlers and non-Christian indigenes alike, and their eventual joint assimilation into an imagined Christian community of the virtuous.”<sup>26</sup> The Kat River Settlement was the Committee’s primary example of this vision. James Read Sr. and Jr. both travelled to London to testify, as did the Kat River resident Andries Stoffels and the minor Xhosa chief and convert Jan Tzatzoe. Stoffels testified in London about the improvement that Christianity and civilization had brought to the Khoesan. “The Hottentot,” he said, “has no water; he has not a blade of grass; he has no lands... all that he now has is the missionary and the

---

<sup>24</sup> Kirsten McKenzie points out that although Fairbairn wrote approvingly of Khoesan joining respectable society, in practice the sort of public sphere that the *Commercial Advertiser* envisioned excluded black people from participation, although she admits that this exclusion was expressed in the language of class rather than race. Kirsten McKenzie, “‘Franklins of the Cape’: The *South African Commercial Advertiser* and the Creation of a Colonial Public Sphere, 1824-1854,” *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* (1998-99): 88-102.

<sup>25</sup> Dussart and Lester, *Colonization and the Origins*.

<sup>26</sup> Elbourne, “The Sin of the Settler.”

Bible.” These two things had, however, rapidly improved Khoesan social standing: “The word of God has brought my nation so far, that if a Hottentot young lady and an English young lady were walking with their faces from me, I would take them both to be English ladies.” Stoffles concluded that “we will soon all be one. The Bible makes all nations one. The Bible brings wild man and civilized together... the Hottentot nation was almost exterminated, but the Bible has brought the nations together, and here I am before you.”<sup>27</sup> Stoffels’ speech, which was translated into English by James Read, Jr. in front of a crowded Exeter Hall audience, confirmed to humanitarians that the Kat River Settlement was an excellent working model of their goals. By granting oppressed Khoesan land, knowledge of Christianity, and the support of an empire-wide missionary network, humanitarians had improved the Khoesan to the point where they could assimilate into colonial society. The Aborigines Committee thus exemplifies how humanitarian projects in the 1830s integrated the interests of like-minded government officials, colonial politicians, and missionaries. In proceedings like the Aborigines Committee, missionaries gained validation for their work, metropolitan officials gained justification for their control of colonies, and liberal colonial politicians like Fairbairn and Stockenstrom could argue for increased responsible government based on their humane treatment of indigenous people.

A correspondent published in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* summed up the nature of the nineteenth-century humanitarian network, and the sorts of benefits it was supposed to confer. “As to the Hottentots,” he wrote, “...they will pretty soon be out of leading strings, and they seem not only able but quite willing to go alone. In the meantime they have powerful friends in yourself, Mr. Editor, and in the Missionaries... supported by the Anti-Slavery

---

<sup>27</sup> as quoted in Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 195-96.

movement interest at home, they have not much to fear. It should be remembered also that it is but a *few individuals* in every country who keep up the tone of public feeling.”<sup>28</sup> In the view of this writer, it was the “few individuals” of the humanitarian lobby who had rescued the Khoesan. The writer assumed that Khoesan who felt the effects of Ordinance 50 or who moved to the Kat River had themselves fully subscribed to the views and goals of the humanitarians.

This thesis argues, along with Robert Ross and Elizabeth Elbourne, that Kat River residents were not simply co-opted into the project of liberal humanitarianism. Khoesan people in the Kat River perceived the social, political, and economic benefits which their connections to the humanitarian network provided, and they participated energetically in local and imperial political life, but the goals they pursued were not always the same as those advanced by their missionary or politician friends. Khoesan engagement with Christianity and with liberal humanitarianism was far more nuanced than either resistance or collaboration. As Ross argues, “Kat River Khoesan articulated and lived a continual critique of colonial power and malpractice.” They “took on board the arguments of... the first generation of LMS missionaries, and in conversation with them... developed a powerful critique of colonialism, in which a radical Christianity was central.”<sup>29</sup> This thesis augments Ross and Elbourne’s work by showing that the Kat River’s critique of the colonial state, as expressed in evangelical Christianity, lived on in the former Settlement after 1853.

Through their engagement with missionary and humanitarian ideas, Kat River Khoesan developed their own idea of what the Settlement meant. From the founding of the Settlement in 1829 and for decades after, Kat River residents pursued a particular project, the goal of which

---

<sup>28</sup> “E.N.,” in *SACA* 4 October 1834 (emphasis original).

<sup>29</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 294.

was to achieve economic self-sufficiency and inclusion in the political life of the colony. The means by which this project was to be achieved were agriculture and land ownership, education, and participation in a pious Christian community that spanned the empire. These ideas were very similar to those expressed by humanitarians like Fairbairn and Buxton, but the residents of the Kat River Settlement had a particular interpretation of the Kat River project that was unique because it emphasized the historic right of Khoesan people to the land they occupied, and because their commitment to the project outlasted that of their supporters.

*The Kat River Project: Land, Christianity, Education, and Respectability*

Although the original Kat River settlers joined the Settlement at a time when there were very few options for Khoesan to make a living apart from service in white homes or farms, there is evidence that those who moved there did so for reasons beyond a simple escape from servitude. Kat River settlers had a distinct idea of what they wanted to gain by participation in the Settlement: agricultural land to enable economic self-sufficiency, membership in a Christian (specifically, LMS) community to provide connections to supporters abroad, and education to provide the tools for engagement in colonial society. These activities, which were manifested in tangible things like European-style clothing, square brick houses, school and church buildings, and well-salaried church ministers, all contributed to the reputation for respectability which Kat River settlers wanted to gain. The goals of Kat River settlers — Christianity, civilized lifestyles, political participation — were thus very similar to those that their humanitarian supporters had for them. Early settlers did not, however, simply accept and replicate the statements which donors and politicians made about the role of the Kat River in creating respectable, loyal



Khoesan citizens. They had their own, slightly different, reasons for believing in the Kat River project, particularly their belief that the land was theirs by historic right rather than generous grant. The fact that Kat River residents were committed in their own right to the goals of the Settlement explains why, as this thesis will show, they continued to pursue those goals even after the support of their humanitarian friends began to flag.

The first cornerstone of the Kat River project was land. Land in the Settlement was distributed to heads of families in the form of *erven* (singular *erf*), which were between 1.6 and 2.5 hectares, and each *erf* came with access to commonage for grazing.<sup>30</sup> Humanitarian supporters of the Settlement believed that land ownership would allow Khoesan to be economically self-sufficient and freed from wage labour under white farmers. Kat River residents agreed with this goal, but attached additional meanings and uses to the land. First, they put the land to somewhat different use than missionary supporters — with an idealized notion of the Kat River Settlement as a re-created English agricultural landscape — intended. In addition to farming wheat, sorghum, maize, and other crops, Kat River agriculturalists also hired or lent their land to clients, known as *bijwoners*. These clients, who were often Xhosa or Fingo (people from Xhosa territory who had rejected Xhosa identity in order to live in the Cape Colony), could provide extra labour and stock animals for a Kat River farmer. Some Kat River settlers, then, preferred to use non-European models of agriculture, accumulating client relationships as a form of wealth in obligation, although missionary and official observers disapproved of the crowding that this system produced.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Khoesan residents and European observers of the Kat

---

<sup>30</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 61.

<sup>31</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 61; Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 267; Tony Kirk, “Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854,” *Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 411-428; John Green, *The Kat River Settlement in 1851, Containing the Substance of Evidence Given Before the Commission for Investigating the Rebellion*, (Grahamstown: Godlonton, White, & Co. 1853), 44-45.

River Settlement had very different ideas of what the land meant. For humanitarian officials and missionaries, the Settlement was a gift that would allow the Khoesan to step out of poverty. Speeches and writings by Khoesan people at the time, however, stressed that the Kat River Settlement was a step towards the reclamation of their historic rights as the “Hottentot nation”; it was “the legitimate return of a fragment of the land which had once been in their possession.”<sup>32</sup>

Christianity was another key aspect of the Kat River project. Elbourne argues that Khoesan converts melded the things they heard about Christianity with pre-existing beliefs.<sup>33</sup> Christianity — specifically the LMS church with which most Khoesan residents of the Settlement were affiliated — came to have meanings specific to the Kat River Settlement. LMS Christianity bound its adherents to practices such as monogamy and teetotalism that, at least in theory, distinguished Khoesan Christians from the unconverted Xhosa, Fingo, or Tswana who lived near them in the eastern Cape. LMS Christianity also meant a connection to other Congregational churches in Britain. Congregationalism was a specific brand of evangelical Protestantism that tried to avoid hierarchy among churches. Individual congregations which shared the same beliefs could unite to work together, for example in running the LMS, but there were no bishops or patriarchs to enforce this cooperation, and the choice of minister was at the discretion of each individual congregation.<sup>34</sup> The independence and equality of Congregational

---

<sup>32</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 265; Zine Magubane, “Labour Laws and Stereotypes: Images of the Khoikhoi in the Cape in the Age of Abolition,” *South African Historical Journal* 35 (1996): 130-134.

<sup>33</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 176-88; idem, “Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity.” One interesting point of connection between pre-colonial Khoesan spirituality and evangelical missions, as yet unremarked upon by historians, is the practice of praying in the bushes. Praying in the bushes was a precolonial Khoesan practice, as Elbourne, Hildegarde Fast, and Jared McDonald note. Fast, “In at One Ear and Out at the Other” 152-53; Jared McDonald, “James Read: Towards a New Reassessment,” *South African Historical Journal* 62 (2010), 521; Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 182-83. Contemporary missionary sources on several occasions interpreted this behaviour as a sign of specifically Christian devotion. Joseph Tindall, *The Journal of Joseph Tindall*, ed. B.A. Tidall (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1959), 72, 113; Friedrich Gottlob Kayser, *Rev. F.G. Kayser: Journals and Letters* (New York: Maskew Miller Longman, 1990), 56.

<sup>34</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 225.

churches became to be very important to Khoesan Christians in the Kat River, who placed emphasis on their connection to their brethren in Britain, and were jealous in guarding their equal rights vis à vis British congregations. Education was also a significant aspect of LMS Christianity in the Kat River. Like many Nonconformist Protestant congregations in Britain, the Kat River's congregations also established schools. Education, in the understanding of Kat River residents, was a necessary aspect of piety as it allowed students to demonstrate their knowledge of and commitment to Christianity, and in some cases to improve their material condition through employment as teachers or government agents.

Land-ownership, agriculture, Christianity, connections with foreign supporters, and access to education all fell under the umbrella of respectability, a nebulous but powerful quality for which both white and Khoesan citizens of the Cape Colony strove. Respectability, in the mid-nineteenth-century Cape Colony, essentially meant maintaining a certain standard of living and participating in the public sphere. Robert Ross points out the close connection between respectability and nineteenth-century Protestant evangelicalism, as it was the practice of mission Christianity which enabled former slaves and Khoesan in the Cape Colony “to make statements and claims within the same arena of their white fellow-colonists who were arguing about ethnic affiliation, individual status and the sacredness of the landscape through and within their churches, or by emphasizing the respectability of their lifestyles.”<sup>35</sup> The original purpose of the Kat River Settlement was to provide just this sort of respectability, which Khoesan people could achieve through their participation in LMS congregations and their success as farmers or artisans.

---

<sup>35</sup> Ross, *Status and Respectability*, 119.

*Of Revelation and Revision: The Kat River and the Historiography of Missions in South Africa*

This thesis engages with a long historiographical debate about the influence of Christian missionaries in colonial South Africa, and the nature of African converts' engagement with Christian institutions. Early treatments of missionary Christianity focused on the LMS because of its high political profile and its humanitarian campaigning in the early nineteenth century, both of which were taken as signs that Christianity and its accompanying institutions (hierarchical churches, regulated mission stations) was beneficial for African converts. The early twentieth century liberal historian W.M. MacMillan argued that John Philip had been a visionary leader in race relations, trying to erase the unreasonable prejudice which white settlers held against Africans. MacMillan and other white liberal historians depicted missionaries as exemplars of the same sort of altruism and fair-mindedness that they believed could be the solution to mid-twentieth century South Africa's "native problem."<sup>36</sup>

In the 1960s, the liberal school of historiography began to receive criticism from scholars who adopted a Marxist, materialist approach. The sharpest example of this critique, however, appeared three decades earlier, in 1930, when a Scottish immigrant to South Africa, Dora Taylor, published *The Role of the Missionaries in the Conquest* under the pseudonym Nosipho Majeke. Taylor argued that nineteenth-century missionaries were an integral part of the capitalist conquest of South Africa, in which land was simultaneously seized from Africans and the existence of a white ruling class justified by missionary rhetoric.<sup>37</sup> In the 1970s, South African

---

<sup>36</sup> William Miller MacMillan, *Bantu, Boer, and Briton: The Making of the South African Native Problem*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

<sup>37</sup> Corinne Sandwith, "Dora Taylor: South African Marxist," *English in Africa* 29 (2002): 5-27.

materialist histories paid close attention to how capitalist agriculture and mining, supported by government regulation, had wrested the means of production out of the hands of Africans and turned them into a politically disenfranchised working class. They often concluded that missionary and humanitarian ventures such as Ordinance 50 were, despite their superficial rhetoric of racial equality, complicit in this process.<sup>38</sup> Whereas MacMillan had pointed to humanitarian efforts like Ordinance 50 and the Kat River Settlement as evidence of the good intentions of some colonists, historians after the 1960s formulated new interpretations of the failure of Khoesan and Griqua (people of mixed racial ancestry) people to assimilate into Cape society. The experience of Khoesan and Griqua people in nineteenth-century South Africa became a topic of interest to historians in the 1970s. The history of those people, who would later be incorporated into the official designation “coloured,” was important to historians writing during apartheid because they believed coloured people, “as the most westernized and most easily assimilated... can be seen as a test case of how far white South Africa was willing to include other less white groups.”<sup>39</sup> The fact that Dutch-speaking Christian subjects who were outspokenly loyal to the British did not gain political or social equality was a clear indication of the inherent racism of the South African state. Historians writing in the 1970s, notably Robert Ross and Martin Legassick, who both wrote about the Griqua, argued that the exclusion of “respectable” coloured people from white South African society correlated with the emergence

---

<sup>38</sup> Susan Newton-King, “The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-1828,” in *Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa*, eds. Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman, 1980), 171-207; idem, *Masters and Servants on the Cape Eastern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); for an overview of the liberal-radical debate as it affected the entirety of South African history, see Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1988).

<sup>39</sup> Inez Sutton, “The Griqua and South Africa,” review of Robert Ross, *Adam Kok’s Griquas: A Study in the Development of Stratification in South Africa*, *Journal of African History* 17 (1978): 626.

of a capitalist economy; that is to say, that conflict over land and labour had caused white South Africans to reject coloured people as their equals.<sup>40</sup>

As many sub-Saharan African countries celebrated independence in the 1960s, South African historians began to pay more attention to pre-colonial African history, as well as to the history of resistance to colonialism.<sup>41</sup> This trend was best expressed in South African religious history by the work of Jean and John Comaroff, who drew on Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony to show the discursive strategies by which certain LMS missionaries in the northern Cape Colony replaced the pre-colonial cosmology of their Tswana converts with Christian ideas about marriage, morality, dress, farming, and time-keeping. The Comaroffs attempted to correct earlier styles of African history, which had seen African societies as lacking sophisticated, coherent religious or spiritual ideas. They described "Tswana cosmology" as a cohesive set of ideas which bound together the political, social, and spiritual lives of Tswana people. The set of ideas called "Christianity" brought by LMS missionaries in the 1870s was in direct opposition to Tswana cosmology, but the pressures of white-ruled, capitalist society forced the Tswana to adopt Christianity. The Comaroffs argue, however, that this adoption was challenged along the way.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Ross, *Adam Kok's Griqua's: A Study in the Development of Stratification in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Legassick, *The Politics of a South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana, and the Missionaries, 1780-1840* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2010); Tony Kirk, "The Cape Economy and the Expropriation of the Kat River Settlement, 1846-53," in *Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa*, eds Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, (London: Longman, 1980), 226-246.

<sup>41</sup> Shula Marks, for example, attempted to reconstruct the nature of pre-colonial Khoekhoe and San society, and to show how pre-existing social and political realities shaped the nature of Khoekhoe/San resistance to Dutch colonization. Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of African History* 13 (1972): 55-80. J.B. Peires also produced two magisterial volumes on Xhosa society before and during their resistance to colonization by the British. Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1981; idem, *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989).

<sup>42</sup> Jean and John Comaroff, *Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); idem, *Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

The Comaroffs' work marked an important trend in the historiography of South African Christianity and colonialism, towards taking religious language and practice seriously as a means to observe how the colonial state arrived and was contested in the lives of ordinary people.<sup>43</sup> Their approach has, however, been challenged by scholars who see more nuance in the categories of identity with which the Comaroffs work. Paul Landau's work both critiques and builds on their study of Tswana LMS adherents. Landau argues that for the Tswana, "Christianity" was not an "alien ideology" that had to be adopted or resisted as a whole. Rather, Christianity was understood, adapted, and applied in a piecemeal process. Landau argues that "the Tswana activity of learning about Christianity and determining its social and political performance was then a series of collective and contradictory acts of creation. People took what was alien into familiar societal roles and frameworks... They managed and developed the messy results, and elaborated new needs as old ones were met."<sup>44</sup> In the Tswana context, this meant that Christianity became the foundation of a newly powerful state under king Khama. Landau's use of missionary sources to illuminate converts' ability to adapt new ideas to their particular needs is consonant with a broader trend in South African history that uncovers more nuanced responses to colonialism than simple resistance, and stresses the constructed nature of ethnic identities involved in these responses.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Norman Etherington, "The Historiography of Christianity in South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22 (1996): 207-10.

<sup>44</sup> Paul Stuart Landau, *The Realm of the World: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995), xxi.

<sup>45</sup> Some examples of this trend include Patrick Harries, *Butterflies and Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries and Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 2007); Paul Landau, *Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Meredith McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity and Colonialism in Ovamboland, Northern Namibia* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002).

The various historiographical changes detailed above have been reflected in treatments of the Kat River Settlement, from somewhat hagiographical narratives of LMS good deeds there, to a materialist approach that revealed how white settlers' capitalist ambitions undermined the Settlement.<sup>46</sup> Robert Ross' extensive work on the Settlement has shown how Kat River Khoesan attempted to maintain their respectability and status in a hostile local environment, and how the Settlement was, briefly in the 1830s and 40s, the locus of a particular idea of "Hottentot nationalism" which melded pride in reclaimed land with Christianity and outspoken loyalty to Britain.<sup>47</sup> Elizabeth Elbourne's work has elaborated on the imperial, religious aspects of the Settlement. She shows how LMS work in Southern Africa was connected to the rise of evangelical Protestant humanitarianism in Britain, and how LMS converts and missionaries in South Africa made the most of the available ideas and institutions in order to pursue the local objectives that were important to them.<sup>48</sup> Elbourne's work on the Kat River, by showing how the ideas of its founders and supporters were formed through participation in global networks of Christianity and political activism, highlights the relevance of what is called the "new imperial history" to the study of the Kat River. These new imperial histories show the very personal connections which informed public opinion and decision making across the empire, and how an event in one colonial location could influence both the metropole and other colonies.<sup>49</sup> Elbourne

---

<sup>46</sup> Jane Sales, *Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1975); Tony Kirk, "Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854." *Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 411-428.

<sup>47</sup> Ross, *Status and Respectability*; idem, *The Borders of Race*.

<sup>48</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*.

<sup>49</sup> Zoe Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-1845: Patronage, the information revolution, and colonial government* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); idem, "Breaking Britannia's Bounds? Law, Settlers, and Space in Britain's Imperial Historiography," *The Historical Journal* 55 (2012): 807-830; Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain*, (London: Routledge, 2001); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Kirsten McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies: Sydney and Cape Town, 1820-1850* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2004).



argues that around the time of the Kat River rebellion, global networks of Christianity ceased to be as important for Khoesan converts, as “ethnic nationalism and the reimagination of the community became for many Khoesan converts more potent weapons than loyalist Christianity to wield against the settler state.” However, she admits, Christianity did remain an integral part of how Khoesan people imagined themselves and how they tried to achieve their goals.<sup>50</sup> The questions Elbourne and Ross ask about the inclusion of the Kat River Settlement into a network of global humanitarian evangelicalism, or about the Kat River’s brief chance to flourish during the heyday of Cape liberalism mean that their stories stop naturally around 1853. After the traumatic event of the rebellion, the Kat River lost the sympathy of their former supporters in the colony and the metropole.

#### *The Aim and Scope of this Project*

This thesis builds on the approaches of Landau, Elbourne, and Ross, to show how LMS-affiliated congregants applied the ideas and practices communicated to them by the metropolitan LMS in order to pursue the goals of the original Kat River project in a constantly changing political and economic environment. This thesis also seeks to incorporate some of the ideas of the “new imperial history” by suggesting that LMS-affiliated Kat River residents saw themselves as part of a global network of Christians, and that, in addition to protecting their local political and economic interests, they also worked hard to maintain their status in this network. As one historian has recently claimed, “it is unclear from extant historical scholarship how Indigenous people responded to, understood and engaged with the global dimension of nineteenth-century

---

<sup>50</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 378.

Christian missions.”<sup>51</sup> The Kat River is one location which provides at least a partial view of African engagement in an imperial religious network.

Elbourne, Ross, and others have convincingly argued that the Kat River in its heyday of the 1830s and 40s was a significant moment in the history of humanitarianism in the empire, and that the Kat River rebellion demonstrated a “Hottentot nationalism” which was based on Khoesan land ownership, Christian piety, loyalty to the British crown, and respectability. All of the extant scholarship on the Kat River has, however, stopped at the defeat of the Kat River rebellion or shortly thereafter. This thesis investigates what happened in the Kat River after 1853, when foreign and local support for this project had fallen away. If Kat River Khoesan did believe that their identity and their material interests were bound up in their affiliation with the LMS, then how did they maintain that affiliation when they were no longer the focus of attention for philanthropists like Buxton or political campaigners like Fairbairn? Membership in Kat River LMS congregations remained high in the decades after the rebellion, so how did these congregants use their LMS connections to pursue their interests in local and global arenas?

This thesis answers these questions by drawing on the LMS archives held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. The LMS archives are separated into incoming and outgoing subsections, incoming referring to correspondence from missionaries abroad and outgoing referring to directives and responses from the LMS Directors in London. This thesis uses letters in the incoming files from the Kat River and nearby eastern Cape mission stations. Most of this material consists of letters and yearly reports from the two LMS missionaries whose

---

<sup>51</sup> Tolly Bradford, “World Visions: ‘Native Missionaries,’ Mission Networks and Critiques of Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Canada.” in *Grappling With the Beast: Indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism*, ed. Peter Limb, Norman A. Etherington, and Peter Midgley (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 311.

congregations were in the Kat River: Arie van Rooyen, a Khoesan minister whose congregation was at Tidmanton, and James Read, Jr., whose congregation was at the main town of Philipton.<sup>52</sup> Correspondence from the Kat River also includes a number of letters and petitions from Khoesan members of LMS congregations. These letters are usually signed by three or four deacons from the congregations, but on a few occasions, between fifty and one hundred congregants signed their names or made their mark. Thus, while there are some written records that provide fairly direct access to the words of Kat River Khoesan, the claims which this thesis makes about their opinions and activities also rely on a careful reading of the words of two men who claimed to speak for the entire community. The nature of this source material also means that James Read, as the most frequent letter-writer, occupies a central position in the narrative which the LMS archives tell about the post-rebellion Kat River. The centrality of James Read in this archival material does allow for a close up, individual view of the fate of the Kat River Settlement in the 1860s and 70s. As the son of an LMS missionary and a Khoesan woman, and as an employee of the LMS himself, he had a personal stake in the idea of racial equality through Christian piety which the Kat River represented. His life was very much bound up with the fortunes of the Kat River, both its local and its empire-wide reputation. However, as Chapter 3 will argue, he was not the only person who saw his life this way. The determined petitions of eastern Cape congregations to keep the Read family connected to their churches shows how the Read family were seen as representatives of the community and a vital link to its history.

---

<sup>52</sup> James Read, Sr. died in 1852, before the Kat River rebellion and Xhosa-colonial frontier war concluded and thus does not figure in the events covered by this thesis. In this thesis, any mention of the name James Read without a name suffix refers to James Read, Jr.

In addition to the LMS archives, this thesis also draws on two Cape newspapers, the Cape Town *South African Commercial Advertiser* and the Port Elizabeth *Cape Argus*. The *Commercial Advertiser* reported almost weekly on the Kat River before the rebellion, but references to the Settlement declined precipitously in ten years between 1853 and 1863, when the *Commercial Advertiser* went out of print. An examination of the *Cape Argus*, the leading newspaper of the mid-century eastern Cape, between 1870 and 1871, yields scant reference to the Settlement or people connected to it.<sup>53</sup>

Chapter 1 discusses the Kat River rebellion of 1850-53, a traumatic event that ended the special status which the Settlement had in the colony and the empire. This chapter discusses the reasons for the rebellion, which had to do with economic pressure from local white settlers and with concerns about Khoesan representation in colonial politics. Those Khoesan Kat River residents who chose to rebel did so because they were concerned for their livelihoods in the unfriendly atmosphere of eastern Cape settler farms, and also because they were concerned that changes to the colony's constitution would reduce their representation at the colonial and imperial levels of government. Those who remained loyal shared these same concerns, but believed that the interests of Khoesan Kat River residents would be best served by uniting with white settlers and government troops to defeat the rebels, despite the danger that they would go unrewarded. Ultimately, this chapter argues that rebels and loyalists were both, in their different ways, pursuing the Kat River project of land ownership, Christianity, connection to a network of supporters across the empire, and respectability. Having shown that these goals were important to Kat River Khoesan, Chapter 1 then describes the abandonment of Kat River Khoesan

---

<sup>53</sup> After the rebellion, the Kat River Settlement was re-designated the administrative district of Stockenström. These newspapers do not mention Stockenström, either, or the towns of Philipton and Tidmanton in the Settlement.

Christians by their former supporters. In the aftermath of the rebellion, the colonial governor took punitive measures against remaining loyalist Khoesan, and the lands of many rebels were confiscated. The Kat River's reputation across the empire was damaged by the rebellion, and the reaction to it foreshadowed the panic about race warfare that accompanied events like Jamaica's Morant Bay rebellion and the Indian Mutiny. The rebellion thus revealed how perceived racial boundaries between colonizer and colonized were becoming more rigid.

Chapter 2 shows how LMS-affiliated congregations in the Kat River adapted to new directives and policies imposed by the metropolitan organization, and continued to pursue economic competence, education, and respectability. When, soon after the rebellion, the LMS imposed the Voluntary Principle, which required that congregations support themselves financially, Kat River congregations made use of the independence and respectability which being "self-sustaining" offered. Although Kat River congregants used letters and petitions to maintain their connection to "our friends in England" and gain financial support from London headquarters, they also capitalized on the equality offered by the Voluntary Principle. The Voluntary Principle meant that Kat River congregations had achieved the same sort of financial independence as other Congregational churches in Britain, which meant that they could make their own decisions. Kat River congregations used the language of the Voluntary Principle to insist on their right to choose their own minister, to protect the integrity of communal mission station lands, and to find multiple sources of funding for their educational projects. The career of the Khoesan missionary Arie van Rooyen, who protested his discriminatory treatment by the LMS, is an example of how Khoesan Christians in the late 1850s and 1860s sought

respectability, economic competence, and inclusion in a global network of fellow believers through their commitment to “voluntary” LMS congregations.

Chapter 3 reveals how LMS congregants in the late 1850s and early 1860s exported the Kat River project to another interested group. Since the founding of the Settlement, Khoesan Kat River congregations had evangelized the “heathen” as a way to emphasize their own advancement in Christianity and civilized life. In the late 1850s they realigned their proselytizing efforts to focus solely on Fingo people in an area called Oxkraal just north of the Kat River Settlement. The nature of Fingo ethnic identity is complex, but it is usefully understood as an ethnonym adopted by Xhosa-speaking people who wished to live in and be loyal to the colony. Kat River and Fingo Christians used LMS churches and schools to cement the Fingo reputation for Christianity, respectability, and prosperity in ways that would benefit both Fingo and Khoesan people in the precarious environment of the eastern Cape in the late 1860s, when some Fingo were forced off their land and into the Transkei. By insisting on the appointment of a Read family member to the main Oxkraal congregation, Fingo and Khoesan LMS adherents made clear the continued value of the Kat River project. This chapter concludes in 1871, the year when Read and van Rooyen retired from their positions as missionaries and where the LMS archival record of the Kat River ends. The memory of Kat River Settlement in the nineteenth century was, and still is, important to South Africans, and the events and activities described in this thesis are a way of tracing the genealogy of the Kat River idea between the nineteenth century and the present.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **“DEATH AT ONCE WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO THE CONTINUED PERSECUTION WE ENDURE”: THE KAT RIVER REBELLION AND ITS AFTERMATH**

The Kat River Settlement rebelled in 1850, when approximately one third of the Khoesan inhabitants of the Settlement joined in attacking farms, forts, and government troops in the eastern Cape. Although the Kat River rebellion occurred at the same time as a war between the Xhosa and the Cape Colony, the rebels largely acted independently of their sometime Xhosa allies, and were motivated by different goals. In the years immediately preceding the rebellion the colonial political situation and the local economic situation had become increasingly less conducive to the flourishing of the Kat River Settlement. This chapter argues that the actions of both rebels and loyalists were motivated by a desire to pursue social respectability and economic competence as promised in the early years of the Settlement. Some Kat River Khoesan rebelled because they felt their livelihoods were threatened by expanding white settler farms, and because their hopes for political representation were threatened by proposed constitutional changes. They justified their rebellion as a defensive measure to protect their identity as respectable Khoesan Christians with ties to metropolitan Britain. These were the same goals which the loyalists, through their scrupulous obedience to colonial officials, tried to pursue. The rebellion thus shows that Christianity, respectability, and the pursuit of agricultural independence were important to both factions of Kat River residents. Stances taken by both rebels and loyalists show that the Kat River project of the 1830s, which was about crafting a respectable Khoesan identity using Christianity, land ownership and connections to Britain, was still relevant and important at the

time of the rebellion. This chapter also argues that Christianity was a central aspect through which loyalist Khoesan expressed their loyalty and respectability, and that LMS congregations were central to the work of rebuilding the Settlement after the rebellion.

### *The Course of the Rebellion*

The rebellion began on Christmas Day 1850 when the eastern borderlands of the Cape Colony were attacked by a Xhosa force. The Xhosa attack was inspired at least in part by the prophecies of the diviner Mlanjeni and organized primarily by the chiefs Maqoma and Sandile, and was linked with the separate rebellion in the Kat River by the figure of Hermanus Matroos. Matroos, also known as Ngxukumeshe, was a sometime interpreter for the British Government and claimant to a Xhosa chiefly title. His land in the Blinkwater area of the Settlement, supposedly overcrowded with his unemployed hangers-on, had been the object of a clean-up operation in June 1850, during which the magistrate forced about 500 people to leave.<sup>1</sup> In the following six months, as tensions with Xhosa chiefs across the colony's border increased, his loyalty was suspected but evidently not ultimately disbelieved, as on the first day of the Xhosa attack he requested and received a supply of ammunition from Fort Beaufort. He then acted on plans of several months' gestation by joining the Xhosa offensive.<sup>2</sup> Within a week, Matroos had convinced or compelled a significant portion of the Kat River Settlement — Robert Ross estimates one-third of the (male) land-owning population — to join the rebellion.<sup>3</sup> Although

---

<sup>1</sup> Robert Ross, "Hermanus Matroos, aka Ngxukumeshe: a life on the border," *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 30 (2004): 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> Ross, "Hermanus Matroos," 67.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Ross, *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa: the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1856* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 189-200, 307.



there was coordination and communication between Matroos' followers and the Xhosa chiefs Maqoma, Sandile, and Sarhili, from the beginning the Kat River rebellion was perceived by both participants and observers as just that: a rebellion existing in and concerned with matters of the colony, rather than a part of the Xhosa offensive emanating from outside of the colony.<sup>4</sup>

The early activities of the rebels were highly local and mobile, as they did not yet have control over the whole Kat River valley, let alone the entire eastern frontier. On 5 January 1851, however, Matroos led a planned attack on Fort Beaufort, hoping to capture a first major defensible centre that could strengthen the rebels' control over the region. The attack was repulsed, and Matroos himself was killed.<sup>5</sup> Willem Uithalder then took leadership of the rebels and led an attack on Fort Armstrong on 22 January which, after several hours of uncertain stand-off, ended in the decision of the defenders to surrender of the Fort.<sup>6</sup> In the subsequent three months, regular troops, settler militia, and Khoesan loyalists began to reverse these gains and reclaim control of the Kat River valley.<sup>7</sup> As the rebels were pushed out of the valley, they moved their camp into the safety of the Amatola Mountains, from whence they could launch guerrilla attacks and stealthily maintain some contact with family and associates inside the Colony. Meanwhile, Maqoma and Sandile's campaign against the colony simmered on. The Xhosa leaders had sued for peace early on in the war, in March 1851, but were refused. Both sides then settled down to prosecute "an endless accumulation of minor actions" which nonetheless became

---

<sup>4</sup> For example, General Henry Somerset distinguished between the "enemy" and "rebels". Somerset, quoted in James Read, *The Kat River Settlement in 1851, described in a series of letters to the South African Commercial Advertiser* (London: British Library Historical Print Editions, n.d.), 74. The rebels and the Xhosa also maintained separate lines of communication with the British, and negotiated for peace separately.

<sup>5</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 201-03.

<sup>6</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 224-27.

<sup>7</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 229-31.

the “longest, hardest and ugliest war fought [for] over 100 years,” between the first Xhosa-colony war of 1779-1781 and the ninth of 1877-1879.<sup>8</sup>

The erratic leadership of the commander of the Colony’s forces, Governor Sir Harry Smith, delayed the peace settlement with the Xhosa. James Read Jr. complained in late 1851 that “Sir H and his executive council... have no more influence in this land than the insane inmates of a mad house.” Even six months earlier, he believed that the Xhosa chiefs would have made a peace treaty with a more reasonable opponent — Sir Andries Stockestrom, for example — but “all know that Sir H[arry Smith] and Gen[eral] Somerset are entirely under the influence of the Albany people, whose cry is ever war, war, war.”<sup>9</sup> Read’s belief that the length of the war was due more to the influence of local white settlers than to Sir Harry’s personal obstinacy points to the importance of local factors in precipitating the rebellion. While the Kat River rebellion was ostensibly a rebellion against the entire colony, the real focus of the conflict was the district of Albany, the mainly English district next to the Kat River Settlement on the edge of the eastern frontier.

### *Local Motivations for Rebellion*

The historiography of the Kat River Settlement has examined the motivations to rebellion from two points of view: the local and the colony-wide. Tony Kirk first offered a detailed argument for local economic grievances as the cause of the Kat River rebellion, arguing that the basic subsistence of Kat River settlers was threatened by the development of large-scale

---

<sup>8</sup> J.B. Peires, *The Dead Will Arise: Nongquawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-57* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), 12.

<sup>9</sup> James Read Jr., to Thompson, 30 June and 15 December 1851, LMS-SA/28.

European farming.<sup>10</sup> Clifton Crais has also emphasized economic inequality and class tensions on the eastern frontier as the cause of the rebellion.<sup>11</sup> While not the only cause of the rebellion, these local factors were a significant motivation to rebellion in 1850, for both Khoesan Kat River residents and non-Khoesan such as Matroos and his followers. Although Matroos claimed to be Xhosa — a Xhosa chief, in fact — and his relationship with other Kat River residents was frequently strained, they shared enough concerns about land and economic opportunity for Khoesan to rebel under his leadership.<sup>12</sup> Thus, although both rebels and outside observers claimed that the former were motivated by a spirit of “Hottentot nationalism,” the grievances underlying this nationalism were shared by other Africans living in the eastern Cape. The shortage of land and disadvantage in selling and trading which Kat River people faced in the ten years previous to 1850 were an important incentive to rebellion. Both arbitrary actions by local officials and a general dearth of economic opportunities in the eastern Cape Colony were irritants which made rebellion appear conceivable and necessary to some.

Complaints by Kat River settlers against unjust local officials made useful anecdotes in the publications of humanitarian supporters of the Kat River Settlement like Fairbairn, Philip, and Andries Stockenstrom, and despite their stylization and probable editorial alterations, these stories do illustrate some of the insecurities that hampered Khoesan subjects of the colony in their attempt to make a living. In July 1834, Antony Pieterward’s letter to the editor, printed in the *Commercial Advertiser*, complained of eviction from his land. Pieterward claimed that after

---

<sup>10</sup> Tony Kirk, “Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854,” *Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 411-428.

<sup>11</sup> Clifton Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: the making of the colonial order in the Eastern Cape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 180.

<sup>12</sup> For statements that Matroos was the instigator and leader of the rebellion, see: *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 25 February 1851, 19 March 1851; James Read, Sr. to William Thompson, 30 June 1851, LMS-SA/26.

accumulating 15 cattle he had been granted a plot in the Kat River by Stockenstrom, which he cleared and built houses on: “but when I and my comrades were ready to make water-courses, the Field-cornet came with his men, broke my houses to pieces, and drove us away, saying it was by order of the Government. I then rose and settled in the field, like a wandering vagrant.”<sup>13</sup> In the following decade, the actions of the magistrates Thomas Biddulph and John Mitford Bowker led to more sustained complaints from Kat River residents and the eventual dismissal of these officials by the Governor.<sup>14</sup> Bowker authorized the expulsion of people from the Blinkwater, the event which most likely confirmed Hermanus Matroos’ decision to rebel.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to injustices suffered at the hands of individuals, Kat River residents also had cause to fear that the general balance of economic opportunity was increasingly favourable only to whites. Eastern Cape European settlers and Kat River residents employed different economic models, with different ratios of people and animals to land. White settler prosperity grounded in sheep farming eventually began to threaten the cattle herding and small-scale agriculture in the Kat River. Wool exportation from the colony increased dramatically in the 1840s, after high-yielding merino sheep were introduced to the Cape. In 1839 the colony exported 586,000 pounds of wool (almost exclusively to Britain), and less than a decade later, in 1848, 3.6 million

---

<sup>13</sup> *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 16 August 1834. However, this dispute and expulsion may have been an internal Settlement dispute rather than discrimination by white officials. If this is the same Pieterwa(a)rd mentioned by Robert Ross, he was accused of building on commonage and of having Xhosa squatters; this Pieterward was sent to Robben Island in the aftermath of the 1834-35 war and later participated in the 1851 rebellion. Ross, *Borders of Race*, 88,115, 219. For another complaint about local government sent to the papers, see *SACA* 30 August 1834, a letter signed “a friend to truth” complaining of forced military service and excessive taxation for Kat River Khoesan.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 351-52; complaint against Bowker signed by Kat River leaders to Sir Harry Smith, *SACA* 12 January 1848.

<sup>15</sup> Ross, “Hermanus Matroos”, 63-65; Idem, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 157.

pounds.<sup>16</sup> The sheep farms that supported this wool export boom required extensive land and significant capital investment to turn a profit. The eastern Cape settler James Howse, for example, needed a 30,000-acre farm to support 23,000 sheep.<sup>17</sup> The acquisition of this much land and livestock needed support from bankers or private investors from Cape Town or London — a type of financial arrangement only available to whites.<sup>18</sup> Kat River residents did not have access to either the money or the land required to take up sheep farming, especially because of the efforts made by white settlers to purchase land considered commonage and impound Khoesan cattle found “wandering.”<sup>19</sup> In smaller business ventures, as well, aspirant Khoesan from the Kat River Settlement were at a disadvantage because they were regularly denied credit for agricultural improvements, as when at a local sale of farm stock in 1831 they had to purchase without credit.<sup>20</sup> Even on Khoesan land that remained uncontested, the demographic situation began to create economic problems. Many were unwilling — or at least less willing than missionaries and officials wanted them to be — to replace pastoralism with agriculture. Kirk attributes the overcrowding and shortage of grazing land in the Kat River in the 1840s to the *bijwoner* system (in which cattle owners took on poor Gonaqua or Fingo as herder-clients), and Crais to natural population growth.<sup>21</sup> For both of these reasons, land shortage was a clear barrier to the success of the Settlement. In the 1840s, the forces of local white government were keen to

---

<sup>16</sup> Tony Kirk, “Some Notes on the Financial State of the Eastern Cape, 1840-1850, and the Fate of the Kat River Settlement,” in *Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries*, vol. 3 (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London, 1971-72).

<sup>17</sup> Clifton Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: the making of the colonial order in the Eastern Cape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 135.

<sup>18</sup> Kirk, “Some Notes,” 15-16. Jeremiah Goldswain, who arrived in the Cape in 1820 and progressed from under-employed sawyer to sheep farmer, bought his farm without London or Cape Town help, but did require the coordinated financial backing of several Albany district friends to make the purchase. Jeremiah Goldswain, *The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain*, 2 vols, ed. Una Long (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1946-49).

<sup>19</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 302-303.

<sup>20</sup> Kirk, “Progress and Decline,” 415.

<sup>21</sup> Kirk, “Progress and Decline,” 416-17; Crais, *White Supremacy*, 161.

capitalize on the situation, and the government at Cape Town had done nothing to stop them. Resentment at unjust evictions or cattle impoundings, as well as a general sense of poor economic prospects, were likely significant motivations for those who did rebel.

*The Constitutional Context of the Rebellion and “Hottentot Nationalism”*

In contrast, though hardly in opposition, to the local economic motivations of rebellion explored by Kirk and Crais, Robert Ross has emphasized the colony-wide constitutional context of the rebellion. The Kat River Settlement had been built on the idea that deserving black citizens would be integrated into colony, and that these men could participate in the public sphere. The Settlement had been involved since its inception in discussions of rights and citizenship for black Cape Colony residents — from Ordinance 49 of 1828 to the Aborigines Committee of 1836, to the vagrant law discussions of the 1840s. In the two years before the rebellion, Kat River residents again had good reason to watch political events in Cape Town and London, and to worry about the effect the proposed constitutional changes would have on their lives.

Like the Canadian and Australian colonies, the constitutional history of the Cape Colony followed a trajectory from rule by a London-appointed Governor to responsible self-government under a figure-head Governor in the 1850s. After the second British occupation of the Cape in 1806, the Governor of the colony ruled alone under the supervision of the Secretary of State for War in Westminster. In 1825 an Advisory Council was created to assist the Governor, and in 1833 it was split into Executive and Legislative Councils, but none of these nominated bodies answered the demands of those who agitated for representative government.<sup>22</sup> The anti-convict

---

<sup>22</sup> H.J. Mandelbrote, “Constitutional Development,” in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. II* ed. Eric A. Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 359-66.

agitation of 1849, which aroused fury across the colony when Colonial Secretary Earl Grey sent a ship of convicts to be settled in the Cape, helped to generate more popular support for representative government. By 1851 several constitutional drafts had been exchanged between the Governor's council and the Colonial Office. Within the colony, there were two parties in the discussions over the nature of the future constitution: one proposed a high franchise qualification (ownership of property worth £50) in the hope of limiting Dutch influence, and the other advocated a low qualification (ownership or occupation of property worth £25) and wider participation; this second party, said Governor Cathcart in 1853, "sided with the Dutch on what are commonly styled liberal principles."<sup>23</sup> Repeated calls were also made, during the period of constitutional negotiation, for separate legislatures for the eastern and western portions of the colony.<sup>24</sup>

The Kat River settlers were opposed to all of the proposed constitutional developments, especially to a division between the eastern and western regions. There were political and economic differences — some more perceived than real — between the western region led by Cape Town and the eastern region led by Grahamstown. Cape Town held all the political power delegated from the metropole, and its banks controlled most of the colony's capital. Leaders in Grahamstown represented the interests of more recent English immigrants who considered that insufficient attention had been given to the protection of pastoral farming and the policing of the Xhosa-colony border. Agitation for a separate eastern colony parliament had been ongoing since the 1820s, but the prospect of representative government in 1850 made the issue more

---

<sup>23</sup> Stanley Trapido, "White Conflict and Non-White Participation in the Politics of the Cape of Good Hope, 1853-1910," PhD thesis, University of London, 1970, 32.

<sup>24</sup> Basil le Cordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, 1820-1854* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1981).

pressing. Kat River residents feared that they would lose the support of humanitarians in the western region if the two halves of the colony split. They also had reason to fear that a franchise based on income would render their votes irrelevant, as most whites would qualify to vote but only a very few Africans. Although “friends of the natives” like Stockenstrom and Fairbairn claimed that the £25 franchise protected the rights of Khoesan citizens, their interest in lower voting qualifications stemmed more from their commitment to liberal government than their humanitarianism. Stanley Trapido points out that “[h]ad the interest of the Coloured population been a primary motive, the granting of a legislative assembly would have been delayed.”<sup>25</sup> A non-racial and relatively low franchise was technically in line with humanitarian plans for the improvement of the Khoesan, but the economic state of the Kat River would not have allowed many Khoesan to exercise their votes effectively. The residents of the Kat River Settlement understood that their interests were more likely to be promoted by the efforts of non-official individuals using the Cape Town-to-London speaking and publishing network than by elected farmers or businessmen from Grahamstown or Port Elizabeth.

In a letter to Stockenstrom and Fairbairn in 1851, a Kat River committee speaking “in the name of the entire settlement, of all parties, that is, of both Churches,” expressed their fears of “the working of a Cape Parliament for the Eastern District, which we dread with an inexpressible dread. In some of our views we may even differ with you, our respected friends and well-wishers, but they are the genuine feelings of our hearts.”<sup>26</sup> It was only through the centralized, distant rule of “the British Government and the Imperial Parliament,” the attendees at this

---

<sup>25</sup> Trapido, “White Conflict,” 15. On the £25 franchise as a protection for the “rights of the Hottentots,” see editorial in *SACA* 28 May 1853.

<sup>26</sup> John Fairbairn, *Papers Relative to the Establishment of a Representative Legislature at the Cape of Good Hope* (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1851), 116.



meeting declared, that “the condition of the natives of this country has been one of progressive improvement.”<sup>27</sup> Kat River residents worried that London-appointed Governors susceptible to humanitarian campaigning would be replaced by government representing only the interests of eastern Cape farmers. Specifically, Kat River residents feared that eastern Cape members of Parliament would create a vagrant law similar to the one which had nearly been passed by eastern Cape lobbying in the mid-1830s, which would have required Africans to carry proof of employment and residence to avoid jail or compulsory labour.<sup>28</sup> Robert Ross argues that these concerns about the Colony’s changing constitution influenced the decisions of some Kat River settlers to rebel. “More than anything,” he claims, “it was a rebellion about the Constitution, about the powers of the Cape Parliament and about the threat of new vagrancy legislation.”<sup>29</sup>

Kat River residents responded to the local and constitutional concerns outlined above with what Stanley Trapido has called “Hottentot nationalism.”<sup>30</sup> The term “Hottentot nationalism” was not used at the time, but Khoesan Kat River residents did refer to themselves as a “nation.”<sup>31</sup> Elbourne points out that in the 1830s, “nation,” or *natie* in Dutch, meant something more like an “ethnic group, without the connotations of late nineteenth century cultural nationalism.”<sup>32</sup> In the context of the Kat River, “Hottentot nationalism” meant claiming a historic right to the land and uniting those who identified as Hottentot through Christianity,

---

<sup>27</sup> Fairbairn, *Papers Relative to the Establishment*, 116-120.

<sup>28</sup> “Justus” (Robert Mackenzie Beverley), *The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation* (London: James Duncan, 1837), 239-267; *SACA* 10 June 1837; *SACA* 31 March 1855.

<sup>29</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 273.

<sup>30</sup> Trapido, “The emergence of Liberalism and the Making of ‘Hottentot Nationalism’, 1815-1834,” in *Collected Papers of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies* 42 (1992): 34-60.

<sup>31</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 359. Kat River Khoesan continued to refer to themselves as nation in the years after the rebellion. Minutes of a Meeting Held at the Kat River, 24 May 1871, LMS-SA/36; Petition from the residents of Theopolis, 1865, LMS-SA/34; Read and van Rooyen to Mullens, June 1871, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>32</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 359.

respectability, and agricultural prosperity. “Hottentot nationalism” was thus a constructed ethnic identity through which people who were concerned about their rights and interests in the Cape Colony and in the empire used elements of the Kat River project to prove their right to have a voice in the affairs of the colony. Although all Kat River Khoesan shared the concerns outlined above and participated in making “Hottentot nationalism,” some used these ideas as a justification to rebel, while others cited similar reasons in their decisions to remain loyal. The following sections outline how two different courses of action were justified by similar appeals to Christianity and respectability.

### *Rebels*

The conditions and situations detailed above — economic grievances within the Settlement, the ironic prospect of losing political representation with representative government, and the specific legislative changes likely to occur with representative government — probably prompted all Kat River residents to reflect on their future, and provided for some a sufficient motive to rebel. Some participants became associated with the rebellion against their wills, so that complete unity of mind and purpose among the rebel camp cannot be assumed, but the Khoesan who rebelled under Willem Uithaalder did hold to some definite positions that illuminate how they saw themselves in relation to the colony against which they fought. The rebels distinguished themselves by professing loyalty to the monarchy, taking pains to associate themselves with Christianity, and maintaining their independence from the Xhosa. By doing this, the rebels showed that like other Khoesan residents of the Settlement, they were interested in achieving the project of respectability and racial equality which the Kat River project had

proclaimed at its outset, and they were mindful of the usefulness of Christianity and connections to the imperial metropole in achieving that goal.

During the late 1840s Governor Smith had proved himself an example of Terence Ranger's thesis that the traditions used by both Europeans and Africans in colonial Africa were often extemporized, reflecting the requirements of the moment rather than the deposit of antiquity. Smith had made much of the omnipotent benevolence of the Queen and the corresponding paternal powers that had been deputed to him, and had attempted to use ceremony and rhetoric to prove his authority over subjects and neighbours of the colony.<sup>33</sup> The rebels made use of some of the same tactics of rhetoric and performance by stressing their loyalty to the Queen and the British government. In June 1851 Uithaalder appealed to the Griqua leader Adam Kok in a letter he could be reasonably sure would be shown to a British official (as it was), given Kok's generally friendly relationship with the Colony. In it, Uithaalder claimed that the rebels fought only against the eastern Cape settlers, "because the Government has no fault about this war, and we perceive that the Government has hitherto abstained from lending aid to the settlers in carrying it forward."<sup>34</sup> In another found communication from a captured rebel camp, rebel Andries Lings wrote to his friend Keivit Pequin, who was still living in colony. Lings warned Pequin of the secessionist plans of the eastern Cape settlers, but expressed his hopes that the next Parliamentary session in Westminster would reaffirm the Queen's continued personal oversight

---

<sup>33</sup> Price, *Making Empire*, 201, 204-05; *SACA*, 22 Jan 1848; Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in E.J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 211-262; Idem, "The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa," in *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth Century Africa*, ed. Olufemi Vaughan and Terence Ranger (London: Macmillan, 1993), 62-111; Thomas Spear, "Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa," *Journal of African History* 44 (2003): 5.

<sup>34</sup> Willem Uithaalder to Adam Kok, 11 June 1851, translated in *Correspondence Relative to the State of the Kafir Tribes*, British Parliamentary Papers 1428 of 1852, 151-52.

of a unified colony.<sup>35</sup> James Read Jr., in one of his letters to the *Commercial Advertiser*, reported that “the majority of [the rebels] professed loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and attachment to her representative, Col. Smith.”<sup>36</sup> This loyalty to the Queen was important, as Elizabeth Elbourne explains, because the rebels were “attempting to make a defensive manoeuvre against white settler aggression by... appealing to the imperial centre in order to assert themselves as a community with a direct relationship to the Crown, independent of settler control.”<sup>37</sup> The symbolic importance of appeals to the monarchy was shown again in the aftermath of the rebellion, when the settlers made clear their monopoly on monarchical access during the trial of the field cornet Andries Botha. The legal language of Botha’s trial for treason emphasized, in a neat reversal of the rebels’ assertion of monarchical loyalty, that he and Uithaalter’s followers “did levy and make war and rebellion against our said Lady the Queen.”<sup>38</sup>

Another, related characteristic of the rebels’ cause was their attachment to Christianity. Hermanus Matroos’ preparations for war had been made with some attention to the instructions of the Xhosa prophet Mlanjeni, who during 1850 had administered medicines and told the Xhosa to slaughter their dun-coloured cattle and leave their plots uncultivated in order to prepare for a purification of the land.<sup>39</sup> Kat River Khoesan settlers did not follow any of these instructions, at least according to the testimony of James Read, Jr.<sup>40</sup> This was both because they probably did not

---

<sup>35</sup> Andries Lings to Keivit Pequin, 15 April 1851, translated in *Correspondence Relative to the State of the Kafir Tribes*, British Parliamentary Papers 1428 of 1852, 51.

<sup>36</sup> *SACA*, 19 June 1851. This passage about the rebels’ loyalty to the monarchy was removed in the published version of the letters; Ross, *Borders of Race*, 216, 314-15.

<sup>37</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 360-61.

<sup>38</sup> William Buchanan, *Trial of Andries Botha, Field-Cornet of Upper Blinkwater, in the Kat River Settlement, for High Treason* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1852), 29. The reversal of the Kat River’s claims to metropolitan favour was also made clear by holding the trial in the Supreme Court in Cape Town, rather than the local Grahamstown court (Ross, *Borders of Race*, 276).

<sup>39</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 193-94; Read, *The Kat River Settlement in 1851*, 18-20.

<sup>40</sup> James Read Sr. to W Thompson, 30 June 1851, LMS-SA-26/4/C.

premeditate rebellion so far in advance, and also because the rebellion had for them very different religious meanings. On some level, the rebellion was an assertion of the rights and status that Khoesan could claim through adherence to Christianity. The conversations held between the Reads Jr. and Sr., van Rooyen and the rebels (at least, those recorded by the first three men), were “primarily about the Bible, and how it could justify action.”<sup>41</sup> Rebel preachers like the former interpreter Klaas Noeka used scripture to explain the necessity of force in reclaiming the respectability that the “Hottentot nation” had earned by its adherence to Christianity, while James Read Jr., on his visits to the rebel camp, countered with sermons from Isaiah 52 and Genesis 47 on peace and repentance.<sup>42</sup> Willem Uithaolder, in his plea to Adam Kok, likewise justified the righteousness of the rebel cause by using biblical language redolent of Old Testament prophecies about the imminent, appointed “day of the Lord.”<sup>43</sup> “Trust, therefore, in the Lord,” he asked the Griquas, “(whose character is known to be unfriendly to injustice), and undertake this work and he will give us prosperity — a work for your mother-land and freedom, for it is now the time, yea, the appointed time, and no other.”<sup>44</sup> Throughout the conflict, the rebels were reported to be devoutly holding services and singing hymns, and bibles were sometimes found in their abandoned camps.<sup>45</sup>

The designation of the Kat River rebellion as a specifically Christian struggle was only one of several ways in which the rebels distinguished themselves from the Xhosa who were simultaneously fighting against the Colony. Although the forces of Sandile and Maqoma and

---

<sup>41</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 211.

<sup>42</sup> Read, *The Kat River Settlement in 1851*, 24, 64-65.

<sup>43</sup> E.g., Daniel 8:19, 11:27-35; Habakkuk 2:3.

<sup>44</sup> Uithaolder to Kok, British Parliamentary Papers 1428 of 1852, 151-52. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:hcpp-us&rft\\_dat=xri:hcpp:rec:1852-028390](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hcpp-us&rft_dat=xri:hcpp:rec:1852-028390) (accessed 28 July 2014).

<sup>45</sup> Nathaniel J. Merriman, *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, 1848-1855* (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1957), 155.

those of Uithaalder camped and marched together at least some of the time, the Khoesan “defined themselves as ‘Hottentot’ and made it clear to Xhosa groups that the ‘Hottentots were fighting their own battles.’”<sup>46</sup> James Read, Jr. observed the outward manifestations of this division when he visited the rebel camp in January 1851:

The Hottentots moved in rank and file as they were ordered by their officers, while the Commander, William Uithaalder, rode about from point to point, swearing at the men, and imitating the bearing of a general officer on parade. The Kafirs were led on after their own way, humming their war songs, whistling, groaning, beating and clattering their assegais.<sup>47</sup>

Read, though truly distressed about the rebellion, was nevertheless keen to emphasize the difference between Xhosa disorderliness and Khoesan respectability and civilization. The rebels’ desire to make their style of warfare different from that of the Xhosa is also shown in a document apparently found in a captured rebel camp in June 1851, in which Uithaalder gave instructions for the division of plunder and administration of punishments under the supervision of a whole hierarchy of officers, from commandants to field cornets, headmen and a quarter-master.<sup>48</sup> Uithaalder likewise showed his “veneration for the written rule of law,” in Elbourne’s words, when he demanded a formal trial for a chief named Toiyse who had cooperated with the British. Uithaalder released Toiyse from his custody when the chief Sandile did not guarantee a fair trial, a decision that undermined the rebels’ alliance with the Xhosa.<sup>49</sup> The Khoesan soldier Malau

---

<sup>46</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 362.

<sup>47</sup> Read, *The Kat River Settlement*, 33.

<sup>48</sup> “Translation of a Document found in the Rebel Camp at the Kareiga River,” 5 June 1851, in *Correspondence Relative to the State of the Kafir Tribes*, British Parliamentary Papers 1428 of 1852, 51. [http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&res\\_dat=xri:hcpp-us&rft\\_dat=xri:hcpp:rec:1852-028390](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hcpp-us&rft_dat=xri:hcpp:rec:1852-028390) (accessed 28 July 2014).

<sup>49</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 363.

Karabana put the Kat River rebels' point succinctly when he told a group of Xhosa not to think "that because we are with you against the settlers, we will submit to you; we are ready to fight you at any day if we see that you wish to domineer over us as you did before."<sup>50</sup> Just as during the previous two decades, Khoesan had appealed to history to show their difference from the Xhosa, during the war they did not allow cooperation between their fighting men to obscure their historical separateness. In the end, the course of the war and the rebellion confirmed these claims to difference: by the end of the conflict, neither group trusted the other and the Xhosa at one point negotiated for peace with the promise that they would catch and hand over Uithaalder.<sup>51</sup> One of the reasons for the cleavage between the rebels and Xhosa forces was that they had different goals. Although they fought against local settlers and the soldiers who had come to defend them, Kat River rebels emphasized their loyalty to Britain, and their attachment to Christianity and all the trappings of respectable life (like army discipline and trials by law) which came with it. For them, the rebellion was not an escape from their lives as loyal colonial subjects, but a last-ditch attempt to save the promises of economic independence, political representation, and respectability which the Kat River had at one time offered.

### *Loyalists*

Kat River residents who remained loyal to the Colony had a very different, and very difficult, experience of the war. They were torn between the desire for physical security, the need to remain respectable citizens of the colony, and the sympathies they probably felt for family and friends who had joined the rebellion. The problem of food security created the most difficult

---

<sup>50</sup> Read, *Kat River Settlement*, 34.

<sup>51</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 363.

decision for those who wished to remain loyal. Not wanting to lose their crops, many Khoesan remained on their land as long as possible, especially in less well-irrigated villages like Buxton and Wilberforce where agricultural recovery from the last war had been slow.<sup>52</sup> Reluctance to abandon crops exposed them to accusations of disloyalty from English settlers, which the Kat River residents had to counter by engaging in evidently “respectable” behaviour.

One of the ways in which Kat River Khoesan proved their loyalty was by assisting English settlers in protecting women.<sup>53</sup> The English settlers of the eastern Cape had a robust tradition of disagreement with the metropolitan government over who should fight frontier wars: Cape Town thought that the settlers should fight the wars they had precipitated, while the settlers, during the 1830s and 1840s, had developed a narrative of their own middle-class respectability which indisposed some of them to personal participation in warfare and made them believe that the bulk of the fighting should be done by the professional army.<sup>54</sup> In the first days of the Xhosa invasion and Kat River rebellion, then, English settlers living on isolated farms, and those in the most threatened towns of Forth Beaufort and Fort Armstrong, packed up and left. The *Graham’s Town Journal* claimed that “For a line of fifty miles, nothing is seen but a moving mass of farmers, with their wagons, horses, cattle and sheep, all fleeing.”<sup>55</sup> A proper respect for the delicacy of women was one of the matters of respectability on which eastern Cape settlers prided themselves, so wives and daughters were the first to be sent by wagon to Grahamstown or Port

---

<sup>52</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 197, 215.

<sup>53</sup> Read, *Kat River Settlement*, 37-39.

<sup>54</sup> Alan Lester, “Reformulating Identities: British Settlers in Early Nineteenth-Century South Africa,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23 (1998): 515-531; LeCordeur, *Eastern Cape Separatism*; Thomas Shone, *The Albany Journals of Thomas Shone*, ed. Penelope Silva (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1992). Not that they did not actually participate in combat: see *The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain* for an autobiographical account of settler life centred around warfare.

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in Clifton Crais, *Poverty, War, and Violence in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 43.



Elizabeth. Loyalist Khoesan likewise tried to send the women of their families away from threatened areas. Read Jr. emphasized the mutual feminine sensibilities of Khoesan and European loyalists when he described the departure of women from Fort Armstrong: “It was enough to break a heart of steel. Many of the Hottentot females wept with the wives and daughters of the English.”<sup>56</sup>

The protection of colonial property was another way in which Khoesan could prove their loyalty. Even though English settlers often accompanied troops brought in from the western Cape during frontier conflicts, farmers also formed their own private “protection associations” specifically to guard their homes and livestock.<sup>57</sup> Kasper Olivier, a Khoesan tenant farmer at Manczana in the Kat River, tried to practice this form of loyal settler alliance when he entered a mutual protection association with his English neighbours.<sup>58</sup> Other Kat River residents who had barns, houses, and cattle kraals to protect formed the Kat River Burgher Association in January 1851.<sup>59</sup> If this association was anything like similarly-named bodies formed by English settlers, its members would have continued to perform regular militia service alongside regular troops, but would have been additionally committed to standing guard over one another’s property and undertaking independent raids to recover stolen goods.

Aside from the practical considerations of protecting women and property, Kat River loyalists also had to prove their loyalty to Christianity and the British government.<sup>60</sup> Membership

---

<sup>56</sup> Read, *Kat River Settlement in 1851*, 49-50.

<sup>57</sup> Jeremiah Goldswain, *The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain*, Vol. II, ed. Una Long (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1946), 142.

<sup>58</sup> Read, *Kat River Settlement in 1851*, 43. Ultimately, even this very clear statement of his loyalty did not help Olivier. In January 1851 his house was burnt down by a group of Fingo who mistook the force of which he was Commandant for a group of rebels. Mistrust between settlers and Khoesan was exacerbated by rumours that the attack on Olivier’s house had actually been planned by a white settler (Ross, *Borders of Race*, 221-22).

<sup>59</sup> Read, *Kat River Settlement in 1851*, 51.

<sup>60</sup> Cobus Fourie’s letter, in Read, *Kat River Settlement in 1851*, 32-33.

in LMS churches was one way in which loyalists proved they were good Christians. Rebels could preach, pray and sing hymns, but loyalist Khoesan could cite their continued participation in Kat River congregations as proof of their loyalty and connection to a global network of Christians. The clearest example of this is James Read's series of letters to the *Commercial Advertiser*, later collected a pamphlet, in which he defended the Settlement.<sup>61</sup> Read's high profile as the minister of the Kat River's LMS congregations made an implicit connection between that church and the general loyalty and respectability of Khoesan Kat River residents. The *Commercial Advertiser* emphasized the connection between Christianity and Khoesan loyalty on other occasions, as well. In February 1851, during the height of the rebellion, the newspaper reported on the activities of the Kat River Auxiliary Missionary Society.<sup>62</sup> Again in February of 1851, Andries Stockenström published an open letter to the inhabitants of the Settlement, assuring them that their ministers would lead the people "in the true spirit of loyalty."<sup>63</sup> Khoesan people themselves also called on their LMS church membership to prove their loyalty. When Cornelius Magerman, for example, gave evidence for the defence in the trial of Andries Botha for rebellion, he introduced himself as a reliable witness by citing, as the two main points in his biography, 18 years of service in a Cape regiment and his position as an elder in Tidmanton.<sup>64</sup> Witnesses for the prosecution were aware of the value of this claim, and tried to throw doubt on the connection between LMS congregations and loyalist behaviour. "The plunder of our shops,"

---

<sup>61</sup> Read, *Kat River Settlement in 1851*.

<sup>62</sup> *SACA*, 19 February 1851.

<sup>63</sup> *SACA*, 22 February 1851.

<sup>64</sup> Buchanan, *Trial of Andries Botha*, 119.

one white settler testified, “was done by people who were, and still are, I believe, members of one church or another.”<sup>65</sup>

Declarations of loyalty showed the belief of some Kat River residents that continued loyalty to the Crown and the colony and membership in LMS congregations would best serve their interests. Offering proofs of loyalty was also a way for Khoesan to protect themselves against probable retribution after the rebellion was inevitably defeated. Dela Jagers’ husband had been coerced into the rebellion but then gave it, apparently, his whole support. She made her loyalty very clear when she refused to mourn his death, “as he had died in a bad cause.”<sup>66</sup> Even her rejection of her husband did not help her case after the rebellion: in 1856 her lands and wagon had still not been returned to her.<sup>67</sup> Loyalists, then were in the difficult position of having to prove their fidelity openly and thoroughly (the case against field-cornet Andries Botha as a supposed rebel was built on an absence of only two days from loyalist supervision). At the same time, however, they could not be certain that they would regain their land and property after the war. The 1851-53 war, according to Crais, was particularly destructive of property because of Sir Harry Smith’s scorched earth tactics. He ordered the Cape Mounted Rifles, of whom there were 9,000 on the eastern frontier by the beginning of 1852, to “spoil the [enemy’s] cattle, to burn all his kraals, the fences of his corn field, and destroy the corn fields themselves.”<sup>68</sup> The main thrust of this violence was directed at Xhosa territory to the east of the Kat River Settlement, but the Settlement lay in the path of Smith’s troops, and was also damaged by raids from rebels and Xhosa forces. Even after the immediate violence of the war had ended, the chaos which followed

---

<sup>65</sup> Buchanan, *Trial of Andries Botha*, 249.

<sup>66</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 205; Read, *Kat River Settlement in 1851*, 93, 101.

<sup>67</sup> Magerman et al to George Grey, 19 February 1856, Cape Archives, Colonial Office series, 4088:9.

<sup>68</sup> Quoted in Crais, *Poverty, War, and Violence*, 43.

made it difficult for Kat River residents to regain the material resources on which their livelihoods and claims to respectability and political representation had been based. Despite their best efforts, then, loyalist Khoesan did not save themselves from the consequences of the rebellion. Loyalists shared with rebels a desire to maintain the respectability and economic viability of their venture in the Kat River, although the former pursued these goals by remaining on their land, associating themselves with English settlers, and stressing their faithfulness to Christianity and the British government rather than by rebelling.

#### *The Aftermath of the Rebellion and the End of Liberal Humanitarianism*

The exact numbers and identities of those who participated in the rebellion are difficult to determine. A comparison of an 1849 list of erf-holders in the Settlement to the 1853 list of rebels and loyalists printed by the Cape Parliament reveals that the involvement of half of all erf-holders was not recorded; there is a particular discrepancy between the two lists in the cases of the villages of Balfour, Upsher, Mancazana, Bruceton, Philipton, Maasdorp, and Readsdales.<sup>69</sup> James Read Jr. made his own separate calculations of rebellion, though he was interested only in the Khoesan inhabitants of the Settlement. The highest percentage of rebellion, according to Read's data, was in the field cornetries of Andries Botha and Valentyn Jacobs (the villages of Buxton, Upper Blinkwater, Tidmanton, and Fullers Hoek), both in the south-west region of the Settlement. In Botha's field cornetcy, 23% of the erf-holders and 90% of the non-erfholders rebelled. Overall, according to Read's figures, 22% of erf-holders and 45% of non-erfholders participated in the rebellion.<sup>70</sup> These statistics suggest that those from agriculturally poorer field

---

<sup>69</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 307.

<sup>70</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 306. Read, *Kat River Settlement in 1851*, Appendix 3.

cornetcies were more likely to rebel, as well as those who did not own any land. Those who possessed *erven* had personal confidence in the success of the Kat River project and were thus less likely to jeopardize their situation by rebelling.<sup>71</sup>

Even though the majority had not rebelled, all Kat River residents suffered the consequences of the loss of the Settlement's reputation. The re-organization of the Settlement after the rebellion revealed how ideas about race across the empire had changed and how the Kat River Settlement had lost the support of its former humanitarian friends in political and official circles. Kat River residents also suffered the more immediate economic consequences of the re-distribution of much of their land to white settlers. In rebuilding the Settlement, LMS-affiliated Khoesan residents used their connections to the LMS to demonstrate to that they could still be a prosperous, politically-involved, and respectable community.

The responses of local white settlers and colonial officials to the rebellion revealed a change in the colony's understanding and treatment of its African citizens. For eastern Cape English settlers, the question of responsibility for the rebellion was easy: the entire Kat River Settlement was implicated, and all had forfeited their property thereby.<sup>72</sup> Sir Harry Smith reacted in a similar manner to what he perceived as a total betrayal of the paternal care he had given the Khoesan. "I do not want a long and learned discussion [of the treatment of the rebels]," he wrote, "but a practical statement of 'how to hang Rebels by the shortest possible process.'"<sup>73</sup> Sir Harry's temper did not entirely carry the day in determining the post-war situation; the rule of law and due process was involved in the reconstitution of the frontier, along with a generous admixture of

---

<sup>71</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 238.

<sup>72</sup> Read to Thompson, 30 June 1851, LMS-SA/26/4/C.

<sup>73</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 356.

individual cupidity and administrative disorganization. George Grey, who replaced Smith as Governor in 1854, was more conciliatory in his statements about the Kat River, but he also believed that in the aftermath of the rebellion the relationship of different racial groups on the eastern frontier would have to be significantly altered. In 1856 Grey pondered in a memorandum to the War Office whether, at the end of the rebellion, the Kat River loyalists should have been given the entire Settlement, along with resources to “raise its inhabitants in intelligence and the pursuits of industry,” or whether the Settlement should have been cleared entirely of Khoesan and the land given to English settlers; he felt that a haphazard mixture of the two races was the most difficult solution. Ideally, he thought, the “Hottentot Race” should live “in a settlement composed of persons of their own race, amongst whom they could live, in the usual manner.” Grey believed that if Europeans and Khoesan lived together, the natural propensity of Europeans to be more prosperous would lead to jealousies. In reality, he recognized, this mixing of races had occurred in the post-rebellion Kat River and it was too late by 1856 to do anything about it.<sup>74</sup>

Grey’s memo, with its underlying assumption that the eastern Cape could only be secure if its black and white populations lived separately, is indicative of a change in the understanding of race in the British empire as compared to the ideas prevalent at the height of liberal humanitarianism in the 1830s.<sup>75</sup> Events such as the 1850-53 war in Cape Colony, the Indian Mutiny (1857), the New Zealand wars (1840-70s), and the Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica

---

<sup>74</sup> Sir G. Grey to War Department, 8 February 1856, National Archives, Colonial Office series 48/372, page 339. I have specifically quoted Grey’s use of the term “Hottentot Race” because it contrasts with the way in which Khoesan people themselves understood “Hottentot” identity. On the few occasions that they made formal statements about their identity, Khoesan people wrote rather of a “Hottentot Nation,” which implied that membership was voluntary and participatory rather than innate at birth (see undated petition to Wm. Thompson, LMS-SA/33; Minutes of Meeting at Kat River and Annual Report, 24 May 1871, LMS-SA/36).

<sup>75</sup> Fae Dussart and Alan Lester have examined Grey’s career at length as the archetype of the mid-nineteenth century shift in official practice from the amelioration and incorporation of indigenous colonial subjects to the separation and protection of these people. Dussart and Lester, *Colonization and the Origins*, 226-275.

(1865), provided support for an emerging rhetoric of “race warfare.” The Kat River rebellion in 1853 was thus one of the earliest causes of this shift. Discussions of the interactions between white settlers and indigenous inhabitants of colonies increasingly emphasized, from the early 1850s, the separateness of races whose characteristics and destinies were tied to their blood.<sup>76</sup> These changes in the understanding of race coincided with changes in science and pseudo-science, such as the emergence of evolutionary theory and the popularity of phrenology. In Cape Colony, the vocabularies of both phrenology and evolution were used to support policies that assumed a pre-determined racial hierarchy.<sup>77</sup> Ideas about race, biology, citizenship, and respectability did not become by any means unitary and ossified in the early 1850s, but there was a trend that stressed fundamental differences between the British and the people they ruled. This is evident both in Grey’s sympathetic memo hoping to “raise” Khoesan citizens in civilization while keeping them geographically separate, and in settler writings like John Green’s vituperative pamphlet *The Kat River Settlement in 1851* (intentionally copying the title of Read’s pamphlet defending the Settlement), which argued that the rebellion had been a natural reversion into a barbarism from which the Khoesan could never be raised.<sup>78</sup> Although Grey’s approach to governing the eastern Cape did not share the vengeful tone of settlers’ complaints, Grey and white settlers like Green shared a basic assumption that African residents of the colony could be

---

<sup>76</sup> Elizabeth Elbourne, “‘Race’, warfare, and religion in mid-nineteenth-century Southern Africa: the Khoikhoi rebellion against the Cape Colony and its uses, 1850-58.” *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13 (2000): 17-42.

<sup>77</sup> Andrew Bank, “Of ‘Native Skulls’ and ‘Noble Caucasians’: Phrenology in Colonial South Africa,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22 (1996): 387-403.

<sup>78</sup> John Green, *The Kat River Settlement in 1851* (Grahamstown: Robert Godlonton), 1853; see also W.C. Holden, *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races* (Cape Town: C. Struik), 1866, rpt 1986. Holden described the customs and government of tribes living in colonial Natal and Kaffraria, and treated each group as a separate, timeless, and impermeable racial category.

protected and managed by the state, but could not be assimilated into Cape society in the way some earlier liberal humanitarians had imagined.

These changes in the understanding of race affected the re-organization and rebuilding of the Kat River Settlement in the aftermath of the war. Hostility from eastern Cape settlers and apathy from the Cape Town Legislative Assembly hampered the rebuilding of the Settlement, but Kat River residents refused to be shuffled off. They continued to be interested and involved in local and colony-wide affairs, but they had to do this in a context in which popular ideas about race and the nature of the frontier on which they lived were changed. In addition to these changes in colonial political culture, Khoesan Kat River residents also faced more practical challenges to their way of life. The rest of this chapter details changes to the land ownership and political involvement of Kat River residents in the immediate aftermath of the war (from 1853-1856) in order to establish the context in which Kat River residents pursued the activities discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

The punishment for most rebels was not hanging, as Sir Harry had hoped, but jail and the confiscation of their land.<sup>79</sup> The main form of retribution was the confiscation of rebels' erven and its gifting or sale to white settlers. James Read Jr. estimated in 1853 that 120 land-holders had lost their lands from proven involvement in rebellion, besides an additional 40 who had been absent from the Settlement during the aftermath and had their erven confiscated by default.<sup>80</sup> The new magistrate, L.H. Meurant, was involved in corrupt practices in re-assigning erven, and took advantage of illiterate Khoesan in persuading them to sign away their property. Meurant, his son,

---

<sup>79</sup> The relevant court martial records no longer exist, but most convicted rebels seem to have been given life sentences (Ross, *Borders of Race*, 276). Uithaolder apparently remained free and tried to create his own chieftaincy with a special treaty relationship to the Colony (Cape Archives CO 4091:53)

<sup>80</sup> Read to W. Thompson, 17 June 1853 LMS-SA/28



and another member of the Meurant family acquired at least three erven in the re-organized Kat River Settlement after 1853.<sup>81</sup>

James Read was confident in 1853, however, that loyalist, respectable Khoesan could continue to prosper in the Kat River. He wrote optimistically to William Thompson that “all the loyal Erfholders at present in the Settlement have received Tickets and have or are about returning to their Erfs.” “While the lands of the Rebels,” he admitted, “will of course be confiscated and that some of the Erfs will be given to white Colonists, it is understood that a portion of the lands will be given to deserving Natives, so that after all the Native population will be equal to what it was before the rebellion, if not much greater.”<sup>82</sup> Even before the redistribution of lands and return of refugees, Read estimated the Kat River population was about 1,800, besides another 1,500 people at the “Fingoe locations...adjunct to the Kat River mission.” He was confident in continued support from both the Government and supporters back in Britain for help for the Kat River. The Government, he believed, would soon fund better irrigation for the village of Tidmanton, which would allow them to grow crops within easy distance of the market at Fort Beaufort. Erven had been promised, Read claimed, in several locations throughout the Kat River, and good schools (even a printing press, he hoped) could be founded with money from Britain. “I still consider,” he said, “that this is the proper time to rouse the British public on behalf of this Country... the fact that we have lost ground and maybe are now prostrate is no reason why we should not seek to rise; because we lost our wonted place in public interest, that

---

<sup>81</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 373; Letter and memorial from A. de Schmidt, 26 April 1856, Cape Archives, Colonial Office series, 4091:53

<sup>82</sup> Read to W. Thompson, 17 June 1853 LMS-SA/28.

we should not endeavour to regain it, first by personal efforts and then by the support of Our British Friends.”<sup>83</sup>

Those who wanted to rebuild the Kat River as a Christian Khoesan settlement with help from philanthropic Britons had to contend with the very different agendas pursued by some colonial officials, particularly the Kat River Commission established to inquire into the rebellion. The first Kat River Commission sat in 1853, and was composed of C. Mostyn Owen, a friend of the Colonial Secretary; J.W. Ebdon, a Cape Town lawyer; and an old antagonist of the Read family, the Rev. Henry Calderwood. The aim of the Commissioners was less to determine the loyalty or guilt of individual Kat River residents than to form a general view of the causes of the rebellion in the Settlement, and whether such an African settlement was likely to be prosperous and loyal in the future. James Read complained that the Commissioners “appeared to act under the trammels of Official position, and prescribed limitation,” which made them avoid difficult but necessary cases like the alleged assault on the Khoesan farmer Kasper Oliver by a white settler, or acts of disloyalty by whites (Read charged the pamphleteer John Green with having made gifts to Uithaalder).<sup>84</sup> Overall, the Commissioners came to a conclusion more supportive of Grahamstown than Philipton interests. While they admitted that the actions of previous magistrates (Biddulph and Bowker) might possibly have pushed the Kat River into rebellion, their final verdict was that the Settlement could not remain “an exclusively Hottentot location,” but rather that “all *erven*, whether forfeited or vacant, should be granted to white men.”<sup>85</sup> This principle was put into practice with the “Defensive Occupation System” devised by Governor

---

<sup>83</sup> Read to W. Thompson, 17 June 1853 LMS-SA/28.

<sup>84</sup> Read to Thompson, 17 June 1853, LMS-SA/28.

<sup>85</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 278-79.

George Cathcart, in accordance with which confiscated Kat River erven were given to English and Dutch settlers.<sup>86</sup>

An 1856 report by the Government Secretary A. de Schmidt calculated that the Settlement had 550 erven, of which 224 were retained by their original owners, 98 forfeited by rebellion, and 126 forfeited because of absence or mis-management (i.e., the property had not been sufficiently “improved”). Of the lands that had been forfeited by absence or mis-management, however, 62 were still vacant when de Schmidt wrote his report.<sup>87</sup> Kat River residents whose property had been confiscated, then, remained optimistic for several years after 1853 that some of these vacant plots might be returned to them. In 1856, complaints about the slowness and unfairness of land redistribution culminated in several formal petitions signed by 64 land-seekers.<sup>88</sup> Stockenstrom advocated in Parliament for a new Commission, and that same year, a second Commission was sent to the Kat River to look into the proper redistribution of land. The Commission made the conditions for reclaiming land too strict, however, to significantly change the percentage of the Kat River Settlement owned or occupied by Khoesan, although Robert Ross estimates that by about 1856, two thirds of erven were occupied by their original owners.<sup>89</sup> In order to reclaim land occupied before 1851, Khoesan applicants had to prove that they had planted trees, enclosed their grounds, and built a multiple-roomed house of brick or stone with glass windows.<sup>90</sup> de Schmidt’s 1856 report indicated that approximately half

---

<sup>86</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 373; Letter and memorial from A. de Schmidt, 26 April 1856, Cape Archives, Colonial Office series, 4091:53.

<sup>87</sup> Letter and memorial from A. de Schmidt, 26 April 1856, Cape Archives, Colonial Office series, 4091:53.

<sup>88</sup> A. Hatha and H. Heyn to Colonial Secretary, 27 March 1856, Cape Archives, Colonial Office series, 4087:79; Magerman et al to George Grey, 19 February 1856, Cape Archives, Colonial Office series, 4088:9.

<sup>89</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 287.

<sup>90</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 372.

of the erven in the Settlement had been redistributed — most likely to Europeans.<sup>91</sup> However, if James Read correctly estimated that the Khoesan population of the Settlement after the war equaled or exceeded the antebellum population, then it is possible that the amount of land effectively occupied could have been greater.<sup>92</sup>

Along with Read, other residents of the Kat River endeavoured, in the years immediately following the rebellion, to regain their place as respectable citizens of the colony. One of the ways in which this was done was by re-affirming loyalties to the local and metropolitan government. Residents of the Settlement confirmed the value they placed on the Governor as the protector of their interests when they sent Andries Hatha and Henry Heyn to Cape Town in 1856. Hatha and Heyn stayed with the LMS's South African director, William Thompson, for several weeks while they wrote petitions to the Governor and waited for an audience with him.<sup>93</sup> Staying in Cape Town under the auspices of an influential missionary organization allowed Hatha and Heyn to be relatively certain of obtaining the Governor's attention, while circumventing the frustrations of pursuing their grievances at the local level and proving their loyalty to the Governor and the British government he represented. In May 1853 a meeting of residents of the Settlement was held, attended by "Hottentot, Bastard, and English," to give a loyal address to the new magistrate, L.H. Meurant. "The resources of the Settlement are great," the address read, "and require only to be called forth. We desire all to live in peace, and we hope you will be the means of consolidating society here."<sup>94</sup> An anonymous letter-writer to the *Commercial*

---

<sup>91</sup> Letter and memorial from A. de Schmidt, 26 April 1856, Cape Archives, Colonial Office series, 4091:53.

<sup>92</sup> Read to W. Thompson, 17 June 1853, LMS-SA/28.

<sup>93</sup> A. Hatha and H. Heyn to Colonial Secretary, 27 March 1856, Cape Archives, Colonial Office series, 4087:79; Idem to Colonial Secretary, 9 April 1856, Cape Archives, Colonial Office series, 4087:83.

<sup>94</sup> *SACA*, 1 June 1853.

*Advertiser* in 1855 also emphasized the sympathies and connections that remained between the Queen and her government and the Kat River Settlement. Governor Grey visited the Settlement in that year, and heard the grievances of those whose complaints had not been answered by the first Kat River Commission. The case of the widow Amaat Hendrikze so touched the Governor, the letter-writer reported, that Grey was heard to say “that if the Queen were to hear that woman’s story she would weep.” The (indirect) maternal care of the Queen for her subjects in the Kat River was happily confirmed when Hendrikze received back the erf she had wrongly lost after her husband’s death. “The people,” wrote the same sanguine correspondent “... seemed quite buoyed up and cheerful, and look like men who have some hope that they have a Governor in whom they can have confidence that he will do them justice.”<sup>95</sup>

Despite this rebuilding, “the aftermath of the rebellion saw the political triumph of the white-settler narrative which rejected the capacity of Africans to become ‘civilized.’ This overthrew the central premise of the liberal-humanitarian narrative painstakingly constructed around the Kat River.”<sup>96</sup> In the Colony and across the empire, the tide began to turn against the liberal-humanitarian mode of thinking about racial difference in the colonies, and the differences between Khoesan and English or Dutch residents of the colony began to be imagined as more essential and absolute.<sup>97</sup> One way in which this was shown was in challenges to Khoesan involvement in local government. The Kat River, like other eastern Cape districts, had always been governed by Field Cornets appointed by the local Magistrate. When Dutch farmers acquired land in the Kat River after the rebellion, they stated that they “would not serve under Hottentots,”

---

<sup>95</sup> *SACA*, 1 March 1855.

<sup>96</sup> Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 346-47.

<sup>97</sup> Catherine Hall shows how similar changes occurred in Jamaica. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002).

and so the Magistrate appointed Dutch farmers as Field Cornets. A petition from Khoesan Kat River residents to the Governor described their denial of local office and the white farmers' refusal to compromise as a matter of life or death — “for death at once would be preferable to the continued persecution we endure.”<sup>98</sup> Another way in which the “white-settler narrative” was shown was by a devaluation in public discourse of the non-racial franchise, which in the late 1840s had been recommended by liberal English politicians as an educational tool that would turn Khoesan into responsible participants in the public sphere.

While Africans' votes were pivotal at certain moments of conflict between English and Dutch interests, Stanley Trapido argues that, in general, neither the opinions of individual Khoesan nor their influence as a voting group were held to be important. In the English papers, even in the fairly liberal *Cape Argus*, the casting of votes by Africans was portrayed as corrupt. “The Coloured class must be delighted with representative institutions,” the *Argus* said in 1858: “Men who were slaves and in chains a few years ago are now taken by the hand in the most familiar way to the poll and solicited for their votes and interests.” A decade later, another paper described a “Mozambique man” who was driven to the polling station “in a double cab by one touter and on alighting affectionately embraced by another, who with one arm fraternally placed around his neck... led him to the polling station.”<sup>99</sup> The implication behind these reports was that African voters would never be able to look past the temptations of vote-buyers to cast their ballots responsibly.

Khoesan voters in the eastern Cape, however, were better informed than these newspaper caricatures suggest. They had very good reason to be, when candidates for the Legislative

---

<sup>98</sup> Andries Hatha et al to Governor George Grey, 16 January 1856, National Archives, Colonial Office Series 48/327

<sup>99</sup> Trapido, “White Conflict,” 99-100.

Assembly built campaign platforms on such promises as a new law to deny the sale of gunpowder to “any Hottentot, Fingo, or Mantatee,” as a certain candidate Thackwray from Grahamstown did in 1854.<sup>100</sup> Depending on the distribution of race in a voting district, Khoesan (and other African) voters did have the ability to prevent pieces of legislation such as that proposed by Thackwray. The 1853 constitution “put a figure on respectability” — £25, to be exact — and Khoesan who qualified were keen to exercise their rights to engage in public respectable behaviour.<sup>101</sup> In 1859, the *Cape Argus* reported that a Fort Beaufort member had acted against the wishes of the “Kat River Missionary Party,” and would undoubtedly lose his place in the next election.<sup>102</sup> Kat River voters would certainly have been capable of doing so, if James Read estimated accurately in claiming that over 300 men qualified as voters in the Settlement in 1854.<sup>103</sup> Likewise, in 1861, the *Cape Argus* and *Commercial Advertiser* both reported on a by-election in which Khoesan from Genadendal (a settlement based around a Moravian mission, in the Western Cape) had rejected candidates popular among white voters in favour of a pair who would support their teetotalism.<sup>104</sup> Before 1884, Khoesan, Fingos, or ex-slaves born in the Colony would likely have been the only qualified African voters in the Colony, as prior to that year only “natural born” citizens of the Colony could vote (thus excluding anyone born in a territory annexed after their birth, as would have been the case with voters in British Kaffraria, which was formally joined to the colony in 1866).<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> *SACA*, 18 May 1854. On the people called “Mantatees” and the disputed history of their origins as a part of the colony’s labour force see *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995).

<sup>101</sup> Ross, *Status and Respectability*, 173.

<sup>102</sup> Trapido, “White Conflict,” 385.

<sup>103</sup> Read to Thompson, 25 January 1854, LMS-SA/28.

<sup>104</sup> *SACA* 17 April, 1861.

<sup>105</sup> Stanley Trapido, “African Divisional Politics in the Cape Colony, 1884 to 1910,” *Journal of African History* 9 (1968): 79-81.

Depending on the distribution of wealth and population in a given electoral district, Africans could form a significant portion of some voting populations until the end of the nineteenth century. The electoral divisions into which the Kat River mainly fell were Victoria East and Fort Beaufort: in 1891 Africans formed respectively 35% and 41% of eligible voters in these areas.<sup>106</sup> This chapter asserted earlier that constitutional concerns were a main reason for the rebellion, and that regardless of whether they rebelled, Kat River residents were keenly interested in ensuring that they were represented in the colony, either through their humanitarian friends in high places in the metropolitan government, or through a generous franchise requirement that would allow them the vote. While the statistics Trapido produces suggest that African voters sometimes made up an influential proportion of a voting population, there is little evidence from LMS records of how post-1853 representative government worked in the Kat River. Letters from the Kat River from 1853 until the 1870s never mention elections or voters' opinions. Both James Read, Sr. and his son had been involved in debates about the Colony's constitution, and in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion James Read, Jr. was pleased at the high number of Khoesan voters in the Settlement. The silence on this matter in the decades after the rebellion shows not that they had lost interest in colonial politics and their constitutional rights, but simply that in the changed environment of the post-1853 eastern Cape, when white settlers held most of the political power, there was little point in their advocating for any changes. Kat River residents continued to be concerned about their political rights and their respectability, but once the new system of representative government was in place, they focused

---

<sup>106</sup> Trapido, "White Conflict," 134-35.



their efforts on pursuing respectability through the ideas and institutions of the LMS, as will be detailed in the following chapters.

This chapter has explored the origins and meanings of the Kat River rebellion. The rebellion showed that both rebel and loyalists Kat River residents were committed to representing themselves as respectable, Christian, loyal subjects of the crown. Residents of the Kat River Settlement were also committed to maintaining their ownership of land in the Settlement and ensuring their ability to make a livelihood from that land. The aftermath of the rebellion ended the position the Settlement had held in the 1830s and 40s as a wholly African, predominantly Khoesan, enclave of aspiring respectable citizens who enjoyed a special relationship with missionaries and administrators in Cape Town and London. The denouement of the rebellion revealed how the understanding of race in the Cape Colony, as across the empire, were beginning to change significantly. At the practical local level, this meant that the Kat River Settlement received less attention from the new representative government in Cape Town. It also meant that land in the Settlement was redistributed so that a significant portion of plots in the Settlement transferred from Khoesan to European ownership. However, the response of LMS congregants in the Kat River to the consequences of the rebellion shows that they were still interested in creating a respectable community that would be politically represented in the colony. The resources and global connections of LMS congregations remained one of the ways that Kat River Khoesan did this.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **“WE NOW UNDERSTAND THE CHRISTIANITY OF MONEY”: THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE AND ITS USES IN THE KAT RIVER**

This chapter assesses how Khoesan members of LMS congregations in the Kat River responded to their changed situation in the fifteen years after the rebellion. Within the colony, the Kat River’s reputation was tainted by rebellion; the distribution of rebels’ land to white settlers ended its position as a specifically Khoesan centre of agriculture. Within the empire, official and philanthropic support for the Kat River waned. This chapter uses LMS correspondence to argue that Kat River residents remained committed to pursuing respectability and economic competence through their participation in the LMS and connection to fellow Society members and supporters in Britain. Kat River congregations made particular use of the Voluntary Principle (defined in more detail below): the idea that individual congregations should pay their ministers and fund their activities without help or interference from a denominational organization. The imposition of this style of church governance was at first resisted in the Kat River as it tended to attenuate their connections with the Society and other congregations in Britain. However, the Voluntary Principle also implicitly endorsed the ability of Kat River congregants to claim autonomy as a right, which they could use to settle disputes, maintain local commercial networks, and build careers as evangelists, pastors, and school teachers. The Voluntary Principle provided a set of ideas and a vocabulary with which Kat River congregations could ask for help from the LMS in Britain, as well as critique or circumvent the LMS when they disagreed on issues. This chapter identifies several episodes when Kat River and eastern Cape congregations

used their independent rights as voluntary or self-supporting congregations in order to make decisions about selecting a minister, establishing schools, or distributing land, all of which show how Kat River congregations pursued respectability and a livelihood through the particular LMS idea of the Voluntary Principle.

*Peasant Producers or Pious Paupers? The Kat River Settlement c.1855-1870 in the Historiography of the Eastern Cape*

After the Kat River rebellion had ended and some of the land in the Settlement had been given to white farmers, the Settlement ceased to be considered by the government as a distinct space for the encouragement of independent African agriculture. In the two decades after 1851, more land in the former Settlement was sold to white farmers, although it is difficult to determine exactly what the ratio of land ownership between Europeans and Khoesan was at any given point.<sup>1</sup> The Kat River Settlement became the administrative district of Stockenström, and although James Read occasionally addressed his letters from the Kat River Settlement, this older title for the area seems to have fallen out of use. Correspondence between missionaries and church members and the LMS in London continued to treat the Kat River area as a distinct site of spiritual and temporal activity. Although LMS correspondence treated the Kat River as though little had changed after the rebellion, the entire eastern Cape region underwent changes in the late 1850s to 60s that certainly did affect Khoesan people living in the Kat River. However, as the social and economic historiography of the nineteenth-century eastern Cape shows, a dearth of

---

<sup>1</sup> In 1858, 1493 morgen (922 acres) of Crown land at Blinkwater (what had been the rebel leader Hermanus Matroos' camp) was sold to farmers named Holliday, Cross, Giddy, and Botha. A reporter to the *Commercial Advertiser* remarked at the high value the Kat River lands were acquiring as potential sheep farms (*SACA*, 16 July 1858).

reliable sources makes it difficult to determine, for the Kat River Settlement as other places, how exactly African agriculturalists fared.

The situation of residents of the Kat River area, in terms of their economic condition and their relationships with the colonial state, changed significantly in the decade after the end of the rebellion. These changes, which affected the entire eastern Cape, have been the subject of considerable historiographical debate. The debates, which have addressed both the situation of African peasants in the eastern Cape and the effects of increased colonial intervention in Xhosa territory, are crucial to forming an interpretation of the Kat River area in this period.

The lung-sickness epidemic in Xhosaland from 1856-58 and the subsequent colonial interventions there were transformative and disruptive events for the entire eastern Cape. In 1855, a young Xhosa woman named Nongqawuse began to make prophecies similar to those of Mlanjeni during the 1850-53 war; namely, that if the Xhosa slaughtered all their cattle, their ancestors would rise from the dead and drive the whites out of the land. Several major Xhosa chiefs accepted Nongqawuse's directions and began to slaughter their herds, which were already dying of a lung-sickness epidemic. In the mass cattle slaughter and famine that followed, the population of British Kaffraria dropped from 105,000 in 1856 to 25,900 in 1858. Contemporary reports claimed that 40,000 people died, while many more emigrated to the Cape Colony to find work.<sup>2</sup> In the aftermath of the cattle killing several major chiefs were charged with a conspiracy to destroy their own people. They were found guilty by a court in Fort Hare. Their lands, amounting to 600,000 acres, were confiscated and thereafter governed by magistrates placed by

---

<sup>2</sup> Peires, J.B. *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 319.

Governor Sir George Grey's administration.<sup>3</sup> J.B. Peires argued against an earlier interpretation of the cattle-killing as a barbarian reaction to progress by pointing out that killing infected cattle was a reasonable prophylactic against the spread of the disease, and that the content of the millennial prophecies borrowed from Cape colonial Christianity. More recently, Richard Price's reassessment of the cattle-killing episode seeks to reveal the agenda behind the colonial response to the events of 1856-58. Price, building on an earlier argument by Peires, argues that Grey and his agents tacitly encouraged Xhosa chiefs to support the cattle-killing, then turned the tables on them in the trial in order to seize control of British Kaffraria. Although Xhosa chiefs still nominally ruled their people after 1858, Grey used the demographic upheaval of the time to clear land for white settlement, and gain control of taxation and law enforcement through his magistrates.<sup>4</sup>

These events in British Kaffraria are significant for understanding the changing economic milieu for African farmers in the eastern Cape. Price's reevaluation of responses to the famine and cattle-killing reveals how officials used British law and notions of humanitarian governance to extend their control and occupation of land. There were no changes to law or land ownership in the Kat River after the cattle-killing, but this episode marked the government's new willingness to use the language of humanitarian governance to relocate African subjects to make way for white expansion.<sup>5</sup> Chapter 3 will discuss the "Fingo Exodus" of 1866, when Xhosa and Fingo people were forcibly relocated to make room for white settler expansion, under the excuse

---

<sup>3</sup> Peires, *The Dead Will Arise*, 319.

<sup>4</sup> Price, *Making Empire*, 296, 330-31; Peires, "The Late Great Plot: The Official Delusion concerning the Xhosa Cattle Killing 1856-57," *History in Africa* 12 (1985): 253-279.

<sup>5</sup> This is not to say that the colonial government had never removed people from their land, but the aftermath of the cattle-killing marked a new period where land seizures and the extension of imperial control were carefully and explicitly justified by legal processes (Price, *Making Empire*, 316-17, 330).

of ameliorating crowded eastern Cape “Fingo locations.” Apart from being a portent of events which would later affect the eastern Cape, the events of 1856-58 also directly affected the economy of the Kat River area. Lung-sickness devastated the herds of Kat River residents. The influx of desperate Xhosa men after 1856 also caused a glut in the labour market, and labourers from the Kat River were no longer able to find adequate wages.<sup>6</sup>

In the years immediately after the cattle-killing, the Kat River area was affected by the damage to their herds and the wave of Xhosa migrants to the colony, although it is difficult to determine exactly how people in the Kat River valley were affected. Colin Bundy’s 1979 work, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, was the most important work which influenced historians’ understanding of nineteenth-century African agriculture in the Cape colony and Natal in the 1980s and 1990s. Drawing on a case study of the district of Herschel, he claimed that African peasants in the 1860s and 70s had successfully innovated and modernized their farming techniques to produce substantial surpluses, until they were undercut by an alliance between mining capital and large-scale white farmers.<sup>7</sup> If applied to the Kat River area, Bundy’s sweeping claims would suggest that the period after the 1850-53 rebellion and 1856-58 cattle-killing were relatively prosperous, at least for those who owned enough land to farm. However, Helen Bradford and Clifton Crais have challenged his assumptions. Bradford draws attention to Bundy’s silence on gender: he claimed that male agriculturalists were aspirant “black Englishmen,” but men taking on traditional women’s farming work may have been more a sign of desperation than a desire to be a successful commodity producer.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Crais points out

---

<sup>6</sup> Philpott members to W. Thompson, 7 September 1863, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>7</sup> Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

<sup>8</sup> Bradford, “Peasants, Historians, and Gender: A South African Case Study Revisited,” *History and Theory* 39 (2000): 86-110.

that the sale of agricultural produce did not necessarily mean that farmers had produced a surplus. The sale of maize or wheat may indicate, instead, that eastern Cape farmers needed to raise cash crops to pay taxes.<sup>9</sup>

Bradford's and Crais' critiques of Bundy have blurred his confident picture of prosperous African land-owners in the mid-nineteenth century, but they have not brought any other image clearly into focus. Their contribution, rather, has been to show just how misleading official documentation is, for the purposes of discovering the income or well-being of agriculturalists, either across South Africa, or in specific locales like Herschel. For example, Fiona Vernal's long-term economic and religious history of the Wesleyan mission station of Farmerfield, which covers the years between 1838 and 2008, struggles to provide actual detail on the economic activities of mission station residents. Farmerfield, like the Kat River Settlement, was established for Xhosa and Fingo Christians who were supposedly selected for their industry; "this industry, when applied to their own agricultural pursuits at Farmerfield, would demonstrate how an African mission should operate as an economic establishment."<sup>10</sup> However, the workings of this "economic establishment" — information about who earned income and how, and who did not — remain unclear for the debated decades of the 1860s and 70s. While Vernal is able to draw on the results of an 1849 colonial government report which tallied the occupations and property of all mission station residents, her description of conditions during the next two decades is constrained by vague missionary reports which seem to have focused on the effects of climate and colonial markets on mission residents, rather than what residents were actually doing

---

<sup>9</sup> Crais, *Poverty, War and Violence in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Fiona Vernal, *The Farmerfield Mission: A Christian community in South Africa, 1838-2008* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 108.

themselves.<sup>11</sup> Vernal suggests that Farmerfield residents were attempting to make better incomes than labourers on white farms, but her sources do not permit her to make many claims beyond that crop yields in the 1860s and 70s were disappointing.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, it is certain that the economy of the Kat River area was affected by events in the eastern Cape in the two decades after 1853, but it is difficult to be certain of the extent to which it was affected. The lung-sickness epidemic did severe damage to herds, and the arrival of many Xhosa refugees from famine likely changed the conditions under which Kat River labourers acquired work on local farms. Bundy's research suggests that some African farmers may have done well for themselves in these years, especially when they were affiliated with a mission station. However, critiques of his work, and Vernal's recent attempt to understand the "economic establishment" at Farmerfield, are a reminder of the limitations of many contemporary sources. LMS missionary reports from the Kat River, like many contemporary missionary and official reports, furnish very little information about the employment, and income of local people, besides cursory qualitative statements about good or bad years. LMS records do indicate that Kat River residents were negatively affected by events like the lung-sickness epidemic and Xhosa migration to the colony, but they do not disclose the details of economic life in the Kat River — for example, how many Khoesan residents maintained the £25 property requirement for the franchise. Although the historiography and the LMS archives do not provide much detail about the economic lives of Kat River residents in the 1850s and 60s, Khoesan congregants'

---

<sup>11</sup> Vernal, *The Farmerfield Mission*, 134. The census reported that the majority of residents were employed as labourers or carriers, although these residents owned on average 10 cattle each, and also likely owned their own plots.

<sup>12</sup> Vernal, *The Farmerfield Mission*, 136-37.



ecclesiastical activities discussed in this chapter can show how they used LMS institutions to respond to an economic situation that was generally negative.

*“The Voluntary Principle is I believe of devine appointment”*: *The Kat River in the world of British Protestant Missionary Activity, c.1855-1870*

Khoesan Christians in the Kat River area were also affected by changes to evangelical Protestant missionary culture. Ideas about the desirability of the “voluntary system,” the financial limitations of the London Missionary Society, and a general diminution of philanthropic interest in the Cape Colony resulted in decisions which changed the relationship of the metropolitan LMS to its members in the Cape Colony. This led LMS-affiliated congregations in the Kat River area to protest and negotiate over the benefits which they believed they were about to lose. The introduction of the Voluntary Principle shows how Kat River Christians were connected to a global network of evangelical Christianity and how they were affected by changes in other parts of that network. Their protests over a potential loss of benefits from the LMS shows that membership in this empire-wide network of Congregationalism was important to LMS-affiliated Khoesan.

Henry Venn, Secretary of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, expressed a view which was beginning to gain acceptance among British Protestants when he wrote in 1851 that mission activity ought to culminate in the “settlement of a native Church, under native pastors, upon a self-supporting system... [A]s it has been happily expressed, ‘the euthanasia of a mission’ takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work... and so the mission passes into a settled Christian

community.”<sup>13</sup> From their inception, British mission organizations had spoken of the eventual equality which converts would claim alongside evangelists, though in practice missionaries hardly ever saw converts as prepared for ecclesiastical authority. Anna Johnston has described missionaries’ reluctance to admit the spiritual equality of their converts as the result of “double vision” which rendered the missionaries’ others simultaneously essentially heathen and potentially equal.<sup>14</sup> Venn’s advocacy for the equality and eventual independence of mission churches was not radically new, but circumstances in the 1850s encouraged the LMS to be more attentive to his advice and to apply it with greater force in the Cape Colony.

The straining of LMS financial resources was the main reason its directors introduced the “voluntary system” to its congregations in the Cape Colony. Missionary activity in both China and India expanded rapidly in the mid-nineteenth century, as Britain gained more territorial or commercial interests in those regions. The romance of an untouched heathen population waiting for the gospel, as well as the size of the population to be proselytized, drew LMS funding away from the activities in the South Pacific and southern African which it had begun half a century earlier and towards new ventures in Asia. In 1866, during a financial review of the past three decades, the LMS drew up a chart comparing spending on missions in “The South Seas, South Africa, and the West Indies” with spending on “India and China.” The latter places, by 1866, received significantly more annual funding than the former: £36,000 compared to £25,000. This was a change from the 1840s, when the Caribbean, Pacific, and South Africa had received at

---

<sup>13</sup> Henry Venn, “Minute Upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers,” reprinted in William Knight, *Memoir of the Rev. H. Venn* (London: Longmans, 1880), 307.

<sup>14</sup> Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 199; Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 163-167.

least as much, and sometimes £12,000 pounds more, than India or China.<sup>15</sup> Within southern Africa, more remote LMS “spheres,” particularly Bechuanaland, which received publicity as David Livingstone’s point of departure for his transcontinental journey, became more interesting to the LMS and its supporters than the long-established Cape Colony missions.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, the geographic re-orientation of LMS priorities coincided with a general change in British public opinion about foreign missions. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the entire British foreign missionary enterprise began to receive more criticism for being a distraction from the needs of the poor at home. Susan Thorne has argued that although funds for foreign missions (at least in Congregational circles) did not dry up entirely until the first decade of the twentieth century, a decline in funding and support for the heathen abroad began in the 1860s, as other voices joined Charles Dickens’ critique of the “telescopic philanthropy” of people like his fictional Mrs. Jellyby in *Bleak House*, who ignored the poor at home in Britain.<sup>17</sup> For these three reasons, namely, financial limitations, new commitments in India and China, and a more general critique of foreign missions, the LMS decided that the churches it had established in the Cape Colony should no longer receive financial support. The LMS Directors explained the cut-backs as a sign of success; the congregations of the Colony had achieved Venn’s “euthanasia of a mission,” had reached spiritual equality with their LMS brethren in England, and no longer needed financial help. The Rev. R.W. Dale, reflecting back in 1867, concluded that “the London Missionary Society was not intended to provide subsidies for the maintenance of Christian

---

<sup>15</sup> Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895* vol. II (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), 694.

<sup>16</sup> James Read complained about the additional funding and attention given to Bechuanaland. Read to Joseph Mullens, Foreign Secretary of the LMS, 1 July 1871, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>17</sup> Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 106-11, 161.

churches already firmly established, and surrounded by a nominally Christian population.”<sup>18</sup> For this reason, the LMS decided, former mission stations and missionary churches in the Cape Colony should no longer be considered missionary enterprises: as they had achieved comparable spiritual maturity to British churches, they should now pay for themselves through the Voluntary Principle. This meant, in theory, that the LMS would no longer pay for church buildings, schools and teachers, or the salaries of ministers, although they did make some contributions to ministers’ salaries because these men were jointly employees of the Society and of their congregations.<sup>19</sup>

LMS churches across the Cape Colony, and particularly in the Kat River area, resisted the imposition of the Voluntary Principle. Read noted the decline in support for South African missions when he wrote: “The romance of Missionary life is over in this Country... and this rather gives a kind of commonplace monotony and in effect destroys the sympathy which is desirable to animate the Missionary in his work. But... [God] can support his servants when the sympathy of even God’s people fails them.”<sup>20</sup> Read also reminded the LMS that his congregation occupied the same social position as poor Congregational Christians in Britain, who did receive LMS charity. The poverty of the Kat River area was to be expected of any rural agricultural area; it was not due to any spiritual flaw. “If peasant populations like the coloured population of this country can never alone support religious and education establishments,” he wrote, “I can’t recall to mind that they have done so at any period of the world’s history.”<sup>21</sup> Since both urban and rural

---

<sup>18</sup> Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society* vol. II, 702.

<sup>19</sup> Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895* vol. I (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), 576-77.

<sup>20</sup> Read to Arthur Tidman, Foreign Secretary of the LMS, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>21</sup> James Green, Andries Hatha, and Hendrick Heyn to LMS Directors, 18 February 1856, LMS-SA/30; Read to W. Ellis, 15 January 1855, LMS-SA/29.

poor congregations in Britain were provided with ministers and Sunday schools through the help of wealthier members of Congregational churches, Read did not see why his congregation should not also receive support — not on the grounds of their being foreign or heathen, as they had been seen in the early days of the LMS in the Cape Colony, but because they occupied the same social position as other people in Britain who received assistance.

However, the LMS' plans for retrenchment coincided with a political shift within the Cape Colony which emphasized the need for government spending to be non-partisan in religious matters. Saul Solomon and William Porter, two evangelical Protestant politicians and philanthropists with close LMS connections, campaigned for twenty years in the Cape Legislative Council for the colonial government to withdraw the subsidies it gave to “ministers of religion.” They argued that that as the number of denominations and religions in the Colony increased, subsidies would have to be given to synagogues and mosques, which, they implied, was surely unacceptable in a Christian empire.<sup>22</sup> Although the Colony did not stop subsidizing the salaries of religious leaders until 1875, the Legislative Council seemed close to doing so in 1855, which led to a debate in the pages of the *Commercial Advertiser*.<sup>23</sup> At least one correspondent argued that the funding should be continued to all religions and denominations because of the fundamental similarity between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.<sup>24</sup> However, most of those who wrote to the newspaper advocating the continuance of funding were more concerned about the prestige of those churches already reliant on subsidies. One correspondent worried that the Voluntary Principle would create ministers “of an inferior mind [and] inferior

---

<sup>22</sup> Ross, *Status and Respectability*, 106-7.

<sup>23</sup> *SACA* 8 March 1855; 10 March 1855; 4 April 1855.

<sup>24</sup> *SACA* 31 July 1855.

attainment, content to underbid each other to a niggard parish.”<sup>25</sup> Likewise, another writer argued that “the minister of religion ought surely to be enabled to maintain a respectable position in society.”<sup>26</sup> The concern which Cape Colonists showed over clergy salaries shows, besides the desire of ministers to preserve their own income, the respectability which a financially competent church and properly-salaried minister could bestow on its members.

Like the churches and religious leaders who were concerned that the removal of government funding would reduce their respectability, Kat River residents were fearful that their respectability would be tarnished by LMS plans to create self-sustaining churches. In 1855 and 1856, James Read wrote frequently to London, stressing the financial unpreparedness of the churches in the Kat River area to pay all their own expenses, and the ways in which important building and education projects would suffer without LMS subsidy.<sup>27</sup> When it became clear that the Voluntary Principle was unavoidable, congregations in the Cape Colony wrote to the LMS expressing gladness that they would be considered equal to congregations in England. In the words of some Philipton LMS members, “We now understand ‘the Christianity of money’ a subject of which has hitherto been only rightly understood in England.”<sup>28</sup> At the same time, however, the letters which congregations wrote to accept the Voluntary Principle also expressed concern that they would not be able to maintain their respectability, especially in regard to the provision of education and the payment of church leaders’ salaries.<sup>29</sup> When these fears were realized, and Kat River congregations were not able to pay for the schools they ran or for their

---

<sup>25</sup> *SACA* 13 February 1855.

<sup>26</sup> *SACA* 16 June 1855.

<sup>27</sup> Read to W. Ellis, 18 January 1855, LMS-SA/29; Read to W. Ellis, 5 February 1856, LMS-SA/29.

<sup>28</sup> Henry Heyn, James Green, and Andries Hatha to LMS Directors, 18 January 1856, LMS-SA/30.

<sup>29</sup> Henry Heyn, James Green, and Andries Hatha to LMS Directors, 18 January 1856, LMS-SA/30; Deacons of Paarl to Tidman, 9 August 1856, LMS-SA/30.

ministers, they indicated that this had damaged their respectability, that they were “ashamed” of their destitution. They also warned the LMS that if it abandoned them in their time of need, congregants would leave and join other denominations whose reputation for respectability was not damaged.<sup>30</sup>

The Voluntary Principle was an idea created by British Protestant evangelical culture, and the LMS chose to implement a policy based on this idea in the Cape Colony in order to conserve their resources for other mission “fields” that were perceived as more important. LMS congregants in the Kat River were affected by this change in financial policy and missionary culture. They expressed their reliance on an empire-wide network of LMS humanitarian philanthropy, and warned the LMS that core features of the Kat River project — financial competence, education, and the respectability that resulted from these — were threatened by the Voluntary Principle. However, they accepted the policy from necessity, and did welcome the idea that they would now be equal with other congregations in Britain.

*Uses of the Voluntary Principle: Commercial and Land-owning Congregations*

The Voluntary Principle failed in its key goal of making LMS churches in the Cape self-sufficient: during the 1860s none of the LMS churches in the eastern Cape were able to maintain their schools and buildings, as well as pay the salary of their pastor. However, the Voluntary Principle did work in the sense that church members, who had to invest precious disposable income in the coffers of their local congregation, had a very firm stake in the continued operation of the church and had reason to turn to that institution for all the resources it could possibly

---

<sup>30</sup> Philipton church to Tidman, 7 September 1863, LMS-SA/33; Tidmanton church to LMS Directors, 3 January 1866, LMS-SA/34; Read to Tidman, 14 October 1863, LMS-SA/32.

provide. Aside from whatever spiritual benefits LMS churches provided for their members, they provided the respectability that was associated with Christianity, and a community of other people who had also invested their resources in the church.

Members' contributions went toward building chapels, subsidizing education, and paying their ministers' salaries. This last cost was by far the highest. LMS ministers — who were almost entirely European — expected to receive between £150 and £200 a year in the 1860s, whereas a “native teacher” employed to run a day school connected to the congregation might receive from £12 to £25 annually.<sup>31</sup> As the most expensive accoutrement of an “independent,” “self-supporting” LMS church, then, the minister was an important signifier of consensus and cooperation. The financial ability of a congregation to support its minister also reflected the respectability of its members.

Henry Kayser was the minister of the LMS church at King William's Town and of a number of satellite congregations in the area. King William's Town was the capital of British Kaffraria, which in 1865 was technically a separate Crown Colony, although it would be re-incorporated into the Cape Colony in April 1866.<sup>32</sup> As it was the sometime capital of a colony, and was situated only 50 miles from the Kat River Settlement, King William's Town had attracted residents who identified as Hottentot or Fingo, who had presumably arrived there from the Cape Colony, and who lived there in sufficient numbers that in 1866 a missionary identified a distinctly LMS-affiliated “Hottentot population” in the town.<sup>33</sup> In early 1865, some members of the King William's Town LMS began to make complaints about Kayser's leadership and

---

<sup>31</sup> John V. Read to Thompson, 1 February 1858, LMS-SA/31; James Read, “Minutes of Meeting Held at Hackney,” 6 December 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>32</sup> Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 78-79.

<sup>33</sup> F.G.G. Kayser to Thompson, 27 December 1866, LMS-SA/34.



suggested that he should be removed from his position. The specific complaints were laid out in a letter of February of that year, signed by deacons and members of the congregation. Some of their grievances related to Kayser's authoritarian behaviour and disrespectful treatment of senior church members. A number of specific complaints, however, had to do with Kayser's commercial relationships with his congregation. The case of Mesingata, "a meek and lowly man, and who has, for many years, been a Christian," was particularly distressing to the complainants. As they described the case: "Mesingata had two large old oxen which were fat, and such oxen Mr Kayser greatly desired to buy, in order again to sell them." Mesingata agreed with Kayser to exchange four small oxen for the two he owned, as long as the new oxen were not infected with lung-sickness. "Not many days after," however, "one of the young oxen died from lung-sickness. He went to Mr Kayser and demanded another in its place, but was told he would get no other, as the bargain had already been settled, and [thus] Mesingata could get no satisfaction."<sup>34</sup>

Other examples of Kayser's commercial misconduct included delaying or evading the payment of a school teacher's salary, and trading with "natives residing outside of this Territory." This last complaint was based not only on the fact that colonial law forbade residents of the colony to trade with non-residents without a special license, but also on the fact that Kayser had apparently prospered in this trade, and had acquired substantial herds and flocks, which damaged the gardens of church members residing on the King William's Town mission station. The writers of the complaints made particular mention of the fact that the people whom Kayser employed to trade on his behalf were not members of the congregation, and that many of Kayser's business dealings had been carried on outside of the network of people who composed the congregation.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Deacons and Members of King William's Town to Edward Solomon, 11 February 1865, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>35</sup> Deacons and Members of King William's Town to Edward Solomon, 11 February 1865, LMS-SA/34.

The original complaints were considered by the LMS directors in London, who decided that Kayser should be removed from King William's Town, and perhaps re-assigned to another mission station.<sup>36</sup> After this, the division which Kayser had inspired within the congregations around King William's Town became apparent. One by one, LMS churches in western Kaffraria (by this time officially a part of the Cape Colony) wrote to the directors, imploring the "fathers in Christ across the water" to restore Kayser to them.<sup>37</sup> The church at Peulton wrote a public letter to Kayser which was forwarded to London, in which they claimed that none of their 184 members had anything against the missionary.<sup>38</sup> Congregations at Knapp's Hope, Luzana, and Kieskammahoek, as well as dissenting deacons from King William's Town, also wrote pleading letters claiming that they "could not part with him."<sup>39</sup> Several elders of the King William's Town church even forwarded to London a statement in Xhosa which claimed to be a verbatim transcription of a confession that the original charges against Kayser were fabricated.<sup>40</sup> When it seemed that the LMS in London had taken the original complaints seriously and had dismissed Kayser, congregations in both King William's Town and Tsidenge and Luzana (that is, people living near the rivers of those names, which ran between King William's Town and the Kat River) wrote to declare that they would end their affiliation with the LMS. The Tsidenge and

---

<sup>36</sup> Missionary commercial activity had been a contentious issue in the early-nineteenth century LMS. The LMS had frowned on mixing commerce with religion, but early missionaries had insisted on the necessity of trading in beads, cloth and animals in order to pay for daily necessities. They also traded and gave gifts to initiate relationships with potential converts. LMS disapproval of these activities may explain why Kayser was so quickly removed from his position. Kayser himself may have justified the trading for the same reasons missionaries in the 1810s did — that it was necessary to engage with potential converts. (Roger B. Beck, "Bibles and Beads: Missionaries as Traders in Southern Africa in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 30 (1989): 211-225).

<sup>37</sup> Deacons and Members of King William's Town to Edward Solomon, 11 February 1865, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>38</sup> Peulton Church to H. Kayser, 23 January 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>39</sup> Peulton Church to H. Kayser, 23 January 1866, LMS-SA/34; Deacons of Knapps Hope Station to LMS Directors, 3 March 1866, LMS-SA/34; Klaas Byers, David Klein Booy, and Valentyn Arends (of King William's Town) to LMS Directors, 7 April 1866, LMS-SA/34; Residents of Tsidenge and Luzana to Thompson, 24 November 1866, LMS-SA/34; Kieskama Hoek congregation to Thompson, 30 November 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>40</sup> Memke Maputi et al. to LMS Directors, 26 May 1866, LMS-SA/34.

Luzana letter contained only one sentence and read simply: “Sir with reference [sic] we are sorry to say that we want to seperit [sic] ourselves for Mr H Kayser’s sake. We will take him for our Minister and we wanted you to know this.”<sup>41</sup>

Most of the letters from the congregations did not specify why they were so anxious to retain Kayser; the letters which did make specific arguments for his necessity mentioned, in passing, his linguistic abilities which allowed him to preach effectively, and his youth and vigour which allowed him to itinerate within a large radius.<sup>42</sup> As a whole, then, the petitions assumed that Kayser’s congregations had a right to choose their own minister without having to justify the individual to the LMS Directors, but that simultaneously, the sanction of the metropolitan LMS was highly desirable.

Why did the Kayser case provoke so many petitions from African church leaders and congregants? Were the names of congregations and their leaders simply collected by European missionaries to back up the factional loyalties of the latter? Kayser’s dismissal was certainly caught up in a web of long-running personal disagreements among missionaries; James Read and Arie van Rooyen supported Kayser, while other missionaries like James Brownlee and Richard Birt, who often differed from Read and van Rooyen in being more supportive of colonial government policy, were critical of Kayser.<sup>43</sup> Encouragement from missionaries with internal political interests may have helped to ensure that the petitions of Kayser’s congregants reached their intended readers in London and Cape Town, but the congregations themselves affirmed that

---

<sup>41</sup> Memke Maputi et al. to LMS Directors, 26 May 1866, LMS-SA/34; Residents of Tsidenge and Luzana to Thompson, 28 November 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>42</sup> Kieskama Hoek congregation to Thompson, 30 November 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Birt et al. to LMS Directors, 27 November 1867, LMS-SA/34; Read and van Rooyen to H. Kayser, 6 February 1866, LMS-SA/34. The genesis of this division within LMS missionary circles is explained in Robert Ross, “Congregations, Missionaries and the Grahamstown Schism of 1842-43,” in *The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa, 1799-1999* ed. John de Gruchy (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000), 120-131.

they were not writing under duress.<sup>44</sup> The persistent petitioning of Xhosa, Khoesan, and Fingo Christians on Kayser's behalf suggests two things. First, that the right of African congregations to choose their own minister was considered a mark of respectability and a way in which African churches showed their equality with their British Congregational counterparts. Secondly, the financial allegations over which Kayser was dismissed highlight the ways in which the Christians in the Kat River and its environs were held together by a commercial community.

The question of whether of Kayser's congregants had the right to retain his services without the permission of the LMS shows the enduring importance of church hierarchies to the Africans and Europeans who participated in church communities in the eastern Cape. Since the 1830s, missionaries had been divided over whether African churches associated with the LMS had the exclusive right, as English and Scottish Congregational churches did, to choose their minister without interference from a presbytery or denominational leaders. The most dramatic of these debates, which occurred in Grahamstown in the early 1840s, was resolved in favour of the congregation's choice.<sup>45</sup>

However, as the Kayser debate shows, African congregations in the eastern Cape had not solidified their right to this choice even twenty years later. Nor had they forgotten the significance of the issue, as they hotly contested the decision made by the LMS Directors. Their petitions to the LMS in London stressed the unanimity of each congregation's desire to have Kayser, rather than the minister's particular qualifications. This reinforced the point they hoped to make: that congregations in the Cape Colony, by adhering to the rules and standards of the

---

<sup>44</sup> King William's Town congregation to Directors, 26 May 1866, LMS-SA/34; King William's Town congregation to Thompson, 20 December 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>45</sup> Ross, "Congregations, Missionaries, and the Grahamstown Schism"; Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 317-18.

LMS, had earned the same right to self-governance exercised by British Congregational churches. However, the petitions were still couched in respectful, even pleading, terms, as the congregations in the Cape Colony placed a high value on their connection to the Society in London. Although in the twenty or more years that the question had been debated, African congregations had not secured sole authority in choosing a pastor, the issue was still perceived by them as important enough to threaten secession from the LMS. Ultimately, however, the value of retaining connections to the LMS seems to have outweighed the benefits of unilateral action, as the congregations which had threatened to secede remained within the fold. This tension in African congregations between the importance of selecting their own minister and maintaining their connection to the metropolitan LMS was not felt only in King William's Town; it also surfaced in the Kat River Settlement, as will be discussed below.

The vigour of the campaign undertaken on Kayser's behalf reveals the value which LMS congregations in the Cape Colony placed on their status and rights as responsible, respectable, independent churches. The actual substance of the whole debate — Kayser's commercial transgressions — points to the important role which the church as an institution and a community played in the lives of Christian converts in the Kat River Settlement as elsewhere in the eastern Cape Colony in the 1860s and 1870s.

Although by the mid-century the LMS and other Protestant missionary societies no longer focused on creating isolated, protected mission stations in the Cape Colony, African converts who lived on mission stations continued to see economic value in remaining self-contained communities. LMS records from the eastern Cape provide some examples of congregational or mission station communities who used the self-reliance and collective action

endorsed by the Voluntary Principle to advance their economic interests. African Christian communities certainly had acted cooperatively in commercial ventures before the Voluntary Principle came in vogue. However, the language of the Voluntary Principle gave the LMS-affiliated communities in the Kat River more leverage to protect their interests, particularly when they felt threatened by the possibility that collective mission station land would be broken into individual plots.

The LMS archives furnish some examples of how churches and church officials could facilitate the economic activities of their members. The missionary at the LMS mission in Zuurbraack reported in 1866 that he had sold, on behalf of the residents of the station, 21,000 lbs of buchu (a fragrant wild herb with medicinal uses) and 4,000 lbs of wool. These he had sold to “a friend in Swellendam.”<sup>46</sup> These large quantities of wool and buchu were possibly congregants’ tithes to the church, or possibly church members’ harvests which Michael Wimmer, the missionary, sold on their behalf. In either case, the group of people living on the mission station benefitted from their group association, as they were able to sell in bulk, and for cash, produce which they might have been unable to sell individually.<sup>47</sup> Mark Bilbe’s thesis on the German Rhenish mission station at Wupperthal, in the Western Cape, describes other ways in which members of mission station congregations integrated the commercial and ecclesiastical spheres of their lives. Bilbe describes how ex-slave arrivals to the station usurped the

---

<sup>46</sup> M. Wimmer to W. Thompson, 31 October 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>47</sup> In 1860, people living at Zuurbrack had also connected their commercial endeavours to their church membership when they constructed a mill that was supposed to be shared by church members. When they could not pay off the debt for the construction of the mill, they appealed for help to “our friends in Britain” arguing that the mill was necessary to the spiritual and physical survival of their congregation. (Zuurbraack church members to W. Ellis, 14 March 1860, LMS-SA/32).

prominence of local Bastard families in the church, and also used their status in the church to acquire land and dominate in trades such as masonry, haberdashery, and blacksmithing.<sup>48</sup>

One of the main problems facing African peasants in the eastern Cape, as Clifton Crais has pointed out, was the difficulty of turning a small agricultural surplus into cash. Missionaries writing from the eastern Cape often complained in the 1860s that money was scarce, and that the members of their congregations had to barter for the goods they needed.<sup>49</sup> This sometimes created cycles of poverty and debt in which people who needed immediate food promised their unripe maize crop to European shopkeepers in exchange for edible grain or other necessities. The shopkeepers later re-sold the ripe maize at a higher price.<sup>50</sup> In such situations, the peasant producer constantly lacked money and remained at the economic mercy of shopkeepers who controlled barter rates.<sup>51</sup> The license to become a trader was prohibitively high for most Africans, so the majority of shopkeepers or itinerant traders were European. Ultimately, even mission stations could not create a completely separate or protected economy for those who lived within their bounds. In 1850, the missionary at Peelton, on the Colony-British Kaffraria border, asked that a member of his congregation be exempted from the licensing fee for a “native trader.” He argued that licenses were too expensive, and that thus “in effect a monopoly was created for the European.” His request was denied, however, so that members of his congregation had to continue taking their goods to European shopkeepers in the area.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Mark C. Bilbe, *Wupperthal: The Formation of a Community in South Africa, 1830-1965* (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2009), 100-116.

<sup>49</sup> Van Rooyen to Tidman, 9 January 1866, LMS-SA/34; Tidmantion church members to Directors, 3 January 1866, LMS-SA/34. Read to Mullens, July 1871, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>50</sup> Philipton church members to W. Thompson, 7 September 1863, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>51</sup> Clifton Crais dates endemic poverty in the eastern Cape to just this period, and links it to the introduction of maize as an unreliable, because climatically vulnerable, staple crop: Crais, *Poverty, War and Violence*.

<sup>52</sup> A.E. Du Toit, “The Cape Frontier: A Study of Native Policy with Special Reference to the Years 1847-1866,” (D.Phil Thesis, University of Pretoria) *Archives Year Book of South African History*. (Elsie’s River, SA: National Commercial Printers, 1954), 247-48.

For this reason, people living on mission stations, in the Kat River area and elsewhere, were concerned to control the activities of shopkeepers. In Bethelsdorp, a mission station at which James Read Sr. had worked before moving to the Kat River, the people complained of an English trader and innkeeper operating on their land. The problem was discussed at length by Thomas Merrington, the missionary at Bethelsdorp, who concluded that although the land was not cultivated or occupied by the any mission station residents, the trader could be forced to leave the area because the land he squatted on technically belonged to the mission station.<sup>53</sup> In this case, the bounded space of the mission station was useful in protecting the interests of community who lived inside it. Group action in the form of voting for members of the Legislative Assembly also allowed people living on the western Cape mission station of Genadendal to prevent “grog-shops” from being opened in their vicinity.<sup>54</sup> Whether the residents of Genadendal prevented the grog-shops because they believed they would be injurious to their financial security, or because teetotalism was a part of a Christian identity is not clear, but this episode does show that Africans living in mission station communities had the desire and ability to control some commercial activity in their locales.

In other situations, however, African Christians on eastern Cape mission stations welcomed the presence of shop-keepers from outside their community. James Read reported enthusiastically from the Kat River outstation of Hackney that “the work of civilization is rapidly going on” among the Fingo members of the LMS congregation: “There are two shops on the station to which the people sell the grain and indian corn.... Several have bought wagons and

---

<sup>53</sup> “Minutes of a Meeting held at Bethelsdorp, 20th November 1866,” LMS-SA/34.

<sup>54</sup> *SACA* 17 April, 1861.



there are four brick houses have been built on the station and let to shop keepers.”<sup>55</sup> In this situation, the residents of the mission station had set the terms for the presence of outside commercial actors, and, as long as good harvests lasted, they were not in danger of having to sell their early crops for emergency food.

Because of the commercial usefulness of mission stations and church communities, some people resisted the effort made by government and the LMS in the late 1860s to grant them freehold tenure of individual plots, preferring instead the benefits that came with collective property ownership on mission stations.

In the 1860s, the LMS, along with many other mission organizations, began to doubt its system of independent mission stations, isolated in rural areas and supposedly agriculturally independent. The 1867 meeting of the LMS Southern Committee, presumably composed of missionary representatives from the Cape Colony and Bechuanaland, suggested ending the mission station system, in which residents resided on and farmed mission station land without formal title. This lack of secure land tenure, coupled with “isolation, intermarriages, poverty, [and] want of healthful stimulus” had, in the opinion of the Committee, made mission stations unsuccessful. They suggested that more attention be given to “colonial towns and villages [which] form an encouraging branch of Missionary labours.”<sup>56</sup>

The Cape Parliament also thought it expedient that support for rural mission stations should end. In 1858, a Select Committee recommended “that lands occupied by natives around Mission Stations should be converted into individual holdings, the titles granted under perpetual

---

<sup>55</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 April 1861, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>56</sup> “LMS Southern Committee, South African Missions. Changes Suggested in Their Form and Operations: Special Papers Prepared for the Board.” January 1867, LMS-SA/34.

quitrent and the pasturage preserved as a commonage. The buildings together with adequate grounds should be transferred in freehold to the Mission. It was further recommended that the title deeds should be issued with a prohibition against mortgage or alienation for a term of three years.”<sup>57</sup> Nothing came of this discussion at the time, though the matter was brought up and debated again a decade later, in 1868.<sup>58</sup> It was not until the first years of the 1870s that LMS-owned mission station properties actually began to be dismantled. Although the Cape Parliament recommendations seemed to provide safeguards — such as the prohibitions against mortgage or re-sale — for African owners of these proposed freehold plots, many mission station residents opposed the plans of the Parliament and the LMS, and viewed the individualization of mission station lands as a threat to their economic security.

Residents of rural mission stations resisted the attempts of the LMS to either dismantle the stations altogether, or to give out the land in individual allotments. When, in 1863, the finances of the Bethelsdorp mission station residents were failing, they vetoed the idea of dividing the station into individual plots, as they would have to sell the plots immediately, in order to raise any capital for agricultural ventures.<sup>59</sup> When, in 1868, the Cape Parliament considered removing special status and protection for mission stations, and instead selling the land in allotments to station residents, African converts on eastern Cape mission stations wrote a petition to Governor Philip Wodehouse. A report by missionaries T.D. Philip and Edward Solomon claimed that some were reluctant to give up the protections of affiliation with a mission station, but that they agreed to consider the scheme as long as the land and surveying costs were

---

<sup>57</sup> A.E. Du Toit, “The Cape Frontier,” 266.

<sup>58</sup> T.D. Philip to LMS Directors, 1 September 1868, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>59</sup> W. Thompson to Tidman, 20 February 1863, LMS-SA/33.

free of charge.<sup>60</sup> According to the report, people at Hankey, Kruisfontein, and Dusseldorp were amenable to land grants, while those at Pacaltsdorp, Zuurbraak, and Bethelsdorp rejected the idea. The Kat River and its stations were not mentioned. Philip and Solomon were in favour of phasing out mission stations, as they believed their original purpose “as refuges from oppression, has ceased from the improvement in public law and the extension of civil liberty to all classes of the community.”<sup>61</sup> Rejection of the land grant scheme in Bethelsdorp, Pacaltsdorp, and Zuurbraak may reflect skepticism there of the claim that civil liberty had in reality been granted to “all classes of the community.”

Although there seems to have been no plans to carve up mission-owned property in the Kat River, Khoesan people there were very much interested in the issue. Letter-writers from Philipton in 1869 expressed their suspicion that any sale of mission station lands, although it might grant some property to Khoesan residents, would be designed mainly for the benefit of LMS account books. Philipton church leaders cited the case of Hankey station, a failed mission station and theological school, which by the late 1860s had very few residents. They were hurt, they said, that the LMS had not consulted them on its decision to sell the property, especially as “the estate was originally purchased by the Hottentots.... Our fathers and many Hottentots who no longer live, either at Hankey, or Bethelsdorp, contributed to the purchase.... Improvements were subsequently made on an extensive scale... [and] private funds were sunk in said improvements.” They said that while they demanded no monetary return on their investment, they were concerned at the lack of attention to their interests in the matter: “Now that final arrangements are being made some of us, who are original contributors, or shareholders,

---

<sup>60</sup> T.D. Philip, E. Solomon, S. Solomon, W, Thompson, 18 December 1868, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>61</sup> T.D. Philip, E. Solomon, S. Solomon, W, Thompson, 18 December 1868, LMS-SA/34.

expected that a balance sheet would have been struck, and made plain so that there should not be any misgivings about the matter.”<sup>62</sup>

The most sustained argument against the division of mission station lands into individual plots was given by James Read and Arie van Rooyen, who drew on the historical importance of the Kat River as a specifically Khoesan Christian location to argue that its residents could not maintain their identity or economic security without the collective land ownership which the mission station gave. They argued that “missionary Institutions... [are] the remnants of national property, of a people who once possessed the land from the Cape to the Kei, and from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, but who hold now no other lands, than those of Genadendal, Groenekloof, Zuurbraak or Caledon Institution, Pacaltsdorp Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, and the Kat River.”<sup>63</sup> Although, in the 1850s, some mission station residents had welcomed the division of stations into individual plots, Read and van Rooyen claimed that opinions had changed by 1871 “as a consequence of having seen the doing away of personal landed property, through the pecuniary embarrassment of the country, which has affected not only all classes, but families and individuals.” By the “doing away of personal landed property,” they meant that Kat River residents had noticed the tendency for large-scale white farmers to buy up individuals’ plots. Kat River residents recognized that having the mission station divided up would probably lead to their losing the land altogether. And land was crucial to success in the Kat River, Read and van Rooyen claimed, for “the people must have land or they will be like drift wood on the surface of

---

<sup>62</sup> Andries Hatha, George Pitt, et al. Minutes of a Meeting of Delegates Held at Philipton, 7 October 1869, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>63</sup> Read and van Rooyen to Mullens, June 1871, LMS-SA/36. All of the mission stations listed were specifically Khoesan locations.

a rolling flood driven hither and thither.”<sup>64</sup> Of course, the writers conceded, not all LMS-affiliated Khoesan Christians lived on the land of a mission station — many Kat River residents had owned their own plots of land (*erven*) since 1829, and many lived in towns. However, they argued, Khoesan mission station lands were a collective concern for all Khoesan people, in the same way that land ownership was an issue for all contemporary Irishmen. “National property and National question interests and directly or indirectly affect all,” they said; “even those who reap no personal benefit from [it.] [This is] what has produced the chronic dissatisfaction among the Irish people, not because every Irishman is interested in the possession of land, but because they conceive that what was national, had been misappropriated by the stranger and a few interested aristocratic families.”<sup>65</sup> By likening them to the Irish, Read and van Rooyen asserted that Khoesan people’s right to the land they occupied was communal, historic, and lasting, and not based on individual certificates of ownership.<sup>66</sup>

The fact that the Voluntary Principle had required congregants in the Kat River, and elsewhere in the Cape Colony, to pay for their own expenses, helped to strengthen the arguments of Read, van Rooyen, and other church leaders, that the Kat River should be allowed to manage its own finances. The language of the Voluntary Principle also allowed people to claim, as Kat River residents did in the case of the Hankey property, that they should have decision-making power over land they had paid for or invested in. The disputes over Henry Kayser’s dismissal show how important church members’ commercial activities were to LMS churches in the eastern Cape. The campaign mounted by some congregants to restore Kayser to his place also

---

<sup>64</sup> Read and van Rooyen to Mullens, June 1871, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>65</sup> Read and van Rooyen to Mullens, June 1871, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>66</sup> At the same time, this comparison lumped Khoesan and Irish people into a racial category that separated them from the British, by assuming that both these groups “naturally” preferred communal land to individual ownership.

shows how the Voluntary Principle could be useful in allowing members of LMS churches to claim the right to choose their own minister. While overall, the imposition of the Voluntary Principle revealed the waning interest of the metropolitan LMS in the eastern Cape, LMS-affiliated Khoesan Christians in the eastern Cape were able to use its language of self-sufficiency and responsibility to pursue some of their goals.

*Uses of the Voluntary Principle: Education and Ecclesiastical Careering*

Education, and the ecclesiastical and secular employment to which it gave access, were important to LMS-affiliated residents of the Kat River area in the late 1850s and 1860s. The creation and maintenance of schools was a priority for Kat River congregants during this time. Congregations in the Kat River area appealed as individuals, and through their ministers Read and van Rooyen, for help from the LMS in Britain. When help from that quarter did not meet their expectations, they used the language of independence and the Voluntary Principle in order to take advantage of government aid. Efforts to establish schools did provide some members of the Kat River congregations with respectable positions, but was ultimately not effective in achieving the equality and respectability that they sought.

In the late 1850s, as Kat River residents rebuilt its losses from the war and rebellion, Khoesan LMS congregations began to build schools across the settlement, both within larger towns like Blinkwater and Philipton, and in more remote areas.<sup>67</sup> James Read sought support for this educational endeavour by attempting to draw on the same networks of philanthropy and humanitarianism that had been employed by an earlier generation of LMS agents in the 1830s

---

<sup>67</sup> Read to Tidman, 20 January 1859, LMS-SA/31.

and 40s, when the Kat River Settlement was a place of special attention for evangelical philanthropists. Read attempted to do this by calling on connections to well-known individual donors, as well as on connections to English Congregational churches. Thomas Fowell-Buxton was the organizer of the 1836 Aborigines Committee, at which the Reads, Andries Stoffels, and Jan Tzatzoe had appeared. He died in 1845, but James Read continued to appeal to his widow for financial support.<sup>68</sup> One of the villages in the Kat River Settlement had been named Buxton, and Read continued to remind Lady Buxton of how the school in her namesake village needed her attention.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to appeals to Lady Buxton as a wealthy and influential individual, LMS congregations in the Kat River area also tried to get support for their educational projects from congregations in England. As Susan Thorne has shown, membership in Congregational churches in England grew rapidly through the addition of working-class congregants, who were encouraged from the pulpit and through a variety of missionary magazines to donate to foreign missions, although these funds were not primarily directed toward long-established missions like those the Cape Colony.<sup>70</sup> This meant that by the mid-century, congregations in England had the money and the inclination to donate to missionary projects, a practice that in previous decades had been more associated with wealthy individual donors. Beginning in 1863 a Congregational church at Morden Hall, south of London, gave money for a school to be built near Philipton, and

---

<sup>68</sup> Zoe Laidlaw has shown how Buxton's family formed their own philanthropic network, as several women in the family took a leading, though unrecognized, role in compiling or writing the reports that Buxton used in Parliament. Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution, and Colonial Government* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 30, 152-53.

<sup>69</sup> Read to Tidman, 20 January 1859, LMS-SA/31; Read to Tidman, 20 January 1858, LMS-SA/31; Read Sr. to Tidman, 8 January 1852, LMS-SA/27.

<sup>70</sup> Thorne, *Congregational Missions*; Terry Barringer, "What Mrs Jellyby Might Have Read Missionary Periodicals: A Neglected Source," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34 (2004): 46-74.

although the money was disbursed through the central LMS offices, Read emphasized that “my Morden Hall friends” — he also referred to them as “young friends,” suggesting that the money was from a children’s charity collection — were responsible for the success of the school.<sup>71</sup> Money from Morden Hall continued to support the same school until at least 1870.<sup>72</sup> The Congregational chapel of Belgrave, Leeds, also gave money to build a school at the village of Wilberforce in the Kat River.<sup>73</sup> The school, at least for the purposes of communication with Britain, was then re-named Belgrave to remind the Leeds congregation of their connections and obligations to the Kat River.<sup>74</sup> When a new school was established by the Philipton congregation in Kat River at a Fingo settlement, Read suggested to the LMS foreign secretary that “some friends” in England might be persuaded to contribute half of the teacher’s £30 salary, although this plan does not seem to have found a sponsor.<sup>75</sup> Looking back in 1870 on the previous two decades, Read remembered some of the successful sponsorships that Kat River mission schools had attracted. “Sir T Buxton, Mrs Upsher, Miss Wells, Mr Fletcher and others founded schools in their own names,” which allowed the Kat River mission to be “the first mission which engaged in the work... [of] raising a superior class of teachers and schools.”<sup>76</sup>

Congregations in the Kat River also appealed to the metropole for support in education by emphasizing that they were not merely passive recipients of charity. They claimed that like

---

<sup>71</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/33; Read to Thompson, 11 July 1865, LMS-SA/34. When the LMS attempted to divert the funds to some other purpose, Read pointed out that he had already made personal promises to the Morden Hall “friends” that their money was being spent on that particular school. Read to Tidman, 15 September 1863, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>72</sup> Read to Mullens, 29 October 1870, LMS-SA Reports/1.

<sup>73</sup> Thorne uses Belgrave as a typical example of the rise and eventual decline in working class involvement in Congregational chapels. The 1860s were just the time when Congregational churches, historically the preserve of middling classes, were recruiting working class members through fundraising projects for the heathen abroad (*Congregational Missions*, 140, 149).

<sup>74</sup> Read to Tidman, 14 March 1865, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>75</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 September 1863, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>76</sup> Read to Mullens, 29 October 1870, LMS-SA/34.



other congregations in Britain, they also contributed to the general funds of the LMS and should reap the benefits of respectability that came with giving. If, as Thorne says, English working-class members of Congregational chapels gained access to the respectability of church affiliation through charitable giving, then the Philipton congregation was doing a similar thing for a similar purpose. In 1862 the Kat River Juvenile Society sent £20 to London in recognition of “the Society’s kindness in allowing £20 per annum for the training of native teachers at the Lovedale Seminary.”<sup>77</sup> The church at Philipton seems to have expected that this effort would be answered by continuing grants for their students. In a similar manner, Philipton church members on several occasions reminded the LMS that schools were an indispensable part of church operations, and that the Kat River was entitled to ongoing help, as “since the year 1831... we had a Missionary Society [i.e., a committee within the Philipton church] which have [sic] contributed liberally to the funds of the London Missionary Society.”<sup>78</sup>

However, even by referencing their whole-hearted embrace of the Voluntary Principle, Kat River congregations could not raise adequate educational support from their friends in Britain. The LMS, like other dissenting Protestant organizations at the time, opposed state support for schools. In order to maintain their integrity and principles, the LMS believed that the schools founded by its congregations had to refuse state support. Cape Colony mission schools accepted government grants in addition to LMS aid until 1850, when the LMS cut off its support for government-funded schools. Thereafter, mission schools had to be technically non-denominational if they were to receive state support, and free of government support if they were

---

<sup>77</sup> Read to Tidman, 15 September 1862, LMS-SA/32; Read to Tidman, 9 January 1862, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>78</sup> Cobus Luther et al. to W. Thompson, 7 September 1863, LMS-SA/33; Christian Zealand and Andries Hatha to Mullens, 10 July 1871, LMS-SA/36.

to receive LMS funds.<sup>79</sup> In 1853, however, James Read still felt that the matter was open for debate as he wrote that he was “in favour of [schools] being supported by parents, or the Society,” but that in the event of financial necessity “I would place schools under the liberal government system, administered by Dr Innes the present Superintendent General of Education, myself, and certain of my people being allowed to share in their supervision as Members of the School Commission. This,” he conceded, would not “altogether tally with the views of the Society’s Constituents in England.”<sup>80</sup>

By the following year, in 1854, schools in the Kat River Settlement were in need of more support than the metropolitan LMS provided. “The constituents of the Society are against taking government money for education,” Read realized, “[but] as the Board has disallowed my suggestion on these subjects I am at a loss to do for the future education of the Settlement.”<sup>81</sup> For the time being, Read said that he was supporting two teachers from his own resources, while his sister Anne taught another school in the Settlement for only £2 a month, and “my other three sisters [teach] in the school of industry but get no salary.”<sup>82</sup> “I should... like to have definite instructions about schools,” he requested: “are the Directors in favour of their being placed under government?”<sup>83</sup> Ultimately, necessity forced Read and his congregants to accept government aid for at least some of the schools they established. “When the Directors withdrew their support from our schools,” the missionary Thomas Merrington explained, “we were obliged, for the sake of keeping them open to accept of Government aid.”<sup>84</sup> This decision caused some conflict with

---

<sup>79</sup> A.E. Du Toit, “The Cape Frontier,” 241.

<sup>80</sup> Read to Wm. Thompson, 17 June 1853, LMS-SA/28.

<sup>81</sup> Read to unidentified recipient, 14 March 1854, LMS-SA/29.

<sup>82</sup> Read to unidentified recipient, 14 March 1854, LMS-SA/29.

<sup>83</sup> Read to unidentified recipient, 14 March 1854, LMS-SA/29.

<sup>84</sup> Thomas Merrington to Mullens, 14 December 1866, LMS-SA/34.

LMS donors. In 1865, James Read realized that a Congregational chapel in Leeds might not support the LMS school in Mankazana, Kat River because the school also received government funding, “and our friends at Leeds are strong Voluntarians.” Read defended the right of the Mankazana congregation to accept the government funding, and suggested that a new school might be established, instead, so that Leeds could offer their support without moral scruple.<sup>85</sup> “As the Society seems not consider itself obliged to support education,” Read concluded, Kat River congregations should be free to make independent decisions about funding, and rely on “the voluntary support of parents, donation from friends and Govt gratuities.”<sup>86</sup>

Despite the disapproval of the metropolitan LMS, the status of Kat River congregations as independent, voluntary churches allowed them to accept government grants for education. Within the Kat River, LMS-affiliated congregations worked in tandem with Wesleyan and Dutch Reformed congregations to provide elementary education. The schools all received government aid, and it seems that the various denominations divided responsibility for individual schools. In 1863, there were five schools in the Kat River, two of which were “in connexion” with the Philipton LMS congregation. The schools taught “Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, and Elements of Science.”<sup>87</sup> In his 1869 report for the station at Philipton, Read reported that 420 children from that station were educated at schools “funded by government grants and school fees.”<sup>88</sup> The 420 students from Philipton in 1869 was significantly more than there had been six years earlier, when there were “five schools in the Settlement... partly supported by Government

---

<sup>85</sup> Read to Mullens, 14 March 1865, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>86</sup> Read to William Ellis, 5 February 1855, LMS-SA/29.

<sup>87</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>88</sup> Read to Mullens, 3 March 1869, LMS-36.

and partly by fees paid by the parents, the number of children under instruction [being] now 270.”<sup>89</sup>

For a while Read and his congregants hoped that the Government would follow through on its promise to provide the Kat River a “superior central school where a superior education might be had by all classes and colours the government and the people sharing the expense.”<sup>90</sup> Elementary schools in the Kat River could only take students so far; if they were to obtain the qualifications to be respectable and employable in the same positions as European missionaries, they would have to go to England, or at least to a seminary in the Cape Colony. Read and T.D. Philip, the son of the John Philip, attempted in the early 1850s to found a secondary school at Hankey, 200 kilometres west of the Kat River, near Port Elizabeth. Although the United Presbyterian Church offered affordable secondary education at Lovedale, much closer by, Read and Philip felt “a degree of delicacy, in being under too much obligation to a kindred Institution.”<sup>91</sup> However, the school at Hankey faltered for lack of funding from abroad. Nor did the LMS take up the suggestion that select Kat River students should be sent to England. Read had enough trouble cajoling the society into paying for the travel and foreign education of his own children.<sup>92</sup> Church leaders from the Kat River wrote to London several times to recommend “several young men in connection with our Church who we think might in time be brought up for school masters, evangelists, and assistants to Ministers.”<sup>93</sup> Only one promising student,

---

<sup>89</sup> Read to Mullens, 3 March 1869, LMS-SA/36. As often the case, it is not clear whether Read’s statistics are only for members of the LMS congregation, or for all residents of the Kat River. In 1866, speaking pointedly only of LMS church members, he and Philipton church officers stated that 120 students were attending 3 LMS-run schools in the Settlement. Memo for the Rev W. Thompson, December 1866, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>90</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>91</sup> Read to W. Thompson, 17 June 1853, LMS-SA/29.

<sup>92</sup> Read to Ellis, 18 January 1854, LMS-SA/29; Read to LMS Board of Directors, 8 June 1855, LMS-SA/29; Read to Tidman, 17 January 1859, LMS-SA/31.

<sup>93</sup> Andries Hatha, James Fourie, Frederick Jordaan to LMS Directors, 6 December 1866, LMS-SA/34.

Nicholas Goezaar, was sent abroad for his education; since the LMS would not fund his studies, Read organized independent support for his travel through “our associated ‘Voluntary Colonial Churches.’”<sup>94</sup> By 1871, Read no longer expected to receive help for deserving students from Britain. Rather, the local colonial Voluntary Union of churches (which seems to have been mainly LMS, but also involved some Wesleyan congregations) provided bursaries for some students. In 1871, rather than asking for help from friends in England, Read wrote to the LMS simply to inform them of the fact that one of his students was being sponsored by the Voluntary Union.<sup>95</sup>

Since support from friends in England and the promised “superior central school” were not forthcoming, Read and T.D. Philip overcame their scruples about a Presbyterian-administered education and sent some students to the seminary and secondary school at Lovedale. Lovedale was unique in comparison with other forms of secondary education available to black South Africans in the late nineteenth century, as it provided the same classical education — including Greek, Latin, and mathematics — to both black and white pupils. Lovedale also had a printing press, on which several early Xhosa newspapers were printed. Some Khoesan and Fingo students studied there to qualify as teachers, some studied “mechanical trades,” while others attended the seminary to qualify for ordination by the LMS. A list of approximately 1,500 male “Native Pupils and Apprentices” who attended Lovedale between 1853 and 1886 reveals the high participation of Kat River residents in education. Lovedale’s students came from across the eastern Cape and Transkei, particularly from Presbyterian mission stations, and occasionally from Natal and Basutoland (modern Lesotho). Of the male African students which the long-time

---

<sup>94</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>95</sup> Read to Mullens, 1 June 1871, LMS-SA/38.

principal James Stewart listed, 125 came from the Kat River or its nearby “Fingo outstation” of Oxkraal.<sup>96</sup>

The brief biographical sketches which Stewart’s list provides indicate some of the careers which LMS-affiliated, educated Khoesan and Fingo people pursued. Students who studied “mechanical trades” often returned to their home areas to farm, and many in the 1870s and 80s moved across the Kei to farm in former Xhosa territory made available to Cape Colony residents when British Kaffraria was incorporated into the Colony. Many of the pupils on Stewart’s list also went on to become teachers, court interpreters, and assistants to Native Commissioners. Statistics on how much people in these positions earned are difficult to find. In 1862, various classes of “headmen” and “native policemen” in British Kaffraria received from £6 to £12.<sup>97</sup> Some teachers were employed at a much better rate. In 1858, a teacher in the Kat River area was offered an annual salary of £60, a little less than half of what James Read and Arie van Rooyen earned.<sup>98</sup> At other times, however, teachers earned £20 or £30 a year, just barely enough income to qualify for the franchise.<sup>99</sup> Only a few Lovedale students pursued careers in the church — by this time, the LMS, like other missionary societies, had effectively refused to ordain Africans as ministers.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> Stewart, James. *Lovedale Past and Present: A Register of Two Thousand Names*. Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1887.

<sup>97</sup> A.E. Du Toit, “The Cape Frontier,” 108.

<sup>98</sup> John V. Read to W Thompson, 1 February 1858, LMS-SA/29.

<sup>99</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 September 1863, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>100</sup> Alan Kirkaldy has highlighted the exceptional life and career of Klaas Koen, a man of Khoesan, German, and slave descent who became a missionary for the Berlin Missionary Society. Kirkaldy argues that by initially accepting the image of the reclaimed Khoesan savage into which the mission first cast him, Koen was able to take advantage of educational and career opportunities, and by the end of his life present himself as fully white and German. Kirkaldy, “Klaas Koen: identity and belonging in the Berlin Mission Society during the late nineteenth century,” *Historia* 55 (2010).

*Arie van Rooyen and the Rights of a Voluntary Church*

The difficult career of Arie van Rooyen exemplifies the uses to which the Voluntary Principle could be put by Kat River congregations in pursuing economic competence, education, respectability, and equality with British Congregational churches. His career also demonstrates the disappointment of that project. Van Rooyen and his Tidmanton congregants claimed that because their church had been self-supporting, and because van Rooyen and his son had pursued education, they deserved the same degree of respect and financial assistance as was given to white ministers in South Africa.

Van Rooyen had been part of the LMS community in the Kat River before the 1851-53 war and rebellion. He and his sons were committed to the idea of gaining respectability and equality through education. Soon after joining the LMS, van Rooyen wrote to the Society to ask for books: "I hope you will always assist me with all sorts of Books such as school Books, and the articles you think best suited for my position."<sup>101</sup> Both of van Rooyen's sons, James Vanderkemp and Timothy Stephen, attended Lovedale, and trained to become ministers. After completing his education James was ordained by the LMS and found employment at Bethelsdorp, where he was later joined by his brother, the Rev. T.S. van Rooyen, in 1892.<sup>102</sup> Van Rooyen, Sr., was also active in recommending other students to Lovedale: a certain John Mbane from Blinkwater gained a place at Lovedale on van Rooyen's recommendation.<sup>103</sup>

Van Rooyen clearly expected that because of his long connection to the LMS, and his assiduous pursuit of the characteristics of respectability as defined by the Kat River

---

<sup>101</sup> van Rooyen to Tidman, 8 November 1850, LMS-SA/25.

<sup>102</sup> Sellick, W.S.J., *Uitenhage Past and Present, Souvenir of the Centenary 1804-1904* (Uitenhage: W.S.J. Sellick, 1904), 33-34.

<sup>103</sup> Stewart, *Lovedale Past and Present*, 198-99.

congregations, he would be treated by the LMS as equal to white missionaries. The fact that the metropolitan LMS did not accord him equal status or pay reveals the extent to which it had departed from its earlier understanding of the Kat River Settlement, that is, as a community which would gradually acquire political and spiritual equality within the colony and within an imperial Congregational network. The response of Arie van Rooyen and his congregation to the perceived diminution of his status reveals the way in which Kat River congregants used church institutions and policies, particularly the Voluntary Principle, to pursue their idea of what the Khoesan community of the Kat River should be.

During the late 1860s, as the LMS cut back its financial commitments to its mission stations and churches in the Cape Colony, one of the decisions it made was to reduce van Rooyen's status and salary. Judging by the complaints and petitions from the Kat River, the LMS Board had decided to make Tidmanton subordinate to Read's congregation at Philipton, by which act van Rooyen's place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as well as his salary and pension, were lowered. Van Rooyen cited a portion of the Board's decision which said that "Native pastors should be primarily dependent on the contributions of their congregation."<sup>104</sup> He and his congregants protested this by appealing to their rights as a self-supporting congregation, as well as to the principles of racial equality on which they believed the LMS was founded. They argued that simply because van Rooyen was categorized as "native" he should not receive less support or status than other "European" missionaries (such as James Read, whose mother was Khoesan) who were doing the same work.

---

<sup>104</sup> Van Rooyen to Mullens, 13 December 1869, LMS-SA/36.



The congregation at Tidmanton first defended van Rooyen's position and salary by pointing out that he (and the whole congregation by extension) had achieved respectability by their embrace of the Voluntary Principle, and that this entitled them to "the right of churches in self Government."<sup>105</sup> "It is not desirable," a delegation of Tidmanton church members wrote, "[that] after the high position which the Church of Tidmanton has for the last 15 years held, as a voluntary church... [it] should be subordinate to the church of Philipton." The subordination of Tidmanton to Philipton in the local church hierarchy was a personal slight against van Rooyen, who for 39 years had "been abundant in labour, universally respected by men of all colours, and classes, beloved not only by his own people, [but] by all our churches."<sup>106</sup> The writers of this document then drew a clear link between the Voluntary Principle and their right to continued financial support from the LMS:

it is the opinion of this meeting, that the right of churches in self Government is the choice of ministers, and self Government, in their own church affairs, which has been fully developed during the last 15 years, under the self sustaining principle, should not in any way be modified by the reorganization of the Societys [sic] plans, which have been set forth in the Budget dispatches.

James Read, in a separate petition, also pointed out that van Rooyen ought to be supported financially by the LMS, especially once he retired, because of his "faithful missionary labours and... beautifully developed moral character," both of which were linked to the financial responsibility of the Tidmanton church, which could supply him with a £75 annual retirement stipend, requiring only matching contribution from the LMS in order to make his position respectable.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> Minutes of a Meeting Held at Philipton, 7 October 1869, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>106</sup> Minutes of a Meeting Held at Philipton, 7 October 1869, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>107</sup> Read to Mullens, 20 September 1870, LMS-SA/38.

Kat River congregants also defended van Rooyen's status by reminding the LMS of its historical role as a defender of racial equality. By allowing Tidmanton to become a "branch" church of Philipton, van Rooyen would have to subordinate himself to Read or another European minister. "By placing himself in such a subordinate position," writers from the Kat River said, "he would by such concession give sanction to a plan which places Coloured men, as such, under White, and would thereby perpetuate the feeling of class difference or caste which has already done... so much harm."<sup>108</sup> "We trust," a different Kat River meeting wrote, that the LMS would execute its plans "in such a way that the enemies of the coloured races will not be able to quote precedents from our honoured Society in regard to placing Native Ministers on a lower scale than Europeans."<sup>109</sup> If the LMS claimed to make converts respectable, a feature of that respectability was equality of status and independence in decision making, both of which were denied van Rooyen: "It would be a reflection on the labours of our Honoured Society," Kat River congregants warned, "to suppose, that after 70 years they have not produced Natives capable of being consulted on their own affairs."<sup>110</sup>

In December 1869 van Rooyen wrote an autobiographical sketch of his career in order to "show the grounds upon which I was under the impression I had a claim on the Society."<sup>111</sup> This document thus provides a rare personal record of what one Kat River resident believed about the purpose of the Settlement, and the role of the LMS in achieving that purpose. Van Rooyen tied his entrance into employment with the LMS to the vision of the Kat River as a place of racial equality. In the 1840s, Khoesan Christians had been skeptical that any "Native would ever hold

---

<sup>108</sup> Minutes of a Meeting Convened by the Church and Congregation of Tidmanton, 23 August 1870, LMS-SA/38.

<sup>109</sup> Minutes of a Meeting Held at Philipton, 7 October 1869, LMS-SA/38.

<sup>110</sup> Minutes of a Meeting Held at Philipton, 7 October 1869, LMS-SA/38.

<sup>111</sup> Van Rooyen to Mullens, 13 December 1869, LMS-SA/38.

any place of trust or social position in this colony.” Mr. Freeman, an LMS Director visiting the Kat River, asked that a “worthy Native” be pointed out to him, so that he could be ordained and so “test the principle of whether Native and European Missionaries would be treated on a footing of equality by the society.”<sup>112</sup> Van Rooyen was selected by his peers as a pious and promising candidate, although he was reluctant to give up his “business as a master tradesman, from which I was enabled to live in the enjoyment of every comfort and with every prospect of future competency.” Only the assurance that the metropolitan LMS would supply deficiencies in salary induced him to accept.<sup>113</sup> This arrangement, which provided for van Rooyen’s competency and social respectability through the joint efforts of his congregants’ profits from farming, and the support of other Society members in Britain, was ended by the war and drought which destroyed the congregation’s economy, and the LMS’ retrenchment which hurt van Rooyen’s status and salary. He and his congregation had followed the Voluntary Principle as far as possible, he claimed, but when hard times came in 1864, they felt entitled to help from their fellow Congregationalists in Britain.<sup>114</sup> By demoting him, and reducing their financial support based on racial categories, the LMS was contradicting its role as the vanguard of racial equality in the colony. Van Rooyen had, after all, been proclaimed the “first native pastor” in 1849, as a sign of the LMS’ commitment to racial equality.<sup>115</sup> Twenty years later, van Rooyen ended his autobiography with a sad rebuke to the Board for their reversal of this principle: “All I would yet say is to tell the Board most respectfully that the classification of their agents into Europeans and

---

<sup>112</sup> Van Rooyen to Mullens, 13 December 1869, LMS-SA/38.

<sup>113</sup> Van Rooyen to Mullens, 13 December 1869, LMS-SA/38.

<sup>114</sup> Van Rooyen to Mullens, 13 December 1869, LMS-SA/38.

<sup>115</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 133.

Natives will have a detrimental effect on both, one will consider themselves as a privileged and governing class, the other as the subordinate and servile class.”<sup>116</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Van Rooyen’s autobiography, and the petitions of his congregants, exemplify the key functions of Congregational communities within the Kat River area which this chapter has detailed. The fact that van Rooyen was a tradesman before becoming Tidmanton’s minister points to the commercial and financial aspects of Congregational communities. The position of a minister required a certain degree of respectability, but in becoming Tidmanton’s minister, van Rooyen risked losing the “prospect of future competency” which his trade guaranteed him. By accepting the role, he and his congregants agreed that their economic activities — whether as labourers, farmers, tradesmen, or teachers — would contribute towards maintaining van Rooyen’s position as a minister. They also expected that they would receive some help from other members of the Congregational network of churches — the people the sometimes called “our friends in England.” The ability, albeit brief, of the Tidmanton congregation to support its minister shows how the LMS’ imposition of the Voluntary Principle allowed Kat River residents to demonstrate their respectability and essential equality with other Congregational communities in Britain.

Once he had committed to a career within the LMS, van Rooyen demonstrated the close connection between LMS congregations and education in the Kat River: by requesting books for himself, maintaining schools in the Kat River area, and sending his sons and other students to

---

<sup>116</sup> Van Rooyen to Mullens, 13 December 1869, LMS-SA/38.

study at Lovedale. When, ultimately, it became clear that the metropolitan LMS would neither support Tidmanton financially nor accord van Rooyen equal status with white Congregational ministers and missionaries, van Rooyen and his congregation used the terminology of the Voluntary Principle to point out the injustice. From its inception, Kat River Khoesan residents had understood themselves as well-placed to gain political equality and social respectability in the colony. In 1855, optimistic after the first Kat River Commission, the *Commercial Advertiser* claimed that Khoesan were the most civilized of the colony's citizens, "possessing individually landed property and the Elective Franchise... and conducting [themselves] in all respects as free British subject[s]."<sup>117</sup> Their participation in LMS churches with links to supporters in Britain was one way in which they had achieved this respectability and equality in the past, although as Andrew Bank points out, even at its height, liberal humanitarian ideology in the Cape was inconsistent in its understanding of racial equality.<sup>118</sup> After the 1851-53 war and rebellion, official and public opinion became more pessimistic about the Kat River Settlement as a project which would make Khoesan people into respectable, educated, and agricultural citizens. Faced with a shrinking budget and new international priorities, the LMS reduced its funding to the Cape. For LMS-affiliated Khoesan people, however, their churches remained an important avenue within which to pursue the original Kat River project by using the language of the Voluntary Principle and the educational opportunities offered by the church.

---

<sup>117</sup> *SACA* 2 August 1855.

<sup>118</sup> Andrew Bank, "Losing Faith in the Civilizing Mission: the Premature Decline of Humanitarian Liberalism at the Cape, 1840-60." in *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous People, 1600-1850*, eds Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999): 364-383.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **“WE KNOW OUR OWN CIRCUMSTANCES AND WHAT WILL BE FOR THE TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL WELFARE OF THE FINGOE PEOPLE”: CHANGING ETHNIC IDENTITIES AND THE EXPANSION OF THE KAT RIVER PROJECT**

This chapter examines how Kat River residents exported their ideas to people who were interested in joining their project. At its inception, the Kat River Settlement was intended specifically for Khoesan people. In the late 1850s, in the aftermath of the Xhosa cattle killing, more people in the eastern Cape began to identify themselves as Fingo, and simultaneously, Fingo people gained a reputation in the colony for being Christian, loyal, and resourceful entrepreneurs. This chapter argues that Fingo people settled in a so-called “Fingo location” on the Oxkraal river wished to join themselves with Kat River LMS congregations and their reputation for respectability. For their part, LMS-affiliated congregations welcomed the opportunity to convert and incorporate Fingo people into their community in order to show the metropolitan LMS their usefulness to its evangelistic work. Additionally, the union of Fingo congregations with Kat River congregations was useful in the context of what was called the “Fingo Exodus” in 1866, when tens of thousands of Fingo people were relocated across the Kei River. The ecclesiastical connection between Kat River and Fingo congregations allowed financially strained Kat River congregations to maintain contact with prosperous farmers in the Transkei, while the connection between the Kat River and Oxkraal may have helped give some security to Fingo who were worried about land tenure in the wake of some forcible relocations of Fingos across the Kei. The value which the Kat River and Oxkraal placed on their connection

was most visible when Read's son, James Read III, was nominated for ordination at Oxkraal. The insistence of Fingo and Khoesan congregants on his appointment shows the value they placed on the incorporation of Fingo people into the Kat River project, as well as the enduring significance that the Read family had in the memory of eastern Cape LMS congregants.

The Kat River Settlement had been on the frontier of the Cape Colony both geographically and politically in the early nineteenth century. Geographically, its settled farms were supposed to mark the boundary between the Colony and the chaotic, migratory spaces and people beyond. Politically and culturally, before 1850, the Kat River was the boundary between respectable African citizens of the colony and those who were not civilized, converted, or productive. In the 1860s and 70s these frontiers moved beyond the Kat River. The Cape Colony expanded its borders to include British Kaffraria and the locus of economic interest shifted to the diamond fields in Griqualand West, and later the gold deposits in the Transvaal. Likewise, in the realm of politics, the Kat River project ceased to be of public interest as expressed in newspapers or legislative debate. The 1860s and 70s were also decades during which Kat River Christians looked outwards; not only toward their friends in Britain, but also to Fingo people on the new frontiers of the colony, with whom they tried to ally to advance their goals of respectability and independent peasant agriculture. This chapter will first detail the creation of a certain kind of loyalist, Christian Fingo identity in the eastern Cape, and will show how Khoesan Christians in the Kat River worked to establish connections with nearby Fingo communities. This chapter will then show how the extension of the Kat River project to Fingo converts was used to advance the interests of both parties within the LMS, and to respond to the "Fingo Exodus" of 1866.

*Fingo Conversions and the Expansion of the Kat River Project*

The LMS congregations in the Kat River had made attempts very early on in the history of the Settlement to evangelize and civilize their “heathen” neighbours, to incorporate them into the economy of the Kat River, and thus to show observers in London the achievements the Settlement had made. English Quaker visitors to an 1839 meeting at the Kat River reported that the “Hottentots [who] had been raised to a state nearly equal to that of the labouring classes in England” showed “deep sympathy... for the neighbouring nations yet sitting in darkness, Kafirs, Bechuanas, and Bushmen, which, at the close of the meeting, shewed itself in a tangible form, by a collection of upwards of £15, towards their help.”<sup>1</sup>

Some of this money may have been used by James Read’s younger brother, John Vanderkemp Read, who in the 1840s was the “commandant” and “superintendent” of what was described as a “Bushmen area” outside of the colony.<sup>2</sup> The term “superintendent” implies that he was employed in some governmental capacity, especially as a newspaper article which mentioned his position there also addressed allegations of improper, partisan behaviour which had been levelled against him for writing petitions on behalf of Bushmen complainants. The article accused him of overstepping his official role by writing these petitions.<sup>3</sup> This accusation was likely based on John V. Read’s unofficial connection to the LMS’ missionary work among Bushmen. The “Bushmen area” of which he was superintendent was possibly synonymous with one or several of the “many stations among the Bushmen and Tambookies” which the Kat River

---

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Stockenstrom, “Light and Shade,” 55.

<sup>2</sup> While “Bushmen” and “Hottentots” were often characterized as different races, historians in the twentieth century agree that, at least until the early nineteenth century, the boundary was fluid, and depended more on an individual’s mobility and lifestyle than on language or descent (Fry, “Allies and Liabilities,” 7).

<sup>3</sup> “Reward of Loyalty,” *SACA*, 1 February 1855.



people claimed to have established.<sup>4</sup> By establishing these stations, Kat River congregants showed that they contributed to the evangelical work of the LMS in the same way as those British individuals and congregations who had supported them in the past.

In the mid-1850s, however, the evangelizing, civilizing attentions of Kat River Christians shifted away from the Bushmen and towards the Fingo. After 1858, Read and van Rooyen never wrote again of Bushmen except in the past tense, while their work among the “Fingo outstations” on the boundaries of the Kat River came to make up a significant portion of the business and ecclesiastical matters they wrote about. In 1854, for example, James Read claimed to be itinerating among both “the Fingoes... 30 miles from here,” and also “30 miles beyond among the people of the Bushman nation.”<sup>5</sup> Within a few years, however, Read never mentioned any “Bushman outstations,” whereas his contact with Fingo locations grew to occupy much more of his time and energy.

The identity of the Fingo in the nineteenth century has been the subject of historiographical debate, and this debate is relevant to the interpretation of the LMS letters about Fingo converts in the Kat River area. The question of who was Fingo in the nineteenth century, and why, was first raised in Julian Cobbing’s 1988 article challenging the idea of the mfecane. Before the early 1990s, the mfecane (from the Xhosa root *-feca*, meaning to crush) had been understood as a time of extreme violence and demographic upheaval initiated by the rise of the

---

<sup>4</sup> Read to Mullens, 29 October 1870, LMS-SA/Reports/1; “Tambookie” was the nineteenth-century name for the Thembu, people who, like the Fingo, had moved across the Kei River, towards the Cape Colony, during the conflicts and migrations associated with the rise of the Zulu state in the early 1820s. See Anne Mager, “Colonial Conquest and the Tambookie Frontier: The Story of Maphasa, c. 1830-1853,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39 (2013): 256.

<sup>5</sup> Read to unidentified recipient, 14 March 1854, LMS-SA/29.

Zulu state in the 1820s under the leadership of the militaristic and charismatic king Shaka.<sup>6</sup>

Cobbing questioned both the extent and the causes of the violence, which was supposed to have originated in Zululand and resulted in the deaths of over a million people and the scattering of fierce, desperate African tribes across south-eastern Africa. He argued that what violent migration did occur was caused by slave traders working out of Delagoa Bay, as well as the labour raiding of settlers and missionaries on the eastern Cape frontier.<sup>7</sup>

Although his boldest assertions about the demographic effect of settler labour raids have not been widely accepted, Cobbing's work encouraged historians to examine the ways in which the historical record of migration and tribal identity during the mfecane was shaped by settlers' need for more labour in the colony. The Fingo had been represented, in colonial accounts of the 1830s, as refugees in the Cape Colony who had fled oppression both in their Zulu homeland and among the Xhosa with whom they had taken refuge. Whether the Fingo originally came from Zululand is not clear.<sup>8</sup> The current consensus, as represented by the research of Timothy Stapleton and Poppy Ann Fry, is that "Africans from independent chiefdoms who wished to become independent wage labourers were brought into the colony and redesignated as Fingoes."<sup>9</sup> This process began in the 1830s and continued into the 1860s, and was motivated by the benefits which both Africans and Europeans perceived in what Fry calls "Fingo-ness." For while the Xhosa and other "foreign natives" were seen as a threat, the Fingo were supposed to be loyal to

---

<sup>6</sup> J.D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa* (London: Longmans, 1966): 4-6.

<sup>7</sup> Julian Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo," *Journal of African History* 29 (1988); the fuller implications of Cobbing's thesis are discussed in *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in South African History*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> Poppy Ann Fry, "Allies and Liabilities: Fingo Identity and British Imperialism in South Africa's Eastern Cape, 1800-1935," (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2007), 20-21; Timothy J. Stapleton, "Oral Evidence in a Pseudo-Ethnicity: The Fingo Debate," *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 359-368.

<sup>9</sup> Timothy Stapleton, "The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity: Reconsidering the Fingo 'Exodus' of 1865," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 29 (1996): 249.

the colony, and were welcomed by both settler farmers and the colonial government.<sup>10</sup> In the tense time of the Xhosa cattle-killing movement (1856-58), only a thin defensive line of “Hottentot and European Burghers” stood between the Colony and the depredations of “Jack Kafir.”<sup>11</sup> The loyal Fingo, who came from Xhosaland but were not Xhosa, could supplement that defensive line. Some were given land in designated “Fingo areas,” where colonial administrators imagined they would be small-scale agriculturalists as well as a labour reserve for white farms, while others lived as labourers or artisans in frontier towns like Queenstown and Fort Beaufort.<sup>12</sup> An example of the Fingo reputation for loyalty and respectability is found in a letter from a white farmer in the *Cape Argus* in 1871. The farmer wrote to defend the reputations of a number of Fingo landlords and their tenants in the Blinkwater area of the Kat River. The tenants had been accused of stock theft, but the real culprits, the correspondent argued, were the “Kaffir” tenants of local white farmers. Such thefts could be avoided, the writer implied, if white farmers exercised the same good judgement in choosing tenants as the responsible Fingo landlords.<sup>13</sup>

The perceived value of the Fingo as loyal colonial subjects also increased when many of them converted to Christianity during and after the 1856-57 cattle-killing movement.<sup>14</sup> At the same time that the Fingo population was growing rapidly by the addition of Xhosa immigrants who wished to work in the Colony, “Fingo converts developed a connection between Fingo-ness and Christianity which had never existed before.” This connection between Fingo identity and Christianity continued for at least several more decades. For example, a commentator from the

---

<sup>10</sup> Stapleton, “The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity.”

<sup>11</sup> *SACA*, 20 January, 1857.

<sup>12</sup> Alan Webster, “Unmasking the Fingo,” in *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in South African History*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), 272.

<sup>13</sup> “The Burning Out of Natives,” *The Cape Argus*, 19 December 1871.

<sup>14</sup> Fry, “Allies and Liabilities,” 170.

Transkei region wrote in 1880 of “the black English — i.e., Native Christians especially... [who] were included by the name of Fingoes, although not Fingoes all.”<sup>15</sup> Beginning in 1857, any person claiming to be Fingo could gain a certificate of citizenship in the colony. Only in 1864 did the colonial government attempt to limit who could claim to be Fingo, after long complaints by eastern Cape settlers that “all Kaffirs will call themselves Fingoes.”<sup>16</sup>

The idea that Fingo identity was adopted voluntarily, by people who wished to live in the Cape Colony and participate in a cash economy, is supported by the letters of James Read, his younger brother John, and Arie van Rooyen. One example of this is in the speedy transference of Kat River congregations’ evangelical efforts from “Bushmen” to “Fingoes,” even though the people involved may well have been the same. The lands of the Kat River’s former “Bushmen station” were reassigned after the 1850-53 war, to a “hostile Tambookie chief, Chopo,” much to James Read’s annoyance.<sup>17</sup> The government promised the Kat River missionaries new land, however, in an area called Oxkraal in the Queenstown district, some 30 or 40 kilometres away from the Kat River.<sup>18</sup> This promise of new mission station land was apparently made at the same time that the Civil Commissioner (the Revd Henry Calderwood, a former missionary and sometime adversary of the Reads) granted much of the remaining land around the Oxkraal stream to Fingo chiefs who had fought for the government against “Caffres and Tambookies and Rebel Hottentots” in the war.<sup>19</sup> Thus, Oxkraal became both an official “Fingo location,” a place

---

<sup>15</sup> Fry, “Allies and Liabilities,” 175.

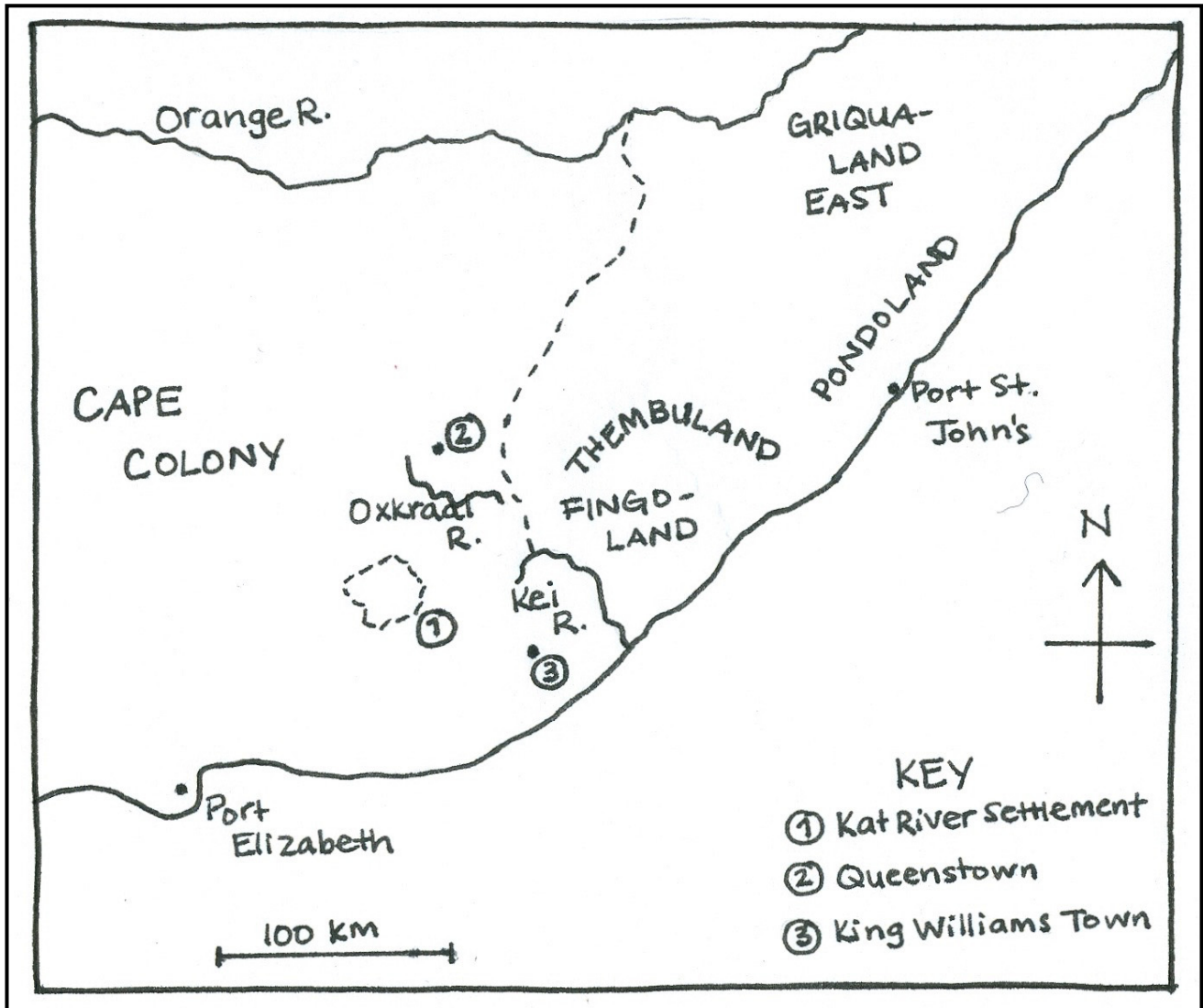
<sup>16</sup> Fry, “Allies and Liabilities,” 159-60.

<sup>17</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 November 1856, LMS-SA/30.

<sup>18</sup> Read to Tidman, 13 January 1857, LMS-SA/30.

<sup>19</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 November 1856, LMS-SA/30.

of residence for loyalist Fingo, and an area over which the Kat River LMS congregations considered they had spiritual jurisdiction.



The Eastern Cape After the “Fingo Exodus”, c.1866

Although some of the people who moved to this new land grant were former residents of the “Bushmen station,” Oxkraal soon became, in the understanding of letter-writers from the Kat River, a specifically Fingo locale.<sup>20</sup> John Read wrote of Oxkraal as given “in lieu of [lands] taken

<sup>20</sup> John Vanderkemp Read to Tidman, 1 February 1858, LMS-SA/31.

from the old inhabitants of the Bushmen station,” and mentioned that the largest tracts of land at Oxkraal were given to the “principal men” from the old location. In one 1858 letter, he described the people connected with Oxkraal as “coloured” rather than specifically Bushmen, Fingo, or Hottentot; he also mentioned that of the “numerous coloured people scattered among the farmers in the vicinity... more than a hundred... have requested that their names should be registered as hearers, so that our congregation will in a short time amount to upwards of two hundred and fifty.”<sup>21</sup> In the first years that the Kat River was associated with people at Oxkraal, the latter were not necessarily considered to be solely Fingo.

Gradually, the people living at Oxkraal came to be identified as specifically Fingo by LMS writers from the Kat River. As the Fingo began to cement a colonial reputation as loyal, prosperous, Christian, and respectable subjects, LMS congregations in the Kat River emphasized the importance of their role as evangelists to the Fingo and collaborators with them in a project of respectable Christianity. This was a significant change in relations between Khoesan and Fingo people on the eastern Cape, given the tensions between the two groups during the 1850-53 war. Fingo people had remained loyal to the colony during the Kat River rebellion, and Fingo troops had been used against rebels in the Kat River.<sup>22</sup> Family members of Kat River congregants may have fought against and been killed by people who then moved to Oxkraal. Although some of John Read’s early communications from Oxkraal did not assume that all the members of that LMS congregation were Fingo, or that the general surrounding population was Fingo, James

---

<sup>21</sup> John Vanderkemp Read to Tidman, 1 February 1858, LMS-SA/31; Megan Voss, “Urbanizing the North-eastern Frontier: the Frontier Intelligentsia and the Making of Colonial Queenstown, c. 1859-1877,” (MA diss., University of Cape Town, 2012), 75. Voss provides evidence that people of many different tribal affiliations were described as living in the Oxkraal area in the 1850s, although she rejects Stapleton’s idea that most of these people were later re-labelled “Fingo.”

<sup>22</sup> Elbourne, “‘Race’, Warfare and Religion in Mid-Nineteenth Century Southern Africa,” 32-33.

Read and others did adopt that assumption around that time. In 1857, James Read wrote to London about his brother's appointment as minister of the new LMS congregations in the Queenstown, which had occurred in response to "the explicit call of the churches of Oxkraal and Vanequksdoom. The people of the former place are Fingoes [and] of the latter Hottentots. I estimate the population which will be under the spiritual oversight of my brother at 2500 souls."<sup>23</sup> James Read marked the inhabitants of Oxkraal as specifically Fingo, rather than Khoesan, by emphasizing the fact that the people of Oxkraal were still governed by chiefs and councillors rather than by veldcornets or magistrates as the Kat River had been for decades. As soon as John Read had accepted his appointment as Oxkraal's minister, at an open public meeting, "the Fingoes were addressed by their chief Zobekua and two of his councillors in which [address] he expressed his joy at getting a missionary."<sup>24</sup>

Another letter by James Read depicted Oxkraal as a small island of Fingo traditional rule in the midst of a European-settled colony: "Oxkraal parish is about 18 by 12 miles with a native population from 3 to 3,500 souls surrounded by English and Dutch farmers on the North, East, and West, and the Kat River to the South. These [i.e., the inhabitants of the parish] are divided among two principal chiefs Sobeklua [sic; usually Sobekua] and Zulu."<sup>25</sup> Both chief Zulu's status as a legitimate, hereditary ruler and the strength of his attachment to the LMS' mission were emphasized by James Read's comment that "it had been the dying wish of the late chief Zemunna, Zulu's father, that he should have a chapel and school among his people. The young

---

<sup>23</sup> Read to Tidman, 11 February 1857, LMS-SA/31. Vanequksdoom, or Van Wyks Doom, was later re-named Rutherfoord, and the mission station at Oxkraal was re-named Hackney. For clarity, this thesis will continue to refer to both the mission-owned lands and the wider area as Oxkraal, as James Read blurred the distinction between them in his letters. No further mention is made in subsequent letters of Van Wyks Doom/ Rutherfoord as a specifically "Hottentot" location.

<sup>24</sup> Read to Tidman, 11 February 1857, LMS-SA/31

<sup>25</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/33.

chief seemed greatly affected and satisfied that his father's last desire had been realized."<sup>26</sup>

Although there were people of other tribal affiliations living in the Queenstown area at this time, the interests of the Kat River's LMS congregations remained focused on the people they recognized as Fingo who lived at the Fingo location of Oxkraal.

The churches which the Kat River congregations founded in the Oxkraal area grew rapidly. In 1858, Oxkraal's congregation had 36 members, 10 of whom had joined only recently.<sup>27</sup> A year later, the congregation had 104 members, besides the hundred or so "hearers" and "adherents" who attended the church but were not baptized.<sup>28</sup> The report of the happy death of a convert, a favourite missionary news item, was an opportunity for John V. Read to show, in 1858, both the newness of specifically-LMS Christianity in Fingo families, and the sincerity with which it had been embraced. Read reported the death-bed speech which Makabanna, an early Fingo convert, made to his children: "I die in connection with the London Missionary Society to which I had joined myself on the day of my baptism. My wife, my children shall also die in that Society. It is a good Society and you shall stick to it."<sup>29</sup> In both 1861 and 1863, Oxkraal's congregation reported adding 40 new members, and claimed a total of 169 members by the end of 1863.<sup>30</sup> Even after 120 members migrated across the Kei in the late 1860s, the congregation

---

<sup>26</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 September 1863, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>27</sup> John V. Read to Thompson, 1 February 1858, LMS-SA/31. Not unusually for LMS missionary statistics, J.V. Read's letter to Tidman of 15 January 1858 contradicts these figures, and states that the Oxkraal congregation had 83 members, 14 of whom were recent converts. The discrepancy might reflect the distinction, which LMS letter-writers rarely make clear in their communications, between the church on the mission station land owned by the LMS, and the converts who assembled in chapels on their chief's land. The two categories overlapped, but were not identical. John V. Read to Tidman, 15 January 1858, LMS-SA/31.

<sup>28</sup> Elders and deacons of Hackney to Tidman, 12 March 1859, LMS-SA/31.

<sup>29</sup> John V. Read to Tidman, 15 January 1858, LMS-SA/31.

<sup>30</sup> Van Rooyen to Mullens, 10 April 1861, LMS-SA/32; Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/33.



still had a membership of 340 in 1870, while its services were regularly attended by up to 430 people.<sup>31</sup>

Away from Oxkraal, in the Kat River area itself, Fingo membership in LMS churches grew with comparable rapidity. Van Rooyen wrote in 1856 that although only seven “Hottentots” had joined the congregation that year, it was his great “satisfaction to say in the last year is added to this congregation twenty-nine Fingoes who has [sic] formerly been deeply sunk in ignorance and also in heathenism.” Moreover, members of his congregation were actively proselytizing other Fingo people in the area: “Between this place and Fort Beaufort to Lakenkop goes one of the church Elders to keep service for those Fingoes who do not come to church but sit still in darkness.”<sup>32</sup> A decade later, van Rooyen reported that this evangelism had greatly increased the size of his congregation. The Tidmanton church, he said “has been greatly blessed in the spread of the Gospel among the Barbarian people such as Kaffirs and Fingoes living in the neighbourhood... I have the privilege to see them coming on Sabbath mornings from every direction, as devote [sic] worshippers to Gods house.”<sup>33</sup>

The LMS church at Philipton also reported rapid growth in the number of baptized members, though no mention was made of whether converts there were Fingo or “Hottentot.” In 1858, attendance at the church at Philipton was 350, with 700 sometimes coming for special

---

<sup>31</sup> Read to Tidman, 29 October 1870, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>32</sup> Van Rooyen, Tidmanton Report, 1 November 1856, LMS-SA/30.

<sup>33</sup> Van Rooyen to Tidman, 9 January 1866, LMS-SA/34. LMS congregations in the Kat River area by no means sought Fingo converts to the exclusion of Xhosa converts. Read’s and van Rooyen’s letters sometimes mention “Kaffirs and Fingoes” in the same breath, without implying the strict civilized-uncivilized binary that some researchers, such as Poppy Ann Fry, argue existed between the categories. However, the LMS letters do still depict Fingo people and congregations as distinct and more valuable converts. Xhosa people could not be citizens of the colony until 1866; before then, Xhosa could only be tenants or squatters on others’ land in the eastern Cape. Fingo people, on the other hand, owned land, and could join the church as a group under the leadership of a chief, whereas “Kaffirs” living in the Cape colony appear in reports as atomized individuals cut off from their homes and leaders.

occasions.<sup>34</sup> Eight years later, there were 505 church members, and factoring in children and unbaptized adherents, James Read claimed that there were 2,200 “persons belonging to the congregation.”<sup>35</sup> Thus, while all the LMS congregations on which Read and van Rooyen reported made rapid membership gains in the 1860s, the number of new converts grew faster in the Fingo congregations.

In the 1860s, as the Kat River suffered economic decline and felt the interest of its former supporters wane, James Read and others looked to the converts they had made among Fingo people, particularly at Oxkraal, to join them in the project of making an independent, respectable, community of African peasants. Agriculture was one of the ways in which Oxkraal could match the vision of what the Kat River could have been, or so Read believed. Statements from Read that the Kat River was “daily sinking deeper and deeper into poverty” were common throughout the 1860s, but Oxkraal offered a more encouraging prospect.<sup>36</sup> In 1866, for example, the elders of Tidmanton’s congregation described their inability to make a living: drought had spoiled their crops, cattle sickness had destroyed their herds, and unemployment prevented them from earning money as labourers or tradespeople.<sup>37</sup> Letters from the Fingo outstations, however, often reported the opposite of this situation. Read and van Rooyen suggested that because their Fingo converts had adopted European agriculture, as early Kat River residents had done, they were therefore able to progress in respectability, Christian piety, and educational attainments. In 1866, church leaders from Tidmanton wrote that “the Kat River is the mother of two churches

---

<sup>34</sup> Read to Tidman, 28 January 1858, LMS-SA/31.

<sup>35</sup> Read to Thompson, “Memo for the Rev W. Thompson,” December 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>36</sup> Read to Thompson, 19 July 1865, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>37</sup> Elders of Tidmanton to Directors, 3 January 1866, LMS-SA/34.

which have sprung out of her viz. Tidmanton and Hackney.”<sup>38</sup> By “Kat River,” the writers here were referring to Philipton, as Tidmanton was technically inside the bounds of the Kat River Settlement. Hackney, or Oxkraal, however, lay outside the Kat River and had been established later than Tidmanton. Philipton and Tidmanton had long been associated with one another, but this mention of Oxkraal/Hackney as a product of the Kat River’s successful mission showed how, by 1866, Fingo converts at Oxkraal had been adopted into the community of Kat River LMS congregations.

*“One of the granaries of the country”: Agriculture and Respectability at Oxkraal*

Successful agriculture was one of the ways that LMS congregants from the eastern Cape showed that Fingos from Oxkraal had been incorporated into the Kat River project. The relative prosperity of people at Oxkraal allowed Kat River Christians to demonstrate the continued realization of its goals, while Fingo converts at Oxkraal used the reputation of the Kat River and the resources of the LMS to pursue education and claim respectability.

Letters from LMS missionaries who visited Oxkraal emphasized a correlation between Fingo converts’ success in agriculture and their adoption of Christianity and a respectable lifestyle. The iron plough and the square brick house were, according to Jean and John Comaroff, the two great signs of the arrival of missionary-mediated modernity in South Africa, and James Read would have agreed with them.<sup>39</sup> In 1856, as Fingo people prepared to welcome John V. Read as their minister, they purchased “boards bricks and wood for roofing without any

---

<sup>38</sup> Andries Hatha, John Fourie, and Frederick Jordaan to LMS Directors, attached to “Minutes of a Meeting Held at Hackney,” 6 December 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>39</sup> Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), 141, 305-07.

suggestion from me [James Read]. They are about making bricks and buying wood for their ministers house. It indeed is pleasing to see these moral features developing themselves in a people, who but lately were quite backwards.”<sup>40</sup> These “moral features” were also evident in the personal lives of Fingo converts. “The increase of industrious habits, the increase of Christian marriages and the consequent elevation of the female sex,” James Read wrote, “are some of the signs of the progress of Christianity and the concomitant Christian civilization.”<sup>41</sup> The sincerity of Fingo converts’ progress was proven by the sacrifices they made in adopting Christianity. “Polygamy is a great hindrance to the gospel,” Read wrote, “[and] we have witnessed distressing scenes where the right eye has had to be pulled out, the right hand hewn off in abandoning a... beautiful wife in submission to the law of Christ.”<sup>42</sup> In 1861, Fingos at Oxkraal had nearly all “taken to the plough instead of the hoe,” and many had built brick houses.<sup>43</sup> These activities he took as signs that “the work of civilization is rapidly going on among them [i.e., Fingos at Oxkraal],” and that it was this degree of civilization that allowed them to “exercise so much self control and abstain... from those sinful practices to which they in their heathenment had been addicted.”<sup>44</sup>

The adoption of modern farming technology by Fingo people at Oxkraal paid off in crop yields, at least according to James Read’s account. Drought or cattle sickness very rarely featured in letters sent by missionaries or Oxkraal residents, even when these things were being

---

<sup>40</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 November 1856, LMS-SA/30.

<sup>41</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 November 1856, LMS-SA/30.

<sup>42</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 November 1856, LMS-SA/30.

<sup>43</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 April 1861, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>44</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 April 1861, LMS-SA/32.

experienced by people only a few dozen kilometres away in the Kat River.<sup>45</sup> In the same year that “a very long and heavy drought” afflicted farmers near Philipton, who also lost their horses and cattle to lung-sickness, Read referred to Oxkraal as “one of the granaries of the country.”<sup>46</sup> In Oxkraal, people had access to the river of the same name, and the soil was so good that the irrigation furrows used in the Kat River and elsewhere were not needed. “Good crops of wheat, maize, Kafir corn [sorghum], pumpkins, and beans are raised... without irrigation,” he claimed.<sup>47</sup> Land in the Fingo location of Oxkraal was plentiful enough that few church members resided on the small area actually owned by the mission; most farmed their erven scattered across the Oxkraal area, and travelled to the mission station two or three times a week for services.<sup>48</sup> Besides agriculture, people at Oxkraal also successfully bred horses and cattle, according to Read, although in a letter written six months after making this claim he admitted that Oxkraal’s boasted cattle herds were more potential than real, as people’s existing stock had largely been killed by lung-sickness in the previous two years.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, the following year Read described the land around Oxkraal as producing “grain, maize wool, horses, and cattle in pretty fair abundance,” even as he admitted that “the drought this season [and] the locusts have put them back... [and] there is a great scarcity of wood for fuel which will prove a great inconvenience to our friends.”<sup>50</sup> These considerations would be only minor setbacks, however, as Read believed the tenacity and skill of people at Oxkraal would make them successful agriculturalists: “The

---

<sup>45</sup> Reports of drought in the Kat River: George Pitt et al to Tidman, 3 January 1866, LMS-SA/34; Van Rooyen to Tidman, 9 January 1866, LMS-SA/34; Philipton church members to Thompson, 7 September 1863, LMS-SA/33; Read to Tidman, 14 October 1862, LMS-SA/32; Read to Tidman, 14 March 1865, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>46</sup> Philipton church members to Thompson, 7 September 1863, LMS-SA/33; Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>47</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>48</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>49</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32; Read to Tidman 9 September 1863, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>50</sup> Read to Tidman, 27 October 1864, LMS-SA/33.

Fingoes are an industrious and economical almost a parsimonious people and are likely to get on.”<sup>51</sup> This confidence in the material success of LMS-affiliated people at Oxkraal was reflected in Read’s assessment that they would be able to contribute the same sum of £75 towards their minister’s salary (in addition to payments for schools and church buildings) as the then numerically larger congregations at Philipton and Tidmanton.<sup>52</sup> Even when they lived in the more crowded and less fertile Kat River area, Fingo people were perceived by LMS congregants as particularly prosperous. Congregants from Tidmanton in 1866 described “Kaffirs and Fingoes” as “some of our best off members” even though they had only resided in the area for a few years.<sup>53</sup>

Fingo success in agriculture allowed them to engage in two historically important forms of respectability: church-building and education. When John V. Read first moved to Oxkraal in 1858, the members of his congregation were able to supply him with all the necessities of a respectable minister’s life. They bought a horse for £21, built a chapel costing £72, and committed £60 a year for the salary of a school teacher.<sup>54</sup> Over the next twelve years, several other LMS institutional buildings were built in the Oxkraal area. To supplement the central chapel and school built on the actual grounds of the mission station, each of the two Fingo chiefs in the Oxkraal area constructed their own buildings. Chief Zulu, whose father had wished for him to be associated with the LMS, built a separate chapel on his own lands in 1863. According to Read, this was done in order to defuse “rivalry and ambitious feeling between the two

---

<sup>51</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>52</sup> Read to Tidman, 12 July 1860, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>53</sup> George Pitt et al to LMS Directors, 3 January 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>54</sup> John V. Read to Thompson, 1 February 1858, LMS-SA/31.

chiefs.”<sup>55</sup> Zulu was able to construct this separate chapel for his own followers, because unlike his rival Sekunyama, he was already part of an LMS congregation. Sekunyama lost no time, however: eighteen months later “the young chief Sekunyama and his wife have both given themselves to the Lord and they were baptized and married on the same day. He has since been instrumental — building a new school room at his place.”<sup>56</sup> By 1870, Sekunyama was the “native teacher and deacon” for the people in his area. Chief Zulu also remained associated with his local LMS congregation, although an 1871 petition lists him as an “adherent” rather than a full member or leader.<sup>57</sup>

As Sekunyama’s position as teacher suggests, education was central to the role of the LMS in the Oxkraal area. To a greater extent than letters from the Kat River, communications from and about Fingo people at Oxkraal emphasized people’s interest in literacy and education, and how these skills might enable some students to become personally involved in global networks of Christianity. Read and other correspondents from this area claimed that the rapid success of Fingo students from Oxkraal showed the value of the project of education, respectability, and piety that Kat River congregants had been pursuing for decades. They claimed that this project was, however, dependent on support from friends in Britain.

In 1863, James Read reported that at Oxkraal, “knowledge is rapidly increasing as each who can read makes a point of teaching his neighbours.... Besides the Bible and tracts printed in Kafir [Xhosa] about 22 copies of a Kafir periodical printed at the ‘Lovedale Institution’ called the News are taken and extensively read and circulated.”<sup>58</sup> By the “News” Read was referring to

---

<sup>55</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 September 1863, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>56</sup> Read to Tidman, 14 March 1865, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>57</sup> Read to Mullens, 29 October 1870, LMS-SA/36; Hackney Residents to Directors, 9 April 1871, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>58</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/32.

*Indaba*, one of the first Xhosa newspapers to be printed on the Lovedale press, and thus one of the first African-language publications in southern Africa. Considering that *Indaba* was founded only eight months before Read wrote, and that it had a circulation of less than 600, LMS-affiliated subscribers from Oukraal were clearly well aware of and able to participate in this new medium of communication.<sup>59</sup> In fact, *Indaba* was bilingual, and printed some material in English; this, suggests Les Switzer, attracted “correspondents [who] were the vanguard of an educated elite.”<sup>60</sup> One of *Indaba*’s early contributors, the Rev. Tiyo Soga, had and continues to have a reputation as a formidable intellectual and (for some) a proto-nationalist.<sup>61</sup> By the time *Indaba* was established, Soga was already well-known as the first African ordained by the Presbyterian church, who had, unusually for the time, completed his studies in Scotland. By subscribing to *Indaba*, Oukraal residents participated in the community of educated African Christians whom Switzer identifies as trying to use their achievements to gain representation in the colony.

Not all eastern Cape LMS congregants aspired to Soga’s career, but education was a priority in Oukraal and the Kat River. In the first years after the Kat River rebellion, James Read had frequently asked the LMS to allow deserving African students to go to England for their education. The success of Fingo, as well as Khoesan, scholars at Lovedale enabled Read and van Rooyen to claim that Kat River residents were making progress towards the same goal of respectability that they had held since 1829, and to call on the LMS for more aid.

---

<sup>59</sup> Les Switzer, “The African Christian Community and Its Press in Victorian South Africa,” *Cahiers d’Etudes Africaines* 24 (1984): 462.

<sup>60</sup> Switzer, *South Africa’s Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 154.

<sup>61</sup> Vivian Bickford-Smith, “African Nationalist or British Loyalist? The Complicated Case of Tiyo Soga,” *History Workshop Journal* 71 (2011): 74-97.



At any one point during 1860s and early 1870s, there were never more than half a dozen students from the Kat River or Oxkraal studying at Lovedale, which enabled James Read, on occasion, to give fairly full accounts of the accomplishments of individual students. In 1860, he reported on six students at Lovedale, whose biographies represent the range of people who participated in the LMS community around the Kat River. The star pupil of Read's report was Klaas Gagaan, the son of "an influential man in the [Kat River] settlement," and who excelled so much in Latin and Mathematics as to make Read hope that he would "sustain... the same position in our Society as the Kafir Missionary Mr Soga does in the United Presbyterian Society." The other LMS-affiliated pupils at Lovedale were Sebenga Klabati, "son of the senior elder of the Oxkraal church"; Matthias Mabetha, a Fingo member of the Oxkraal church; a young man named Zandani Duge; an unnamed "young Fingo"; and a "Mr Weitz a young Englishman who... having saved a little money as clerk in a shop he gave up his situation and matriculated at the Seminary."<sup>62</sup> This list indicates the links between church involvement and secondary education: "senior members" of a congregation were the people most interested in and able to afford higher education for their sons. The fact that at least three of the students were Fingo also indicates the extent to which, by 1860, Fingo people from Oxkraal had joined in the activities and ventures of numerically larger Kat River LMS congregations.

Many of Read's mentions of Oxkraal students at Lovedale were made in contexts such as the list above; the students were mentioned as examples of hopeful "progress" in the Kat River area to relieve the seemingly constant reports of drought and unemployment.<sup>63</sup> In 1854, Read had

---

<sup>62</sup> Read to Tidman, 12 July 1860, LMS-SA/32. Matthias Mabetha's membership in and employment by the Oxkraal church is mentioned in: Andries Hatha and George Pitt to LMS Directors, 7 October 1869, LMS-SA/36; "Minutes of a Meeting Held at Hackney," 6 December 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>63</sup> Read, Philipton Report, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/33; Read to Tidman, 9 January 1862, LMS-SA/32

claimed that “respectable natives would pay for the education of their children.”<sup>64</sup> James Stewart, the principal of Lovedale, noted the eagerness of one Oxkraal resident to pay for his son’s education. When Reuben Jacob arrived at Lovedale from Oxkraal in 1869 he brought a letter from his father which assured Stewart of his willingness and ability to pay for his son’s education. Jacob also sent two other sons to Lovedale.<sup>65</sup> Stewart also commended the work of Thomas Matumbu, who was born at Graaf Reinet, but moved to Oxkraal as a child where he was taught by James Read’s sister. After attending Lovedale, he became a teacher at Oxkraal, where “he has been indefatigable in his efforts to induce parents to give their children the benefit of education. He has sent from his own school many pupils to Lovedale who have always taken a good position and mostly done well afterwards.”<sup>66</sup> The contributions which parents of children in the Kat River and Oxkraal made to their children’s elementary and secondary schooling in the late 1850s and 1860s allowed Read to show that members of his congregation were still pursuing respectability.<sup>67</sup>

The success of these students was also a reminder to the metropolitan LMS of its duties towards those who achieved respectability. The case of Nicolas Goezaar illustrates this. His father was a deacon of the Philipton church, and paid for his entire four-year secondary education at Lovedale.<sup>68</sup> Goezaar excelled at “Latin, Greek, Mathematics and Physical science,” and expressed his wish to become a missionary for the LMS, “either in this land or Europe.”<sup>69</sup> In order to achieve this position, Goezaar would have to study in England or Scotland. This would

---

<sup>64</sup> Read to Thompson, 14 March 1854, LMS-SA/29.

<sup>65</sup> Stewart, *Lovedale Past and Present*, 92-94.

<sup>66</sup> Stewart, *Lovedale Past and Present*, 192-93.

<sup>67</sup> Read to Tidman, 14 March 1865, LMS-SA/33; Read to Tidman, 28 January 1858, LMS-SA/31; Read to Mullens, Philipton Report, 29 October 1870, LMS-SA/Reports/1.

<sup>68</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 January 1862, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>69</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 January 1862, LMS-SA/32.

be beneficial to the LMS, Read argued, because the missionary organization would be able to show its success in the Kat River by having “a Hottentot for the ministry in the same way as the pious and devoted Kafir minister Rev Tiyo Soga.”<sup>70</sup> If the LMS did not fund Goezaar’s continuing education, Read warned, “I think that either the United Presbyterian Church or the Free Church would be glad to have him.”<sup>71</sup> Although Goezaar eventually became an LMS minister in Port Elizabeth, Read’s disappointed communications to the LMS in London seem to indicate that his education was funded by the Evangelical Voluntary Union, an association of Protestant congregations organized in the Cape Colony, rather than by the LMS.<sup>72</sup> Although he was Hottentot and not Fingo, Goezaar’s claims to LMS aid were underpinned in part by the success of Fingo students from Oxkraal and the Kat River in the 1860s. The establishment of schools in the Oxkraal area, the speedy adoption of literacy there, and the success of the few Fingo students who progressed to secondary education were part of an argument, made in letters to the LMS from the eastern Cape, that the former Kat River settlement continued to progress towards its original goals, and was still deserving of support from Britain.

*The “peculiar prestige” of the LMS and its uses during the “Fingo Exodus”*

After the Kat River LMS congregations had established their connection to Fingo converts at Oxkraal, and had demonstrated Oxkraal’s achievement of respectability through Christianity, agriculture, and education, this partnership between Oxkraal and the Kat River was threatened by colonial demographic interventions in the eastern Cape and Transkei. In 1865-66,

---

<sup>70</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/33.

<sup>71</sup> Read to Tidman, 9 January 1862, LMS-SA/32.

<sup>72</sup> Read to Tidman, 10 March 1863, LMS-SA/33; Read to Mullens, 1 July 1871, LMS-SA/36.

the government encouraged Fingo people to move to Fingoland, in the Transkei in former British Kaffraria. The “Fingo Exodus” deprived Kat River and Oxkraal congregations of some well-off members. In his letters, James Read countered the financial blow which these departures brought by suggesting that the prosperity of Fingoland emigrants was due to the piety and respectability which they had brought with them from the Kat River. The “Fingo Exodus” thus became a way for Kat River congregations to argue that they were not irrelevant to the LMS, that their project could be extended and incorporate new people and new territory. However, the departure of so many people from the eastern Cape to Fingoland threatened the land security of those who remained behind at Oxkraal. LMS congregations countered this threat to the Oxkraal lands by emphasizing the long-standing connection between Oxkraal and the Kat River. They did this particularly by calling on the legacy of the Read family in securing the “temporal and spiritual welfare” of Fingo people. The Read family and the institutional links between LMS congregations in Oxkraal and the Kat River may have provided some security for people at the former location when they felt threatened by white settler land expansion in the 1860s.

In the aftermath of the 1850-53 war, the colonial government had granted land in the form of “Tambookie locations” and “Fingoe locations” to chiefs believed to be loyal. Chiefs Sekunyama and Zulu’s lands at Oxkraal were such “Fingoe locations,” and their affiliation with the LMS may well have helped to secure their tenure there. In the 1860s, however, the government began to encourage Fingo and Thembu people to move out of the Colony and into British Kaffraria. This was partly in the belief that after the cattle killing and famine, Xhosa land stood empty and the remaining population needed the loyal example of Fingo and Thembu chiefs with their supposedly organized, hierarchical villages and productive farming techniques. More

significantly, the departure of Fingo and Thembu people into Xhosaland was a solution to land scarcity in the eastern Cape. As settler commercial agriculture became more profitable, the value of Fingo and Thembu land rose, and settlers resented the wide use that they made of commonage and Crown land for grazing.<sup>73</sup> After one of the many small conflicts which marked the extension of colonial rule over Xhosaland in the 1860s and 1870s, a colonial official observed that the region was “absolutely at our disposal and the people reduced by war or other causes to absolute submission.” Therefore, he suggested, “it would be well to move Fingoes from the more crowded districts of the colony and settle them in the Transkei.”<sup>74</sup> This is precisely what Robert Southey (the Cape’s Colonial Secretary), Charles Cobbe (British Kaffraria’s Superintendent of Natives) and J.C. Warner (the British Resident in Kaffraria) attempted to do. Areas known as Fingoland and Emigrant Thembuland were delineated between the Kei and the Mzimbuvu rivers. Some of the migration happened piecemeal, as individual Fingo and Thembu families or individuals decided to move across the Kei, while on some occasions, notably in 1865-66, colonial officials coordinated with chiefs to arrange the relocation of entire villages.<sup>75</sup> Timothy Stapleton estimates that in the four months of the “Fingo Exodus” in 1865-66, 20,000 Fingo people left the colony.<sup>76</sup> According to Clifton Crais, at least 50,000 people moved across the Kei to Fingoland or Emigrant Thembuland before 1870.<sup>77</sup>

The motivations for these migrations and the nature of ethnic identity in newly-established Fingoland and Thembuland were complex. Some people moved willingly across the

---

<sup>73</sup> Anne Kelk Mager, “Gungubele and the Tambookie Location 1853-1877: End of a Colonial Experiment,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40 (2014): 1167-69.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in Crais, *Poverty, War and Violence*, 65.

<sup>75</sup> “Correspondence with Reference to the Principles, Conditions, and Detailed Arrangements on Which the Fingo Exodus has Been Carried Out,” Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1867.

<sup>76</sup> Stapleton, “The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity,” 246.

<sup>77</sup> Crais, *Poverty, War and Violence*, 64-65.

Kei to take up land, and not all of these people even claimed to be Fingo or Thembu: in 1871 James Read wrote of “the Kaffer and Hottentot congregations of Kafferland,” whose members were “Hottentots Kaffers and Fingoes.”<sup>78</sup> The presence of “Hottentots” in “Kafferland” suggests that not everyone who moved across the Kei took on Fingo identity.<sup>79</sup>

However, some migration and changes in ethnic identification were not voluntary. Older scholars of colonial conquest, such as J.B. Peires, claimed that Fingo and Thembu immigrants in the 1860s had a distinct, inherited ethnic identity, and that they moved to Xhosaland as willing accomplices to colonial conquest. Anne Mager and Timothy Stapleton disagree, and provide evidence that some people were forced to relocate. Stapleton argues that “Transkeian Fingoland was created by both a colonial redesignation of an existing Gcaleka population and a forced removal of Fingoes from the Cape Colony. This territory then served as a funnel through which thousands of Africans would take on a Fingo identity in order to enter the colony as long-term wage labourers.”<sup>80</sup> Stapleton provides evidence that some Fingo people in the eastern Cape were forced to leave the Colony, and that after Gcaleka territory had been taken by force, the remaining Xhosa population were forced to become Fingo, live under Fingo chiefs, and abide by Fingo “native customs” whose content was curated by colonial agents. The coercive nature of some migrations to Fingoland and Emigrant Thembuland is revealed by Anne Mager’s recent close study of a “Tambookie Location” just north of Oukraal. Under pressure from white farmers, Robert Southey decided to redefine the boundaries of the Tambookie Location and

---

<sup>78</sup> Read to Mullens, 1 July 1871, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>79</sup> See also a letter from J.C. Warner to E.J. Warner, the “Tambookie Agent,” in which the writer warns against “several Bastards or Hottentots” who had attempted to stake out farms “in the country allotted to the Tambookies in the Transkei.” (“Correspondence with Reference,” 9).

<sup>80</sup> Stapleton, “The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity,” 235.

relocate as many Thembu as possible across the Kei. Some chiefs took their people willingly after receiving promises of free land and no taxation in Emigrant Thembuland. When a chief named Nonesi resisted, however, Southey cancelled her land titles and forced her to move to Pondoland on the far eastern edge of former Kaffraria.<sup>81</sup> Although some Thembu people remained in the original Tambookie Location, the forced resettlement of Nonesi in 1865, as well as tensions with white farmers over land ultimately spelled the end of the Tambookie Location. This “experiment in peasant agriculture and freehold tenure” fell apart in 1877 when Gungubele, a senior chief, was goaded into open conflict with the Queenstown magistracy, culminating in his defeat and the end of the Tambookie location.<sup>82</sup> Mager’s and Stapleton’s reevaluations of Fingo and Thembu migration across the Kei in the 1860s show the complexity of motivations for migration and the difficulties in retaining land rights for those who stayed behind.

The migration of Fingo people from the Kat River and Oxkraal areas to the Transkei was a matter of great interest to LMS missionaries and their congregants in the area. Through the letters of James Read, it is possible to see how people in the Kat River and Oxkraal used the institution of the church both to retain useful connections with prosperous new Fingo communities across the Kei, and to safeguard the land and privileges they already had in the Colony against appropriation by settlers and colonial officials.

The first report of the “Fingo migration” in the Kat River and Oxkraal, by Arie van Rooyen in December 1866, mentions only voluntary migration for personal profit, and does not specify whether those who moved were Fingo or not. Van Rooyen wrote to the LMS to protest the unfair distinction between churches in the colony and those across the Kei, which were given

---

<sup>81</sup> Mager, “Gungubele and the Tambookie Location,” 1168.

<sup>82</sup> Mager, “Gungubele and the Tambookie Location,” 1168.

more funding. The position of the Tidmanton congregation was now even more disadvantaged, he claimed, because “several of my most influential men have removed from this district to Kaffraria where they purchased land largely.” Moreover, since his former congregants had only moved a few dozen kilometres away, the relatively better funding for the churches they now attended was a source of jealousy for the Kat River congregants, “as it must be borne in mind that they [people in the Kat River] are perfectly well acquainted with the condition of each church within 40 or 50 miles of them.”<sup>83</sup> Several days later, a meeting of LMS missionaries and church office-holders convened at Hackney in Oxkraal to discuss the concerted migration of Fingo people from Oxkraal to the Transkei. These members of the LMS community in Oxkraal and Kat River stated that “2000 of the Hackney and Oxkraal Fingoes with the Senior Chief Sobekua and other petty chiefs have removed into this territory, and... there is every likelihood of more of the Hackney people going there.”<sup>84</sup> Four years later, in 1870, James Read reported that “1800 to 2000 persons have left for the trans Keian territory — among whom are about 120 church members.”<sup>85</sup> It is not clear whether the approximately 2,000 people referred to in the second letter are in addition to the earlier statistic, and whether the statistics referred to the “Fingo location” as a whole, or just to the mission-owned lands. However, it is clear that people continued to leave even after the first large migration in 1865-66, as in 1866 James Read stated that 50 church members had departed, whereas by 1870 that number was 120. A biographical list of former Lovedale pupils provides several examples of a certain career path for Fingo men from

---

<sup>83</sup> van Rooyen to Tidman, 2 December 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>84</sup> “Minutes of a Meeting Held at Hackney,” 6 December 1866, LMS-SA/34. A Fingo chief named Mavuso claimed to the Civil Commissioner that Sobekua and other chiefs left voluntarily, although Mavuso himself declined to make the move, and instead took over the lands of some departed migrants (“Correspondence with Reference,” 2-5).

<sup>85</sup> James Read, “Hackney Report,” 29 October 1870, LMS-SA/36.



Oxkraal: they were born at Oxkraal in the 1850s, attended Lovedale, returned briefly as an artisan or teacher to Oxkraal, and then moved across the Kei to farm or continue their occupations in the 1870s.<sup>86</sup> These biographical sketches suggest that at least for some Christian, educated Fingo men, migration across the Kei might be a voluntary move to acquire farmland.

The “Fingo exodus” presented a number of opportunities to Kat River and Oxkraal Christians. Connections between the Kat River and Oxkraal and the new territory beyond the Kei were desirable to all parties because, at least for the first few decades, Fingoland was both agriculturally prosperous, and a model of a respectable, loyal community. James Read emphasized the close connection Fingoland had with the colonial government, and suggested that many its inhabitants were Christian converts. He wrote that

the Trans Kei territory... has been assigned by the Colonial Government to various tribes of Fingoes, whither people from various Mission stations in the Colony have emigrated, and have had land measured to them in freehold. The territory is to be governed by native laws modified in the spirit of English law. There is a British Magistrate to whom all intricate cases are to be referred, and a further appeal to the British Resident... and still further to his Excellency the High Commissioner.<sup>87</sup>

Fingoland, Read was suggesting, would be as stable and well-governed as the Kat River inside the colony, and LMS congregants would be engaging in the same independent peasant agriculture that was the Kat River Settlement’s ideal. In reality, some newly established farmers in Fingoland were very successful. Colin Bundy’s claim that the majority of African peasant farmers in the eastern Cape and Transkei between 1870 and 1890 were successful has been critiqued and significantly modified by the work of recent scholars, who note that his statistics

---

<sup>86</sup> Stewart, *Lovedale Past and Present*, 146, 160, 161, 287. There were similar career trajectories for people from Philipton and Tidmanton in the Kat River: Stewart, 222, 247.

<sup>87</sup> Read to Tidman, 6 December 1866, LMS-SA/34.

were drawn from a very small area that was mainly composed of Christian converts who had the support of missionary organizations and preferential treatment from officials.<sup>88</sup> Bundy's thesis is not representative of the majority of Africans in Fingoland and Emigrant Thembuland, who did not make much money from agriculture, and increasingly had to rely on migrant labour on white-owned farms or mines for income. However, the prosperous peasants whom Bundy describes are precisely the sort of mission-affiliated migrants with whom Kat River residents wanted to maintain contact. Fingo immigrants to the Transkei "rapidly demonstrated the same propensities for agricultural labour on their own behalf that they had in the colony," a trend that was particularly visible in missionary-affiliated communities. For example, at the Wesleyan Methodist station of Butterworth, the acreage under cultivation multiplied five-fold between 1866 and 1868.<sup>89</sup> In the early years of the 1870s, the Fingo Agent, Matthew Blyth, reported that in Fingoland as a whole, annual profits from wool were £60,000, that 500 wagon-loads of corn were exported to Xhosa and Thembu districts each year, and "at the lowest computation, the value of the import and export trade represents £150,000 p.a."<sup>90</sup> For observers and commentators on Christian communities in Fingoland, this agricultural prosperity was linked, as was in Read's understanding of Oxkraal, with piety, respectability, and education. Missionary and official reports from Fingoland drew links between people's prosperity and their willingness to build schools, pay taxes for roads, and invest in the expensive goods of respectable household life like cutlery, metal pots, wool blankets, and ploughs.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Crais, *Poverty, War and Violence*, 112-13.

<sup>89</sup> Bundy, *Rise and Fall*, 57.

<sup>90</sup> Bundy, *Rise and Fall*, 71.

<sup>91</sup> Bundy, *Rise and Fall*, 71-75.

James Read attempted to maintain connections with relatively prosperous new landholders in Fingoland through the aegis of the LMS. Bundy's reports of Christian Fingo success were taken from Methodist missionary reports, as he did not examine the LMS archive, but given the proximity of Methodist-affiliated areas, such as Butterworth, to LMS-affiliated Fingo areas, it is reasonable to suppose that the latter were engaging in the same agricultural, church-building, and educational projects with a similar degree of success.<sup>92</sup> LMS letter-writers from the eastern Cape believed that newly-claimed lands in Fingoland were prosperous. F.G. Kayser wrote in 1866 about a newly-arrived group of Fingo led by the chief Kona, who lived at the confluence of the Kumbwa and Tsomo rivers, and whose "country... is a rich, good soil for to live on."<sup>93</sup> Because Fingoland was prosperous and "open" to missionary influence, James Read believed that the LMS should maintain the links already created between this area and its adherents in the Kat River, and use this as a jumping-off place for expansion towards New Griqualand. In 1869, Read and another missionary described the broad stretch of country from "the River Tsomo on the West, to the Natal boundary on the East" as being "open as a Missionary field in every way... [and] favourably disposed towards the London Missionary Society, the greater portion preferring that to any other society."<sup>94</sup> James Read emphasized the connection between LMS congregations in the Kat River and Oxkraal and the new migrant churches in the Transkei by including the Fingo community at Tsomo (sometimes spelled Chomo) across the Kei, in his reports. Read was not the minister of this congregation — that post

---

<sup>92</sup> I have had difficulty in identifying the exact location of LMS-affiliated Fingo congregations in Fingoland because the letters refer to the area simply as being "on the Tsomo [River]." The Tsomo begins some 100km above Queenstown and winds for several hundred kilometres south before joining the Kei near Butterworth, and entering the sea. It is certain that both the Methodist areas that Bundy references and the LMS areas in which Read and the Kat River people were interested, were situated along the Tsomo.

<sup>93</sup> F.G. Kayser to Thompson, 6 November 1866, LMS-SA/34.

<sup>94</sup> James Read and R.B. Taylor to Mullens, 20 June 1869, LMS-SA/36.

had been briefly filled by a disgraced LMS missionary, William Murray, and was then vacant — but he and van Rooyen claimed that the congregations at Tidmanton , Philipton, Hackney, Tsomo, and Fort Beaufort had formed a committee to coordinate their joint interests, even though the Tsomo had until just two years previously been located in a totally separate colony (British Kaffraria).<sup>95</sup> The LMS suggested in 1865 that people at Tsomo transfer their affiliation to another denomination, but the people of the congregation refused to leave.<sup>96</sup> Although there is no clear evidence of Kat River LMS congregants expressing their interest in remaining connected with departed Fingo migrants, it is very likely that LMS-affiliated Fingo migrants did very well in the Transkei, and James Read and his fellow missionaries were certainly interested in extending the Kat River’s missionary ventures in that region.

While membership in the LMS was probably useful for those who migrated to the Transkei, it was also very important to Fingo and Khoesan congregants who remained in the Cape Colony. Stapleton and Mager’s arguments that Fingo and Thembu departures for the Transkei were forced, and that the land holdings of those who remained behind were threatened, shed an interesting light on the relationship between Oxkraal and the Kat River in the years after the “Fingo Exodus.” In the years after the “Fingo Exodus,” when people at Oxkraal were under greater pressure to sell or move off their land, they re-emphasized their connection to the Kat River and the LMS in order claim their participation in the Kat River’s historical legacy of respectability, political rights, and independence, and also to ensure their connection to humanitarian aid from London.

---

<sup>95</sup> Read and van Rooyen to Mullens, 9 July 1868, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>96</sup> Read to Mullens, 29 October 1870, LMS-SA/37.

*“The child was known to us when he was a boy”*: *The Read family in the Kat River*

### *Settlement*

Along with some of the other cost-saving decisions discussed above, such as demoting Arie van Rooyen and reducing funding for education, the LMS also attempted, in 1868, to re-organize its mission stations in the eastern Cape.<sup>97</sup> Letters from the Kat River area at the time hint with alarm that the LMS might amalgamate some of its stations in order to save money. For the Kat River and Oxkraal congregations, a primary concern was that they would be placed into separate LMS “spheres.” Both Khoesan and Fingo congregants claimed that the Kat River and Oxkraal could not be separated, and that the spiritual and material interests of both depended on a connection to the historical legacy of the Kat River Settlement, particularly as that history was embodied by the Read family.

When they first heard of the LMS’ plans to alter the organization of their Cape operations, Read and van Rooyen wrote to the Board requesting that “the Commission which has been appointed to take into consideration the readjustment and redistribution of Mission spheres” should not interfere with the mission stations and congregations “which we are connected with as a local committee viz. Tidmanton, Fort Beaufort, Philipton, Hackney [Oxkraal], and the branch stations of the Chomo beyond the Kei.”<sup>98</sup> The next year, delegates from Tidmanton and Oxkraal congregations wrote a petition with the same request, that “the Mission spheres of Philipton

---

<sup>97</sup> The LMS “Budget Dispatches” of 1868 also sought to reduce LMS contributions to ministers’ salaries by making the distinction between “missionary” and “minister” more clear. van Rooyen and Read were both missionaries — that is, employees of the LMS — and ministers — employees of their congregations. Even after the imposition of the Voluntary Principle they had received a small yearly salary from the LMS. After 1868 the LMS increased its efforts to make congregations like Philipton and Tidmanton fully independent, with ministers who had no personal connection to the LMS. Philipton became independent in 1871, ending the direct link which the congregation had to the LMS through the employment of James Read. This event will be discussed more fully in the conclusion. (Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895* vol. I, 576-78.

<sup>98</sup> Read and van Rooyen to Mullens, 9 July 1868, LMS-SA/34.

Tidmanton, Fort Beaufort and Hackney not be interfered with” except with the approval of the congregations and their ministers.<sup>99</sup>

The writers of this petition claimed that “there are many, and very cogent reasons we could adduce” in support of their request, but they confined themselves to citing the right of a self-supporting church to make its own choice. Other communications, however, made the necessity of a connection between the Kat River and Fingo congregations at Oxkraal more explicit. A letter from three elders of the Oxkraal congregation claimed that their identity as Fingo was the reason they wanted to be connected to the Kat River congregations. “The great point,” they wrote, “is that we wish very much to be again connected with Philipton church and its minister... [for] we know our own circumstances and what will be for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Fingoe people and the church and congregation of Hackney.”<sup>100</sup> In the context of the “Fingo Exodus,” as Fingo lands near Oxkraal and Queenstown were threatened by expanding white farmers, the people of the Hackney may have felt that a connection to the long-established and well-known Kat River community was a way of protecting their position. Congregants from Oxkraal and the Kat River also felt that their mutual association would enhance their respectability. One petition from Oxkraal said that they wanted to be affiliated with Philipton because the latter congregation, through the agency of James Read Senior, “had got us all our temporal privileges and rights,” by which they possibly referred to the 1836 Aborigines Committee, Ordinance 50, the nonracial franchise of 1853, and other liberal humanitarian initiatives with which James Read Senior and Junior were associated.<sup>101</sup> If people from Oxkraal

---

<sup>99</sup> Andries Hatha and George Pitt to LMS Directors, 7 October 1869, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>100</sup> Elders Klabati, Joseph, and Louis to van Rooyen and John Foree, 4 August 1870, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>101</sup> Nthlabati et al. to LMS Directors, 9 April 1871, LMS-SA/37.

valued their connection to the Kat River because of its history of advancing Africans' "temporal privileges and rights," Kat River congregants valued the connection to Ockraal because it was a sign of their evangelical accomplishments. In May 1871, the Kat River congregation at Philipton held services to commemorate the thirtieth "Financial Anniversary of the Church of Philipton in connection with the London Missionary Society."<sup>102</sup> The writers of the report reflected on the history of the LMS in the Cape Colony, particularly on the achievements of the "Hottentot nation." "Your Committee may remark," they wrote, "that the Hottentot nation and people has... furnished its quota of Good and Zealous men... all of whom were set apart... for the work of God."<sup>103</sup> This good work included the conversion of Fingo people and the founding of the Ockraal congregation, "which was commenced by the Philipton church."<sup>104</sup> If the LMS separated Ockraal and the Kat River, and if such a separation resulted in the secession of one of those congregations from the LMS, a group of ministers warned that the consequences would be severe. The exit of any congregation from the LMS fold would:

involve the loss of all the peculiar prestige and moral influence which has been won for the London Mis[sionary] Society among the native races of South Africa, by the hard earned victory which it achieved for their personal and social freedom. This could not be transferred to the other religious societies because none of these participated in the struggle itself. At present the names of Dr. Philip and the London Missionary Society are held in a grateful remembrance.<sup>105</sup>

Following this logic, if the loss of any congregation would cost the LMS its "peculiar prestige," then the loss of the LMS would cost a congregation the "personal and social freedom" (or at least

---

<sup>102</sup> Minutes of a meeting held at Philipton, Kat River, 24 May 1871, LMS-SA/37.

<sup>103</sup> Minutes of a meeting held at Philipton, Kat River, 24 May 1871, LMS-SA/37.

<sup>104</sup> Andries Hatha and George Pitt to LMS Directors, 7 October 1869, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>105</sup> Read, van Rooyen, et al. to LMS Directors, January 1872, LMS-SA/37.

the respectability associated with having those freedoms) which the LMS had won for them in the past.

As the quotation above suggests, the value which Kat River and Oxkraal congregations saw in their mutual association was linked to memories of the LMS role in securing political rights for African Christians earlier in the century. When they requested that they not be separated, Philipton, Tidmanton, and Oxkraal congregations often referred to their shared connection to James Read Senior, and the work he had done in the early, exciting days of the Kat River's success, when the project was still fashionably popular among humanitarian activists. The Read family thus became, for Kat River and Oxkraal congregations, the visible manifestation of the historical legacy which they wished to claim as their own. James Read Senior had still been living when Kat River congregations began their connection to Oxkraal, and James Read Junior had worked for many years to secure teachers, schools, and financial support for the Oxkraal congregation. When Read Junior's eldest son, James Read III, came of age, the congregation at Oxkraal argued strongly that he ought to become their minister.

The value which Oxkraal congregants placed on their connection with the Read family was particularly visible because of the impediments which nearly prevented James Read III from going to Oxkraal. Sometime after 1862 the young James Read had been sent to Blackheath, a school in south London for missionaries' children. In 1869, however, the LMS Board decided to end his education because he had performed poorly. His father wrote that the decision "causes Mrs Read and myself much pain anxiety and disappointment. Yet we were glad that his morality was not impugned nor his piety questioned." His father was disappointed that James Read III's failings would probably bar him from ordination with the LMS. "Although the young man has



intellectual deficits and... somewhat an impediment in his speech,” his father argued that “he preaches in [D]utch at least acceptably and... is greatly liked by the congregation of Philipton, Tidmanton and Hackney.”<sup>106</sup> For their part, the church at Ockraal claimed that they had been interested in James Read III for many years. “The child was known to us when he was a boy,” they wrote, “[and] we said we would collect money to help in his [education] to be a minister.” Although the young Read at first “seemed bashful to say any thing... we asked him to come over and preach here — and he was very much liked by the congregation... and was the means of raising many people to think of their sins and come to Jesus.”<sup>107</sup> The writers of this letter clearly expressed their reasons for wanting the youngest James Read to take the position: “God knows that... we wish to be connected with our old church and our minister Mr Read who has done and suffered so much for us.”<sup>108</sup> Statements such as this suggest that it was the person and work of James Read Junior, and not the qualifications of his son, that most interested Fingo congregants at Ockraal. Van Rooyen put the case of the Ockraal congregation succinctly in his personal petition to the LMS. The church at Ockraal, he wrote, “earnestly wish” to be connected with Read Junior, “his late venerable father,” and the whole church of Philipton, “to whom the Hottentots, Fingoes, Caffirs, slaves and Bushmen owe so much gratitude.”<sup>109</sup> According to van Rooyen, then, African citizens of the Colony owed their political rights and social respectability to the Read family, their activities in the Kat River, and their activism in imperial networks of liberal humanitarianism.

---

<sup>106</sup> Read to Mullens, 30 November 1869, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>107</sup> Elders Klabati, Joseph, and Louis to van Rooyen and John Foree, 4 August 1870, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>108</sup> Elders Klabati, Joseph, and Louis to van Rooyen and John Foree, 4 August 1870, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>109</sup> van Rooyen to Mullens, 4 August 1870, LMS-SA/36.

### *Conclusion*

By the late 1860s, the Reads were no longer influential in these networks — James Read’s last involvement in colonial political affairs had been during the post-rebellion Commissions and the settling of the non-racial 1853 franchise — and former Kat River Settlement’s status as an exemplar of African Christian economic and political success was by this time questionable. For LMS-affiliated Khoe and Fingo people in this area, however, the Read family was still important as a reminder of the original Kat River project, and the benefits that might still be accessible through it. Thus, by insisting that James Read III be employed at Oxkraal, LMS-affiliated Khoe and Fingo people asserted their right as self-supporting congregations to ministerial choice, and also reminded the LMS Directors of their historic duty as promoters of the “personal and social freedom” of their African members.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION: “THIS GROUND WAS WASHED CLEAN BY BLOOD”

Robert Ross has said that there is a “direct link” between the early ideals of the Kat River Settlement and the African National Congress (ANC) which has led South Africa since the first democratic elections in 1994.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, Ross argues that the Kat River Settlement prefigured modern South African nationalism in its “classically South African combination of black nationalism with mission Christianity,” and that thus, “it is not too much to claim that modern black South African politics began in Philipton.”<sup>2</sup> If Ross is correct, then how did the earliest participants in black South African politics at Philipton live and express their ideas between the heady days of the Kat River rebellion and the founding of the ANC in 1912, the period which would usually be designated as the beginning of black South African politics?

This conclusion assesses how the findings of this thesis fit into the existing historiography of the Kat River Settlement and how this study has contributed to scholarly discussions of the constructions of ethnicity and the nature of missionary Christianity in nineteenth-century South Africa. This thesis shows how in the Kat River area, the idea of the Settlement which was championed by liberal humanitarians from 1829 to 1853 continued to be important to Kat River residents between 1853 and the early 1870s. This conclusion will also assess how the Kat River has been remembered in the twentieth century, both during apartheid and in democratic South Africa. Although recent trends towards the revival of Khoesan pre-colonial culture have directed attention away from the nineteenth-century Settlement, the Kat

---

<sup>1</sup> Ross, *Status and Respectability*, 176.

<sup>2</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 11.

River continues to be remembered as a place where South Africans defended their land and challenged a racist state.

*The Kat River Settlement in the Historiography of Identity and Resistance*

Scholarship by Elbourne, Ross, and others has shown how LMS-affiliated Khoesan in the Kat River crafted identities as progressive, pious, land-owning citizens through their interaction with liberal humanitarians in the early nineteenth century. Missionary and official supporters acquired the Kat River Settlement on behalf of Khoesan people. In tandem with them, the Settlement's residents articulated a vision of the Settlement that saw the land as the restored property of the Khoesan people, and their lifestyle there as allowing them entrance into respectable Cape society and a global network of congregational Christianity. This vision was no longer viable after the Kat River rebellion ended in 1853.

However, letters and petitions from the eastern Cape show that Kat River residents continued to try to retain their connection to supporters in metropolitan Britain, maintain their livelihoods as independent agriculturalists, and gain respectability in the colony. They pursued these goals through the institutions that were available to them in LMS congregations. Kat River residents used LMS congregations to ask for help from their Congregational brethren in Britain, to demonstrate their respectability by exercising their independent choice as congregations, to pursue educational opportunities, and to incorporate new communities into their project. In this way, the Kat River Settlement in the mid and late-nineteenth century, “nurtured a political tradition capable of accommodating and embracing strangers” — one of the defining characteristics of South African politics as articulated by Paul Landau. If, as Landau says,

amalgamation was the central strength of South African politics from the fifteenth century to the twentieth, then the Kat River Settlement exemplified this strength in its incorporation of new ideas and new people.<sup>3</sup> There, Khoesan people incorporated elements of evangelical Protestant missionary Christianity into what it meant to be Khoesan. They also incorporated the particular ideas and institutional structures of the LMS into their ongoing struggle for livelihood and respectability. The career of Arie van Rooyen described in Chapter 2 shows how Kat River congregants used the language of the Voluntary Principle to argue that van Rooyen's status should not be reduced, because his status reflected back on the status and respectability of his Khoesan congregation. Likewise, Chapter 3 shows how Kat River congregations enthusiastically participated in the expansion of Fingo identity and the conversion of Fingo people to Christianity. Alliance between Oxkraal and Kat River congregations allowed the latter congregations to acquire connections to a wealthier community, and also to prove their evangelistic achievements to supporters in Britain. Their connection to the LMS allowed Kat River people to claim, in the words of elders from Philipton, that "the Hottentot nation and people has... furnished its quota of Good and Zealous men."<sup>4</sup> By incorporating specifically LMS Christianity into what it meant to be a "Hottentot" resident of the Kat River Settlement, congregants were able to pursue their continuing goals of economic self-sufficiency and inclusion in the political life of the colony.

This thesis has also shown how colonial subjects in the nineteenth century participated in imperial networks. Historians of the nineteenth-century British empire have noted many different ways that power, information, and ideas circulated multi-directionally around the globe, moving

---

<sup>3</sup> Landau, *Popular Politics*, 73, 246.

<sup>4</sup> Minutes of a meeting held at Philipton, Kat River, 24 May 1871, LMS-SA/37.

between colonies, and from the colonies to the metropole, rather than solely from the metropole to the colonies.<sup>5</sup> These studies of nineteenth-century settler colonies have focused on connections between settlers, officials, and the metropole, although more recently Dussart and Lester have noted how Aboriginal people in Australia exploited the imperial dimension of humanitarian projects, for example by going over the heads of colonial officials by sending personal appeals to the Queen. Such actions, Dussart and Lester argue, show “connections between ‘local’ agency... and the global networks of British imperialism” and how colonized people used “variously scaled networks of imperial governance to challenge the pejorative racial discourse” of the late-nineteenth century empire.<sup>6</sup> The activities of Kat River residents in the late nineteenth century demonstrate how LMS adherents in the eastern Cape used religious networks in a similar way to the imperial networks whose use Lester, Dussart, and others have described. Chapter 3 shows how Kat River congregations reported their evangelizing success among the Fingo back to the LMS in London, in order to prove the vitality of the Kat River project and ask for continuing support from Britain. The whole purpose of the LMS was to convert people in foreign lands on behalf of Congregational churches in Britain, and by claiming the conversions of Oukraal Fingos as their work, Kat River congregations showed that they were valuable to the work of the LMS. Undeniably, Kat River congregants occupied a subordinate position in the empire-wide network of LMS philanthropy and evangelism. However, they were still able to engage in this network and use its ideas and institutions to their advantage. Historiographically, African “independent” churches have received more attention than “mainline” churches like the Congregational,

---

<sup>5</sup> Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections*; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Lester, *Imperial Networks*; McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*.

<sup>6</sup> Dussart and Lester, *Colonization and the Origins*, 167-70.

Anglican, or Wesleyan. The creation of new denominations by African Christians frustrated with the lack of equality in missionary-established churches has been examined as an example of how religion was used to contest colonial hegemony.<sup>7</sup> This thesis has shown how even those who did not secede to “independent” churches, and who remained members of missionary-established churches, were not necessarily passive participants in a foreign organization, but rather applied church doctrine and organization in ways that were relevant to their changing needs.<sup>8</sup>

### *The End of the LMS in the Kat River Settlement*

In 1853, after the Kat River rebellion and frontier war had only recently ended, James Read wrote to the LMS Superintendent William Thompson in Cape Town to express his plan for what the Kat River Settlement would become after its restoration. He first pointed out the importance of literacy and education:

Books suited to their modes of thought, delineative of their habits and manners which would create a taste for reading are as yet desiderati and greatly needed, [for] without an active and well regulated Mission Press in this Country the mass of the people will continue in comparative ignorance, moral incompetency, mental apathy and barbarism. They will remain dissociated from the rest of the community and whilst all around rise in wealth [and] intelligence, they will be outstripped in the race of progress. . . I therefore trust my dear Brother, that while under the Superintendency of your venerable predecessor [John Philip] much was

---

<sup>7</sup> Bengt Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London: James Clarke, 1948); Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Barbara Bompani, “African Independent Churches in Post-Apartheid South Africa: New Political Interpretations,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34 (2008): 665-677. Of course, as Barbara Bompani notes, independent (or “Ethiopian” or “Zionist”) churches were not always politically militant; scholars have remarked on their political quietude during apartheid.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to Landau and Elbourne, other scholars have demonstrated the uses of missionary-established, mainline Christianity. Robert Houle gives an interesting example of how Zulu Christians used the idea of revival to acquire more influence in the American Zulu Mission. Elizabeth Prevost has shown how Anglican women’s prayer and motherhood support groups established a global network which challenged the local and imperial patriarchy of the church. Houle, “Mbiya Kuzwayo’s Christianity: Revival, Reformation and the Surprising Viability of Mainline Churches in South Africa.” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 38 (2008): 141-170; Prevost, *The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

effected for the political emancipation of the people, your agency will have reference more especially to the mental emancipation and social elevation of the Aborigines of these countries.<sup>9</sup>

This passage illustrates the goals which LMS-affiliated Kat River residents held before and during the Kat River rebellion, and which they hoped to pursue after it ended. Read's emphasis on literacy shows how education was closely linked to Christianity in the Kat River, and how piety and education were supposed to bring about "the mental emancipation and social elevation" of Kat River residents — in short, to make them respectable.

However, the optimistic tone of the letter excerpted above is absent from most Kat River communications in the two decades after 1853. Drought, lung sickness, the incursions of white farmers into the Kat River, and the financial constraints imposed by the Voluntary Principle all contributed to economic insecurity in the Kat River in the late 1850s and 1860s. In the decades after the rebellion, it became increasingly difficult for Khoesan LMS adherents to demonstrate the economic competence that was a feature of the Kat River project and one of their claims to social respectability. Rather than asking for books or the establishment of a printing press, letters from ministers and congregants in these decades were focused on securing the minimum assistance from LMS headquarters in London which would pay the salaries of church officers and keep their institutional buildings in repair and functioning.

Letters from the Kat River in the 1860s became increasingly pessimistic about the future of the LMS Khoesan community there, and often compared the present situation to the more hopeful, energetic days of the past. In one letter, van Rooyen complained to the LMS foreign secretary that he ought to receive more coverage in the *Missionary Chronicle*, and noted that the

---

<sup>9</sup> Read to Thompson, 17 June 1853, LMS-SA/28.



travel between the eastern Cape and London which had been crucial to the success of the Aborigines Committee hearings in 1836, had been curtailed by the LMS.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, in an 1871 letter reflecting on the legacy of the Voluntary Principle, elders of the Kat River churches expressed much more direct criticism than they had at the time of its implementation. What they had come to realize, the writers said, was that the LMS plan all along was only to “found churches, and then move on, leaving the churches to self support” or perhaps even “be taken over by other churches.”<sup>11</sup> This sense of abandonment is most apparent in the letters of James Read, who as the son of an LMS missionary and a Khoesan convert had the most personal stake in the idea that an association with the LMS would provide social respectability and prosperity in the colony, and close relations with supporters in Britain. As the years progressed, Read’s faith in this promise was shaken. He admitted that the state of local affairs was “gloomy,” that he felt “anxiety about the future,” and that he was unsure whether the LMS could do anything about it.<sup>12</sup> After the directors failed to respond to his congregants’ petitions about a recent budget, Read included a cutting postscript to one of his letters: “Presuming my dear Dr. Mullens that you and the Board feel interested in the domestic affairs of your missionaries, I beg leave to say that Mrs Read has been laid aside for several months by a serious disease... which places her life in great jeopardy.”<sup>13</sup> Read felt that the LMS directors had not only abandoned his family, but the whole Kat River community. In one letter, he reflected on “the establishment of this settlement [and] its prosperity at one time” which once allowed it to contribute £300 a year to LMS central funds. Though “the people are now poor,” he wrote, they “are deeply embarrassed,” and desired nothing

---

<sup>10</sup> van Rooyen to Mullens, 6 June 1871.

<sup>11</sup> Christian Zeeland and Andries Hatha to Mullens, 1 July 1871, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>12</sup> Read to Mullens, 19 March 1872, LMS-SA/36; Read to Mullens, 3 March 1869, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>13</sup> Read to Mullens, 28 November 1871, LMS-SA/36.

so much as to be able to return to their former place of prominence in the Society. By 1871, Read does not seem to have been confident that this appeal to the former glories of the Kat River Settlement would be successful, as this letter included another frank postscript in which he admitted that “I cannot hide from you the fact that we feel really hurt by your style and manner of communication.”<sup>14</sup>

In 1871, the process which the Voluntary Principle had put in motion was finally realized. The idea of the Voluntary Principle was that congregations begun as mission stations would eventually move away from the tutelage of the LMS and become independent Congregational churches with no claim on the support of the LMS. The introduction of the Voluntary Principle in the 1860s meant that church buildings and activities in the Kat River were paid for by the congregation itself, but Read and van Rooyen still drew part of their income from the LMS because, as missionaries, they were employees of the Society. The Society’s 1868 Budget Dispatch, which had recommended the division of mission station lands into freehold plots, also tried to get congregations like Oxkraal and Philipton to become fully independent and employ ministers who were not simultaneously missionaries of the Society. According to the official history published by the LMS, Oxkraal became independent in 1870, and Philipton in 1871.<sup>15</sup> Tidmanton is not mentioned, probably because it was considered a “branch” station of Philipton, the distinction discussed in Chapter 2 against which van Rooyen’s congregation had argued strongly. This change in the status of Kat River and Oxkraal congregations is reflected in the LMS archives, as no letters from Read and van Rooyen appear after 1872. Their letters in 1870 and 1871 make no direct reference to the imminent end of their association with the LMS, or to

---

<sup>14</sup> Read to Mullens, July 1871, LMS-SA/36.

<sup>15</sup> Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895* vol. I, 578.

their ceasing to be missionary employees of the LMS. It is possible that any correspondence on the status change and their retirement is located elsewhere in the LMS archive, although I have not been able to discover where this might be. Read and van Rooyen thus retired from the LMS in 1871, likely with a small pension for Read. The controversy over van Rooyen's status in the 1860s left it unclear whether he would receive one. In this way, congregations at the Kat River and Oukraal lost their official connection with the LMS. Although they could still count themselves among the family of Congregational churches in Britain and the empire, they had lost the direct link which the LMS gave them to potential friends and supporters in Britain; they might only now participate in the LMS by making donations to its other missionary operations, which Kat River congregations were not in a financial position to do.

However, it is probable that van Rooyen, Read, and possibly Read's son James Read III remained the ministers of their respective Kat River and Oukraal congregations. James Read seems to have remained active within Congregational and Protestant evangelical circles in South Africa. His letters from 1870 and 1871 speak of his interest in establishing connections between the Kat River and the Griqua church in the new state of Griqualand East. He appears in two photographs in the LMS archives, one taken in 1883 of a group of Congregational ministers in Cape Town and the other taken at roughly the same time, judging from his physical appearance, with elders and ministers of the Griqua church at Kokstad.<sup>16</sup> He died in 1891.<sup>17</sup>

The LMS archives thus offer no further information on the Kat River or the activities of Congregational church members there. Khoesan congregants in the Kat River may have

---

<sup>16</sup> "Some of the Ministers and Delegates of the Congregational Union, S.A., who assembled in Cape Town, June 1883," LMS/Africa/Photographs/Box 3/25/2; "Mission Group present at opening of New Church Kokstad," LMS/Africa/Photographs/Box 3/24/2.

<sup>17</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 20.

continued to invest a significant amount of their limited resources in paying the salaries of church officers and teachers, and paying for the seemingly continual repair needs of church buildings. Kat River congregants may have continued to pursue respectability, economic competence, inclusion in a wider network of Christians, and the incorporation of other interested people into the Kat River project. James Read seems to have hoped that the revival of the LMS Griqua church, which was part of an independent Griqua state, would provide a new example of how the LMS could allow its members to achieve respectability and inclusion in colonial society.<sup>18</sup> Kat River residents may also have found, in the decades after the 1870s, that Congregational churches and the leadership of the Read family in those churches — which had been so significant to them in the previous two decades — were no longer so important. There is no extant scholarship on the Kat River between the 1870s and the 1970s. The records of the Congregational Union of South Africa may offer information on the involvement of Kat River churches in its activities during this century. The activities of Kat River residents in the second half of the nineteenth century may also be accessible through records held by the National Archives of South Africa, although online catalogues of the Cape Town Repository and Port Elizabeth Repository contain scant mentions of the Kat River, the district of Stockenström, or the towns of Philipton, Tidmanton, Hertzog, and nearby Fort Beaufort.

---

<sup>18</sup> Read to Mullens, 8 May 1867, LMS-SA/34; Read to Mullens, 11 June 1867, LMS-SA/34; Members of Mount Currie congregation in New Griqualand, October 1867, LMS-SA/34; Read and R.B. Taylor to Mullens, 30 June 1869, LMS-SA/36.

*“This ground is a free ground” : The Kat River and Khoesan Identity in Modern South Africa*

The Kat River has occupied, and continues to occupy, an important place in the memory of South Africans, particularly people who identify as coloured or Khoesan. During the twentieth century, coloured people remembered the Kat River as an instance of Khoesan reclaiming ownership of their land. The Kat River rebellion has also remained an important memory of Khoesan resistance to a racist state. Currently, the memory of the Kat River is most useful to people who want to claim this land as their pre-colonial possession.

Although the people who moved to the Kat River Settlement in 1829 had predominantly been Khoesan, over time the people who lived there, like all Khoesan people in the Cape Colony, came to be identified as coloured, a category that encompassed people of slave, Khoesan, Griqua and mixed racial descent. Robert Ross hypothesizes that the end of specifically Khoesan culture in the Kat River came so quickly that James Read, Jr. was probably the last native speaker of eastern Cape Khoe.<sup>19</sup> By the early twentieth century, certainly, people in the Kat River spoke Dutch as their mother tongue and would have been considered coloured rather than Khoesan. Colouredness in twentieth-century South Africa, Mohamed Adhikari shows, nearly always had negative connotations, and this affected the divisive nature of coloured politics. The Population Registration Act of 1950, which assigned every South African a racial category, slotted coloured people into six distinct sub-categories, which reflected the perception that they did not belong to a cohesive nation, people, or race. Adhikari argues that coloured political activists sought to preserve their relative social and political privilege over other Africans, but that these claims to

---

<sup>19</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 20.

partial European ancestry simultaneously “encumbered them with the stigma of racial hybridity.” “Respectability and shame,” one coloured woman reflected in the mid-twentieth century, “are key defining terms of middle class coloured experience.”<sup>20</sup>

However, even in this time when coloured people were seen as heterogenous and lacking a history, the Kat River remained in the political memories of some people as an example of Khoesan respectability and land-ownership, as well as resistance to a racist state. In the early twentieth century, a coloured journalist named Piet Uithalder recounted an exciting conversation which he had with the politician W.P. Schreiner. “After Stoffel introduced me,” Uithalder said, “the discussion really got going. Mr. Schreiner told me all about the Kat River equal rights, Slavery, excise, rebellion, Botha and so forth.”<sup>21</sup> This list highlights the aspects of the Kat River which stood out as important in the public memory of the Settlement: the promise of respectability and equality, the association between the Kat River and Ordinance 50 of 1828 which ended the virtual enslavement of Khoesan, the Kat River rebellion, and the trial of Andries Botha which epitomized the harsh repression of the Settlement after the rebellion. Uithalder’s conversation with Schreiner seems to have covered the history of the Kat River between its founding by humanitarian benefactors and its abandonment by those friends after the rebellion. However, in another piece of journalism, Uithalder warned his readers that the idea of the Kat River still had teeth. “Kat River Hottentots... know how to remove a boer from behind a rock,”

---

<sup>20</sup> Mohamed Adhikari, “Hope, Fear, Shame, Frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in White Supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32 (2006): 482.

<sup>21</sup> Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Ohio:Ohio University Press, 2005), 165.

he wrote, recalling guerrilla warfare against Dutch farmers during the rebellion, and implying that contemporary racists should similarly beware of retribution from those they oppressed.<sup>22</sup>

Piet Uithalder's memory of the Kat River as a place that resisted a racist state, and that offered opportunities for respectability to Khoesan people, was still alive in the Kat River itself in the 1980s. The Kat River community was much reduced by poverty and labour migration by this time, and eventually the former Settlement, now the district of Stockenstrom, was made part of the Ciskei homeland and its remaining 100 families forced to relocate. The historian J.B. Peires visited the Settlement to interview the remaining residents in 1982, and recorded a spontaneous oral poem performed by Piet Draghoender, a 76-year-old descendant of an early Kat River settler family. Draghoender's lament emphasizes many of the same features of the Kat River that had been important to LMS congregants in the nineteenth century, such as their historic right to the land, which was backed up by success in agriculture, Christian piety, and respectability. Draghoender's poem concluded, in agreement with nineteenth-century Khoesan LMS congregants, that they had been betrayed by those who should have aided them. Draghoender opened by remembering how "Mr Stockenstrom took them, he took his soldiers... He said, 'The war is over, now I'm sending you home, and I'm going to give you grazing... That's your property, that's the reward I'm giving you, for your dying, for what you gave up to death, to make the place free.'" In his memory of the founding of the Settlement, then, Draghoender saw the Kat River as the natural "home" of Khoesan people, as well as a reward they had earned by making the Cape Colony "free" (i.e., free from Xhosa invaders during the frontier wars of the 1830s and 40s). He and his ancestors had maintained their right to this land,

---

<sup>22</sup> Adhikari, *Not White Enough*, 165.

Draghoender said, by their diligent work and wartime services to the government: “This ground was washed clean by blood. The blood came from my grandfather... These wars... My father stood up for a war. My grandfather stood up for a war... My children, my father’s children that stood up for a war.” All this fighting had justified his right to the fruits of the soil. “I cut off the place for myself as far as the river,” Draghoender said. “I planted it full of mealies. There stands the mealie today, may it give its fruit... This ground is a free ground! This ground is also not in debt.” However, Draghoender realized, all of his and his ancestors’ efforts and achievements had been for nothing, for “today we must let it go. Without wanting to. Without wanting to. Such is this thing... But I say, I leave it to the will of the Old Master, that He will put such things right, and He will look and see if He can get me a place, or what, what will happen. But I say that the Lord is so good (*he turns and speaks directly to his land*) that the Lord will not take you. The Lord will never permit you to be taken like this.”<sup>23</sup> On the eve of the final dispersal of the remnants of the Kat River community, Draghoender’s poem brought up many of the same themes — loyalty to the government, responsible agricultural productivity, Christian piety, and the rights of occupants to land that had been granted to them in 1829 — that had been brought up by Kat River residents in the mid-nineteenth century. Since Draghoender and the other remaining Kat River residents left in 1984, the former Settlement has remained mostly unoccupied, and much of it is now a game reserve.<sup>24</sup>

In post-apartheid South Africa, the Kat River has taken on slightly different meanings. The nineteenth-century understanding of the Kat River as a place for Khoesan to prove their piety and respectability and so assimilate, or at least gain equality in, Cape society, is less

---

<sup>23</sup> Jeff Peires, “Piet Draghoender’s Lament,” *Social Dynamics* 14 (1988): 8-12.

<sup>24</sup> Ross, *Borders of Race*, 148.



appealing to Khoesan activists today. After the first democratic elections in 1994, some people formerly categorized as coloured began to identify with their Khoesan heritage, and assert their rights as indigenous people. This movement towards claiming indigenous status for Griqua, Khoe, and San people was strengthened by a global trend in the mid-1990s that tried to recognize, protect, and salvage the cultures of people variously described as indigenous, tribal, primitive, or nomadic. The United Nations declared a Decade for Indigenous Peoples which lasted from 1995 to 2004. A number of non-governmental organizations worked in Canada, South Africa, Botswana, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere to make land-restitution claims for people whose historic way of life had been nomadic, and who had been displaced and discriminated against by sedentary farming people.<sup>25</sup> Khoe and San (many contemporary activists recognize these as distinct ethnicities) activists have taken up this cause, and have argued to the South African government that they deserve to have their historic hunting grounds returned to them so that they can revive and practice a culture that was suppressed by the colonial state and the agriculturalist peoples who took their land. The South African government has agreed to some of these requests; “the #khomani people,” for example, were given “vaguely specified rights of ‘ownership’” to the land of Kalahari Gemsbok Park. Adam Kuper points out that the granting of land to people who meet certain identity criteria can be problematic, and that in the case of the #khomani, “people have been obligated to reformulate their ethnic identities in order to gain access to resources.”<sup>26</sup> The scholarly impact of what Kuper calls the “indigenous-peoples movement” on Khoesan identity has been, as Andrew Bank and Gary Minkley write, “a move towards interpreting Khoisan history and culture primarily in terms of a project of cultural

---

<sup>25</sup> Adam Kuper, “The Return of the Native,” *Current Anthropology* 44 (2003): 389-91.

<sup>26</sup> Kuper, “The Return of the Native,” 394.

retrieval.”<sup>27</sup> They argue that in contemporary South Africa, the goal of both scholars and Khoesan activists is not so much to uncover the nature of Khoesan society as it existed in the past, to but to preserve cultural knowledge that is useable in the present. There are a number of Khoesan, San and Griqua activist groups that pursue this goal of reclaiming a pre-colonial indigenous culture. The Khoi and San Active Awareness Group, for example, claims that its main goal is to “preserve, promote and development [sic] our most ancient linguistic heritage for present and future generations,” a project that involves offering free Khoikhoi and San language classes to Cape Town residents.<sup>28</sup> Khoesan activist groups have sometimes taken a militant position against the ANC government, claiming that indigenous people were excluded and exploited during the transition to democracy, while at other times they have focused on negotiating the gradual inclusion of Khoesan heritage into school curriculums, and the replacement of coloured identity by Khoesan identity.<sup>29</sup>

The place of the Kat River in the current project of Khoesan cultural reclamation is as a potential piece of pre-colonial Khoisan property to be re-appropriated, and possibly as an example of Khoesan resistance to colonialism. In 2013, an amendment to the Land Restitution Act allowed some claimants to base their argument for land restitution on occupation before the cut-off date of 1913. One Khoesan group, the Hoengeyqua Peoples Council, hoped that this decision would allow them to pursue their claim to “the whole of the Kat River,” which are the

---

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Bank and Gary Minkley, “Reading the Evidence: Implications of the Shift to a Heritage Paradigm in Khoisan Studies,” *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 24 (1997), 3.

<sup>28</sup> Yazeed Kamaldien, “You too can learn the Khoikhoi language,” *GroundUp*, 24 May 2014 [http://groundup.org.za/article/you-too-can-learn-khoikhoi-language\\_1830](http://groundup.org.za/article/you-too-can-learn-khoikhoi-language_1830) (accessed 22 June 2015); “Mission Statement,” Khoi and San Active Awareness Group <https://ksaag.wordpress.com/about/mission-statement/> (accessed 22 June 2015).

<sup>29</sup> Besten, “Transformation and Reconstitution,” 279, 299. Griqua people who were formerly considered Coloured, and who during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries often stressed their unique ethnic identity, have begun to emphasize their Khoesan heritage. Besten, 284, 313.

“ancestral lands” of the “Hoengeyqua people.”<sup>30</sup> This claim was made on the basis of pre-colonial land ownership, rather than on the idea that any people of Hoengeyqua descent lived in the Kat River Settlement during the time when it had been a “refuge” and the “national property” of the “Hottentot nation.” The Kat River Settlement and the rebellion are not, thus, an important facet of the arguments which current Khoesan activists make for land restitution and cultural revival, as these activists are most interested in remembering Khoesan society as it existed before colonial intervention.

The ANC government is somewhat more interested in remembering the role of the Kat River Settlement as it existed in the nineteenth century, and how that history might be part of contemporary Khoesan memory. At a ceremony for the re-burial of Sara Baartman, a San woman who was taken to Europe in the eighteenth century, the Minister of Arts and Culture, Pallo Jordan, spoke of the need to remember “the contribution the Khoikhoi and San have made to the struggle for freedom and democracy, while also preserving... the indigenous knowledge of these communities and the enduring aspects of their culture.” Jordan also spoke of the government’s plans to create a “KhoiSan Heritage Route” which would feature “Adam Kok’s grave in Griqualand,” “the sites of Griqua churches and other institutions in the eastern Cape,” and “the Kat River settlement, which rose in rebellion against British colonialism in 1850.”<sup>31</sup> In July 2014 construction began on a Sara Baartman Centre of Remembrance, which will use Baartman’s life as the focal point for a museum and heritage site “depicting a narrative about Khoi-San

---

<sup>30</sup> Xolani Koyana, “Cautious welcome for land claims extension,” *Cape Times* 29 May 2014, <http://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/cautious-welcome-for-land-claims-extension-1.1524022#.VYm43BNViko> (accessed 22 June 2015).

<sup>31</sup> Speech by Minister Pallo Jordan on the Launch of Architectural brief of Sarah Baartman project at Hankey Eastern Cape, 7 March 2009 <https://www.dac.gov.za/speech-minister-dr-z-pallo-jordan-launch-architectural-brief-sarah-bartmann-project-hankey-eastern> (accessed 22 June 2015).

history.”<sup>32</sup> Jordan’s speech, and the proposed construction of the Heritage Route and Centre of Remembrance show that the government may be interested in promoting a type of Khoesan heritage that not only resurrects pre-colonial Khoesan culture, but also remembers how Khoesan people participated in the changing landscape of South Africa’s history and came to form a part of the modern nation.

Interpretations of the Kat River’s history change over time and between interpreters, as do understandings of Khoesan identity. The letters written by LMS-affiliated Christians in the Kat River in the mid and late nineteenth century reveal how Khoesan people interpreted the history and significance of the Settlement during a politically and economically changing period. The letters reveal how people imagined their place in the Cape Colony and in a wider network of global Christianity, and sought to achieve their goals within those arenas. In the two decades after 1853, Kat River residents maintained some of the same goals of economic independence, respectability, and inclusion in the empire-wide network of congregationalism. However, the methods by which they pursued these goals changed over time. Kat River residents demonstrated they many uses to which religious institutions and ethnic identities could be put as they continuously renegotiated their relationships with the colonial state, empire-wide religious networks, and their neighbours in the eastern Cape. In this way, this thesis contributes to a robust historiographical tradition which examines how South Africans shaped their own history during three centuries of colonialism.

---

<sup>32</sup> “Construction starts on R164 million Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance,” Sarah Baartman District Municipality, 30 July 2014. <http://www.cacadu.co.za/article/77> (accessed 23 July 2015).

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **Archival Sources:**

Incoming Correspondence from South Africa. London Missionary Society Records. Council for World Mission Archives. School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Colonial Office Series (CO). Western Cape Archives Repository, Cape Town.

War and Colonial Department and Colonial Office: Cape of Good Hope Colony (Cape Colony), Original Correspondence (CO48). National Archives, United Kingdom.

### **Printed Primary Sources:**

British Parliamentary Papers 1428 of 1852: Correspondence Relative to the State of the Kafir Tribes.

Buchanan, William. *Trial of Andries Botha, Field-Cornet of Upper Blinkwater, in the Kat River Settlement, for High Treason*. Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1852.

*Cape Argus*, 1870-1871.

“Correspondence With Reference to the Principles, Conditions, and Detailed Arrangements on Which the Fingo Exodus has Been Carried Out.” Cape of Good Hope Parliamentary Paper. Saul Solomon: Cape Town, 1867.

Fairbairn, John. *Papers Relative to the Establishment of a Representative Legislature at the Cape of Good Hope*. London: Trelawney Saunders, 1851.

Goldswain, Jeremiah. *The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain*, Vol. II. Edited by Una Long. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1946.

Green, John. *The Kat River Settlement in 1851*. Grahamstown: Robert Godlonton, 1853.

Holden, W.C. *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*. Cape Town: C. Struik, 1866, rpt 1986.

“Justus” (Robert Mackenzie Beverley). *The Wrongs of the Caffre Nation: A Narrative*. London: James Duncan, 1837.

Kayser, Friedrich Gottlob. *Rev. F.G. Kayser: Journals and Letters*. New York: Maskew Miller Longman, 1990.

Lovett, Richard. *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895*. Vol. II. London: Henry Frowde, 1899.

Merriman, Nathaniel J. *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, 1848-1855*. Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1957.

Read, James, Jr. *The Kat River Settlement in 1851, described in a series of letters published in "The South African Commercial Advertiser."* Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1852. Reprinted by the British Library, Historical Print Editions, n.d.

Shone, Thomas. *The Albany Journals of Thomas Shone*. Edited by Penelope Silva. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1992.

Stewart, James, *Lovedale Past and Present: A Register of Two Thousand Names*. Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1887.

Stockenstrom, Andries. *Light and Shade: As Shown in the Character of the Hottentots of the Kat River Settlement and in the Conduct of the Colonial Government Towards Them: Being the Substance of a Speech*. Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1854.

Tindall, Joseph. *Journal of Joseph Tindall*. Edited by B.A. Tidall. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1959.

Venn, Henry. "Minute Upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers." 1851. Reprinted in William Knight, *Memoir of the Rev. H. Venn*. London: Longmans, 1880.

*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 1829-1863.

### **Published Secondary Sources:**

Adhikari, Mohamed. "Hope, Fear, Shame, Frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in White Supremacist South Africa, 1910-1994." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32 (2006): 167-187.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2005.

Bank, Andrew. *Bushmen in a Victorian World: The Remarkable Story of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection of Bushman Folklore*. Cape Town: Double Storey Press, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Great Debate and the Origins of South African Historiography." *Journal of African History* 38 (1997): 261-281.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Losing Faith in the Civilizing Mission: the Premature Decline of Humanitarian Liberalism at the Cape, 1840-60." in *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous People, 1600-1850*. Edited by Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern, 364-383. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Of 'Native Skulls' and 'Noble Caucasians': Phrenology in Colonial South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22 (1996): 387-403.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Politics of Mythology: The Genealogy of the Philip Myth." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25 (1999): 461-477.
- Bank, Andrew and Gary Minkley. "Reading the Evidence: Implications of the Shift to a Heritage Paradigm in Khoisan Studies." *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 24 (1997): 3-8.
- Barringer, Terry. "What Mrs Jellyby Might Have Read. Missionary Periodicals: A Neglected Source." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34 (2004): 46-74.
- Beck, Roger B. "Bibles and Beads: Missionaries as Traders in Southern Africa in the Early Nineteenth Century." *Journal of African History* 30 (1989): 211-225.
- Bergh, J.S. and J.C. Visagie. *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone, 1660-1980: A Cartographic Guide for Historical Research*. Durban: Butterworths, 1985.
- Bickford-Smith, Vivian. "African Nationalist or British Loyalist? The Complicated Case of Tiyo Soga." *History Workshop Journal* 71 (2011): 74-97.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town: Group Identity and Social Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Bilbe, Mark C. *Wupperthal: The Formation of a Community in South Africa 1830-1965*. Kola: Rudiger Koppe Verlag, 2009.
- Boas, Jack and Michael Weiskopf. "The Activities of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, 1806-1836: An Assessment." *African Studies Review* 16 (1973): 417-436.
- Bompani, Barbara. "African Independent Churches in Post-Apartheid South Africa: New Political Interpretations." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34 (2008): 665-677.
- Bonner, Philip. "Classes and the mode of production and the state in pre-colonial Swaziland." *Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa*. Edited by Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, 80-101. London: Longman, 1980.

- Bradford, Helen. "Peasants, Historians, and Gender: A South African Case Study." *History and Theory* 39 (2001): 86-110.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women, Gender and Colonialism: Rethinking the History of the British Cape Colony and Its Frontier Zones, C. 1806-70." *Journal of African History* 37 (1996): 351-70.
- Bradford, Tolly. "World Visions: 'Native Missionaries,' Mission Networks and Critiques of Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Canada." in *Grappling With the Beast: Indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism*. Edited by Peter Limb, Norman A. Etherington, 311-339. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- du Bruyn, Johannes and Nicholas Southey. "The Treatment of Christianity and Protestant Missionaries in South African Historiography." *Missions and Christianity in South African History*, edited by Robert Ross and H.C. Bredekamp, 27-47. Witwatersrand: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995.
- Bundy, Colin. *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*. London: Heinemann, 1979.
- Cleall, Esme. *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Cobbing, Julian. "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo." *Journal of African History* 29 (1988): 487-519.
- Cobley, Alan. "Does Social History Have a Future? The Ending of Apartheid and Recent Trends in South African Historiography." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27 (2001): 613-625.
- Comaroff, Jean. *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Missionaries and Mechanical Clocks: An Essay on Religion and History in South Africa." *Journal of Religion* 71 (1991): 1-17.
- Comaroff, Jean and John. *Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Crais, Clifton. *Poverty, War and Violence in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.



\_\_\_\_\_. *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Dooling, Wayne. *Slavery, Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg and Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007.

Dubow, Saul. *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa, 1820-2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Earth History, Natural History, and Prehistory at the Cape, 1860-1875." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46 (2004): 107-133.

DuPlessis, Johannes. *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*. London: Longmans, 1911.

Dussart, Fae and Alan Lester. *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines Across the Nineteenth-Century Empire*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. *Blood Ground: Missions, Colonialism, and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853*. Kingston: McGill-Queens, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity." in *Missions in South African History*. Edited by Henry Bredekamp and Robert Ross, 66-95. Witwatersrand: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "'Race', Warfare, and Religion in Mid-Nineteenth Century Southern Africa: The Khoikhoi Rebellion Against the Cape Colony and Its Uses, 1850-58." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13 (2000): 17-42.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Sin of the Settler: The 1835-1836 Select Committee on Aborigines and Debates on Virtue and Conquest in the Early Nineteenth-Century British White Settler Empire." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 4 (2003): n.p. [http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/journals/journal\\_of\\_colonialism\\_and\\_colonial\\_history/v004/4.3elbourne.html](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/journals/journal_of_colonialism_and_colonial_history/v004/4.3elbourne.html) (accessed 15 December, 2013).

\_\_\_\_\_. Review of Clifton Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19 (1993): 340-41.

- Elbourne, Elizabeth and Robert Ross, "Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony." in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, edited by Richard Elphick and T.R.H. Davenport, 31-50. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997.
- Elphick, Richard. *The Equality of Believers: Protestant Missions and the Racial Politics of South Africa*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Introduction: Christianity in South African History." in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, edited by Richard Elphick and T.R.H. Davenport, 1-15. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Missions and Afrikaner Nationalism: Soundings in the Prehistory of Apartheid." in *Missions and the End of Empire*, edited by Brian Stanley, 54-78. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Endfield, Georgina H. and David J. Nash. "Missionaries and Morals: Climatic Discourse in Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 92 (2002): 727-742.
- Etherington, Norman. "The Historiography of Christianity in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22 (1996): 201-19.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Preachers, Peasants, and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland, and Zululand*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1978.
- Fast, Hildegard. "In at One Ear and Out at the Other: African Responses to the Wesleyan Message in Xhosaland 1825-1835." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 23 (1993): 147-174.
- Gray, Stephen. "Missionary Researches and Researching Missions: A South African View of Cultural Colonisation at the Millenium." *English in Africa* 26 (1999): 55-68.
- Griffiths, Gareth. "'Trained to Tell the Truth': Missionaries, Converts, and Narration." in *Missions and Empire*. Edited by Norman Etherington, 153-172. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- de Gruchy, John W. Review of *The Farmerfield Mission: A Christian Community in South Africa, 1838-2008*, by Fiona Vernal. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 65 (2014): 219.

- Guy, Jeff. "Class, Imperialism, and Literary Criticism: William Ngidi, John Colenso, and Matthew Arnold." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23 (1997): 219-241.
- Hall, Catherine. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Harries, Patrick. *Butterflies and Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries and Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa*. Oxford: James Currey, 2007.
- Hilton, Boyd. *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Hodgson, Janet. "A Battle for Sacred Power: Christian Beginnings Among the Xhosa." in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, edited by Richard Elphick and T.R.H. Davenport, 68-88. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Soga and Dukwana: The Christian Struggle for Liberation in Mid 19th Century South Africa." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 16 (1986): 187-208.
- Houle, Robert J. "Mbiya Kuzwayo's Christianity: Revival, Reformation and the Surprising Viability of Mainline Churches in South Africa." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 38 (2008): 141-170.
- Johnson, David. "Representing the Cape 'Hottentots,' from the French Enlightenment to Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40 (2007): 525-552.
- Johnston, Anna. *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Jordan, Pallo. Speech by Minister Pallo Jordan on the Launch of Architectural Brief of Sarah Baartman Project at Hankey Eastern Cape. Department of Arts and Culture. 7 March 2009. <https://www.dac.gov.za/speech-minister-dr-z-pallo-jordan-launch-architectural-brief-sarah-bartmann-project-hankey-eastern>.
- Kamaldien, Yazeed. "You too can learn the Khoikhoi language." *GroundUp*. 24 May 2014. [http://groundup.org.za/article/you-too-can-learn-khoikhoi-language\\_1830](http://groundup.org.za/article/you-too-can-learn-khoikhoi-language_1830).
- Khoi and San Active Awareness Group. <https://ksaag.wordpress.com/about/mission-statement/>.
- Kirk, Tony. "The Cape economy and the expropriation of the Kat River Settlement, 1846-53." In *Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa*. Edited by Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, 226-246. London: Longman, 1980.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854." *Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 411-428.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Some Notes on the Financial State of the Eastern Cape, 1840-1850, and the Fate of the Kat River Settlement." in *Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries*. Vol. 3. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London, 1971-72.

Kirkaldy, Alan. "Klaas Koen: identity and belonging in the Berlin Mission Society during the late nineteenth century." *Historia* 55 (2010): 99-120.

Koyana, Xolani. "Cautious welcome for land claims extension." *Cape Times*. 24 May 2014. <http://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/cautious-welcome-for-land-claims-extension-1.1524022#.VYm43BNViko>.

Kuper, Adam. "The Return of the Native." *Current Anthropology* 44 (2003): 389-402.

Laidlaw, Zoe. "Breaking Britannia's Bounds? Law, Settlers, and Space in Britain's Imperial Historiography." *The Historical Journal* 55 (2012): 807-830.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Colonial Connections, 1815-1845: Patronage, the information revolution, and colonial government*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Landau, Paul Stuart. *Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400-1948*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Realm of the Word: Language, Gender and Politics in A South African Kingdom*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995.

LeCordeur, Basil. *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, 1820-1854*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Legassick, Martin. *The Politics of A South African Frontier: The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana, and the Missionaries, 1780-1840*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography." in *Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa*, edited by Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, 44-79. London: Longman, 1980.

Legassick, Martin and Alexander Lichtenstein. "The Past and Present of Marxist Historiography in South Africa." *Radical History Review* 82 (2002): 111-130.

Lester, Alan. "Humanitarians and White Settlers in the Nineteenth Century," in *Missions and Empire*, edited by Norman Etherington. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain*. London: Routledge, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Reformulating Identities: British Settlers in Early Nineteenth-Century South Africa." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23 (1998): 515-531.

Levine, Roger S. *A Living Man From Africa: Jan Tzatzoe, Xhosa Chief and Missionary, and the Making of Nineteenth-Century South Africa*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

MacMillan, William Miller. *Bantu, Boer, and Briton: The Making of the South African Native Problem*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

Mager, Anne. "Colonial Conquest and the Tambookie Frontier: The Story of Maphasa, c. 1830-1853." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39 (2013): 251-270.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Gungubele and the Tambookie Location 1853-1877: End of a Colonial Experiment." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40 (2014): 1159-1176.

Magubane, Zine. "Labour Laws and Stereotypes: Images of the Khoikhoi in the Cape in the Age of Abolition." *South African Historical Journal* 35 (1996): 115-134.

Malherbe, V.C. "The Life and Times of Cupido Kakkerlak," *Journal of African History* 20 (1979): 365-378.

Mandelbrote, H.J. "Constitutional Development." In *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. II. Edited by Eric A. Walker, 359-366. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

Marks, Shula. "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *Journal of African History* 13 (1972): 55-80.

McDonald, Jared. "James Read: Towards a New Reassessment." *South African Historical Journal* 62 (2010): 514-533.

McKenzie, Kirsten. "Franklins of the Cape: The *South African Commercial Advertiser* and the Creation of a Colonial Public Sphere, 1824-1854." *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* (1998-99): 88-102.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Scandal in the Colonies: Sydney and Cape Town, 1820-1850*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2004.
- McKittrick, Meredith. *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity and Colonialism in Ovamboland, Northern Namibia*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002.
- Meltzer, Lalou. "Emancipation, Commerce & the Role of John Fairbairn's Advertiser". In *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and Its Legacy in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony*. Edited by Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais, 169-200. Witwatersrand: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994.
- Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in South African History*. Edited by Carolyn Hamilton. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand Press, 1995.
- Nell, Dawn. "'Treating People as Men': *Bastaard* Land Ownership and Occupancy in the Clanwilliam District of the Cape Colony in the Nineteenth Century." *South African Historical Journal* 53 (2005): 123-145.
- Newton-King, Susan. "The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-1828." in *Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa*, edited by Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, 171-207. London: Longman, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Masters and Servants on the Cape Eastern Frontier, 1760-1803*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Omer-Cooper, J.D. *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*. London: Longman, 1966.
- Peires, J.B. *The Dead Will Arise: Nongquawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-57*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Late Great Plot: The Official Delusion concerning the Xhosa Cattle Killing 1856-57." *History in Africa* 12 (1985): 253-279.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Nxele, Ntsikana and the Origins of Xhosa Religious Reaction." *Journal of African History* 20 (1979): 51-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Piet Draghoender's Lament." *Social Dynamics* 14 (1988): 8-12.

- Porter, Andrew. *Religion Versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Price, Richard. *Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Prevost, Elizabeth. *The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Ranger, Terence. "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa." In *The Invention of Tradition*. Edited by E.J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 211-262 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa," in *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth Century Africa*. Edited by Olufemi Vaughan and Terence Ranger, 62-111. London: Macmillan, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Local and the Global in Southern African Religious History." In *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and anthropological perspectives*. Edited by Robert Hefner, 65-98. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Ross, Robert. *Adam Kok's Griquas: A Study in the Development of Stratification in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa: The Kat River Settlement, 1829-1865*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Concise History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Congregations, Missionaries and the Grahamstown Schism of 1842-43." *The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa, 1799-1999*. Edited by John de Gruchy, 120-131. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Hermanus Matroos, aka Ngxukumeshe: a life on the border." *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 30 (2004): 47-69.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Missions, Respectability, and Civil Rights: The Cape Colony, 1828-1854." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23 (1999): 333-345.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

- Ross, Robert and Russel Viljoen. "The 1849 Census and Cape Missions." *South African Historical Journal* 61 (2009): 389-406.
- Sales, Jane. *Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1975.
- Sandwith, Corinne. "Dora Taylor: South African Marxist." *English in Africa* 29 (2002): 5-27.
- Sarah Baartman District Municipality. "Construction starts on R164 million Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance." 30 July 2014. <http://www.cacadu.co.za/article/77> (accessed 23 July 2015).
- Saunders, Christopher. *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class*. Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1988.
- Saunders, Christopher and Robert Edgar. "A.A.S. Le Fleur and the Griqua Trek of 1917: Segregation, Self-Help, and Ethnic Identity." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 2 (1982): 201-220.
- Schoeman, Karel. *The Early Mission in South Africa, 1799-1819*. Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2005.
- Sellick, W.S.J. *Uitenhage Past and Present, Souvenir of the Centenary 1804-1904*. Uitenhage: W.S.J. Sellick, 1904.
- Spear, Thomas. "Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in Colonial Africa." *Journal of African History* 44 (2003): 3-27.
- Stapleton, Timothy. "The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo 'Exodus' of 1865." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 29 (1996): 233-250.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Oral Evidence in a Pseudo-Ethnicity: The Fingo Debate." *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 359-368.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "'Valuable, Gallant and Faithful Assistants': The Fingo (or Mfengu) as Colonial Military Allies During the Cape-Xhosa Wars, 1835-1881." In *Soldiers and Settlers in Africa: 1850-1918*. Edited by Stephen M. Miller, 15-47. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Sundkler, Bengt. *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. London: James Clarke, 1948.



- Sutton, Inez. "The Griqua and South Africa," review of Robert Ross, Adam Kok's Griquas: A Study in the Development of Stratification in South Africa, *Journal of African History* 17 (1978): 626.
- Switzer, Les. "The African Christian Community and Its Press in Victorian South Africa." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 24 (1984): 455-476.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Thompson, Leonard. *A History of South Africa*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Thorne, Susan. *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth Century England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Du Toit, A.E. "The Cape Frontier: A Study of Native Policy with Special Reference to the Years 1847-1866." *Archives Year Book of South African History*. Elsie's River, SA: National Commercial Printers, 1954.
- Tomaselli, K.G. and Sienaert, E. "Ethnographic film/video production and oral documentation: the case of Piet Draghoender in 'Kat River: the end of hope.'" *Research in African Literatures* 20 (1989): 242-264.
- Trapido, Stanley. "African Divisional Politics in the Cape Colony, 1884 to 1910." *Journal of African History* 9 (1968): 79-98.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The emergence of Liberalism and the Making of 'Hottentot Nationalism', 1815-1834," in *Collected Papers of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies* 42 (1992): 34-60.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "'The friends of the natives': merchants, peasants and the political and ideological structure of liberalism in the Cape, 1854-1910," in *Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa*, edited by Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore, 247-276. London: Longman, 1980.
- van Sittert, Lance. "Holding the Line: the Rural Enclosure Movement in the Cape Colony, c. 1865-1910." *Journal of African History* 43 (2002): 95-118.
- Vernal, Fiona. *The Farmerfield Mission: A Christian Community in South Africa, 1838-2008*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Visser, Nicholas. "Postcoloniality of a Special Type: Theory and Its Appropriations in South Africa." *Yearbook of English Studies* 27 (1997): 79-85.

- Watson, R.L. “‘I Will Gather All Nations and Tongues:’ Christian Missions and Racial Integration in the Cape Colony in Aftermath of Abolition,” *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 31 (2005): 107-123.
- Webster, Alan. “Unmasking the Fingo.” in *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in South African History*. Edited by Carolyn Hamilton, 241-276. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995.
- Wells, Julia. “The Scandal of Rev James Read and the Taming of the London Missionary Society by 1820.” *South African Historical Journal* 42 (2000): 136-160.
- Wilson, Monica and Leonard Thompson. *The Oxford History of South Africa, vol. I: South Africa to 1870*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.
- Wright, Harrison M. *The Burden of the Present: The Liberal-Radical Controversy Over Southern African History*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1977.

#### **Unpublished Secondary Sources:**

- Besten, Michael Paul. “Transformation and Reconstitution of Khoe-San Identities: AAS Le Fleur I, Griqua Identities and Post-Apartheid Khoe-San Revivalism (1894-2004).” PhD. Diss., Leiden University, 2006.
- Braun, Lindsay Frederick. “The Cadastre and the Colony: Surveying, Territory, and Legibility in the Creation of South Africa, c.1860-1900.” PhD Diss., Rutgers University, 2008.
- Fry, Poppy Ann. “Allies and Liabilities: Fingo Identity and British Imperialism in South Africa’s Eastern Cape, 1800-1935.” PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007.
- Trapido, Stanley. “White Politics and Non-white Participation in the Politics of the Cape of Good Hope, 1853-1910.” PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1970.
- Voss, Megan. “Urbanizing the North-eastern Frontier: the Frontier Intelligentsia and the Making of Colonial Queenstown, c.1859-1877.” MA diss., University of Cape Town, 2012.