

## NOTE TO USERS

PREVIEW

This reproduction is the best copy available.

**UMI**<sup>®</sup>

PREVIEW

# UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA LIBRARIES

## MANUSCRIPT THESIS

Permission to use this thesis has been given by the author or department under whose direction it was written.

Approved by author... *Earle E. Cairns* .....

Approved by department.....

It is expected that proper credit will be given for any quotations taken from this work. Extensive copying or publication of the thesis in whole or in part requires the written consent of the author or department.

This thesis has been used by the following persons, whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above restrictions.

A library which borrows this thesis for use by its patrons is expected to secure the signature of each user.

NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE
<i>Donny M. Barb</i>	<i>Dec. 6, 1963</i>
<i>Richard S. Lepore</i>	<i>Sept 17, 1964</i>
<i>Richard S. Lepore, Department of Government, Southern Illinois University</i>	<i>3-14-73</i>
<i>Michael D. Wendt</i>	<i>May 12, 1975</i>
<i>Isaac K. Mabunda</i>	<i>Oct. 18, 1991</i>

**The Political and Humanitarian Activities  
of the London Missionary Society  
In South Africa  
1799-1857.**



PREVIEW

**The Political and Humanitarian Activities  
of the London Missionary Society  
In South Africa  
1799-1857**

**by**

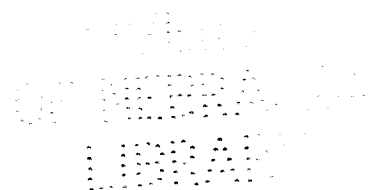
**Earle E. Cairns**

**A THESIS**

**Presented to the Faculty of  
The Graduate College in the University of Nebraska  
In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of History**

**Lincoln, Nebraska**

**1941**



UMI Number: DP13695

## INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

**UMI<sup>®</sup>**

---

UMI Microform DP13695

Copyright 2006 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company  
300 North Zeeb Road  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1.
CHAPTER I THE SETTING. . . . .	7.
The English Background. . . . .	7.
The Eighteenth Century Revival. . . . .	7.
The Clapham Sect. . . . .	9.
The Missionary Societies. . . . .	11.
The Founding of the L. M. S. . . . .	13.
The Political Relations of the L. M. S. . . . .	14.
The African Setting . . . . .	17.
Geography and its Relation to South African History . . . . .	17.
The People of South Africa. . . . .	18.
The Fate of the Bushmen . . . . .	19.
South African History to 1800 . . . . .	21.
Government of South Africa. . . . .	25.
CHAPTER II EARLY CHAMPIONS OF THE HOTTENTOTS. . . . .	28.
Early Travellers on the Relations between the Boers and the Hottentots. . . . .	28.
Vanderkemp as the Champion of the Hottentots. . . . .	31.
The Ordinances of 1809 and 1812 . . . . .	36.
Vanderkemp Read and the Black Circuit . . . . .	37.
The L. M. S. in South Africa between the Death of Vanderkemp and the Arrival of Philip. . . . .	41.
CHAPTER III DR. PHILIP THE HOTTENTOT LIBERATOR . . . . .	45.
The Early Life and Character of Philip. . . . .	45.
Philip's gradual Estrangement from the Governor. . . . .	51.
The Commission of Inquiry . . . . .	55.
Philip's Fight for the Hottentots in England. . . . .	57.
The Reserches. . . . .	58.
Philip and Ordinance Fifty. . . . .	62.
Philip as a Missionary Propagandist . . . . .	64.
Troubles Arising from the Reserches. . . . .	66.
Philip's Fight to Save Ordinance Fifty. . . . .	69.
The Results of Ordinance Fifty. . . . .	72.
CHAPTER IV PHILIP AND THE NATIVE TREATY STATE POLICY. . . . .	75.
Description of the Policy . . . . .	75.
The Policy Applied to the Griqua tribes . . . . .	76.
Santa Boer and Briton . . . . .	80.
Philip D'Urban and the Kaffirs. . . . .	86.
The Causes of the Kaffir War of 1835. . . . .	92.
The Annexation and Retrocession of the New Province. . . . .	96.

389724

Philip Burton and the Aborigines Committee. . . . .	.100.
The Stockenstrom Treaties. . . . .	.105.
The Great Trek . . . . .	.107.
The Treaties of 1843 and 1844. . . . .	.108.
The Failure of the Native Treaty State Policy . . . . .	.110.
<b>CHAPTER V</b> <b>MOFFAT THE TRANSLATOR . . . . .</b>	<b>.114.</b>
Years of Preparation . . . . .	.114.
The Conversion of Africaner. . . . .	.116.
Life at Lithako. . . . .	.119.
Moffat as a Translator . . . . .	.122.
Winning Livingstone for Africa . . . . .	.124.
The Friend of Mosalekatse. . . . .	.124.
Old Age and Honors . . . . .	.126.
<b>CHAPTER VI</b> <b>DR. LIVINGSTONE THE MISSIONARY EXPLORER AND STATESMAN . . . . .</b>	<b>.129.</b>
Preparation for Service. . . . .	.129.
Early Journeys in Africa . . . . .	.134.
Reactions after First Contact with the Slave Trade. . . . .	.141.
Livingstone and the Boers . . . . .	.144.
The Transcontinental Journey . . . . .	.147.
Enlisting English Commerce in the Fight against the Slave Trade. . . . .	.151.
The Severance of Relations with the L. M. S. . . . .	.156.
The Zambezi Expedition . . . . .	.159.
The Plea for Cruisers to Quell the Slave Trade. . . . .	.163.
The Search for the Nile Sources. . . . .	.164.
Posthumous Triumph over the Slave Trade. . . . .	.169.
<b>CONCLUSION. . . . .</b>	<b>.173.</b>
<b>APPENDIX. . . . .</b>	<b>.184.</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .</b>	<b>.185.</b>

## INTRODUCTION

Until recent years the historical spirit in South Africa has been too weak to overcome tradition warped by sentiment. This has been especially true in historical writings describing the attitude of the Boers towards the natives and the colonial government and the relations of the missionaries with the Boers, the natives, and the British and Colonial governments. Too often the missionary has been depicted as a smug, sanctimonious psalm-singing man with a Bible in his hand and an umbrella under his arm. Frequently, prejudiced writers have portrayed the Boer as a ruffian who was careless of the rights of the native to land and life. Many times, South African writers have pictured the Colonial and British governments as hostile to Boer interests and prejudiced in favor of the natives. This is in strong contrast to missionary historians who accuse the government of ignoring native interests in order to win Boer allegiance.

This problem of the conflict of authorities upon such controversial issues makes it essential to exercise care in handling both source and secondary materials. John Chase, an early South African historian, George M. Theal, an authoritative historian on the affairs of South Africa, George Cory, the author of a voluminous work on South Africa, and Jan Du Plessis, the capable historian of South African missions--all unite to defend the Boers and the English colonists. Though they usually admit the good intentions of missionaries, they condemn them as ignorant or misguided men

who have been led astray by their enthusiasm for the natives.

In contrast to these somewhat biased historians are writers such as Cappon, MacMillan, and Clinton who defend the missionaries as statesmen whose vision reached beyond their own time. James Cappon, who used the same records as Theal, adopted the imperial viewpoint. He defended the imperial government and the missionaries against Theal's charges. William MacMillan, whose two excellent books are based upon the Philip manuscripts, used the facts gained during his study to present his thesis for the settlement of the current native problem in South Africa. Desmond Clinton, whose work was based upon source materials in the London office of the London Missionary Society, defended the policy of that Society in South Africa from 1799 to 1836.

Other writers presented views which mediate between the pro and anti-missionary viewpoints. Eric Walker, the writer of an excellent history of South Africa, and writers in Volumes II and VIII of the Cambridge History of the British Empire presented a more balanced picture of events. Their description of events appeared to be substantiated by such secondary and primary materials as were available. Although the writer did not have access to the correspondence of the missionary societies, much primary material was available in MacMillan's excellent studies of Philip's papers. These studies appeared to be the apt answer to Cory's sarcastic note<sup>1</sup>

---

1. George E. Cory, The Rise of South Africa (6 vols., London, 1910-1930), II:240.

stating that, as Philip's heirs had refused him access to Philip's papers, he could not come, with the evidence available to him then, to any conclusion other than one unfavorable to the missionaries when compared with the officials of the Colonial government.

The primary material available included the works of travellers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, who either visited or resided in South Africa. They recorded their impressions of the relations between the Boers and the natives. In addition to the books written by Philip, Moffat, and Livingstone there are official documents such as the Parliamentary Papers and Hansard; papers such as the London Times, current magazines, periodicals, and many biographies and autobiographies of the chief actors in the drama of African history during the period studied. Collections of letters offered valuable materials which aided in rounding out the story of the part played by missionaries in their efforts to champion the natives.

The unfortunate biased view of South African history, which has been described, had its origin in the juxtaposition of two sets of circumstances of tremendous importance in the story of imperial relations in Africa after 1800. The first was the rise of humanitarianism and missionary societies in England in the late eighteenth century because of a resurgence of religious feeling following the Wesleyan and evangelical revivals. The other circumstance of importance was the conquest of Cape Colony by England early in the nineteenth

century. By this acquisition England inherited the ready-made problem of conflict between the Boers and the natives. The arrival of missionaries from the English societies intensified the government's difficulties, for the missionaries, particularly those of the London Society, sympathized with the natives and opposed the Boers.

The missionaries viewed the native as a human being who was capable of rising in the scale of civilization and who was worthy of civil equality with the European. They therefore maintained that the native's right to his land should be protected from European land-grabbers. This concept was anathema to the Boers, who, as devoted readers of the Old Testament, believed that the natives were the sons of Ham whom Noah had cursed. Therefore, they were fit only to be servants to the superior race who should acquire the land which they held. With these opposing viewpoints it is apparent that missionary idealism was bound to clash with Boer pragmatism. Often, the colonial governor sided with the Boers, but, as he was subject to the English Colonial Office, he had to carry out the will of the imperial government. The missionaries, through the humanitarians and the middle and lower class supporters of missions in England, could so guide public opinion as to bring pressure upon the English government to carry out their policy in South Africa. Some of the governors at the Cape, however, were friendly to missions.

The London Missionary Society was the group most con-

cerned with political events in South Africa from 1800 to about 1860. The majority of its men worked for the conversion and civilization of the native. They tried to thwart the efforts of Europeans to rob him of his land and to take his labor for little or nothing. Vanderkemp, Philip, Moffat, and later Livingstone, were the most assiduous in their efforts to protect the native. Through Vanderkemp and Philip, the natives in Cape Colony were given civil rights by 1828. Philip, by political action, and Moffat, by giving the Bantu the Bible in their own tongue, endeavored to protect the Kaffirs and Bechuanas from the rapacity of European adventurers. Livingstone centered his efforts upon opening up south central Africa to missions and legitimate commerce in order to suppress the Arab and Portugese slave trade.

The chronological limits of 1799 and 1857 were chosen because in 1799 the first representatives of the London Society arrived in South Africa. By 1857 Livingstone had severed his official connection with the Society and Moffat had completed his translation of the Bible into Sechuana. The latter date, as the terminus of this investigation, excludes those activities of John Mackenzie from 1880 to 1885 which were instrumental in preventing the Boer acquisition of Bechuanaland. This story has been omitted because it has been more adequately treated by others than the subjects<sup>2</sup> of this study.

---

2. See William D. Mackenzie, John Mackenzie, South African Missionary and Statesman(London, 1902).

The term South Africa is not used in the political sense, for in this investigation it will designate the area south of the Kunene River in Angola and the Zambezi River in East Africa. This is, roughly, the land south of 15 degrees south latitude.<sup>3</sup>

The first object of this investigation is the discovery and description of the fields of activity of the London Missionary Society from 1799 to 1857. The work of Vanderkemp, Read, Philip, Moffat, and Livingstone will be related to the imperial and colonial policy of the day and the amount of influence they had on that policy will be discussed. Another objective will be the revelation of the close connection between these men and English public opinion through the medium of the humanitarians of the "Clapham Sect" and their friends as well as through the influence of their English supporters of missions whose influence has been collectively summed up in the phrase "Exeter Hall." The investigation will reveal that the essential cause of the conflicts between missionaries and Boers was the difference between the fundamental philosophies of missionary idealism and colonial pragmatism. Another objective will be the disclosure that the idealistic climate of opinion in England between 1828 and 1860 was more favorable to the missionaries than to the Boers.

---

3. There is an excellent map to illustrate this usage in the back of Vol. I of Frederick P. Noble, The Redemption of Africa (2 vols., Chicago, 1899).



## Chapter I

### THE SETTING

A survey of the religious situation on the Continent and in England and of the political scene in South Africa about 1800 is essential to give an adequate background for any study of missionary activity in South Africa during the first half of the nineteenth century. The purpose of this chapter will be the presentation of such a survey.

By 1700 the wave of religious enthusiasm generated in Europe by the Protestant Revolution of the sixteenth century had been dissipated by religious wars and theological disputes. A period, marked by dry orthodoxy and lack of moral earnestness, followed until the work of August Francke and Philip Spener resulted in a new awakening of religious enthusiasm called Pietism. The consequent missionary spirit, which centered on the estate of Zinzendorf at Herrnhut, brought about the creation of the Moravian missionary movement.<sup>1</sup> George Schmidt, the first missionary to South Africa, went there in 1737. He began work among the Hottentots at Baviaans-kloof or, as it was later called, Gnadendal.

In 1743 the Dutch authorities forced him to return to Europe because his Moravian ordination and his baptism of five converts was not recognized by the Dutch Reformed clergy. Moreover, not until 1792 were the Moravians once more allowed

---

1. Robert H. Nichols, A History of the Christian Church (2 vols., Philadelphia, rev. ed., 1930), II:99-103.

to send missionaries to the Cape.<sup>2</sup> Though Theal cites the breach of ministerial etiquette as the reason for Schmidt's departure, the civilizing of the Hottentots which caused them to place a higher value on their labor seemed more likely to have been the real cause.<sup>3</sup> Besides, as the native supply of labor was depleted and, as the mission occupied valuable ground, the Boers became disgruntled. The work which the Moravians resumed at Gnadendal in 1792 so prospered that Governor Caledon in 1808 granted them a new site at Groenekloof. Their work continued to advance despite sporadic Boer opposition caused by the reasons mentioned above.<sup>4</sup> There is also a direct connection between the Moravians and the great revival in England since John Wesley, the apostle of that awakening, was converted by them.<sup>5</sup>

The compromise of the sixteenth century religious settlement in England had no place for missionary work. Later, in the seventeenth century, the moral earnestness of the Puritans found vent in the struggle to decide whether king or Parliament should be supreme. Not until the mid-eighteenth century were the stagnation of the Anglican church and the deism of the intellectuals disturbed by the revival resulting from the preaching of Wesley and Charles Whitfield. This movement re-

---

2. John T. Hamilton, A History of the Moravian Church in Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society (Bethlehem, Pa., 1900), VI:63-64.

3. George M. Theal, History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambezi before 1795 (3 vols., London, 1907-1910), III: 518 cf. Jan Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (London, 1911), 56-58.

4. Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, VI:234, 276-456.

5. Nichols, History of the Christian Church, II:118-122.

sulted in the foundation of Wesleyan chapels and the calvinistic churches of Whitfield. The revival spread to the Anglican church where the resultant awakening of clergymen and laymen within that church was labelled evangelicalism. This revival, both inside and outside the Anglican church, caused the rise of a humanitarian movement which found expression in the anti-slavery movement, in support of the African Association founded in 1786 to explore Africa, in prison and factory reform, and in the creation of missionary societies.<sup>6</sup>

The political strength of the evangelicals focused in that group of well-to-do and earnest churchmen who lived on Clapham Commons. They were known as the Clapham Sect. This group stressed moral and social improvement of the individual rather than political reform. Indeed, in their alliance with the governing class they often opposed political reform. Until about 1850 the Clapham Sect, many of them closely linked by intermarriage, had considerable influence on English imperial policy. By that date the first and second generation members of the Sect had passed off the scene. Moreover, the Oxford movement diverted the attention of churchmen from the welfare of the aborigines. Financial stringency in the missionary societies led to retrenchment of their work. Insistence upon economy in government prevented further imperial expansion

---

6. Kenneth S. Latourette, Anno Domini (New York, 1940), 157, 169, 175-178.

7

to protect the natives.

The Clapham Sect used the great oval library in the home of Henry Thornton as their headquarters. The oldest member of the group which met there was Granville Sharpe who had brought about the end of slavery within England. The host, Thornton, was a wealthy banker who had been chairman of the philanthropic Sierra Leone Company which was founded to settle freed slaves in Sierra Leone.<sup>8</sup> Charles Grant, chairman of the Board of Directors of the East India Company and the father of the famous Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, and John Shore, later Lord Teignmouth, who was a former governor of Bengal and the first President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, were both members. Zachariah Macaulay, who was governor of Sierra Leone from 1794 to 1799, and James Stephen, the father of Sir James Stephen, were always present. Henry Venn, rector of Clapham Church from 1792 to 1813, was the spiritual adviser of the group. William Wilberforce,<sup>9</sup> the great abolitionist, was perhaps the most famous member of the coterie who met in Thornton's home.

The career of Wilberforce, who was for many years a close friend of William Pitt the Younger, illustrates the influence

---

7. K. L. P. Martin, Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific (London, 1924), 1, 3-8 cf. William M. Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question (London, 1927), 50-54.

8. Frank J. Klingberg, The Anti-slavery Movement in England (London, 1926), 107-108.

9. James Stephen, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography (2 vols., London, 1907), I:187-244 cf. Reginald Coupland, Wilberforce, A Narrative (Oxford, 1923), 18, 46-47 and The Cambridge History of the British Empire (8 vols., Cambridge, 1929-1940), II:208-214.

which the group exerted. His effort to make the slave trade illegal for English traders was crowned with success in 1807. In 1823 he persuaded Buxton to assume leadership in the struggle to emancipate the slaves of the British Empire. He was also the author of the book Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians of the Higher and Middle Classes of this Country Contrasted with Real Christianity which was written to promote moral improvement in the classes designated in the title of the book.<sup>10</sup> In addition, he was interested in the education of the lower classes. He and his friends, however, were more influential in the founding of missionary societies and in supporting them in Parliament by fighting for the welfare of the natives.

Similarly to the humanitarians, who were nicknamed the Clapham Sect or the Saints, the nickname Exeter Hall became a synonym by which historians expressed the missionary influence in English public life. Exeter Hall in the Strand was the center in which societies such as the Bible Society, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary, and other religious groups held their annual meetings. The Exeter Hall influence in politics reached the height of its power in the period from 1830 to 1850 and from 1860 to 1870 gave strong support to Livingstone's work. It worked with the Clapham Sect until that group was broken up by the death of its mem-

---

10. Coupland, Wilberforce, 93, 119, 343, 470 of. MacMillan, Colour Question, 50.

bers. From then on it took the place of the humanitarians as  
 a defender of the natives.<sup>11</sup>

Societies for missionary enterprise to foreign countries  
 were founded after 1792 as a result of the aroused Protestant  
 conscience.<sup>12</sup> Societies founded between 1792 and 1833 began  
 to send missionaries to the South Seas, India, and Africa.

Earlier societies, such as the Society for the Propagation of  
 the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701, had attended to  
 the religious needs of the colonists and ignored the natives.  
 William Carey, after the foundation of the Baptist Missionary  
 Society in 1792, began work with the natives in India. Then  
 in rapid succession came the L. M. S. in 1795, the Glasgow  
 Missionary Society in 1797, the Church Missionary Society of  
 the evangelicals in 1799 and the Wesleyan Missionary Society  
 which was formally founded in 1817.<sup>13</sup>

A reporter, writing in Blackwood's Magazine, held that the excellent organization of  
 these societies, with central headquarters, district offices,  
 and local branch societies enabled them to collect money for  
 missions easily and to organize public opinion quickly. More-  
 over, these societies were in touch with the humanitarian  
 leaders such as Wilberforce and Buxton and were ready to prop-

11. Oliver Yorke, "The May Carnival at Exeter Hall" in Fraser's Magazine, XVI:194-199, (August, 1837) cf. James A. Williamson, A Short History of British Expansion (New York, 1931), II:226. From this point the abbreviation L. M. S. will be used to designate the London Missionary Society.

12. MacMillan, Colour Question, 49-50, 54-62.

13. Saxe Bannister, British Colonization and the Coloured Tribes (London, 1837), 171 cf. George Smith, Short History of Christian Missions (Edinburgh, 1886).

agandize their constituents whenever these leaders or missionaries in the field desired such action.<sup>14</sup>

Because the L. M. S. is central in this investigation, some attention should be given to its founding. A letter from Carey to Rylands, a Congregational minister of Bristol, led the Independents to feel a need for a society of their own. This need was implemented by an article in the September issue of the Evangelical Magazine written by the editor David Bogue. A Dr. Haweis in a review of a book on missions in the November issue, offered £500 to equip six missionaries to the South Seas. After several meetings for consultation in London, a circular was sent out calling for a meeting of Independent clergymen and laymen to found an interdenominational missionary society. The London Missionary Society was organized in Spa Fields Chapel, London in September, 1795, and Directors were chosen. The first missionaries were sent to the South Seas in 1797.<sup>15</sup> Fever coupled with the poor quality of the workers caused the failure of a mission to the Foulahs of West Africa.<sup>16</sup> Not until 1799 was lasting work in Africa commenced at the Cape.

In addition to its work in Africa through Vanderkemp, Philip, Moffat, and Livingstone, the Society in 1813, was influential in opening India to missionary work. It also opposed West Indian slavery, especially after the death in a West

---

14. Blackwood's Magazine (Edinburgh and London), XV:686-687, (June, 1824).

15. Richard Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society (London, 1899), I:4-50.

16. Ibid., I:479-480.

17

Indian prison of one of its missionaries.

Many historians have both accused the L. M. S. of undue influence in the political life of Cape Colony and praised the Moravians and Wesleyans for avoiding politics. It must be remembered though, that the Moravians were a foreign society in a land controlled by the British. Moreover, they had had difficulties of a political nature in 1793 and 1794 when the Dutch government still controlled the Cape. The Methodists, who began work in Africa in 1816, were more conservative and at first served only the religious needs of the settlers. They, too, in the eighteen thirties mixed in political issues when their charges were affected. The L. M. S., working exclusively with natives with whom the Boers were in conflict, was forced either to enter the political arena or see its institutions ruined. Again, the congregational system of government left the individual missionary free, to a large extent, to form his own policies. He was thus averse to any central control. The interdenominational character of the society, which led to the enlistment of men of different nationalities, of varied occupations and levels of education, often brought interference in political affairs. It was for these reasons that the ideas of strong men such as Philip and Livingstone often became the policy of the society in Africa.<sup>18</sup>

The missionaries, either through the Secretary of the

---

17. Ibid., I:108-109.

18. C. H. B. E., VII:283-284, cf. MacMillan, Colour Question, 87-88.