SOUTH AFRICAN BAPTISTS AND FINANCE MATTERS (1820-1948)

Volume One (Chapters 1-5)

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By

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I do not doubt that this work, monumental as it is, and unavoidably so, will contribute to South African Baptist discourse. Not only will this work contribute to intellectual pursuit, but also to the making of South African Baptist history, as a lived history of Christianity.

List of Abbreviations

ABK	– Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk
AICs	– African Independent/ Initiated/ Indigenous Churches
ANC	– African National Congress
BU	– Baptist Union
BBC	– Bantu Baptist Church
NBCC	– Native Baptist Church Councils
SABMS	– South African Baptist Missionary Society
SABBWA	– South African Bantu Baptist Women's Association
SABWA	– South African Baptist Women's Association
SAB[M][1]	– *South African Baptist Magazine*
SANAC	– South African Native Congress
SAIRR	– South African Institute of Race Relations

[1] The M is never added to the abbreviation *SAB* in Baptist documents. Wherever *SAB* appears in the Baptist documents, it stands for the *South African Baptist Magazine*. Thus, I added M, in the square brackets to make this clear.

Introduction

This study examines the South African Baptists, and in particular their finance matters, during the period from 1820 to 1948. In 1820 when the first Baptists arrived in South Africa, they were part of the settlers from England, who came to South Africa in search for a better life. From 1820 onwards, the South African Baptists, who started with only five settlers in 1820, were to establish a number of different churches by 1948. Between the years 1820 to 1948, the history of the South African Baptists and finance matters took various turns, which reflect the socio-political contexts of the different periods during which the South African Baptists were operating in South Africa. And in 1948, was the formal inception of apartheid in South Africa.

In discussing the South African Baptists, this study focuses on the dominant Baptist church. This comprised the English Baptists and their national body, the Baptist Union (BU). In speaking about the "Baptist Church," this study distinguishes between the theological level and sociological level. The theological level refers to the Baptist congregationalist theology while the sociological level, irrespective of what the Baptist theologians say, there is an institution with not only local but regional and national ramifications called the Baptist Church.

This study therefore focuses on matters concerning financial relationships between the English Baptists and the other racial groups, blacks (natives) specifically, within the Baptist Church. Other racial groups and other types of Baptist churches among the blacks, such as the Lott Carey American Baptists, emerged between 1820 and 1948. Some of the other racial groups within the Baptist Church were, for example: Indian Baptists, German Baptists, and Afrikaner Baptists. These, however are not discussed in depth since they do not form part of the argument in this work. Furthermore, there is also, significantly, very little in the BU minutes[1] pertaining to their interaction with the natives over finance matters.

[1] The BU minutes, compiled annually at the BU assemblies, were the main primary documents consulted in searching this study. These minutes were published annually in a book entitled: The South African Baptist Handbook. The book contained the minutes of the BU Assembly, minutes of the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly, BU Executive Report, the SABMS Executive Report, the BU's financial statements; the SABMS's financial statements; as well as the names of the different BU committees and the people serving in them. This was what a standard BU Handbook contained. In the first 30 years of the BU's formation since 1877, the Handbook also contained the BU president's address, read at the assembly of the same year. Thereafter, these

The blacks that this study focuses on are the black converts and their churches, which fell under the auspices of the South African Baptist Missionary Society (SABMS). This body founded in 1892, was formed by the BU, "[for] the diffusion of the Gospel ... among the aborigines of this country."[2] The committee of this body consisted solely of Europeans. When a general meeting of this body was called, such a meeting, "[was to] be held at the same place as the Assembly of the Union."[3] These blacks, domesticated under the BU through the SABMS, are the focus of this study. Other black Baptists that the SABMS attempted to domesticate belonged to the Lott Carey American Baptists. However, their domestication was not as easy, since unlike the black ministers under the SABMS, the Lott Carey native ministers were better qualified and did not have to rely solely on the financial assistance of the SABMS.

Noting that it was very difficult to domesticate the native Baptists under the Lott Carey American Baptists, the SABMS proposed the dissolution of relations with them, as a body. In its place, the SABMS proposed that native ministers under the Lott Carey body requesting fellowship and association with the SABMS should do so on an individual basis. This strategy served to weaken the unified force of these native ministers and ensured that like other native ministers under the SABMS, they too would be domesticated. However, only a few of these native ministers under the Lott Carey sought membership with the SABMS,[4] which meant that they brought along with them their mission fields, the churches under them, and the converts in these fields. Finally, these ministers were no longer Lott Carey ministers but the SABMS's. These ministers, like the SABMS's native ministers, were to find themselves on the disadvantaged side of the monetary exchange relationship that existed between the Europeans and the natives within the Baptist Church of South Africa.

The relationship between the Europeans and the natives within the Baptist Church of South Africa was undoubtedly underlined by finance matters. Race, to be precise, was the determining element as to who belonged to which side of the monetary equation. And finance

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addresses never appeared in the handbooks. This was possibly due to lack of space, noting that over the years, the handbook increased in size. An exception to the standard BU Handbook would occur when a special document needed to be published. For example, in the BU Handbook for 1933-1934, there is a special addition of a document entitled: A Model Trust Deed.

[2] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 33.

[3] Ibid.

[4] See Chapter 4.

or other forms of financial rewards were the benefits most of the whites in the Baptist Church of South Africa enjoyed. Connected to finance were other matters that were financially related. Some financial rewards came in the form of housing or education, for example. The native ministers in the Baptist Church never enjoyed most of the financial benefits their white counterparts enjoyed.

While race was actually the determining factor within the Baptist Church as to who received more benefits over against others, religion was used to justify this superiority. For example, according to the whites, they saw themselves as the "more favoured [race] for the uplift of those in more backward stages of development."[5] In other words, the Europeans saw themselves as divinely predestined to be in South Africa, for the welfare of the backward races: the natives. It was this perception of themselves as divinely appointed that informed their perception of and relations to the natives. In brief, the Europeans saw the natives as inferior. And in relating to them, they treated them as such. For example, the natives were never allowed to participate in the BU assemblies.

(a) Motivation for the study

The author is motivated to undertake this study because, firstly, he is a Baptist. Secondly, being a black person, the author witnessed, throughout his many years within the Baptist Church of South Africa, how black pastors lived and are still living under dire financial conditions, in great contrast to them, the author witnessed the comfortable and affluent financial situations of the white ministers. These observations aroused an interest within the author to check historically within the Baptist Church of South Africa which factors had caused the dire economic conditions of the native ministers. Without knowledge of history, the present can never be understood. Critical in undertaking any study, however, is the methodology one applies. This includes among other methods, the sources one consults in unearthing this knowledge.

A knowledge of history is precisely what South African Baptist scholarship lacked. The tendency among South African Baptist scholars has been to recycle published literature, in

[5] SABMS Report for 1929-1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 27. See also Chapter 7.

particular the works of Hudson-Reed and Kretzschmar.[6] In undertaking this study, the works of these two authors were consulted, among other published works on South African Baptist history. But over and above these sources, original documents, in particular, BU assemblies' minutes, were also consulted. These provided substantive information about how South African Baptists dealt with finances and matters relating to finances, throughout the 128 years covered in this research.

In embarking on this research, furthermore, it struck me that no substantive research had been done on finance and matters relating to finance within the Baptist Church of South Africa. Moreover, there was none at all on how race was used as a determining factor in distributing financial benefits within the Baptist Church of South Africa. The only work dealing with South African Baptists and finances is the 1993 *S.A. Baptist Journal of Theology*. This edition is titled: *Poverty and Wealth*. However, the articles in this issue were on biblical exegesis and none deliberated on the economic discrepancy between black and white clergy within the Baptist Church. Baptist studies that in depth examined clergy training are those by Vink[7] and McGee.[8] In addressing the problem of the ministers' training, Vink and McGee in their respective works fall short of presenting an analysis of socio-economic factors in the training of white and black ministers respectively. Vink, who argues that he focuses on the value of sociology in Baptist pastoral training from a biblical theological viewpoint, and McGee, who also argues that he studies the practical application of the Pastoral Epistles to the training of pastors in the principles and practice of teaching in South African Baptist theological education,[9] unfortunately come short of presenting, as representatively[10] as possible, a view of South African Baptist history.

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[6] See Chapter 1.

[7] Vink, J. 1990. *A Critical Study of the Relevance of the Sociology in the Training of Baptist Ministers in South Africa*. Pretoria: Unisa. [Unpublished Master in Arts Dissertation.].

[8] McGee, T. B. 1989. *Training South African Baptist Ministers in the Principles and Practice of Teaching*. USA: Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. [Unpublished Doctor of Ministry Thesis.].

[9] See Chapter 7 wherein I discuss native theological education. In the same chapter, I also presented a discussion of whites' (Europeans) theological education. This was done to further show the discrepancy between whites and Europeans, within the Baptist Church of South Africa.

[10] Representative in the sense of as broad as possible, consulting published and unpublished works, reading works that provide a counter view to the dominant position, and consulting social history works, which serve to provide the social setting within which the religious discourse took place.

(b) Hypothesis

The history of the Baptist Church in South Africa is a history of two major opposing monetary realities: those of the whites and those of the blacks. The whites enjoyed many of the advantages the economic system of the colonial government of the day offered, while the blacks were disadvantaged by the same system. Within the Baptist Church of South Africa, the same was also the case.

The Baptist Union, formed in 1877, an English dominated white structure, always safeguarded its own interests; that is, the interests of the white people. These whites included, interestingly, the Afrikaner speaking whites and the German Baptists.[11] Blacks, however, were never made part of the white BU. Instead, the SABMS was formed, in 1892, to oversee the affairs of the natives. The SABMS, strictly run only by the whites, appointed the white superintendents to run its mission fields. Under the superintendents, in terms of position, were the missionaries, who were also white. Then came, on the lowest rung of this administrative ladder, the native workers, who were the ones who did most of the Baptist work among their fellow people.

In maintaining administrative control over the natives, the Europeans also maintained economic control. Politically, the white colonial government of the day created a conducive climate for the economic advancement of the whites. This was done, among other means, by dispossessing the natives of their land,[12] and by passing segregationist laws against the natives.[13] It should be noted that, in the process of dispossessing the natives of their land, these whites, on arrival in South Africa, replaced the native people's currency with European one. Therefore, the whites, who were more favoured in the church, also enjoyed outside it, a socio-political environment that favoured them.

In the church, the Baptist Church specifically, whites were provided with many types of benefit funds that made their employment conditions favourable; for example, a Pension Fund, a Ministers Widows' Pension Fund, and a Holiday Fund. These funds were in addition to other benefits such as housing, travelling allowances, the education of their children and

[11] See Chapter 1 and 2.
[12] See Chapter 8.
[13] See Epilogue.

the better salaries they received. As for their native counterparts, literally none of these benefits existed. If the natives had to be "assisted" in order to receive a "better" income, this was merely a temporary measure, which their white "superiors" made it very clear to them,[14] without hesitation. The native ministers, who maintained the mission fields and even opened new ones, remained under white supervision and provision. It should be noted that it was in these fields, wherein the native converts dwelt, that money was raised and sent to the SABMS. To be precise, the native workers collected and sent money from these fields to their respective white superintendents, who in turn paid the native workers their salaries.

The dependence of the native workers upon their white superiors was, at times, challenged by other native ministers within the Baptist Church. But those who challenged the system were quickly made to toe the line, or booted out of the Baptist Church. As for those native ministers who could not bear the subjugation any longer, they left the church, either by themselves or with their congregations. Consequently, these ministers were declared sectarian, and described as "lost." Those who remained within the Baptist Church were further domesticated through being given "leadership" in order to "express" their own opinion, such as, for example, through the Bantu Baptist Church, formed in 1927. However, this leadership was under the "guidance" and "stored experience" of the Europeans.[15] To further domesticate these natives and to have them perpetually dependent upon the Europeans, education was another tool which was used.[16] That is, through the running of day schools conversion and education went hand in hand. Through their theological education, native ministers, among other things, were taught what proper ministerial service, in the Baptist Church, under European supervision, meant. Included in both these types of education were the promotion of western culture and the denigration of native culture.[17]

The natives' dependence upon the Europeans was therefore not strictly financial. Finance, however, was the factor through which this dependency was made visible. Dependency is a multi-faceted web. Further, dependency is nurtured by factors such as culture (e.g., clothing), education, and political environment. All these, in the case of the Baptist Church, took place within a religious discourse. In order to justify and to keep this relation of the provider

[14] See Chapter 6 and Chapter 8.
[15] See Chapter 4.
[16] See Chapter 7.
[17] Ibid.

(Europeans) over the dependent community (the natives), divine guardianship was occasionally invoked. In other words, the Europeans occasionally reminded the natives of their divine responsibility to oversee the latter's development. Further, the natives were promised that they could attain "fuller maturity"[18] through being cooperative and respecting the different stages of development they needed to go through. However, in the 128 years that this thesis covers, never would the Europeans have declared that the natives had reached "fuller maturity."

The Europeans within the Baptist Church could only keep the status of provider if they kept the natives dependent. Further, for them to enjoy the benefits of being providers, they had to deny most of these benefits to those who were dependent on them: the natives. Furthermore, life in South Africa, the new colony, provided for the European Baptists, descendents of the English settlers of 1820, a better life than they had known in Britain.[19] Once native culture and livelihood had been overturned with the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa, and the subsequent conquest, natives' economic conditions were never to recover. Consequently, most of the natives became cooperating dependents in order to maintain a living, which is what characterized those of the native leaders and their congregations that remained within the Baptist Church of South Africa. They remained, for example, in order to earn an income, maintain fellowship with fellow ministers and converts, and to remain "safe" within a political environment that regarded native founded and led churches that split from the European churches, as problematic.

(c) The discourse on dependency

As indicated above, dependency forms the crux of the hypothesis. However, dependency, both its nature and analysis, is complex. In this research study, the emphasis is on an understanding of the concept of dependency in an economic sense. However, as will be noted, in any kind of a dependent state, there are also psychological and sociological factors involved.

According to Frank, an economic theorist from the West:

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[18] See Chapter 5.
[19] See Chapter 1.

> Dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of [race] are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies or between such economies and the ... trading system becomes a dependent relationship when some [race] can expand through self-impulsion while others, being in a dependent position, can only expand as a reflection of the dominant [race], which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development.[20]

Embedded in the analysis of dependency is underdevelopment, as one of the critical factors. Baran, who is regarded as the father of "Dependency as a theory of underdevelopment,"[21] has argued, "what is decisive is that economic development in underdeveloped countries is profoundly inimical to the dominant interests in the advanced capitalist countries."[22] If we appropriate Baran's argument for our study on the Baptist Church of South Africa, it implies that economic development among the "underdeveloped" natives, is profoundly inimical to the dominant interests of the Europeans in the Baptist Church, who perceived themselves as "advanced" and "developed."[23]

In his "model of underdevelopment," Frank distinguishes three levels. The first is that in which he attempts to demonstrate that areas in the periphery have been incorporated into the world economy since the early stages of their colonial periods. The second is that in which he attempts to show that such incorporation into the world economy has transformed the countries in question immediately and necessarily into capitalist economies. Finally, there is a third level, in which the integration of these supposedly capitalist economies into the world

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[20] Palma, G. "Dependency and Development: A Critical Overview," in Seers, D. 1981. *A Dependency Theory: A Critical Reassessment*. London: Frances Pinter, p. 47.
[21] Ibid., p. 43.
[22] Ibid. Palma (ibid), commenting on Baran's analysis, wrote: "[Baran's] principal contribution to the general literature on development continues the central line of Marxist thought regarding the contradictory character of the needs of imperialism and the process of industrialization and general economic development of the backward races." (Ibid.). He added: "To avoid such development the advanced nations will form alliances with capitalistic domestic elites (who will also be adversely affected by the transformation of capitalist development), intended to inhibit such transformations. In this way the advanced nations will have easy access to domestic resources and thus be able to maintain traditional modes of surplus extraction. Within this context the possibilities of economic growth in dependent countries would be extremely limited; the surplus they generated would be expropriated in large part by foreign capital, and otherwise squandered on luxury consumption by traditional elites. Furthermore, not only would resources destined for investment thereby be drastically reduced, but so would their internal multiplying effect, as capital goods would have to be purchased abroad. This process would necessarily lead to economic stagnation, and the only way out would be political." (Ibid.).
[23] See Chapter 4 for a discussion regarding the construction of the inferior Other.

economy is necessarily achieved through an interminable metropolis-satellite chain, in which the surplus generated at each stage is successively drawn off towards the centre.[24]

But as the weakening of the satellite-metropolis network can, according to Frank, take place only for reasons external to the satellite economies, necessarily of a transient nature, it follows that there is no real possibility of sustained development within the system. According to this analysis, Palma wrote, "the only alternative becomes that of breaking completely with the metropolis-satellite network through socialist revolution or continuing to 'underdevelop' within it."[25] This analysis, though economic and explained within the economic history discourse, is relevant to the history of the South African Baptists and finance matters. In the Baptist Church of South Africa, the "metropolis" would refer to the European-led BU. The BU's "satellite network" comprised the many European superintendents and missionaries, scattered in the mission fields, who were coordinated by the SABMS. Owing to their continued economic marginalization and the frustration the native workers experienced within the Baptist Church of South Africa, they faced two major options. Some, particularly Rev Stofile, broke off from the Baptist Church, and joined the African led churches. This option according to Frank was the "revolution" type. Others, that is, those ministers who remained within the Baptist Church, continued to be underdeveloped. For example, since Mr Stofile's resignation from the Baptist Church in 1901, who earned £65 per annum, never would a native worker in the Baptist Church earn such an amount or more, even up to 1948.

It is, however, important to note that, according to Andelson and Dawsey, speaking of dependency, "this does not automatically justify the charge that it stems chiefly from exploitation of the periphery by the centre."[26] They further added: "Jumping to this conclusion assumes a zero-sum situation where one region can increase its wealth only at the expense of reducing wealth in another region."[27] In further discussing the nature of dependency, Andelson and Dawsey argued that the theory of dependency, quoting Gutierrez's words, "does not take sufficient account of the internal dynamics of each country

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[24] Palma, G. "Dependency and Development: A Critical Overview," in Seers, D. 1981. *A Dependency Theory: A Critical Reassessment*. London: Frances Pinter, p. 44.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Andelson, R. V., & Dawsey, J. M. 1992. *From Wasteland to Promised Land: Liberation Theology from a Post-Marxist World*. New York: Orbis Books, p. 46.
[27] Ibid.

or of the vast dimensions of the world of the poor."[28] Commenting on Gutierrez's argument, Andelson and Dawsey wrote: "Dependency and underdevelopment seem to result at least as much, and usually a great deal more, from domestic factors than from those imposed by outsiders. These domestic factors include cultural habits and traditions, but especially political structures and institutions that combine to inhibit economic creativity, discourage local investment, and provide impetus for the flight of capital to more hospitable and stable havens."[29]

The argument that the theory of dependency does not take sufficient account of the internal dynamics of each country carries weight to some extent. This is strengthened by another argument, also by Andelson and Dawsey, that: "When corporations are charged a genuine rent for the resources and locations they use, payments are usually made to the 'periphery's land-owning oligarchies ... which then spend it on imports from the centre."[30] This argument, though highlighted to show the other side of the theory of dependency, does not carry the same weight in the discourse pertaining to finance matters between the Europeans and the natives, within the Baptist Church of South Africa. Definitely, domestic factors such as cultural habits and traditions cannot be used to explain natives' dependence upon the Europeans. Such would be tantamount to the liberal thinking espoused by scholars such as Brookes,[31] for example.

Two aspects are worth brief mention in this case. Firstly, Andelson and Dawsey's argument that domestic factors, particularly political structures and institutions inhibit economic creativity and discourage local investment, comes short of acknowledging that local economies anywhere in the world were able to sustain and invest in their economies. Further, these local economies were able to trade with their neighbouring local economies. This was also true of South Africa, prior to the arrival of the Europeans.[32] It was only when "foreign" interference occurred, particularly European interference, that these local economies were destabilized. Furthermore, it needs to be noted that European interference was not only economic, but was also political, through military conquest.

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[28] Gutierezz, J. "Expanding the View," p. 10, in Andelson, R. V., & Dawsey, J. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 46.
[29] Andelson, R. V., & Dawsey, J. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 46.
[30] Ibid., p. 47.
[31] See Chapter 8.
[32] See Chapter 10 (Conclusion).

Secondly, embedded in Andelson and Dawsey's argument is their uncritical support of a particular economic hegemony. This is explained by their uncritical presentation of "the flight of capital to more hospitable and stable havens." Andelson and Dawsey came short of asking the questions: To what extent do the "hospitable and stable" havens encourage this flight of capital? Also: Does this flight of capital to the so-called stable havens not encourage and sustain dependency? Thirdly, is this flight of capital not likely to result in the exploitation of the periphery by the centre? Lastly, with regard to the last question which Andelson and Dawsey pointed out, assumes a zero sum situation where one region can increase its wealth only at the expense of reducing wealth in another region, an argument which they refuted: Does not the logic of the above first three questions refute Andelson and Dawsey's "zero sum situation"[33] regarding dependency?

By way of summing up the various views of dependency theories, Blomstrom and Hettne listed six dimensions. Commenting on these classifications, they wrote, "most of [them] have one common flaw: one dimensionality."[34] Firstly, holism versus particularism. Holism refers to the idea that underdevelopment in one particular country can only be understood when it is seen as an effect of that country's position and function in the larger system. Particularism refers to a situation when dependency theorists have narrowed their analysis to the dependent societies. Blomstrom and Hettne added, "we might therefore say that an attraction towards holism, i.e., an accentuation of the whole, was characteristic of the dependency school even though its analysis primarily concerned the periphery."[35]

The second dimension is external versus internal. Blomstrom and Hettne in quoting Dos Santos, a leading Latin American economic theorist, in a controversy with Frank stated: "Dos Santos says about underdevelopment that it 'rather being one of satellization is a case of the formation of a certain type of internal structure conditioned by internal relations of dependence."[36] Blomstrom and Hettne further added that Dos Santos, "in a later article, ... goes one step further, and provides a distinction between conditioning (external factors) and determining (internal factors)."[37]

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[33] The number zero should not be strictly understood as absolute zero. Rather, it also means loss or reduction.
[34] Blomstrom, M., & Hettne, B. 1987. *Development Theory in Transition: The Dependency Debate and Beyond.* London: Zed Books, p. 70.
[35] Ibid., p. 71.
[36] Ibid., p. 72
[37] Ibid.

Thirdly, one finds economic versus socio-political analysis. Certain authors of the dependency school, according to Blomstrom and Hettne, work exclusively with economic analysis, whereas others emphasize social and political conditions. Normally, this difference can be explained by the author's disciplinary origin. "The difference is nevertheless important to the result of the analysis."[38] (This statement is in my view, applicable to the above-discussed dimensions and the ones to follow.) Explaining their argument, Blomstrom and Hettne wrote: "In true neo-Marxist spirit they analyse development and underdevelopment as a consequence of the flow of the economic surplus in the metropolis-satellite model."[39]

> The *dependentistas* are often accused of neglecting class analysis, which might not only be due to their thinking in terms of models, but also to a certain bias towards economics. The use of concepts such as 'class,' 'class consciousness' and 'class struggle' (which is quite common) does not constitute an analysis of the political dynamics of a dependent structure.[40]

Fourthly, sectoral or regional contradictions versus class contradictions are found. That is, while some authors accentuate the fact that a regional or sectoral polarization occurs in the total system, both at the international and at the national level, others base their analysis on the fact that the fundamental conflict is found in class contradictions. In other words, these authors seek the dynamics of conflict in the class struggle.[41]

Underdevelopment versus development constitute the fifth dimension. Dependency theory, according to Blomstrom and Hettne, "is often used synonymously with 'theory of underdevelopment,' and to certain representatives of the dependency school, development is totally incompatible with any kind of dependence."[42]

> It should be pointed out that by development in this context we mean capitalist development. The question is: is capitalism possible in the periphery? To Marx and Engels this was a matter of course – almost equivalent to a natural law – a position from which a Marxist can only stray with some difficulty: Cardoso claims that capitalist development in the periphery is

[38] Ibid., p. 73.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., p. 74.
[42] Ibid.

Race, which was the main factor determining the distribution of financial rewards among Baptist workers, is given special attention in the epilogue. Particularly discussed are the race resolutions which the BU passed, mainly as a reaction to the government's segregationist laws. However, as will be noted, these BU resolutions were none other than "playing it safe." In this epilogue, it becomes evident that the BU, a European led body, also benefited from the segregationist laws the government passed, against the natives.

> possible, but limited to what he calls "dependent capitalist development" or "associated dependent development."[43]

Dos Santos, however, rejects Frank's theory of "development of underdevelopment" and claims that it is necessary to realize that development and dependence might, in certain situations, be expected.[44]

Lastly, once comes across the voluntarism versus determinism dimension. This dimension is better explained by the following quotation:

> The various representatives of the dependency school have all taken great care to keep their analyses politically relevant, and the majority of them are all advocates of a rather loosely defined socialist revolution. The popularity of the dependency school can partly be explained by the growing impatience with the defeatism of the Latin American communist parties. ... the official Marxist analysis stated that the Latin American countries must develop from feudalism to capitalism. ... The early dependency school, primarily Frank, is thus associated with a 'voluntarist' line which was sharply contrasted with the communist parties' determinism. Other *dependentistas*, like Cardoso, are found somewhere between the extremes. Cardoso accuses the Latin American Marxists of 'determinism,' and Debray and Guevara of voluntarism.[45]

In this thesis no specific dimension was chosen over others, in making an analysis of original documents regarding Baptist finances. Further, in constructing the argument throughout the chapters to follow, and in unpacking the nature of dependency throughout the South African Baptist Church history, the discourse was not limited to dependency strictly as an economic term. Further, this study was not limited to dependency within the socio-political domain. Instead, the nature and role of religion in the creation and sustenance of the natives' dependence upon the Europeans were acknowledged and foregrounded. The main reason for doing this is that the discourse under study took place within a religious setting. This setting ought, however, to be understood within the broader socio-political context. Thus, the constant dialogue of factors that took place within the Baptist Church of South Africa with those of the context of its time.

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[43] Ibid., p. 75.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.

(d) Outline of the chapters

The first chapter deals with the arrival and establishment of white (settler) Baptists in the Cape Colony. The first to arrive in the Cape were British immigrants, who left England in search of a better livelihood. The British immigrants were followed from 1856 onwards by the German immigrants, who included Baptists. The German Baptists were the first to commence with mission among the natives, which marked the beginning of cultural and other related encounters with the natives. In the process of the encounter, the natives' culture was demeaned. As a result, they were made to perceive their culture as inferior to European culture. This was the beginning of the natives' dependence upon their European masters.

In the second chapter are discussed the consolidation and institutionalization of the English Baptists as the leading Baptists in South Africa. With the formation of the BU in 1877 emerged the closer fellowship of the English Baptists, who were scattered through British Kaffraria. The German Baptists became part of the BU. This meant that even though the BU was predominantly English, its decisions reflected the influence of both the English and the German Baptists. Briefly, Chapter 2 presents the structural nature of the BU, as a body to safeguard the interests of the European Baptists. Further, the chapter lays out the socio-political environment and related broader economic factors that caused the natives, including those outside the church, to be dependent upon the Europeans.

Chapter 3 considers the beginning of explicit financial commitment by the BU to ensure a better livelihood for its ministers. Further, in this chapter, we note that the BU was not timid to speak about its financial position. For example, when the BU was in need of funds (a temporal want), it did not hesitate to make this known to the churches. What emerges in this chapter is the beginning of financial congregationalism. That is, churches learning to be self-supporting and also to support and sustain the BU.

In Chapter 4, the BU's interest in doing mission among the natives is examined. Like the German Baptists, as noted in Chapter 1, the English Baptists commenced with mission amongst the natives. Chapter 4 introduces the concept of the inferior Other, as a frame of reference which the Europeans used in their engagement with the natives. What emerges in this chapter is the beginning of the institutionalization of the underdevelopment of the

natives. Through the formation of the SABMS, in 1892, the European Baptists officially and structurally assumed a guardianship role over the natives.

In Chapter 5, we observe that the natives did not accept the guardianship of the Europeans over them. In 1901, for example, according to BU records, occurred the first split of some natives from the Baptist Church: when Mr Stofile, the first native graduate in the employ of the SABMS, left the Baptist Church to join "Mzimba's Church," (better known as the Presbyterian Church of Africa)[46] which was an African Initiated Church. The natives who remained within the Baptist Church were further underdeveloped and subjugated to European control. This is the reason why the SABMS, following Mr Stofile's secession, reviewed its relations with the independent native Baptist ministers who were in the employ of the Lott Carey mission. Further, native formations led by the native ministers under the SABMS were brought under European coordination, through the Native Baptist Church Councils (NBCC), formed in 1923. To further place the natives under European guidance, under the guise that they were being separately developed to reach their full potential ("fuller maturity"); the SABMS replaced the NBCC with the Bantu Baptist Church (BBC), formed in 1927.

While the Europeans on the one hand tightly controlled the natives' development and progress, on the other hand they maintained and further developed their own economic standards. The Europeans' development of their own financial wellbeing is the focus of Chapter 6. In this chapter are discussed the formation of many funds, twenty at least, formed within a period of three decades. This was the height of financial consciousness and the creation of more funds for European workers, not previously seen within the Baptist Church of South Africa. These funds were intended for European ministers, superintendents, missionaries, their wives and their families. As for the native ministers, the only fund formed for them during this period was the Native Ministers Annuity Fund, in 1920. This, however, lasted for only a year.

In Chapter 7, theological education and native children's education are assessed as other critical factors in the discourse on South African Baptists and finance matters. This chapter considers the issue of capital, not strictly as a monetary unit, but as intellectual capital. Of all the graduates of the native Baptist theological institutions, none would ever earn the same

[46] See Millard, J. A. (1999). *Malihambe*. Pretoria: UNISA, p. 52.

amount or more as Mr Stofile, a graduate of Lovedale Institution, had earned three decades earlier (1901). Even though a number of factors could be foregrounded as reasons, native Baptist theological institutions indisputably provided inferior education, to say nothing of the uninhabitable conditions of their training institutions.

Chapter 8 discusses land as another form of capital in this discourse on finance. The chapter examines South African Baptists and issues of land. Further, the chapter presents a discussion of the SABMS's first ever survey of its native work. The vivid details in the survey provide a feel of the living and working conditions under which the native ministers laboured, for the Baptist cause. In addition, the survey describes the nature of the different rewards the native workers received, as labourers of the SABMS. About the same time that this survey was undertaken, more funds for European workers within the Baptist Church of South Africa were created. Unlike other chapters, this chapter purposely highlights the role of native women in advancing the Baptist cause. Like the native men, native women were also discriminated against, but worse so.

The formation of more funds for European workers within the Baptist Church of South Africa, continued unabated, as is noted in Chapter 9. The period covered in this chapter sees a heightening of the already increasing financial discrepancies, between European and native workers within the Baptist Church. Also discussed in the chapter, is the betterment of the Europeans' theological education which the BU undertook. Once again, the issue of intellectual capital comes to the fore. It is disturbing to note the huge discrepancy between the natives' intellectual capital and the Europeans' intellectual capital. Once again, and a pattern that has been occurring repeatedly, the BU made it clear that its primary concern was to safeguard the interests of its European workers.

The conclusion (Chapter 10) is a synopsis of the argument throughout the preceding nine chapters. The phrase: "monetary exchange relationship" is substantively discussed to capture the different facets of the discussion surrounding South African Baptists and finance matters. It becomes evident that finance matters related to material life in South Africa, a new colonial frontier.

Chapter 1
The formation of the Baptist Community and the first attempt at native mission work (1820-1878)

1.1. English settlers' emigration to the Cape Colony

Research by most Baptist[1] and non-Baptist scholars[2] into the English Baptists' history in South Africa, in particular, their arrival and settlement in the Cape Colony, relies heavily on Hudson-Reed's works: *By Water and Fire: Baptist Beginnings in South Africa 1820-1877* (1970); *Together for a Century: The History of the Baptist Union of South Africa* (1979); and *By Taking Heed: The History of Baptists in Southern Africa 1820-1977* (1983). In his first book, Hudson-Reed relied only on non-South African published works on English Baptists, though in a five paged Chapter 8 he also speaks about the German Baptists' settlement and churches. Unlike his first work, in his last two works Hudson-Reed made use of Baptist Union Handbooks wherein are minutes of the assemblies, minutes of the missionary sessions, missionary field reports, constitutions of the Baptist Union Associations, the South African Baptist Missionary Society and the Baptist Union. However, like his first work, the focus of his other two works is on the English Baptists, with some reference to what he termed "the churches of the Ethnic Association."[3] These associations are the Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk, Coloured Churches, Indian Baptist witness, the Chinese Baptist Church, the Portuguese Baptist Church and the Black Churches.[4]

Hudson-Reed's works are important in any study of English Baptists' history in South Africa prior to the formation of the Baptist Union in 1877. In particular, his work entitled *By Taking*

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[1] See Kretzschmar, L. (2000). *Privatization of the Christian Faith: Mission, Social Ethics and the South African Baptists*. Ghana: Legon Theological Studies Series; Kretzschmar, L. (1992). *Privatization of the Christian Faith Amongst South African Baptists: with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town [Unpublished PhD Thesis]; Blackwell, M. S. (1994). *The Influence of Charles Haddon Spurgeon on the Church in South Africa between 1870-1930*. Pretoria: UNISA [Unpublished Masters Thesis]; Wardin, A. W. (ed.) (1995). *Baptists Around the World*. Tennessee: Broadman & Holman; Hayashida, N. O. (1999). *Women and Leadership in the Baptist Convention of South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA [Unpublished PhD Thesis]; Kretzschmar, L., Msiza, P., & Nthane, J. (eds.) (1997). *Being a Baptist in South Africa Today*. Johannesburg: Baptist Convention College; Vink, J. (1990). *A Critical Study of the Relevance of Sociology in the Training of Baptist Ministers in South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA [Unpublished Masters Thesis].

[2] See Millard, J. (1999). *Malihambe*. Pretoria: UNISA, and Hofmeyr, J. W. & Pillay, G. J. (1994). *A History of Christianity in South Africa*. Pretoria: HAUM Tertiary.

[3] Hudson-Reed, S. (1985). *By Taking Heed: The History of Baptists in Southern Africa 1820-1977*. Roodepoort: Baptist Publishing House, p. 5.

[4] Ibid., pp. 5-6. For a detailed discussion, read pp. 205-308 of the same work.

Heed ..., used a Baptist research team,[5] photographs collected over many years, and the editorial of the *South African Baptist* magazine. All three works by Hudson-Reed became a milestone that even the most recent works on Baptist history still rely on.[6] Prior to Hudson-Reed's works, there are however, only two publications on English Baptist history in South Africa. These were by Batts, entitled *The Story of a 100 Years* ... and *The Romance of the Early Years of the Baptist Church of South Africa*. Unfortunately, a number of scholars writing on Baptist history seem not to be aware of these works[7] while Hayashida and Wardin used only Batts' first work.[8]

In the case of the present research, the English Baptist settlers' arrival and settlement in the Cape Colony provides no direct relevance to the formative decades of Baptist mission work among the "natives."[9] Baptist mission work among the natives was instead initiated by the German Baptists. The English Baptists' direct involvement with the natives began from 1892, although hesitantly, as shall later be seen. On the one hand, it is worth providing a background on who the English Baptists in South Africa are, and on the German Baptists, in particular, Carl Hugo Gutsche, who was to establish a relationship with them. On the other hand, in the context of this research, when speaking of money matters between the natives and the European Baptists, the English Baptists are specifically referred. But due to lack of original documents on English Baptists prior to 1874, this discussion on English Baptists has had to rely on both Hudson-Reed and Batts' works. It is only from 1874, that is, the year of the formation of the Sustentation Fund, that the present research was able to rely on original minutes of the Baptist Union.

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[5] Ibid., pp. 8-9. This team was made up of Arnot, F. S., of Central Baptist Association (CBA); Edmunds, W. T., of St Helena, Goetze, R. E. A., of Churches of the Border (BBA); Haus, F. H., of The German Baptist Churches (Bund); Jeffree-James, A. H., of The Western Province Baptist Association (WPBA); Jonsson, J. N., of Theological Training in South Africa; Hudson-Reed, S. (Mrs), of The Baptist Women's Association (BWA); Waterson, D. J., of The Baptist Men's Association (BMA); Manuel, D. J., of The South African Baptist Alliance (SABA); Odendaal, J. D., of Die Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk (ABK); Parnell, C. W., of The Northern Baptist Association (NBA); Pass, T. D., of Indian Baptist Work in S.A. (NIBA & IBM), Philpott, R. H., of Baptist Union of Central Africa (BUCA); Song, A., of The Chinese Baptist Church; and Philpott, R. H., of The Natal Baptist Association (NBA).

[6] See Kretzschmar, L. (2000). *Privatization of the Christian Faith: Mission, Social Ethics and the South African Baptists*. Ghana: Legon Theological Studies Series. Wardin, A. W. (ed.) (1995). *Baptists Around the World*. Hayashida, N. O. 1999. *Women and Leadership in the Baptist Convention of South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA. [Unpublished PhD Thesis]. Kretzschmar, L., Msiza, P., & Nthane, J. (eds.) (1997). *Being a Baptist in South Africa Today*. Johannesburg: Baptist Convention College.

[7] See Millard, J. (1999). *Malihambe*. Pretoria: UNISA., and Hofmeyr, J. W. & Pillay, G. J. (1994). *A History of Christianity in South Africa*. Pretoria: HAUM Tertiary.

[8] Batts's two works (1922 & 1933) are distinctively different in that the latter one fills in the missing gaps in the earlier ones particularly from the settlers' arrival until the Kaffir war of 1850.

*[9] The term native in the context of this research refers to the indigenous people of South Africa who are also referred to in missionary sources as kaffirs, Bantu, heathen, barbarians or the uncivilized.

Batts, whose works[10] are expounded on in Hudson-Reed's 1970, [1979] and 1983 works recorded:

> The year 1820 reminds us of the arrival of the British settlers. The pioneers of our Churches were some of these settlers. Before we name them, it is advisable to explain why they ventured through the 'mist and sudden gale over the stormy seas' to the Cape. An ill wind was behind and a way of escape before them. The ill was bankruptcy of the manufacturers and farmers, the scarcity of employment and bread at famine prices, the usual result of war, which, in their case was the 20 years' war with Napoleon. The escape [from England] was emigration. Far off in the Eastern District of the Cape the scattered colonists were too few to keep the Kaffirs to their agreed-upon eastern-side of the Great Fish River. These barbarians treated their pledges as scraps of paper and, when it pleased them, they crossed the river to plunder the cattle. Glimpses of the horrors of such raids [Kaffir wars of 1834, 1846 and 1850] we shall get in this story of the Early Years of our Church. To increase the defenders of the Great Fish River frontier the British Government advertised a gift of land to each emigrant.[11]

Coupled with the "gift of land" to European emigrants coming to South Africa was the myth of the vacant land. According to Crais,[12] explorations of the land by scores of European travellers prefigured and informed the more violent conquest by British troops. "European settlers in turn laid claims to newly acquired lands. In these complex and interlinked processes of exploration, conquest and settlement, Europeans assembled and communicated critical intelligence on the land and its peoples."[13] Furthermore, according to Crais, "in their letters and memorials, in their ethnographic descriptions, political diatribes and serious historical works, and even in the ways in which they organized space, settlers built an archive and invented a conception of a colonial world which came to be centered around the notions of race and the Manichean struggle of 'civilization' and 'barbarism.'"[14]

This political mythology "[did] more than simply legitimise a given political regime, it also

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[10] Batts, H. J. (1922). *The Story of a 100 years 1820-1920: Being the History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*. Cape Town: T. Maskew Miller, and Batts, H. J. (1933). *The Romance of the Early Years of the Baptist Church of South Africa*. Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry. Prior these two works, Batts wrote *Pretoria from Within* during the War.

[11] Batts, H. J. (1933). *The Romance of the Early Years of the Baptist Church of South Africa*. Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, pp. 3-4. For a detailed discussion, see pages 25-36 of the same work. See also Hudson-Reed, S. *By Water and Fire* ..., pp.27-31. The German Baptist scholars recorded the same. See for example Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. [1960]. *Germans in Kaffraria: 1858-1958*. King William's Town: King Printing, pp. 10-12.

[12] Crais, C. C. "The Vacant Land: The Mythology of British expansion in the Eastern Cape, South Africa," in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1991, pp. 255-275.

[13] Ibid., p. 256.

[14] Ibid.

functioned to produce, sustain, and 'naturalize' a social reality."[15] Explaining the perceived vacancy of land, Crais considers that there are two aspects: Firstly, it refers "to the fact of geographical emptiness in the Western legal denotation of land being unoccupied and unused."[16] The second notion of vacantness, "as an elision or emptying of the humanity of the African and the formulation of a set of negative stereotypes, was embedded in this creation of empirical 'fact' – the observation of the apparent materiality of empty land."[17] These stereotypes centred, according to Crais, "around a chain of signifying dichotomies: 'good' and 'bad,' 'us' and 'them,' and 'self' and 'Other,' for example."[18] Rounding off his argument, Crais stated: "These fundamentally symbolic oppositions, which suppress 'the memory of their fabrication,' came to structure a narrative trope in early colonial historiography in which science spoke as truth and myth became reality."[19]

Coming back to discussion of the British settlers of 1820, among them was a small group of Baptists, part of a large company of Methodists settled at Salem. They were: "Mr and Mrs J. Temlett, Mr John Miller and Mr William Shepherd, Mr and Mrs Trotter and Mr and Mrs Prior."[20] A wattle and dub hut which was built by William Shepherd housed this nucleus church, of which William Miller (1779-1856) was elected and inducted as minister. Batts in his 1922 work clarified the identity of this man.

> Mr William Miller, a Settler of 1820, is regarded as the founder of the Baptist Church in South Africa. In Professor Cory's Settlers' list there are two William Millers, one aged 29, with Mandy's party per ship 'Nautilus,' and another with Gush's party, aged 42, per ship 'Brilliant,' with whom was his wife Elizabeth and three children - Elizabeth aged 8, Mary Ann 6, and John 2. The William Miller of the Gush party on the ship 'Brilliant' is he who is considered the Founder of the Baptist Church in this land. There was a young John Miller with the Gush party, who was a younger brother to William.[21]

In the same work, Batts explained the arrival of the English Baptists as follows: "All South Africans know that the great depression in England caused by the Napoleonic Wars led to

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[15] Ibid. This political mythology is also perpetuated in South African Baptist historical literature. See for example: Hayashida, N. O. 1999. *Women and Leadership in the Baptist Convention of South Africa.* Pretoria: UNISA. [Unpublished PhD Thesis], and Hudson-Reed, S. (1985). *By Taking Heed: The History of Baptists in Southern Africa 1820-1977.* Roodepoort: Baptist Publishing House.
[16] Ibid., p. 257.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid. Concerning the notion of the Other and Otherness, see Chapter 4.
[19] Crais, C. C. "The Vacant Land: The Mythology of British expansion in the Eastern Cape, South Africa," in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1991, p. 257.
[20] Hudson-Reed, S. *By Taking Heed ...*, p. 15.

much emigration from England to the Colonies, and those known as the Settlers of 1820 came out to South Africa in the hope of finding means of livelihood, and some opportunity for improvement and advantage for improvement at present denied them in the home country."[22] Hudson-Reed added: "Caught at the crowded crossroads of change, economic stringency, and industrial revolution, a Britisher of the early 19th Century was a suitable candidate for emigration."[23]

The financial deal offered to the English (and later the German) settlers created a pattern of economic expectations. For example, in May 1820, of the 5000 British settlers who landed in the Cape, Donkin (the acting governor, in the place of Somerset who was away in England), "sent the bulk of them to join the other Settlers and their thirty-eight Dutch neighbours on the Zuurveld."[24] According to Walker, Donkin "found them working with zeal that was not always according to knowledge, the farmers among them grumbling at the smallness of their holdings and the artisans anxious to be off to the towns."[25] On Somerset's return from England, on December 1821, he found "[the] Settlers heavily in debt to the Government for rations, townsmen were giving up the attempt to learn South African farming; the rest were grumbling like any Boers that were forbidden to keep slaves and railing at the Somerset Farm as a subsidised state competitor."[26]

With the institutionalization of the Baptist Church of South Africa, years later,[27] we shall observe a church that never relied on the government for any form of financial assistance,[28] unlike other English churches. The reason for Baptist self reliance and refusal of the government's financial assistance, was due to their principle of liberty of conscience.[29]

As mentioned before, William Miller was elected minister by the Baptist community that settled in Salem. Among his duties, he visited Grahamstown on the invitation "by a few Baptist Brethren to conduct occasional services there, which he did, often walking long

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[21] Batts, H. J. *The Story of a 100 years ...*, pp. 2-3.
[22] Ibid., p. 3.
[23] Hudson-Reed, S. *Together for a Century ...*, p. 10.
[24] Walker, E. A. (1968). *A History of Southern Africa*. London: Longmans, p. 156.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid., p. 157.
[27] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the formation of the Baptist Union.
[28] See Chapter 3.
[29] Ibid.

distances to do so."[30] At Grahamstown:

> He preached in the house of a Mr Paine, an old schoolmaster of some repute, from whom several men who became influential received their first rudiments of learning. The cause was said to prosper here, Mrs Paine being added to the Church by public profession in baptism. After this the carpenter's shop was used, and W. Miller settled in town. Converts were immersed in a stream called Craggie Burn, which ran through the garden of Mr Sellers ... John Miller gave the ground on which the first chapel was built, and Brother William laid the foundation-stone when the building was opened on Sunday morning ... A dispute arose, it would seem, over Mr Miller's teaching, and it was determined to send for ministers to England, and with that in view the Rev. Mr. Dyer, of the B.M.S., was approached. This led to the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Davies [on September 1833]. It was thought that Miller was a hyper-Calvinist and intolerant. The exact date when William Miller moved into Grahamstown from the country does not appear, but there were heavy floods in the season that was wild and unkindly.[31]

Prior to the appointment of Rev Davies, there was Samuel Duxbury, a Congregational settler with some degree of ministerial training who had come over to the Baptists by conviction about Believers Baptism. In 1830, he left for America to become minister of the Haveshaw Baptist Church.[32] Batts however indicated that "there might have been a division in the congregation, for there was a Mr Duxbury who conducted service during Miller's time."[33] In addition, Batts quoted the pamphlet called *Methodism in Grahamstown*, which recorded the following about the carpenter's shop on Settler's Hill where services were held: "This was the only place of worship in the town for some years, so the Anglicans and Baptists were glad to have the use of it for services, and a half dozen services were generally held there on each Lord's day."[34] Rev W. Davies died in 1838 and was suceeded the following year by Rev G. Aveline who built the Grahamstown church building in 1843, on Bathurst Street. After him came Rev A. Hay, in 1844, who pastored the Grahamstown church until 1849. Under him, the Grahamstown church split and the portion of the congregation that followed him formed the Ebenezer Baptist church in 1849. The two congregations were only reunited in 1866 under Rev R. H. Brotherton, minister of the Grahamstown Baptist Church in Bathurst Street.[35] Besides the split, Rev A. Hay exercised a widely diversified ministry. He travelled to

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[30] Batts, H. J. *The Story of a 100 years* ..., p. 5.
[31] Ibid., p. 7. See also Hudson-Reed, S. *Together for a Century* ..., p. 13.
[32] Hudson-Reed, S. *Together for a Century* ..., p. 13.
[33] Batts, H. J. *The Story of a 100 years* ..., p. 7.
[34] Ibid. It seems this carpenter's shop is the same as the one William Miller, a handicraftsman by trade, opened at the corner of Bathurst Street and Market Street, in the same part of the town called Settler's Hill (Ibid).
[35] Hudson-Reed, S. *By Taking Heed* ..., pp. 18-19. The following were ministers of the Grahamstown Baptist

Kariega for the monthly Communion services while William Miller, who had moved from Grahamstown, conducted other services in Kariega. It was also Hay who travelled to Frankfurt in 1861 to ordain Carsten Langhein, founder of the German Baptists and in 1869 entertained Rev Carl Hugo Gutsche on his way to King William's Town.[36] His efforts laid the ground for firm relations between the German and English Baptists, as shall later be seen.

After the Grahamstown Church, more churches in the interior of South Africa, further along the coast and the border between the Cape Colony and neighbouring German settlements followed. Some of these German churches were: Port Elizabeth-Queen Street Church (1854); Cradock (1881); Port Alfred (1881); Port Elizabeth-Walmer Road (1888); Sydenham (1907); Victoria Park (1914); and Cape Road (1930). Some of the English churches were: Alice (1848); Port Elizabeth-Buffalo Street (1883); and Cambridge (1901). In Natal, they were: Durban-West Street (1864); Pinetown (1884); Durban-Bulwer Road (1900); Durban-Umgeni Road (1900); and Durban-Lambert Road (1904). In the Transvaal, they were: Troyeville (1877); Johannesburg-Central Church (1892); Boksburg (1889); Pretoria (1889); Krugersdorp (1897); and Wakkerstroom (1898).[37] Besides the Baptist churches formed in the Colony and the Border, the Transvaal churches are among the earliest. This was, according to Hudson-Reed, because amongst "the earliest pioneers of the Golden City there was a sprinkling of Baptists, who either formed themselves into small unorganized Baptist communities led by laymen, or joined the congregations of established denominations."[38] In addition, as early as October 7th 1891, the churches in the Transvaal had commenced an association called the Transvaal Baptist Association.[39]

Church, also referred to as the Mother Church, in Bathurst Street: W. Miller (1820-1825); S. Duxbury (1825-1830); W. Davies (1832-1837); G. Aveline (1839-1848); A. Hay (1844-1849); T. Boulton (1850-1860); R. H. Brotherton (1860-1871); H. M. Foote (1872-1876); G. W. Cross (1877-1879); L. Nuttall (1880-1885); J. J. Doke (1904-1907); E. Eve (1907-1916); T. Perry (1916-1920); A. B. Jack (1920-1923); A. Smith (1924-1927); H. J. Batts (1927-1930); G. Thomas (1930-1935); B. H. Marshall (1935-1940) and L. W. Matthews (1941-1947) (Ibid., p. 17). Most of these names became formidable in the growth and character of the Baptist Union.

[36] Hudson-Reed, S. *Together for a Century ...*, pp. 16-17.

[37] Hudson-Reed, S. *By Taking Heed ...*, pp. 21-145.

[38] Ibid., p. 108.

[39] Ibid., p. 118.

1.2. German settlers emigration to the Cape Colony (1854-1859)
1.2.1. The British German Legion or German Military Settlers (1854-1857)[40]

A background discussion on the Germans in Kaffraria is necessary to contextualize their settlement in Kaffraria, their encounter with and mission to the natives and their partnership with the English Baptists in the founding of the Baptist Union.[41] Further, their hard living conditions on arrival in Kaffraria, such as the meagre means by which they had to survive, would explain, their future financial discipline in ensuring the success of the Baptist Union. Rev H. Gutsche,[42] a German pastor, is one such leader who contributed significantly to the financial success of the BU, during his term as BU president.

The first German settlers in the Cape Colony, or rather, in British Kaffraria were German military settlers, also referred to as the British German Legion. Settlement conditions of these first German settlers, even though there are no records of Baptist settlers among them, are nonetheless important to understand how the second group of German settlers in 1858, among whom were the Baptists, were to settle among fellow Germans in British Kaffraria, with the British as their neighbours. According to Schwar and Pape:[43]

> During the Crimean War, when England and France were allies in fighting Russia, the fortress of Sebastopol withstood all attacks for a long time. The war dragged on, and the severe weather and disease caused the Allies much suffering and losses in men. Reinforcements were badly needed. Lord Panmure as Secretary of war obtained permission of Parliament to recruit foreign volunteers for the war in the Crimea. They were to form the British German Legion ... At first the German contingent was known as the British Foreign Legion, but the name was changed later to British German Legion. Suitable officers from the German states came forward sparingly. Finally Major-General Baron Richard von Stutterheim accepted the post of commander of the Legion. The number of German officers was augmented by British officers. Recruiting took place in Germany via Heligoland, which was then a British possession ... Before the Legion sailed to South Africa the men were stationed at Browndown, Aldershot

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[40] The following discussion relies heavily on the work of Schwar and Pape: *Germans in Kaffraria*. This is due to the limited number of sources on German settler history. Most of these are written in German, with only Steinbart's work: *The Letters and Journal of Gustav Steinbart* (Port Elizabeth, University of Port Elizabeth, 1975) being the only work written in both English and German. Interestingly, Steinbart's work, which comprises a collection of the letters he wrote concerning the history of the Germans in Kaffraria, relies heavily on the work by Schwar and Pape.

[41] See Chapter 2.

[42] See Chapter 3.

[43] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. [1960]. *Germans in Kaffraria 1858-1958*. King Williamstown: King Printing, p. 12. For their work, they list the followings sources consulted: Government House Records; Colonial Office Records; British Kaffrarian Records; *King William's Town Gazette*; *Germania*; *Wochenblatt feur die Militaercolonisten*; *Anglo-Germania*; *Deutscher Beobachter in Sued-Afrika*; Spanuth, J: Festschrift; Schnell, E. L. G., *For Men Must Work*; Von Oswiecinski, T. R.; Unter Englands Fahnen; Hook, D. B., *With Sword and Statute*; Schmidt, Pretoria, W.: *Deutsche Wanderung Nach Sudafrika* (Ibid., p.48).

and Colchester.[44]

However, by the time the Crimean War ended in 1856, only part of the British German Legion had reached the Bosphorus in Turkey. England was faced with what Schwar and Pape referred to as "the problem of what to do with the men."[45] Furthermore, those who reached Turkey had to return because "they had joined for the duration of the war and one year thereafter."[46]

> Again it was Lord Panmure, who suggested that they might go to South Africa as military settlers. The Colonial Secretary, Mr Henry Labouchere took up the question with Sir George Grey. Major J. Grant was sent to interview him at Cape Town. Captain E. Hoffman, an engineer officer of the Legion, was sent along with Grant. It was Hoffman who described British Kaffraria as a land of gently rolling hills, numerous rivers full of fishes, noble forests, several harvests a year, and cheap liquor in abundance.[47]

Grey agreed to take the men as military settlers, but on the distinct condition that they were to come as married men accompanied by their wives and children. He was promised 8,000 men. In the end "not even the rosy picture of conditions there which Captain Hoffman had painted, induced more than 2,362 officers and men to enlist for South Africa."[48] The officers were accompanied by "only 361 wives and 195 children."[49] Some of their settlement conditions in South Africa were:

> The men were to serve as military settlers from the date of their landing in South Africa and for seven years after the reaching of their locations ... During the whole term attendance at church parades was to be compulsory. At any time they could be called to the defence of the Colony and placed on full pay. Thereafter they were expected to share in the defence of the country on the same terms as the other Colonists did. Arms, ammunition and uniform were supplied before leaving for England. For three years they were to be on half-pay ... The non-commissioned officers got £20 and the privates £18 as a building allowance. This was really the demobilisation money, which they would have received in cash had they taken their discharge in Europe. In lieu of barracks or house rent the officers received a building

[44] Ibid. See also Magubane, B. M. 1996. *The Making of a Racist State*. Asmara: Africa World Press, p. 84, in whose opinion: "The Crimean War created an interest in religion, as well as medicine, as a useful tonic. [Furthermore], religion was being given a firmly official status. Some chaplains were ex-officers, many from military families, one of their functions from an army's point of view was 'keeping the Other Ranks under watchful surveillance.'"
[45] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

> allowance on the following scale: field officers £200, captains £150 and subalterns £100. The money was paid out in instalments regulated by the process of the building. The non-commissioned officers and men all got a building lot in a town or village. [But], after it was pointed out to the Governor that it was impossible to make a living on small holdings, he agreed to each man receiving a four-acre lot in addition to his one acre lot.[50]

As also recorded in the terms of settlement conditions, those officers and men who fulfilled all conditions of their service became full owners of their lands. Their wives and the children of officers who had died, "were according to the Colonial law of inheritance given possession of their lands, buildings and improvements even although the deceased had not fulfilled the full period of their military service."[51] What is important to note is that "the sites of the settlements were not chosen because they offered good agricultural soil and plenty of water and wood, but because they were of strategic importance to the military authorities."[52] Finally:

> When the portion of the British German Legion which had been to Turkey, had returned to England, the men were inspected by Queen Victoria. Prince Albert, the Prince Consort, showed keen interest in them and desired that many Legionaries should settle in South Africa ... At last those who had decided in favour of going to South Africa, sailed for that country in November, 1856 and arrived at the Buffalo Thorns in January and February, 1857. They travelled in the sailing vessels Sultana, Culloden, Abyssinian, Covenantor, Stamboul, Mersey, whilst Maj.-Gen von Stutterheim and his staff travelled on H.M.S. Vulcan.[53]

Their settlement conditions were not as pleasant because on arrival on the West Bank at East London, "they marched to Fort Murray, where they lived in tents and awaited the arrival of Maj.-Gen. von Stutterheim."[54] During the "time of waiting and also during the early days of their settlement, there were many deaths from dysentery."[55] On his arrival, the Legion was divided into three regiments. It was then "left to the officers of the Legion to name the new settlements of which they took charge. Invariably they named them after the places of their

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[50] Ibid., pp. 13-15.
[51] Ibid., p. 15.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid. Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. (p. 21) further stated that: "Sir George Grey having requested that the men of the Legion should come with their wives, there were mass marriages of the Legionaries in England upon the eve of their embarkation. Others were married as soon as the ship put out to sea ... Some of the brides came from Germany. A large number were English girls, who were prepared to go to South Africa as the wives of the Legionaries. When Lady Kennaway arrived with its load of Irish girls, only between 15 and 17 were married by the Legionaries, the others being distributed in British Kaffraria with great care. Fifty of them were sent to Grahamstown."
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

birth or other places with which they had been closely associated in Germany."[56] These names are important because they are where the first Baptist German settlers settled, and Berlin in particular is where German Baptist work among the natives in Tshabo location was begun. In the report signed by Major Follenius on August 20th, 1857, the different Protestant denominations could not be identified because Protestants were grouped together. That is:

> ... in the 1st Regiment there were 432 Protestants, 285 Roman Catholics and 7 Jews; in the 2nd Regiment there were 97 Protestants, 242 Roman Catholics, and one Jew; in the 3rd Regiment there were 421 Protestants, 378 Roman Catholics and no Jew. Thus there were 1,250 Protestants, 805 Roman Catholics and 8 Jews in the Legion. To serve all these men scattered over 20 settlements there was a Protestant chaplain at Wooldridge, the Rev. J. Oppermann, and another Protestant chaplain, Rev. O. Wilmans, at Berlin. Wilmans was soon dismissed and went away. At a later stage because Sir George Grey was worried about the situation, the Rev. A. Kropf of the Berlin Mission Society's station at Bethel, acted as the chaplain for the Regiment. Adverse criticism of the religious attitude of the Legionaries was voiced by the Rev. Mr. Kropf, and also by Dr Wangemann, who visited Bethel in [1857]. It must be remembered though, that there were many Roman Catholics in the Legion at Stutterheim, many of whom were French, and these would naturally not have attended the Lutheran services.[57]

As mentioned before, "attendance at church parades was compulsory during the intended 7 years of service."[58] But according to Schwar and Pape, such compulsory attendances are never popular. Regardless of whether the Legionaries were expected to attend church services, there was, however, tension between them and the Xhosa. This was due to the missionary efforts of Dr. Kropf, missionary of the Berlin Missionary Society, who "took a sympathetic view of the needs of his Black folk."[59] As a result, the Legionaries resented the Xhosa's coming into their territory.[60] Besides this tenson, Schwar and Pape interestingly

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[56] Ibid., p. 17. The First Regiment under Col. J. W. Wooldridge was to have its headquarters at Wooldridge. This new settlement in the Peddie district was named in honour of the commanding officer. Detachments of the regiment were placed at Wooldridge, formerly Pato's Kraal, Bodiam, formerly Mandy's Farm, Hamburg, Bell, formerly Tovi, Fort Peddie, East London, Cambridge and Panmure. This regiment was partly placed in the Colony and partly in British Kaffraria. They were accompanied by 133 women and 72 children. The Second Regiment under Lieut.-Col. Adolph von Hake had its headquarters at Berlin. Detachments were placed at Berlin, Potsdam, Hannover, Marienthal, Wiesbaden, Breidbach and King William's Town. They were accompanied by 75 women and 41 children. The Third Regiment under the command of Lieut.-Col. Edward Kent Murray, had its headquarters at Stutterheim. Detachments were placed at Greytown, Stutterheim, Keiskama Hoek, Braunschweig, Kolding and Frankfort. Kolding was soon abandoned in favour of Ohlsen. They were accompanied by 114 wives and 64 children.

[57] Ibid., p. 21.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

reported that "there is positive evidence which comes from the ranks of the Legion itself."[61] This was in the form of various complaints. The first complaint made was that, "although there were 12 doctors to look after their [Legion's] physical needs, they only had two young chaplains."[62] They also added that "no provision was made for the spiritual needs of the Roman Catholics."[63] The second complaint was that "a chaplain got £100 a year over against the doctor's £250."[64] Therefore, "under these circumstances of the settlement, the visits of the chaplains were few and far between."[65] In the case of the Baptists, these complaints were to be answered with the arrival of the German immigrants in 1858.

Months later when the Indian Mutiny ended, Sir George Grey sent some of the Legionaries to India. This incident caused the second immigration of German settlers in British Kaffraria because:

> As many men were eager to enlist for service in India, Grey gave his support. A total of 1,058 officers and men volunteered. Of these only 386 returned to South Africa. Again only 43 of these returned to their former stations, the other 343 being discharged and allowed to scatter to other centres. The departure of so many men for India left a total of 558 houses vacant. Many of these were occupied by the German Immigrants, who were arriving at this time.[66]

The Legion settlements came to an end on 31st March, 1861. This was three years from the date of arrival of the second group of German settlers in British Kaffraria, in 1858. As indicated before, it is among the second group of German settlers that we find the first record of German Baptists. When the Legion settlement came to an end, "780 members of the Legion eventually got titles to their land."[67] Schwar and Pape, while listing reasons why the military settlements failed, also record the contribution the British German Legion made to South Africa. Some of the reasons are, firstly, "the protection they gave to the country,"[68] secondly, "their loyalty to Queen Victoria by the manner in which they celebrate her

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[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid., p. 19.
[67] Ibid., p. 22.
[68] Ibid. Some of the reasons Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. listed for the failure of the military settlements are: the sites chosen suited military requirements and because they offered no good soil for cultivation; they had no conveyances and there was no market for their produce; lastly, that there was a general lack of wives and few prospects of getting any for the single men living alone, thus they were isolated from all contacts with civilization (Ibid., p. 23).

birthday,"[69] lastly, "their presence curbed the warlike spirit of the natives."[70] Schwar and Pape both being Germans, their manner of presenting these reasons indicates an imperialist historiography, also evident among the works of English Baptist scholars.[71]

About the reasons why the settlements failed, Schwar and Pape present two major arguments. On the one hand, the German Legionaries argued that they received unsympathetic treatment from the British forces, in particular, under the commandership of Sir James Jackson soon after General von Stutterheim left South Africa. On the other hand, there are those who claim that the Legionaries were indolent, thus, unsuitable as settlers.[72] Commenting on these Germans, Walker wrote: "These warriors brought few women and children with them; they were neither so numerous nor so German as Grey had expected; there were far too many young officers of the Black and Tan variety. But Grey made the best of them."[73] Walker further wrote: "[Grey] kept them on full pay and therefore under the salutary restraint of military law, imported wives, principally Irish to keep them in order, and, against the wishes of Downing Street."[74]

1.2.2. The German Immigrants of 1858-1859

Prior to the Indian mutiny which depleted the German Legionaries' settlements since most never returned to the Cape Colony from India, Sir George Grey had already sent a letter to the Colonial Secretary, the Honourable H. Labouchere, in which he pointed out that there was a general lack of wives amongst the Legionaries. For this reason, "the military settlements were unstable and the men would leave in search of wives as soon as they were free from

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] See for example, the following works: Hudson-Reed, S. *By Water and Fire ...*, pp. 27-3; Batts, H. J. *The Romance of the Early Years ...*, pp. 25-26; Hendricks, J. A. 1959. *Baptists in Southern Africa*. King William's Town: Bethany Emmanuel, pp. 1-3; Cross, K. E. 1986. *Ours is the Frontier*. Pretoria: UNISA, pp. 34-35. Hudson-Reed, S. *Together for a Century*. pp. 14-16; Hayashida, N. O. *Women and Leadership in the Baptist Convention of South Africa*, unpuplished PhD thesis, UNISA, Pretoria, p. 20. Unlike other Baptist scholars, Hayashida does not provide a substantial discussion on these Kaffir wars, but rather, acknowledges how The War of Hintza, The War of the Axe and The War of Umlanjeni were causes of Baptist settler hardships during 1840-1850, as discussed by Evans, E. G. *The Romance of the Early Years of the Baptist Church of South Africa*.
[72] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 23-24. In their work, they dispute the first argument, stating that "these critics overlook the fact that until they [German Legionaries] were disbanded, the men were mostly in full military duty"(Ibid., p. 24). They further argue that these "critics mention the large number of Legionaries imprisoned from time to time" (Ibid.). The second argument they do not dispute because: "It is true that Sir George Grey did say there were many desperate characters in the Legion recruited from some of the worst seaports on the Continent, but he also said that there were many good characters in it" (Ibid.).
[73] Walker, E. A. *Op. Cit.*, p. 289.
[74] Ibid. See also Steinbart, G. *Op. Cit.*, p. 39.

their military strongholds."[75] Also in the letter, Grey pointed out that "the Kaffirs had been driven out of their strongholds ... [and] if the troops march out, the Kaffirs would come back again."[76] Given that the sites in which the German Military Settlers were located were villages, and had been chosen with a view to the future defence of the country, it was therefore "desirable to render these permanent and productive locations."[77] To ensure Labouchere's favourable response, Grey further promised:

> The German Military Settlers would on arrival of those persons cheerfully give them house-room and render those kind and friendly offices, which are so valuable to newly arrived Settlers. There was no doubt that the military villages reinforced by an immigration of families of this kind would remain permanent locations, and as the German officers constituted a class of resident country gentry, and the villages were provided with clergymen, schools and medical attendants, all of the same nation as the newly arriving emigrants, they would together constitute a society of harmonious elements which might readily attain to a great degree of prosperity.[78]

Grey's plan was to bring about 2,000 emigrants a year for two years. The cost would be £50,000 and he proposed debentures bearing 6 per cent interest to cover this cost. The annual charge of £3,000 in interest on the revenue of British Kaffraria would be more than paid each year by the increasing receipts "from the augmented population and from the general improvement which would take place in the country."[79] In arguing his plan, Grey outlined:

> The Emigrants would also pay for their land. The amounts thus paid would be decreased and yield a considerable land fund, which would be available for the general expenses of the country and for immigration purposes. The augmented population would put British Kaffraria into such a position that it would cease to be a cause of anxiety and expense to Great Britain ... In a further letter to Labouchere Grey stated that the last defence was to have the European people bear a reasonable ratio to coloured races and at his request Parliament therefore voted £50,000 to enable the Government to bring the Immigrants on a large scale to the Colony. In the background there was always the need of providing brides for the bachelor Legionaries.[80]

The German firm, J. C. Godeffroy of Hamburg, acted as emigration agents at Grey's request. Each emigrant "had to sign a contract for himself and his family by which he bound himself to go to British Kaffraria and to accept the obligations contained in the Regulations which

[75] Walker, E. A. *Op. Cit.*, p. 30.
[76] Ibid., p. 38.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.

governed the scheme."[81] These regulation meant that "the emigrant and his heirs [agreed] to pay the passage money and the purchase of the price of land."[82] Land was to cost £1 an acre. It was to be good agricultural land. Each married couple was to get 20 acres of this land, and every single man 10 acres. This was all that the emigrants were charged since: "No interest was to be paid on the passage or purchase money. The immigrants were to be conveyed free of charge from the camp at Panmure to their destinations. No custom duty was to be paid on personal baggage and effects. Titles to the land were to be issued free of charge after the full debt had been discharged. No survey charges were to be made."[83]

Journeys across the sea took about three months per vessel. Caesar Godeffroy was the first ship to arrive, on the 7th of July, 1858. The other ships arrived at intervals from 28th August, 1858, La Rochelle being the second, and on 1st February, 1859 Johann Caesar was the last.[84] On arrival, the immigrants' socio-economic conditions were often rough. They arrived during a time of drought which had already distressed the Legionaries. For two years there was an extensive failure in the harvest and losses of stock were large. Many immigrants did not find work in the Colony because "people in the Colony preferred to employ unmarried men or even Natives, whose labour was cheaper than that of the immigrants."[85] Those who managed to find employment were remunerated as follows; "men [were] getting two shillings a day and the boys and girls six pence a day."[86] One of the routines followed by the German girls was to take "turns to carry butter and eggs to King William's Town in order to sell this produce to the wives of the officers of the British troops stationed there."[87] With time came the *Trudelwagen* or block wagon used by the Germans to transport their produce, which had now acquired a symbolic meaning.[88] Given these economic conditions, "Col. Maclean [governor of British Kaffraria] was overwhelmed by requests for rations from all parts of the Province."[89]

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[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid., p. 39.
[82] Ibid. Repayment of the money for the passage and the purchase of the land was to be as follows: one fifth after the fourth year, one fifth after the fifth year, one fifth after the sixth year, one fifth after the seventh year and one fifth after the eighth year following arrival at East London (Ibid., pp. 39-40.).
[83] Ibid., p. 40.
[84] Ibid., p. 41.
[85] Ibid., p. 43.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid., p. 45.
[88] Ibid. Schwar & Pape also stated that: "The Germans had to suffer poverty and hardship, but they had the power to endure and toil until better days came along. Like the *Trudelwagen* they also reached their destination" (Ibid.).
[89] Ibid., p. 43.

Concerning the land they were promised:

> The immigrants complained that they did not always get the full extent of the land which they were entitled according to the Immigration Conditions. The area of their commonage was pointed out to them. At Braunschweig a portion of the commonage was sold, and at Berlin a portion was added to Tshabo location. While at Braunschweig, after a determined struggle, [they] regained their lost ground, Berlin did not. [It is at this Tshabo location that the first Baptist mission work among the natives by the Germans started.][90]

At the end of 1864 under the new Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, the German immigrants received a reduction in the money they owed for their passages and lands. He issued the following statement:

> Being unwilling to put any avoidance pressure upon a class of settlers, who proved themselves to be so orderly and industrious, [he] is pleased to offer them the following terms of payment: 1. Titles to lands to be issued at once by the Government. 2. Payment of debt to be postponed in respect of each instalment for the term of ten years from that instalment becoming due. 3. Interest at the rate of 6 per cent to be paid half-yearly for the term of ten years on each instalment.[91]

1.2.3. The German Baptists and their mission work among the natives

As with the other German settlers of 1858, the German Baptists experienced both the hardships and benefits the British Cape governors gave the settlers. Amongst the 2,145 German immigrants of 1858 and 1859, there were five Baptists. These were Carsten Langhein and his wife Dorothea, Carl Gustav Aldolph Schmidt and his wife Maria Christine, and Christian Friedrich Sandow. They did not emigrate as a group, nor did they come from the same places in Germany. In South Africa they settled in different villages, Langhein going to Frankfurt, Schmidt to Berlin, and Sandow to Braunschweig.[92]

Carsten Langhein, born 20th June, 1809, at Willstedt, in the duchy of Holstein, was converted in Hamburg through a tract he read which was given to him by a second-hand dealer. Upon the profession of his faith he was immersed and joined the Baptist Church. At this time the Baptist movement under the leadership of Johann Gerhard Oncken had only just started in

[90] Ibid., p. 46.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., p. 70.

Germany.[93] He sailed on the La Rochelle together with his wife and five children. On the journey, it "was his custom on Sundays to invite his fellow passengers to the divine services which he conducted."[94] Since he was a tall man and in his sermons he often referred to God as *Herr Gott*, "he got the nickname of *der lange Herrgott* (the tall Lord God) [and] when the passengers saw him making the rounds ... they would say *Hier kommt der lange Herrgott* [Here comes the long Lord God]."[95]

On arrival in the Colony, Langhein settled at Frankfurt. It was only "after nearly three years that Mr. and Mrs. Langhein, Mr. and Mrs. Adolph Schmidt and Mr. Christian Sandow met on the 15th April, 1861, to form a church."[96] Mr Langhein was elected elder and months later, was ordained minister by Rev. Alexander Hay of Grahamstown. Langhein immersed his first convert at Frankfurt on June 2nd, 1861. By the end of the same year, the church had 61 members. In 1862, the field had grown to the extent that there were three helpers under him. These were Mr Sandow of Braunschweig, Mr Schmidt of Berlin and Mr. J. Kraemer of Hannover. These elders were also referred to as lay preachers, who for "want of horses or vehicles, walked long distances to fulfil their preaching appointments."[97]

The followers of Langhein called themselves different names. For example, references are found to the Evangelical Baptists or Christians at Frankfurt, or Evangelical Church of Baptized Believers in Africa, or Church of Baptized Believers consisting of Germans. But in 1867, the name Church of Baptized Believers in British Kaffraria was formed, and it embraced all the scattered groups of followers in the country. It was not long before the new movement, according to Schwar and Pape, "suffered from the same ailment which beset all churches that followed the congregational form of government [as was with the English Baptists]."[98] There were many leaders and each leader soon had his own group of followers. Although Langhein "tried his best, but not being a trained minister, [and] he could not handle the situation, ... the wish was expressed more and more that a trained minister should be called, who could organize the work of the church."[99] In 1867, Rev Gerhard Oncken, founder of the Baptist movement in Germany decided to send Carl Hugo Gutsche to the Colony.

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[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., pp. 70-71.
[95] Ibid., p. 71.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

Gutsche, a trained pharmacist, was born on 20th April, 1843, in Delitzsch in the Province of Saxony, married Mary Lange on the island of Heligoland in September, 1867, was ordained in the same month and sailed for South Africa on the vessel Celt in October.[100] Haus in his paper[101] mentioned that Gutsche was the minutes' secretary of the "big Baptist Union Assembly in Hamburg from 12-21 August 1867, where C. H. Spurgeon and Mrs Spurgeon were present, plus other visitors from America and England."[102] The passage money was paid by the bookseller F. Bergemaan of Neuruppin. On arrival in British Kaffraria, they remained in Port Elizabeth for two weeks. Mr Oscara Donian, who had taken a leading part in the calling of the minister sent a telegram to Gutsche and his wife to travel by postcart to Grahamstown, where they were met by Rev Alexander Hay. Mr Donian sent his carriage to fetch them, and they finally arrived at Kingwilliamstown on 7th December, 1857, where, because it was geographically central for German Baptists, he finally settled although after a long debate.[103] The Church of Baptized Believers in British Kaffraria was formed eleven days after his arrival.[104] Frankfurt and Braunschweig became the main stations.

In the first ten days from 18th December, 1867, Gutsche had meetings in the following order: Braunschweig, East London, Frankfurt, Breidbasch, Hannover, Braunschweig, Stutterheim and Berlin. According to Haus, the last item on the agenda for these church meetings was "*Wegen meinem Gehalt*,"[105] that is, "About my salary."[106] They started him at £150 per annum[107] out of which, according to Schwar and Pape, he had to pay house-rent and travelling expenses.[108] Haus, however, reported that "the quarterly allowance for horses was increased from 15/- to [sic] 17/- in Keiskama Hoek and only passed, after a long debate, by 55%."[109] Philip Gutsche, the son of Carl Hugo Gutsche, in 1926, in his paper[110] to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Tshabo Mission mentioned that, "in spite of very numerous appeals and the appointment of special collectors only two thirds of my father's

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[100] Ibid., p. 72.
[101] Haus, F. H. *Carl Hugo Gutsche*. (A paper given at the Ministers' Fraternal during the Baptist Union Assembly, Saturday, 10th October, 1970.) [Archival Collection, Baptist Union College, Randburg.].
[102] Ibid., p. 2.
[103] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 72. The decision was reached by a vote. There were some who favoured Breidbasch because there was a church there while others were for Hannover, Berlin or Frankfurt. The majority voted for King Williamstown because it was central and could conveniently be reached by all.
[104] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.
[105] Haus, F. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid. See also Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.
[108] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.
[109] Haus, F. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.
[110] Gutsche, P. *Report of the 50th Anniversary of founding the missionary station at Tshabo in 1927*,

stipend had been subscribed at the end of the first year."[111] He further mentioned: "Once and once only in all his life to my knowledge has my father spoken to his Church on the question of his salary viz. on the 27.XII.1868, when he declared, that it had been impressed upon him from Above, that the successful raising of his salary would be the test, whether he should stay longer than two years in South Africa. Incidently I remark, that apparently the necessary funds very often did not come forward, but he is still here with us - after nearly 53 years."[112]

Carl Hugo Gutsche had to travel a great deal and hold many meetings. Mary Gutsche often accompanied her husband and she was asked to lead the singing.[113] Gutsche's typical itinerary from his own pen, according to Haus was:

> Friday and Saturday night Bible Studies from 8p.m. to 1 in the morning, with two sermons during the day. Sunday, two messages in Hannover; Monday. Sermon and Churchmeeting [sic] in Dohne/ Stutterheim, until midnight. Tuesday 7 a.m. Churchmeeting [sic], sermon and baptismal service, followed by a second sermon and communion; Wednesday afternoon Churchmeeting [sic] at Breitbach and evening service at King Williams Town; Thursday finds him at Fort Murray for meetings, on Friday and Saturday he is in Bodiam with two sermonds [sic] and Churchmeetings [sic] on Sunday. Tuesday night at 2:30 a.m. (Wednesday morning) he started his ride home. Most journeys home were undertaken during the night. A tremendous drain on body and spirit. Once he fell from his horse outside Bodiam and took a long time to recover.[114]

In the same paper, Haus also provided an interesting example of how Gutsche went about building a church, for example, the Frankfurt church in 1868. He stated:

> Gutsche however, set to work immediately to secure plots, to form building Committees, to get work parties burning bricks and carting stones, and built, eventually, 25 churches over the next 25 years. Frankfurt Foundation stone was laid in July 1868, seven months after his arrival, and the church opened on 8th November 1868, in the eleventh month of his ministry. The Grahamstown Church sent £1.6.0. toward it, Odendaal from Sugarloaf, posted £2; Mrs Temlett from Alice raised and sold vegetables and contributed £4. In Keiskama Hoek some Baptist Farmers pushed their wheelbarrows to the King Market, 24 miles away, sold their potatoes for 3/6, which meant that 4d belonged to the church building find [sic] - they tithed all they had and were meticulous about it. A Baptist Day School and Church were planned for King Williams Town and Hannover in 1868, and plots were ploughed for 1/6d per acre.[115]

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unpublished SABMS paper ([Archival Collection, Baptist Union College, Randburg.]).
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit*, p. 72.
[114] Haus, F. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.
[115] Haus, F. H. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4-5.

Gutsche, in his paper, written earlier than Haus', had mentioned:

> Funds were raised by various means: an early decision was made [that] all non-members of the congregation [were to] pay one sovereign for the marriage-offices, whereof 5/- went to the purchase of the bible, which each couple received, and the remaining 15/- into the Mission box; later on a collection was taken on these occasions for the same purpose. This practice continued from 16.VI.1870 to 28.VI.[18]84, after which date the proceeds went to 'inner mission.' The offertory at baptismal services was likewise devoted to the same fund. Annually there was a so-called missionary festival on Whitmonday, which kept the members' interests lively and their pockets open. On every quarterly conference the first item on the agenda was 'heathen mission' until September 1879, when the administration was vested in a special committee and the Executive of the then two Churches.[116]

Schwar and Pape indicate in their work that under Gutsche, the raising of church funds was regularized. That is, "each station was asked to have (1) a fund into which flowed the monies collected at the services, (2) a missionary fund, (3) a fund to help the poor - the collections taken at the communion service - and (4) a fund to buy the tracts."[117] Gutsche also decided to divide the German churches into three associations. These were the Western Association with Frankfurt, Braunschweig and Stutterheim as stations, the Eastern Association with Breidbach, Hannover, Berlin and Macleantown as stations, and the Coastal Association with Panmure as the centre. The associations took turns in having a quarterly conference to which each station in the church was expected to send several delegates. The first deacons were elected in 1870. Lay preachers had to undergo a preaching test before the church, and Fetting, Gernetzky, Langhein and Carl Pape passed it. Among some of the tasks for these first deacons who were also referred to as lay-readers, were the fact that they had to read Spurgeon's sermons to the congregation.[118]

Prior to the appointing of these deacons, Ms Harding, from Breidbach Church, was already by 1869 the first German Baptist missionary under Gutsche, teaching both black and white children daily. According to Haus, "a piece of land was bought for the erection of more mission buildings - she [then] moved to Tshabo and continued teaching and preaching there."[119] Months later, by 1869, Carl and Louise Pape started mission work in Tshabo, next to their farmhouse called Hohenfelde, located six miles outside Berlin. The Berlin church

[116] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.
[117] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 73.
[118] Ibid.

asked them to devote two days a week to preaching among the natives, with a stipend of £30 per annum.[120]

1.2.4.1. Character of the German Baptists and its effect on the native mission

According to Schwar and Pape, the German church had a Puritanical character and many questions were discussed.[121] To substantiate this statement, they provided a number of reasons and examples. Gutsche's paper, however, provided an in-depth record of how the German Baptists related to the native converts. As mentioned before, he relied heavily on the minute books kept by his father, Carl Hugo Gutsche. In introducing his discussion, he mentioned:

> We must tear ourselves away from this intensely interesting period, lest we get no further with the subject. It is fascinating to study the character of these old stalwarts as revealed by the minutes books: they stood sponsor to our Mission, hence we should know them in all their ruggedness. Bad characteristics - the truthful historian knows no human angels - are unfortunately well to the fore. One cannot but be struck by the fact, that half of pages are filled with attempted adjustments of squabbles, disputes and warfare. Either stock had strayed and been impounded, or some one had increased his acreage by moving the beacons or somebody else had quietly usurped Gourvernment [sic] ground or husband and wife had quarrelled, fisticuffed each other, chased each other out of the house etc or unkind things had been said about other members or the church or some debts had not been met and so forth.[122]

In these minutes, according to Gutsche, "we find much worldliness, especially among the younger members: the girls particularly seemed to have sinned by dancing, flirting more so with the policemen and soldiers, consulting card-layers and sooth-sayers, playing 'worldly' games and horrible dictu: - two even went so far as to - smoke!"[123] About the young men, they "were fond of horse-racing, causing disturbances and absenting themselves from [church] meetings, played practical jokes for instance painted waggon-grease on seats and clothes, indulged in too much smoking, loud noises and robbed birds-nests; they even stole peaches during service-time instead of - as the old book sagely remarks - being usefully occupied in looking after the cattle or helping in the kitchen."[124]

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[119] Haus, F. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 73.
[122] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 6-7.
[123] Ibid., p. 7.
[124] Ibid.

Specific problems concerning the behaviour of those serving in the church were varied. Firstly, the "choir members gave trouble by non-attendance at practices, by coming too late to service, by behaving unseemingly during the sermon and one good lady even mistook her dress for a pocket-handkerchief."[125] Secondly, "the older people seemed to rejoice specially in quarrels: verbal and physical, but also intemperance was a real danger ... Meeting after meeting they return to the attack and sometimes the same subject is discussed in Panmure, Highfields, Breidbach, Frankfurt, Izela and Dohne. Possibly a year later the ball is set rolling again."[126] Lastly, "with the same zeal they discussed the form of address (whether 'you' or 'thou'), advisability of promiscuous kissing after Communion and how to keep worshippers awake during the services as such theorems as the bearing of Church life of sins committed before conversion, of the relative value of a 'dying soul' and a full congregation of waiting living people, whether articles deposited by flood water on their land may be taken etc."[127]

Given the above, church discipline according to Gutsche "was modelled on the lines of the rod and not sugar-sticks."[128] To prove this, statistically, "the foundation roll contained 283 names, of this number 43 were excommunicated in the first year and 102 within the first four years: they continued to weed God's garden ruthlessly ... This free handling of chastisement - and one must admit that it was fully justified - was combined with the impartial, searching trial of candidates for baptism."[129] That is, "although there must have been a keen desire to add to their number, we find applicants put back or declined for month after month, sometimes even for years, because their life was not in accordance with their profession of their mouth or because their spiritual growth had been too feeble or because they lacked proper understanding of the fundamental truths."[130] This, according to Gutsche, is an indication that religion meant to those old patriarchs infinitely more than it means to so many of us. For example, "in an entry as this one (18.VII.'69): 'as the chairman believes that the Church is facing a very strenuous time on account of the many admissions to the membership and the growth he enlists the urgent prayers of the members ... .'"[131] Lastly, "their deep Christianity [is] also shown in business meetings: if a deadlock arose they would sing and

[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid., pp. 7-8.
[127] Ibid., p. 8.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid., pp. 8-9.
[130] Ibid., p. 9.
[131] Ibid.

pray and thereafter proceed more amicably."[132]

Gutsche also mentioned however, that "in their Puritan strictness they overshot themselves."[133] For example, firstly, "one young brother had admitted his sin and had been admonished by one church meeting, but for many months afterwards a section kept on trying to rescind that too lenient treatment in order to excommunicate him."[134] Secondly, "when my father [Carl Hugo Gutsche] wanted a holiday after 4 years' hard work in [18]71 it was considered quite unnecessary altho' in [18]76 nominally four weeks' furlough annually were granted."[135] Thirdly, "once the pastor committed the heinous offence of accepting an invitation of the Town-Council to a complimentary dinner in honour of the Gouvernor [sic] Molteno in the Town Hall; he was roundly condemned by many for going into a Hall, where some drank and smoked, and for participating in a meal, at which some might get intoxicated."[136]

Continuing with his discussion, Gutsche further mentioned, "[that] the question of the Sabbath caused much heart-searching and queer rulings. Nobody was allowed to enter the Police or the military service, and if converted whilst in the service they were to leave it; ... herdboy may look after stock on Sunday but without pay; it was uncertain, whether you may kill beast on Sunday to save it suffering or stay the spread of infection: God gave the life, man may not destroy it!"[137] He added, "But even if you might as a just man have compassion on a beast's suffering and kill it on the Sabbath, you dare not sell it on that day to the natives. Cows may be milked on a Sunday and one might give some of the cows' produce to an infant, but on no occasion sell it, even if the money were handed over on a weekday. They might impound stock on the Lord's day, but dare not claim compensation. One brother got into great trouble for mowing some barley on the Sabbath in order to save it from the locusts."[138] Lastly, "if young people wish to become engaged they were not allowed to live under the same roof, the young man must prove his ability to keep a family, the counsel of the elder brethren had to be sought, the engagement was to last about one year and had to be announced twice in the church-meetings to offer an opportunity for objections being raised,

[132] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[133] Ibid., p. 10.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid., p. 11.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

but even then the old saints were careful to say, that the Church as such merely took notice of the fact without necessarily approving of the match. They sometimes decidedly disapproved and put the recalcitrant amorous couple out of the Church."[139]

Other Puritanical issues which the German Baptists specifically preoccupied themselves with, concerning the Christian life of the native converts, were, firstly, the trading in red ochre. The earlier resolution was the condemnation of "all carting and selling of red and white ochre as sinful."[140] Subsequently, the resolution was modified to read "that the church did not approve of it, but left it to the conscience of the individual."[141] Secondly, the question of how to deal with polygamy among the natives, in particular, "bearing on the man, the wives and the children."[142] Gutsche does not list the "queer proposals"[143] brought forth as a result of this discussion, but in the forthcoming chapters it will be shown how both the German and English Baptists dealt with polygamy which they explicitly mentioned as affecting church membership, which in turn affected the finances of the native churches.[144]

To deal with all the above and other ungodly acts, the German Baptists "passed strong resolutions on observance of worldly holidays, playing games, attending services of other denominations, the duty of keeping church matters private, proper demeanour in and out of the church, at burials, weddings, communion-services, and behaviour in public houses, they condemned not only long-spun-out prayers but also meaningless words in them, the shouting during the singing, [and] the taking of photographs."[145] There was a resolution concerning the conduct of German Baptist women. It stated "that [German] women had no right to pray publicly in prayer meetings, but later on modified this decision in order to permit it in exceptional cases of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, but even then it should - according to the precedent in Acts XXI, 9 and II.17 - be confined to virgins only. [There was also] a very strong section [that] would insist on males and females being separated during services and it required many resolutions before the man and wife were allowed to worship together in physical propinquity."[146] Gutsche further mentioned that "there was a bit of the Pharisaic in them too: [because] at the marriage ceremony a virgin wore a white bud, a widow a white

[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., p. 11.
[141] Ibid., p. 12.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

flower and a fallen one as many coloured flowers as there were children."[147]

Liturgically, "one station wished a different sermon book for their service; they were told, that as the Bible was old and still remained new so also were Spurgeon's sermons good enough."[148] In later years, the rule was unbent and other sermon books allowed. The same spirit of earnestness was "manifested in the tests applied to those desirous of preaching: they were set a given text for a discourse before the conference and were then critisized [sic] as to their bible-knowledge, the application thereof, their faculty of communicating the truths to others and so forth; one brother (then already our first missionary) was blamed for introducing personal matters into the sermon, another for using big words, which he himself did not understand and another for straying from the theme."[149]

Among the many resolutions, a "very striking resolution is recorded on 13.IX.1868, when several members were thinking of leaving South Africa's soil."[150] It stated: "To emigrate to a country, where an oath of allegiance is demanded, cannot be allowed to a citizen, who has sworn fidelity to the Queen of England, as he would become a perjurer."[151] It should be remembered that the arrival of the first German Baptists in South Africa was due to Sir George Grey's efforts, which therefore, meant that their allegiance to Britain was expected. Besides Grey's efforts, one of the Baptists' foremost and most distinctive principle is liberty of conscience, which according to Kretzschmar,[152] is derived from the Anabaptists' tradition. However, as will be seen in the following chapters, the English Baptists without hesitation, in particular the Baptist Union, passed resolutions which were pro-British imperialism, imperialization and commerce. The resolutions theologically justified whatever effort was shown by the British crown, which helped speed the conversion of the heathen natives.

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[147] Ibid., p. 16.

[148] Ibid., p. 16. Another aspect of liturgy, the cost of the wine at the Communion, was also debated. Some members considered the cheaper kind good enough, because firstly "you must cut your coat according to your cloth and secondly to pander your taste will render you a beggar; others again think to the best just good enough for the Lord's table" (Ibid., p. 14.). In order to solve the problem, "both casks were bought and mixed and every station had to supply her quota of the 180 empty bottles required, sign a book for their wants and pay the price into the common fund ... [nonetheless] the trouble did not end" (Ibid.).

[149] Ibid., p. 13.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Kretschmar, L. *Privatization of the Christian Faith Amongst the South African Baptists ...*, pp. 82-87. See also Kretzschmar, L. "Pietism, Politics and Mission: An examination of the views and activities of the South

1.2.4.2. The effect of the German Baptists' Puritanical character on native mission work

The first record of a native convert under the German Baptists was of a "young man, [named] John Crawford."[153] He was "educated at Lovedale and Brownlee Station as an evangelist; he expressed a wish in January 1870 to become a Baptist and altho' the examining brethren were specially admonished to be 'very careful and scrutinise thoroughly' he was warmly recommended and baptized."[154] Not long thereafter:

> He very soon wished to be ordained to work in the Transkei, but was told he might for the present do all preaching and teaching on trial. Later on his parents and others wished to join our ranks, so that there are several entries to the effect, not to offend them by using the expression 'Hottentots', but rather to call them 'Afrikanders,' or 'Bastards.' Six months later they wished to form a separate church, for which they wanted to collect in the English Churches in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth; these two points were refused, but they were given on loan a Dutch or Kaffir Bible. After several vicissitudes this branch of the work came to nought.[155]

As a result of the failed attempt to form their own church, what happened was that, "occasionally ... Kaffirs and Fingoes became members of the one or other station, for instance Hermann Ungtante in Keiskama Hoek (Jan. 1870), [who is reported to have been] converted by the best of all teachers: the [C]hristianlike life of his master and his household."[156] Nonetheless, according to Gutsche, "apparently the Church did not realise its duty towards the local Natives."[157] This was because by "April 1868 instructions were given in Panmure and Berlin by the pastor, [on] how to conduct a missionary service: he advised speaking or reading about the great mission fields, about christianising the Jews and so-called Christians and pointed to Sunday-schools and the tract distribution as inner mission."[158] In addition, "in May [1868] the choir donated half of its funds - 5/- to the heathen-mission."[159] A month later, "a further sum of 4/-, the surplus of moneys [sic] paid for grazing and herding of horses

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African Baptists", *Missionalia*, Vol. 17, No. 2, August 1989, pp. 103-114.

[153] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.

[154] Ibid. For more on the Lovedale Institution, see Millard, J. (1999). *Malihambe*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, pp. 7, 30-35, 52-54, 64 and 73, and Skota, T. D. M. (ed.). [19--]. *The African Yearly Register*. Johannesburg: R. L. Esson, p. 388.

[155] Ibid., p. 19.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Ibid.

during the time of the meetings - went to the same funds."[160] But it was not until the 27th of June 1869 that "a special committee appealed at the Frankfurt-conference for contributions in money, cattle and other kind and made out a subscription-list for the purpose of the Kaffir mission [that is, the outer mission]."[161] Gutsche further mentioned that "we read again under 4.VII.1869 at Breidbach that it [an appointed committee] suggested to the Church - which accepted without discussion all proposals - that Bro. C. Pape should start work and devote two days in the week thereto, that the necessary financial support be provided by voluntary contributions from all stations - the committee members to be the canvassers - and by a special box - collection on Sundays-midday on the occasion of all 'big' meetings and by a special Mission fund, still to be started."[162]

Once the intent and process of starting the Kaffir mission has been agreed upon, "subsequently, Mr Pape asked for old clothes for the Natives [on] (26.XII.[18]69), which seemed all the more necessary, as the Church had passed a resolution, that the Kaffirs were not to attend the European meetings in their 'raw, heathenish costumes' but in decent attire."[163] Furthermore, Gutsche mentioned, that "later on the Natives also offended by sitting on the forms and soiling them with their ochre."[164] Months later, "in July [18]70 Mr Pape again appealed for clothes for the school-children, 'money for about 24 yards was granted,' but his request for a bell was turned down, because an old wagon-tyre would make a good substitute."[165] Contributions for native mission work came from as far away as Germany, from "the Hamburg-Sunday School having devoted half of its funds - 12/- to this purpose."[166] The total amount contributed by the German churches from 1870 to the 1st of May 1875 was not less than £238.15.8.[167]

The sharing of a church building by Europeans and Kaffirs was also common among Methodists, prior to erecting "the noble building called Commemoration chapel, for the use of the growing English congregation."[168] The previous chapel "which had become dilapidated, was old; and the substantial and handsome Wesley chapel [also called Fingoe-

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid., pp. 19-20.
[162] Ibid., p. 20.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid., p. 21.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Shaw, W. (1860). *The Story of My Mission in South-Eastern Africa.* London: Hamilton & Adams, p. 287.

Kaffir chapel], which is capable of accommodating a congregation of some eight hundred hearers, was appropriated for the use of the Kaffir congregation."[169] The Methodist native converts moved into the building on August 23rd, 1852. Concerning the building, Rev William Shaw wrote:

> I believe there is no African congregation in the whole Colony that posses[ses] such a place of worship as this; and it would delight you to see such a building well attended by a congregation who, themselves or their forefathers, down to a period of within the last fifteen or twenty years, were in a state of grossest ignorance and barbarism. I question whether any man or woman of this congregation possessed a single article of clothing, excepting an ox-hide karos, twenty-five years ago, and certainly most of them do not, even less than twenty years ago: but now the entire congregation are found clean and well-dressed, entering with devout manner upon the service of the Lord in this chapel every Sabbath-day. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. We need to look sometimes at these encouraging circumstances; for of late the state of the country, arising from war and evil passions, had been such as to depress our minds, and cause too many, who are either blind or prejudiced, to declare that Christian Missions have done no good in Southern Africa.[170]

This Fingoe-Kaffir congregation had to be financially maintained. To explain how, Shaw reported:

> The necessities of our Graham's Town trust-property required that, for some time to come, Wesley chapel should raise a certain amount of annual income. We resolved, therefore, to introduce what has never been tried with any native African congregation in this part of South Africa, - namely, the practice of letting the pews. The matter was at first mentioned to the leaders of this congregation, with some doubt as to the result, and with no expectation that it would succeed to any great extent. But the people have entered so heartily into our views, that Mr. Dugmore reports to me that upwards of two hundred and eighty sittings have been already let at a fair quarterly rent, payable in advance.[171]

In addition to hiring the pews, Rev Thornley Smith, a Methodist minister stationed at Farmerfield station reported:

> The Watson Institution, established for the purpose of training young men for Schoolmasters and Native Assistant Missionaries, is conducted at Farmerfield, under the judicious management of Mr. D. Roberts. This Institution has already made a blessing to the country. Several young men, some of them the sons of the native Chiefs, have been instructed in

[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid., p. 289.
[171] Ibid., p. 288.

> reading, writing, and arithmetic, &c.; ... The Sabbath and day schools for children, on this Station, are in efficient and active operation. In their management Mr Roberts is assisted by pious native Teachers, of whom several were formerly scholars. The chapel has already been erected ... The liberality towards the cause of Christ, which the native converts of this Station evince, is worthy of all praise, and furnish abundant proof of the change effected in their hearts. Many of them not only pay their class and ticket moneys, but also contribute liberally to the funds of the Missionary Society.[172]

In relation to native meetings, Shaw gave an example of how civilized the native leaders were. For example:

> On Monday evening last, a very interesting Missionary Meeting was held in Wesley chapel, for the natives belonging to the Wesleyan Society in Graham's Town. All present were cleanly dressed, while their behaviour was admired by their European brethren, and would have done credit to any Christian congregation, however civilized ... The speakers were Rev. Mr. W. Impey, Richards, and Sergeant, and Messrs. Janion and Birkett; of the natives, Johannes September, Danga, and Williams. The speeches were all very appropriate and were listened to with great attention ... The collection on the occasion was close upon 30 pounds, and would probably have exceeded that sum, handsome as it is, had it not been for severe drought and the dearness of provisions.[173]

Coming back to the German Baptists mission, their native work gradually assumed two distinct forms of evangelism. These were the preaching services and day-school. Prior to the formation of a separate native church, "the natives who were admitted into fellowship, were considered members of the parent German church, so we find in the roll at the end of 1875 the entry: T'Shabo [sic]: 5; in [18]76: 6 members and when the more active work was temporarily suspended (25.XII.[18]80) the remaining 4 members were kept on in the books of the Berlin church."[174] When Tshabo made a petition on "(24.XII.[18]75) to form a separate church [it] was dismissed, but Pape was given permission to administer the sacraments, whereas the European church decided about admission and exclusion of members."[175] While European or German control of native converts remained paramount, it ought to be mentioned that "at various times [Pape] offered to forgo his salary in order, that the services of an additional teacher might be secured and when he gave notice of resigning his post (28.XII.[18]77) it was stated in the conference, that for several years past his salary of

[172] Ibid., p. 298.
[173] Ibid., pp. 308-309.
[174] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 21-22.
[175] Ibid., p. 22.

£30.0.0. p.a. had had to practically be forced upon him."[176]

Pape's resignation was "on account of the waning missionary interest in the Church and owing to unkind remarks about himself, as being the 'Right Rev. C. Pape' and as taking the moneys [sic] from the poor and so forth."[177] To resolve the matter, "he was given three months to reconsider and apparently did so."[178] But the matter was not resolved because when Pape's German church "was divided in June 1878 into King William's Town and [the] Berlin one, the [native] Mission itself remained the property of both but the seat of administration was transferred to Berlin and a very disagreeable state of warfare was established between the minister there and Pape."[179] The final breaking-point was when "after various stormy meetings between these two and possibly also as a consequence of altercations with several other members, his father-in-law, the second ministers and even [the] natives, he finally resigned all his posts in the Mission and [the] Church on the 24th of August 1879."[180] Nevertheless, he kept an interest in the work and preached periodically until his death in 1911.

Despite Pape's resignation from the work which he pioneered, it is worth mentioning that the first natives became converts under his mission. Gutsche's voluminous paper[181] provides primary data which most scholars of Baptist history have not come across.[182] According to

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[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid., p. 23.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Gutsche, P. *Report on 50th Anniversary of the founding of the mission station at Tshabo in 1927*, unpublished SABMS paper. [Archival Collection, Baptist Union College, Randburg.].
[182] See Kretzschmar, L. "Baptist Theological Education in Africa, Particularly in South Africa", Baptist History and Heritage, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1&2, Winter/Spring 2001, pp. 190-210; Kretzschmar, L. (2000). *Privatization of the Christian Faith: Mission, Ethics and the South African Baptists.* Ghana: Legon Theological Series; Kretzschmar, L. (1992). *Privatization of the Christian Faith Amongst the South African Baptists: with particular reference to its nature, extent, causes and consequences.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town, [Unpublished PhD Thesis]; Hayashida, N. O. (1999). *Women and Leadership in the Baptist Convention of South Africa.* Pretoria: UNISA [Unpublished PhD Thesis]; Kretzschmar, L., Msiza, P., & Nthane, J. (eds.). (1997). *Being a Baptist in South Africa Today.* Johannesburg: Baptist Convention College; Wardin, A. W. (ed.). (1995). *Baptists Around the World.* Tennessee: Broadman &Holman; Blackwell, M. S. (1994). *The Influence of Charles Haddon Spurgeon on the Church in South Africa between 1870-1930.* Pretoria: UNISA [Unpublished Masters Thesis]; Hudson-Reed, S. (1983). *By Taking Heed: The History of the Baptists in Southern Africa 1820-1977.* Roodepoort: Baptist Publishing House; Hudson-Reed, S. (1977). *Together for a Century: The History of the Baptist Union of South Africa.* Pietermaritzburg: South African Baptist Historical Society; Hudson-Reed, S. (1972). *Baptist Beginnings in South Africa: 1820-1877.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal [Unpublished Masters Thesis]; Hudson-Reed, S. 1970. *By Water and Fire: Baptist Beginnings in South Africa 1820-1877.* Roodepoort: South African Baptist Press; Batts, H. J. (1933). *The Romance of the Early Years of the Baptist Church in South Africa.* Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry; Batts, H. J. (1922). *The Story of a Hundred Years.* Cape Town: Maskew Miller.

Gutsche:

> It is touching to read, how he had to go (1877) for some months to Thomas River to work as a mason on the railway in order to raise some money for the purchase of his mother's farm, lest he be turned from it after his mother's death - returning every fourtnight [sic] for the service - and still he paid out of his poverty at that time £6.0.0. p.a. for a native youth's (Jim Bana) education as a teacher in Lovedale; finally, after 1½ years, he persuaded the Church to continue this contribution, but as is unfortunately so often the case the youth demanded more and more, never did anything in return, went to East London and turned out a bad investment. We also read of feeding natives and helping them in many other ways.[183]

This record of Gutsche's is the first to highlight the dependency problem, which according to the German, and later the English, Baptists, as shown in the following chapters, was one of the key problems European Baptists had about native converts. Besides Jim Bana, there are other records of native converts to Pape's credit. Secondly, in "August [18]70 Jamima Unka - sister of the younger Tshatshu's wife - was a fruit of his labours."[184] Thirdly, in "June the following year Nopetshet asked for admission into the church."[185] Over and above this, Gutsche indicated that Nopetshet "was born in 1813 on the Kuletu in the Drakensberg, was baptised on the 9th July 1871 at the T'shabo [sic], died during the morning-service on 28.XII.[18]73 and was buried on the following day by Pape."[186] Nopetshet was "the first fruit from the Fingoes and her life history was published in great detail in a German paper even before her death ('Der Pilger' 1872)."[187] Fourthly, there is Augutus Barama.

> He was born in 1785 in Mozambique, was taken prisoner with some Zulus by the Dutch at some time or other, but escaped into Natal, then drifted into the Colony, where he became a proper Kaffir. At the T'Shabo he was brought under Pape's influence and was baptized on the 30 June 1872 in the Yellowwoods river at Breidbach. When giving testimony he exclaimed with regards to immersion: 'and [if] it is the Lord's will I will also gladly die in the cold water.' It is rather pathetic that he only lived a few months longer: he used to walk to Mr Pape's house for food and one evening fell into a sluit, which fall at his ripe old age of 97 years ultimately caused his death. Pape nursed him for four weeks on his own farm, but as is the native fashion his son fetched him to die at his own home: he did not get through the

[183] Gutsche. P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 24.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid. See also Donaldson, M. "Nineteenth-Century Missionaries: The Need for a Contextualised History," in *Studiae Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1992, pp. 60-79, who provides an interesting discussion of why missionaries' publications are full of stories of those who were brought to a saving knowledge of Christ just prior to death and assured eternal salvation. According to Donaldson, the risk of death was real and as a result, missionaries invested a great deal in what happened after this life.

village of Berlin alive.[188]

Lastly, in "[18]76 we find mention made of three native women as converts, the church bade Pape [to] give them regular instructions, which was done for more than nine months before they were admitted into membership."[189] In the following year, "Nokwasi - hereafter - Annie - was a notable salvation, as she had been employed previously in a bar."[190] But this celebration did not last long, because, "the Kaffir war [of 1880] scattered the last four members of Tshabo."[191]

Besides the mentioning of the first native converts under Pape, Gutsche's paper also provides the first record of Baptist cooperation with native chiefs in the establishment of both a mission station and a day school among a particular tribe. According to Gutsche:

> On the 27.II.1870 it was resolved at the Berlin-conference that a school for the natives should be built. The work was being carried on, on the left bank of the Buffalo-river between its tributaries the Ungube and the Indongwe; the inhabitants at that time numbered about 4000-5000 souls and belonged partly to the Kaffirs under their chief Umjuza, [and] partly to the Fingoes under Koliwe Lallen. Although there were other denominations labouring in adjoining districts this particular strip of [the] country had never been evangelized. Koliwe knew Pape and asked him to visit his people and subsequently he wished a school to be established: his desire was fulfilled through enthusiasm of the young church. At aforesaid conference promises for building material (straw, wood, doors, windows etc) were made at once and who knows my father [Carl Hugo Gutsche] will readily believe the minute book, that he struck the iron while it was hot and admonished them to do everything in their power now, because it might be their last opportunity ... Mrs Temlett sent 20/- from Alice and various collections were taken: at the missionary feast on Whit Monday, then again in May for the purpose of acquiring doors and forms and again in June in order to raise enough money to pay for the erection of the teacher's room: the proceeds of the last collection were given to the working men, who had done the school-building proper free of charge.[192]

Pape was tasked to oversee this mission project given that, "naturally he did a lot of visiting at the kraals, liked to appear at their beer-drinks or smelling-out-processes etc."[193] But Gutsche added that, "it must be regretted that his undoubted enthusiasm and lifelong

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[187] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 24.
[188] Ibid., p. 25.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid., pp. 26-27.
[193] Ibid., p. 26.

missionary devotion was not tempered with more wisdom and moderation."[194] On Thursday, 16th June 1870 at 9:30 a.m. the school was opened and called Tshabo, named after the river near it. The schoolroom served in the week for the children, and on Sundays it blossomed forth into a chapel for natives and the "big" services of the Highfield's (Berlin) station. However, "there were frequent complaints about the disadvantages of this dual occupancy, because the 'Reds' polluted the air besides soiling the forms and walls with their ochre."[195]

About the school:

> The first teacher was a Miss Harding, who apparently came along with the great reputation and some worldly belongings, because it took several loads to transport her goods. At first things went well, Gouvernment [sic] gave a grant of £30.0.0. p.a. and the statistics for 1871 show 77 children on the roll with the highest average of 42 and a lowest of 30 per week, furthermore the evening-classes 12 and the 'ABC' class 18. At Xmastime [18]71, 9 hymn books and 6 New Testament were given - I suppose as prizes - to the pupils. It then was resolved to enlarge the school. But very soon we have a different story unfolding: the school got into a bad way and according to the minutes it was mainly the teacher's fault: she occasionally did not hold school at all or treated the children very roughly and unfriendly. She was given three month's notice at the end of June [18]73. In the name of justice we dare not forget to mention, that the accounts show only £1.0.0 per month as her salary - £3.0.0 as Xmas present - for the nine months of 1873, possibly exclusively of Government grant.[196]

Getting a successor was difficult to the extent that a "reformed interpreter - who had some teaching experience and was beyond the Kei - was engaged for the last quarter of that year, but Pape declined the charge, which some wanted to impose on him, of guaranteeing his sobriety."[197] In the new year, Samuel M'zimba took charge and during his stay conditions improved considerably, he received £60.0.0. p.a., but wished to leave at the end of the year to take up work as an interpreter in Alice. However, "prevailed upon to stay he promised another year, but left at the end of the first quarter of [18]75."[198] After his departure, "It was a very anxious time for the committee, as for six months they tried in vain to get a suitable man

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[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid., p. 27.
[196] Ibid., pp. 27-28. See also Bonk, J. J. (1991). *Missions and Money*. New York: Orbis Books, pp. 4-5, who argues that it is precisely those parts of the globe where the world's poor reside that most missionaries enjoy incredible economic and material superiority in the social contexts in which they have chosen to carry out their mandate. Furthermore, he argues (Ibid., p. 21) that the missionary, like other nationalists, suffers from myopic conditions in that he does not only disapprove of atrocities committed by his own side, but he has a remarkable capacity of not hearing about them.
[197] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 28.
[198] Ibid.

from Lovedale, Healdtown, Peeltown and elsewhere."[199] Finally, "one James Mangane was secured, but the inspection during the second quarter resulted in Dr Langham Dale withdrawing the Gouvernment [sic] grant from the 1st July [1875]."[200] To this:

> Mr Pape admitted the adverse report [by Dr Dale] to be true, but said, that their best six scholars had left the district and the remaining best one was absent on the day of inspection. He implored the Church to maintain the school and would willingly forgo his salary in order to make up for the lost grant, because the fault of the unsatisfactory state of the affairs lay not with the teachers but with the parents. The stations of Macleantown and Hannover lost heart and wished to withdraw all their support. Dr Dale promised a few weeks later, that the grant should be restored if the attendance improved, but ... it was not paid again before the 2nd quarter in 1876 in full, the next quarter it was reduced to half, but thereafter paid until school was temporarily closed. In September [18]75 the attendance was fair, but the building urgently required repairs. At this time Rev Gutsche declined again to accept the post of chairman of the committee and Rev Riemer was elected to the office. During the last quarter attendance was worse, on one day no pupils appeared, altho' there were supposed to be three sessions daily.[201]

Relations between the German Baptists and the natives were not always friendly. There is for example, evidence of tension between German Baptists and the European magistrate on the one hand, and native chiefs on the other hand. What happened was that, after Dr Dale's efforts to revive the German Baptists' mission in Tshabo:

> The Kaffir-magistrate Mr Tainton spoke to the parents but with very little result; however the committee decided to keep a stiff upper lip. During next quarter [18]76 things were no better and more especially the girls were kept in the fields by their parents in order to increase their value on the marriage-market as well-trained tillers of the soil. The chief got another lecture and the buildings were put into a good state of repair. The attendance improved the next three months to average of 30 children, whereupon the teacher decided to take upon himself a wife

[199] Ibid. For more discussion on the history of these schools, in particular, the Methodist Mission schools, see Eveleigh, W. (ed.). (1923). *The Story of a Century 1823-1923.* Cape Town: Methodist Publishing House, pp. 27-36. See also Skota, T. D. M. (e.d.).[19–] *The African Yearly Register.* Johannesburg: R. L. Esson, pp. 382-415.
[200] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 28.
[201] Ibid., pp. 28-29. See also Riemer, T. 1954. *Autobiography of E. P. Riemer and T. Riemer.* Durban: South African Baptist Historical Society, pp. 8-21. According to Theo Riemer, Rev E. P. Riemer was ordained on 31 March 1874 and travelled to South Africa on 11 April 1874; he became Carl Hugo Gutsche's assistant pastor when he arrived in South Africa. He served the German Baptists for 19 years from 1874 to 1893. In 1878, he founded the Berlin German church and was paid £200 a year. Due to his infirm condition by 1893, Riemer retired and from the £160 retirement donation presented by the Berlin church, he gave £16 to Gutsche to inaugurate a fund for the disabled ministers. In later years, this fund was, according to Theo Riemer, to become the Pension Fund. Theo Riemer, who never became a minister, became however Honorary Secretary Treasurer of the Baptist Union for 27 years, that is, from 1910 to 1937. In his retirement, Rev E. P. Riemer remained active in German Baptist affairs. For example, in 1897 when some members of the East London church became dissatisfied with Rev H. Gutsche Jnr's discipline and left the church, he agreed to become pastor of the splinter

> and wanted three weeks holiday for the purpose also another room added and a new roof to the building. He was given the holiday and naturally overstayed his leave, which cost the committee half the government grant. Rev Riemer once found during the quarter: 15, the other time: 9, and at the end of the last quarter on one occasion only 3 scholars. So there was a big 'indaba' between Riemer, Mr Pape and the Magistrate Mr Tainton on the one side and the chiefs with the parents on the other ending with the threat [by the Europeans]: 'either support the school or leave the country': net result: the next inspection showed 56 present. The repairs to the building exercised the mind of the [German Baptists] churchmembers [sic] very much, as most of them expected Umjuza and his people to be sent shortly beyond the Kei. After the minister of Public Works (de Smit) and the Commissioner for Native Affairs (Ch. Brownlee) had given the assurance, that in the event of the removal of the tribe the building-material might be taken away, a roof of corrugated iron was put to the building at a cost of £66.10.11½d (principally for material).[202]

The Europeans' threat to the natives was not effective for long because, "during the first two quarters of 1877 attendance seems to have been fairly satisfactory, altho' the Committee tried unsuccessfully to make school-going compulsory."[203] However, "during the next three months the average was about 25."[204] The threat by European and German Baptists that the natives "either support the school or leave the country"[205] raises the thorny issue of land ownership between the European and native Baptists. Although the threat was made by the German Baptists, it shall be seen in the following chapters how the English Baptists and the Baptist Union benefited from the land dispossessed from the natives. But during the German Baptist period under discussion, there were already signs of contention over the land. This in particular was between the German Baptists and their mission station based native agents on the one hand, as opposed by the non-mission station based natives. For example, when "the cattle devoured the [native] teacher's mealies and the [native] people resented his impounding them [moreover] the chiefs [having] called the teacher hard [they] begged [due to their landlessness], that the school should be maintained with the addition of a fair ration of mealies for each child."[206] Given the land dispossession and the mounting tension between the German Baptists and the natives, Gutsche added in his paper: "Incidentally Mr Pape remarked, that since he tried on one occasion to raise a collection among the natives nobody

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group with the hope of resolving the dispute. But due to his infirm condition, he was compelled to resign.
[202] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 28-30.
[203] Ibid., p. 30.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid., p. 31.

would come any more to the services."[207]

The relocation of the natives beyond the Kei and the threat against the natives by the Europeans if they did not participate fully in the mission education of the native child, serve to highlight the tip of the colonial problem. It is no wonder that during this period, another Kaffir war was looming. This marked the end of the first German Baptist missionary attempts among the natives as follows:

> It was finally decided, to keep the school open for another quarter, but to give the teacher notice and to request [the] Gouvernment [sic] to continue with the grant. The latter was acceded to with the promise of support right through the war, but as there was no teacher, nothing could be claimed from the Education Department. During the whole of this first quarter of 1878 no children came to the school, so that the teacher received £10.0.0. instead of £15.0.0. and finally ran away in dread of war-horrors. The last grant of £5.0.0. was returned to Capetown. Mr Pape kept on with his preaching, but the attendance was meagre, as the Gaika's had been moved beyond the Kei and the adherents dispersed during the war.[208]

1.4. Conclusion

The English Baptists were the first to set foot on the South African soil but Baptist work among the natives was started by the German Baptists three decades after the English Baptists had arrived in South Africa. There is also no evidence of an English Baptist mission to the Kaffirs, either in the surrounding villages, or to those working for them, who were preferred over against German labourers, due to their cheap labour. Interestingly, Hudson-Reed and Evans mentioned in their respective works that during one of the Kaffir wars, the Leach family was saved by some taps on the window informing them of the approaching native warriors. These "mercy taps"[209] were "probably [by] a friendly native, who had joined the raiders, [and] did them this timely service."[210] In 1838, Rev William Davies, a pioneer in English Baptist work together with Revs William Miller and Samuel Duxbury, wrote the following:

> I understand that in our native land Christian sympathy is turned almost exclusively towards

[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Hudson-Reed, S. *By Water and Fire* ..., p. 29. See also Evans, E. G. *The Romance of the Early Baptists* ..., pp. 25-36.
[210] Ibid., p. 30.

> the Kaffirs. Every instance of suffering amongst them is repeated in doleful accents in the parlour, in the pulpit, and on the missionary platform. But nothing is said of the Poor Settlers, only that they are wicked Christians; - nothing is said of our houses burnt, ... nothing is said of our missionaries with their wives and their children, driven from their homes to seek asylum in Graham's Town; whilst their books, and their furniture, and their houses, were reduced to ashes by the reckless barbarians, for whose good they had been toiling for year after year, - nothing in one word, is said of the tide of desolation, which has been poured over our land from one end to the other, nor of our Boers who, after enduring with their constitutional long suffering, the perpetual and reckless depredation of the Kaffirs, year after year, till at last, unable to contend with their galling vexations any longer, have willingly expatriated themselves ... No sympathy is exercised, and no condolence is expressed; no on the contrary, displeasure is manifested, and strong indignation is exp[r]essed, against the supposed outrages which the Settlers have committed against the Kaffirs ... And as Settlers, as a body have been blamed, yea, branded with infamy, as cruel, and bloodthirsty oppressors ... As a body, I confidently affirm it, they are as industrious, as honorable, as free from being guilty of rapine, plunder, and outrage against their neighbour, whether white or black, as any given number of men in England or anywhere else ... The innocent has been condemned with the guilty ... I am perfectly unconnected with politics ... And what I have now written, I have written simply and alone for the sake of Truth and Righteousness; hoping it will in some degree rectify the mistakes into which our friends at home have been led respecting the character of their industrious and hard labouring brethren in this colony.[211]

The above question summarizes the English Baptists' perception of themselves under the galling vexations of the Kaffirs. They perceived themselves as industrious, honest and toiling for the good of the natives. Unfortunately, they had to constantly withstand the perpetual and reckless depredations of the kaffirs. This perception explains why these wars were referred to as Kaffir Wars. That is, the kaffirs were the agitators.

The German Baptists, decades later, also experienced the Kaffir Wars. In particular, the war of 1878 brought their Tshabo mission endeavour to a halt. No children came to the Tshabo Day school and finally, as the war was looming closer, the native teacher fled. The Kaffir wars were primarily caused by a dispute with the Europeans over the land. Both the English and German Baptists benefited from this land taken from the natives. As discussed above, there is, in particular, evidence that the German Baptists threatened natives that they "either support the school or leave the country."[212] This was in light of the assurance by "the minister

[211] Davies, C. *A Brief Memoir of Mrs. Charlotte Davies*, unpublished work, (Grahamstown, 1838) quoted in Hudson-Reed, S. *By Water and Fire* ..., pp. 30-31.
[212] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 30.

of Public Works (de Smit) and the Commissioner of Native Affairs (Ch. Brownlee) that in the event of the removal of the tribe the building-material might be taken away."[213] Prior to the 1878 Kaffir war which brought the Tshabo Mission station work to a halt, relations between German Baptists and the native converts were already strained. Firstly, the Germans' puritanical control kept John Crawford, a native convert educated at Lovedale and Brownlee Station, as an evangelist to "do all preaching and teaching [in the Transkei] on trial."[214] But six months later when his parents, others and himself wished to form a separate church, they were refused. Consequently, "after several vicissitudes this branch of the work came to nought."[215]

Secondly, the raw heathenish native converts' costumes were indecent in the eyes of their European counterparts. By their costumes and their cosmetic ochre, the natives offended the Europeans "by sitting on the forms and soiling them with their ochre."[216] Subsequently, "Mr Pape asked for old clothes for the Natives [on] (26.XII.[18]69), which seemed all the more necessary as the church has passed a resolution, that the Kaffirs were not to attend the European meetings in their raw, heathenish costumes but in decent attire."[217] Months later, "in July [18]70 Mr Pape again appealed for clothes for the [Kaffir] school children."[218] Therefore, accompanying the conversion of the Kaffirs, was the transformation of their culture, in this case their clothing. Furthermore, to ensure a successful transformation, or rather, civilization of their culture, control of Kaffir Christian leadership was also maintained. In this case, John Crawford, a Lovedale graduate, who had already experienced the civilizing agency of mission education, was to be further civilized under Puritanical control. However, his attempt at a separate church, possibly one with independent native leadership, was unacceptable to the German Baptists, thus this work was brought to naught.

While the first Kaffir converts attempted to set up independent leadership, there are those who remained under the European German Baptists' leadership. There are a number of reasons to explain their subservient co-operation with the German Baptists. Firstly, the civilizing economic and other benefits associated with conversion. A good example in this case is that of the native teacher, James Mangane, who by 1875 was in the employ of the

[213] Ibid.
[214] Ibid., p. 19.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid., p. 20.
[217] Ibid.

German Baptists. This was when "the cattle [had] devoured the [native] teacher's mealies and the [native] people resented his impounding them."[219] This possibly indicates the fertile land on which the Tshabo mission school, part of the Berlin church, was located. In addition, "the chiefs [having] called the teacher hard begged [however], that the school should be maintained with the addition of a fair ration of mealies for each child."[220] It is surprising that the chiefs, the highest leadership position in native society, could be made to beg. Their begging indicates, however, the power which the mission stations wielded and their ability to erode traditional native leadership power.

The second reason for the subservient native co-operation with German Baptists was the profound belief in conversion which brought an alternative to the hardships experienced in this world. For example, as mentioned above, Augustus Barama, after Pape's influence, who was baptized on 30th June 1872 in the Yellowwoods river, at Breidbach, after escaping into the Colony via Natal from the Dutch, exclaimed regarding his immersion, "and [if] it is the Lord's will I will also gladly die in the cold water."[221] Even at his elderly age of 97, he constantly walked to Pape's house for food until one evening he fell into a sluit, which caused his death. This profound belief in conversion was preceded by perseverance on the part of natives eager to be part of the believers' community. For example, in "[18]76 we find mention made of three native women as converts, the church bade Pape [to] give them regular instruction, which was done for nine more months before they were admitted into membership."[222] Seen as of paramount importance, or rather, instances of notable salvation, are reports of natives converted who either drank, traded, or served liquor or native beer. In the following decades of Baptist history, this notable salvation will occupy one of the central roles in English Baptists' reports on native conversions. During this first phase of the German Baptists' mission to the natives, there is one such record in 1877 of "Nokwasi - hereafter - Annie - [who] was a notable [case of]salvation, as she had been employed previously in a bar."[223] Nokwasi's case also provides us with one of the early records of the changing of native names to European ones by the German Baptists.

Although the German Baptists were the first to start mission work among the natives, they

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[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid., p. 31.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid., p. 25.
[222] Ibid.

were, not an isolated community. They came into contact with the English Baptists on at least three levels. Firstly, the founding of the Baptist community under Johann Gerhard Oncken was as a result of contact with English Baptists.[224] Secondly, during the Baptist Union Assembly in Hamburg from 12-21 August 1867, during which Carl Hugo Gutsche was appointed for the German Baptist community in South Africa, "Rev C. H. Spurgeon and Mrs Spurgeon were present, plus other visitors from America and England."[225] Thirdly, it was the English minister, Alexander Hay of the Grahamstown Baptist church, who in 1861 travelled to Frankfurt to ordain Carsten Langhein and in 1869 entertained Rev Carl Hugo Gutsche on his way to Kingwilliamstown.[226] But with the formation of the Baptist Union (BU) in 1877, predominantly an English body, the German Baptists became part of it as individual churches and later as an association through the German Bund. Therefore, native mission work which was initiated by the German Baptists was taken over by the English Baptists, although reluctantly, as we shall later notice. This means that new forms of civilizing and converting the natives by the BU through the South African Baptist Missionary Society (SABMS) led to joint efforts by both the English and German Baptists. But this joint effort, which resulted in a higher number of converts, brought along higher numbers of native leaders wanting independent leadership. This growth, as we shall see, became the beginning of the Baptist native converts' protest against European control.

European control over native churches also involved finance matters. While the English dominated BU through the SABMS, which had inscribed in its constitution the intention to make native churches self supporting, self propagating and self governing, these were never to be realised by the native churches; in particular, the self governing aspect. The primary question is: What does this first phase of native work by the Germans have to do with finance matters? The answer is that, every aspect of German settlement in South Africa and the German Baptist mission among the natives impacted on the finance matters of these native converts. Firstly, Governor Grey's settlement scheme which guaranteed German settlers land,

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[223] Ibid., p. 25.

[224] Barnes, I. (1997). *Johann Gerhard Oncken 1800-1884.*, Cape Town: S.A. Baptist Historical Society, pp. 3-4. According to Barnes, Oncken came into contact with the English Baptist through a Scottish merchant who offered to take him to Scotland. At Scotland he was deeply impressed by the Presbyterian piety, but it was not until he moved to London that his real spiritual awakening took place. In 1823 he returned to Germany to work for the Continental Society. He began to preach first in a private house, and as the congregation grew he took to the streets. On 22 April 1834, he was baptized by Professor Sears of Hamilton College, who was sent by American Baptists. The following day, the Baptist church in Hamburg was formed with Oncken who was also a bookseller and colporteur made pastor.

[225] Haus, F. *Carl Hugo Gutsche*, p. 2.

[226] Hudson-Reed, S. *Together for Century ...*, p. 17.

which in turn meant the resettling of native tribes already occupying it. Later generations of the Germans, including the German Baptists, also benefited from the land taken from resettled native tribes.

Secondly, the mission station land which was secure and productive primarily benefited European missionaries. This is the reason why the missionaries and the European officials could threaten the natives to "either support the school or leave the country."[227] Furthermore, in 1877, when the chiefs begged "that the school should be maintained with a fair ration of mealies for each child,"[228] this indicates the productive and secure farming and grazing land Thabo mission was located on.

Thirdly, a new form of economy, in particular, the pound, which was introduced by the British colonizers and imposed upon the colonized natives, eroded the traditional native subsistence economy. This means that native property became assessed and valued in pounds. Furthermore, native labour and livelihood were changed to accommodate the pound economy. This means that natives had to sell their labour and change their livelihood to fit into this new pound economy.

Fourthly, the civilizing role of Christianity through the emphasis on decent western clothes meant that, for natives to maintain their new Christian lifestyle, they had to purchase these new western clothes. Let us recall that the "[German] Church had passed a resolution, that the Kaffirs were not to attend European meetings in their raw heathenish costumes but in decent attire."[229] Although the first German old clothes were given as a donation, in order for natives to afford these clothes in future, they would have to sell their labour for the money. In addition, Pape's request "in July [18]70 ... for clothes for the school children"[230] means that native children were also introduced to these western clothes at the Day Schools. This means that there was a further erosion of native culture through making future generations contractually dependent on western clothing by selling their labour.

Lastly, the Christianized and civilized natives in the mission stations had access to the mission station and its school, which were perceived as places of a better and an alternative

[227] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 30.
[228] Ibid., p. 31.
[229] Ibid., p. 20.

lifestyle, which means that they were envied although not fully appreciated by fellow natives. How then could the incident of chiefs begging that the school be maintained "with the addition of a fair rations of mealies for each child"[231] be explained? There is however, no doubt that other western civilizing institutions in the Colony provided a better lifestyle than the mission station. For example, Samuel Mzimba who received £60.00 per annum at Tshabo mission station, nonetheless at the end of 1874 left the mission station to take up better-paid work in Alice as an interpreter.

[230] Ibid., p. 20.
[231] Ibid., p. 31.

Chapter 2
From the Sustentation Fund to the formation of the Baptist Union (1873-1877)

2.1. Formation of the Sustentation Fund (1873)

The Sustentation Fund, which was formed with "the object to assist weak Churches and establish new ones,"[1] was formed four years prior to the formation of the Baptist Union (BU) in 1877. There are no written records during the year of its formation, nor a year or two after its formation; as a result, Baptist have scholars ignored this history, notable among whom are Hudson-Reed,[2] Kretzschmar[3] and Hayashida.[4] Yet, the BU Assemblies' minutes provide this history. According to these minutes, the first mention of the Sustentation Fund is of the 1877 BU Assembly, by the then BU president, Rev W. Stokes, in the presidential letter entitled *To the Members and Friends of the Baptist Denomination in South Africa*.[5] This letter became the first of the annual BU presidential letters. It is worth mentioning that this Sustentation Fund should not be confused with other Sustentation Funds. That is, the 1916 Sustentation Fund to supplement ministers' stipends, the 1927 BU Sustentation and Trust Fund, and the 1935 Sustentation and Settlement Scheme to generate more capital for European ministers. These funds are discussed in chapter 6 and 8, respectively. The 1873 Sustentation Fund was however, the first step to unify European Baptist ministers scattered in the Colony and British Kaffraria.

In his first presidential letter to BU ministers, Rev W. Stokes stated: "About four years ago [that is, in 1873], as some of you are aware, there was formed amongst a few of us a 'Sustentation Fund,' the object of which was to assist weak Churches, and establish new ones. And with the very limited means at our command, we are happy to say that by the aid of this Fund a good work has already been done."[6] To locate this event within the history of the Baptist movement, Stokes continued: "On my arrival at Port Elizabeth, ten years ago [that is, in 1867], I made but the third Baptist minister in this Colony; but we have now seven

[1] Minutes of 1877 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 4.
[2] Hudson-Reed, S. (1983). *By Taking Heed: The History of the Baptists in Southern Africa 1820-1977.* Roodepoort: Baptist Publishing House.
[3] Kretzschmar, L. (1998). *Privatization of the Christian Faith: Mission, Social Ethics and the South African Baptists.* Ghana: Legon Theological Studies Series.
[4] Hayashida, N. O. (1999). *Women and Leadership in the Baptist Convention of South Africa.* Pretoria: UNISA [Unpublished PhD Thesis.].
[5] Minutes of 1877 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 3.

brethren, all labouring earnestly and faithfully, and some of them with considerable success."[7] At present, "there are two at King Williamstown district, one at Alice, one at Grahamstown, one at Port Alfred and Kariega, one at Capetown, where our esteemed Brother the Rev. H. M. Foot is also labouring, and one at Port Elizabeth."[8]

As indicated, the purpose of the Sustentation Fund was to provide assistance to weak Churches, and to establish new ones. To substantiate the success of the Fund, Stokes further stated that: "About three years and a half ago [that is, about June 1873], the Rev R. H. Brotherton removed to Alice, where he has worked ever since, with very pleasing results."[9] At Alice, Brotherton "was assisted for some time by this fund, but he has now a Church which is self-supporting, and no longer in need of our aid, who have built themselves a neat and comfortable Chapel to worship in, free of debt."[10] Following Brotherton, "in the month of November last [1876], the Rev W. Hamilton, from the Spurgeon's Pastors' College,[11] arrived in Cape Town. He has laboured with commendable diligence and zeal. His services have been acceptable, and the Lord has blessed them, and he has already a Church of earnest united workers, numbering close to ninety members. There are thus added within the last three years two new Churches, which will soon, we hope, be strong enough to help others. But we are anxious to do more."[12]

After having outlined the intention to form the Sustentation Fund and the history of the Baptists in South Africa, in particular, how it led to the formation of this Fund, Stokes then introduced the Baptist Union. In his words, "in order that we may work unitedly this Union has been formed, and is named, The Baptist Union of South Africa ... In my position as President, I am requested by the brethren to write to you this brief letter, and place before you the objects of our Union, and ask your kind co-operation, sympathy, and help, in our

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[6] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[7] Ibid., p. 3. According to Hudson-Reed, S. *Op. Cit.*, p. 22, Stokes pastored Port Elizabeth - Queen Street Church from 1867 until 1879. His predecessor, Rev J. C. Adams, arrived in the Colony in 1862, sent by the Baptist Missionary Society on a grant of £50 per annum for two years towards his stipend. Under Stokes, "there was an enlargement of the church effected in the year 1870" (Ibid.).
[8] Ibid., p. 3.
[9] Ibid., p. 4
[10] Ibid.
[11] Spurgeon's Pastors' College was a college founded by Rev C. H. Spurgeon, in May 1870 (Pike, G. H. 1991. *The Life and Work of Charles Haddon Spurgeon*. Vol. II. London, p. 228.) For more on the college, see the same work by Pike.
[12] Ibid.

endeavours to carry them out."[13] Accompanying this introduction was a request made to members to let the committee know where avenues for church building were. He clarified however, that: "We have no wish to enter districts, to the injury of other Christian Churches; but we are willing to assist our own members anywhere, to obtain a Church according to their own order and belief, and to help to maintain them until they are strong enough to do without our aid."[14]

Stokes' presidential letter, even though it is the first BU record to make mention of the Sustentation Fund, does not provide much information about this Fund. The letter is however useful in dating the formation of the Fund and its objectives. A more in-depth history of the Sustentation Fund leading to the formation of the BU was presented by Mr T. H. Grocott in his 1886 BU presidential address entitled *Our Union*.[15] In it he stated that in the year 1873, there were only four congregations of Baptist Churches in the Colony, and though in full sympathy with each other, they felt that no active work was being done outside their own particular spheres of labour, owing to the distance that separated them, and the difficulties which beset travelling in those days. The Baptists, like the settlers in 1820, were scattered all over the country, but not in such numbers as to form themselves into Church-fellowship.[16] In November of the same year, a small meeting to promote the formation of a Union amongst the Baptist Denomination of South Africa was attempted by a few of the members of the Grahamstown Church. This meeting was held in the School room adjoining the Church, and consisted of some half-dozen zealous members, presided over by its then pastor, the Rev. H. Martyn Foot, aided by Messrs. James Hay, George Luke, Thomas King, F. Jardine, and another.[17] After some discussion, "it was decided to set the movement working, and to name it the 'Colonial Baptist Sustentation Fund;' The object of which was to assist in the formation and support of Baptist Churches in the Colony."[18] At this meeting it was found that the sum of £100 could be raised in the denomination towards such a laudable object.

To strengthen the missionary zeal of the founding members of the Sustentation Fund, Grocott reminded the Baptists in the Colony of the missionary zeal of William Carey, which needed no large sums of money to be effective. That is: "Not a large sum with which to found and

[13] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[14] Ibid., p. 5.
[15] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886, p. 8.
[16] Ibid., p. 8.
[17] Ibid., p. 9

foster a denomination; but, with Carey, the motto of the promoters was 'Let us work for greater things - let us expect great things;' and he, in laying the foundation of the great Indian Mission enterprise, started with very small means, and encountered great opposition. But in faith he went forth, and with strong confidence in his God, and zealous devotion to his work, he was able to accomplish a mighty triumph in founding the Baptist Missionary Society, which is second to none in the lofty aims to carry light and civilization into the dark places of the world."[19] He further continued: "To-day, this sincere Christian man is spoken of as William Carey, shoemaker and missionary, humble schoolmaster and Oriental linguist, village pastor and evangelizer [sic] of India - the greatest of those bold missionary pioneers, whose self-denying work and zealous devotion cleared the way for the great foreign mission movement of the present time."[20]

Carey's pioneering work was however, according to Grocott, not yet emulated by the English Baptists in the Colony.

> While speaking of civilizing and Christianizing the heathen, I may remark that, up to the present time, our Union has not attempted to extend its organization amongst the native races of this Colony. The Parent Society [Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain] has not taken up South Africa as its mission field, but other religious bodies have for years nobly carried on this work - and we wish them God's speed in their noble efforts and to raise and civilize the heathen of this country.[21]

Grocott's concern that the Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain should have taken up South Africa as its mission field indicates the English Baptists' view in the Colony that the evangelization of the natives, who were both uncivilized and heathen, was not their responsibility. Their attitude is contrary to that of the German Baptists, who never argued for the Baptists in Germany to send missionaries to work among the natives in South Africa, but nonetheless started mission amongst them, though paternalist and racially prejudiced. In the following chapters,[22] it will be indicated how this perception of the natives as heathen and

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[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid. See discussion in this chapter on Said's analysis of the Orient (the Other) and his Orientalism (Otherness).
[21] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886, p. 9. In the same address, Grocott listed the following: "Amongst the first to establish missions in South Africa was the London Missionary Society, followed by the Presbyterian, Wesleyan and Episcopalians, some of whose pioneers are to be ranked among the worthies of the earth - viz., Robert Moffat, Dr Livingstone, William Shaw, and Bishop Merriman, men whose lives were spent in the Master's work." (Ibid.).
[22] See in particular Chapter 4.

uncivilized continued even when they were converted Christians. In brief, the native converts remained perceived as inferior, in need of separate development and supervision under Europeans.

Coming back to our discussion of the Sustentation Fund, at "the first meeting of the promoters of the 'Sustentation Fund,' it was resolved that a letter should be drafted by the Chairman (Rev H. M. Foot), and printed and circulated amongst the Members, setting forth that the funds should be applied [for],"[23] subject to the following conditions, as outlined in the following quotation:

> 1st. 'That the work be carried on in the country districts.' The implied meaning of this condition was that the larger Churches could take care of themselves, being in receipt of over the stipulated amount which was to provide for their respective pastors' salaries and meet the current expenses. 2nd. 'That the basis of Church fellowship be open Communion,' a condition which we think even now, after many years' experience, was a wise stipulation on the part of the promoters. [Rev Foot interjected] Personally, I am of the opinion that you can hardly make the Church too broad, and I would advocate that all communicants be admitted to full Church Membership. But, gentlemen, this is only my own personal opinion, and it in no way pledges the Members of the Baptist Union. You may, however, take it as a suggestion emanating from me, if you desire to have the point discussed. Some practical outcome might be the result of such discussion, and, [at] any rate, the views of others would be interesting to hear. [He then continued with the conditions of application.] 3rd. 'That no addition from the funds be made to salaries which reach £200 per annum, but that in such cases help be transferred to weaker districts.' Of course, this does not imply that the salaries of our pastors are not to exceed £200; only, that the fund ceases to contribute when that amount is raised by the aided Church. Our Churches, though in the Union, are nevertheless all perfectly independent, and so arrange their finances as they think best.[24]

The stipulated conditions of application for financial assistance from the Sustentation Fund raise a number of critical issues. First: the accepted possibility that salaries of European ministers could reach £200 or more. This should be noted in contrast to the native teacher's (James Mangane) salary of £10, at Tshabo mission station, by 1878,[25] even though he was

[23] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886, p. 8.
[24] Ibid., p. 10. As mentioned by Stokes, Grocott also affirmed that: "The first Church to receive a grant from the Fund was the Alice Church, which grant, I am pleased to state, was soon withdrawn, as the brethren there found they could do without the aid of the Union, and so the grant was transferred to another field." (Ibid.).
[25] Gutsche, P. *Report on 50th Anniversary of the founding of the mission station at Tshabo in 1927*, unpublished SABMS paper. [Archival Collection, Baptist Union College, Randburg], p. 37. Samuel Mzimba is another native teacher who worked at this station, prior to James Mangane, but had received £60 per annum. (Ibid., p. 28)!

under the German Baptists. It should also be noted that this native Christian teacher was also expected to facilitate the spiritual formation of the native school children and to act as an interpreter for the German missionaries working amongst the natives.

Secondly, the English churches are "all perfectly independent, and so arrange their finances as they think best."[26] This congregational form of church government, a distinctive characteristic of the Baptists, was practised to the convenience of the German and English Baptists, at the exclusion of the natives. For example, in the previous chapter, we came across John Crawford, a Hottentot educated at Lovedale and Brownlee stations as an evangelist. In particular, we came across the incident when his parents, others and himself "wished to form a separate church, for which they wanted to collect funds in the English Churches in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, these two points were refused, but were [only] given a loan of Dutch or Kaffir Bible."[27] Consequently, the first attempt at a native led local Baptist Church came to naught. The German control of native work was to be also practised by the English Baptists when they commenced with native work in 1892, through the South African Baptist Missionary Society (SABMS).

To conclude this brief history of the Sustentation Fund, Grocott further made note that, "after two or three years' good work, under the banner of the 'Sustentation Fund,' it was found that the name was hardly representative enough for the denomination."[28] As a result, "in 1877 it was resolved by vote to change its name into that of the 'Baptist Union of South Africa.'"[29] Grocott's conclusion that the Sustentation Fund became the BU by vote was later corrected by the BU executive, as we will later observe. In brief, according to the BU executive, the Sustentation Fund had discontinued prior to the formation of the BU.

2.2. Spontaneous character of the Baptist Union formation in 1877
2.2.1. Rev. G. W. Cross' convenient arrival in Grahamstown

The formation of the Baptist Union was a spontaneous decision. This means that the Sustentation Fund did not change gradually into the Baptist Union, contrary to Grocott's opinion in his presidential letter that the Baptist Union of South Africa was formed after two

[26] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886, p. 9.
[27] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.
[28] Minutes of the 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886, p. 9.
[29] Ibid.

or three years of good work by the Sustentation Fund. In his presidential letter, he concluded that the BU was formed by "vote to change [from] its [Sustentation Fund] name [into the BU]."[30] However, a contrary and also the prevailing opinion is that the Sustentation Fund had ceased to exist prior to the formation of the BU. To correct this error, a report was made to prefix the 1886 BU Assembly minutes wherein Grocott's presidential letter is documented. It stated:

> Mr Grocott gracefully referred to those who, with himself, were associated together with the formation of the Colonial Baptist 'Sustentation Fund,' in the year 1873. The object of this fund was to help weak Churches with money grants, and to establish Churches in the towns where such were needed. The President assumed that out of the 'Sustentation Fund' the '[Baptist] Union' was evolved. This we do not think was the case, inasmuch as the Fund had ceased its operations some time before the formation of the Union took place. The [Baptist] Union was formed upon the arrival of the Rev. G. W. Cross at Grahamstown, some nine years ago [that is, in 1877], and the advent of that gentleman furnished the occasion of calling various ministers and delegates together for its formation. In tracing the establishment and development of the Union, the President made it clear that no assistance in the past had been received by any South African Baptist Church from the parent society, nor had any Baptist Church in the Colony ever received State aid in any form or shape, and yet, since the formation of the Union, a sum amounting to £2,500 had been voluntarily subscribed by its members and friends. The hearty words of the President, brought his address to a close. A warm vote of thanks was passed by all present.[31]

This report became the official history of the BU formation. Therefore, Grocott's history, the first attempt at writing a BU history, wherein he argued that the BU was preceded by the Sustentation Fund which automatically evolved into the BU, necessitated this corrected and 'official' BU history, written by the BU executive.

As recorded in this official and presumably correct version of the BU history, the BU was formed upon Rev G.W. Cross's arrival at Grahamstown. Rev Cross, a graduate of Spurgeon College,[32] who had also pastored Regent Street Baptist Church in Belfast, sailed from London on Thursday, May 31st 1877, to take up his appointment at Grahamstown, leaving his

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[32] Parnell, C. (1985). *G. W. Cross - The Man who gave his Life*. Roodepoort: S.A. Baptist Historical Society, p. 5. According to Parnell, Cross entered Spurgeon College in 1871 at the age of twenty under the principalship of George Rogers, by then in his seventies. Students stayed in the lodgings and studies were conducted in the basement of Spurgeon's church, the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Their studies included Latin, Greek, elementary Hebrew, Theology, Biblical Studies, Pastoral Theology, Homiletics, English, Geography and Metaphysics.

bride at home in Belfast. He travelled on the R. M. S. Courland, of the Donald Currie Line, commanded by Captain E. Griffin. In addition to 145 passengers and a general cargo, it also carried the mails to the Cape.[33] This Grahamstown call had come "with its good offer of at least £300 a year and the payment of £100 towards his removal costs."[34] This stipulated salary offer and removal costs became one of the early precedents for future European ministers' stipends and settlement funds, as we shall later observe. He arrived in Cape Town on June 29th, then in Grahamstown on July 9th, 1877, where he was met by Revs. W. Stokes from Port Elizabeth and W. Hamilton from Capetown, who accompanied him to the Grahamstown Church that he was to pastor.

Concerning his arrival at Cape Town prior to proceeding to Grahamstown, K. E. Cross, who is the son of Rev. G. W. Cross, reported in his book[35] that after four weeks in the sea the Courland reached Cape Town on Friday, June 29th, 1877, in the late afternoon. On the quayside stood the Rev. William Hamilton, who like Cross was one of Spurgeon's young men who had received his training at the Pastors' College. He was full of zeal and energy, and within a few months of his coming he had organized a congregation in Cape Town, and opened preaching stations in Mowbray and Wynberg. The Baptists of Cape Town welcomed Cross very warmly, and he was invited to preach at both the morning and evening services on the Sunday after his arrival. The Courland left Cape Town on the following Tuesday to continue the voyage to Algoa Bay and East London. Hamilton accompanied Cross, having decided that this was a good opportunity to meet the Baptists of the Eastern Province, as yet unknown to him. At Port Elizabeth, where they arrived on the evening of Thursday, July 5th, there was another cordial welcome from the local Baptist community, and from their minister, Rev. W. Stokes[36] - also a Pastors' College graduate.

Revs. Cross and Hamilton were persuaded to tarry for a few days before continuing the journey to Grahamstown, and the following Sunday Hamilton preached at one service and Cross at the other. Stokes had been in Port Elizabeth for ten years and the arrival of Cross and Hamilton "cheered him greatly, and he decided to accompany them to Grahamstown on the last stage of Cross's long journey from Belfast to his new home."[37] On Monday, July 9th,

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[33] Cross, K. E. (1986). *Ours is the Frontier: A Life of G. W. Cross, Baptist Pioneer.* Pretoria: UNISA, p. 27.
[34] Parnell, C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.
[35] Cross, K. E. (1986). *Ours is the Frontier: A Life of G. W. Cross, Baptist Pioneer.* Pretoria: UNISA.
[36] Ibid., p. 28.
[37] Ibid.

1877, they left Port Elizabeth by train. After four hours, they reached Anthony Trollope, also called Sandflats. From there they continued forty miles by Cobb & Co's coach to Grahamstown. On arrival, late afternoon, they were met by a deputation from the Grahamstown Church.[38] At last, the journey had ended and Cross was to live in the Grahamstown district for the next 25 years.[39]

Cross, like Carl Hugo Gutsche on arrival in the Colony, instantly became busy. A glimpse into his itinerary indicates that:

> The first week after his arrival was crowded with events and impressions. Two other ministerial colleagues had also come to Grahamstown to welcome him: the Rev. R. H. Brotherton and the Rev. Hugo Gutsche. There was also a handsome young Irishman, the Rev. W. Kelly, newly arrived in South Africa, and eager to serve wherever a place could be found for him. In addition to these six ministers - Brotherton, Gutsche, Stokes, Hamilton, Cross and Kelly, there were also leading laymen of Kariega and Cape Town as well as Grahamstown. The arrival of the new minister was a cause for rejoicing. There was a sense of upspringing hope and a new feeling of unity. The time was ripe for a very important step: the linking of all the scattered churches in a properly constituted body.[40]

Cross's arrival and a welcoming reception, held the day after his arrival, were reported in the *Grocott's Mail*, which was owned by the same Mr T. H. Grocott who became the BU president in 1886. (His publishing house was to publish the BU Handbooks in which are the BU Assemblies' minutes, minutes of the Missionary Sessions of the South African Baptist Missionary Society during BU Assemblies, and other Baptist publications.) The next evening after his arrival, Cross was formally inducted. The charge to the new minister was delivered by the Rev. R. H. Brotherton, the oldest serving Baptist minister. The week-long festivities closed on Wednesday, July 11th, 1877, with a service at which the newly-elected first President of the Baptist Union of South Africa, the Rev. W. Stokes, was the preacher.[41]

As indicated above, Cross was called to South Africa by the Grahamstown Church. This church was part of the town's affluent lifestyle, in comparison to the neighbouring German settlements.[42] According to K.E. Cross, relying on his father's memoirs, "Grahamstown is a

[38] Ibid., pp. 28-29.
[39] Parnell, C. *Op. Cit.*, p. 1.
[40] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 29.
[41] Ibid., p. 30.
[42] See Chapter 1.

pretty place, pleasantly situated. It is quite unlike any other town in South Africa, with its plain, early nineteenth century English architecture; and it has probably changed less in the last century than any other city or town in the whole country."[43] Founded in 1812 as a military headquarters for the troubled frontier of the Colony, it was built by the British settlers of 1820. By 1877 it was "a well-established city with a population of about 9 000 people, of whom 6 000 were of European, chiefly British, stock."[44] It was no longer the frontier post, due to the Colonial boundary having shifted to the Kei River, further to the east, with the British Garrison stationed in Kingwilliamstown. This of course meant the resettlement of the inhabitants that occupied this land. In describing the role of missionaries in such resettlements, Cochrane[45] indicated how Methodist missionaries collaborated with colonial administrators to use displaced tribes as buffers against possible attacks.

> In the Eastern Cape, Natal Africans displaced by the Mfecane were settled on the frontier with the permission of the colonial administration and the help of interested Methodists. For these Mfengu there was *quid pro quo*: they were to be the human buffer between the colonists and Xhosa foe. Their incorporation into the market was encouraged and stimulated, and they were hastened along their path to fuller involvement in a capitalist economy by their close association with the Methodists, a group of missionaries who keenly favoured the spread of peasant agriculture.[46]

Coming back to Cross's description of Grahamstown, quoting his father's memoirs, Cross stated that Grahamstown "was now primarily a market and manufacture centre, with many religious and educational institutions: an oasis of culture in a wilderness of uncivilized Blacks and uncouth Boer frontiersmen."[47] Or so it seemed to the people of Grahamstown, "who were, according to Anthony Trollope, 'full of their own excellencies.'"[48] But these uncouth Boers benefited from an alliance with the English against the natives.

> In the process of English-Boer cooperation to gain control over the native, several mistakes were made, among them Rhodes' sponsorship of the abortive Jameson Raid, which is acknowledged to have had the imprimatur of Joseph Chamberlain. Following on that, the economic necessities behind the policy of settler colonialism united Cecil Rhodes, prime

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[43] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 31.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Cochrane, J. (1987). *Servants of Power: The role of English-speaking Churches 1903-1930.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
[46] Ibid., p. 26.
[47] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 31. For a detailed history of Grahamstown, see: Gibbens, M. (1982). *Two decades in the life a city: Grahamstown 1862-1882.* South Africa: Rhodes University. [Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis].

> minister of the Cape Colony, and Jan Hofmeyr, leader of the Afrikaner Bond, in seeking local autonomy and expanded influence. It came to flower in the Union of South Africa in 1910 which did not injure in the least British economic and strategic interests. In effect, Great Britain transferred its prerogatives as a colonial power to the white settler minority.[49]

Apart from Cape Town, Cross further explained that Grahamstown was the only city in the Colony with an Anglican Cathedral and a Bishop. It was also the stronghold of Wesleyan Methodism in the Colony, and here was a flourishing Roman Catholic community. Behind the Cathedral, in Church Square, "there was room for a span, still yoked up, to lie down and rest while the waggoners conducted their business in the leisurely flagship for which Grahamstown was even then famous."[50] There were also "the noisy, colourful Fingoes and Xhosas; the strange trees lining the streets; the unfamiliar local accent, the spaciousness, the general air of 'plenty of time, plenty of room' which must have been the strangest of all to one bred in nineteenth century London."[51]

Like German settlements, Grahamstown is a town that also started as a military settlement, a frontier post against the native tribes.[52] With time, it started reflecting European "home"[53] life in the conquered colony. It is therefore not surprising that Cross referred to it as "an oasis of culture in a wilderness of uncivilized Blacks and uncouth Boer frontiersmen."[54] Given the pound economy already in existence to which the natives were introduced, and the new needs accompanying it, all these being part of the colonization process, the natives in the villages surrounding Grahamstown sold their labour and spent the accumulated pounds in this "primarily a market and [a] manufacture centre."[55] The European denominations, Baptists included, were, without doubt, part of the town's culture. Their religious life and practice were conditioned by their experiences in this town. It is also not surprising that even when the BU was formed in 1877, it reflected the obvious English life of the town. Furthermore, as indicated in the previous chapter, and as we will later observe throughout this research, the English Baptists had no interest in native life and mission except in changing this barbaric, heathen and uncivilized life. By 1892 when the BU through the SABMS commenced with

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[48] Cross, K. E. (1986). *Ours is the Frontier: A Life of G. W. Cross, Baptist Pioneer.* Pretoria: UNISA, p. 31.
[49] Cochrane, J. *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.
[50] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Hofmeyr, J. W. & Pillay, G. J. (eds.). (1993). *A History of Christianity in South Africa.* Vol. 1. Pretoria: HAUM Tertiary, p. 4.
[53] See Chapter 8 for more discussion of this concept: "home."
[54] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 31.
[55] Ibid.

mission among the natives, it was still hesitant to directly involve itself with the native, except through native agency, as we will later observe.

2.2.2. Formation of the Baptist Union (1877)

As indicted above, the formation of the BU was spontaneous due to the convenience of most Baptist ministers having assembled at Grahamstown to welcome Cross. Interestingly, it was Mr. T. B. King, a merchant in Grahamstown, and in later years a Member of the Legislative Assembly of the Cape Colony, who took the lead in pressing for the establishment of a Baptist Union. It was on Wednesday afternoon, July 11th, 1877, the last day of the week long festivities, that the first meeting for this purpose was held. A sub-committee, composed of the Revs. Stokes, Cross, Hamilton and Brotherton, and Mr. J. Filmer of Cape Town, was appointed to draw up rules and regulations and to present a draft for discussion on July 14th.[56] Consequently, in the same month of July, 1877, the BU was formed.[57]

Coincidentally, in the same year the Ninth Frontier War also began. Cross, who had just arrived in the Colony, joined the Albany men[58] and the British authorities against the Gcalekas. The cause of this war dates to years earlier. This war, according to Cross, began on the 3rd of August as a minor incident at a Fingo kraal on the borders of Gcalekaland. The Fingoes were celebrating a marriage feast, when certain uninvited Gcalekas arrived, and custom and courtesy demanded that they be made welcome. Cross further explained: "It was not surprising, however, that with the excitement of the occasion, the singing and dancing and beer-drinking, the evening should end in a quarrel, which quickly turned into a fight."[59] The upshot was that one Gcaleka was killed, and two others of high rank were badly injured. The rest were driven back over the border to their own kraals by the incensed Fingoes. It was not likely that "the Gcalekas would suffer such treatment with impunity, and especially not from the Fingoes, of all people, a race they despised. A few days after the fight four large

[56] Ibid., p. 29.
[57] BU Minutes of 1880 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 2.
[58] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 35. At first, Cross offered his services as a chaplain, but it soon became clear that no provision was made for such an officer in a Colonial Volunteer Corps. Furthermore, it was not yet three months when the war broke off as a result, his deacons were reluctant to give him leave of absence. When the first detachment of Albany Mounted Volunteers left the city, on October 3rd, 1877, he could not join them. But when the second detachment of Albany Rangers from Salem and Sidbury were planning to leave Grahamstown shortly, with Mr Thomas King's help, who later (1884 and 1902 respectively) became BU president, Cross procured a horse and joined the army.
[59] Ibid., p. 34.

parties of avenging Gcalekas crossed into Fingoland and drove off hundreds of cattle, sheep and goats."[60]

Given the state of affairs, Cross added that: "The British authorities could hardly ignore such an affront."[61] He further argued that: "The Fingoes were British citizens and entitled to protection, and whether they liked it or not the White authorities were bound to be drawn into the conflict."[62] That is, the British authorities "did their best to stamp out the fire before it got out of control."[63] The Secretary of Native Affairs, Mr. Brownlee, visited the great Chief Kreli himself in Gcalekaland and tried to persuade him to meet the Governor at Butterworth so that the matter could be settled peaceably. But, "this old chief was not prepared to do [this], probably because such a course would not have been approved by his powerful son, Sigcau, and his warriors, who were keen to show their prowess in war."[64] Kreli assured Brownlee that he had no quarrel with the White people, and was anxious to keep the peace with them. Nevertheless, "on September the 26th, a force of 5 000 Gcalekas crossed the frontier and had an encounter with a small body of mounted police, under Inspector Chalmers ... when a few days later Kreli's men attacked again, the police, and some 2 000 Fingoes, were ready for them, and they were repulsed with heavy losses."[65] When this news reached Grahamstown "there was great excitement."[66] The request for volunteers which came through the official channels met with an immediate response. On Monday, October 1st, a large and eager crowd assembled in the Albany Hall at a hastily arranged public meeting. Judge Smith, in the chair, proposed that a fund be raised by subscription to equip the Volunteers with horses and other necessities. The sum of £900 was raised at once, and in addition twelve horses were promised. The prevailing excitement "could not but affect the young minister [Rev G. W. Cross] from England. He donated £1 to the fund, and began to consider whether he could go to the war himself."[67] It was against this backdrop of native conflict between the Fingoes and Gcalekas which saw the involvement of British military troops and related imperialism, that the BU was formed.

In the founding of the BU, its declaration of principle in the constitution stated that: "While

[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., p. 35.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.

this [Baptist] Union is composed of Churches and individuals holding the immersion of believers to be the only Christian Baptism, it fully recognizes the right of every separate Church to interpret and administer in and for itself the laws of Christ."[68] And "to accomplish this, our aim is to plant, or assist in planting, Churches, in places where our principles are as yet unrepresented, where it may be, some of our members reside, who may desire to co-operate with us in our efforts to assist them."[69] Therefore, the "[Baptist] Union shall comprise all such existing Baptist Churches as shall agree to unite for the attainment of its objects such persons and churches as shall be hereafter admitted according to its rules."[70] Even though the BU fully recognized the right of every separate Church to interpret and administer the laws of Christ, to direct the churches under its care, the following objectives were formulated:

> 1. To promote unity and brotherly love among its members. 2. To obtain accurate information respecting the organisation and work of the Churches. 3. To extend its principles throughout South Africa. 4. To maintain the right of all men everywhere to freedom from legal disadvantage in matters purely religious. 5. And to supply a means of co-operating with other Christian communities as occasion may require.[71]

To realize these objectives and to self sustain the BU in the Colony, a commitment was made "to encourage suitable [European] young men to devote themselves to the Christian Ministry, and to assist them in obtaining education for that purpose, should they need it or desire it."[72] In addition, a request for finance was made to church and personal BU members. Rev Stokes, the first BU president, appealed that "the strong help the weak, and let those who cannot work help by their means those who can, and thus all may serve the Master."[73] Concerning the issue of membership, membership into the BU was divided into three categories. These were: pastors and delegates of the churches; personal members; and honorary members. To define membership criteria and make a financial request, an invitation note accompanying the constitution read, "we cordially invite all our Baptist friends to become members according to one or other of these classes ... by appealing to the Secretary, and sending the requisite subscription before the first of March."[74] Finance wise, each church represented in the BU "shall be required to contribute not less than £5 annually to the funds of the [Baptist]

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[67] Ibid.
[68] 1877 BU Constitution, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 8.
[69] Minutes of 1877 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 5.
[70] 1877 BU Constitution, in BU Handbook for 1977-1881, p. 8.
[71] Ibid., p. 9.
[72] Ibid., p. 6.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

Union."[75] And personal members "shall be required to subscribe not less than £5 annually, and honorary members £1 annually."[76] As indicated, the subscription would fall due on the 1st of March and "until paid, no cards of admission to the Assembly shall be granted."[77]

Concerning the above, the BU Executive was expected, according to Clause XI, to ensure that: "All monies shall be paid to, and all disbursements made by, the Executive, and an account of the same shall be rendered at the annual Meeting of the Assembly."[78] And: "The Executive shall prepare for circulation an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Union."[79]

Besides the required annual subscription, Grocott in his 1886 presidential address mentioned howbeit that, "when the [Baptist] Union was established in 1877, the number of its paid ministers was very small - viz., six - with only six places of worship, situate[d] in Grahamstown, Alice, Capetown, Port Elizabeth, Kariega, and the German Church in King Williamstown."[80] To explain why the number of paid ministers was small, "a reference to the Church books shewed [sic]"[81] according to Grocott, "that in most of the principal towns of the Colony there were persons who have been in fellowship with the Churches then existing, but having removed to other places, they were anxious that a Church holding the same views might be established in their midst."[82] Given that: "Their numbers were few, comparatively speaking, and without aid they could not pay for the maintenance of a settled pastor; and, in order to supply this want, as well as for the reason given above, the [Baptist] Union was formed, with the hope of assisting these churches, until such time as they had grown large and strong enough for the maintenance of their own pastor, and so become entirely independent of the [Baptist] Union grant."[83]

Administratively, the BU Assembly "shall meet annually at such time and place as shall be appointed by it from year to year."[84] However, all assemblies were to be held in Europeans-

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[75] 1877 BU Constitution, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 11.
[76] Ibid. In the third bye-law of the same constitution it is also stipulated that: "Two auditors for the ensuing year shall be appointed by resolution at the annual meeting of the Assembly. The financial year shall terminate on the 15th of April." (Ibid., p. 10.).
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid., p. 10.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, pp. 10-11.
[81] Ibid., p. 11.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] 1877 BU Constitution, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 8.

only towns, an indication that the assemblies were by and for Europeans. The special meetings of the assembly "shall be specially convened at any time at the discretion of the Executive, or upon the requisition of a majority of its members."[85] The office-bearers of the executive "shall be the President, Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary."[86] These officers "shall be elected by ballot at the close of each annual meeting of the Assembly."[87] Attending the assembly,

> shall [be] Pastors and Delegates of Churches, Personal voting members and Honorary (or non-voting) members. Churches of fewer than 50 members may send one delegate; of more than fifty, two delegates; of more than one hundred, three delegates. All delegates shall be duly appointed annually and their appointment duly accredited and notified to the Secretary before the 1st of April. Personal members shall be Baptists, though not necessarily connected with a Baptist Church, who shall be recommended to the [Baptist] Union by three of its members and accepted by the Assembly.[88]

Even though the BU was run by the executive, provision was made to form other committees. That is, in order to "facilitate and prepare its business the Assembly may appoint committees."[89] In these committees: "The convener and quorum shall be fixed by the Assembly."[90] The object of each committee shall be defined in its appointment and the "minutes of all acts in committees shall be kept in writing and ready for use in the Assembly."[91] To legitimize the proceedings of these committees: "The report of each committee shall be given in writing and signed by its chairman."[92] Underlining all these provisions and to ensure that the Constitution was complied with, Clause XII guaranteed that: "No proposal for change in this Constitution shall be entertained without one year's notice, given in writing, at the annual Assembly, and published as the Assembly shall direct."[93] Noting the occasion during which the BU was formed, the participants and the place where the BU and its constitution were founded, and having observed that the native (the inferior Other)[94] was not part of these proceedings, we proceed to a discussion of this inferior other - as perceived by the English.

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[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., p. 10.
[87] Ibid., p. 11.
[88] Ibid., p. 9.
[89] Ibid., 12.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., p. 10.
[94] For a further discussion of "the Other" and "the inferior Other," see Chapter 4.

2.2.3. Constructing the native as "the Other"

In making a distinction between the Europeans and their encounter with the non-European people, Said refers to the non-Europeans as "the Orient" and to the Europeans as "the Occident."[95] This, according to Said, has been accepted by "philosophers, political theorists, and imperial administrators, ... [as] the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, ... , and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, 'mind,' destiny and so on."[96] In another work,[97] Said in discussing the imperial discourse in Africa refers to the natives as "the Other."[98]

> Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. ... without examining Orientalism as a discourse, one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce - the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.[99]

This is not so much to say that Orientalism unilaterally determines what can be said about the Orient, but rather it describes the whole network of interests inevitably brought to bear on any occasion when that peculiar entity "the Orient" is in question. Consequently, "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground itself."[100] However, "it would be wrong to conclude that the Orient was essentially an idea, or a creation with no corresponding reality."[101] Instead: "The relationship between the Occident and the Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony"[102] In this relationship, the dominant (the Occident) tends to speak on behalf of and represent "the Orient." This is the case in the BU minutes and SABMS reports, the sources mainly used throughout this thesis.

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[95] Said, E. W. (1995). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. England: Penguin Books, p. 2.
[96] Ibid., pp. 2-3.
[97] Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books. See also Chapter 4 for a further discussion of "the Other."
[98] Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, p. 166.
[99] Said, E. W. *Orientalism ... of the Orient*, p. 3.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., p. 5. Said added: "To believe that the Orient was created – or, as I call it, 'Orientalized' – and to believe that such things happen simply as a necessity of the imagination, is to be disingenuous." (Ibid.).

Said argued in his other work:[103]

> Despite their fitness and reticulation, then, the inclusive cultural forms dealing with peripheral non-European settings are markedly ideological and selective (even repressive) so far as 'natives' are concerned, just as the picturesqueness of nineteenth-century colonial painting is, despite its 'realism,' ideological and repressive: it effectively silences the Other, it reconstitutes difference as identity, it rules over and represents domains figured by occupying powers, not by inactive inhabitants.[104]

In transforming the natives from subservient beings into inferior humanity, the "colonizer is similarly transformed into an invisible scribe, whose writing reports on the Other and at the same time insists on its scientific disinterestedness and steady improvement in the condition, character, and custom of primitives as a result of their contact with European civilization."[105] The object of this consolidated vision is always either a victim or a highly constrained character, permanently threatened with severe punishment, despite his or her many virtues, services, or achievements, excluded ontologically for having few of the merits of the conquering, surveying, and civilizing outsider. For the colonizer the incorporative apparatus requires unremitting effort to maintain. For the victim, imperialism offers these alternatives: serve or be destroyed.[106]

In this body of knowledge on "the Orient," a body of theory and practice is created. What occurs is that: "Continued investment made Orientalism, as a system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as the same investment multiplied – indeed, made truly productive – that statement proliferating from Orientalism into the general culture."[107] It is the result of cultural hegemony at work, that gives Orientalism durability and strength. Thus:

> Orientalism is never far from what Denys Hay has called the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying 'us' Europeans against all 'those' non-Europeans, and indeed it can be argued that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books.
[104] Ibid., p. 166.
[105] Ibid., p. 168.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Said, E. W. (1995). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. England: Penguin Books, p. 6.

comparison with all the non-European peoples and culture.[108]

The European's conception of "the Other," who was also perceived as the "inferior Other," prior to their arrival in Africa was also informed by travel accounts using two approaches. These travel accounts served to inform the Europeans to perceive themselves as superior. Skin colour became the determining factor between those who came to be Europeans as opposed to non-Europeans. That is, "colour among the [British] Empire-builders was independent of origin, breaking down the disintegrating forces of tribalism."[109] White people, in other words, did not exist until they found themselves faced with the colonial situation - that is, when people from Europe found themselves faced with the Otherness of those they had conquered. Only then did they look at each other and say, "we are white,"[110] according to Magubane.

Out of the base position occupied by the African, which "marked the point at which humanity gave way to animality,"[111] new constructs were formulated. The African became an embodiment of savagery, and "of deviance from [a] racially defined ideal."[112] Thus, the description of his manners and customs, "in other words, African nature was grounded in the colour, shape, and substance of the black physique."[113] Furthermore, through the development of the sciences and aesthetics, a new level of consciousness and authority was raised among the Europeans. In investigating the savage, Europeans "set up a mirror in which [they] might find a tangible, if inverted, self-image."[114] A new chain of being, which served as a powerful metaphor for the relationship between black and white, master and servant, emerged. Nationality, physical type, and aesthetic value were "condensed into an iconography that would in due course become part of the language of scientific racism."[115] In turn, these savage images of an African were "to become standard in nineteenth-century texts on racial difference; significantly, these texts gave prominence to images of black South

[108] Ibid., p. 7.
[109] Culwick, A. T. (1969). *Britannia Waves the Rules.* Port Elizabeth: Nasionale Boekhandel, p. 12, quoted in Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 320.
[110] Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 320. According to Magubane: "The Scots, the Irish, the Germans, the Jews, the Poles and many others were all, therefore, invested with a white identity, even though their colours ranged from pale pink through puce to mahogany."
[111] Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 99.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid., p. 98.
[115] Ibid., p. 100.

Africans."[116]

Economically, this biological distinction was also used to explain the divisions of labour between the European and non-European, who was "the wild man of the human realm, the counter-image of an assertive Western civilization."[117] In trying to civilize the savage, the missionaries to South Africa would aim to establish him first as a "degenerate other," then they would take hold of him in a transforming grasp that would harness his brute potential, making him into a lowlier, artless version of themselves. As it turned out, the ambiguity of the concept of the savage - the threat that accompanied its vital promise - was not that easily contained. Accompanying the need to civilize the savage was the "infantilization of Africans."[118] That is, the supposed childlikeness of African adults, for example African men who are portrayed in their "natural [condition], after all, [as] afflicted by an absence, a lack of the qualities that characterized the adult white male ideal of European civilization."[119] Their naive simplicity, playfulness and immaturity, pressed upon European consciousness, especially the missionaries, through "the civilizing mission hoped one day to usher them into moral manhood."[120] Biology therefore provided the authoritative terms for the simultaneous process of inclusion and disqualification,[121] valuation and devaluation.[122]

Exhibitions were another aspect, besides travel literature, that brought Europeans into an encounter with the inferior other. According to Magubane, these exhibitions were "like zoos, they provided education and entertainment for the citizens of the imperial countries."[123] Furthermore:

> At these gigantic exhibitions, staged by the principal colonial powers, the world was collected and displayed. Natives from a wide range of colonized cultures quickly became a standard part of most manifestations of this kind. Together with their artifacts, houses, and even complete villages, so-called savages or primitives were made available for visual inspections by millions of strolling and stirring Western citizens. Comparable places of spectacles such as zoos, botanical gardens, circuses, temporary or permanent exhibitions staged by missionary societies and museums of natural history, all exhibited other races and/ or other species and

[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid., p. 109.
[118] Ibid., p. 117.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid., p. 105.
[122] Ibid., p. 117.
[123] Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 314.

testified to the imperialism of the 19th-century nation state.[124]

Some of these exhibitions included, in 1810-1811, that of Saartjie Baartman, also called Sarah Bartman or Saat-Jee, and known as the Hottentot Venus, who was brought to London. The Khoi woman, reputed to have what were called "enormous" buttocks, was exhibited at Piccadilly Circus. Like an animal, she was caged and chained. Her exhibition was a sensation, drawing large crowds, who examined her from every angle. In 1829 there was another nude Hottentot woman, also called the Hottentot Venus. She was the prize attraction at a ball given by the Duchess of Du Barry in Paris. After she died, she was dissected by Cuvier. This was followed in 1846-1850 by another exhibition, *The Bosjemans*, and by that of *The Zulu Kaffirs* of 1853. These displays of Africans were a way of convincing the British public that Africans were savages that needed to be civilized. It is therefore not surprising that when the British empire was at its zenith, another group of Africans was brought to London to be displayed at the Greater Exhibition at Earls Court in 1899.[125]

The Greater British Exhibition of 1899, as described in *The African Review* of May 13, 1899, illustrates how the African as the inferior other was created and objectified. The Exhibition, called "Savage Africa," was opened by H.R.H., the Duke of Cambridge. The ideological intent of this display cannot be doubted: the organizer, Mr Frank Fillis, who had spent some twelve years in South Africa, "brought to England as fruit of his experience a most instructive and entertaining show."[126] The show which caused a great deal of controversy, "brought a large number of 'raw' natives"[127] to England. Mr Fillis, "so far as lies in his power and that of his able assistants,"[128] had taken every "precaution ... to ensure their comfort, and also to enable the dusky visitor to see something of London, and to get a chance of forming some idea of the great power of England."[129] In addition, this exhibition was aimed at giving the British public a realistic picture of the dangers to life and property cheerfully risked "by pioneers who settle and develop the new countries which represent the furthest advance of civilization."[130]

Through these exhibitions, which were another form of subjugating the native, the European

[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., pp. 312-313.
[126] Ibid., p. 313.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.

settler was able to compel the Other's recognition of him and, in the process, allowed his (the Europeans') identity to be deeply dependent on his position as the master. This enforced recognition from the native (the Other), in fact, amounted to the European's narcissistic self-recognition since the native, who was considered to be degraded and inhuman and not credited with any specific subjectivity, was cast as no more than a recipient of the negative elements of the self that the European projected on him. This "transivity and the preoccupation with the inverted self image,"[131] according to Magubane, "mark the imaginary relation that characterizes the colonial encounter."[132] And, in a more complex discourse, that is, in political tracts, literature, and parliamentary debates, "the British invested their imperial work with the task of completing the great imaginative work of God Himself - the advancement of empire for the spread and proliferation of civilization through the instrumentality of the Anglo-Saxon race."[133]

2.2.4. Implications of the BU Constitution

The 1877 BU Constitution, became a milestone for the running of the BU and a measure for any amendments concerning its structure and procedures. Further, this constitution is important for anyone intending to understand the original character of the BU. As the contents of the Constitution have already been outlined, it is important to understand its implications. To do this, two prongs are significant to understand its implications. Firstly, its racial character and secondly, the context of its formation. These two prongs are however intertwined because character, on the one hand, is shaped from a given context while context on the other, is not an entity aloof from the characteristics of the people in it.

Reading the 1877 founding Constitution of the BU, it is clear that there is no mention of either European, native or any other racial groups in it. This fact should, however, not stop us from reading this Constitution within the context of its formation. Firstly, the formation of the BU was meant to cater for the mutual fellowship of European Baptists as a result of the European ministers who were present at Cross's inauguration. It can be argued that among the people present to welcome Cross, the occasion of which spontaneously led to the formation of the BU, there were no natives. This is true, but, the fact is that Grahamstown

[130] Ibid., p. 314.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.

was strictly a European dwelling place.[134] Therefore, to the Baptist ministers present, that the gathering was a Europeans-only welcoming function needed no critical evaluation. In addition, it should not be forgotten that the ecclesiastical, political and business leaders of Grahamstown, obviously European, were present at Cross's welcoming reception, although Cross himself "would have preferred a quieter reception, for whenever he thought of rockets he was reminded of sticks."[135] On account of the Europeans-only first meeting of the BU, at Grahamstown, a Europeans' only town, the founding and future compositions of the BU meetings were determined. That is, future BU meetings were constituted of Europeans in Europeans-only towns.[136] Even in 1927, the inauguration year of the Bantu Baptist Church at Tshabo, aimed to coincide with the meeting of the joint executive of the BU and the SABMS planned for end of February, 1927, the European Baptist delegates only went to Tshabo as an excursion. That is, the meeting

> convened purposely at Kingwilliamstown, so that a day could be spared from its business and devoted to the inaugural ceremonies ... In addition to the Executive, all the Superintendent Missionaries of various fields were convened ... All assembled at Tshabo, 14 miles from Kingwilliamstown, on the morning of Friday, February 25th. Tshabo was selected as the centre because it was our [though started by German Baptists] first mission station. A fleet of motor cars took the Executive and the Missionaries out [of Kingwilliamstown to Tshabo] early.[137]

Secondly, the BU founding members were race conscious. In the previous chapter we saw how Rev. William Davies, Rev. William Miller's contemporary pioneer, wrote in 1838 how he was "perfectly unconnected with politics"[138] and that what he had written was "simply and alone for the sake of Truth and Righteousness."[139] Out of frustration, he recorded how "in our native land [England] Christian sympathy is turned almost exclusively towards the

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[133] Ibid., p. 315.
*[134] For more discussion on the concepts: "European-only town" and "black-only area," see Davenport, T. R. H. 1989. *South Africa: A Modern History*. Hong Kong: Southern Publishers, pp. 410-411.
[135] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 30.
[136] (39) See footnote 209, which lists the European towns in which BU Assemblies were held during the first two decades of the BU's history.
[137] The Bantu Baptist Church: *Report of Inauguration at Tshabo, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927*, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 4. From this period onwards appeared in the Baptist records, two versions of Kingwilliamstown. That is, King Williamstown as seen in Chapter 1 and Kingwilliamstown as seen in this chapter henceforth. The two versions, though referring to the same town, were to be used interchangeably throughout South African Baptist history. In keeping with the original wording of the documents consulted, the two versions will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis.
[138] Davies, C. (1938). *A Brief Memoir of Mrs Charlotte Davies*. Grahamstown, [Unpublished work], quoted in Hudson-Reed, S. *By Water and Fire* ..., p. 31.
[139] Ibid.

Kaffirs."[140] That is: "Every instance of suffering amongst them [Kaffirs] is repeated in doleful accents in the parlour, in the pulpit, and on the missionary platform. But nothing is said of the poor settlers, only that they are wicked Christians; - nothing is said of our houses burnt, ... nor of our Boers who, after enduring with their constitutional long suffering, the perpetual and reckless depredation of the Kaffirs, year after year, till at last, unable to contend with their galling vexations any longer, have willingly expatriated themselves."[141] These sentiments of Davies represented the larger English population. They were the reason in concluding his letter, Davies stated that, as "Settlers, as a body have been blamed, yea, branded with infamy, as cruel, and bloodthirsty oppressors."[142] This blame was contrary to the true character of the settlers, who in his opinion were "industrious, as honourable, as free from being guilty of rapine, plunder, and outrage against their neighbour, whether white or black, as any given number of men in England or anywhere else."[143] It was in this context of perpetual and reckless depredations by the kaffirs year after year, "for whose good the [settlers] had been toiling year after year,"[144] that the BU was formed.

The Europeans' perception of themselves as industrious and hard labouring, whose efforts also benefited the Kaffirs, who were prone to a "perpetual and reckless [state] of depredation,"[145] was also ingrained among European Baptists in the Colony, at this time of the formation of the BU. In turn, this perception influenced both the administration and theology of the BU; thus, making race matters explicit in the founding constitution of the BU was unnecessary because the BU was implicitly for Europeans, predominantly the English. Rev Carl Hugo Gutsche, a German minister, present at the founding of the BU, who later served as its president,[146] never had any profound effect on the distinctive English character of the BU.

On the contrary, years later the German Baptists in the BU had their own association called the German Bund, which could as well fit under this classification of ethnic associations in the BU.[147] Besides the English-German Baptists relations, a critical question is whether, the

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[140] Ibid., p. 30.
[141] Ibid., p. 31.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid., p. 30.
[145] Ibid., p. 30.
[146] In 1881 and 1887 respectively. His son, Philip Gutsche, a medical doctor, became BU president in 1923 (See Minutes of 1948 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1948-1949, pp. 129-130.).
[147] See Hudson-Reed, S. *By Taking Heed* ..., pp. 205-308. In his work, Hudson-Reed entitled his discussion on

native converts should automatically lay a claim to European Baptist initiatives? Definitely not, it seems. However, the European missionary gains, that is, native convert church members, school and church buildings, approval of missionary endeavours by local chiefs, and appeal to overseas funds as a result of these gains, were mostly due to the work by native converts.[148] As indicated before, by 1877, English Baptists had not commenced with missionary work among the natives. However, when German mission work among the natives was incorporated into the BU in 1892, the BU consequently benefited from this work, begun by German Baptists as early as 1869.

In brief, the BU Constitution remained the same during the period under research, except amendments to By-Laws which only affirmed the implicit but later explicit character of the BU. It is only in later years that a number of BU initiated constitutions explicitly identified, from the onset, their intended race groups. Some of these constitutions were those of the South African Baptist Missionary Society (1892), whose object was "the diffusion of the Gospel of the Grace of Jesus Christ among the aborigines of this country,"[149] and the self evident titles of the Native Baptist Church Councils (1923)[150] and the Bantu Baptist Church (1927).[151]

The other prong, that is, the context and period of the BU formation, was a period characterized by Kaffir wars and the dispossession of the natives from their land and material goods. The Europeans were also involved in some of the Kaffir wars and benefited from these "native on native" wars and the accompanying plundering of wealth. The Baptists, whether at denominational or individual level, were also involved in these wars. For example, with the ensuing Ninth Frontier War, during which Cross served with the Albany men, an army under the British authorities, two months after the formation of the BU, it is recorded that:

> In the following days columns of Volunteers [including Albany men], Police, Fingoes and Tembus under Griffith, Ayliff and Elliot, crossed the Bashee River into Bomvanaland in

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the German Baptists as Baptists "On the Border - Prototype of togetherness." He credits Carl Hugo Gutsche, who for sixty years from 1867 to 1926, was the architect and unifying influence of the *Bund Deutscher Baptisten-Gemeinden in Süd Afrika* [Association of German Baptists Churches in South Africa]. In his classification of the ethnic associations, Hudson-Reed lists: Die Afrikaanse Baptiste Kerk, Coloured churches, Indian churches, the Chinese Baptist Church, the Portuguese Baptist Church, and the Black churches.

[148] See Chapters 4, 5, 7 and 8.

[149] Minutes of the BU Assembly of 1892, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 33. See also Chapter 4.

[150] See Chapter 5.

> search of the fugitives [Gcalekas led by Sigcau and Kreli]. Griffith visited Moni, the Chief of the Bomvanas who were officially neutral, to try and persuade him to give Kreli and Sigcau. The Bomvanas were bland but unco-operative and professed complete ignorance of the whereabouts of Kreli and his son. It was quite impossible to strike a decisive blow against an enemy which refused to be drawn into an engagement, and which had learned from the animals and insects of the veld the value of protective colouring and of remaining quiet. It was frustrating. The Colonials were certain that the immense herds of the cattle which they saw in Bomvanaland were not all the property of the Bomvanas, but as they were claimed by Moni's people there was nothing that could be done. Griffith scoured the country to the Umtata River, and crossed it into Pondoland. The chief there, though probably in league with Kreli, when they saw the size of the forces at Griffith's disposal thought it prudent to assist the colonial authorities, and even surrendered 1 100 head of cattle belonging to Kreli's people. But still Kreli and his son eluded capture.[152]

Besides enlisting in the army, the European clergy offered prayers for the divine blessing of victory over Kreli and Sigcau, even though they were never captured, but their cattle were. According to Cross: "There seemed no point in carrying on the war, and Griffith abandoned the pursuit."[153] Those not in Griffith's forces, that is, anxious relatives and friends in Grahamstown, were very happy to read in the Journal of November 21st, 1877, an official telegram from Commandant Griffith to the Civil Commissioner which had been sent the previous day. It reported that "Captains Minto and Gush, with their men, left this morning on their return home. All Well."[154] It would be at least a week before they could be expected, and the citizens of Grahamstown had time to prepare for a welcome. The homeward progress of the troops was reported in telegrams from Komgha and King Williamstown, which were printed in the newspapers. On Wednesday, November 28th, the town council announced that "if nothing happened to prevent the arrival of the Volunteers on Friday, it would be observed as a public holiday."[155] On Thursday night it rained but,

> on Friday morning the sun struggled through in time to give a warm welcome to the returning troopers ... They rode up between the cheering crowds to hear the Mayor read an official address of welcome, and there were other speeches and more cheers. Then the long cavalcade rode down to the Dundas Bridge, up to Church Square, past the Cathedral, and up the High Street, with bands playing and flags fluttering and holidaying children cheering, through the Drosty gate and on to the parade ground ... Here a square was formed, and Captain Minto, in a

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[151] Ibid.
[152] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 41-42.
[153] Ibid., p. 42.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.

> few simple sentences, called on all present to "thank Almighty God for allowing us to return home safely. Mr Cross will offer up a thanksgiving." All men covered their heads, and from his saddle the Rev. G. W. Cross offered a simple prayer of thanksgiving on behalf of all the men. Then there was more speeches, and cheers for the Mayor and Judge Smith and Commandant Minto. "The last three cheers were for the Rev. Mr. Cross and they were as cordial as any," reported the *Grahamstown Journal*.[156]

The military campaigns and political programmes by which the South African territories were progressively won from the fiercely resisting local people, do, according to Cochrane,[157] often obscure the story of trade and labour, of measles and typhus, of Sheffield hoes and greasy cotton clothes, of crop shortages and imbalanced diets, of cattle disease and the collapse of tribal discipline, which were signs that these men of opposite race were doing more than they were quarrelling with each other. Yet they represent the expropriation of land by which European settlers accumulated the capital to sustain conquest, and by which the destruction of African independence was guaranteed. The struggle for land was manifestly unequal. With rare exceptions the settler with his superior weapons and his notion of individual ownership, his theodolite and his title deed, and his greater awareness of the market generally gained at the expense of the black. This asymmetrical context pulled or drove many Africans out of their pastoralist-cultivator economy into various forms of labour, it radically altered the foundations of their society and it severely reduced their long-term competitiveness,[158] which they had always maintained throughout the centuries prior to the arrival of Europeans and missionaries.

Inherent in all European denominations during the period of the BU formation is the colonial life which, in this case, was found in the town of Grahamstown, which favoured English settlers. This kind of life was also prevalent on church occasions. For example, a "social gathering very popular at the time was the '*soirée*' [which later became part of BU annual assemblies]."[159] It provided entertainment and social intercourse. The deacons of the

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[156] Ibid., pp. 42-43. But according to Cross: "This was Cross's first personal experience of war. He was to live through two more wars, and to suffer deeply because of them. Inevitably as he grew older his attitude to war changed, but in 1877 he was still a very young man ... He did, however, have a strong feeling all his life, that it was a part of his pastoral function to be totally involved at all levels with the people of his congregation. Hence his desire, when he realised that all the young men of his church were volunteering to go the war, to go with them. It became clear though, ... that what he saw of the war through his personal involvement altered his attitude. War is not a game: it is suffering and death and scorched earth." (Ibid., p. 43.).

[157] Cochrane, J. (1987). *Servants of Power: The role of English-speaking churches 1903-1930.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, p. 20.

[158] Ibid., p. 21.

[159] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 44. See for example, Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-

Grahamstown Baptist Church had planned such a gathering when the new minister would have completed three months in the Colony, and the date was fixed for October 10th, 1877. The war interfered with that plan but eventually in February 1878 the *soirée* took place. Admission "was by ticket, which cost 1/6 if bought in advance, but 2/- at the door ... Mr Kelly and his flock from Kariega were invited, and about 150 people packed the schoolroom for a happy evening of innocent merry making."[160] A few months later, "in June [1878], there was [another] very successful entertainment of music and readings."[161] Just as there was one for Rev. Cross, when Mrs Cross arrived they also held the same. According to Cross, scarcely 24 hours after her arrival in Grahamstown she had to face the ordeal of a church Welcome *Soirée*, which was attended by about 200 people. At this Soirée the church surpassed itself. The room "was artistically decorated with appropriate mottoes of welcome, and festoons made of wild flowers and ferns hung around and across the room, giving it a wonderful fairy-like appearance,"[162] reported the *Penny Mail* next day.

Cross, son of Rev. G. W. Cross, wrote that Margaret Cross, "like many Victorians, was a woman of courage and endurance."[163] In coming to the Colony, she "had left a loving, comfortable and cultured home in Belfast, and she had just turned 24 when she arrived in the Cape Colony to join her young husband after more than a year's separation."[164] This Victorian[165] ideal, besides the conception of an ideal woman[166] and the nature of a cultured home, permeated the lifestyle and political mentality of the Europeans in the Colony. In the case of the Baptists, classical examples of the nature of this Victorian political paradigm are the BU Assemblies, statements issued in support of the political pursuits of the English

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1893, p. 9, where it is recorded that during this particular soirée, Rev H. J. Batts made a powerful appeal for funds which was immediately responded to by promises and gifts amounting to £50. See also, Minutes of 1902 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 92, wherein it is recorded that during the soirée of the 1902 BU Assembly, an amount of £600 was raised.

[160] Ibid., p. 45.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 45-46.

[163] Ibid., p. 46.

[164] Ibid.

[165] According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. (1964). Vol. 23. London: William Benton, pp. 125-126, 130, the Victorian monarchy is named after Queen Victoria (1819-1901), queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and from 1876 empress of India. She was born at Kensington palace on May 24, 1819, the only child of Edward, duke of Kent, fourth son of King George III. During her accession to the throne in 1837, the monarchy became involved in political decisions. She made the monarchy respectable and had thereby guaranteed its continuance, not as a political power but as a political institution. By the length of her reign, "the longest in English history, she had restored both dignity and popularity to a tarnished crown, an achievement of character as well as longevity." (Ibid., p. 130.).

[166] See Chapter 8 for further discussion of an "ideal woman" and how this concept was applied to the native women converts.

monarchy,[167] which was perceived to be the custodian of Christianity in the dark, uncivilized and heathen parts of the world.

LeBarbour's work[168] provides interesting points concerning the Victorian culture of the Baptists. In it, she referred to the Baptists of the 1860's period as the Victorian Baptists. Society was changing rapidly in the nineteenth century and the churches, of necessity, changed as well. Adjustment to the industrial revolution and the emerging class relationships, to an extraordinary population expansion and to the growth of government and empire, was not easy for any of the churches. In many cases they did not adjust well to the new society, but they changed because there was no alternative to trying to make the organized institution effective in this world. Many within the churches tried hard to create counterweights to secularism, struggling especially with the problem of the unchurched masses. They attempted to make the influence of the church felt in the areas of political and social morality, campaigning for a Christian government, for a society that observed the Sabbath, for temperance and other social reforms. For instance, in trying to attract the unchurched they began to use such techniques as lectures in theatres on the Pleasant Sunday afternoons.[169]

In 1900, religion in England was substantially different from what it had been in 1800 among all British religious communities. In a sense the decade of the 1850's divided the old and the new, in religion as well as in other aspects of society. According to Burns[170] this period is the "Age of Equipoise." One of the most important religious documents of the nineteenth century was the religious census of 1851 which plainly recorded the past successes and failures of the churches and pointed to the need for new directions. The census revealed the large numbers of the unchurched, and demolished the myth of England as a Christian nation. The millions who did not attend services had been noted, but the churches assumed that these would return if adequate facilities could be provided. In the 1850's most acknowledged that the lower classes rejected religion and that if they came to church it would not be a return. The

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[167] See for example the following BU statements entitled: Loyal Address to the King (Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, pp. 83-65); His Majesty the King (Minutes of BU 1915 Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 21); and Letter to the Right Honourable Viscount Buxton (Ibid., pp. 28-29.).

[168] LeBarbour, A. M. P. 1977. *Victorian Baptists: A Study of Denominational Development.* Maryland: University of Maryland [Unpublished PhD Thesis.].

[169] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[170] See Burns, D. (1897). *Temperance in the Victorian Age: Sixty Years of Temperance oil & Triumph, From 1837 to the Great Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's Reign.* London: Ideal Publishing Union, quoted in LeBarbour, A. M. P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

churches soon realized that new methods would have to be adopted if they were to reach the unchurched, and all denominations began to seek those methods.[171] So did the Baptists who employed, among others, the printed media.[172]

Cochrane[173] interestingly also argued that the missionaries who began work in southern Africa did not arrive in a vacuum. They carried with them the mentality of their time and place of origin. He characterized their work as a combination of Victorian expansionism and the missionary ethos. That is, when the general British public in the 1870's came to recognize that the duty of British foreign policy had become as never before the duty of protecting the vital economic and commercial interests of the nation, the missionaries were not lacking in playing their part.[174] The slogans of industry, civilization and progress rang as loudly in the sermons of the period as they did in the chambers of Whitehall, promulgated with a sense of moral duty to the rest of humanity, and suffused with a vivid sense of superiority and self-righteousness based on the self evident utility and rapidly growing power of industry and commerce. Economic expansion seemed not only natural and necessary but inevitable in the centrifuge of the machine revolution. The trader and missionary would liberate the producers of Africa and Asia and the indigenous people would respond to the gospel and turn to legitimate trade, it was believed.[175]

Given all the above, English Baptist life in South Africa was therefore politically congruent with a colonial lifestyle. For example, after the British-Zulu War of 1879, Cross became "more and more involved in life of the [Grahamstown] city."[176] He served on the committees of the War Relief Fund, Public Library, Albany General Hospital, and the Public Undenominational School. Rev K. E. Cross, son of Rev G. W. Cross, also reported in his book that: "In October 1878 the new Prime Minister, the Hon. J. Gordon Sprigg, himself a Baptist, [when he] visited Grahamstown [he] attended [a] divine service in the Baptist Church."[177] These public portfolios that are civic in nature, were, of course, politically

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[171] LeBarbour, A. M. P. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 2-3.

[172] According to LeBarbour (Ibid., p. 12-13), some of the Baptist periodicals in England were: *Baptist Magazine*, founded in 1809; *Baptist Reporter*, started in the 1820's; *Freeman* which began a new series in 1864; and the *General Baptist Magazine*, the only one controlled by the Baptist Union of Britain.

[173] Cochrane, J. (1987). *Servants of Power: The role of English-speaking Churches 1903-1930.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

[174] Ibid., p. 17.

[175] Ibid., p. 16.

[176] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 47.

[177] Ibid. In addition, *The Baptist Times and Freeman* magazine of July 18, 1902, published an interview with Sir Gordon Sprigg entitled: "The Baptist Premier of Cape Colony." In it, it is recorded that: "Sir J. Gordon Sprigg,

influenced.

Recapping on Cross's involvement in the Ninth Kaffir War, according to Magubane, the colonial military activities were "intended to clear the field so that the British could re-invent both the patriarchal society of the Boers and the subsistence African chiefdoms and kingdoms."[178] To substantiate this, Magubane stated that the period from 1870 until the end of the Boer War covers a phase of British belligerence in South Africa that was without parallel anywhere in the world. It launched a wave of aggressive wars that would decide once and for all that Britain and its Cape Colony were the ultimate owner of these newly found riches of South Africa. In 1873 the British made war against the Hlubi; in 1877 against the Gcaleka and the Pedi; and against the Ngqika, Thembu, Pondo, Griqua, and Rolong in 1878. The Zulus were next in 1879, the Sotho in 1880, the Ndebele in 1893 and the Afrikaner republics in 1899. The Cape colonial government absorbed the Transkei and its peoples during the period 1879-1894. Earlier, Britain had annexed Basutoland in 1868, Griqualand West in 1871, and the South African Republic in 1877. Finally, the Zulu rebellion in 1906, in which nearly 4,000 Africans were killed, marked the last stage in 250 years of armed struggle by the traditional societies against white invaders.[179]

P.C., K.C.M.G., was born in 1830 at Ipswich, where his father was [a Baptist] minister for nineteen years, from 1827 to 1846 ... In 1858 he went to South Africa. Like so many others, he went there for reasons of health. Settling in Cape Colony, it was not until 1869 that he entered the House of Assembly as Member for East London. He attained the Premiership in 1878 holding at the same time post of Colonial Secretary. He went out of office in May, 1881, but three years later became Treasurer, or as we should say in England, Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1886 he became Prime Minister for the second time, till in 1890 he was succeeded by Mr. Cecil Rhodes. In 1893 Sir Gordon resumed office as Treasurer, and again succeeded to the Premiership in 1896. The following year it would be remembered, he was one of the representatives of the Colonies at Queen Victoria's Jubilee ... He has a brother, Major Sprigg, who is resident magistrate of Bizana, in Pondoland. 'He is' said Sir Gordon, 'an out-and-out Baptist, but denominational lines are not so strongly marked in South Africa as in England.' ... even Baptists are found in membership with churches of another order. 'In South Africa,' continued Sir Gordon, 'a man will go to the church that is nearest to his house, and will not be advisable, in my opinion, to start a Baptist Church in a small centre where there was already a place of worship.' ... asked why it did not oftener[sic] happen that the Baptists were first in the field? [He replied:]'Well, speaking for Cape Colony, there Baptists are not numerous there, and they are consequently weak in influence. The Wesleyans on the other hand are a powerful body, and exercise considerable influence.' That was largely due to the fact that for many years the Wesleyans at home contributed considerable sums of money for their South African Churches. This led to a mention of the new Baptist South African Colonial and Missionary Aid Society, with the objects of which Sir Gordon is in full sympathy, and he promised to help its work so far as he might be able. 'The essential thing' he said, 'is to send us good preachers ... but there are a lot of people out there who do not attend a place of worship from any sense of duty, and if they are to be attracted we must have good preachers in our pulpits." (Ibid., pp. 20-21.).

[178] Magubane, B. M. (1996). *The Making of a Racist State.* Eritrea: Africa World Press, p. 53.

[179] Simons, H. J. & Simon, R. E. (1969). *Class and Colour in South Africa, 1850-1950.* Middlesex: Penguin, p. 31, in Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 53.

Accompanying these wars were "the dynamic forces of capitalism"[180] in forms of which according to Frankel[181] quoted in Magubane:

> ... the indigenous peoples of Africa, like those of the East, are compelled to develop a new social order to take the place of their closed, static, undifferentiated and self sufficient economies. They must give way to those innumerable forces which increase the range of individual and social action, and which broaden the ideas and heighten the creative possibilities of the citizen in the wider society ... The difficulty always is to make isolated communities fit in with that larger society which inevitably takes shape under Western influence.[182]

These dynamics profoundly mark South Africa's nineteenth century political economy. Furthermore, their consequences are so weighty that no genuine understanding of the role of the missionaries is possible without considering the interconnections of religious, political and economic concerns. The way in which colonial missionaries engaged with the indigenous people; their hand in the subjugation of chiefdoms; their relation to the forces of economic expansion and to the creation of labour; their specific past in the emergence of a black elite with advantageous connections to the colonies and metropolis - all these themes come to the fore.[183] In order to re-invent African societies for purposes of exploiting their labour power social research and social engineering on a grand scale would be required. Subsequently, in 1878, Trollope, a British novelist, visited South Africa. His tour took him to the various parts of the country.[184] He chronicled, as he went on his way, the disenchantment of Africans with

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[180] Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 53.

[181] Frankel, S. H. (1969). *Capital Investment in Africa.* New York: Howard Fertig, p. 7, in Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 53.

[182] Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 53-54. As early as 1870 with the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley, a town named after John Wadehouse, the first Earl of Kimberley (1826-1902), and who in 1881, as Foreign Secretary, supported the policy of home rule for the Boers following the second period of British occupation, African recruits from different ethnic groups were brought to Kimberley. To further substantiate the atrocities by Western forces, Magubane quoted a passage by Lionel Phillips describing African recruits, which in his opinion reeks of racist contempt. That is: "For some years after the opening of Colesburg Kopje, the natives who offered their services as labourers were quite raw; their acquaintance with implements was limited to the hoe. What pathetic specimens of savage manhood used to seek work in those days! They came sometimes hundreds of miles on foot on the scene of industry, and on arrival were usually living skeletons. They had never seen a pick or a shovel and had to be fed up before their initiation in the use of those implements could begin. Real savages in all respects, with a tremendous reverence for the white man, who, in their eyes, could do everything except tie up the sun! ... poor benighted creatures had an inordinate respect for us and were quite abject in attitude, an inherited legacy, perhaps, from the slave days ... I remember seeing a neighbour one morning whipping everyone of his boys as they started work, and, in reply to my question as to his reason, he said, 'If they don't want it now, they will!' In his case, the punishment was not severe, just a reminder, but the mere action gives an idea of those times" (Ibid., pp. 58-59).

[183] Cochrane, J. *Op. Cit.*, p. 21.

[184] Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 54. Trollope's previous visits took him to the West Indies in 1858, Canada and the United States in 1862, and Australia in 1872. According to Magubane, these visits "influenced much of what he wrote and thought about South Africa." (Ibid., p. 54.).

the English rule. On August 22, 1878, there is an entry in his diary:

> This morning about 20 Kaffir chiefs were brought into town to talk to me. They came with an interpreter, who explained the conversation backwards and forwards. Only one chief talked, and he declared that everything was as bad as it could be; that the Kaffirs were horribly ill-treated by the English; that they were made to wear breeches instead of paint, which was very cruel; and that upon the whole the English had done a great deal more harm than good, he was a dirty, half drunken savage who wore a sixpenny watch key by way of an earring in one ear. He ended by begging tobacco and 'God's blessing' me for giving him 2/6d. The other 19 stood-by silent and went away when he went.[185]

In spite of African disenchantment with English rule, Trollope made a number of policy recommendations that the British government should adopt in its management of the Africans, who would be forced to supply the bulk of the labour force for the developing mining industry. Firstly, the Kaffirs were to be disarmed and settled in reservations where they would be available for labour in the mines and for white farmers. Secondly, he recommended the establishment of a *modus vivendi* between the British colonies of the Cape and Natal on the one hand and the Boer "republics" on the other in order to guarantee British supremacy in Southern Africa. Thirdly, he pleaded for the formation of a self-governing South African federation based on servile, native labour. According to Marlowe,[186] by 1900, "these aims had been largely achieved at the cost of considerable bloodshed and in accordance with the spirit of the age which regarded as axiomatic the dominance of the white races over the black."[187]

2.3. Conclusion

2.3.1. Synopsis

In this chapter, we started by making direct reference to the minutes of the BU Assemblies. As already indicated, a number of scholars, when studying the history of the South African Baptist Church's administrative structures, only go as far back as 1877, that is, the year of the founding of the Baptist Union. This chapter, however, has indicated that the Sustentation Fund of 1873 was the first nationwide administrative structure of the Baptist Church in South Africa. There are two important factors to be noted about the Sustentation Fund. That is, its

[185] Sadlier, M. (1947). *Trollope: A Commentary.* New York: Octagon Books, p. 321, in Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 54.
[186] Marlowe, J. (1972). *Milner the Apostle of Empire.* London: Hamish Hamilton, p. 29, in Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 55.

documented history and its purpose. Concerning the first, it should be noted that even though the Fund was formed in 1873, it is mentioned for the first time in the minutes of the Baptist Union Assembly of 1877. Obviously, this is because the BU was formed in 1877 and institutional documents were preserved from this period onwards. But more than this, it is only through careful reading of these minutes that one can construct the history of this Fund. Kretzschmar,[188] Hayashida,[189] and Hudson-Reed,[190] who in one way or other made use of the 1877 BU Assembly minutes in their works, failed to identify that the Sustentation Fund was the first administrative body in the Baptist Church. In the 1877 BU Assembly minutes, a brief mention of this Fund appears in the BU's presidential letter by Rev W. Stokes entitled *To the Members and Friends of the Baptist Denomination in South Africa*. The address, even though it does not provide much substance on the Fund, records both the date and the purpose of its formation, which according to Stokes was "to assist weak churches and establish new ones."[191]

The Sustentation Fund was therefore formed to assist European churches, even though its founding principles did not specify any race groups. There are, however, three significant factors to help one to identify the intended race group. Firstly, the founding members were Europeans only. That is why at "the first meeting of the promoters of the 'Sustentation Fund,' it was resolved that a letter should be drafted by the Chairman [Rev H. M. Foot], and printed and circulated amongst the [European] Members, setting forth that the funds should be applied [for]."[192] The Europeans-only founding members were assumed to be the criteria and character of this Fund. It could be argued that since the natives were not part of this meeting, they therefore did not fall within the ambit of members. This is, however, a self defeating argument, given that by 1869, German Baptists had already started Christianizing the natives.

Secondly, the salary stipulations in the list of the conditions of application which observe that "no addition from the funds be made to salaries that reach £200 per annum"[193] but, "this does

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[187] Ibid.
[188] Kretzschmar, L. *The Privatization of the* .... . See in particular pp. 199-202.
[189] Hayashida, N. O. *Women and Leadership in the* ... . See in particular pp. 19-21.
[190] Hudson-Reed, S. *By Taking Heed* ... . See in particular pp. 7-14.
[191] Minutes of 1877 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 3.
[192] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886-1886, p. 9.
[193] Ibid.

not imply that the salaries of our pastors are not to exceed £200,"[194] indicate who the Fund was intended for. This is because by 1873 there were no records of native pastors earning up to £200 nor even half of this amount per annum. This was a calculated assumption about the living standard of a European pastor compared to that of a native worker. Moreover, the title of pastor was at this period not ascribed to natives.

Thirdly, the phrase "Baptist Churches" by 1873, only referred to the English European churches. This is because, even though the German Baptists had their own churches and by 1869 had commenced with mission among the natives, only the English Baptist officials formed the Sustentation Fund, also referred to as the Colonial Baptist Sustentation Fund. Furthermore, native Baptist work was only referred to as mission work, not given the name Baptist Church in any way. It should also not be forgotten that when natives attempted to form themselves into a church, as indicated in the previous chapter, they were refused permission to do so by the German Baptists. This refusal was, and remained, typical European paternalism and control of the natives. At first, it was exhibited by the Germans but later, both the German and English Baptists co-operated in subduing the natives to their own benefit.

This aspect on the subduing of the natives leads us to another point. That is, the natives as the inferior Other. In this particular context of the formation of the BU in 1877, Cross specifically refers to the natives as the Other. These were "the noisy, colourful Fingoes and Xhosas ... the unfamiliar local accent."[195]

In this chapter, with the formation of the BU, which did not include the natives, the role of the missionaries in trying to civilize the native by initially establishing him as the degenerate Other, the taking "hold of him in a transforming grasp that would harness his brute potential,"[196] has also not been brought to the fore. This is because the English Baptists had not as yet commenced with mission among the blacks. However, in attempting to transform the native, they would discover that the native "was not that easily contained."[197] Therefore, thus far, that is, in the latter 1870's, the discourse between the English Baptists and possible native converts was one "mark[ed] by the imaginary relation that characterizes the colonial

[194] Ibid.
[195] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.
[196] Comaroff, J & J. *Op. Cit.*, p. 117.

encounter."[198] That is, given the English Baptists' preoccupation with their self image, the inferior Other was not thought of as part of the new institution - the BU - although even in the previous one, the Sustentation Fund, he was not part of it. The BU was an institution for some people only and when the inferior Other became members of the Baptist Church, a separate organisation, that is, the SABMS, was formed.[199] This dichotomy of the Europeans and the natives (the Other), one institution and another, and many more contrasts, created master and servant relations in the Baptist Church of South Africa, including issues of how funds and related matters were to be generated and administered.

3.2. Sustentation Fund, Baptist Union and money matters

There is no doubt that finance and related matters were the reason the Sustentation Fund, the first administrative body in the Baptist Church, was primarily formed, in order "to assist weak Churches, and establish new ones."[200] Furthermore, in its first meeting of 1873, an amount of £100 was raised for this objective.[201] In other words, inasmuch as money was important in assisting weak churches, it was not the only form of assistance but a primary objective for the formation of this Fund. This was the reason it was referred to as a Sustentation Fund, a Fund to assist and sustain fellow English Baptist Churches.

Four years later, that is, in 1877, when the BU was formed, "a sum amounting to £2,500 has been voluntarily subscribed by its members and friends."[202] Similarly to the Sustentation Fund, it aimed to assist and plant churches but on a larger scale. As the new administrative body for the Baptist Church in South Africa, the BU among its objectives aimed "to supply a means of co-operating with other Christian communities as occasion may require."[203] The £2,500 starting amount subscribed by members and friends should not however, overshadow the fact that when the BU was established in 1877, the number of its paid ministers was very small.[204] Furthermore, a number of newly formed Baptist churches, particularly in areas with relocating Baptists, could not pay for the maintenance of a settled pastor.[205] Nonetheless,

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[197] Ibid.
[198] Magubane, B. M. *Op. Cit.*, p. 314.
[199] See Chapter 4 for a discussion on the formation of the SABMS.
[200] Minutes of 1877 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 3.
[201] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886, p. 9.
[202] Ibid., p. 7.
[203] 1877 BU Constitution, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 9.
[204] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886, p. 11.
[205] Ibid.

these factors did not halt the formation of the BU. Moreover, the BU formulated categories of membership and the required financial contributions in order to make itself self-sufficient. That is, each church in the BU was "required to contribute no less than £5 annually to the funds of the [Baptist] Union."[206] Personal members were "required to contribute no less than £5 annually,"[207] and honorary members "£1 annually."[208] These subscriptions were to be paid by the 1st of March and "until paid, no cards of admission to the Assembly can be granted."[209] It is indubitable doubt that the BU, from its inception, was intent on being financially sound. To maintain financial accountability, the BU Executive was expected to ensure that: "All monies shall be paid to, and all disbursements made by, the Executive, and an account of the same rendered at the annual meeting of the Assembly."[210] As indicated before, these Assemblies were constituted by Europeans at Europeans-only towns.[211]

Concerning the first meeting, held at Grahamstown, during which the BU was formed, it should be noted that Grahamstown was a well-off town. Cross referred to it as "primarily a market and manufactory centre, with many religious and educational institutions."[212] Furthermore, noting that it was "an oasis of culture in a wilderness of uncivilized Blacks and uncouth Boer frontiersmen,"[213] neighbouring blacks and Boers came to it for trading. Let us also recall from the previous chapter that the Germans traded their produce with the British, "including the wives of the British officers stationed [at King Williamstown]."[214] Those who did not sell their produce, sold their labour. However, many German immigrants did not find work in the Colony because "people in the Colony preferred to employ unmarried men or even natives, whose labour was cheaper than that of the immigrants."[215] Colonial British life was, therefore, primarily beneficial to the English since both the Germans and the natives came to these colonial centres to trade either their labour or produce, or both. Consequently,

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[206] 1877 BU Constitution, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 11.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid
[210] 1877 BU Constitution, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 10.
[211] During the period under research, that is, from 1877-1949, BU Assemblies were held in Europeans-only towns. For example, in the first twenty years of the BU's formation, the Assemblies were held at the following towns: Grahamstown (1877), 1878 no Assembly due to the Ninth Kaffir War, Port Elizabeth (1879), King Williamstown (1880), Grahamstown (1881), Port Elizabeth (1882), King Williamstown (1883), Grahamstown (1884), Port Elizabeth (1885), King Williamstown (1886), Grahamstown (1887), Port Elizabeth (1888), King Williamstown (1889), Grahamstown (1890), Port Elizabeth (1891), King Williamstown (1892), Capetown (1893), Grahamstown (1894), East London (1895), Kimberley (1896), and Pietermaritzburg (1897).
[212] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 31.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Schwar, J. F. & Pape, B. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 45.
[215] Ibid., p. 43.

denominations in these towns, the Baptists included, were part of this colonial lifestyle. For example, during Cross's welcoming reception, "the *soirée* [the towns' typical function] was attended not only by Baptists but also the ministers and members of the Congregational, Wesleyan and Presbyterian churches. The next day *Grocott's Mail* devoted a column and half to a description of the event."[216] But more obvious and political was the role that Cross played during the Ninth Kaffir War, three months after his arrival. He joined the forces as part of the British army under the Albany men against the Gcalekas and on return from the war, he offered a prayer of thanksgiving.

There is no doubt that the political context of the 1870's favoured the English. For example, with the ensuing Kaffir wars, the English further dispossessed the natives, this time of their cattle, in addition to the dispossessed land. In the previous chapter, we noticed how the natives were dispossessed of their land. In this chapter, we have observed how the British authorities acquired cattle from the Bomvanas, which they suspected belonged to the Gcaleka chief, Kreli and his son Sigcau, whom they were pursuing. According to Cross, when Griffith visited Moni, the chief of the Bomvanas who were officially neutral, to try and persuade him to give up Kreli and Sigcau, the Bomvanas were unco-operative and professed complete ignorance of the whereabouts of Kreli and his son. But, "the chief there, probably in league with Kreli, when they saw the size of the forces at Griffith's disposal thought it prudent to assist the colonial authorities, and even surrendered 1 100 head of cattle belonging to Kreli's people."[217] Kreli and Sigcau were, however, not captured. The British troops on their return to Grahamstown on Friday, November 30th, 1877, were received by bands playing and flags fluttering. At the Church Square, Captain Minto called on all present to "thank Almighty God for allowing us to return home safely."[218] To do this, "Mr Cross will offer up a thanksgiving [prayer]."[219]

Accompanying these military campaigns is, according to Cochrane, the story of trade and labour, of measles and typhus, of Sheffield shoes and greasy clothes, of crops shortages and imbalance diets, of cattle disease and the collapse of tribal discipline, which were signs that these men of opposite race were doing more than they were quarrelling with each other.[220]

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[216] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 30.
[217] Cross, K. E. *Op. Cit.*, p. 42.
[218] Ibid., p. 43.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Cochrane, J. *Op. Cit.*, p. 21.

The dispossession of cattle went, of course, with the dispossession of land for grazing. Without both cattle and land, the natives' economy took a new form. That is, with the specific involvement by the European settlers and colonial authorities, the wars pulled or drove many Africans out of their pastoral-cultivator economy into various forms of labour. They further "radically altered the foundations of their society and severely reduced their long term competitiveness."[221]

The English Baptists therefore, like other settler denominations, did not arrive in southern Africa in a vacuum. They carried with them the mentality of their time and place of their origin. On arrival in the Colony, they settled and consolidated their identity along the same lines. That is, like secular settler authorities, they had to protect the vital and economic interests of the British nation. The slogans of industry, civilization and progress rang as loudly in the sermons of the period as they did in the chambers of Whiteball, promulgated with a sense of moral duty to the rest of humanity, and suffused with a vivid sense of superiority and self-righteousness based on the self evident utility and rapidly growing power of industry and commerce. The trader and missionary would liberate the producers of Africa and Asia and the indigenous people would respond to the gospel and turn to legitimate trade, it was believed.[222]

The foregoing discussion of the political, social, economic and religious context within which Baptist institutional bodies were formed, has significant consequences for an understanding of Baptist finance matters. The period 1873 to 1877 is important in South African Baptist history, including the history of its finances. As indicated before, 1873 was the formation of the Sustentation Fund, while 1877 saw the formation of the Baptist Union. Both bodies aimed at providing co-operation among, and financial assistance to, European Baptist churches in the Colony. These aims were achieved during a period of native land and material dispossession. The newly formed Baptist Union, even though there is no record of its direct involvement as an institution in native dispossession, its members, ministers, and consequently the institution itself, benefited from these dispossessions. This dispossession of the natives which augmented the possessions of the Europeans, was an all encompassing strategy by the colonialists for the benefit of the Europeans, particularly the English.

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[221] Ibid.
[222] Ibid.

Dispossession and possession, each with a spiralling effect on the affected race, led to a new form of economy and race relations which even permeated the respective denominations, Baptists included. For example, native converts, whether out of genuine conviction or admiration of the lifestyle of European Christians, became dependent on European leadership and material provisions. In the previous chapter we saw how Mr Augustus Barama, a native close to Tshabo mission station, "used to walk to Mr Pape's house for food and one evening fell into a sluit, which fall at his ripe age of 97 caused his death."[223] In order to participate in the economy, or rather, colonial economy, the natives, who were the inferior Other, sold their labour to Europeans. The reward (financial currency) they received for their labour was used to purchase the European goods. These European goods, which were introduced to the natives by the Europeans, caused the natives to be dependent on them. This period, therefore, brings to the fore a number of themes concerning the role of the missionaries. These, according to Cochrane are: "the ways in which colonial missionaries engaged with the indigenous people; their hand in the subjugation of chiefdoms; their relation to the forces of economic expansion and the creation of labour; their specific past in the emergence of a black elite with advantageous connections to the colonies, metropolis [and church related institutions]."[224]

[223] Gutsche, P. *Op. Cit.*, p. 25.
[224] Cochrane, J. *Op. Cit.*, p. 21.

Chapter 3
Finance to sustain European ministers (1877-1892)

3.1. Brotherton's appeal for "liberal" contributions

When Rev Brotherton was appointed BU president in 1880, during the Assembly held from 21st to 23rd September in Kingwilliamstown, open communication concerning money matters was already the practice within the Baptist Church of South Africa, but, as recorded in the BU minutes, was only among European Baptists.[1] Prior his appointment to the presidency, on January 27th 1880, Rev R. H. Brotherton wrote a *Circular Letter of BU of S.A.* to members and friends of the Baptist denomination in South Africa. In introducing this three-paged letter, he reminded the members and friends of the Baptist denomination that when the BU was formed in 1877, followed by its second session in Port Elizabeth from 12th to 14th May 1879, the mood was that "for the 'Union' to justify its existence it must be a vital, growing, and benediction-bearing thing."[2] To address this concern that the BU need to grow, Brotherton divided his letter into two parts: firstly, the BU being strengthened and, secondly, the need for money.

Concerning the first, that is, "Union is Strength,"[3] Brotherton emphasized that the "union is not only an expediency but a necessity when a cause is numerically weak."[4] Numerically, at this period, the Baptist denomination was one of the smaller European-founded denominations in South Africa.[5] Further, numbers (statistics) were important to assess the growth of the denomination.[6] This smallness of the Baptists in the Colony was not to be seen as an impediment, according to Brotherton. He wrote: "A small body, however, (if in harmony with itself,) by concentrated, energetic, and patiently persistent effort, may achieve

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[1] Acknowledgement is hereby made that there was obviously also communication amongst black Baptists, even though the history of this still has to be unearthed.
[2] Brotherton, R. H. *Circular Letter of the Baptist Union of South Africa for the Year 1880*, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 3.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] See Hofmeyr, J. W. & Pillay, G. J. (1994). *A History of Christianity in South Africa*. Vol. 1. Pretoria: HAUM Tertiary, pp. 60, 64, 124-125.
[6] See later discussion in this chapter on Carey's analysis of numbers in carrying out mission in foreign countries.

wonders."[7] The concentrated effort, according to Brotherton, required "That all Baptists should gladly avail themselves of all good and practicable arrangements in entering into closer fellowship one with another."[8]

The need for closer fellowship was, according to Brotherton, "[due to] a few who – if they have not drifted away from their distinctive principles – hold them doubtfully and loosely."[9] Of particular concern to him were those Baptists "who practice the rite of infant baptism."[10] Responding to these Baptists, Brotherton continued: "Self named Baptists, ... alienation, and schism."[11] Brotherton in other words, was addressing the problem of infant versus adult baptism within the Baptist Church of South Africa in order to avert the further weakening of the Baptist cause in the colony.

Having clarified what made the Baptists distinct from other denominations and what was "expected of a clear-headed and true hearted Baptist,"[12] Brotherton then addressed the issue of money as a vital resource to keep the Baptist cause existing and growing. He introduced his discussion as follows: "One of the keenly felt needs of the 'Union' is the old and common one – want of funds."[13] Brotherton continued, "but as this can be met would friends with more enlargedness 'devise liberal things,' a few pertinent words on the right use of substance may be neither impertinent nor vain."[14] In other words, Brotherton's address concerned the right use of money.

To reinforce his point about the right use of their substance (money), Brotherton emphasized that, "The not doing a right thing is often owing to 'want of thought,' and not a churlish spirit. And sometimes it is otherwise."[15] That is, lack of funds is due to lack of thought. To further clarify his point, Brotherton wrote: "A man said the other day, - 'I hate the jumbling

[7] Brotherton, R. H. *Circular Letter of the Baptist Union of South Africa for the Year 1880*, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 3.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[12] Ibid., p. 4.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.

together of money and religion, when religion is plainly one thing, and money another.'"[16] To this, Brotherton responded, "Others may not express themselves so curtly, but fall into the mistake of supposing what is called 'voluntary-ism' means that every person is at liberty to give as he pleases, - little or much, something or nothing."[17] He further added, "The responsibility of everyman to help his fellows, and to honour God with his substance, is co-extensive with all times and dispensations."[18] In other words, money, was one of the unavoidable ways of honouring God and of every human being discharging his or her responsibility to his or her fellows.

To further clarify how men (and women) could honour God with their substance, Brotherton listed three points in terms of which they could do so. Firstly, "It is at once a possible and blessed thing that men may minister to God of their substance."[19] This duty is "at first view, seems impossible," according to Brotherton. But, "Is not God the Proprietor of all things by the highest rights?"[20] Brotherton asked. He argued, "A man is sometimes said to have a claim to a thing, through having purchased, fashioned, or invented it. But God's right is the most absolute – that of the Creator. 'All things come of Thee.' Were He to resume all that has processed from Him, what should we be or have? A man can give nothing to God, which is not already God's. So that we must thank Him for what is even offered to Him. A man may 'rob God,' but how can he by any possibility give to Him? The divine condescension solves the difficulty and makes the thing practicable. God has ever been well pleased to accept the voluntary homage and offerings of the children of men. 'Of Thine own have we given unto Thee.'"[21] In other words, the substance a person has, comes from the owner of it, who is God. And if a person uses this substance for the things of God, in this case, the Baptist cause, such a person is "minister[ing] to God of their substance." Furthermore, such a person is thanking God, who is the provider of all that this person has.

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[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

The second aspect Brotherton sought to clarify as to how people could honour God with their substance was to caution Baptists and friends of the denomination to "note the common practical mistake,"[22] which was, according to Brotherton: "A man is sometimes heard to say that he will give his 'mite' to a good cause; but how insignificant is the amount as seen in the light of the 'poor widows' contribution."[23] Brotherton explained, "A man gets rich not by what he takes up, but by what he gives up, - and the real amount he disburses is determined not by what he parts with, but what he retains."[24] Concerning the latter, "Commonly this is forgotten, and a man exhausts his energies in the effort to build up himself in worldly fortunes. He builds on the wrong side. How much better it would be if he built on the inward side – built up not [on] what he has, but [on] what he is, - built up himself in faith, fortitude, hope, and patience, and in all loving sympathies, and generous impulses. Into this grievous misjudgment a good man is in danger of falling. How little genuine faith is to be found upon earth in the words of the Lord Jesus, - 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.'"[25]

The third and last aspect through which "man" can honour God with "his" substance was, according to Brotherton, "[that] every Christian should live in the habit of introspection, and self-suspicion."[26] Expanding on this aspect, Brotherton wrote, "A man is sometimes heard to say, - 'I will give so much to this worthy cause, because I shall not feel it.' This is worldly wisdom. Suppose he should say rather, - 'I will give until I do feel it.' Is there meaning nowadays to the word 'sacrifice?' In the education of the Jewish people hard and fast lines were laid down concerning the right use of material property. Now, under a dispensation of clearer light, larger liberality, and richer privilege – it is not so. The obligation to fidelity is the same as ever, but there are no rigid rules. There is, however, the higher law – Freely ye have received.'"[27] Concerning the proportion of giving, Brotherton responded, "The question as to proportion is a mind and heart exercise, - it is a matter of moral and spiritual discipline."[28]

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., p. 5.
[28] Ibid.

The three points made by Brotherton: "men ministering to God of their substance," secondly "the common practical mistake," and thirdly "living in the habit of introspection and self-suspicion," laid the basis, for the first recorded BU theology of giving. It should, however, not be forgotten that Brotherton's letter was addressed to a Europeans-only BU, friends of the BU and its Assembly. This context was to characterize many years of Baptist history. Of particular emphasis in this chapter is that this theology of giving was to characterize Baptist theology of finance (substance), for the benefit mainly of European Baptists. In time, the socio-political factors in the country were to challenge the European Baptists to consider the plight of the native Baptists, but these they for many years ignored and continued with their "usual business of the Baptist cause."[29]

In concluding this circular letter, Brotherton stated: "The 'Union' makes the appeal to the willing-hood of its friends, as to those who rightly understand what is called the 'Voluntary System,' and who can be trusted with it. Upon them it urges the special claim."[30] Over and above the three ways to honour God with one's substance (money), Brotherton focused his attention on giving "a practical turn to the question: - 'How may friends show their sympathy, and co-operate with their money power?'"[31] Covering this special claim, he outlined: "The Assembly is, in part, composed of personal voting members and honorary (or, non voting members). Any Baptist (when duly recommended according to the 'Constitution' of the 'Union,') may, by subscribing not less than £5 annually, become 'a voting member;' or, by subscribing £1 annually, may become 'an honorary member.'"[32] By way of encouraging other (European) Baptists in the Colony not affiliated with the BU to do so in order to participate in the fellowship and enjoy the benefits of being part and parcel of this fellowship, Brotherton wrote: "Most respectfully, but urgently do we request all brethren, more especially those who reside in the country, to ally themselves with the 'Union' in its privileges and work."[33] By so doing, these Baptists would be using their money power

[29] See Chapters 6, 8 and 9.
[30] Brotherton, R. H. *Circular Letter of the Baptist Union of South Africa for the Year 1880*, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 5.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

rightly, thus "minister[ing] to God of their substance."[34] Brotherton, without hesitation, succinctly made it clear that money had power.

In the same year, 1880, following Brotherton's letter on 20th January, eight months later, during the sitting of the BU Assembly, from 21st-23rd September in Kingwilliamstown, Rev Gutsche, pastor of the Kingwilliamstown German Baptist Church, also presented another *Circular Letter of the Baptist Union of South Africa*. During this period, the serving BU president was Rev G. W. Cross. Continuing with the discussion from the preceding circular letters, Rev Gutsche wrote: "Brother W. Stokes, very clearly put before you the origin and objects of our Union in his Epistle. Brother R. H. Brotherton followed in the second letter by showing the necessity of such a Union, and soliciting most earnestly for contributions towards the Funds."[35] Like Stokes and Brotherton, Gutsche also wrote his circular letter in order to encourage members and friends of the Baptist denomination of South Africa to give to the denomination.

Gutsche introduced his letter with a scriptural quotation, which he commented in this way: "How could and should His disciples prove it otherwise, than by declaring and showing that they belong to Jesus with all they possess; and Jesus belongs to the Father. This is the privilege of God's children: they appertain to the Lord and seek His glory."[36] Continuing his argument, particularly about earthly possessions and whether we give to the Lord or not, Gutsche in his broken English, for which he apologized to the Assembly, [37] wrote: "Do we not belong any more to ourselves, then we are not empowered to dispose of one hair of our head or a shilling in our pocket against our Master's will. Ye workers in the Lord's vineyard! And ye busy bees in the hive of earthly substance for the Lord's cause, condemn the illusion that ye do something wonderful. Does God not own all? We are his property!"[38]

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[34] Ibid., p. 4.
[35] Gutsche, H. *Circular Letter of the Baptist Union of S.A.*, in BU Handbook for 1877-1880, p. 15.
[36] Ibid., p. 16.
[37] Ibid., p. 15. Gutsche wrote, "that my knowledge of the [this] language is not sufficient to enable me to [write and read this letter] without committing errors."
[38] Ibid., p. 16.

In providing the scriptural basis for his arguments, particularly the reason for giving to God's cause in this case, the Baptist cause, Gutsche argued that God first laid the basis for giving. He wrote: "Dear was the price by which we were bought. It cost the blood and life of his only Son, and by virtue of law we are his own property. He will keep and mind his own. Knowing and experiencing this day by day, let us journey through the wilderness rejoicing and praising."[39] But Gutsche cautioned: "Yet, whilst we are perfectly free, we are also limited. We are not allowed to move hand and foot if this should prove a stumbling block to those who are weak."[40] In exhorting members and friends of the denomination, he continued: "Thankfully acknowledging the gratifying achievement of our Union in its triennial existence let us not rest satisfied with the results of our past labour. Although we cannot undertake great things at once, God despises not the day of small things."[41] Gutsche, was therefore reminding the members of the denomination not to undermine the contributions they were making to the Baptist cause, small though they might be. In concluding his letter, Gutsche wrote: "The first two circular letters most correctly appealed to the scattered members of the denomination, and to districts deprived of the regular means for the salvation of the souls, and likewise appealed to their purses. I venture by this to remind those who are of the household of our faith of their high calling and the work expected by the Lord for them to do, namely in other words, to exhort the brethren and incite them to move with vigour and earnestness in working for the one great cause."[42] And substance (money) is a necessary resource to realize this "one great cause."

Gutsche's appeal did not fall on deaf ears because two years later, 1882, during the Assembly, the secretary announced that "for the furtherance of the work, [Rev G. W. Cross] would double his annual subscription, and hoped that others would do the same."[43] Continuing with the denomination's drive to appeal for funds, Rev H. J. Batts, the following year (1883) in his presidential address, even though his address was mostly on the doctrine of the Baptists, allocated space in it to address the need for funds. He cautioned that so much as funds were needed to advance the Baptist cause, lack of these funds should not block the

[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., p. 17.
[42] Ibid., p. 18.
[43] Minutes of 1882 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1882-1883, p. 19.

cause from advancing. He wrote: "We often seek to carry out God's work upon the lines of our business transactions, and we have faith when we see our coffers filled, the Churches crowded, the buildings erected, the effort a success. It is for us to believe when circumstances tend to create disbelief, to trust God when there are no liberal helpers, when there are no promises of support, when there exist only the need of the people, and the man to take them the Gospel."[44] Quoting the "first President of the Wesleyan South African Conference ... in [a] sermon recently delivered at Port Elizabeth,"[45] Batts further argued: "If you see the need of a district or town, that it is neglected and uncared for, do not wait for the subscription list to be filled up, or for a salary to be guaranteed, but plant your Church there, take your stand and preach the Gospel."[46]

Batts continued his argument: "It is not for us to ask a neglected people who know not their spiritual needs to provide a salary, to give us subscription, and then we will send them a Minister. Ours is to take them the Word of Life, to teach them their need, and to direct them to the 'Mighty to save,' and God will not forget the labourers who are sent."[47] Concluding, Batts cautioned the Assembly: "It would be quite easy for anyone to follow me and point out many things which ought to be remedied: better means of work, the inadequate incomes of some of our Ministers, the struggling and grappling with the opposition which meets them. Of most of these we are conscious. We are prepared for difficulties, and they do not surprise us – the great surprise is that God should use us at all."[48] Batts then posed the following directive to the Assembly: "We have to preach the Gospel to the poor, the debased, and the needy – to shew its adaptability to the conditions and circumstances of all classes. ... and that without any preparation, any natural fitness, the poorest and most needy can obtain the blessing of eternal salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ our Lord."[49]

Batts, like the previous presidents, also addressed the growth of the Baptist cause. While his predecessors emphasized the need for finance for the advancement of the Baptist cause, Batts

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[44] Batts, H. J. *Our Denominational Position and Prospects*, in BU Handbook for 1883-1884, p. 11.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[49] Ibid., p. 13.

approached this need from a different angle. That is, whether funds come or not, the Baptist cause to preach the gospel and plant churches in towns or districts where there are none, should not be delayed. In his words: "We have neither a large staff of Ministers nor a bountifully filled exchequer. We have neither large ecclesiastical buildings, nor many rich and influential members, yet, by the grace of God, we have held on our way. ... How have we been able to guarantee the salaries? What provision have we made? What support had we pledged us from the districts to which our brethren were appointed? In most places we have had neither pledges of support nor promises or financial aid: the work was taken up in a simple reliance upon God to own it, and that has been found safe. It is always safe to trust in God and not trust in the promises of men."[50] Batts, in his argument, never ruled out the importance of finance in advancing the Baptist cause, but did add that its importance should not overshadow the importance of faith, in God who will provide this finance.

The underlying reason why Batts addressed finance from this angle was that, as recorded in the following year's handbook by the BU Executive "[1883 had been a] year ... of great financial difficulty."[51] This financial difficulty is also reflected in the various churches' yearly reports. For example, the German Baptist Church in Kingwilliamstown wrote: "The effect of the great depression caused the wandering of several of our family circle to seek employment elsewhere. Some have changed the household of faith for the home of sight yonder."[52] Another German Baptist Church, the Berlin Church, wrote: "To satisfy the hunger for the Word of God, we were obliged again to resort to more lay preaching, for, owing mainly to the depression of trade, we did not see our way clear to divide our Church into two, or to call a co-pastor or an evangelist. To this cause is to be attributed also why we have not begun with the erection of a new chapel at East London, and why we have the small balance which was in our hands deposited in the bank."[53]

As for the English churches, they too reported on their financial difficulties. For example, the Cradock Church wrote: "Owing to the depression of trade, which has not only greatly

[50] Ibid., p. 7-8.
[51] Report of the BU Executive for 1883-1884, in BU Handbook for 1884-1885, p. 12.
[52] Reports of the Churches, in BU Handbook for 1884-1885, p. 13.
[53] Ibid., p. 14.

increased during each of the past twelve months, but is unfortunately still increasing, our congregations have considerably declined. Both men and money have left us. And we are coming to the tug of war. The next twelve months will be a time of peculiar trial to us, unless God send prosperity upon our Colony shortly."[54] Another, the East London Church reported: "Amid many discouragements, the work has been carried on. Some have been lost by removals, and others who remain, have become so poor as to be unable to subscribe to our funds as formerly, and as they wish. To toil on, seeing one after another upon whom we relied for efficient help and hearty sympathy, leave for other places, has at times depressed us much."[55] The depressing economic conditions in East London even forced Rev E. G. Evans, the minister in charge, "Towards the close of the last year [1883], [to take] over a private school, in order to relieve the Church of [his] support."[56]

This kind of practice, whereby the local church decided together with its minister on how to alleviate its financial strain, was made possible by the Baptist form of church government, called congregationalism.[57] In the words of the serving BU president in 1884, Mr T. King:[58] "We believe that every self supporting community of Christian men is entitled as a duty and a right to regulate its own internal government. This it is which specially distinguishes our polity from Episcopacy, Presbytery, and Methodism."[59] Also in his address, King observed that in spite of the dire financial conditions, the Baptists remained honest to their principle of liberty of conscience. He wrote: "Before the Voluntary Act became law, certain Churches were in the enjoyment of State patronage, and, so far, had an advantage over other Churches. ... It is, however, a pleasing reflection, and we fondly dwell upon it, that although the

[54] Ibid., p. 17. This "tug of war" was the ensuing conflict over Basutoland and the "Road to the North." (See Davenport, T. R. H. 1997. *South Africa: A Modern History*. Hong Kong: Southern Book Publishers, pp. 198-201.).
[55] Reports of the Churches, in BU Handbook for 1884-1885, p. 18.
[56] Ibid.
[57] There is no doubt that this form of government was also open to abuse, whereby the minister, together with a part of the congregation, could split to form another Baptist congregation. (See for example: Joint Executive Reports to the BU Assembly of 1930, in BU Handbook for 1930-1931, p. 5 & p. 21.). See also Mogashoa, M. H. "South African Baptist Congregationalism taking shape: the role of race, gender, money and power in the formative decade of the South African Baptist history (1877-1886)" in, *Studia Historiae Ecclessiasticae*, June 1999, Vol. XXV, No. 1, pp. 85-111.
[58] Mr T. King was also a personal member of the BU, thus paying an annual subscription of £5, payable by every personal member. In 1883 however, "Rev L. Nuttall reported that T. King, Esq., had given a donation of £21, instead of his annual subscription of £5." (BU Minutes for 1883 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1883-1884, p. 20.).
[59] King, T. *Our Church Polity*, in BU Handbook for 1884-1885, p. 34.

Government Grant was tendered to the Baptist Church, such was its loyalty to principle, the offer was declined, and that at a reason when the pinch of hard times was acutely felt."[60] King concluded his address with this challenge: "Let it be remembered that our Churches are not congregations of faithful men, but also organized forces for the spread of the Gospel truth. As everything is for the individual, so each individual member must be an active agent and not rest until he has found his appropriate sphere. ... The prime object of all Church work and Church life must never escape our view, viz., the spiritual improvement of the individual, to make him Christlike – a Christian indeed."[61]

Although Rev Batts's 1883 BU Assembly address had addressed the issue of finance from a different angle, the 1884 Assembly continued along the same lines as that of the previous presidential addresses. That is, instead of entertaining the thought of whether funds were available or not, the Assembly adopted earlier presidents' views that funds must first be available. The Assembly was therefore adopting a practical view and not only relying on "faith." Batts, also touching on reasons why the Baptist Missionary Society from England "left South Africa out in the cold, and concentrated its energies in other lands"[62] wrote: "Several reasons may, perhaps, he surmised in explanation of this, lack of funds, lack of men, lack of sympathy; or, what is most probable, the supposition that the land was well occupied already, and that greater needs existed elsewhere."[63] But the Assembly was even more direct on this matter, from a financial point of view. It resolved, "that if the Baptist Missionary Society of England made the healthy Northern boundary of the Transvaal, the base of their missionary operations in the Interior, they would find their work easier, more successful, and far more economical in point of expenditure, both in money and life: and that the Executive communicate the foregoing to the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, with a covering letter fully setting forth its objects and intentions."[64] This incident in particular,

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[60] Ibid., p. 56. This Voluntary Act, was passed in 1875, made generous provision for the state-supported clergy, who continued to receive their salary from the state during their lifetime and incumbency. If an incumbent died within five years of the measure passing, his successor in office would receive the government grant for another five years. (Hofmeyr, J. W. & Pillay, G. J. 1994. *Op. Cit.*, p. 127.).
[61] Ibid., p. 57.
[62] Batts, H. J. *Our Denominational Position and Prospects*, in BU Handbook for 1883-1884, p. 6.
[63] Ibid.
[64] *Minutes of 1883 BU Assembly*, in BU Handbook for 1883-1884, p. 24.

indicates to us that the Assembly was conscious that mission should be carried out from an "economical point of view."

In 1886, *A Reflection on the Assembly's Proceedings* by an unnamed layman, documented in the BU Handbook for 1886-1887, commented among other matters on the current president, Mr T. H. Grocott's,[65] address. Of particular interest to the present discussion, are the comments pertaining to the president's views concerning BU finances. It was reported that: "In tracing the establishment and development of the [Baptist] Union, the President made it clear that no assistance in the past had been received by any South African Baptist Church from the parent society, nor had any Baptist Church in the Colony ever received State aid in any form or shape, and yet, since the formation of the Union, a sum amounting to £2,500 had been voluntarily subscribed by its members and friends."[66] This was a form of "financial congregationalism." Further, this pride in the self-sustenance of the local churches ought to be understood against the background that Baptists refused any government's financial assistance. For example, Bate in his discussion of economics in Catholic missionary culture in the South Africa context, while analyzing a report on finance to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, observed that in 1847:

> The Dutch Reformed faith has six ministers. Each receives, [£]200 p.a. from the government. The Anglicans have 7 ministers who receive, [£]1800 p.a. from the government. The Catholics have a bishop and three priests, two of whom receive, [£]100 p.a. from the State. ... In the Eastern Vicariate there not less than 120 of these agents ["sects" like Methodists etc] with abundant means ... There are in this city [Grahamstown] and district about 1100 Catholics and we have a good church, dedicated to St Peter, built without the help of the government for a cost of, [£]2200. Up to now it has no school nor funds for its maintenance unless some are taken from those given by the faithful to support their pastor.[67]

Coming back to the discussion of Grocott's presidential address, as reflected by the unnamed layman, he wrote: "Mr Grocott gratefully referred to those who, with himself, were

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[65] See Chapter 2 for an in-depth discussion of Grocott's presidential address, particularly the history of the BU's finances.
[66] Layman [A reflection on the 1886 BU Assembly proceedings], in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 7.
[67] Bate, S. C. "Creating a missionary vicariate: Economics in Catholic missionary culture," in *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, December 2002, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, p. 230.

associated together in the formation of the Colonial Baptist 'Sustentation Fund,' in the year 1873. The object of this fund was to help weak Churches with money grants, and to establish Churches in towns where such were needed."[68] (In his address, Grocott also addressed the minimum salaries set for European ministers, when the Baptist Colonial Sustentation Fund was established in 1873.[69]) This reflection by a layman, over and above other addresses regarding BU finances previously made, served to keep to the fore the importance of funds for the Baptist cause.

The following year, 1887, the appeal to members and friends of the denomination to contribute to the BU's funds continued as before. This time, special contributions were made to supplement these funds. During the Assembly, Rev Kelly "suggested that a special contribution of 2/- from every member of the denomination would make up last year's deficiency, and give the Treasurer an evenly-balanced sheet next year."[70] Reporting on the Assembly's decision, the BU Executive noted: "This very practical suggestion was, in a modified form, adopted by the Assembly the next day; and during the year each member of our churches will be asked to give an additional shilling to the B.U. Fund."[71] The deficit in question was £47.5s.2d., far higher than the liability of the previous year (£9.9s.7d.).[72] In the following year, 1888, the treasurer's statement indicated that this liability was met in its entirety, and the treasurer reported the balance in hand of £15.10s.11d.[73] This amount was the highest balance yet, compared to the previous four years: £8.15s.9d. in 1883,[74] no financial statement in 1884,[75] £4.10s.2d. in 1885,[76] and a zero balance in 1886.[77]

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[68] Ibid., p. 6. See also Chapter 2.
[69] See Chapter 2.
[70] BU Executive Public Services Report, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, pp. 5-6.
[71] Ibid., p. 6.
[72] Receipts for this financial period (1885-1886) amounted to £204.17s.5d., while the disbursements were £194.17s.10d. Specifically indicated under disbursements is that there was a liability of £9.9s.7d. owed to Mr T. H. Grocott, printer of the annual BU's handbooks. (See Baptist Union of S.A. Treasurer's Statement for the Year 1885-1886, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 29.).
[73] See Treasurer's Statement of the Year 1887-1888, in BU Handbook for 1888-1889, pp. 30-31.
[74] See Financial Statement of the Baptist Union of S.A. for 1883-1884, in BU Handbook for 1884-1885, p. 61.
[75] See BU Handbook for 1885-1886.
[76] See Baptist Union of S.A. Treasurer's Statement for the Year 1885-1886, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 29.
[77] Treasurer's Report for 1886-1887, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 33.

3.2. Gutsche's 1887 presidential address on "the temporal want"

Besides Rev Kelly's appeal for a special contribution from members of the denomination to the BU funds, another reason why this year (1887) saw a significant growth in Baptist finances was due to the greater emphasis the serving president laid on finances, compared to the previous presidents. Rev H. Gutsche, the BU president for 1887, introduced his address entitled "Our Need" as follows: "The topic, 'Our Need,' lies heavy on my heart, and my desire is strong to burden you likewise with this vital want, so that this form of etiquette would not restrain me."[78] In his address, Gutsche then spoke on two types of want: the temporal want and the spiritual want. For the purpose of this study, we will focus on the temporal want, that is money, though the spiritual want, "is of much more vital importance – inasmuch as eternity is of higher value than time, and the soul superior to the body."[79] Gutsche continued: "We all – who are true members and ministers of Christ's Church (I do not think of our denomination alone) – need to be baptized with the power of the Holy Ghost, so that Christian faith and work may become more visible and sensible in our midst. ... To effect all this, we need holier lives and more vigorous action in the churches; and again, to effect this, we need more obviously 'the denomination of the Spirit of power' in and through His witness on earth."[80] Immediately, Gutsche then presented the statistical growth[81] of the Baptist churches in the country, then posed the question: "Shall we content ourselves with a few drops, whilst we could have showers of blessings?"[82] Continuing with his address, that is, arguing specifically for the need of funds,[83] like Batts, he also cautioned the churches against material acquisitions. He wrote: "The 'salt of the earth' has lost nearly its savour amongst us. The flames of our energy – where they are to be seen – are weakly sustained by faith and prayer, sometimes they are fed by unsanctified material. Prosperity and talent,

[78] Gutsche, H. *Our Need*, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 9.
[79] Ibid., p. 12.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Because statistics were important to assess the numerical growth of the church, compiling them and trying to do better, numerically, than the previous year caused strain on some churches. This strain could be a sign of the protest some churches could have voiced concerning the purpose of these statistics. For example, in 1887, the East London Church reported: "The difficulty is to meet the demand for statistics. We have been conscious of the Divine presence, and are sure, therefore, that the people have been blessed." (Minutes of the 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 28.).
[82] Gutsche, H. *Our Need*, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 12.
[83] See discussion below.

winning manners and ready wit, skill and learning are valued more than perfect piety and true godliness."[84]

Given the tone of this address by Gutsche, there is no doubt that his German background[85] influenced his argument. Consequently, the address raises a number of questions, some of which are problematic: Firstly, the question of sanctified versus unsanctified material. That is, since the Baptist Church was in dire need of funds to advance the Baptist cause, it was problematic to accurately assess whether the sources of these material offerings (funds) were sanctified or unsanctified. Further, regardless of whether the source of these funds was sanctified or not, is the questions of whether the person offering these funds is pious and godly, or not? Secondly, Gutsche's criticism of skill and learning leaves a lot to be desired. Insofar as he does not argue that these are not important, at the same time, his criticism of the attention they are receiving raises serious questions. The critical question at hand is: since the two BU presidents before Rev Gutsche were not ministers, - the first time ever in the BU's history, could their ascension to the presidency have been decided on the basis of their skill? Further, noting that the two were prosperous, could their wealth have affected their election to the vice-presidencies, and subsequently their presidencies, by the assembly?[86]

It is interesting to observe that the BU minutes explicitly mentioned, and repeatedly so, that Mr King and Mr Grocott were not ordained ministers, but were appointed to the BU presidency. This is a point worth noting. The fact that Mr King and Mr Grocott became the first non-ministers to become BU presidents was an affirmation of the Baptist theology of the priesthood of all believers. However, embedded in Gutsche's statement is a criticism of non-ministers leading ministers. This criticism clearly questions the understanding and application of the priesthood of all believers. There is no doubt that this criticism is influenced by the German Baptists' puritanical character.[87]

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[84] Ibid., p. 15.
[85] See Chapter 1.
[86] Officers elected by the Assembly were: treasurer, secretary and vice-president. In the subsequent assembly, the vice-president automatically became the president.
[87] See Chapter 2 for more discussion on the German Baptists' puritanical character.

The two former presidents: Mr T. B. King (1885) and Mr T. H. Grocott (1886), besides being wealthy, had generously contributed to the BU's funds. Further, Grocott's company published the annual BU handbooks. One should note that Gutsche's vice-president was not a minister, and would assume the presidency after Gutsche. Coupled with the fact that the Berlin and the Kingwilliamstown German Baptist churches were the only German churches that were members of the BU, further compounded by the fact that the German churches had their own "union," the German Bund, one wonders if there could have been problems that Gutsche's address was hinting at. (Unfortunately, time and space do not permit this study to attempt answering these questions.).

In concluding his address, Gutsche posed critical questions to ministers attending the Assembly. He wrote:

> What is the cause of this anomaly – so much preaching and so little life? ... The Word of God is the want of our gen[era]tion. ... This is a serious matter and deserves our attention. Let us search and examine our private and ministerial life, where we find what is evil, let it be banished. A manly, sacred service of Christ, at all times and in all places, the full stature of Jesus, we all should make an effort to attain. – Perhaps the way or topics of our preaching are another cause. Do we strive more to please men than to improve them? Is our aim to regale the ear and the mind, or to go straight to the heart and the conscience, to awaken them? Does worldly consideration and ambition paralyze the efficiency of our ministry? Are we ready to sacrifice hours of enjoyment in our study or in company, and to endeavour to heal the brokenhearted, the preach deliverance to the captives, and set at liberty them that are bruised [?][88]

The above argument represented Gutsche's discussion of the spiritual want prevalent among the South African Baptists. Returning to the "temporal want," that is money, he introduced its discussion in an interesting and attention grapping manner. He posed the following question to the Assembly: "What is our temporal want?"[89] He then responded: "Our Treasurer would answer this question by: 'On Saturday, when I arrived, I had a balance of about eighty pounds sterling on the wrong side.' This may be explained by the fact that many

[88] Ibid., pp. 17-18.
[89] Ibid., p. 10.

subscriptions which we were accustomed to receive did not come in. It means for us: we have only fulfilled our promises for about seven months of our last financial year, and we have now to settle this arrear and to collect substance for another twelve month. Not taking up any new obligations, we want about £200 to carry on the work of our Union. Or, having put our hands to the plough, shall we withdraw? Shall we despond and lament: Our forces are spent, and we cannot be of greater service and benefit to this country? Shall I misrepresent the Union when I declare, 'Most certainly not?'"[90] The language of his address and the precise figures he gave about the BU finances, no doubt seized the attention of all present in the Assembly. After laying out the state of the BU's finances, Gutsche then moved to explaining the scriptural basis for giving.

Gutsche added: "No want of funds shall prevail against His Church! The truth, saving men and glorifying God, must go onward, though all appearance defy."[91] Strengthening his argument with scripture, he argued: "Job lost all his riches and the support of men. Why? God purposed better things for him. 'He gave Job twice as much as he had before.' Is not his case like ours? Hitherto we have been wanting in that degree of emptiness in which Jehovah can and will reveal His riches. Remember God's opinion of Gideon's army: 'They are yet too many!' Like the tribe of Benjamin, we are the youngest and weakest association of churches in the Colony, and at present lower in our funds than ever before. Being so, dare we not hope in God, 'who hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty' – in that God who still lives? This God is our God. It is nothing to Him what we are. He the Almighty, is able to make any church His special handmaid."[92] It is interesting to observe, in the quotation above, Gutsche's scriptural justification that the numerical smallness of the Baptists means "[that God] hath chosen weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."

Further urging the churches, members and friends of the BU present at the Assembly to give to the Baptist cause, Gutsche expanded on this temporal want. Reflecting on what had been the tradition of raising funds for the BU, he wrote: "Thus far we have done something in the

[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

way of subscriptions – perhaps some are of opinion that they did much. But God has another opinion about it, and His opinion is right."[93] Astonishing as the statement sounds, which without doubt would have surprised all at the Assembly, Gutsche continued: "He knows we can make greater exertions, and therefore He commands: They shall do more from now! He does not utter it through the mouth of His servants, but in a much more weighty and forcible way – by subsidies from outside ceasing."[94] This was undoubtedly a very strong statement to be uttered by a president of the BU. In other words, the drying up of subsidies from outside was God's way of producing the best out of the Baptists. God thereby "would awaken, stir, and stimulate us to larger schemes and exertions, to fresh vigour and sacrifice. He would develop our faculties and grant us new ones, as greater works are awaiting for us, when we shall have become willing instruments in His hands."[95]

"It were shameful," according to Gutsche, "to misunderstand the designs of our Great Head, who was so visibly with us in the past."[96] This misunderstanding meant, that the BU, which had managed to raise funds, build churches and pay ministers, from the time of the Sustentation Fund in 1873, had become relaxed and lost the vigour that ensured its success in the previous years. Further, this misunderstanding meant, in Gutsche's view, the employment of "worldly business transactions" to run the things of God. Thus, piety and Christian character were negated in favour of skill, learning and wealth in appointing leaders in the Baptist Church of South Africa, according to Gutsche. As a result, "At present difficulties drive us into prayer: and prayer must drive away our difficulties."[97] Although Gutsche was the first president to have devoted so much time and space in his presidential address to money issues, unfortunately his address comes short of planning how funds could be raised for the BU. Instead, he seems to be caught in spiritualizing[98] this issue. For example, he proposed: "Let us now betake ourselves and bring our wants to Him, who has given us a surety for granting our petitions in the need, which causes such requests."[99] He continued: "Yet we must be prepared to wrestle with Him, and not let Him go except He bless us with

[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[96] Ibid., p. 11.
[97] Ibid.
[98] See earlier discussion on the puritanical nature of the German Baptists. See also Chapter 1.
[99] Gutsche, H. *Our Need*, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 11.

things needful. Things needful means, not only more subscriptions and funds, but also more wisdom in God's husbandry, more fertile minds in devising, and above all, more sacrificing love in spending and being spent."[100] Gutsche's "practical application" of his argument was no different from the practice with previous presidents, all of whom were English.[101] He wrote:

> We usually think and pray: 'Our Lord! Gold and silver are Thine, both that coined in the pockets of men, and that hidden in the bowels of earth. Oh, lay hold of them, and help Thy cause!' This is all very well, if we would not reflect so much upon the cheque-book and the cash-box of our neighbour, but upon our own. 'Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits (not the shabby remnant) of all thine increase.'[102]

Gutsche's challenge to the Assembly to reflect on "our" cheque book and cash box continued from his earlier argument that God wanted the Baptists to do more; thus, he was ceasing subsidies from outside. Further, this utterance should be read against the background that, at this Assembly a letter was read from Rev C. H. Spurgeon defraying the expenses of Rev A. J. Edwards, a new minister to the Colony, from Spurgeon's College, in England.[103] Gutsche was cautioning the BU against reliance on donations and funding from outside.

Continuing with the spiritual side of this temporal want, Gutsche further emphasized the importance of prayer. He spoke to the Assembly as follows: "Surely our Lord cannot deny us, when we earnestly ask: 'Show us what we can do for Thee, and incline us to open our hands wider and more cheerfully than in the past! Let the scales of self-indulgence fall from our eyes that we remain idlers no longer, but become co-workers at the building of Thy living temple! Allow us to gather and carry material! Help us to crucify our own dear selves, and to cast the gratification of our lusts as our mites into Thy treasury!"[104] This prayer by Gutsche, ought to be understood against the background of the German Baptist churches'

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[100] Ibid.
[101] Rev H. Gutsche, was the first non-English BU president.
[102] Gutsche, H. *Our Need*, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 11.
[103] Minutes of 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 20. See also later discussion in this chapter.
[104] Gutsche, H. *Our Need*, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 11.

track record in opening new churches fully paid, without debt. This was their strongest financial point compared to the English churches.

After speaking about this prayer, surprisingly - and a point worth noting - Gutsche cautioned all present: "Beware that you do not separate the secular and the spiritual life. God knows no such distinction."[105] This statement, for the first time in recorded South African Baptist history, explicitly articulated that there should be no distinction between the secular and the spiritual. Moreover, it was said by the BU president in person, addressing the Assembly. Unfortunately, no other BU president, nor the BU Executive, were to be as explicit and as vocal, for decades to come in BU's history.[106] Concluding his address on the "temporal want," Gutsche urged all attending the Assembly with the following words: "We must give the Lord our souls, and also our influence, our means, our example. Then we shall not ponder and rely upon the visible in our hands, but shall have respect unto the invisible source of all riches. ... If we linger or refuse, others hasten to be partakers of the privilege to be coworkers with Christ. ... Let us adopt this! Let us set everything going, and put all at His disposal. We shall then soon rejoice, that we have such a great and wondrous God, who 'is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us.'"[107]

Following Gutsche's address, the Assembly resolved on Wednesday afternoon, June 1st 1887: "Seeing that the monetary needs of the Union were in excess of the estimated revenue, it was resolved that the pastors of all the Churches in the Union should obtain an extra subscription of 1s. from every member of the denomination."[108] A motion was also noted during the Assembly: "That the Union, in future, instead of making a number of small grants towards Churches, confine its financial help to one cause at a time, thereby enabling the Union to secure the services of a man of ability and experience from home [England], who would, in all probability, in the course of a couple of years (if not earlier) to be able to do

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[105] Ibid.
[106] See the discussion in Chapter 9 on Kretzschmar's criticism of the Baptists for their "privatization of the Christian faith."
[107] Gutsche, H. *Our Need*, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, pp. 11-12.
[108] Minutes of 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 23.

without assistance, and so liberate the funds for fresh fields."[109] This motion that seems to have come on the spur of the moment, possibly as a result of Gutsche's address, was to be contested.[110]

In 1888, following Rev Gutsche's presidency, Mr W. A. Howard Esq., became the new president. His presidential address was entitled: *How Successfully to Occupy the New Fields Now Opening to Us in South Africa*. Unfortunately, his address - and a short one too,[111] - did not touch on the issue of money.[112] Fortunately, the circular letter of the same year, by Rev J. Hughes, of Port Elizabeth, touched, though briefly, on financial matters. In this letter, entitled *Sympathy*, he spoke on the Christian sympathy "with those who are still strangers to the peace and pardon of God, who are still in the bonds of iniquity."[113] In other words, continuing the theme of Mr Howard's address, Hughes was challenging the Christians, in this case the Baptists, to show sympathy to non-Christians by going out and preaching the gospel to them.

But practicing this sympathy requires means, that is money specifically, among other resources. Rev Hughes thus urged the Assembly: "Brethren, cultivate a spirit of mutual sympathy among yourselves, and you will find the work of the Lord prospering to a greater extent than ever. There will then be a readiness on the part of each member to do something for the glory of God."[114] Hughes then continued: "There will be no carping criticism of the officers of the Church who devote their time and intellectual energy, and a large share of their worldly wealth, to your good and God's glory. There will be no such readiness to forsake your own communion and pocket your own convictions just because the people are poor and illiterate: you will not be a Baptist in one town, and a Wesleyan in another, and a Congregationalist in another, and an Episcopalian somewhere else."[115] This unsatisfactory

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[109] Ibid., pp. 23-24.
[110] See discussion below.
[111] Mr Howard apologized "for the shortcomings in the short address," which was only three pages (Howard, W. A. *How Successfully to Occupy the New Fields Opening to Us in South Africa*, in BU Handbook for 1888-1889, p. 7).
[112] Ibid., pp. 7-9.
[113] Hughes, J. *Sympathy*, in BU Handbook for 1888-1889, p. 10.
[114] Ibid., p. 11.
[115] Ibid.

state of faith whereby Baptists were continually moving from being Baptists to becoming members of other denominations, was owing to, among other factors, lack of finance for the BU to be able to open Baptist congregations in new fields. As a result of the lack of Baptist churches in other parts of the country, Baptists ended up taking membership with other denominations.

Continuing the theme of Rev Hughes' argument and Mr Howard's appeal, the Assembly, on Tuesday afternoon, May 22nd 1888, discussed the previous year's motion by Mr Fuller regarding the distribution of BU funds. The motion was moved by Rev Gutsche and seconded by Mr Grocott. "It was discussed in speeches ... and was put to the vote and lost."[116] The Rev G. W. Cross then moved, on behalf of the Executive: "That from this time forward the aim of the Union be to plant churches in the larger centres of population, where they are likely to become self-supporting in or within two years."[117] Secondly, "That pecuniary aid to new churches shall cease after the third year of such churches' existence; exceptions to this rule to be made only after careful consideration of the case by the whole Assembly."[118] These motions were seconded by Rev Riemer[119] and carried by the whole Assembly. Further during the same Assembly, it was decided: "That the Churches not represented at the Union Meetings be written to by the Executive with a view to secure a greater interest in the Union's work."[120]

The 1888 Assembly continued the previous Assemblies' practice of collecting statistics from churches. For the first time, these statistics were broken down into smaller, interpretable numbers. Further, accompanying the report on statistics, the churches for the first time had to report on the monetary value of their properties. Thus, the BU Executive in providing an overall picture of these statistics, the overall value of the BU's properties and the total contributions made during the year under review, wrote:

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[116] Minutes of 1888 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1888-1889, p. 15.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Rev Riemer was a German minister in charge of the Berlin Church. See Chapter 1.
[120] Ibid., p. 17.

> The new 'schedule' has been printed and issued, and from it the following statistics have been compiled: - 'There are 17 Churches and 20 Ministers in the Union with 39 branch Churches. The total number of sittings in places of worship is 6,320. There has been an addition to the membership of 354; the clear increase for the year was 234. The present number of Members in the Churches of the Union is 1,792. There are 26 Sunday Schools with 165 teachers and 1,386 scholars. The total income in the year was £3,999.3s.1d. The property belonging to the Churches is estimated to be worth £26,570. The debts on the property amount to £4,446.6s.6d. £1,034.10s. were given last year for the reduction of the debt, and £195 were contributed to the Union Fund for the purpose of aiding small churches, &c. The past year has been one of the most successful years of labour since the formation of the Union.[121]

For the next two years, 1889 and 1890, the finances of the BU continued on a healthy basis. However, in 1891, the BU Executive reported: "This meeting [Assembly] was a great success in every way except financially. The money promised and given did not approach the amount of previous years. However, no very great effort was made to draw for gifts or promises. We are getting to feel that the Union ought not to depend on appeals, more or less exciting, made at such meetings. It surely has justified its existence by its works during the last 12 years and it ought to be liberally and constantly supported by those who know it and hold its principles."[122] In other words, the BU Executive was arguing that it was better to have constant, guaranteed support and generous contributions by people who know and hold the Baptist principles, than exciting promises made at the Assemblies, but never kept. But this financial shortcoming that the BU Executive reported on, was not limited to the national funds of the BU. The year under review seems to have been financially unhealthy, as evidenced in the following example of a local church. The BU minutes reported: "[The] Johannesburg German Church has suffered for the time being by the sudden poverty that came upon the mining community and by removals of its members. Under the circumstances Pastor Stroh deemed it wise to liberate the Church from responsibility of his salary."[123]

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[121] Report of the [BU] Executive for 1887-1888, in BU Handbook for 1888-1889, p. 19. This year was to be the beginning of detailed statistical returns from the churches, which were to be routinely expected from the churches.

[122] Notes of the Meetings, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, pp. 8-9.

[123] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 36. On the whole though, the German churches kept contributing generously to the BU's funds. For example, during the financial period for 1890-1891, out of the total income of £6,804.5s.6½d., the German Association contributed £1,679.19s.10d., and of the total BU property valued at £27,975, the German churches owned £10,050 of this property value. As noted already, the German churches had no debt. (Ibid., p. 37.).

3.3 Carey's *An Enquiry ... to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*[124]

A discussion of the history of the South African Baptists in the 19th century without mentioning the role and influence of William Carey, also referred to by some as the "father of modern mission," would be incomplete. Carey founded the society called "The Society for the propagating of the Gospel among the heathen."[125] In South African Baptist history, particularly among the English speaking Baptists, this society's centenary anniversaries are continually celebrated. Even though he had passed away over half a century prior to the South African Baptists establishing themselves as a "union" of churches, as early as 1873, the contribution he made to the Baptist cause in Britain, and consequently to South Africa – through the British BU's involvement in the establishment of the South African BU – deserves discussion. This discussion will concentrate on Carey and also on his book: *An Enquiry into the Obligations to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, which laid the basis for the carrying out of missionary work and the need for finance in doing so.

But before proceeding any further with this discussion, it is worth noting, briefly, the debate concerning the argument that William Carey was the father of modern missions. There is an emerging counter-argument to this dominant view, according to which Lott Carey, an African-American Baptist, is actually the father of modern missions. This is the point Kalu[126] makes when he argues that Lott Carey was denied the title "father of modern missions," purely on racial grounds. It was from Lott Carey's parent organization that the "independent" Baptist native ministers, who did not succumb to the SABMS's pressure to co-opt them, came. Further, unlike William Carey, Lott Carey not only argued for the need to carry out missions to the other parts of the world, but participated in such mission in person.

Lott Carey,[127] a Baptist from Virginia, "was born on the estate of William A. Christian, in Charles City County, Virginia, about the year 1780. His birth was about four years after the

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[124] Carey, W. (1961). *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. London: [Fascimile].
[125] Ibid., p. 14.
[126] Kalu, O. U. "Black Missionaries and White Abolitionists," in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, Vol. 59, Issue 3, 2003, pp. 161-174.
[127] Some works refer to Lott Carey as Lott Cary, without an "e" in the surname, for example, Williams's work.

signing of the Declaration of Independence, but independence for him was far from the spirit of his Virginian slave-master, William A. Christian. Thus, Lott Carey's early development took place in the spirit of American slavery, Virginia style."[128] After Carey had bought his freedom,[129] in 1816, when the American Colonization Society was founded, "individual black clergymen decided to use the white organization as a means of financing their evangelical efforts ... [Carey] was the first of these clergymen to volunteer as a missionary."[130] Further, Carey helped to establish "an African Missionary Society among black people in Richmond and convinced the Colonization Society and the white Baptists to contribute towards his support."[131] As a result, "In 1820 he and another black Baptist preacher, Colin Teague, sailed for Sierra Leone, Carey soon moved to Liberia, where he became an agent for the Colonization Society and in 1828 was appointed acting governor of the colony."[132]

From indigenous Africans Carey found, however, more hostility toward Christianity than interest in it, so he concentrated his religious efforts on the "Americo-Liberian settlers."[133] In 1828 he died in a gunpowder explosion while making cartridges to use against hostile Africans. The lack of organized support did not prevent individual black Baptists from offering themselves for mission work in Africa. The early Baptist missionaries to Africa "were followed by several others sponsored in part by a northern black organization, the American Baptist Missionary Convention. These missionary efforts were largely confined to

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[128] Fits, L. (1994). *The Lott Carey Legacy of African American Missions*. Baltimore: Gateway Press, p. 3.

[129] Shick adds that it was "in 1813 when Carey bought his freedom and that of his two children." (See Jacobs, S. Ed. 1982. *Black Americans and Missionary Movement in Africa*. Westport: Greenwood Press, p. 42).

[130] Williams, W. L. (1982). *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa 1877-1900*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 34.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid. Howard further mentioned: "Aboard the first ships carrying settlers to Africa was Daniel Coker, a minister of the African American Episcopal Church, the first Afro-American to leave for Africa through the American Colonization Society with a distinct missionary goal, and Lott Carey, an ordained Baptist missionary. Reflecting both the white philanthropic commitment to solve the American racial dilemma by returning Afro-Americans to Africa and the desire to 'redeem' Africa for 'Christianity and civilization,' missionaries such as Coker and Carey continued to play a crucial role in the future of the settlement of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Among the early settlers there was a general acceptance of Western preconceptions about Africa, as well as economic dependence on American philanthropy." (See Jacobs, S. Ed. 1982. *Op. Cit.*, p. 42.).

[133] Williams, W. L. (1982). *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa 1877-1900*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 34.

the Americo-Liberian settlers on the coast, due largely to financial difficulties of the sponsoring black churches."[134]

In South Africa in particular, in 1894, Rev R. A. Jackson, a black minister from Mississippi, "financed his way to South Africa,"[135] to carry out mission work. He was soon joined by Mr I. J. Buchanan, "a black sailor from Baltimore, who evidently had not decided on mission work until arriving in Capetown as part of a ship's crew."[136] Their work was marked with success to the extent that Bishop Turner, an A.M.E. leader, noted during his tour of South Africa that Rev Jackson, who was carrying out mission in Capetown, "was known and highly spoken of by the natives everywhere."[137] Bishop Turner even "encouraged the Baptists to do even more in South Africa."[138] Rev Buchanan, "[who] had moved into the South African interior, ... led revivals and baptized large numbers of Africans."[139] Revs Jackson and Buchanan are the same ministers to whom the BU records referred as "Euro-African" ministers.[140] The two, together with all ministers under their care, were informed by the SABMS that they could not affiliate as a separate body (National Baptist Convention) with the SABMS, but were to individually join the SABMS.[141] Also worth mentioning is that the successful Buchanan Industrial School in Middledrift was named after Rev Buchanan,[142] its founder.

But events among the black Baptists in America took a different turn. "Some of the church's more activist mission supporters, especially in Virginia and North Carolina, felt that their organization should be doing even more in Africa. They were angered by the insistence of National Baptist leaders upon separate black organization, by their refusal to cooperate with the white American Baptist Missionary Union, and by the transfer of N.B.C. mission

[134] Ibid., p. 65.
[135] Ibid., p. 69.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid., p. 70.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] See Chapters 5 & 9.
[141] See Chapter 5.
[142] For more on this school, see the discussion of the "Missionary Survey Report" in Chapter 8.

headquarters out of Virginia."[143] As a result, "These activists set up a new organization in 1897, named after Lott Cary, the pioneer black Baptist missionary in Liberia."[144] Further, this development signified an increasing interest in Africa from the late 1890s. However, according to Williams, "it also typified the factionalism that hindered Baptist efforts."[145] And, "Despite its intense interest in Africa, and its willingness to cooperate with white Baptists, the Lott Cary Foreign Mission Society was not able to place its own missionary in Africa until after 1900."[146]

The other Carey, William, whom the English Baptists in South Africa perceived as the father of missions and also commemorated, was born in 1761, and brought up as an Anglican in the Northamptonshire village of Paulersbury. As a teenager he had begun to attend a dissenting prayer meeting in the village of Hackleton, where he worked as an apprentice shoemaker. In his attendance at Sunday worship he remained a faithful Anglican until February 1779, when a fast-day sermon, preached by Thomas Charter, the Independent minister at Olney, convinced him that he must "bear the reproach of Christ among the dissenters."[147] From 1779 to 1783 Carey was by denominational affiliation an Independent, but his views on infant baptism gradually changed. On 5 October 1783 John Ryland Junior baptized him at Northampton. Soon afterwards, John Sutcliff recommended Carey to the small congregation at Earls Barton, to which Carey now travelled to preach on Sundays, while continuing his trade as a shoemaker, and studying Latin, Greek and Hebrew under Sutcliff's supervision during the week. Sutcliff's benevolent patronage was also responsible for Carey's move in March 1785 to his first residential pastorate at Moulton, which qualified him to attend the ministers' meeting for the first time at Northampton in September.[148]

At Moulton Carey received a stipend of £11 per annum, topped up by a grant of £5 from the Particular Baptist Fund in London. This meagre income, according to Stanley, "was insufficient to support his growing family, and had to be supplemented by school-

[143] Williams, W. L. (1982). *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa 1877-1900.* Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 70.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Stanley, B. (1992). *Op. Cit.*, p. 7.
[148] Ibid., p. 8.

mastering."[149] As a school-master Carey was far from successful. The village school declined to such an extent that before long he was back at the shoe-maker's bench. In other aspects, however, the period at Moulton was a fruitful one. Residence at Moulton brought Carey closer to Andrew Fuller in Kettering and John Ryland in Northampton, forging ties of friendship, which were later to prove invaluable. Moreover, it was during the Moulton pastorate that Carey's distinctive and exceptionally informed global vision took shape. Before he left Moulton, he had read the published "accounts of Captain James Cook's voyages to Australasia and the South Seas -- the first things that engaged my mind to think of missions."[150] Teaching geography to his village pupils "gave Carey further opportunity to ponder the immensity of the new world opening up to European eyes in the Pacific."[151] By 1778 he was convinced that something must be done about the vast portion of humanity which had never heard the name of Christ, according to Stanley. Indeed, he had already done something himself. In either 1787 or 1788, while visiting Birmingham to raise funds for the Moulton Chapel building, Carey called on Thomas Potts, a wealthy member of the Cannon Street Baptist Church, who had developed an interest in missions as a result of contact as a youth in North America with mission work among the Indians. Carey told Potts of his burden that "something should be done for the heathen,"[152] and indicated that he would be willing to go himself to Tahiti, and confessed that he had "written a piece on the state of the heathen world,"[153] which, if published, might awaken public interest in the subject. Potts then urged him to publish it, and promised £10 towards the cost of publication.[154] This publication was to be the hugely acclaimed: *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens.*[155]

On his return from Birmingham, Carey met Ryland, Fuller and Sutcliff in Ryland's study in Northampton, and at first urged one of them to publish on the subject. They were sympathetic, but raised objections "on the ground of so much needing to be done at home,

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[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid. See Chapter 4 for the Comaroffs' criticism of these voyages' accounts.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid., p. 9.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] See discussion below.

etc."[156] Carey disclosed to Potts his determination "to do all in his power to set on foot a Baptist mission,"[157] and that Potts had offered financial support if Carey published. The three senior ministers united in urging Carey to go ahead and put his thoughts on paper, and undertook to provide constructive criticism of his manuscript. In May 1789, Carey accepted the pastorate of Harvey Lane Church, in Leicester. The editorial team of Ryland, Fuller, and Sutcliff found that Carey's text needed "very little correction," and by April 1791 the first stage of the revision was complete.[158] In May 1791 Pearce preached the evening sermon at Carey's ordination and formal induction to the pastorate at Harvey Lane church. At Pearce's request Carey concluded the proceedings by reading to the assembled company the greater part of his revised manuscript. During the following winter Carey took his complete text to a Leicester printer and bookseller. On 12 May 1792 the pamphlet was published at a price of 1s.6d.[159]

Commenting on the title of the pamphlet, Stanley wrote, "The most significant words in the title of the Enquiry were 'Obligations' and 'Means.'"[160] These are expounded in the five sections of the pamphlet. In the first and "most important section of the pamphlet,"[161] according to Stanley, "Carey returned to the theme that the global commission given to the apostles was still binding on the Church. Carey described the consequences of the widespread denial in language, which corresponded closely to a passage in Fullers' April 1791 sermon on the dangerous tendency of delay." [162] The question of obligation and the question of means[163] were inextricably connected, for where "a command exists nothing can be necessary to render it binding but a removal of those obstacles which render obedience impossible, and these are removed already."[164] The church's failure to take the gospel to the world was thus, according to Stanley, in interpreting Carey, "comparable to the inability of

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[156] Stanley, B. (1992). *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, p. 9.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid., p. 12. See the following for a full copy of this pamphlet: Pretlove, J. L. (ed.). (1988). *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. Dallas: Criswell Publications.
[160] Stanley, B. (1992). *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] See earlier discussion on the South African Baptist presidents' use of "means" in referring to money in their presidential addresses when urging members and friends of the denomination to contribute to BU funds.
[164] Stanley, B. (1992). *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.

natural man to believe in Christ, as expounded by Fuller in The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation: both should be attributed, not to natural circumstances beyond human control, but to a culpable refusal on the part of the human will."[165] According to Carey:

> It has been objected that there are multitudes in our own nation, and within our immediate spheres of action, who are as ignorant as the South-Sea savages, and that therefore we have to work enough at home, without going into other countries. That there are thousands in our own lands as far from God as possible, I readily grant, and that this ought to excite us to ten-fold diligence in our work, in an attempt to spread divine knowledge among them is a certain fact; but that it ought to supercede all attempts to spread the gospel in foreign parts seems to want proof. Our own countrymen have the means of grace, and may attend on the word preached if they choose it. ... but with them [savages] the case is widely different, who have no Bible, no written language (which many of them have not), no ministers, no good civil government, nor any of those advantages which we have. Pity therefore, humanity, and much more Christianity, call loudly for every possible exertion to introduce the gospel among them.[166]

Reading the quotation, there is no doubt that Carey was caught in the 18th century British imperialist mindset - evident in the manner in which he described the people of other lands as "savages."[167] This mindset, fused with missionary zeal, unleashed great enthusiasm, which was often uncritical of both the imperialism and the colonialism that accompanied this zeal. The means therefore, according to Carey, included amongst other things a conducive socio-political environment and availability of resources such as finance, to sustain "the Commission given by our Lord to his Disciples ... still binding on us."[168]

In the second section of the *Enquiry* Carey presented an historical review of the missionary endeavour from apostolic times to the most recent efforts of the Moravians and Methodists. Its purpose was to prove that "the success of the gospel has been very considerable in many places already, and thus to counter the claim of some hyper-Calvinists that no missionary success could be anticipated until the slaying of the two witnesses in Revelation 11, and the

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[165] Ibid.
[166] Pretlove, J. L. (1988). *Op Cit.*, p. 8.
[167] See Chapter 4.
[168] Taken from the heading of Section One of the pamphlet entitled: "An Enquiry whether the Commission given by our Lord to his Disciples be not still binding on us." (See Pretlove, J. L. 1988. *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.).

fulfillment of other prophecies of the end-time."[169] This hyper-Calvinist view was an extreme form of the Calvinists' predestination doctrine. According to this doctrine, some people are predestined for salvation and others for damnation. Once again, according to Stanley, "Carey was developing themes initially explored by Fuller: This people say, 'the time is not come'"[170] was as much the text for the *Enquiry* as for Fuller's Clipstone sermon.

In the third section of the *Enquiry*, "with its remarkable statistical survey of world geography and population, ... [Carey] conservatively estimated ... at 731 million ... the vast proportion of them who remained in heathen darkness, destitute of all knowledge of the gospel."[171] Pretlove further laid out Carey's division of these numbers country by country into five continents.[172] According to Stanley, this statistical survey "was less vital to the logic of the argument [and] served merely to emphasize the immense numbers of the human race."[173] Stanley's argument, however, comes short of recognizing the argument underlined by the mentioning of statistics in the carrying out of the mission work in foreign countries by missionaries. Among the goals these numbers are meant to achieve,[174] one was to induce funding from the supporters of missions through creating statistical images of the vastness of the task with which the missionaries in the foreign lands were faced.

In the fourth section, entitled: "The Practicality of the Something being done, more than what is done, for the Conversion of the Heathen,"[175] Carey returned to the theme of means at greater length. In attempting to show "the practicality of something being done ... for the conversion of the heathen,"[176] he was addressing himself less, according to Stanley, to hyper-Calvinist opponents than to the very Northamptonshire friends who had proved sympathetic

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[169] Stanley, B. (1992). *Op. Cit.*, p. 8
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[172] See Pretlove, J. L. (1988). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 26-48.
[173] Stanley, B. (1992). *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.
[174] See the following works on the missionary effect of statistics: Barrett, D. B. "'Count the Worshippers!' The New Science of Missiometrics," in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 19, No. 4, October 1995, pp. 154-158, 160; D'Sousa, J. "Telling it like it is: Asking good questions can combat the 'scandal of mission statistics,'" in *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4, October 1998, pp. 422-423; and Coote, R. T. "The numbers game in world evangelism," in *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 2, April 1991, pp. 118-127.
[175] See Pretlove, J. L. (1988). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 52-58.
[176] Stanley, B. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

but hesitant about the feasibility of actually engaging in overseas missionary work. Stanley further states that here Carey was speaking in his own voice, in no sense Fuller's mouthpiece, but rather a goad in his side.[177]

Carey, in his own words, as quoted by Pretlove, wrote: "The impediments in the way of carrying the gospel among the heathen must arise, I think, from one or other of the following things: either distance from us, their barbarous and savage manner of living, the danger of the being killed by them, the difficulty of procuring the necessities of life, or the unintelligibleness of their languages. ... The missionaries must be men of great piety, prudence, courage, and forebearance; of undoubted orthodoxy in their sentiments, must enter with all their hearts into the spirit of their mission; they must be willing to leave all the comforts of life behind them ... Clothing, a few knives, powder and shot, fish-tackle, and the articles of husbandry above mentioned must be provided for them; and when arrived at the place of their destination; their first business must be to gain acquantance with the language of the natives (for which purpose two would be better than one), and by all lawful means to endeavour to cultivate a friendship with them, and as soon as possible let them know the errand for which they were sent. They must endeavour to convince them that it was their good alone which induced them to forsake their friends and all the comforts of their native country."[178]

The last section of the *Enquiry*, entitled: "An Enquiry into the Duty of Christians in general, and what means ought to be used, in order to promote this work,"[179] hinged on classic moderate Calvinist fashion on the necessary connection between prayer and responsible Christian action, according to Stanley.[180] Carey followed Edward's *Humble Attempt* in teaching on the basis of Zechariah 12 and 13 that "an universal conjunction in fervent prayer" would be the prelude to that "glorious outpouring" of the Spirit on the missionary labours of the Church which would characterize the last days. Further, according to Stanley, Carey believed that "some tokens for good" could already be discerned, as God's initial

[177] Ibid.
[178] Pretlove, J. L. (1988). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 52-58.
[179] See Pretlove, J. L. (1988). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 59-65.
[180] Stanley, B. (1992). *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

response to the prayer movement instituted in 1784. Carey then came to the crux of the whole pamphlet: "We must not be contented however in praying, without exerting ourselves in the use of means for the obtaining of things we pray for."[181] Divine sovereignty demanded human means (money to be specific); prayer required action; obligation called for obedience.[182] Thus, in Carey's words:

> Suppose a company of serious Christians, ministers and private persons, were to form themselves into a society, and make a number of rules respecting the regulation of the plan, and the persons who are to be employed as missionaries, the means of defraying the expense, etc., etc. This society must consist of persons whose hearts are in the work, men of serious religion, and possessing a spirit of perseverance; there must be a determination not to admit any person who is not of this description, or to retain him longer than he answers. ... I do not mean by this way to confine it to one denomination of Christians. ... In respect to contributions for defraying the expenses, money will doubtless be wanting; and suppose the rich were to use in this important undertaking a portion of that wealth over which God has made them stewards, perhaps there are few ways that would turn to a better account at last. ... Many of our most eminent forefathers amongst the Puritans followed that practice; and if that were but attended to now, there would not only be enough to support the gospel at home, and to encourage village preaching in our respective neighbourhoods, but to defray the expenses of carrying the gospel into the heathen world. If congregations were to open subscriptions of one penny or more per week, according to their circumstances, and deposit it as a fund for the propagation of the gospel, much might be raised in this way. By such simple means they might soon have it in their power to introduce the preaching of the gospel ... Where there was no person to open his house for the reception of the gospel, some other building might be procured for a small sum ... Surely it is worth while to lay ourselves out with all our might in promoting the cause and kingdom of Christ.[183]

The quotation makes clear of the need for means (funds) "to introduce the preaching of the gospel," which could be raised in the form of giving or subscriptions - a practice which the BU was to adopt. Within three weeks of the publication of the *Enquiry* Carey seized his

[181] Ibid. See also Pretlove, J. L. *Op. Cit.*, p. 61.
[182] Stanley, B. (1992). *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.
[183] Pretlove, J. L. (1988). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 62-65.

opportunity to bring to fruition the proposals for forming a missionary society - which occupied the final pages of his pamphlet.[184]

3.4. The role of C. H. Spurgeon in sending ministers to South Africa
3.4.1. Background on Spurgeon and Spurgeon College

To date, the only work that has studied indepth the role and influence of Spurgeon on the South African Baptist ministry is by Blackwell.[185] This work, though uncritical in some areas, does provide a good overview of the extent of Spurgeon's involvement with the South African Baptist ministry. Kretzschmar's work[186] also discusses Spurgeon's biography, primarily the influence of the nature of his theology on the South African Baptist ministry, especially amongst the English speakers. Kretzschmar uses her discussion of Spurgeon's theology to advance her argument about the nature of the privatization of the Christian faith among the South African Baptists. For example, Spurgeon was socially concerned, according to Kretzschmar; including his support "[of] the work of a range of missions and societies, schools for the poor, and orphanages, [he also] supported demands for state-sponsored education and the extension of the franchise."[187] But, over and above these, Spurgeon "was critical of war and aspects of imperialism."[188] Kretzschmar comments: "These were based on Spurgeon's devotion to God, his desire to see people saved and his stress on Christian character. Thus, he did not espouse a dualism between the secular and religious realms, and he insisted that church buildings be used throughout the week for social ministries."[189]

According to Kretzchmar, Spurgeon stressed the conversion of the personal life of the individual. That is: "His understanding of salvation remained centred on the individual person and this privatized religious ethic resulted in an individualistic rather than structural approach to social questions. For this reason, ..., 'it is doubtful whether it ever occurred to

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[184] See Stanley, B. (1992). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 13-14.
[185] See Blackwell, M. S. (1994). *The Influence of Charles Haddon Spurgeon on the Church in South Africa between 1870 and 1930.* Pretoria: UNISA. [Unpublished MTh Thesis.].
[186] Kretzschmar, L. (1998). *Privatization of the Christian Faith: Mission, Social Ethics and the South African Baptists.* Ghana: Legon Theological Series.
[187] Kretzschmar, L. (1998). *Op. Cit.*, p. 166.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.

him that a fundamental change in the social structure was needed.'"[190] Kretzschmar continued, "However, while Spurgeon did not develop structural analyses of what caused social ills, he was extremely conscious of them and spent virtually all his considerable earnings helping those in need."[191] Thus, Kretzschmar concluded: "How lamentable it is that the South African Baptists have not actually followed the example of the English Baptist leader whom they so greatly admire."[192] Who then was this Spurgeon?

Born on 19th June 1834, in Essex, Kelveden, Spurgeon accepted Christ as his saviour on 6th January 1850, and of the same year, he was baptized on 3rd May. His first pastoral experience was at Pastors Waterbeach Chapel,[193] in 1851. In March 1854, he commenced a new pastorate at New Park Street Baptist, in London. Two years later, in 1856 in January, he married Susannah Thomson, and on 20th September of the same year, their twin sons, Thomas and Charles, were born. The following year, 1857, Spurgeon accepted a second student under his training and, as a result, the Pastors College was founded. This was followed in 1861, 25th March, by the opening of the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Ten years later, 1867, Spurgeon opened the Stockwell Orphanage. The Orphanage, Tabernacle and the College were to become the main centres that were to characterize Spurgeon's ministry. Besides these, Spurgeon was also involved amongst other activities, as editor of *The Sword and the Trowel*, with its 15,000 monthly circulation, and had by 1860 "become truly popular among common men, and both world famous and influential, as well."[194] (Spurgeon also authored devotional literature, biblical commentaries, and sermons of renown. By 1899 over a hundred million copies of his sermons had been issued in twenty three languages, and before his death 120,000 volumes of his largest expository work, *The Treasury of David*, were sold. To these figures must be added the influence of more than 125 copies of his other books, which added to his influence.)[195] In 1876, Spurgeon began sending ministers to South

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[190] Ibid., p. 167.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Pastors Waterbeach Chapel which is also referred to as Waterbeach Chapel in other sources, it is the chapel where Spurgeon began his pastorate. For more discussion on this chapel, see Pike ho dedicated three chapters on his work one Spurgeon's involvement with this church. (Pike, G. H. 1991. *The Life and Work of Charles Haddon Spurgeon*. Volume 1. London: Cassell.)
[194] Blackwell, M. S. *Op. Cit.*, p. 27.
[195] Ibid., p. 28.

Africa.[196] From 1887 up until 1891, Spurgeon was involved in the biggest controversy ever[197] in his ministry, The Down-Grade Controversy. Also in 1887, Spurgeon, the Tabernacle and the Pastors College all withdrew from the Baptist Union of Great Britain.[198]

Spurgeon's withdrawal from the British Baptist Union was due to the "liberal position" upheld by member churches in this BU. In support of this argument, Blackwell wrote: "His movement from the strict Puritan and classic Calvinistic emphasis is not the centrally important issue, but the fact that this change was toward the more Fundamental and moderate dispensationalist interpretation of Scripture needs to be better understood. We must not limit our thinking only to the fact of his changes but to the reasons and results of this change. The downward slide toward a more liberal position in the churches of the British Baptist Union (among other denominations as well) pressured Spurgeon to move towards Fundamentalism. These changes were to affect the South African ministry, especially among the Baptists, including both the Afrikaans-German, and the English Baptist churches."[199] Blackwell added, Spurgeon's distinctive style of ministry, including its influence on "the lives and actions of his disciples, ... was then considered the most unorthodox means and methods ever seen in nineteenth century pulpits and churches."[200]

Spurgeon's influence over his disciples, including the ministers sent to South Africa, extended to providing them with financial assistance. According to Blackwell: "In addition to the educational costs Spurgeon became personally involved in fund raising for the travel costs, libraries, salaries, properties and church construction costs for his Pastors' College graduates."[201] As they accepted the call to South Africa they became, according to Blackwell, "a type of a team within the greater Spurgeon ministries."[202] In the 1878 issue of the *The Sword and the Trowel* Spurgeon pleaded for a better method of raising funds.

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[196] Ibid., pp. 43-47.
[197] The other controversies that Spurgeon was involved in were: Against the Hyper-Calvinists (1855); Against the Arminians (1887); Against John Henry Newman, the Tractarian (1864) and the Baptismal Regeneration Controversy (1864). (See Blackwell, M. S. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 78-79. See also Murray, I.1973. *The Forgotten Spurgeon*. Great Britain: Hazel Watson & Viney, Chapters 2, 3, 5 & 7.).
[198] Blackwell, M. S. *Op. Cit.*, p. 46.
[199] Ibid., p. 17.
[200] Ibid., p. 16.
[201] Ibid., p. 64.
[202] Ibid.

Referring to Rev Hamilton, a Pastors' College graduate, who was serving as the first pastor of the Tabernacle Church in Cape Town, Spurgeon wrote: "We fear we shall see the good man over here collecting; it would be a deal better if we send the money out and let him keep at his work. Certain foreign pastors use far too much of their time in gathering funds here, when they are wanted in their own field of labour, but they are not to be blamed for the money is needed. It would be a grand improvement in the exercise of Christian stewardship if believers gave without the need of pressure and personal calls, and so kept the missionaries at their work. When will the day arrive?"[203]

Another illustration of Spurgeon's financial commitment is, according to Blackwell, found in the following example. Spurgeon's Pastors College began with the use of Spurgeon's own funds, especially from the money obtained through the sale of his sermons in America. This source was to dry up for a while owing to his position against slavery. By the coming of the American Civil War, he eventually had only the use of his own income which was derived, among other things, from the sale of his books. But soon anonymous donations began to pour in and the College was again on its feet. "It was the spirit of personal example that was his secret."[204] Spurgeon's personal example of how he funded and even administered the funds of the College, Tabernacle and Orphanage had an enduring influence on his graduates, particularly on their administration of their churches' finances. In *The Sword and the Trowel,* the issue of 1st August 1870, recorded Blackwell, there was a lengthy report on the "Baptist Church, Port Elizabeth, South Africa," the church that Rev W. Stokes, a graduate of Spurgeon's, pastored. The article reported that the church had completed its "third anniversary since the settlement of Mr W. Stokes, late of our College, on Sunday, May 15th."[205] The article, according to Blackwell, went into great detail on the finances and improvement in the facilities since the church came under Rev Stokes' care. It was reported that there were now "Fifty-two members in regular communion, and this increase had gained in the face of difficulties and obstacles seldom met with in the old country."[206]

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[203] Ibid., p. 65.
[204] Ibid., p. 67.
[205] Ibid., p. 33.
[206] Ibid.

Commenting further on Stokes's ministry, Blackwell wrote that his ministry to the Queen Street Baptist Church was not just pastoral, but that, like Spurgeon, he paid great attention to administration. "This balance of practical with spiritual would be found in almost every one of the 'Spurgeon men.'"[207] Further, this balance of practical and spiritual is evident in the BU's annual assemblies' minutes. The minutes cover, in detail, every administrative aspect of the BU. Returning to the discussion on Stokes, under his leadership came an enlargement of the church facility in 1870. He was pastor of this church from 1867 to 1879. Thus, was not merely chance circumstances, according to Blackwell, which meant "that Rev Stokes was quick, like his mentor, Spurgeon, to give his attention to the practical aspects of church growth, i.e. finances and facilities, and not just to preaching and visitation as had been the case in earlier predecessors at Queen Street Baptist [Church]."[208]

3.4.2. Ministers from Spurgeon's College and their minimum salary requirement

The first record by the BU in South Africa of its involvement with Rev C. H. Spurgeon, was in 1880 when the BU president, Rev R. H. Brotherton, during the BU Assembly "read a letter which had been received from the Rev C. H. Spurgeon, in reply to an invitation sent last year for him to visit South Africa."[209] Concerning this letter, the minutes record that it was "to be kept among the Union minutes."[210] The following year, again the BU Assembly resolved to extend an invitation to Rev Spurgeon, but this time, to ask "the [BU] Secretary [to] communicate with the leading Ministers in England, to urge them, at our invitation, to visit the Churches of the Union in the Colony."[211] In the subsequent year, the same request was again forwarded to the "leading ministers in England." This time, the BU secretary "stated that he had been in correspondence with the Rev. W. Sampson, Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, *re* resolution to invite a minister from England; also, that he had written to the Rev. Dr. MacLaren, who had replied, expressing his regret at not being able to comply with the [Baptist] Union's request owing to a long sickness and absence from

[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid., p. 34.
[209] Minutes of 1880 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1877-1881, p. 21.
[210] Ibid. Unfortunately, there is no record of this letter in the minutes.
[211] Minutes of 1881 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1881-1882, p. 8.

duty."[212] To this, the Assembly resolved: "That the Secretary be requested to write to Rev. Dr. Maclaren and Rev. Sampson in the spirit of his last letters."[213]

Three years had elapsed since the BU started trying, but to no avail, to invite Spurgeon and other leading ministers from England to visit South Africa. However, it never gave up trying. The visit of these ministers to South Africa was not just a mere visit for the BU in South Africa, in order to "showcase" its cause to the British Baptist leaders. This visit was also important, particularly for the South African BU, to solidify its relations with the BU "at home."[214] (Also during this visit, memories from "home" would certainly be awakened.) Five years were to pass since this 1882 record before the minutes were to again mention the request made to Spurgeon. This report appeared in the 1887 BU minutes. In the interim, specifically in 1885, the BU Assembly appointed an Examination Committee to deal with ministerial recognition. This committee was appointed, "seeing that application is often made to the Union by the brethren desirous of entering the ministry of our Church, ... to deal with applications."[215] The appointment of this committee during this early period of Baptist history reflects the growth of the Baptist cause in South Africa and the need to standardize its ministry. Revs L. Nuttall, R. H. Brotherton, G. W. Cross, and Mr T. B. King were appointed to this committee.[216]

In 1887, during the BU Assembly, when the new members were introduced (among who was Rev A. J. Edwards from Spurgeon's Pastors College in London), Rev G. W. Cross, the serving BU president, read a letter from Rev Spurgeon. In the letter Spurgeon wrote: "I have pleasure in defraying the expenses of Mr A. J. Edwards, in the firm belief that he will be the right man to labour with you."[217] The letter continued: "He has passed through his studies with great credit, and he has the esteem of us all, for his spirit, temper and character. Our

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[212] Minutes of 1882 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1882-1883, p. 20. Rev Maclaren was the serving president of the "Baptist Union of Great Britain."
[213] Ibid.
[214] See Chapter 2, for a discussion regarding the BU's continual reference to home. See also Chapter 9 for de Gruchy's discussion of the use of this term by other English speaking churches, and what it meant for them.
[215] Minutes of 1885 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1885-1886, p. 10.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Minutes of 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 20.

belief is that he will prove to be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed."[218] The letter concluded, "I commend Mr Edwards to you, and you all to the loving care of our Heavenly Father."[219] The letter, unfortunately, does not state the salary Rev Edwards was to receive as a minister under the BU in South Africa.

Briefly regarding the South African BU's ties to "home" (England), the same year (1887) during the Assembly: "Attention having been called to the fact of this being the Jubilee of her Majesty's reign, a sub-committee was appointed to prepare an address to be submitted to the Assembly at a later state of the proceedings."[220] The following day, Tuesday May 31st 1887, the following address then moved: "That we, the Baptists in South Africa, in Conference assembled, desire to place on record our devout thankfulness to Almighty God for having so graciously preserved the life of her Majesty, our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and for having so abundantly blessed those realms over which she swayed her sceptre for fifty years. And, moreover, that we earnestly pray the Great Ruler of the universe to spare her Majesty for many years to adorn the British Throne, and reign over a peaceful and happy people."[221] South Africa, a British colony, was "[one of] those realms over which she swayed her sceptre." This address was "carried with great enthusiasm,"[222] and "the Assembly rose as by spontaneous impulse and sang the National Anthem."[223] Further, it was decided that "a copy be handed to the Rev Nuttall for transmission to his Excellency the Governor."[224]

Pertaining to the BU's attempt to invite Spurgeon and other leading ministers to South Africa, in 1888 the BU Executive reported: "Letters have been written to the Revs C. H. Spurgeon and Dr Maclaren, inviting them to visit the Churches in the Colony. The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon has not been able to accept our invitation. The reply from Dr Maclaren is not yet due."[225] Two years later, in 1890, appeared another record of Spurgeon paying passage

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[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid. See also Report of the [BU] Executive 1886-1886, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 25, wherein the BU Executive "gladly report[ed] the arrival of the Rev. Allan J. Edwards."
[220] Minutes of 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 21.
[221] Ibid., pp. 21-22.
[222] Ibid., p. 22.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Report of the [BU] Executive, in BU Handbook for 1888-1889, p. 18.

money for ministers from England to South Africa. This time, Spurgeon "generously offered to send two brethren and pay for the fare of one, if the Union would pay that of the other, with the result that the Revs D. H. Hay and Thos. Adamson were selected by him, and sent out to the Colony on the terms mentioned."[226] As for these funds, "part ... required for the passage money had been collected in the Colony, and he hoped the Assembly would vote the balance."[227]

Only in 1891 did a record finally appear of the South African BU's guarantee of a minimum salary to ministers emigrating from England to South Africa. The resolution, passed during the Assembly, read: "That the Executive be empowered to send home [to Britain] for such additional brethren as may be required to carry out the work of the Churches of the Union, from time to time, and further, to guarantee a salary of £150 per annum to each brother for a period of two years from date of his arrival, and that all brethren coming out at the invitation of the Union, and having passages paid out of the Union Funds, shall be allowed second class fare."[228] Worth noting about this resolution is that it was presented to the Assembly as a motion by Rev A. J. Edwards.[229]

Concerning the salary of £150 that was to be guaranteed to ministers emigrating to South Africa from England, this figure was stipulated at a time in South African Baptist history when the mentioning and discussing of salary requirements for European ministers was an accepted practice, even during Assemblies. For example, three years earlier, in 1889, when the BU Assembly decided to send a minister to Kimberley it recorded, "that the salary of the Brother to be sent ... should not be below a certain sum, and that a church to be established [should] furnish our Financial Secretary with a quarterly statement of all receipts and expenditure."[230] More precise was in 1886, when Mr Grocott, then BU president, while discussing the history of *Our Union*, which he saw as having evolved from the 1873 Sustentation Fund,[231] wrote: "no addition from the funds be made to salaries which reach

[226] Minutes of 1890 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 14.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 31.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 32.
[231] See Chapter 2 wherein this argument that the BU "evolved" out of the Sustentation Fund is questioned.

£200 per annum, but that in such cases help be transferred to weaker districts."[232] This figure (£200) implied that some churches were already paying their ministers close to this figure or above it. Grocott further explained, "Of course, this does not imply that the salaries of our pastors are not to exceed £200; only, that the fund ceases to contribute when that amount is raised by the aided Church."[233] For the native churches, this amount as a salary was unthinkable, even more than fifty years later, after the 1940s.[234]

In 1892, according to the BU minutes, "Just as we were celebrating the centenary of the Society which owed its formation to this great man [William Carey], another great man has passed away. The preacher who had no peer, and who, it is greatly feared, has no successor – Charles Huddon Spurgeon."[235] Eulogizing about the work that Spurgeon did, Mr Brodie, the serving BU president, wrote: "He had preached for 30 years to a congregation of 6,000 people, and during his ministry at the Metropolitan Tabernacle over 14,000 names had been entered upon the Church roll. The people who came to listen did not come to hang upon the lips of a great word-painter, but to hear the true Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, and many, through his instrumentality, were converted from the error of their ways."[236] Rev Brodie further continued: "When people came to Mr Spurgeon for church membership he asked them what work they were going to do for the Master, for he wished to have no idlers in his congregation."[237] Rev Brodie thus concluded, "Mr Spurgeon's Church was a model one, and, according to its position, each Church should endeavour to emulate it."[238]

After Rev C. H. Spurgeon's era his brother, Dr James Spurgeon,[239] continued the work. In 1892, following the death of Rev C. H. Spurgeon, Dr J. Spurgeon, "who was still co-pastor of the Tabernacle had proposed that Pierson [another minister] be called permanently to occupy the pulpit while he himself would continue to discharge many of the pastoral duties."[240] The

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[232] *Our Union* – An address delivered at the Ninth Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South African, September 6th, 1886, at King Williamstown, by Mr T. H. Grocott, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 10.
[233] Ibid.
[234] See Chapter 6, 8 & 9.
[235] "In Memoriam C.H.S. [Charles Haddon Spurgeon]," in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 19.
[236] Ibid., p. 20.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid.
[239] See Murray, I. (1973). *The Forgotten Spurgeon*. Great Britain: Hazel Watson & Viney, p. 210.
[240] Ibid.

matter was temporarily left in abeyance as Pierson had to return briefly to the United States in the summer of 1892. Meanwhile, "Spurgeon's son, Thomas, who was just home from New Zealand, was asked to supply the Tabernacle."[241] When the New Zealander came, many of the congregation "began again to detect the authentic Spurgeon note, and their hearts warmed to the younger preacher."[242] When Pierson resumed at the Tabernacle in November, 1892, the congregation was by no means as harmonious as it had been twelve months earlier. "A division – described by the newspapers as the 'Tabernacle tempest' – emerged between those wanting to call Pierson and those who wished the son to succeed the father."[243] Thomas Spurgeon had gone back to New Zealand, but in March 1893, "by a vote of three to one, over two thousand members called him to occupy the pulpit for twelve months, with a view to the pastorate."[244] Consequently James Spurgeon resigned and Pierson terminated his ministry in June 1893. Eight months after Spurgeon's twin son, Thomas Spurgeon, took up the work he was elected to the pastorate.[245] However, according to Murray, "it seems that the disagreement over who would be the best successor at the Tabernacle was not entirely ended."[246]

During the "Tabernacle tempest," the South African Baptists stayed clear of speaking on this issue in their assemblies. This is reflected in the absolute silence in the BU minutes. Instead, in 1893, the BU Assembly "express[ed] its gratitude to Dr Jas Spurgeon who, during recent years, has elected and assisted to send out five ministers to work in South Africa."[247] While expressing its gratitude, the Assembly "desire[d] to express sympathy with Dr Spurgeon under his recent great trials, first, of painful sickness, and of a further bereavement in the death of Principal Gracey."[248] Thus, the Assembly "earnestly prays that he may soon be restored to perfect health and strengthened for the many and ardous duties devolving upon him ... at the Tabernacle, ... the Pastors' College and [the] Orphanage."[249]

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[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid., p. 211.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid.
[246] See Murray, I. (1973). *Op. Cit.*, pp. 211-217.
[247] Minutes of 1893 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1893-1894, p. 18.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid. Rev T. Spurgeon served as pastor of the Tabernacle until his resignation in 1908. The pastoral charge was then taken over by Rev A. G. Brown (Murray, I. 1973. *Op. Cit.*, p. 217.).

Both to Dr J. Spurgeon, and to Rev Thomas Spurgeon, respectively, the BU continued with its request to ask leading ministers from "home" to visit South Africa. Finally, Rev C. Spurgeon (Rev Thomas Spurgeon's twin brother) visited South Africa in February 1895. During his visit in South Africa, he visited the opening of the Knott Memorial Church in Alice,[250] the Cradock Church,[251] the East London Church[252] and the Kingwilliamstown Church.[253] Concerning the latter, Rev H. J. Batts, the presiding minister wrote: "The 'old fashioned gospel' has come from his lips with a delightful freshness and no uncertain sound."[254] Besides visiting these European churches, which were all English speaking churches, Spurgeon also visited Tshabo Mission station.[255]

3.5. Formation of the Denyer Memorial Fund (1892)

The Denyer Fund, named after Rev C. Denyer, the BU president who passed away "six weeks after his accession to the chair of office,"[256] was formed in order to "take [care of] the widow and four young children he had left behind."[257] Rev Denyer had in 1883 assumed the pastorate of Cradock, which "he had found with a church membership of 18."[258] At the time of his death in May 23rd 1891, "the church reported a membership of 44."[259] Further, regarding the Cradock Church: "In 1883, the debt was about £800. At his death this had been entirely wiped off, and a fund for a new church building, much needed, reached upwards of £200."[260] Contributions to the Denyer Fund, which amounted to £550, came from three different sources. Firstly, "The citizens of Cradock, who contributed £150."[261] Secondly, "The members of the D[utch] R[eformed] Church of Cradock, who contributed £40."[262] And

[250] Chronicles of the Churches, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 31.
[251] Ibid., p. 33.
[252] Ibid., p. 34.
[253] Ibid., p. 37.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Unfortunately, there is no detail concerning his visit to Tshabo. Further research on this would be interesting to unearth his views on this mission.
[256] In Loving Memory of Rev Charles Denyer, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 57.
[257] Report of the BU Executive for 1891-1892, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 45.
[258] Ibid., p. 59.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Brief Report [of] Denyer Memorial Fund, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 59.
[262] Ibid.

thirdly, "the churches and friends of the Baptist Union, who contributed the remainder."[263] The *Report* further remarked: "Separate mention should, however, be made of the contribution from the Church at West Green, London, of which Mr Denyer was a member in his youth and from which he proceeded to College."[264] It is interesting to note that among the contributions, there was one from the Dutch Reformed Church. This was the first time in the BU's history that it reported on contributions from a non-Baptist church. Further, this contribution indicates Denyer's (and the Cradock Baptist Church's) cordial relations with the Dutch Reformed Church in Cradock.

Regarding the total amount (£550) collected: "The principal contributors expressed a desire that the sum should be invested in house property, and secured under trustees for the benefit of Mrs Denyer and her four children."[265] Certainly, this indicates the care the European churches had for the family of the late minister. This experience, of the passing of a (European) minister, without any funds left behind to take care of his family, was to set the precedent for the BU to formally set up other funds: the Pension Fund, Ministers' Widows Pension Fund and the Emergency Fund,[266] which would ensure that the BU would never again have to endure such a "burden" when a minister passed away. These funds were to care exclusively for European ministers and their families. In order to ensure that the Denyer Memorial Fund's money is securely invested and properly used, the *Report* continued: "Great care must, of course, be exercised in the investment. The promoters of the Fund are anxious to complete the business with as little delay as possible having due regards to the best interests of the parties chiefly concerned."[267] This was the last report on this fund: its formation and detailed financial report[268] was used as a model, and further improved on, for more funds to be formed[269] later.

Regarding the overall finances of the BU during this period, that is, until the end of 1892, they closed healthily with no deficit or debts incurred. The BU's financial statement further

[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] See Chapter 6. See also Chapter 9 wherein it is discussed the funds that were established post 1944.
[267] Brief Report [of] Denyer Memorial Fund, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 59
[268] See Denyer Memorial Fund [Financial Statement], in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 60.
[269] See Chapter 6.

indicated generous contributions from personal members of the BU. That is, even though personal members were expected to contribute only £5 per annum, Mr T. H. Grocott contributed £10 and "Mr and Mrs T. B. King" contributed £20, for example.[270] Further, to maintain this healthy financial state and to accurately report on its finances of the year under review, the Assembly resolved: "That the accounts of the Union shall be closed on the 31st day of December, and shall be audited within one month of that time, and that subscriptions shall be due and payable within six months of date of assembly last held."[271] Therefore, from 1893 onwards, the BU operated on a new financial year, and reported better audited financial statements in the following assemblies.

3.6. Conclusion: BU's consciousness and openness about money

Money, undoubtedly an important resource, was an issue the BU was not afraid to mention. All the different BU presidents in one way or the other addressed the need for money in advancing the Baptist cause in the country. But the matter in which they spoke about money is of particular interest. Money, which was also referred to as substance, temporal want or means, fulfilled a number of roles, according to Baptist history.

Money, in particular as "substance," was a reflection of the quality and significance of an individual. In this case, it was a reflection of the significance of the cause of the Baptist Church of South Africa. Thus it was important, as was continually mentioned in annual assemblies, that the BU's financial statement reflected the healthy financial state of the church.

While money is an important substance, it was at the same time, a temporal want. That is, inasmuch as it could be utilized for religious purposes, it also fulfilled temporal needs. Nevertheless its utilization was, according to Gutsche, a reflection of who the God of one's money is. In other words, if one does not give generously and voluntarily to religious needs, in this case the Baptist cause, clearly one does not value this God, as is advocated by one's

[270] See The Treasurer in Account with the Baptist Union 1892-1893, in BU Handbook for 1893-1894, pp. 42-44.
[271] Minutes of 1893 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1893-1894, p. 21.

religious community. Further, according to Gutsche, religious communities have temporal wants and in order to advance their cause in the temporal world, these needs ought to be met. And temporal wants can only be met by temporal means. That is, for example, in the case of the Baptist cause in this country, housing for a minister (temporal want), can only be met by money (temporal want) either to purchase or to build such a house. Therefore, money was undoubtedly, an important temporal want.

Lastly, money as "means" denoted money serving as a means (a tool) to achieve a specific objective. In other words, inasmuch as money is important to achieve a specific objective, more important is the realization of the objective at hand than the means. This is why, according to one of the BU presidents, it is not how much one gives, but it is how much one is left with after giving. Therefore this is giving in order to realize the achievement of an objective rather than giving for the mere sake of giving. Thus, according to Gutsche, if Baptists adopted the principle of giving, they would not have to rely on donations and funding from outside.

It was this constant consciousness of money, throughout the BU assemblies, that laid the basis for the later BU attitude to money. That is, the BU did not shy away from mentioning that money is important. This constant emphasis on the importance of money is reflected in its annual and detailed financial statements. But underlying all this consciousness of money is the insistence that this money should serve European Baptists. There is no doubt that most of this money came from these European Baptists in South Africa and primarily benefited them. This remained the case in years to come, as was to be reflected in the many funds to be formed for European workers and their families, commencing with the Denyer Fund, as discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 4
Native work and the formation of the SABMS (1878-1892)

4.1. German Baptists and native work (1878-1886)

Baptist work among the natives, as indicated before, was initiated by the German Baptists, as early as 1869. There is however, a strong possibility that this work might have been commenced prior to 1869 since the German Baptists had landed in the Colony as early as 1858. On the same note, there is also a great possibility that English Baptists might have commenced with mission among the natives prior to 1883, which is the earliest written record showing an English church independently undertaking mission among the natives. These hypotheses remain only hypothetical since there is no evidence to support them. The only evidence existing to support the argument that German Baptists' mission work among the natives had existed prior to 1869 is Philip Gutsche's paper, which he presented at the inauguration of the Bantu Baptist Church in 1927, at Tshabo. His paper is based on evidence in his father's records that at every wedding, the German Baptists "had to pay £1 as a fee, 15s of it had to go to Missions."[1]

In addition: "All the collections at baptismal services were set aside, and every year they had a missionary feast, and all the money raised there was for Missions."[2] They also held every quarter, "a big missionary meeting, and by [June 27] 1869 they had progressed so far that they appointed a Missionary Committee on each station. [That is, Kingwilliamstown and Berlin respectively.]"[3] It was at this big meeting that "the birth of this Mission [took place], because they had decided to devote themselves to the Bantus."[4] The same year, in July, "they appointed Mr Carl Pape as an Evangelist to devote two days a week to the work."[5] And in January 1870 they opened a school, "and according to the river flowing past, they called it Tshabo."[6] Mr Pape remained an evangelist for ten years until his resignation in August, 1879. The Kaffir war, against Kreli had already ensued and there was concern that this work might die. Kingwilliamstown and Berlin called for volunteers from Germany to come out, and Mr H. Brinkman, "a young man came whom the churches sent for three years to Lovedale to

[1] The Bantu Baptist Church. *Report of Inauguration at Tshabo*, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 22.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

learn both English and Kaffir, and to be prepared as a missionary and as a teacher."[7] But this effort according to Gutsche was a failure because: "The man never turned out any good, and the outlook was indeed dark."[8] As the war continued, the German Churches "took off the roof of the Church at Tshabo, and insured the Church against fire for £200."[9] At hand they had £80 which they deposited in the Bank, waiting for better days."[10] This mission station was then brought to a halt.

The year 1886 marks the English Baptist involvement in native mission work, as an institution. This happened when, "this field [Tshabo Mission was] being offered to the [Baptist] Union by our German friends, [during which it was resolved]: That a strong appeal be made to the Baptist Missionary Society in London for a man, and for his support, to labour in this field."[11] The report by the executive in 1888 to churches mentions that the "reply from the Baptist Missionary Society *in re* the Tshabo mission field was duly received."[12] Unfortunately: "The Secretary regrets the inability of the Society to undertake work in South Africa at present. Your subcommittee will report further in this work."[13] What, then, caused the Germans to give this work to the English Baptists? According to Gutsche, son of Carl Hugo Gutsche, when no other volunteers were from Germany, Carl Hugo Gutsche, reluctant to "give up the work ... then approached the newly-formed South African Baptist Union."[14] It was as a result of his initiative that in 1886, the "Baptist Union appointed a Missionary Committee consisting of my father [Carl Hugo Gutsche], the Rev. E. P. Riemer and the Rev. H. J. Batts."[15] The resolution on the one hand that Tshabo mission was offered to the BU by the German friends and Gutsche's interpretation, on the other, that Carl Hugo Gutsche approached the newly formed BU, though not necessarily offering this work to it, leaves much to be desired. Could it be that the German Baptists were forced to hand over this work to English Baptists? Research work on this needs to be undertaken.

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[6] Ibid., p. 23.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., p. 24.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 21.
[12] Minutes of 1888 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1888-1889, p. 19.
[13] Ibid.
[14] The Bantu Baptist Church. Report of Inauguration at Tshabo, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 24.
[15] Ibid.

4.2. Kaffir culture, Christianity and civilization (1878-1892)
4.2.1. An overview of the English Baptists' involvement in native mission (1878-1889)

Before we commence with the European Baptists' perception of native culture, an overview of English Baptist involvement in mission work among the natives during the 1880's is necessary. This is because the German Baptists since the 1860's were involved in mission work among the natives. However, this was not the case with the English Baptists; by 1878, there were no records of their involvement. As indicated in Chapter 1, the German Baptists were the first to start mission work among the natives. The first BU involvement, or rather, discussion of the native mission field was in 1881. This was during the assembly, of the same year, during which Rev P. Riemer from Berlin Church in Kingwilliamstown reported: "Although our Brother C. Pape has resigned the office of Evangelist, he has preached as formerly the glad tiding amongst the natives and to our joy intends to do so in the future. Three months ago, a young brother, H. Brinkman, whom we appointed to be our future Evangelist and Teacher for natives, arrived from Germany."[16] In the same assembly, Rev H. Gutsche reported the following concerning the distinction that had to be made regarding the Kafir Mission and the Day School: "I may state, that at our annual conference of the German Association, held in June 25th at King Williamstown, the two institutions were allotted to the management of the respective churches, to which they belong, viz: our Kafir Mission to the Berlin Church and our Day School to the King Williamstown Church. From the latter I can report, that we have at least succeeded in obtaining one of our members as teacher, Brother C. Grimm, from Hamburg."[17]

The first time the BU was challenged to take a direct interest in native mission was in 1883, by its serving president, Rev H. J. Batts. In his presidential address entitled: *Our Denominational Position and Prospects*, Batts stated: "Nothing had been done by the great Baptist Missionary Society for South Africa, either among its teeming native population or in the more important European Settlements among the English speaking people."[18] He further added that: "The attention of our Home Ministers had not been drawn to the needs of the country, and the Home Society had left the evangelization of the native races to those who were already in the field, opening up the country, and preparing the people to receive the

[16] Minutes of 1881 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1881, p. 10.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Minutes of 1883 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1883-1884, p. 3.

Gospel of the Cross."[19] This therefore would, according to Batts, cause the Baptists "to complain because the Wesleyan Society, the Church of England Society, and the London Missionary Society were in the field for years before us."[20] Nonetheless, several reasons, according to Batts, can be surmised as to why the Baptist Missionary Society left South Africa in the cold and concentrated its energies in other lands. These were; "lack of funds, lack of men, lack of sympathy; or, what is most probable, the supposition that the land was well occupied already, and that greater needs existed elsewhere."[21]

Batts, having made the distinction that the English speaking European settlements were more important than the teeming native population, further evoked, in a mildly racially derogatory tone, to appeal that "nothing has been done for the dusky aborigines of the country. ... I think we have no occasion whatever to take a desponding view of our work; but it is a question in my mind whether we are free from blame in leaving untouched the vast native fields."[22] This was the furthest degree to which Batts' presidential address mentioned the English Baptists' missionary work among the natives. The remainder of his presidential address focussed on Baptist growth from 1877 to 1882. Speaking on this growth, with caution, he said that even if there were critical financial questions: "Baptists should not fall into false charity of giving up their Baptist principles in order to be large minded."[23] He concluded his address with soothing but direct reference to the culture of Africa's teeming people:

> We have to preach the Gospel to the poor, the debased, and the needy - to shew its adaptability to the conditions and circumstances of all classes ... and that without any preparation, any natural finesse, the poorest and the most needy can obtain the blessing of eternal salvation. ... And it is for us to spread abroad the name of our Lord, so that the slaves of sin may be emancipated, the darkness of ignorance be driven back ... and Africa with its teeming people be won for Jesus.[24]

In 1884, there was a turn of events concerning Tshabo Mission. That is, while the English Baptists had not made a definite commitment to native work, the German Baptists decided to abandon this native mission. Rev. P. Riemer, pastor of German Baptist Church in Berlin, reported in the 1885 BU Assembly that: "One very sad event we have to record, and that is

[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[23] Ibid., pp. 7-12.
[24] Ibid., p. 13.

the dismissal of Bro. H. Brinkman from the native mission work, in which work he was engaged only for a very short time, after he had received an education of about four years' duration. In consequence of this sad experience, the church has become tired of experimentalizing [sic], and has abandoned the native missions at Tshabo now Berlin."[25]

The second BU president to address the BU's relation to native mission was Mr T. H. Grocott. Unlike the previous presidents, Grocott was not a pastor but a business person, as indicated before. In addition, it is through his publishing company named Grocott and Sherry, that the BU Handbooks were published. Like Batts, Grocott argued that mission to the natives was the responsibility of the Baptist Missionary Society, also referred to as the Parent Society, based in England. In his presidential address, in 1886, entitled: *Our Union*, Grocott stated: "While speaking of civilizing and Christianizing the heathen, I may remark that up to the present time, our [Baptist] Union has not attempted to extend its organization amongst the native races of this Colony. The Parent Society has not taken up South Africa as its mission field, but other religious bodies have for years nobly carried on this work."[26] Like Batt's preconceived notion of European superiority over against native inferiority, Grocott stated: "we wish them God speed in other noble efforts to raise and civilize the heathen of this land."[27] He then stated who these societies[28] were; "[whose] heroes bravely carried the Word of Truth to the heathen of this land - that Word which makes all men free, and which, ultimately, will join us into one Brotherhood."[29] But this "one Brotherhood" would remain in name only. While continuing his address, Grocott immediately warned that discussion on native matters is a "digression."[30] He returned, as a result, to his discussion on the Sustentation Fund, which of course implied that the Fund was for Europeans, since a discussion on natives was seen as a digression. His presidential address focussed on the growth of Baptist work among the whites; the salaries white ministers were paid; the benefit of Congregationalism; why Baptists are numerically weaker compared to other mission churches; and on the type of men needed for the Baptist ministry, but how stipends in the

[25] Minutes of 1885 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1885-1886, p. 27.
[26] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 6.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid. He stated that: "Amongst the first to establish missions in South Africa was the London Missionary Society, followed by the Presbyterian, Wesleyan and Episcopalians, some of whose pioneers are to be ranked among the worthies of the earth - viz., Robert Moffat, Dr Livingstone, William Shaw, and Bishop Merriman, men whose lives were spent in the Master's work." (Ibid., p. 9.).
[29] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 6.
[30] Ibid.

Colony did not induce popular men to leave England for the Colony.[31] Issues pertaining to white ministers' salaries and stipends, as discussed by Grocott in his address, will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

The tenth anniversary of the BU in 1887 brought a slight twist to BU's attitude to mission among natives. The discussion was initiated by Mr Howard, BU's Vice-President, who in his talk took a backward glance extending over thirteen years, including the three years prior to BU's formation, and found much cause for thankfulness in the progress made.[32] Mr Nuttall, member of the Examination Committee,[33] added however, with a reference to the great men that had been and were still among the Baptists that "with wise suggestions ... we should look carefully after the children in our churches, and take share in the work of secular education, and also of evangelizing the natives of this country."[34] Strikingly, in the same assembly, as it was the procedure during BU assemblies that deputations from other churches not Baptist should be acknowledged during the soiree: "The venerable father Edwards (Wesleyan) led the deputation up the aisle of the church. Its members were Hottentot, Kafir, Dutch, and British. They were introduced to our President, and heartily welcomed by him."[35] Rev. R. Matterson on behalf of the delegation[36] addressed the assembly. Unfortunately, Mr Nuttall's concern regarding the evangelization of the natives was never deliberated on.

In the same year, 1887, Rev Hugo Gutsche became the first German BU president. Given that the German Baptists were the first to start mission among the natives, with Gutsche as the new BU president, it could have been expected that he would devote sufficient attention to native mission in his presidential address. On the contrary, his address, entitled: *Our Need*, focussed on the temporal want (finance), the spiritual want (Christian faith to be visible and sensible), and an address to fellow labourers in the ministry.[37] Among some of the critical

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[31] Ibid., pp. 9-13.
[32] Minutes of 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 6.
[33] The structure of the BU during this time consisted of officers and three committees. The officers were: the President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer. The three committees were: Committee for Opening and Directing New Fields of Labour, the Examining Committee and the Publishing Committee. The election procedure was such that the vice-president from the previous year became the president of the BU in the new year (Ibid., p. i.).
[34] Minutes of 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, p. 6.
[35] Ibid.
[36] These were: "Frederick Manson, W. P. Rousseau, Barnabas J. Shaw, R. H. Richmond, Josiah Slater, C. A. Lombard, Oliver Carey, Sam. J. Helm, Henry Cotton, E. Lowden, John Edwards, John A. Chalmers, Eben Magaba, R. Ayliff, E. H. Coldrige, Abraham Cobus, Hen. Quilliban, Hendrick Abraham, Henry R. Wood, Robert Matterson, and E. J. Buchanan." (Ibid., p. 8.).
[37] Minutes of 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, pp. 9-18.

issues in his address, as indicated in the previous chapter, is the aspect of the effect of material things on Christians' lives. The only assembly resolution, moreover, concerning native mission was, rather, a temperance motion. It read: "That this Union, being aware of the terrible evils arising out of the drink traffic, and the great hindrance [sic] it proves to social order and all Christian work, earnestly hopes that the Government will reimpose a tax on ardent spirits, and prohibit the traffic in strong drink amongst the native races of this Colony."[38] More surprising, the Berlin and King Williamstown German churches in their reports to the assembly never made mention, unlike in their previous reports,[39] of their native mission work, which they were about to relinquish to the English Baptists.

In the following year, 1888, Rev James Hughes in his circular letter to the churches titled *Sympathy*, spoke of Baptists having been rescued "from the sinking ship, their first concern should be to rescue those who are left behind."[40] But this rescue, in Hughes' view, was not addressed to the natives. Sympathy was for "[the] Brethren, to cultivate a spirit of mutual sympathy among yourselves, and you will find the work of the Lord prospering to a greater extent than ever."[41] In elaborating on the nature of this sympathy, he argued that it was two-fold. That is, sympathy among members of the church and sympathy between the pulpit and the pew. The latter was about the sensitive and caring role of the minister vis-a-vis the church's responsibility towards their minister. The only time that this assembly discussed native work was when a resolution concerning Tshabo Mission was carried, which read: "That a Committee, consisting of the Revs H. Gutsche, H. J. Batts, and P. Riemer, be appointed to superintend the work of the Mission for the present year; that they procure at once the services of a Native teacher and establish a day school, and make application to Dr Dale for a grant in aid of the same."[42] This resolution became the first direct reference to the English Baptists' role in mission work among the natives.

4.2.2. South African Baptist discourse on kaffir culture and Christianity (1878-1892)

As indicated in Chapter 1, German Baptists working at Tshabo Mission station equated Kaffir clothing and its culture with heathenism; as a result, they had to request for old clothes from

[38] Ibid., p. 24.
[39] See for example: Reports of Churches and Statistics from 1880-1881, in BU Handbook for 1881-1882, pp. 9-10 and; Reports of Churches from 1884-1885, in BU Handbook for 1885-1886, pp. 16-17.
[40] Minutes of 1888 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1888-1889, p. 10.
[41] Ibid., p. 11.

Germany to clothe the natives and their children. They even passed a resolution that natives were not to attend church services in their raw heathenish costumes. With the advent of the 1878 "Kaffir" war, the mission station was closed. This however, resulted in no records of European Baptist work from 1878, a year after the founding of the BU, to 1888, either by the German or English Baptists, among the natives for which evidence regarding their attitude to native culture can be drawn. But in 1889, unlike previous years, BU assemblies started constructing the European Baptists' perception of the native and his culture. This construction was done as an attempt to better understand the native and his surrounding with the intent if justifying why Europeans related to natives the way they did. It started when Rev. G. W. Cross devoted his presidential address entitled *The Good Fight - A Reconnoitre and a Review*[43] to dealing with heathenism, moral indifference, the ritualistic tendency of the present day and how to combat all these.

Cross started his address by clarifying that: "Our Church is no hierarchy, we have no wealth to bestow nor do we crown one king within our spiritual city; we are a band of brothers, equals; our [Baptist] Union is a concord of sister churches; and it is the Presidential honour to be leader for the time being in the council and labours of this community without state and without emolument."[44] He further mentioned that "the President's duty [is] to be the leading of the brethren in counsel and in labour."[45] Therefore: "Before building we must survey; before marching we must find the *lie* of the land; before fighting we must reconnoitre."[46] Of interest to the present research, is the part starting with the exclamation: "Ah! This is the figure I prefer. We are builders, we are pioneers, but chiefly we are warriors - soldiers of Jesus Christ, - a corps of the Army of the living God. Not that the destructive aspect of our work is before me only. The Christian warrior's work is destructive merely that it may be constructive."[47] Continuing his address he asked: " But how goes THE GOOD FIGHT in this part of the world's broad field; WHAT FOES ARE OPPOSED TO US, AND WHAT FORCES CAN WE BRING TO BEAR AGAINST THEM?"[48]

Cross, in explaining what forces these are, stated that the assembly's meeting venue conjures

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[42] Ibid., p. 15.
[43] An ADDRESS, delivered at the 12th Annual Assembly of the Union of the Baptist Church of South Africa, in King Williamstown, June 10th, 1889, by the President, Rev G. W. Cross. (Ibid., pp. 8-21.).
[44] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 8.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

up this point. That is: "We are meeting this year in the capital of Kaffraria. The very word marshals me the way that I was going."[49] That is, "North of us and south, west and east are Kafirs, and the vast majority of them are heathen. Heathenism is the foe right before us, and with which perforce we must cope."[50] To expound on this, Cross contrasted two points of view on heathenism. That is, on the one hand, there is

> ... the *Romantic View*: it is taken from an eminence very far off and through glasses that play strange freaks with proportion, shape, and colour. It discerns Heathendom to be the true poetic Arcadia. There are larger constellations burning, mellow moons and happy skies, breadths of tropic shade and palms in cluster, knots, of Paradise. The heathen within it is the happy child of nature: iron-jointed, supple-sinewed, with nothing to do but to hunt, and dance, and hurl his lances in the sun, while his passions have ample scope and breathing space.[51]

Cross's description of the Romantic view is as ambivalent as Wesley's writing about the imagery of the savage as described by the Comaroffs who argued that the rising evangelical movement was somewhat ambivalent about such imagery. Ignorance of salvation clearly tainted the primitive paradise. But the critique of European worldliness appealed to Puritan sensibilities, and missionaries were hopeful that the savage wilderness might be made to yield a new Christian Arcadia.[52] As indicated in Chapter 2, travel accounts played a role in this discourse, in which craftsmen of imagery built the savage world as a stage on which to rehearse their largely domestic concerns, often making explicit the fact that their Eden was an illusory device. But it was from the same travel and exploratory literature that English romantic writers painted a picture of a non-European Eden, a picture that challenged those for whom enlightened Europe was the yardstick of perfection.[53] With time, the savage of English belles lettres became a syncretism, a careless composite of non-European colours and customs, hence for example, the confusion of Indian and African features. This sort of primitivist pastiche was an important source of popular images of Africa - a fabricated synthetic savagery drawn from a standardized myth. As the abolitionist campaign became more and more audible, this savage most often had a black face and an African identity, but he remained an impressionistic blend of circumstantial ethnographic detail. And, with

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[48] Ibid., p. 9.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid. Similarities to Cross's analysis are also found in Rousseau's discussion of the origin of inequality. In particular, his discussion of the differences between the savage man and the domesticated man. See Rousseau, J. J. 1992. *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, pp. 11-44.
[52] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 112.
[53] Ibid., p. 110.

predictable irony, his noblest features have a distinctively European shape.[54]

The Romantic view, according to Cross, has "often turned of late on heathen South Africa, and very strange to us are the [Arcadian] sights they have described."[55] On the other hand there is,

> ... a *Rash Philanthropy*. It also is taken through spectacles through which the heathen appears as an unsophisticated child of nature, everywhere outwitted and oppressed by the white man. His territory is taken, and one by one his liberties are filched from him, and he is as a sheep dumb before his shearers, a victim led as a lamb to the slaughter.[56]

Cross quickly repudiated this latter view: though it is "taken by many good, well-meaning people, ... it is absurdly wrong at almost every point."[57] Rather: "The heathen as we know him is not unsophisticated; he is anything but a dumb sufferer; and the rule of any civilized Government, or the service of almost any European master, confers more security and liberty on the native than he ever enjoyed under a chief of his own colour, and laws and customs of his own people."[58] Underlining both views is the infantilization of Africans. African men are portrayed as childlike. The natural other was afflicted by an absence of the qualities that characterized the adult white male ideal of European civilization. The adult black males were the "boys" whom the civilizing mission hoped to one day usher into moral manhood. And boys they would remain well into the age of apartheid, whether or not they actually became Christian. Even at their most subtle and well meaning, the various discourses on the nature of the savage pressed his (savage) immaturity upon European consciousness, adding to his race and symbolic gender yet a third trope of devaluation.[59]

Accompanying native infantilization was the colonists' campaign against "native idleness." The campaign against native idleness had pervaded the daily lives of Nonconformist missionaries from the outset. On their stations they took every opportunity to convey the meaning of wage labour - not least, of domestic toil. The Moffats, Presbyterian missionaries,

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[54] Ibid., p. 114.
[55] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 9.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 117.

for example, hired three maidservants early on.[60] Later the regular household staff grew to at least five. Their efforts were not always successful however: "If they are put to more work than what may be considered play, [the servants] immediately abandoned us, even thought nothing but starvation stares them in the face."[61] Labour, therefore, to the missionaries was the ultimate commodity in the moral economy of modern Protestantism. By its grace, physical production, long the source of righteousness worth for Christians, was enhanced through value added by the market. Diligent wage work had become a model for, and of, the believer's relation to God: it epitomized the voluntary contract and the just reward. It is hardly surprising, then, that the Nonconformists, for example, were quick to celebrate the readiness of some Southern Tswana to enter employment in the diamond fields.[62] Wookey wrote for example, that the Africans both "enrich[ed] their white neighbours and better[ed] their condition."[63] Therefore, the missionaries hoped that if Africans could be made to submit to wage labour, they might submit to the will of God.

These discourses and their constructs about the native each had their own institutional context and expressive forms. But each played off the others - often in productive discord - and this was conducive to an increasingly rationalized debate about the nature of civilization, the civilization of nature. And together, by virtue of both their format and their content, "they established the dark continent as a metaphysical stage on which various white crusaders struck moral postures."[64] The symbolic terrain of a rarely-seen Africa, then was being shaped by a cascade of narratives that strung together remotely "scientific facts" and poetic images - facts and images surveyed by an ever more revolving European eye. A new relationship between Europe and the dark continent developed. It was one of complementarity, opposition and inequality, in which the former stood to the latter as civilization to nature, saviour to victim, actor to subject. It was a relationship whose very creation implied a historical

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[60] See also Cock, J. "Domestic service and education for domesticity: The incorporation of Xhosa women into colonial society," in Walker, C. (1990). *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*. Cape Town: David Philip, pp. 76-96. In her analysis, Cock wrote: "Even in the best servant-employer relationships – those containing most concern and kindness, as in the Phillips family – the African servant was implicitly viewed as a child. The child analogy involves a fundamental denial of equality, and is often a component of racist, sexist and classist ideologies. There is a clear analogy between settler attitudes towards Africans on the Eastern Cape frontier and upper and middle-class attitudes towards the lower classes in contemporary Britain: qualities of irresponsibility, immaturity, excitability and emotionalism were attributed to both subordinate groups." (Ibid., p. 82.).

[61] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol 2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 197.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Wookey, A. J. *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*, 1884, p. 304, quoted in Comaroff, J & J. Vol. 2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 197.

[64] Achebe, C. An Image of Africa, in *Research in African Literatures*, p. 9, quoted in Comaroff, J & J. Vol. 1.

imperative, a process of intervention through which the wild would be cultivated, the suffering saved. Life would imitate the masterful gestures of art and science. The native would be brought into the European world, but as the recipient of a gift he could never return - except by acknowledging, gratefully, his own subordination. And in this colonizing project the Christian missionary would play a special role as agent, scribe, and moral alibi.[65] Among other things this missionary would perform was to produce a moral geography which animated missionary consciousness.[66]

Miller, in his work: *Blank Darkness*, further provides an insightful discussion of the native and his context. Firstly, in his analysis of the word "Africa," he states that the object "does not pre-exist itself"[67] but is constituted by every utterance of the word. Miller argues that there are two identities Europe conceived in its encounter with the non-European world. These are: perpetual identity and thought identity. Perpetual identity occurs when "a physical impulse ... seeks to re-cathect the mnemonic image of the perception and to revoke the perception of itself, that is to say, to re-establish the situation of the original satisfaction."[68] And thought identity "is nothing but a substitute for a hallucinatory wish."[69] That is, it has "abandoned its intention [of coinciding perpetually with a prior experience of satisfaction] and has taken on another in its place – the establishment of a thought identity [with that experience]."[70] According to Miller, it is the thought identity "[which is] what Europe attributes to itself in relation to the African's 'null' mode: Christianity with its symbols, opposed to idolatry with its fetishes."[71] Europe conceives of Africa as the direct, immanent, unself-conscious annulment of its (Europe's) own binary modes of thought.[72]

Why is the African and his context (Africa) a replica of Europe's binary modes of thought? Miller answers this question in his discussion on "Writing on the Void."[73] The Europeans' encounter with Africa and its inhabitants resembles darkness, and darkness provokes fright,

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Op. Cit., p. 87.
[65] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (1991). Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 88.
[66] Ibid., p. 89. See also Park, M. (1816). *Travels into the Interior Districts of Africa: Performed in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797. With an Account of a Subsequent Mission to the Country in 1805.* London: John Murray, p. xxix, quoted in Comaroff, J. & J. Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 89.
[67] Miller, C. (1985). *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 61.
[68] Ibid., p. 63.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., pp. 63-64.
[72] Ibid., p. 64.

fear and anguish. Further, the Europeans encounter with darkness is in itself, "the project [which] is a condemnation to futility, a mockery perpetrated by God." Therefore, "'To paint on the darkness' here means to be forced by the total authority of God to do something that is totally impossible."[74] Miller continues: "Without a single ray of light, the light-dependent project of painting is impossible; ... self-destructive ... and self-nourishing ... activity of painting in the dark. It both consumes and creates; yet its creation is empty. Darkness here is not a virgin surface but the void of space on which nothing can be imprinted, where any painting or writing would be reduced to an empty gesture."[75] For the subject (the European), is caught, according to Miller, in a "double bind [which] is perfect."[76] That is, he is "condemned and forced to consume himself in a task that cannot be performed."[77] Given this double bind, darkness, according to Miller, "would seem to have associated itself with an Other, transcendental light."[78] That is, the Other, in this case, is the subject, the European. Darkness, therefore, "is recuperated as blank canvas, no longer the all-consuming void of space but the possibility of creation on a virgin surface."[79]

As darkness (the native and his context) is associated with the Other (the European), there is projection onto darkness and "the transformation of darkness into a canvas."[80] Darkness becomes the Other, and the European retains his status as the subject. In other words, what takes place "is the work of subjectivity rather than intersubjectivity. The 'living beings' are the projected facets of the self, creatures of its desire and therefore familiar."[81] Further, the Other (the native) is reduced "to a pure figment of the self; [since] the subject alone produces the world he [the native] perceives, understanding rather than hearing any figures that he likes."[82] This, in addition, according to Miller, "[leads to] the gradual withering-away of intersubjectivity."[83]

> If the Other is thus effaced, it is not in favour of a fully constituted self coinciding with itself. We have seen that the eye and its counterpart, darkness, do not produce between them any

[73] Ibid., p. 82.
[74] Ibid., p. 83.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., p. 84.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., p. 85.
[83] Ibid.

> specular exchange; they mimic the specular mode while confounding appearance and disappearance, life and death, darkness and the blank (white) canvas. So when the mode shifts to "pure" projection, projection is revealed to be a primal perception where there is nothing to perceive, and the subject that engages in it, having no other subject but itself, creates itself in the void.[84]

Returning to Cross: in order to substantiate that the natives, or rather, the heathen natives enjoy more security and liberty under a European master or civil government, he contrasted in his presidential address the state of these natives to that of the poor English people in Britain. Firstly, "the heathen about us is infinitely better off than the poor of the vast cities at home."[85] Secondly, he has "ample scope and room enough."[86] This vastness of this unconquered terrain, in the Comaroff's view, overwhelmed the small-scale tidiness, the nice demarcations of the British ideal of spatial order.[87] Thirdly: "His wages more than suffice for his simple needs. He may build his house as large as he pleased, with materials close at hand, and it will cost little but labour."[88] Fourthly: "He can accumulate cattle, and if he has been a steady servant, the approach of old age finds him a wealthy man."[89] Lastly: "If he has left rural life for service in our cities; and so entering more to the centre of civilization finds his needs multiplied, his wages are increased, and in any case they more than suffice for his wants."[90] Cross again reiterated to the assembly to: "Contrast this with the state of the very poor at home."[91] Vividly, Cross imprinted on the minds of the delegates:

> Think of the sweater's dens; where girls and women toil for 16 hours out of the 24, in rooms reeking with dirt and pestilence. Think of the Poor-house at the end of labour. Think of land-grabbers and jerry-builders, who have filched away every breathing space and green thing from the poor, and thrown up their sheds which they name in mockery "gardens." God's green beneath and blue above are wiped out, and between the gutter and the smoke: "City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime. There among the glooming alleys progress halts on palsified feet; Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousand on the street. There the master scrimps the haggard seamstress of her daily bread; There a single sordid attic holds the living and the dead; There the smouldering fire of fever creeps across the rotted floor, And the crowded couch of incest, in the warrens of the poor." When we hear these things from home it

[84] Ibid., p. 87.
[85] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 9.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 174.
[88] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 10.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

is no wonder that we resent the interference from England of many so-called philanthropists with the indignant rejoinder "Cease to oppress the poor at your gates and to drive to heathenism the children who by heritage are Christ's."[92]

Against the backdrop of these two views, that is, the Romantic and the Philanthropic, and the secured and free lifestyle the natives enjoy, made possible by Europeans, compared to the poor whites in Britain, Cross like Davies in Chapter 1, exclaimed with disdain: "When we hear these things from home ... we resent the interference from England ... 'Cease to oppress the poor at your own gates and to drive to heathenism the children who by heritage are Christ's.'"[93] To counteract the Romantic and Rash Philanthropic views, and "outside" interference on native settler relations in the Colony, Cross provided the third view of the heathen "taken by some near at hand, that more than justifies the interference from any part of the world, of men who seek to be true and righteous."[94] This is because: "The spirit that enslaved the black man is not wholly dead among us [white people]."[95] Cross explains the nature of this spirit by quoting the story of Robert Moffat, the elder, who was once conducting family worship in the house of a rich Colonial farmer. Looking round at the assembled family he asked: "Where are the servants?"[96] His host replied -- "Oh! If that's what you want I'll whistle in the dogs and go to the krantz and get the baboons."[97] This, according to Cross, "is the spirit that expressed itself in the murder of Pelser, four years ago, and in the horrible murder of Jonas in this very district [of Kaffraria] a few month back. The blood of both victims still cries out for justice, and God hears, and will avenge. This is the spirit that made members of our Legislative Council pray--to whom?--against an Excise Bill, and it underlies the whole abominable drink traffic with the natives. Its voice is sometimes lifted up in our Parliament still, but "it is waxing weak, thank God! It is becoming feebler every year."[98]

Commencing his alternative view, that is, the third view of the heathen, Cross starts with a question: Who is this native? He then answers: "Neither an Arcadian nor an ape; not a fleeced lamb nor a dog, is the Native. He is a man and a brother. At the worst he is a man, at the best a heathen; or rather we should say at the worst a heathen, at the best a man, and noble traits of

[92] Ibid., p. 10.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.

manhood make themselves apparent in spite of Heathenism."[99] Cross therefore, unlike most Romantic writers as indicted before, does not categorize the native in an infant stage. However, Cross's "noble traits of manhood" should not allow us to misconstrue the fact that in Cross's view, the native is not solely an independent and complete man on his own. He needs the European to affirm his identity. Cross's argument is similar to James Stewart's, principal of Lovedale Institution, who for example, sarcastically reminded Jabavu, editor of *Imvo* newspaper, that Africans "were not yet good enough to write for themselves."[100] Later, in 1880, developing an argument during a meeting of the Lovedale Literary Society that the press was a precondition for the creation of a civil society among Africans, Stewart also argued:

> Before the educated portion of any people is qualified for the public position, there is generally a previous period of preparation, by the spread of intelligence and information; and one of the agencies for that purpose is the Newspaper. And so far as I am able to judge, that period of preparation has barely begun, and is being carried on ... it is chiefly by white men; ... the educated native young men of this country with one or two exceptions, have not thrown themselves into the preliminary work of diffusing information, or of qualifying themselves for higher positions, or preparing their less educated countrymen for exercising a right, and of obtaining a privilege they may reasonably one day enjoy.[101]

Ingrained in the language of Stewart and Cross was the characteristic political ethos of the settler public. That is, acceptance into manhood was through gradualism - an eventual arrival at adulthood by attaining a civilized status.[102] To date, natives in the Baptist Church were never part of its institutional leadership, an indication which implies they have not attained, according to Cross, the first step of this gradual process.

Expounding further on his third view of the heathen, Cross then posed the question: What then is Heathenism? According to Cross, it is a system like any other system. But what makes Heathenism a peculiar system is that: "We have lived long enough in contact with it to take stock of it. We are no longer surprised by its novelty, nor dazed by the glamour that plays about it of splendid physique and unchecked passions. We see the very pulse of the

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[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., p. 11.
[100] De Kock, L. (1996). *Civilizing the Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University, p. 109.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid., pp. 112-113.

machine."[103] There are three aspects, according to Cross, that constitute this system. Firstly, "it is EARTHLY. [That is,] it is wholly played out here on this bank and shoal of time. It takes no more thought of the morrow than do the ravens not because it seeks first higher things, but because it seeks nothing beyond this present; and being full and warm it is content. It has no memory and no hope. It cannot tell us whence it comes nor whither it tends. When it fights, it fights as the beasts of the forest, out of sheer lust for blood, or, in its own phrase, to flesh its assagais. I speak now of Heathenism unmitigated by contact with civilization. It never wars for an idea with cool courage, but with yells and bounds it fights for prey or for wantonness. Its god is its belly; it is wholly gross, unideal, earthly."[104]

Secondly, "it is SENSUAL."[105] That is, "the relationship sustained by the sexes to each other is frankly so. There is not a spark of chivalry in its treatment or estimate of woman. She is sold by her parents and bought by her husband. If she rebel, she is beaten into submission. She is made the drudge of the kraal. Her hands become horny and coarse, while her husband's remain small and delicate; her back is bowed with the burden. It seems to me that even parental and filial affection seldom rises out of the stage of instinct. The heathen woman's love for her offspring is fierce and demonstrative as that of a panther's, but I have never seen it pass into that higher form in which on the one side there is pride and on the other reverence, while tenderness trembles through both. Their feasts are orgies of drunkenness, gluttony and lust."[106] This description of the state of native women suggests, according to the Comaroffs,[107] the signifying economy of otherness which took in gender[108]

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[103] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 10.

[104] Ibid. See also Eveleigh, W. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1-4, who reiterates similar conclusions by Rev William Shaw about his contact with the Amagqunukwebe, the Fingoes and Bacas. For example, concerning the man: "The head of the family ... unless it be hunting season, or a quarrel with some neighbouring community, there is little to occupy the hands of the menfolk. They are much concerned about what they should put on, their only garment being the sheepskin karos."

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid. See also Eveleigh, W. *Op. Cit.*, p. 3, describing the state of native women recorded by William Shaw, a Methodist missionary, as follows: "The women-folk did most of the duties of the home; they cared for the children, cooked the food, prepared the beer for the consumption of their lord and his companions, and did most of the hoeing in the lands." Native feasts were still regarded as occasions of drunkenness, gluttony and lust, even by 1908, two decades after the formation of the SABMS. The 1908 BU Assembly recorded: "All reports from our Mission Centres depict the hindrance to all our work and the curses that rests upon the Native peoples through the increasing drinking habits of the people. ... The taste acquired at such times for 'white man's liquors' is not diminished on their return to their homes in native territories, with the result that Kaffir beer means Kaffir beer plus brandy with the orgies accompanying which defy description. And yes what the Missionaries do describe suggests scenes from Dante's Inferno."

[107] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 105.

[108] See also the following two articles by the author: Mogashoa, M. H. "Issues facing the church in a transforming world," in Msiza, P., Ndala, W., Nthane, J. & Bhoyi, T. (1999). *Equipping the Saints for Ministry Beyond 2000.* Pretoria: Daan Roux, pp. 9-35; Mogashoa, M. H. "South African Baptist Congregationalism

as well as race. Biology was invoked to explain the division of labour already established in the economy. The ideology of the enlightened free market might celebrate equality and generic humanity but its material practices sanctioned the exploitation of whole categories of people, usually on the basis of "natural" distinctions like race and sex. Such stigmatising signs often come to imply each other: in late eighteenth century images of Africa, the feminisation of the black other was a potent trope of devaluation. The non-European was to be made as peripheral to the global axes of reason and production as women had become at home. Both were vital to the material and imaginative order of modern Europe. Yet both were deprived of access to its highest values. Biology again provided the authoritative terms for this simultaneous process of inclusion and disqualification.[109]

Thirdly, Heathenism "is DEVILISH."[110] That is, "the Heathenism about us is nothing short of diabolic in its *amaquetta* and *intonjani* rites; its smelling out and its witch-craft. It believes in an unseen power, but that power is wholly evil. A man has been known to murder a babe that he might anoint himself with its warm blood, and so qualify to practice witch-craft. Watch a party of Kafirs on the *trek*; the men, unburdened, stride in front driving the cattle then come the woman and children, the woman carrying their mats and utensils, then last of all and most heavily laden, an old woman; she can hardly go beneath her burden, her face betokens misery and wretchedness in the extreme. Dark and unlovely is the old age of a heathen mother. Ill-clad, underfed, o'er laboured, the jest of the younger, undesired and uncared for. Oh! bitter are the dregs in her cup of life. Murdered babe and abandoned mother! The system that begets them is devilish."[111]

Despite the fact that the native is caught in Heathenism, which according to him is earthly,

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taking shape: the role of race, gender, money and power in the formative decade of the South African Baptist history (1877-1886)," in *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, June 1999, pp. 85-111. In both articles, the author presents the status of women in the formative decade, 1877-1886, of the Baptist Church of South Africa. The thrust of his argument extracted from the first article (Ibid., pp. 24-25) is: "In the list of attendees for the BU Assemblies from 1877-1886, only males are recorded. Ministers, elected BU officials, personal and honorary members were all males. To be precise, they were all English white males except a few German representatives. This explains why these addresses were written as addressed to the Christian males only. Women were only mentioned once. It is in church bazaars, raising funds for the church buildings. But with regards to their role in the BU Assemblies, they are nowhere to be found. Given the secondary role ascribed to women in the Baptist 'family,' it can be assumed that during the annual assemblies, accommodation and food were organized by women, whose identity is obscured when the vote of thanks is addressed to the pastor [of the hosting church] and 'all' who prepared to host the assembly."

[109] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 105.

[110] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 11.

[111] Ibid., pp. 11-12. See also Eveleigh, W. *Op. Cit.*, p. 4, concerning the awful terrible power of the witchdoctor as described by Rev William Shaw.

sensual and devilish, Cross concludes that regardless of Heathenism's hold on the Kafir, "the Kafir is heroic in suffering with mental faculties marvellously acute, only shows the native dignity of manhood, the Kafir being as we have said a man."[112] Manhood, in Cross's view, is divided into one kind for the natives and another for the Europeans. But exacerbating the heathenish state of the native in the Colony was the moral indifference arising out of the materialistic tendency of "our age and environment."[113] In the Cape: "Our [European] churches are well organized: for churches of their size they are fairly wealthy: our members are intelligent, and we are very respectable, but we lack ardour. We are like a fire, overlaid with its own ashes. ... It just sustains itself but it warms nobody, it cheers nobody, it ministers to nobody. ... Why is it, as a general thing, we have less enthusiasm here than there is at home? I say as a general thing, for not we alone have to lament this, all religious organizations are painfully conscious of it. ... Associations for social reform and mental culture suffer from the same lack, and politics, that subject on which Britons in Britain burn even down to old age, kindles here only a fire of straw, and that, I fear, is more frequently fanned by personal animosities or worldly interests than by pure patriotism."[114]

Cross lists a number of factors to explain the cause of this. Mankind firstly prefers that which is natural, then that which is the spiritual. That is, Europeans are concerned with the young Cape Colony as compared to the other more developed regions. As a result, those who came had "little more than skill, a brave heart, and a hard hand, soon perceive[d] that the conditions of life are altered. ... Here are no hereditary wrongs called rights; nor, at present, a combination of capital against labour: a man can get all that he earns. The new settler sees the possibility of rising, and of rising rapidly; vistas of boundless wealth open before him; he sees men, just such as himself, becoming rich beyond the dreams of avarice. To prosper and rise in the social scale becomes his laudable ambition."[115] As a result, according to Cross, the settler "is in contact with that heathenism which is wholly worldly, and too often the finesse of his moral sensibility is dulled by dealing with it. Then to become rich becomes his sole aim. To achieve it he bends all his powers, directs all his conduct, employs all his thoughts. He foreswears religion, or changes his church for one that will introduce him into a higher social circle, or he joins a congregation for the mere sake of his business interest. This, in too

[112] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 12.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[115] Ibid., p. 13.

many instances, is the story of a colonization."[116] Frankel argues however that for the unskilled European, Africa did not offer considerable opportunities. Large streams of emigrants consisted mainly of the poor; they emigrated to seek for better opportunities; they desired to find in the country of their adoption an economic and social ladder which, beginning as labourers at the bottom, they could hope to climb so as to reach the independence it offered at the top. In Africa, owing to the presence of the indigenous population there was, in general, no such ladder.[117]

During Cross's presidency, the discovery of gold since 1884 on Witwatersrand was the economic fever of the day. It had been preceded by the discovery of diamonds in 1867 at Kimberley.[118] According to Cross: "What was but a short time ago a 'wilderness in which were few or none to scare or chase the beast,' has now become a long series of camps and cities."[119] Men poured into them from all sides, eager, ready "to brave disease in strange sharp forms, and deceit and violence unknown in other centres of men: and all for the crudest, most unideal form of wealth."[120] As a result: "The itinerating evangelist of to-day is well-fed and well-dressed: he speaks a strange speech in the ear or bellows it in the exchange. The evangel he brings is of gold and silver and lead."[121] His script "is engraved 'The Great She.'"[122] Furthermore, "his most extravagant utterances are eagerly believed - in this age of scepticism."[123] That is, "while he winks and whispers of the 'sharp practice' and positive lying and cheating by which he has discovered and obtained, and then concealed his treasures, he is implicitly trusted by men who refuse to receive the witness of Paul and of John."[124] And frustratingly for Cross, "this is the age of Light! God pity it."[125] It is no wonder that Cross had to conclude his discussion on moral indifference, by noting the fact that a number of European Baptist ministers who came to the Colony left ministerial work for commercial activity, with the statement: "Brethren! let it be said and said forever - 'The love of money is the root of all evil.'"[126]

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[116] Ibid., pp. 13-14.
[117] Frankel, S. H. (1938). *Capital Investment in Africa: Its Course and Effects.* London: Oxford University, p. 38.
[118] Magubane, B. *Op. Cit.*, p. 53.
[119] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 14.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.

Making matters worse was another foe, in this case, "the effect of the wave of materialistic science and Positive Philosophy, which as a hushing and babbling of rivers and rills in far inland spaces, has passed over this land also."[127] This was Philosophy, who "like the flying ant of this country, has dropped her wings to hobble after physical science. Nothing is credible that cannot be known. Thought is a finer form of matter, pity and grief merely a motion thereof, love and conscience only the cunning methods by which matter perpetuates and protects itself!"[128] Cross clarified, however, that "neither does he [Cross] scorn philosophy nor rail at science. But he will however, "resist them when they would bandage my eyes from looking upwards."[129] He also asserted: "My soul shall have a skylight. There are boundless realms beyond the comprehension of science."[130]

The last of the foes Cross mentioned was the ritualistic tendency of the present day. What happens is that, "it hardens beautiful symbols into rites having virtue in themselves."[131] What has become of these symbols, for example, is that Regeneration is seen as a material process: unconscious babes are born again by a mumbling they cannot understand and a sprinkling of water. It ignores the necessity of regeneration by the Spirit. It declares Christ to be in the Priest's hand as soon as he has consecrated the bread of the Sacrament. To substantiate his argument, Cross narrates a personal experience during which, in his words: "I was told by one of its priests that, because I had never received that bread, I had not received Christ, and that, because I had not received the imposition of a Bishop's hand, I was incapable of receiving Christ. I have never observed that it insists on a Christ-like character, but its priests are fearfully and wonderfully dressed. ... It proselytizes secretly, and is arrogant while it appears humble. I must here insist that I am describing a system and not men."[132]

By way of counteracting these foes, Cross appealed to the assembly to: "Remember [that] we fight to save. We fight not man - 'We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.' ... We comprehend these things only because we are capable of them. ... The weapons of our warfare and its spirit must not be carnal."[133] He further went on

[127] Ibid., p. 15.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid., pp. 15-16.
[133] Ibid., p. 17.

to outline an answer to Ritualism, which he also refers to as Priestcraft, and its related Sacramentarianism. These responses, however, will not be dealt with in this work, but only the factors that Cross saw as sustaining Heathenism. The response that matters in this work is Cross's proposal regarding how Baptists should respond to Heathenism. For a start, the Baptist position in South Africa "with regard to this foe has been hitherto determined for us by the action, or rather inaction, of our great Missionary Society at home."[134] That is: "Our Society has said that it leaves the Mission-field of South Africa to be occupied by other denominations. If it rests contented so to do, it is very wrong, if it is obliged by straitness it is a pity."[135] Cross warned in his address that "neither civil power nor education can conquer Heathenism."[136] Furthermore: "Heathenism is as rampant in our cities as in its kraals. The arm of Law, having regard to public decency, may put down some of its grosser manifestations, but it is there."[137] Why? It is because: "The Kafir breaks out ever and anon, or escapes for a period to his unholy rites and obscene feasts."[138] With a subtle religious tone infused with political intentions, Cross cited the proverbial cliche that: "It has been said a thousand times, 'you cannot make men sober by Act of Parliament.'"[139] This was uttered with "regard to [the] recent legislation [which] we might say, Acts of Parliament do not seek to make men sober. But let the sober be changed for moral and the importance of legislation stands confessed. You cannot make men moral by law."[140]

The role of civil power, even though colonial, to maintain public decency was also acknowledged by the mission educated native elite, for example, Jabavu and Plaatjie. Both believed in a "teleology of ultimate justice and equality founded on the figure of the British Crown. This teleology was buttressed by what one may term, ... a narrative of legitimation (a master narrative governing the social bond), in terms of which the British constitutionality, validated by Christianity, would maintain and protect the rights of its subjects, regardless of colour or origin."[141] Missionaries therefore saw the British empire as the divinely appointed instrument for the spread of civilization, which meant that "they saw the extension of the empire was the extension of human rights."[142] A *Pax Britannica* in which British values

[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid., p. 18.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] De Kock, L. *Op. Cit.*, p. 111.
[142] Ibid.

might flourish. On a global scale, "African faith in the British system was reinforced by the international forces of the nineteenth century humanitarian movements, especially the Aborigines Protection Society and the Brotherhood Movement in England."[143] Like the missionaries and Africans, the aborigines believed in a universal "Empire of Man," in trusteeship and in the progressive perfectability of people. These movements conceived "the Africans, Indians, Maoris, and aborigines as integral parts of a universal imperial community which was to be patterned along British culture, institutions, values, and socio-economic classes."[144] Consequently, the native elite "aspired to become secure denizens of the nineteenth-century British liberal universe - a universe of freedom and equality under the common law, of secure property rights and entrepreneurial vigour."[145]

Concerning the insufficiency of education to make the native moral, Cross challenged the assembly that: "You often hear Colonists say that school Kafirs are the worst of Kafirs."[146] He responded that this is one of those half-truths that are ever more mischievous than whole lies. Education, according to Cross, "is the culture of what force or faculty is within, and it makes a man better or worse according as that is bad or good to begin with."[147] Interestingly, in Cross's view: "An accomplished rogue is more dangerous than a roguish boor, whether his skin be white or black."[148] For example: "Dr. Palmer was as much the product of education as the Kafir who told you a lie in excellent English; but you do not withhold education from your own son because he may thereby become a skilful poisoner. But still, the fact remains, that education, or, as the moderns like to phrase it, culture, however skilfully directed can never supply a faculty, either mental or moral, that is lacking."[149] According to Cross: "It is a new heart that our poor humanity, white or black, wants."[150]

Besides civil power and education (culture), there is also the view, according to Cross, that "the natural civilizer [of the native] is Commerce."[151] This happens when: "The trader goes to the savage and shows him the use of iron, and straightaway he flings away his flint and makes him discontented with skins; a plough, and he becomes tired of a sharpened stake or mattock;

[143] Ibid., p. 113.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 18.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.

so by creating desire he excites industry, and by increasing the needs of uncivilized man he forces him to develop skill to supply them."[152] Cross, with surprise, exclaimed: "What a beautiful theory! How does it work out in practice? Trade goes with red clay as willingly as with cotton cloth, with guns as willingly as with ploughs, with brandy rather than with books."[153] For Cross: "By the brandy and gin of Commerce Heathendom is set on fire of Hell. How often does the trader degrade degradation and become himself degraded? John Dunn the trader becomes John Dunn the savage."[154]

But according to David Livingstone, the missionary and the trader were mutually dependent. In his *Missionary Travels*, he claimed to have never came in contact with an evangelist who traded, but made disparaging mention of "two of the Wesleyan Society who had left the church to become full-time speculators. He himself was accused by the Boers of gun-running. But then, on the frontier, the lines between prestation, purchase, and profit were very fine indeed. And often in dispute."[155] Regardless of this, Wesleyan missionaries in their first encounter with the Africans were perceived by Africans as merchants. They too proceeded almost immediately to transact beads, axes, and spears for stock. The Nonconformists however, gave out goods for purposes other than trade. Early on, they dispensed tobacco, beads, and buttons to encourage goodwill, only to find that material rewards came to be expected in return for attending church and school. Yet one thing was widely recognized: that whites controlled desirable objects. As a result, they soon became uncomfortable victims of determined efforts to acquire those objects. Their correspondence declared that Africans of all stations, even dignified chiefs, were inveterate beggars; that they persistently demanded items like snuff, which the missionaries were assumed to have in large supply; and that their behaviour violated Protestant notions of honest gain.[156]

The founding evangelists, according to the Comaroffs, shared a trust in the civilizing force of trade. Some believe that the very "sight of a shop" on mission ground did wonders to arouse savages to industry. The equation of civilization with commerce might have become one of the great cliches of the epoch, but for the Nonconformists it was far from a platitude. The point was not to create an exploitable dependency, although that did happen. Nor was it

[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol 2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 182.
[156] Ibid., p. 183.

simply to play on the base desire to make people give ear to the Gospel, although that happened too. It sunk much deeper. Trade had a capacity to breach "the sullen isolations of heathenism,"[157] to stay the "fountain of African misery."[158] All this made the material reform an urgent moral duty. That is why, as early as 1828, John Philip was quick to condemn those concerned only with talking from the pulpit; those who deemed everything connected with industry and the elevation of the people carnal and alien to the propagation of the gospel.[159]

Beck[160] concluded that the evangelists introduced more European goods than any other whites in the 1820's. In light of his conclusion, it is worth noting that about the same time, the first German Baptists' work, in particular that of Carl Pape, it was ensured that native converts were to wear European clothes and never come to church services in their raw heathenish attire.[161] Furthermore, their dealings eroded the local desire for beads and buttons in favour of a more complex array of wants, primarily domestic commodities such as clothes, blankets, and utensils. This transformation entailed far more than the mere provision of objects by the Nonconformists. Changing patterns of consumption grew out of a shift in ideas about the nature, worth, and significance of particular things in themselves, which in turn, was set in play by the encounter of very different currencies of value. Thus even where their uses seemed obvious, goods were given meaning in ways not reducible to utility alone; often, moreover, they were put to purposes which made the Europeans uneasy.[162] Against this backdrop, relations between merchants and evangelists were not always smooth. For example, Livingstone while writing about traders in general complained that merchants "resented the evangelists, suspecting them of driving up the price of African goods; they raised an 'outcry' if 'they could see ... any missionary buy a sheep or a karos from a Native.'"[163] Yet the merchants, men of mammon among the missionaries, were indispensable in the effort to reform local economies by hitching them to the colonial market - and to the body of corporate nations beyond.[164]

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[157] Livingstone, D (1940:255; 1961:258; 1857:34) quoted in Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 181.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 181.
[160] Beck, R. B. Bibles and Beads: Missionaries as Traders in Southern Africa in the Early Nineteenth Century. *Journal of African History*, 30: pp. 211-225, quoted in Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 184.
[161] See Chapter 1.
[162] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 184.
[163] Livingstone, D. *David Livingstone: Family Letters 1841-1856*. 2 vols. (edited by I. Schapera. London: Chatto & Windus), p. 152, quoted in Comaroff, J. L., & Comaroff, J. (1997).Vol 2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 185.
[164] Comaroff, J. L., & Comaroff, J. (1997). Vol 2. *Op. Cit.*, p. 186.

In concluding his arguments, Cross reminded the Baptist assembly that the neglect of the Christian duty meant "to any Christian Church weakness and unrest. Neglect avenges itself."[165] Worst, "the heathen conquers where he is not conquered."[166] At the same time, he reminded the assembly that: "Wheat and tares may grow together, but Civilization and Barbarism cannot live side by side, nor can spiritual religion and heathen morals. One must kill the other."[167] This was a decisive statement regarding the preconceived views both the English and German Baptists were to hold towards the natives and their culture, either in doing mission among them or in how they were to further perceive them. Accompanying Cross's decisive statement was his caution concerning the effect of Heathenism on the European children. In a rebuking tone, he stated: "We are not sufficiently mindful of the influence the presence of this thing [called Heathenism] has upon our children. They [our children] grow up in contempt of human beings, and are made familiar with a gross life at a time when they are most receptive. A child goes forth and all that he looks upon becomes a part of him. There are some things that defy even to know."[168] Therefore, the perception of the native as heathenish was also to be taught to European children in Sunday Schools, with the purpose of causing them to labour and deny themselves for the salvation of the Kaffir, which Cross articulated as follows: "Let us foster in our children an enthusiasm for humanity and to labour and deny themselves for this salvation. Every Sunday school ought to have its mission [to the natives]."[169]

In the afternoon of the morning during which Cross read his presidential address: "A general report [on Tshabo Mission] was read by Revs P. Riemer and H. J. Batts, and also by John Adams, Native Evangelist and Teacher in charge of the Mission."[170] This became the first record by a native Baptist worker addressing the BU assembly. The report was "cordially received"[171] and "the Brethren expressed their gratitude to Almighty God for the success which had thus far attended their first Mission work [under German Baptists] in South Africa."[172] Accompanying the reception of the report was a statement, implicitly in the tone of a master narrative, which read: "Advice was tendered the Evangelist by several members of the assembly, who urged that in all matters requiring counsel and guidance he should seek

[165] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 18.
[166] Ibid
[167] Ibid., p. 19.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid., p. 26.
[171] Ibid.

the advice of the Sub-Committee."[173] In the same assembly on Wednesday morning, June 12, the following resolution was unanimously carried: "That every Church connected with this [Baptist] Union be requested to make a collection (say once a year) on behalf of Mission work among the aborigines, and the interest of the children in our [European] Sunday schools be drawn to this work; Tshabo Mission to have the first claim upon the proceeds of this collection."[174] The assembly closed by "electing Revs H. Gutsche, P. Riemer and H. J. Batts as a committee in charge of Tshabo Mission,"[175] of whom it was expected that John Adams would seek their counsel and guidance.

The following year, in 1890, a collection in aid of new native missions, during the public service on the first day of the assembly, was held.[176] To emphasize the distinction between mission work among natives in contrast to mission among the Europeans, and to stress that European Sunday Schools were to show sympathetic interest to the heathen natives on their door steps, the assembly resolved in light of the report presented by Revs H. J. Batts and P. Riemer that it "receives with devout thankfulness to God this most encouraging report of our mission to the heathen, desires to thank the members of the Committee for fostering care, and commends this work to the sympathy and practical support of our churches and Sunday Schools."[177] These yearly reports, though they seem insignificant in substance, were nonetheless important in imprinting on the Europeans' "superior consciousness," both in the Colony and abroad, how greater efforts were needed in destroying Heathenism. The only matter concerning Tshabo Mission station during this assembly that needed attention was: "That the question of treatment of Christian Polygamists be considered at our next meeting, with the decision of the B.M.S. before us."[178] At its next meeting in 1891, it was tabled: "In answer to our enquiry about the method taken by the Baptist Missionary Society's agents with regards to the polygamous converts, the following letters have been received:"[179]

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[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid., p. 27.
[174] Ibid., p. 31. Surely, these children would be supervised by European adults whom Cross challenged to be "mindful of the influence this thing [called Heathenism] has upon [them]" (Ibid., p. 19).
[175] Ibid., p. 33.
[176] Minutes of 1890 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 5.
[177] Ibid., p. 14.
[178] Ibid., p. 16.
[179] Ibid. See for example, a copy of the letter from the secretary of the Baptist Union of Britain, written in 1891, in Volume Three (Appendices).

4.3. Native converts and formation of the SABMS
4.3.1. Native mission education and ministers' training (1877-1892)

As mentioned in the discussion concerning the 1888 assembly, the Government Inspector, Mr Ely, was to assess and report about Tshabo Mission's reception of government funding, and this he did during the subsequent BU Assembly, December 1889. According to the report, the government saw fit to withdraw the grant of £30 to Tshabo Mission due to the unsatisfactory state of affairs at Tshabo, as mentioned in the Inspector's Report. To explain the situation, the Tshabo Mission report lists two reasons for the poor attendance at the School when the inspector visited it. Firstly: "It was ploughing time after a long period of drought,"[180] and as a result, only four children were in attendance when the inspector, Mr Ely, arrived. Secondly: "The people are not as yet educated to see the necessity of sending their children to school, and those who understand native work tell us it will be a long time before educational work is valued and understood by the people at Tshabo."[181] Due to the loss of the grant, the Tshabo Mission Committee decided "to make an appeal to churches and to individuals who were supposed to be interested in mission. But as yet, no help has come though it is sadly needed."[182] The reasons advanced explain much about the cultural aspects associated with mission education. Firstly, mission education was seen by native adults as either depriving them of or secondary to the subsistence life their children were supposed to contribute to. Secondly, missionaries and colonial authorities perceived themselves as the only custodians of education and held that natives could not by themselves educate their children. In other words, education in the missionaries and colonialists' view, was only obtained from a mission or colonial school.

Depressing as the situation was to the committee that European churches never responded positively to a call by a Europeans-only committee, the committee reported nonetheless that: "we have great pleasure in reporting a spiritual success under the ministration of our evangelist, John Adams. In this respect he is proving himself [as] a very earnest and useful man, and a number of people have, under his ministry, given themselves for Christ."[183] This spiritual success, delayed as it may seem, was because: "For some time past the evangelist has been greatly concerned about the subject of Believer's Baptism; and several interviews

[180] Minutes of 1890 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 20.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Minutes of 1890 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 20.

between him and the Committee have taken place."[184] However: "No influence has been brought upon him in relation to this subject; [but] he has thought it out for himself."[185] The result is, he became "a believer in scriptural baptism, he has taught it to his converts, the result being that on Thursday, May 15 [1890], your Committee visited the station and baptized John Adams, his wife and eight other persons, all of whom bore excellent testimony as to their faith in Jesus Christ and their belief in the New Testament."[186] John Adams, his wife and the other eight persons became the founding members of "the Tshabo native church of baptized persons."[187] During the baptismal service, "the Lord's Supper [was] administered, - and all of your Committee taking part in the service with a number of European friends for the German and English Kaffraria Churches."[188] This newly formed church, was recommended by the Tshabo Mission Committee to "be under the care of the Mission Committee, or any other committee which might be appointed."[189] Like the first Baptist native converts, who were of Hottentot origin and who were made to remain under the care of German Baptists, the same was done to the Tshabo converts by the English Baptists. As discussed before, this indefinite care under the Germans was however challenged when these Hottentot natives tried to form a separate church under native leadership. Like the German Baptists, the English Baptists also placed the natives under their indefinite care through the European-only Tshabo Mission Committee. These natives were to remain under European leadership even beyond the period (1948) under study.[190]

It is from the Tshabo Mission report that the first indication of a native salary in the BU minutes appears, wherein it is recorded that the evangelist's salary for the BU's financial year 1889-1890 was £43.13s.11½d. During the 1891 assembly, the Tshabo committee reported that: "Since the last report was submitted conversion work has gone on and eight believers have been added to the Lord, both men and women."[191] As was the case in the first report of the committee, this time also, some members of the committee visited the station, met the candidates presented by John Adams, the evangelist; carefully examined them in the presence

[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Minutes of 1890 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 20.
[187] Ibid., p. 21.
[188] Minutes of 1890 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 21.
[189] Ibid.
[190] A similar conclusion was reached in: Mogashoa, M. H. Black Baptists merely loaned leadership: An historical survey of native leadership in the Baptist Church of South Africa 1869-1944, in Nthane, J., Ndala, W. & Mogashoa, H. (2001). *Leading your church towards holistic growth*. Pretoria: Daan Roux, pp. 33-69.
[191] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 38.

of the Christians on the station; and then baptized them and received them into fellowship. On three different occasions this was the case. On the first, four were baptised, and on the second and third visits, two were baptized, respectively."[192] These events mean that Adams, an evangelist at the station, could not induct converts into the church, which he was instrumental in founding. In addition to the work of the Mission Station itself, "a great deal of good work is done by the Evangelist in the surrounding kraals."[193] About this, "his own report will speak, as also in relation to the reorganization of the Day School."[194] Thus: "Your Committee feel that the time has come for some definite recognition of this, as a part of the [Baptist] Union work."[195] But "hampered by the want of funds, it has been found difficult to meet the expenses, and the Treasurer's statement will show you the precise position,"[196] which was discussed under the section: Natives and finance (1878-1892).

Concerning the training of the native ministers, for a start, native Baptist workers were not yet accorded the title of minister. It was only in the early 1930's that they were referred to as ministers, according to the SABMS records.[197] Secondly, there was no Baptist training institution in the country, let alone one for native workers. On the one hand, most of the white ministers who came into the country, arrived as trained and qualified ministers. On the other hand, native workers who performed ministerial duties, though with limitations, were trained at non-Baptist training institutions, for example, John Crawford, who was a graduate of Lovedale Institution, a Presbyterian training institution. After the failed attempt by a group of five and himself to form a native led church, their role in South African Baptist history disappeared into thin air. Following their, rather short, story written records indicate that those natives who worked at Tshabo primarily for mission education, were also given the task of overseeing native converts, under the guidance of Europeans. Only two persons, after John Crawford, performed this task. They were James Mangane and a certain Mr Stofile (see Chapter 1). Mr Stofile seems to have also been a graduate, judging by the fact that he served Tshabo for a short while and immediately secured a job as a clerk at Alice, while for Mr Mangane, there is no similar evidence whether he was a graduate or not. This also applies to John Adams.

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[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] See: Mogashoa, M. H. Black Baptists merely loaned leadership: An historical survey of native leadership in the Baptist Church of South Africa (1869-1944), in Nthane, J., Ndala, W. & Mogashoa, H. (eds.). (2001).

In 1891, the first report concerning Tshabo by John Adams, also the first ever by a native Baptist worker, the executive wished pertaining it that "space would permit of its publication *in extenso*, and in the quaint English of its author."[198] But the executive further wrote: "We must, however, condense [it] severely."[199] In it, it is reported:

> The operations are conducted at a central station, where a Church has been formed of 18 members, and at the outstations at convenient kraals. There are regular Sunday services, three each Sunday, a Sunday School taught by Mrs. Adams and some of the more advanced scholars. A Young Men's Missionary Association; a Women's Prayer Meeting, and a day school. There is great interest shewn in the services, the average attendance being 50. The members stand well up to the present time. May God preserve them. The chief obstacles to the work are beer-drinking and the abominable Abakweta and Intonjani rites. The beer-drinking sometimes interrupts their kraal services, and the Abakweta dances greatly thinned the Sunday School. They need Bibles for this school. A service is held on Wednesday, a women's prayer meeting on Thursday, and a general prayer meeting on Friday. There is a day school with 23 names on the roll, but as yet the attendance is too precarious to enable us to secure a Government grant.[200]

Tshabo mission education, which included Sunday and Day schools, played a very important role in transforming native culture. Firstly, those who attended these schools were exposed to the Christian gospel which was accompanied by isolation of the natives from their culture, which was perceived as heathen. This is the reason the report did not shy away from mentioning beer drinking, Abakweta and Intonjani rites as obstacles. Secondly, the schools were part of the broader attempt by the European government to civilize the natives. This explains why they could secure government grants provided they had the required number of students on the roll. Thirdly, the bible, the strongest symbol of Christianity in a colonial encounter, meant that possession of one affirmed the literacy characteristic of civilization, implied a conscious attempt to disassociate from the heathenism of native culture, and made the native to be in possession of something distinctive and often set apart from the inferior Other(s). In fact, such a native attained in comparison to these Other(s), a civilized humanity rather than the barbarism and savagery that characterized native identity. Let us recall from the first Chapter the incident of the first native "led" church which was lent a bible. Unfortunately, this church was soon extinct, thus making it impossible to find evidence of

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Leading Your Church Towards Holistic Growth. Pretoria: Daan Roux, pp. 33-69.
[198] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 47.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.

how they used this bible, either to confirm their subservience or to subvert it. The same happened with John Adam's report, which was severely condensed, among other editorial processes.

Other factors that the report highlights are aspects that were to become the main features of native mission work. For example: a Women's prayer meeting, a Men's Association, though in this report it is referred to as the Young Men's Missionary Association, Day School education, Sunday School education, government grants for day school education, and statistics concerning the registered number of church members compared to those actually attending these church services. Interestingly, in the minutes of the same assembly, for the first time detailed ecclesiastical returns per church were made, a practice which was continued in subsequent years. These ecclesiastical returns included a profile list of the branch churches and main stations, number of sittings, number of helpers, causes for either decrease or increase of membership, total number of members in the previous year compared with the current one, and the number of scholars attending the Sunday School and teachers teaching them.[201] Furthermore, the chief obstacle towards total native conversion as listed in this report, also set a precedent concerning the mentioning of such obstacles in future reports.

The secretary of the BU executive, Rev G. W. Cross, reporting on the 1892 assembly remarked, retrospectively, concerning Tshabo Mission:

> Then the meeting should have been closed, but the presence of the Native Evangelist having been notified by one of the speakers, there were loud calls for John Adams. As he came forward he received a veritable ovation. He looked very ill, and spoke hoarsely. He was slowly recovering from a severe attack of influenza. He told of his method of work among his heathen brethren, of their manners and customs, of their wondering reception of the Gospel, - but especially spoke of the ravages of drink among them. "Our people" he cried, "are being ruined by [the] drink - ruined by [the] drink."[202]

Sympathetic as the report sounds, though in a different tone compared to that used by John Adams concerning the Tshabo mission, the same argument can be raised concerning his address to the assembly. That is, just as John Adams's report was edited and had to be

[201] For example, Tshabo Mission is recorded to have kraals as its branches, with a total of 50 sitting places in its place of worship. There are 2 helpers in the church. Membership in the previous year was 10 while in the current year is 18. Its Sunday School has 5 teachers with 23 scholars registered (Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, pp. 48-49.).

reported by a member of a European-only Tshabo Mission Committee, in this case, John Adams' address was being reported by Cross. Cross, former BU president who once spoke on the "Good Fight,"[203] and was by this period serving as secretary of the BU Committee. More astonishing, Adams was not part of the planned assembly proceedings but his presence was "notified by one of the speakers."[204] His presence should not obscure the fact that the natives were not part of the annual BU assemblies or its structure. His role was limited only to running Tshabo Mission under the care of a Europeans-only Tshabo Mission Committee.

4.3.2. Other pioneers of native mission work

English Baptist work among the natives started without any specific initiative or coordination by the BU. For example, during the 1883 assembly, Rev H. T. Cousins reported on behalf of the Port Alfred Church that "the Native Church under my charge has also shown signs of prosperity. In addition to the 15 members from the late Rev. Mr. Smit's Church in Grahamstown, five have been brought to the Lord during the 12 months, and are now members of the Church. Our Sunday Schools, both European and Native, are very similar to last year, with no particular increase."[205] Interestingly, in the statistical returns of the 1883 assembly, this native church under Rev Cousins is referred to as a Native Union, with 3 teachers and 20 scholars in its Sunday School, and the church membership totalling 20.[206] During the assembly of the following year (1884), Rev. Cousins "stated [however] to the Executive that he felt it was his duty to ask the [Baptist] Union to erase his name for the time being, from the list of ministers." The Rev. Hugo Gutsche moved, and the Rev. G. W. Cross seconded, "That his resignation be accepted with regret."[207] With surprise, in the same assembly, the report of the Port Alfred Church, under Rev Cross's leadership stated that: "The Native Church has been transferred to the Congregationalists, to whom it practically belonged."[208]

Another English Church that showed an interest in native work was the Port Elizabeth Church under Rev. H. J. Batts. For the 1881 BU Assembly, the church report stated: "We have to

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[202] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 6.
[203] See earlier discussion.
[204] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 6.
[205] Minutes of 1883 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1883-1884, p. 30.
[206] Ibid., p. 33.
[207] Minutes of 1884 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1884-1885, p. 10.
[208] Ibid., p. 15.

report the opening of our Walmer Mission Church, which has now a flourishing Day School, receiving a government grant, under the able superintendence of Mr. Jones, who had been elected Assistant Minister."[209] It also stated in the report that the Church at Walmer was paid for and the school was self-supporting. Finance wise, "income during the year has been quite equal to our expenditure, as for all purposes, upwards of £1,100 have been raised."[210] The following year, the church reported at the assembly: "We have been apprehensive at times regarding our mission at Walmer, but sincerely hope that abundant prosperity may be continued to it."[211] Furthermore, "since our [Baptist] Union meetings we have established what is now a flourishing day school, under an efficient master and lady assistant."[212] There is: "Upwards of £1,150 [that] have been spent in general and extra purposes, and we cannot but record our thankfulness to the friends who have so liberally aided us, and to God who dispensed them to do so."[213] The table of church statistics in the same year reports Walmer Mission to have 40 scholars, 3 teachers, sittings in the place of worship amounting to 90 but no statistics on number of members.[214] In 1883, the church report for the same year's assembly stated that: "The Walmer Mission and Day School are progressing most encouragingly, and recently the first baptism of Walmer converts was celebrated."[215]

However, like the Port Alfred Church which transferred its native mission to the Congregationalists, the Port Elizabeth Church terminated the Walmer Mission. It reported as its reason that: "We have had little to report of the Walmer Mission. Unfortunately, the Government grant to the school had been withdrawn, and the school is practically broken up. Mr. Kelly remains in charge there till end of July."[216] The following year, 1884, the report of the church to the assembly only stated: "Walmer is supplied Sunday afternoons by the Pastor."[217] Howbeit, in 1887, the Port Elizabeth church "ascertained the wishes of the people as to the working of that station"[218] and this "resulted in deepening the interest of those who lived in that neighbourhood, and the result is that we have from 30 to 50 attending the service

[209] Minutes of 1881 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1880-1881, p. 9.
[210] Minutes of 1882 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1881-1882, p. 28.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Minutes of 1882 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1881-1892, p. 128.
[214] Ibid., p. 32.
[215] Minutes of 1883 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1882-1883, p. 29. In the same report it is reported that "the Rev. G. Jones after two years' labour, has gone to Kariega; and the Rev. W. E. Kelly, late of Cradock, had accepted the post of Assistant Minister."
[216] Minutes of 1884 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1883-1884, p. 16.
[217] Minutes of 1885 BU Assembly. in BU Handbook for 1884-1885, p. 28.
[218] Minutes of 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 30.

every Sunday afternoon, and about 30 children in the Sabbath School. One person from this station has applied for baptism and church-fellowship."[219] In the same report, Mr Cousins and his wife were reported to be in charge of the South End mission, but with no accompanying report concerning this mission.

Other miscellaneous reports on native work are for example, one on: "Mr Davis, of Wales, [who] has gone to labour among the miners at Boksburg, and Mr. Wakeham, of the East London Institute, to Johannesburg, where he is establishing a mission among the Natives. Native work has also been entered on by the Church at Pretoria under the Pastorate of the Rev. H. T. Cousins."[220] And from the Pretoria Free Baptist Congregational Church, the report only stated; "The work among the natives is of a very elementary character; but we have every hope that, in perseverance, much prayer and faith, this Christian enterprise will prove satisfactory."[221] In 1893, Wynberg church under Rev. E. Baker, became another European church to show interest in native mission. Unlike other European Baptist churches which initiated their own work, Wynberg took this work from the Dutch Reformed Church.

4.4. Natives and finance (1878-1892)

The Tshabo Mission, the first Baptist work among the natives, never became self supporting, even ten years after its formation. By the 1880 BU Assembly, Rev Hugo Gutsche stated: "Finally, I may add, that our two Churches here in British Kaffraria support and maintain the following institutions:- 1. A Mission Station at the Tshabo (about 14 miles from King Williamstown, consisting of 4 native members - one of our Brethren [Carl Pape] being an Evangelist.[222] 2. A Day School at King Williamstown, with an average attendance of 40-50 scholars, in which instruction is given in the morning in our [German] native tongue, in the afternoon in the English language. We receive no aid from the government."[223] In 1889, this native mission work was still not self sustaining. Consequently, a resolution, as indicated before, was adopted in the assembly of the same year which read: "That every Church

[219] Ibid, pp. 30-31.
[220] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 35.
[221] Ibid., p. 45.
[222] Minutes of 1880 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1880-1881, p. 26. The name of Carl Pape as an evangelist for the natives is recorded under the statistical return of the Berlin Church. Also supported by the same church is J. D. Odendaal, an evangelist to the Dutch. However, in the following assembly, Carl Pape is reported to have resigned the office of evangelist. (Minutes of 1881 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1881-1882, p. 10.).
[223] Minutes of 1880 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1880-1881, p. 26.

connected with this Union be requested to make a collection (say once a year) on behalf of Mission work among the aborigines, and that the interest of the children of our Sunday Schools be drawn to this work; the Tshabo Mission to have the first claim upon the proceeds of this collection."[224] The collections were to form a special fund and be disbursed through the BU treasurer. A year later, the only collection recorded during the assembly was the one made during the public service in aid of the New Native Mission.[225]

Associated with finance, in this case, the pound, a European monetary unit, is the perception of labour, specifically by the natives. This is demonstrated in the 1890 Tshabo Mission report wherein it is recorded that when the government inspector came to visit the Tshabo school, he found four children in attendance, and thus withdrew the government's £30 per annum grant. To recapitulate on this discussion, two reasons advanced in the report concerning this poor attendance are, firstly, that it was ploughing time after a long drought. Secondly, the people were not as yet educated to see the necessity of sending their children to school.[226] Concerning the first, it is clear that the natives were still maintaining traditional modes of making a living while mission education was only convenient when labour was not required. Furthermore, that land was very significant for native livelihood, just as it was for the settlers who had relocated the natives, by force, to less arable land. In addition, the natives' use of mission education for convenience had in it, a passive resistance to mission education's civil intentions to transform native livelihood, including the perception of labour. This view also indicates the natives' resistance to the goals of mission education to totally transform the native and his habitat. Also in the same report, the treasurer's account indicates that no amount came forth from the natives themselves but only from the government, German churches, Sunday School at Munel (Germany) and the English Baptist Church of King Williamstown. Most of the funds were spent on the evangelist's salary though £4.3s.5½d. was still owed to him. While on the issue of lack of financial contributions by the natives, let us recall that as early as 1869 when Pape tried to take a collection during a church service, the congregation walked out. Could it be that the natives were not taking the responsibility, particularly financial, for running a church service and maintaining its building? This is likely, owing to the fact the building was not theirs and they were never regarded as equals in

[224] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 31.
[225] Minutes of 1890 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 5.
[226] Minutes of 1890 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 20.

church leadership.[227]

TSHABO MISSION. — Treasurer's Account (1889-1890)[228]

Dr. 1889-90		*Cr.* 1889 - 90	
From Government	£ 22 10 0	Evangelist's Salary	£ 45 13 11
German Church, K.W.T.	7 17 0	Freight on Books	1 0
Refund by Mr. Randall on Books Account	2 2 3		
German Church, Berlin	3 14 2½		
Sunday School at Munich Germany	4 11 6		
English Baptist Church, K.W.	5 0 0		
	£ 45 14 11½		£ 45 14 11½

Due to Evangelist £4 3 5½

P. RIEMER, Treasurer

Reading this account of the Tshabo Mission, the first of its own kind, it can be noted that all the deposit became the credit spent with a deficit of £4.3s.5 ½ d. Secondly, most of the contributions to Tshabo Mission among the Baptists came from the German Baptists, that is, the German Church in King Williamstown Church (£7.17s.), the German Church in Berlin (£3.14s.2½d.), and the Sunday School at Munich, in Germany (£4.11s.6d). Three years later, in 1892, most of the contributions were still from German churches, but with an increasing number of English churches contributing[229] unlike in 1899 when the English King Williamstown Church was the only contributor. An interesting contribution came from Sugerloaf Church (£2.7s.4d) in the Orange Free State, which was an Afrikaans speaking church under Rev J. D. Odendaal. In its church report to the assembly, the Sugarloaf Church stated: "The Gospel work among the Natives is very promising; two helpers and one deacon

[227] See also: Mogashoa, M. H. Black Baptists merely loaned leadership: An historical survey of native leadership in the Baptist Church of South Africa (1869-1944), in Nthane, J. Ndala, W. & Mogashoa, H. (eds.). (2001). *Leading Your Church Towards Holistic Growth*. Pretoria: Daan Roux, pp. 33-69. In this article, Mogashoa explains and outlines the concept of black leadership in the Baptist Church of South Africa. The thesis of his paper is that, in the "first" 75 years of Baptist work among the natives, native/ black leadership never improved. He presents this thesis in light of the post 1944 period, arguing that most of the flaws in the black leadership are as a result of the foundations laid during the "first" 75 years. He outlines the following phases as constituting these "first" 75 years. They are: Period prior to the formation of the SABMS in 1892; Native stagnation (1893-1911); Affiliation of the Native Baptist Association with the SABMS (1912-1924); Preparatory stages leading to the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church in 1927; Beginnings of Black ministerial accreditation (1932); and the intellectual role of the Ennals Institute and the Orlando (Millard) Bantu Institute (1910-1933). Mogashoa in the article further outlines how these phases of native leadership in the process of unfolding resulted in: Loaned identity; Loaned land - church buildings and manses; and: Reproducing the loaned generation - Sunday School education.

[228] Tshabo Mission Treasurer's Account of 1889-1890, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 21.

out of their own midst are chiefly entrusted with this branch."[230] In an exuberant tone, mindful that the past years it was hard to secure financial support from churches, the Tshabo mission committee cautioned: "It should not be said that our only native work has been allowed to fail for lack of funds."[231] This year, 1892, the Committee hoped that, it being "the centennial year of the great Baptist Missionary Society's operations, surely a new era might begin with us, and a new start be made in the direction of evangelising the natives who live at our doors."[232] But: "It is only right to say that your Committee cannot again undertake the responsibility of this Mission unless more general and adequate support is rendered by the Churches."[233]

During the financial year of 1890-1891, subscriptions given or promised to the Tshabo Mission were; £5 from Grahamstown Sunday school and a pound from Rev A. G. Rainer.[234] These subscriptions, as was the tradition during the BU assemblies, were promised or given at the end of the BU assembly for the BU's new financial year. According to Rev G. W. Cross, the serving secretary, it is worth noting that the "[European] pastors and delegates usually pay their own expenses to and from [BU assemblies], which means that most of them are present, in the interest of the work, at a great charge on a slender income."[235] In line with the sacrifices made by European pastors and delegates to attend the assemblies, it was reported that based on the report of the Tshabo mission during the 1891 assembly, finances had not improved. As a result, the assembly resolved: "That the work of this mission be earnestly commended to the sympathy of the Churches and the [Baptist] Union, and the Assembly regrets exceedingly any deficiency in the income, and strongly urges the enterprise to the consideration of the Sunday Schools of the [Baptist] Union."[236] In the same year, the Tshabo Mission treasurer's account indicate that only 8s.6d. was collected at the mission station out of £47.12s.11½d. making the total Tshabo Mission expenditure for 1890-1891. As was the case with the previous year, the current year (1891) the account does also indicate that a payment of £9.8s.9½d. is owed to the evangelist. The account was presented as follows:

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[229] See Tshabo Mission Treasurer's Account of 1891-1892. in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 39.
[230] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 47.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Minutes of 1890 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1890-1891, p. 36.
[235] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 5.
[236] Ibid., p. 30.

TSHABO MISSION. – TREASURER'S ACCOUNT (1890-1891)[237]

Dr.	£ s d		*Cr.* £ s d
"Collection at Tshabo	0 8 6	By Bank Charges	0 0 6
"King Williamstown Church (German)	10 17 6		
"Payment to Evangelist (in arrear)	4 3 6		
"Stutterheim Church	7 7 9½	" " " "	40 11 2½
"Grahamstown Church	7 6 6		
"Berlin Church	5 3 4		
"Sugarloaf Church	2 7 4		
"King Williamstown Church (English) ..	1 5 0		
"East London Church	1 10 0		£ s d
"Port Elizabeth Church (Queen Street)	1 2 6		
Payment due to Evangelist	9 8 9½		
"Kariega Church	1 0 0	Deduct balance in hand	2 17 9
"Port Elizabeth Church (South End)	0 12 0		
"Per Rev. H. J. Batts	1 10 0	Deficit, after payment as above	£47 12 11½
"Per – .Pudney, Esq.	1 0 0		
"Charles Bush, Esq.	1 0 0		
"J Biggs, Esq...	3 0 0		
"Rev. George Rees	2 2 6	Balance in hand	2 17 9
	£47 12 11½		£47 12 11½

By the beginning of 1892, Tshabo Mission was still relying on contributions mainly from European churches. For example, the East London church in its report to the assembly stated that: "The Tshabo Mission has not been forgotten. A collection is made in the Sunday School every two months, and, with a few gifts, has reached the amount of £4."[238] In the 1892 Tshabo mission financial statement wherein the English, German and Transvaal churches are separately listed in order to indicate their financial contributions, £1.13s.7d. is referred to as the total collection and subscription made by the mission station itself. This financial statement reported for the first time the value of the church property, which was by 1892, £150. Also for the first time, this mission station is recorded to have no existing new debt and as having reduced its previous debt. However, it also reported that neither did the church nor its members made any contribution to the BU,[239] and it is needless to mention that, in comparison to other churches, particularly, the European and German churches, Tshabo finances and its property were the lowest. Reading the BU's financial statement of the same year, it is recorded, that on July 15th, the BU augmented Tshabo finances by £10.[240]

By the end of 1892, Tshabo Mission station was mainly run by finances from European churches, both English and German. Its finances were still in deficit, especially the salary of

[237] Tshabo Mission Treasurer's Account of 1890-1891, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 39.
[238] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 37.
[239] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, pp. 50-51.

its evangelist. It could be argued that this deficit was unavoidable, worse even justified, given that the very natives whom this station was meant to benefit never contributed, significantly, to its running. Moreover, that it was a native and not a European who received this salary. However, the merits of this argument are to be assessed in light of the three important factors about Tshabo mission station. Firstly, that Tshabo Mission station was under the care of a European-only mission committee instituted by the BU. Secondly, that the station, though founded by the German Baptists, was now the property of the English Baptists through the BU. Lastly, that the station symbolized, for the natives, alienation from their own culture, which is referred to as heathen and replaced with Christianity and its associated civilizing role. For example, on the earlier discussion,[241] this station created tension with the native chief, Umjuza, during its earliest founding years. This was over the school fees, absence of native children from school, and its land which was tampered with by the cattle of the surrounding native community, grazing on it.

Coming back to natives' perception of labour and its reward, the critical question is, whose labour? That is, is it the master servant type, which means that the natives become the wage earner while the Europeans become the wage payer? Does it also mean that the master possesses the land while the servant remains landless, given the nature of the master-servant narrative[242] already unfolding in the colonial frontier? These questions are critical in trying to understand the finance dynamics at Tshabo. For a start, the land on which Tshabo mission station was first built, was acquired after the resettlement of the natives. When they were to be resettled again, this time beyond the Kei River, given the German Baptists' discussions with Brownlee, indicated in Chapter 1, this therefore meant that Tshabo mission was a symbol of resettlement to an area far away from the vast land which originally belonged to the natives. Secondly, during this period, the 1890's, the economy of the country was

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[240] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 53.

[241] See Chapter 1.

[242] The concept: master-servant narrative, is borrowed from the De Kock, L. (1996). *Civilizing the Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. De Kock (ibid, pp. 111-112) wrote for example: "It British imperialism, more particularly in the millenarian missionary guise was divinely appointed and legitimated by the Bible, the symbolic copula was the figure of the Crown, in this case Queen Victoria. Thus one finds Jabavu invoking the Queen in references such as 'the fundamental principle in the British Constitution that all subjects of the Queen are equal in the eyes of the law (*Imvo* 4 May 1887), and giving expression to the master narrative of 'civilization' in contentions such as the following about the Constitution Ordinance ... , by which responsible government and the qualified franchise was granted to the Cape in 1853." De Kock further in his work while discussing how African elite were using "discursive struggle" for adequate representation, wrote: "The point is surely that the master narrative of 'civilization' with its teleology of ultimate fairness and equal justice in a British constitutional system was used strategically, rhetorically, and tactically in the process of a very material

experiencing a "shortage" of native labour, shortage in the sense that natives were not willing to work for the master in certain industries either as a result of being only interested in their indigenous economy or of being aware of other employment options open before them. What was happening in the country during this period was that, certain employers would like more labour at the same price and preferably at a lower price, being unwilling or unable to pay higher prices. In fact, they were asking for more labour to be made available to them at the expense of other industries or other avenues of employment in which labour was really worth higher wages, that is, in which its productivity is higher. For, if its productivity were not higher elsewhere, labour would offer itself at the price which those very people, who complain of the "shortage", are willing to pay.[243] In time, especially when government tried to force native labour in certain directions, they reached a point where they ceased to offer their labour voluntarily in response to the inducement of higher wages. But owing to the economic devastation of the native reserves and the growth of an urban detribalised native population, an increasing number of natives were compelled to seek work outside their indigenous economic systems.[244]

In Frankel's view, to continue by artificial expedients to ensure to uneconomic producers a supply of labour at an artificially low price is to penalize, for example, those farmers who do possess the necessary capital, skill, and suitable natural resources for economic production - just as to ensure labour to relatively uneconomic mines or to uneconomic industries is to penalize potential expansion of richer mines or more profitable industries. The counterpart to this system is the widespread reliance on a growing class of casual labour which, restricted in its economic opportunities and standards of remuneration, moves continually from one industry to another, from one town to country, and from the native reserves to the European economy and *vice versa*. What in South Africa is still regarded, fallaciously, as a great advantage, namely the possibility of substituting one native worker by any other at a moment's notice, is the result of reducing the labour force to a uniform level, whose common denominator is inefficiency and whose effects are a low national income.[245] Sound as Frankel's position is, within a capitalist paradigm, meant to benefit the white settlers, or rather, in a Protestant missionary work ethic construct, as hinted at by the Comaroffs, the bottom line is that the natives were triply dispossessed: from their land, cultural systems and

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and political struggle." (Ibid., p. 123.).
[243] Frankel, S. B. *Op. Cit.*, p. 142.
[244] Ibid., p. 144.

each other.

Undernourishment, according to Frankel, became a further factor which affects certain classes of both native and European workers. The mines had to "feed up" the natives recruited by them for weeks before they were fit to work. This struggle against the evils of malnutrition and the diseases resulting therefrom exists throughout Africa. The alleged laziness of the native is in many cases simply due to inadequate diet. The poorer Europeans frequently suffer in the same way.[246] Interestingly, de Wildermann,[247] a British scholar, has argued and

> "defended with great force a thesis he laid down in 1923: that the development of cultivation by and for the native definitely assists the formation of a more efficient labour force, the stabilization of the native family, the health and consequently the increase of the population. It is a common error to regard the encouragement of native farming and the provision of labour for other purposes as antithetical; they are complementary. In communities which are allowed to stagnate and to be contend with a subsistence standard of living, there will be no natural incentive to wage-earning. A flourishing and progressive native community, with increasing wants, will find in wage-earning a welcome additional source of income."[248]

Prior to de Wildermann's thesis, related to the Europeans' need for native labour was the belief that "native education is a luxury which the [South African] Union cannot afford, whereas, in fact, [in Frankel's view] it is of course the *sine qua non* of the increased productivity of the society as a whole."[249] But what type of education, including mission education, was being offered to the native? Inasmuch as Frankel concluded that native education was not a luxury but a necessity, he failed to assess the nature of this education. Also related to the Europeans' need for native labour was alienation of natives from the land. As indicated before, they were alienated from their land through resettlements, finally into native reserves. As the relentless process of appropriating extensive areas of native land continued, under European settlers, it was periodically accompanied by land speculation, which continues to the present day. Often the purchase of land, in Frankel's view, was a symptom of the lack of other opportunities for investing such resources as they became available from time to time by the importation of capital and the extension of credit facilities.

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[245] Ibid., p. 145.
[246] Ibid.
[247] de Wildermann, M. (1937). *The Report of a Special Study Group of the Royal Institute for International Affairs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[248] Ibid., p. 139, quoted in Frankel, S. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 145.
[249] Frankel, S. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 146.

To illustrate this process of land alienation, the history of Natal is particularly significant.

> Between 1857 and 1860 less than three hundred immigrants entered the country. Yet by a system of almost promiscuous largesse more than 1,360,000 acres were alienated. Before the Colony had been in existence a quarter of a century it had no land left sufficiently productive to encourage immigration on a scale commensurate with its needs and ambitions. ... What Crown lands there still remained were remote from centres of population, roadless, and not suited for occupation by inexperienced settlers. As early as 1864 the Immigration Board sorrowfully complained that immigration was handicapped by the scarcity of land. By 1874, out of an area of 12,000,000 acres two thirds of the land had been alienated. Of this, 2,000,000 acres had been set aside for native locations. Since fully one-half of the European population lived in the two towns of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, 6,000,000 acres were in the possession of a population of 8,000 individuals, including women and children.[250]

The position in the Transvaal was similar. Land prices were driven up, not only by speculation, but steadily through the absorption of much of the desired land. By 1876, there were many who owned between 200,000 and 300,000 acres. Even at this early stage in the development of the territory, the inhabitants of Lydenburg were complaining that non-occupation was one of the greatest evils from which this district, in common with districts in this, as well as in other colonies, suffered. The land was owned in most part by men who neither cultivated nor used it in any way. Some were utter absentees. Much of the land, owing to lack of water and other environmental conditions, was economically useless for anything but grazing or primitive extensive cultivation. Nonetheless, as De Kiewiet, quoted in Frankel has shown: "It is one of the most familiar paradoxes of South African life that the same process which produced an exaggerated and uneconomical sparseness of European settlement was responsible for an equally exaggerated condensation of native population. European under-population and native overpopulation were phenomena with similar causes."[251]

4.5. Formation of the SABMS

The BU executive committee in its report to the churches concerning the 1891 assembly

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[250] Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[251] De Kiewiet, C. W. (1929). *British Colonial Policy and the South African Republics, 1848-1872*. London: Longmans & Green, pp. 189-190 (published as No. 3 in Imperial Studies), quoted in Frankel, S. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 46. In addition, "Even in Griqualand West, which had ostensibly been annexed in the interests of the natives, the administration proved powerless to prevent the extensive expropriation of land by Europeans. By the beginning of 1878, when Griqualand West entered upon a year of native disturbances [Kaffir War], Europeans had possessed themselves of some 420,000 acres in that region. Less than 100,000 acres were left to the natives."

stated: "This year [1891] we enter upon the Centenary of the Baptist Missionary Society. Baptists all over the world are resolving to keep it by inaugurating a FORWARD MOVEMENT. Let us forward too. The work is glorious. Pioneers are going forward to win South Africa for commerce. Let us advance and win it for Christ. The responsibility is laid upon us ... £300 will suffice to meet our existing liabilities and to do this."[252] In the same year, Rev C. Denyer became the BU president. In his presidential address entitled: *The Ever Living Facts and Factors of the Christian Faith*, he stressed the need for this forward movement. But this march in this Forward Movement is, according to Denyer, both for the Church and the Commonwealth. In commencing with his address, he stated:

> As Nonconformists, members of the Baptist and Free Churches, whose forefathers fought in the front ranks against civil and religious, secular and spiritual foes, we cannot but be profoundly interested in the march of Church and Commonwealth towards the emancipation of humanity from its social and spiritual slavery, its physical and mental degradation. We are not, and cannot be, indifferent to the temporal welfare of the world. "DARKEST AFRICA" and "DARKEST ENGLAND" are themes that appeal to our hearts.[253]

Denyer's address became the first record in the BU minutes that made reference not only to Africa as dark but also to England, the "HOME"[254] of most European Baptists working in the Colony. Continuing his address, he immediately focussed on "the difficulties surrounding the Christianising and civilising of the other"[255] which "[can] not [be] solved and surmounted by a superficial glance."[256] This means that: "Rest for all true philanthropists (and the Christian man and woman ought to be truest lovers of their kind) will be impossible until that be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, ... [that is] The Galilee of the Gentiles [who in the Colony are the natives] - the people which sat in the region and shadow of death--to them did light spring up."[257] But, there are four factors which, according to Denyer, describe the context of the time that ought to be noted if Baptists were to avoid a superficial glance or ensure rest for all true philanthropists. Firstly:"Echoes of SOCIAL ECONOMICS strike on our ears daily. Discussions as to whether Capital is the mother of Labour, or Labour the

[252] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 10.
[253] Ibid., pp. 11-12.
[254] Throughout the BU minutes, England is referred to as home. When European ministers could not stay long in the Colony (South Africa), either due to health or not adjusting to the Colony's lifestyle, they are reported to have returned home. And when more European ministers were needed in the Colony (South Africa) a call was made to the home churches to supply this need. See for example: Minutes of 1893 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1893-1894, p. 20.
[255] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, pp. 12.
[256] Ibid.

mother of Capital, fill the air with sounds of angry conflict."[258] Even "From beyond the sea we hear the surging voices of our fellow-men calling for shorter hours and higher wages."[259] Secondly: "In the POLITICO-RELIGIOUS world burning questions are thrusting themselves upon the thought of our brothers in our island home. [That is, the:] School, Church and Throne are standpoints around which the battle is being fought to-day by British Nonconformity and English Protestantism."[260]

Thirdly: "We have our NATIVE QUESTION. A great and grave question, truly!"[261] This great and grave question according to Denyer, is in the form of: "Polygamy [with its] ancient rites and ceremonies, slavery in its worst forms - i.e., fathers selling their daughters for few sheep or cows - and indolence of men at the cost of the industry of women - the degradation of noble races through the free and unrestricted sale of the liquid fire that stings the mouth, that thaws the heart and melts the brain, [and] that sets a Devil in men's eyes. These are seeds sown by permissions in this portion of Greater Britain."[262] Fourthly it is: "EUROPEAN LIFE in this Colony [which is characterized by] ... The scramble for gold and diamonds - the neglect of God's House - the desecration of the Lord's Day - and the general lack of fervour in our Churches."[263] These, according to Denyer, "are questions that concern us and should colour our preaching and teaching and influence our lives and labours in this day and generation."[264] Given these factors: "A forward movement is [therefore] required by the age."[265]

The need for the forward movement is, however, manifested during a period which according to Denyer is "an age of criticism [during which] ... Men of 'light and leading' are continually testing the foundations and examining the superstructure of Christianity."[266] In a Nonconformist tone, Denyer asserted that: "The faith [that was] once delivered to the saints is assailed by the camp and battery of modern thoughts, and the 'sweet reasonableness' of advanced minds shakes not the Earth only, but also Heaven. ... [This conflict and criticism are

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[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid.

raging] ... around four central fortresses of Christianity, viz.: A Book [Bible], A Person [Jesus Christ], A Cross [Crucifixion], and A Throne [Heaven]."[267] In advancing arguments[268] in defence of each, one of the solutions he proposed was the need for Christianity to modify and adapt its methods, but that the preacher should preach not what the age likes but needs.[269] In concluding his address, he reminded the ministers and delegates present at the assembly that 1891 marks two centuries when: "In the spring of 1791, at a meeting of ministers in Northamptonshire, England, Messrs. Sutcliffe and Fuller preached sermons adapted to fan into a flame the latent sparks of missionary zeal. At the Autumnal Association held that same year in the same place, William Carey raised the famous crusade of Foreign Missions."[270] Undaunted by difficulties and unmoved by dangers, "we press forward, assured that the blue of Heaven shall yet again greet the fair plains of earth, and that joy unspeakable will fill every heart, because the heathen will have become Christ's inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth His possession."[271] With zeal concerning the Forward Movement, Denyer concluded his address with the following words from a song:

Through the night of doubt and sorrow,
  Onward see the pilgrim band,
Singing songs of expectation,
  Marching to the promised land.

And before us thro' the darkness,
  Gleameth clear the guiding light;
Brother clasps the hand of brother,
  Stepping fearless thro' the night.

One the object of our journey,
  One the faith that never tires,
One the earnest looking forward,
  One the hope our God inspires.[272]

Denyer's zeal and march "to the promised land [dark South Africa]"[273] caused a change in the English Baptists' attitude towards mission to the natives. Unfortunately, Denyer died on May

[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid., pp. 14-27. In these pages, Denyer provides a detailed response on each.
[269] Ibid., pp. 22-23.
[270] Ibid., p. 27.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.

23rd, 1891, six weeks after his accession to BU's presidency.[274] His address had prepared the ground because, in the assembly of the following year, it is reported that much enthusiasm was "evoked in the discussion of Mr. Hay's motion, 'That new missionary work among the heathen Kafirs be undertaken by the Union.' One small station [Tshabo Mission Station] is at present occupied with good success, but Mr. Hay thought it was now time we worked on a much larger scale."[275] In the same assembly: "Subsequent speeches showed that Missionary zeal is rapidly developing within the Union. A strong Committee was formed and an appeal was made to the Churches during the current year for funds to extend the Mission work."[276] Furthermore, unlike the previous years, "when a deficiency was reported by the Treasurer of the Tshabo Mission, the brethren present subscribed the amount needed forthwith."[277] Also interestingly worth noting about this assembly is that, "all the business meetings were held in the German Baptist Church ... [and] ... the German brethren took important parts in many of the debates, and were especially enthusiastic on the Missionary question."[278] And Pastor Gutsche was, "as usual, an authority an all statistics and laws and rules of procedure."[279]

The new BU president, Mr John Brodie, following Denyer, spoke on the *Marching Orders of the Church*.[280] Like his predecessor, he elaborated on the current period as being the centenary of modern Baptist mission. In his address he mentioned that: "If we have not some of the advantages which the early disciples had by the gifts of the tongues and miracles, we have advantages in other ways which they had not."[281] That is: "The inventions of science have made distant places easily accessible; and the wonders which the white man brings arouse curiosity and the amazement of the heathen, so that attention to the claims of the white man's religion is secured."[282] This is, according to Brodie, also made possible because: "The British and Foreign Bible Society causes the Scriptures to be given to all people in their own languages."[283] Like Denyer, Brodie reminded the assembly that:

> This is the centenary year of the Baptist Missionary Society. Just 100 years ago that great and intrepid man, William Carey, was striving with might and main to get the Society formed for

[274] Ibid., p. 57.
[275] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 9.
[276] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[277] Ibid., p. 10.
[278] Ibid.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid., p. 11.
[281] Ibid., p. 17.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid.

> the purpose of sending missionaries to foreign lands. He was born a poor man, and followed a very humble trade ... He was possessed of an iron disposition similar to that owned by such men as Columbus, Cook, Livingstone, Stanley, Franklin, Luther, Wycliffe, Wesley, Knox, Wilberforce, Howard, and Shaftesbury, men who in various undertakings as explorers, reformers, or philanthropists would pursue their way undaunted by the obstacles that best them ... For forty years he laboured, founding a college, erecting schools, teaching, preaching, and translating, until, at the age of 72, God called his ardent spirit home. ... [He then reminded the assembly] of Charles Haddon Spurgeon [who was] ... The preacher who had no peer, and who, it is greatly feared, has no successor ... He preached for 30 years to a congregation of 6, 000 people, and during his ministry at the Metropolitan Tabernacle over 14, 000 names had been entered upon the Church roll.[284]

Brodie's equation of William Carey with Livingstone and Cook, who in South African revisionist history are "exploitative explorers,"[285] is problematic but has similar implications, if Carey is studied within the history of India as a British Colony. While the sparks for missionary zeal amongst the English Baptists were lit, these however should be understood in terms of the language and ideology that they were kindled with. Denyer, the first to light these sparks, mentioned that the Forward Movement, a missionary centennial project, was both for the church and Commonwealth. This means that mission work should be understood and undertaken in view of the interests of both the church and the Commonwealth. Denyer's support for the Commonwealth, was the norm amongst the Nonconformists in the colonies of Great Britain which were meant to become a commonwealth for Britain, the Great!

Denyer also argued that one of the critical factors in Christianizing and civilizing the "Other" was the "Native Question." Like his predecessors who saw native culture as equivalent to Heathenism, Denyer reached the same conclusion, though in a different language. That is, polygamy with its ancient rites and ceremonies were slavery in its worst forms. This was because, in Denyer's view, "fathers were selling their daughters for a few sheep or cows [due to the] indolence of men at the cost of industry of women!"[286] This view was also held by European missionaries of other denominations,[287] and may seem liberational, but it is not, because these native women remained, to these missionaries, part of the inferior other.

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[284] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[285] See Comaroff J. L., & Comaroff, J. (1997). *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. Vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 70, 73-74, 77, and 180-190. There is no doubt that this concept: "exploitative explorers," is problematic, especially in the context of imperial and colonial history. Briefly, it is hard to identify and argue which explorers were not exploitative during this period of imperialism and colonialism.

[286] Minutes of 1891 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1891-1892, p. 12.

Kretzschmar even argued that native women suffered triple oppression. That is, for being black, for being women and for being black women.[288]

Following Denyer, Brodie in his address further argued the English people's superior perception of themselves, in other words, as the superior One in contrast to the natives who were the inferior Other. This was evident in the words he used to describe the early access Christianity was to have among the natives because "the wonders which the white man brings arouse curiosity and the amazement of the heathen ... Attention to the white man's religion is secured."[289]

Brodie's conclusions are also strengthened by the Comaroffs, for example, in their description of the London Missionary Society's missionaries' encounter with the Tswana. That is, the self disclosure bears with it an entire world view and it is palpable in the early exchanges between the evangelists and local leaders. For example, through "the gift [which] constructs a social relationship by acting as a vehicle for the "self," the goods handed by the Christians to the chiefs were the bearers of a particular kind of selfhood."[290] The Comaroffs further wrote: "Campbell gave the Tlhaping ruler a copper comb, a silver headband, and a chain, all of which he placed on the royal person, so that the culminating gift, the looking glass, might reveal to him his transformed visage. Later the missionary also presented some tobacco, a gift, he said, from those who hoped to come and work among his people. The chief reciprocated by bestowing on Campbell and his colleague, James Read, a fine ox each. These 'tokens of friendship' that the Christians gave as their opening gambit anticipated the more complex transactions that would incorporate the Tswana into the culture of the empire."[291]

But these objects were reciprocal, bearing values and intentions largely misread by recipients. Some of the goods given by the evangelists to the Tswana had become the conventional currency of black-white relations in southern Africa, others were to be associated exclusively with their own presence. Of tobacco, Liechtenstein remarked very early on that it was one of their needs and there was nothing they liked to barter more. And of beads, Philip wrote that they were the quintessential representatives of value. Sheffield steel was to replace African

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[287] See above footnote 104.
[288] Kretzschmar, L. "Gender and Oppression: A South African feminist underview," in *Missionalia,* Vol. 23, No. 2, August 1995, pp. 147-161.
[289] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 17.
[290] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 183.

iron, and glass baubles were to take the place of the bodily adornments of a prior fashion. Yet none of these objects were introduced into a void; while they brought novel values into the Tswana world, they also acquired meanings different from those intended by their donors. Beside these inevitable beads, knives, and tobacco, the missionaries chose the sorts of shiny trinkets that contrasted sharply with their own sober sense of modesty and true inner value, the latter often being set against base, outward things in their writings. The allure of such splendid trifles had ironically been established by former generations of slave traders, who had calculated them to be instantly appealing to the Africans, with their childlike lack of refinement and their dependence upon physical gratification.[292] They directed most of the goods to the chiefs for their personal consumption, goods calculated to flatter and adorn, to quicken desire.[293] The effect was far more important than the value of the goods. For example, the gun symbolized the life-determining power vested in European goods.[294] In brief, as bearers of the light, therefore, the Christians had to persuade those long accustomed to darkness to open their eyes and let the brightness illumine their hearts. To the children of an evolutionary age, such images of enlightenment made cultural imperialism seem like a moral duty.[295]

Coming back to Baptist history particularly, the year 1892 being the centenary year of Baptist Missions, and stirring missionary addresses having been delivered on the Saturday night meeting of the assembly, and "a motion on the agenda paper standing in the names of Revs. D. Hay, E.P. Riemer and L. Nuttall, the Assembly came to a unanimous and enthusiastic decision to found a Missionary Society."[296] A committee consisting of Revs. E.P. Riemer, L. Nuttall, H. Gutsche and D. H. Hay, was appointed to draft a constitution, which was adopted, section by section, at a later meeting, during the same assembly. It read:

> I. That the name be the South African Missionary Society, in connection with the Baptist Union of South Africa.
>
> II. That the object of the Society is the diffusion of the Gospel of the Grace of Jesus Christ among the aborigines of this country.
>
> III. That the Pastors and Delegates of Churches contributing to the funds and all subscribers of £1.1s. and upwards annually, shall be members of the Society.

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[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid., p. 184.
[293] Ibid., p. 185.
[294] Ibid., p. 190.
[295] Ibid., p. 186.

IV. That the business shall be conducted by a Committee of 10 members, including Treasurer, Secretary (chosen by the Committee), and a Chairman, elected at the Annual Meeting,

V. A General Meeting shall be held at the same place as the Assembly of the Union, when the election of the Committee and Chairman shall be made, and the financial statement and the general report of the Society shall be presented.

VI. No alterations in, or additions to, this constitution can be made except at the Annual Meetings, and one month's notice of such proposal must be given in writing to the Secretary.[297]

In the interim, it was agreed that the Provisional Committee be composed of six Ministers and four Lay members. The result of the ballot was as follows: "Revs. D. Hay, H. Gutsche, E.P. Riemer, L. Nuttall, G. W. Cross, H. J. Batts; and Messrs. J. Ivy, W. G. Cooper, J. Brodie, and W. J. Pople. Mr T. B. King was appointed the first Chairman of Committee and Rev. H. Gutsche Convener."[298] These became the first elected committee of the SABMS. As was the case with the Tshabo Mission, a Europeans-only committee whose purpose was to work among the natives, this committee was all - European. Furthermore, like the BU which did not make mention in its constitution[299] of the race criteria of those wanting to become its members, the same was the case with the SABMS Constitution. Finally, as was the case with the founding of the BU, where those present were European pastors and church members, so was the case with the founding of the SABMS where besides the pastors, the delegates were also European. It is needless to mention that the term church, during this period in South African Baptist history, meant European churches except in instances whereby, in Baptist records it has been specifically prefixed by the term native, for example, the Tshabo Native Church of Baptized Persons.

4.6. Conclusion
4.6.1. Synopsis

In addition, "All the collections at baptismal services were set aside, and every year they had a missionary feast, and all money raised there was for Missions."[300] In addition, a big missionary meeting was held every quarter and, "by [June 27] 1869 they had progressed so far that they appointed a Missionary Committee on each station."[301] These stations were King

[296] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 33.
[297] 1892 SABMS Constitution, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 33.
[298] Minutes of 1892 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1892-1893, p. 33.
[299] See Chapter 2.
[300] Ibid.
[301] Ibid.

Williamstown and Berlin. It was at this meeting that "the birth of this Mission [at Tshabo] took place because they had decided to devote themselves to the Bantu."[302] In July of the same year, Mr Pape was appointed the evangelist and in January 1870, a school was opened and named Tshabo.

Baptist work among the natives, as indicated before, was initiated by the German Baptists, as early as 1869. There is however, a strong possibility that this work might have been commenced prior to 1869 since the German Baptists had landed in the Colony as early as 1858. At every wedding, the German Baptists "had to pay £1 as a fee, 15s of it had to go to Missions."[303] During the missionary meeting of June 27th, 1869, Tshabo Mission was born. And in January 1870, Mr Pape was appointed the evangelist of this mission station, and a school was also opened. In 1886, Tshabo Mission School closed due to the Ninth Kaffir War. It is only in 1886 that there appears a record of this native mission station as functioning again. This was when during the 1886 BU Assembly it was reported that "this field [Tshabo Mission] being offered to the [Baptist] Union by our German friends, [it was resolved] that a strong appeal be made to the Baptist Missionary Society in London for a man, and for this support, to labour in this field."[304]

Tshabo Mission work, whether by the German Baptists or English Baptists, further exposed the Baptist missionaries to native culture, which was understood only as heathen, by both the English and the German Baptists. In Chapter 1, we came across Carl Pape's reference to native clothing as heathenish. In this chapter, the English Baptists applied the same conclusion to other aspects of native culture. In other words, perception of native culture as heathenish was further ingrained and elaborated on in the BU which in turn, helped to inform the BU's resolutions regarding native matters and mission among them. Batts, the first BU president to address the BU's need to be involved in mission work, never hesitated to prove this point but without any actual involvement in doing mission to these natives. He spoke on how the gospel to the poor, the debased and the most needy ought to be preached "so that the slaves of sin may be emancipated, the darkness of ignorance be driven back ... and Africa with teeming people be won for Jesus."[305] While the English Baptists in the Colony were

[302] Ibid., p. 23.
[303] The Bantu Baptist Church. *Report of Inauguration at Tshabo*, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 22.
[304] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 21.
[305] Minutes of 1883 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1883-1884, p. 4.

feeling the urge to be faithful to the Great Commission, which meant preaching the gospel to all nations, they were still hesitant to do so to the natives. This was evident in that, by 1886, Grocott, the serving BU president, argued in his address that mission to natives was the responsibility of the Baptist Missionary Society based in England. This was his only comment on the English Baptists' mission to the natives, as he had stated that, this "was a digression"[306] from his address entitled *Our Union*. This means, in the context of Grocott's time, the Baptist Union was explicitly for the Europeans. As a result, he did not have to explicitly qualify this "Our" in his address's title. Sidelining related native mission issues to the periphery, was therefore, logically sound in Grocott's time. In so doing, he nonetheless wished other religious bodies, Godspeed in civilizing and Christianizing the heathen.[307]

More astonishing, seemingly following the lines of Grocott's *Our Union*, was Rev Hugo Gutsche's[308] 1887 presidential address, who, surprisingly said nothing on the BU and mission among the natives. Despite the German Baptists' history of mission among the natives, the non-involvement by the German Baptists with doing mission among the natives widened. Following closely on Grocott's *Our Union* address, Gutsche spoke on *Our Need* - this being the BU's temporal needs (finance), spiritual needs (Christian faith to be visible and sensible), and added an address to fellow labourers in the ministry.[309] It was only in 1889 that the BU Assemblies again addressed a native issue, which was however not native mission, but native heathenism. This was undertaken by Cross, the same person who on arrival in the Colony, in 1877, immediately participated in war against the Gcaleka, on the side of the Albany forces, a British army, in his address entitled the *Good Fight*, against heathenism, saying that this was a system with its forces against which a war, for a good cause, ought to be waged.

To recapitulate, there are two views, according to Cross, which explain the nature of these heathenish forces. These are the Romantic and the Rash Philanthropic views. These views, the imagery of which was made possible by the travel literature, provided a discourse to build the savage world as a stage on which to rehearse Europeans' domestic concerns.[310] Interestingly, it is from the same travel and exploratory literature that English romantic writers painted a picture of a non-European Eden, a picture that challenged those for whom

[306] Minutes of 1886 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1886-1887, p. 6.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Rev Hugo Gutsche was the first German BU president.
[309] Minutes of 1887 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1887-1888, pp. 9-18.
[310] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (1991). Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 110.

enlightened Europe was the yardstick of perfection.[311] Coming back to these two views, the Romantic view, for a start, explains heathenism to be the true poetic Arcadia. That is, the heathen in this poetic paradise is a happy child of nature with nothing to do but to hunt, dance and hurl his lances in the sun, while his passions have ample scope and breathing space.[312] The description of this view, also ambivalent in Wesley's writings using the imagery of the savage, is described by the Comaroffs who argued that the rising evangelical movement was somewhat ambivalent about such imagery. That is, while ignorance of salvation clearly tainted the primitive paradise, the critique of European worldliness appealed to Puritan sensibilities, and missionaries remained hopeful that the savage wilderness might be made to yield a new Christian Arcadia.[313] Cross repudiated this view, however: there were no such Arcadian sights, in the South African missionary and colonial frontier.[314]

The other view, that of Rash Philanthropy, "is taken through spectacles through which the heathen appears as an unsophisticated child of nature, everywhere outwitted and oppressed by the white man. His territory is taken, and one by one his liberties are filched from him, and he is as a sheep dumb before his shearers, a victim led as a lamb to the slaughter."[315] Like the first, just as this view "is taken by many good, well meaning people, ... it is [according to Cross] wrong at almost every point."[316] The heathen, in Cross's view, is not unsophisticated, nor a dumb sufferer. Without hesitating to use the tone of the master, Cross asserted, "the rule of any civilized Government, or the service of almost any European master, confers more security and liberty on the native than he ever enjoyed under a chief of his own colour, and laws and customs of his own people."[317] Therefore, Cross implies that the heathen is secure and free, but only because of a white master. He added that heathenism is a system which, even though in contact with civilization, is unmitigated by it. Its preoccupation is "to flesh its assegais. ... Its god is its belly."[318] This view held by Cross implied that prior to the Europeans' arrival in South Africa, there was no civilization nor its accompanying attributes. Along with this view, is the view that was held that "many settlers ... were convinced that the Xhosa had earned the epithet – infidels, because they lacked religion; bad, because they stole

[311] Ibid.
[312] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 8.
[313] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (1991). Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 112.
[314] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 9.
[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid.

cattle."[319] Chidester argues, however, that this was only one view among many concerning the settlers' view pertaining the native people's religious position. Nevertheless, "On southern African frontiers, the theory of degeneration, which proposed that the indigenous people had lost or forgotten an earlier religion, was part of the larger project of denial. Any traces of religion that might be found could still be used as evidence for denial because they represented broken fragments rather than a religious system."[320] Commenting further, Chidester wrote:

> ... such total denial was a comparative strategy particularly suited for the conditions of a contested frontier. On the battlefield, the enemy had no religion. At the frontier lines of a contest of religions, Christian missionaries adopted this strategy of denial. However, denial was also a strategy that suited the interests of European settlers who during the 1820s and 1830s had increasingly established their presence, and their claims on land in the eastern Cape.[321]

Underlining the playfulness of the native, as described in the Romantic view and the native as an unsophisticated child of nature, described in the Rash Philanthropic view, underlining them is the infantilization of the African. That is, African adults were seen as, the childlike and natural Other, and were afflicted by an absence of the qualities that characterized the adult white male ideal of European civilization. These discourses therefore, in addition to various others on the nature of the heathen, or savage, pressed his immaturity upon European consciousness, adding to his race and symbolic gender, yet a third trope of devaluation.[322] Concerning the native woman, Cross argued, that since the native women's love for their offspring has no higher form, like the heathen native men, they are both in their infant stage which, given their inferior racial and biological status, is impossible to transcend. Beyond the racial otherness, biology was used by Cross, within the context of such reasoning, to categorize the Other's inability to relate humanly across sexes, let alone their capability to attain higher form. Wouldn't this therefore, justify the quest for a European master?

To conclude his arguments, arguments which laid the ground for further construction and understanding of the native in the period prior to and after the formation of the SABMS in

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[319] Chidester, D. (1996). *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, p. 95.
[320] Ibid., p. 94.
[321] Ibid.
[322] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (1991). Vol. *Op. Cit.*, p. 57.

1892, Cross took time in his address to respond to the adage that commerce was the natural civilizer of the native. It was understood that the European trader went to the savage and showed him for example, a gun, which in turn resulted in him flinging away his flint and becoming discontented with skins, ploughs and other related native items. Since the native would be exposed to European goods, this would increase the need for more, and "[the European] by so creating a desire ... excites industry."[323] Presenting European items, creating a desire for more, and "exciting" industry to generate pounds to purchase more of these items, was understood to be an answer to native idleness and indolence. Cross responded somewhat ambiguously, while not refuting commerce's capability to erode native culture, and commerce's motive to excite industry among the natives, that while the European carries goods with him, he also does brings "with [him] brandy [rather] than ... books."[324] This for Cross has resulted in commercial heathendom.

Cross, acknowledging commerce's capability, particularly through books, to erode native heathendom, affirmed Livingstone's conclusion that the missionary and the trader were mutually dependent.[325] Furthermore, according to the Comaroffs, the Nonconformists gave out goods for purposes other than trade. In their earliest encounter with the natives, they dispensed goods to encourage goodwill but only to find that the natives expected more for attending church and school.[326] While the point may seem not to create an exploitable dependency, it cut both ways. It sunk much deeper to the extent that some of the Nonconformist missionaries believed that material reform was an urgent moral duty. In brief, a clear connection was made between civilization, commerce and Christianity.[327] Those missionaries who questioned this connection were criticized by fellow missionaries, but either way missionaries were beneficiaries of these three C's, in the colonial and missionary frontier, and of the exploitative discourse.

Underlying Cross's views regarding the heathenish state of the natives, was his assumption, if our reading is correct, that kaffir culture, heathenish as it was, was also barbaric, while European culture, synonymous with civilization, transferred with it spiritual religion. In other words, Europeans, by "virtue" of being European, were inherently religious and spiritual,

[323] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 18.
[324] Ibid.
[325] Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (1991). Vol. 1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 182.
[326] Ibid., p. 183.
[327] Ibid., p. 181.

while kaffirs, though Cross never said if they had a religion or not, were the opposite. Noting Cross's substantive argument that heathenism was earthly, with neither ideals or sense of tomorrow, concluding that kaffirs were non-spiritual and non-religious, is therefore an accurate pointer to Cross's biased references to the natives. Given that European culture is civilization and that the native one is barbarism, and that "the heathen conquers where he is not conquered. ... Civilization and Barbarism cannot live side by side, nor can spiritual religion and heathen morals. [Therefore:] One must kill the other,"[328] according to Cross.

4.6.2. Other finance matters stemming from the nature of the English Baptists' native work

The synopsis above highlighted a number of finance related matters, especially the connection between civilization, commerce and Christianity. Concerning others not indicated above, from as early as 1878, when the Ninth Kaffir War ensued, we discover the first record of a native church. This was the Tshabo Church. As the war continued, the German churches "took off the roof ... and insured the Church against fire for £200."[329] Underlying the protection of this church building, is of course, the conscious commitment by missionaries to erect property for mission among the natives. This incident is the first such record. It will later become more evident, particularly in the constitutions of the designated native bodies under the SABMS, that all church related properties under these bodies legally belonged to the BU through the SABMS. This means that church properties used by natives who were seen as infants and in need of European masters, became the responsibility of the Europeans who were perceived as mature and as being in the Colony for the good of the natives. Since some (natives) are infants and others (Europeans) are mature, the SABMS under the guidance of the BU did not hesitate, in the constitutions of these ethnic associations, to propagate separate development as a given and a necessary practice.

Eleven years later, in 1889, Cross during his presidential address affirmed the conviction among the Europeans that they had accorded more security and liberty to the natives, either through civilized government or service under a European master, than they ever enjoyed under a chief of their own colour, or their own laws or customs.[330] This master-servant

[328] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 18.
[329] The Bantu Baptist Church. *Report of Inauguration at Tshabo*, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 22.
[330] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 9.

narrative discussed above, was to mean, as the Baptist finance discourse unfolded, that European Baptist workers, particularly superintendents, occupied the role of mission masters while native workers occupied that of mission servants. In terms of finance matters, for example, salaries and transport, European workers, on the one hand, were provided with secured salaries and cars which became part of the yearly SABMS budgets. On the other hand, native workers had to rely on the stipend that could be met by the local church they were serving, or by a branch of the mission station that they have been left "in charge" of, or through some assistance from the SABMS.[331] More puzzling, these native churches had to send their monthly contributions to the main mission station of their respective district after which the superintendent would pass the necessary amount to the SABMS and redistribute the remainder. But this master-servant relationship did not proceed unchallenged by the natives, though by very few. The few who challenged it, who were never supported by the majority, ended up leaving the Baptist Church of South Africa, reportedly joining the African Initiated Churches.[332]

Accompanying the master-servant narrative was the belief that one should combat native idleness. The Nonconformist missionaries at their stations did this by taking every opportunity to convey the concept of wage labour. Given the pound economy of the Colony during this period, wage labour was meant to replace the natives' subsistence economy. In modern Protestantism, labour, to the missionaries, was the ultimate commodity in the moral economy. Labour, by its grace, physical production, along with being the source of righteousness worthy for Christians, it was enhanced through added value by the market. Consequently, diligent wage work had become a model for, and of, the believer's relation to God. It epitomized the voluntary contract and the just reward, according to the Comaroffs. But the unfolding settler conquests in the Colony, the rewards of which the European churches also benefited from, presented native wage labour as a forced economic mechanism,

[331] For example, during the 1944 Missionary Survey undertaken by the BU and SABMS deputation, in its: *Reports and Recommendations of Deputations to S.A.B.M.S. fields in the Union of South Africa*, it reported the following on Rev Mashologu, the native minister in the East London location: "Mr Mashologu received a stipend of about £7 a month met on a half-and-half basis by the Society and the Church. As the expense is at its peak, actually costing more than the whole of his annual income, Mrs Mashologu contributes to the family budget by teaching in a local school managed by the Salvation army. Mr Mashologu travels at his own expense to outlying centres and uses for this purpose an average of 15/- [that is, 15 dimes] a month" (Ibid., p. 26). Also in the same report, it is reported that: "Mr Solwandle's [64 years old, native worker at East Griqualand] salary of £2 per month is paid by the S.A.B.M.S. direct. The contributions of the local churches are sent through the [European] missionary. The minister builds his own houses, farms his land and cares for his cattle, poultry and horses, and thus helps to maintain himself" (Ibid., p. 11.).

[332] See Chapter 5.

the only alternative to traditional modes of economic subsistence. Native wage labour was further enforced by more dispossession of land and the imposition of new taxes, in this growing colonial pound economy that the natives were forced to take part in.

Since early Europeans' settlements in the colony, the Europeans occupied most of the land, through force or coercion, mainly for promiscuous,[333] or better phrased, greedy reasons. This explains why most of the land under these settlers was neither cultivated nor used. This uneconomical sparseness of European settlement resulted, geographically, in European under-population and native overpopulation.[334] Cross, also aware of the importance of the land, affirmed this European scramble for land, in his unique way. He argued that "the heathen about us is infinitely better off than the poor of the vast cities at home [since he has] ample scope and room enough."[335] This vastness of white "occupied" land versus the sparseness of the black occupied one, will characterize the size of the white versus the "black" church lands. That is, black in the sense that the land on which black churches were built was purchased, registered and title deeds owned by the SABMS for the BU, in South Africa.

The dynamics surrounding the signifying economy of otherness, whether in terms of race, gender, biology, possession, the master-servant narrative, and related factors, became the premise upon which native ministry took form. The native converts, particularly those who went into the ministry, and remained serving Baptist workers, had a first hand experience of this otherness in the Baptist Church. Besides material differences from their European "colleagues," these native workers - a more accurate term than native ministers, given that, in terms of ministerial responsibility and address, for the most part, they remained evangelists, and it was only in the early 1920's that they attained probationer, then ministerial, titles. They never, however, became superintendents. Theologically, they internalized this otherness as God's purpose, through the Europeans' interventions, with gratitude, in comparison to their demonized native culture, clearly heathenish according to white perceptions, and resembling Dante's Inferno.

Despondent as the colonial encounter with reference to Europeans versus natives in the Baptist Church of South Africa may make one, the discourse that has unfolded thus far, has

[333] Frankel, S. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 146.
[334] De Kiewiet, C. W. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 189-190 quoted in Frankel, S. H. *Op. Cit.*, p. 185.
[335] Minutes of 1889 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1889-1890, p. 9.

merely revealed the nature of these early encounters. That is, the role of biological, racial and related imagery concerning the native, and how some of these perceptions concerning the native were refuted while others were entrenched in the colonial frontier. As the encounter unfolded, finance related issues unfolded further, and theologically speaking, the divide between European and native workers and laity in the Baptist Church, was solidified. The infantilization and the perception of the native as the inferior Other by the Europeans, took concrete forms through issues of inclusion versus exclusion, superintendency versus probationer, mission station versus field work, a divide which was even used to apportion responsibilities between the men and women of the inferior Other.

Chapter 5
New forms of Baptist native work and the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church (1893-1927)

5.1. Tshabo Mission's later years and independent native mission work

In the notes concerning the Missionary Session during the 1893 BU Assembly, the Tshabo Mission report "showed that the work we have at hand at the Tshabo Mission has been seriously hampered by the illness of the Missionary, John Adams."[1] Furthermore, "his health is almost limited. Weakness of the chest is the cause. But deacons are doing the work hard, with heart ... Mrs Adams is going on with Sunday school."[2] The BU Assembly minutes also reported that "it was stated that the native evangelist, John Adams, was seriously ill, and but faint hopes could be entertained of his ultimate recovery, whereupon the Rev. John Russell was appointed to write a letter of sympathy on behalf of the Assembly."[3] In the same assembly, referring to what could have been the first ordination of a black minister in the Baptist Church of South Africa, the Examining Committee however, "recommended his [John Adams] application for ordination, but referred it back to the [European-only] Missionary Committee, and when they think circumstances justify the step, he will be recognized in the manner he desires."[4] Also worth noting is that the same assembly reported that: "Four brethren offered themselves for native work in Africa in connection with our Society, viz: Jos. Booth, Shire Highlands, East Central Africa; N. Wakeham, Johannesburg; Bent, East London Tabernacle; C Pittman, Harley College."[5] Unfortunately, "the committee is exceedingly sorry that it could not entertain any of these offers, as our Society is still only in formation."[6] But the same resolution concluded on a surprising note: "fears, however, prevail that no means will come forth until real work is begun and [there is] a proper man in the field."[7] Noting that John Adams has been in "the field" for over ten years at this stage, though sick, could it be that he was not regarded as the "proper man"? Could it also be that the infantilization of the natives was being articulated in a new vocabulary? Could these resolutions be affirming the homogenised European superior "one" over against the natives' inferior "other"? These questions should be noted as this chapter unfolds.

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[1] Minutes of 1893 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1893-1894, p. 7.
[2] Ibid., p. 38.
[3] Ibid., p. 18.
[4] Ibid., p. 21.
[5] Ibid., p. 39.
[6] Ibid.

The amalgamation of Tshabo Mission into the SABMS fold also encompassed its finances, which were included under the SABMS finances from 1st January 1893. After this amalgamation John Adams, while still sick, was reportedly paid £4.8s.12d., on 31st January and 2nd March respectively. It is interesting to read this amount in comparison to 1890, when he was not sick, during which he received £45.13s.11½d. and £37.10s. in 1892,[8] respectively. Pertaining statistics, the ecclesiastical return of Tshabo Mission during this assembly lists that it had 26 members, same as the previous year. The Sunday school had 30 scholars and 3 teachers, and Potsdam and Kuru were the branch churches.[9] These figures should be read in light of the fact that the SABMS during this 1893 assembly was only eleven months old.[10] Next to the written resolutions and discussions pertaining to Tshabo, an effort to promote the SABMS was made.

> About 150 circulars were printed and issued to each church in and outside of our [Baptist] Union, likewise to members and friends of the denomination. Twenty-five pastoral letters were sent jointly with the above to every minister in and outside of our [Baptist] Union. The object was to create and promote enthusiasm and practical co-operation, at the same time inviting suggestions for our work. One hundred and fifty collecting cards were printed, thirteen of which have been taken up. We can chronicle some monetary results during the last months, but are unable to report on a spiritual harvest.[11]

Accompanying this publicity were three generic proposals, which the Missionary Committee submitted to the assembly for deliberations. Firstly, the Chairman's plan proposed "to have an itinerating Missionary visiting our Churches, raising Missionary enthusiasm and establishing causes. The work would be almost a self supporting one."[12] Secondly, to establish a Home Agency that would "further the objects of our Society it appears opportune, that some church at home (perhaps the Metropolitan Tabernacle) should take up and advocate the cause."[13] Thirdly, that there should be travelling expenses "for members of the Committee when requested to attend."[14] The motions were passed and it was further resolved "that another attempt be made to co-operate with the Colwyn Bay Congo Training Institute,

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[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., p. 41.
[9] Ibid., pp. 36-37.
[10] Ibid., p. 38.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., pp. 19-20.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

on terms that can be mutually arranged."[15]

Two years later, that is, during the 1894 BU Assembly, an important decision concerning native mission property was reached which was to have consequences on the Tshabo Mission property. This decision brought to effect, within the Baptist Church, aspects concerning property and land valuation and devaluation, discussed in the previous chapter. In other words, native mission land and property were purchased in "profitable" areas. The issue at hand concerns the churches in Kingwilliamstown which reported that they purchased property because a "thought occurred to take it and make a missionary centre for the many natives who visit or live round about town."[16] But given that in 1892 the Pretoria church had liabilities in excess of £2, 000, secured by bonds on church property, paying interest of 10 per cent, this caused the 1893 assembly to effect the resolution that: "No Church receiving aid from the [Baptist] Union be allowed to effect any change in Church polity, or enter upon work involving a large special expenditure, without first consulting the [Baptist] Union, by Assembly or by the Executive."[17] The Kingwilliamstown churches had resolved that "there was nothing to lose, others were willing to give more. But what if the [Baptist] Union repudiate the debt? Then said these churches, we will be responsible if the Union will not be."[18] Consequently, the assembly resolved in light of the latter point that a committee consisting of Revs. H. J. Batts, J. Gifford, L. Nuttall, Messrs. T. H. Grocott and G. White be appointed for this property, which is a "large Wesleyan Church."[19] The recommendation to the committee was:

> To endorse the action of the purchase of the property for the sum of £350, and that the same be transferred to the Executive of the [Baptist] Union as Trustees, the interest to be the first charge on Mission funds. Further, that the Committee recognizes this as an exceptional case,

[15] Ibid., p. 20. By 1894, the assembly minutes reported that: "On account of Mr Hughes' [Superintendent] absence from home for some time, no reply had been received to our last letter, and therefore there is nothing definite to report upon this matter" (Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 54.).
[16] Minutes of 1893 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1893-1894, p. 14. For a discussion on the founding of Kingwilliamstown and Grahamstown, refer to Chapter 2.
[17] Ibid., p. 22.
[18] Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 8. Still on the question of property, the Missionary Committee further stated that "the moment of highest enthusiasm was when we heard of the magnificent offer of the Premier, Hon. C. Rhodes, to us, through the [SABMS] President:- Three large farms in Matebeleland and Mashonaland for missionary work; two stands in each of the three townships, Fort Salisbury, Fort Charter, Fort Victoria; a donation of £100, and the encouragement to hope for another £500 by the Chattered Company ... . The Sub-Committee recommended that Mr. Hughes and Mr Cross be asked to visit England as a deputation from the Missionary Society to interest the home churches in the enterprise and collect funds" (Ibid). To sum up this point, their presence in Britain was not well received since the BU of Great Britain referred to Rhodes as a freebooter and questioned the SA delegation on acceptance of such gifts.
[19] Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 31.

> and would point out that the [Baptist] Union in future cannot pledge itself to acknowledge the purchase of any property without first securing the consent of the Executive or the General Assembly.[20]

This Wesleyan Chapel, once described by Shaw as having a civilizing effect,[21] like Tshabo Mission, came directly under the control of the SABMS. Regarding the Pretoria Church debt, this church could not be left alone to sink in debt. Encumbered with a bond of £1800, with a further debt of £350, "it was thought to be a hopeless task to take up the work again."[22] The Rev. H. J. Batts visited the town in May 1893, and "by this tact and the energy he removed the floating debt and left £80 in hand."[23] Since his return, the bond had been reduced to £1,650, and the interest from 10 per cent to 6 per cent. Although the Pretoria Church is in urgent need of money, "we record these great results with grateful hearts."[24]

At Tshabo, the work was carried on "partly by Mr Pittman and the Deacons of the Native church."[25] Mrs John Adams conducted the Sunday and Day Schools, and: "Steps are being taken to secure a Native Evangelist as successor to the late John Adams."[26] Interestingly, in this assembly of 1894, Mr Pittman is recorded as "our first English Missionary."[27] Let us recall that he was one of four brethren whom the Society had earlier responded that they could not entertain their offers. He came to the Colony recommended by Dr. Guinness and the tutors of Hartley College, and the Rev. Archibald Brown, his pastor.[28] Regarding the late John Adams, the SABMS placed on record concerning "our Native Evangelist"[29]:

> Much might be written regarding this useful servant of Christ, but we can only refer to a few facts relating to him in connection with our Society during the year. Temporal relief was administered in his favour by the Committee; and his ordination took place before he left,

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[20] Ibid. In the same assembly, the SABMS treasurer, Rev H. Gutsche, reported in his report that "24 pounds will have to go in interest on loan for the purpose."(Ibid., p. 55).
[21] Shaw, W. (1874). *Memoir of the Rev William Shaw*. London: Weslyan Conference Office, pp. 288-289.
[22] Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 44.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., p. 54.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., p. 53.
[28] Ibid., p. 54. The SABMS in appreciation of this effort, and also making a request, resolved: "Letter of this nature were addressed to Dr Guinness, Hartley College, Rev. A. Brown, East London Tabernacle, and the Superintendent of the Drummond Road Sunday School, for their kind help of Mr Pittman, as a Missionary of our Society, and a request made for their interest in our work. Mr. Henkel was thanked for his letter, and Mr. A. L. Baily, for his generous gift of an organ for the use of the native Mission, Kingwilliamstown." (Ibid.). Further, Hartley College was an interdenominational college, which formed part of the East London Training Institute of Fanny and Grattan Guinness and was on very friendly terms with Spurgeon's Pastor's College. As for Achiblad Brown, pastor of the West London Tabernacle, he was one of Spurgeon's students.

upon the recommendation of the doctor, for a change over the Orange River. He died in Kimberley, on August 23rd, 1893. Our brother, the Rev. James Hughes, visited him during his last days on earth, and wrote expressing his belief that John Adams passed away in the faith of Christ, to join the great company of the redeemed.[30]

Adams' ordination, a ceremony performed at the last hour, left much to be desired. His application was at first referred back to the (European-only) Missionary Committee for their consideration, followed not long after by the report that he was very ill. Months passed without any report on him until the report of his death was preceded by the announcement that his ordination had taken place. Could the granting of a dying person's wish be the issue at hand? Further study as to the reasons why John Adams's ordination took place this late in his lifetime, needs to be undertaken. This is because the currently available sources do not help explain this aspect.

In 1895, during the BU Assembly, new missionaries to work at Tshabo were welcomed. These were Miss A. Bellin, Miss Box, Messrs. J. W. Joyce and C. W. Pearce.[31] By the end of the same year, Rev C. Pittman, working at Kingwilliamstown, reported that he had 5 helpers but his report had no statistical returns on converts, members or scholars. In contrast, Tshabo Mission, which had no settled pastor or (European) helpers, reported 28 members, 50 scholars, 3 teachers and 1 school,[32] in the same year.

From July 10th 1894, Miss Bellin and Miss Box were stationed at Tshabo. The report on their work, the first European lady missionaries in the Baptist Church, at an originally German native mission station, is worth quoting in its entirety as it describes the building structure, which constituted the Tshabo Mission station.

They have conducted a day and night school and Sunday school, and have evangelized

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[29] *Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly*, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 53.
[30] Ibid., p. 53.
[31] Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 23. Miss Ada Bellin and Miss Lydia Box came together from Melbourne, Australia, "that they might enter upon service for Christ amongst the natives of South Africa. They came not knowing the existence of our Society, but, being informed that our denomination had founded a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the natives of this country, offered themselves to us as workers. The letters of recommendation from the Rev. Samuel Chapman of Melbourne, brought by these ladies, gave the Committee confidence in accepting of their offer for Christian work. Mr. Joyce arrived at the same time ... The credentials of Mr. Joyce were considered satisfactory, and he was asked to remove up country to Mr. Arnold's for a few months for the purpose of gaining a knowledge of the native language and customs. At the end of the year the fourth worker reached us, - Mr C. Pearce ... [and] arrangements were made for him to reside up country that he might become acquainted with the language and customs of the Kafir" (Ibid., p. 53.).

amongst the huts within a radius of two or three miles from the Mission Station. The Sunday morning and afternoon services have been supplied by our brother, Mr. Pittman, who, in addition to this work, had charge of the Native Mission in Kingwilliamstown; and as a result of these labours six have been baptized during the year. The need for a new building in Tshabo is evident and pressing. The Chapel and the two small rooms occupied by the lady missionaries are under one roof, the original intention having been to pull down the dividing wall when it was found necessary for the congregation, and make the whole building a chapel. And the time of growth is upon the mission, so that something will have to be done to provide ampler accommodation. For not only have we to consider the size of the chapel, there is also the need of a larger dwelling-place for the missionaries.[33]

In brief, Tshabo Mission station consisted of a single building under whose roof were a chapel and two rooms. When Rev C. Spurgeon, the famed British Baptist pastor, toured the country in 1895, he also visited Tshabo accompanied by "several of the [South African] brethren."[34] There were also a number of Europeans who "visited the mission for their personal interest thus manifested in the work and the workers."[35] Consequently, the SABMS reported that it is "glad to know [that Tshabo] is becoming known to our ministers and members of the Churches."[36] But this gladness was overshadowed by the fact that, since the death of John Adams, in August 23rd, 1893, efforts "to procure a suitable Native [male] Evangelist for Tshabo [are] without success."[37] These futile results caused the SABMS to decide that "our attention has been called to the fact that we must train our own."[38] As a result: "The Committee resolved to send David Ncapyi, a member of King Williamstown Mission, to Lovedale Institution for one year, to be educated at the expense of the Missionary Society."[39] This was a first in the Baptist Church of South Africa. Would it also be the last in this period under research? This we shall later discover. What is worth noting about this decision is that it was taken since no suitable evangelist could be secured. In other words, the sending of a native Baptist worker to Lovedale Institution was not the SABMS's priority. Or is this question premature? Well, this question sets an early precedent for what was to later become the European Baptists' hesitancy in establishing a training institution for native workers. In the subsequent sections we will discover more about this Ncapyi, who ended up working for the SABMS, but through the Bantu Baptist Church.

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[32] Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, pp. 41-42.
[33] Ibid., p. 53.
[34] Ibid., p. 53.
[35] Ibid., p. 54.
[36] Ibid., p. 53.
[37] Ibid., p. 54.
[38] Ibid.

In the previous chapter, it was indicated that independent Baptist native mission work referred to native mission work independently initiated by European churches among the natives in the surrounding native settlements. Even after the formation of the SABMS in 1892, some European churches independently continued with mission among the natives. For example, in 1893, the Wynberg church under Rev. E. Baker became another European church to show an interest in native mission work. Unlike other European Baptist churches, which initiated their own work, Wynberg took this work from the Dutch Reformed Church. Its church report to the assembly stated:

> Last September the Mission School carried on by the Dutch Reformed Church was about to be closed. We determined to make an effort to prevent this. To undertake the management in connection with our Church, we needed about £50 per annum, in addition to the Government Grant. Being a young and poor Church, we hesitated to make a forward movement; but after making it a matter of prayer, we felt persuaded that the Lord was calling upon us to advance. Arrangements were therefore made with the Kerkraad of the Dutch Reformed Church for the use of the Schoolroom; and the transfer of the Government Grant of £75, from that body to our own, was effected. With a good staff of teachers, the children are making excellent progress. The number of scholars had increased from 120 to 170 ... We have therefore decided to erect a place of our own. A good site in a central position has been secured. A building fund had been opened, and about £70 received or promised.[40]

In addition to its native mission work, Wynberg had a monthly Missionary Prayer Meeting, which resulted in a contribution of £6.10s. to the SABMS in its first year. The Alice Church is another example, which, in its report to the 1894 assembly reported, "Chumie has been re-occupied as one of our outstations with very gratifying results."[41] But in 1895, only the Wynberg Church had a report to the assembly concerning its native work. It reported, "The combined attendance at our three Sunday Schools (two of which are native) has risen to 140."[42] This report was the last record of such reports, of independently initiated European work among the natives, to the BU Assemblies, annually. The BU Assemblies' devoted attention was to be given to reports from the SABMS, which had been by now, three years in existence. But to maintain the European churches' interest in the SABMS native work, in one of the motions during the 1894 assembly of which notice had been given, it was resolved "That the Assembly recommends the Rev. L. Nuttall to the Missionary Society as a suitable

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Minutes of 1893 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1893-1894, p. 34.
[41] Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 37.
[42] Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 40.

man to visit the Churches in the interest of the Society and the Union. The Union to co-operate with the Society to effect this."[43] Based on the Missionary Committee's Chairman's plan presented and adopted in the last assembly, "a young man was invited to serve both the Union and the Society as an itinerating Missionary."[44] Mr Maginnes, who came in response to the invitation, was required to supply at Cradock, where he had since settled as the pastor of the Church; as a result, "the plan as it stands, had not been carried out."[45]

5.2. The SABMS attitude to indigenous culture, Ethiopianism[46] and defecting ministers

When Rev. James Hughes became the BU president for 1894-1895, he became the first president to apply the term "moral wrongs" to include the whites. His presidential address, spoken during the 1894 assembly was entitled *The Mission of the Church in the World.* Furthermore, while rebuking the natives, he also rebuked the whites. He stated that "for not only do we find all around us, among the native tribes of South Africa, a surging, seething mass of moral corruption, but many of our own complexion, cradled in the midst of religious influences, who having emerged from the sheltered nest of a father's home and the companionship of a mother's purity, have yielded to the fascinations of worldly pleasure, and the seductive influences of sin, until they have become centres of moral infection and deformities rather than ornaments of social life."[47] But his attitude to "the equally blameable whites" for the society's immoral infection and deformities was momentary. This was because, immediately in his address, he spoke of whites as the more cultivated class. While charging the assembly to take a cursory glance at the condition of things around them and to perceive that the Christian enterprise was vast, he however mentioned that "ebullitions of

[43] Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 34.
[44] Ibid., p. 54.
[45] Ibid., p. 54. Within a year, Rev Maginnes' work at Cradock experienced dissension. He reported to the 1895 assembly that "The party which had left our church and formed an opposition in the Town Hall have been working day and night to get our congregation from the Church, and our children from the Sunday School. But we suffered little on this head" (Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 33.).
[46] Pretorius and Jafta (in Elphick, R., & Davenport, R. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 213-214), in explaining the term Ethiopian, argued: "texts such as Psalm 68:31, 'Let Ethiopia stretch out her hand to God,' and the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch by Philip (Acts 8), provided a direct link to the ancient church, without mediation of Western churches. The name Ethiopia, with its mystical connotations, was soon interpreted to refer to all black Africa, and a longing arose to plant authentic, indigenous churches across the entire continent. By 1902 'Ethiopianism' was used to refer to the entire indigenous movement, even by hostile whites, who attached political connotations to it. Whites' fears that the movement would lead to a universal black uprising were reflected in a flood of press articles against the 'black peril.'" See also: Khuzwayo, A. W. Z. (1979). *A History of Ethiopianism in S.A., with particular reference to the American Zulu Mission from 1835-1908.* Pretoria: UNISA. [Unpublished Master of Arts Dissertation]. See also Kamphausen, E., "Unknown Heroes: The Founding Fathers of the Ethiopian Movement in South Africa," in Denis, P. (ed.). (1995). *The Making of Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa.* Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, pp. 81-101.

coarse crime that we every now and again witness among the unlettered and superstitious tribes of this country, and the more appalling outrages so frequently perpetrated by the more cultivated classes of European extraction, are painfully distressing evidence of the necessity of a much wider diffusion of Christian principles among the people generally."[48] According to Hughes, this distressing evidence among both the unlettered and superstitious natives on the one hand, and the more civilized class of the Europeans on the other, was due to "the manifestation of sin among us which so frequently startle us are nothing less than the blue blaze bursting from the chinks and crevices of our social fabric, which might be taken as a certain indication of the existence of a much lurking danger down at the basement and the cellars of life in the various nations."[49]

So much as Hughes's conclusion sounds more anthropological than racial, societal than ethnic, implicit than explicit, it does carry parallels with the BU's racist practices towards the blacks. One such resolution, also implicit, issued by the BU assembly and supported by the SABMS, was the BU's condemnation of the Transvaal government's unjust treatment of the natives on the one hand, while on the other the SABMS, with the support of the BU, perceived the same natives as unlettered, superstitious and an uncultivated class.[50] This is of course, a contradiction of the BU Assembly's traditionally decisive and explicit resolutions. The resolution read: "That this [Baptist] Union strongly condemns the recent wholesale flogging of natives at Johannesburg, for walking upon the pavements of the streets, as an unjust, inhuman, unchristian, and cruel procedure, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the Transvaal Republic."[51] This resolution remained, of course, only a resolution. But as far as the resolution itself was concerned, would the BU have been so bold to utter the same concerning the affairs of its own house? Even though the BU had not flogged the natives, being Europeans, beneficiaries of colonial and imperial dispossession of land among other things, they had materially flogged the natives - the indigenous people of the land, practically speaking. As for the issuing of this resolution - a Christian and a just response as it may seem - it was the first of many as such[52] reactive responses which did not challenge and cause the oppressive colonial government to feel uncomfortable in its practices. This resolution and others following it, pusillanimous as they became, did nothing

[47] Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 16.
[48] Ibid., p. 17.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., pp.16-17.
[51] Ibid., p. 34.

to destabilize the comfort fellow Europeans enjoyed - both in secular and in church life.

After 1893, another reference to the natives as heathens was made in 1895, when the SABMS requested for prayers and gifts from the churches and Sunday Schools of "our denomination."[53] In its request, Rev D. H. Hay, Secretary of the SABMS wrote: "Let the friends of Jesus amongst us be the friends of the Mission Society, then shall we see the increase of the Lord from amongst the heathen by the preaching and the living of the Gospel by our [European] Missionaries and the Native Christians."[54] Furthermore, when the SABMS celebrated three years of its mission work, it reported: "There was a time, not so long ago, when Christian people of other denominations expressed desire that we as Baptists should take up native mission work in this country, and it is with joy that we are now able to record the third year's work of our Missionary Society. The happy desire has been realized; thanks be to God; and year by year we can see an increase in the spirit of Missions, especially to the heathen, amongst the members of our Churches."[55] This perception, however, never changed over the years but was articulated in different forms. For example, in 1919, Rev Pearce in his field report on Kaffraria reported that: "During the year a new Sunday School was opened at Lower Tshabo with two teachers and 21 scholars, [unfortunately] some of them [were] still in their red blankets."[56] This are the same type of attire about which Pape[57] was so disgusted that the natives are attending the church services in their raw heathenish costumes. Lastly, even after the formation of the Native Baptist Church Council in 1923, and beyond 1927 (the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church) as we shall later observe, references to native cultural practices as heathen were still articulated. For example, while the SABMS Report mentioned that "the work of God has been operative in the hearts of our native congregations it is evident from the fact that 316 are recorded as having made a profession of their faith in Jesus by baptism ... we remember how hard it is for many people to break away from the ties of heathenism, we thank God for such a manifest token of the power of the gospel in their lives."[58]

Regarding the aspect of native sects, the first record of a native Baptist worker to join an

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[52] See Chapter 9.
[53] Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 55.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid., p. 52.
[56] Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 37.
[57] See Chapter 1.
[58] The Thirty-Second Annual Report of the SABMS, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 14.

African Initiated Church was W. W. Stofile, an evangelist at Tshabo Mission. He joined the SABMS in 1897.[59] Not much is reported concerning him except that in 1901, he "joined the secession Presbyterians under Mzimba."[60] This is the same Mzimba, whose full names were: Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba (1850-1911), founder of the Mzimba Presbyterian Church of South Africa, which is also referred to as the Mzimbatite Church.[61] This church, after his death in 1911, had a direct influence on the formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, in 1923. As early as 1902 a shift among missionary churches and the colonial government occurred towards the AICs. In brief, these churches were referred to as the Ethiopian movement or Ethiopianism, a term "used to refer to the entire indigenous church movement, even by hostile whites, who attached political connotations to it. Whites' fears that the movement would lead to a universal black uprising were reflected in a flood of press articles against the black peril."[62] The Baptist Church of South Africa did the same. For example, in 1904, the SABMS Annual Report reported that: "At Tshabo we have made little headway, for the Ethiopian movement with its policy of active and passive resistance to the European Missionary, manifested by heathen and Christian alike, effectually prevents 'joy among the angels in heaven over new-born souls,' and the progress we believe which under normal conditions we would otherwise report, nevertheless several have been baptized, and our members more united and prayerful."[63]

The Ethiopian movement, or rather, the African Initiated Churches were to become a major stumbling block which Baptist missionaries and, reportedly, native workers were to face. The "obstructive" role that this movement posed is recorded in almost every assembly of the BU from 1901 onwards. In 1908, the SABMS reported, in almost a biblical language, to the BU assembly that: "During the year our Missionaries have been specially anxious owing to the Ethiopian influence which has threatened, and in some instances disturbed the 'rest' and consequent multiplications which has been the experience of the churches in Judea, Galilee and Samaria when they were able to work undisturbed 'in the fear and comfort of the Holy

[59] Minutes of 1899 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 83.
[60] Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook of 1900-1903, p. 132.
[61] See: Millard, J. A. (1999). *Malihambe*. Pretoria: UNISA, p. 52. The other name by which this church has also been referred to is: Free Church. Mzimba, the founder, was a graduate of Lovedale Institute, a Presbyterian institution, and many of his followers were convinced that after the death of James Stewart, principal of Lovedale, the Institute would belong to them. These disputes resulted in ill feeling between the Presbyterians of Kaffrarian Presbytery and those of Mzimba's Presbyterian Church of Africa (Ibid., p. 54).
[62] Elphick, R & Davenport, R. (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California, p. 214.
[63] Minutes of 1906 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 43.

Ghost.'"[64] The following year the report while complaining about the disturbances caused by the Ethiopian movement, also hinted about the marked out mission space not competed for by other denominations. That is: "The three tribes which are looked upon as our area of work in the land of the Pondos, between the Umtumvuna and St, John's, are not in the 'shore waters,' and, although in one section the Ethiopian movements have 'tangled the lines,' there need be no competition from any other Missionary Society in fishing over the same waters."[65]

In order to combat the problem of Ethiopianism and possible competition from other Missionary Societies in "our area of work in the land of the Pondos,"[66] the need for an increase in the numbers of the evangelists was raised. This was because Pondoland was "a large area - it takes several hours to ride from one Station to another - and, as a Denomination, we are responsible for its evangelisation. There is only one-way by which this may be effectively done, viz.: by Native Evangelists with our [European] Missionaries' supervision. There must be the maintenance of our present Native Evangelistic Staff: there ought to be an increase. The addition to the staff of such men as Galada and Macibi would mean great development."[67]

By 1910, the Pondoland native work had reportedly "[out]grown its own Evangelists."[68] However, "another thing it has to do - and it possessed the material - is to grow its own teachers."[69] According to the same report, this is because, in these native churches, "only perhaps half a dozen can read, [as a result] the children are growing up as ignorant as their parents."[70] Obstructing the SABMS's focus on how to further grow, numerically, the Pondoland work, was the AIC at Mjozi Station, the first mission station in Pondoland:

> The peace of the church is disturbed by the workers of the African Native Church [which the SABMS also refers to as Ethiopianism] endeavouring to draw away members and in one of his letters Mr Joyce says that on one occasion they held a praise meeting over a few of the members who had left our Mjozi Church and had gone over to them. This is surely not the work of the Spirit who would have us helpers of one another.[71]

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[64] Minutes of 1909 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 33.
[65] Minutes of 1910 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 37.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Minutes of 1910 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 38.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 34.

But these native churches did not draw away members from mission churches for numbers' sake. They symbolized, rather, the opposite of what native Christians experienced in mission churches. Most of these African native churches were, for example, led by natives who were accountable to themselves and not to Europeans. In 1919, the Ethiopian movement was reported in the SABMS Annual Report to be growing stronger. Rev J. W. Joyce, the superintendent of the Transvaal field, "whom the Natives call Spiritual Grand Father,"[72] paid periodical visits to Pondoland to "instruct and baptise new converts - encourage and strengthen some who might easily have succumbed to the influences of the Ethiopian movement which is busy in these parts."[73] The report concluded regarding Rev Joyce's visits that he gave wise advice that one should "wait and watch for the fruit of this movement, which seems to have as its motto, 'Let us continue in sin that grace may abound.'"[74] Reports blaming Ethiopianism for lack of converts continued. For example, in 1924, a year after the formation of the Native Baptist Church Council, in East Pondoland, Ethiopianism was blamed for the "net gain [of converts] being only 6."[75] In 1927, the year when the Bantu Baptist Church was formed, in East Griqualand and Alfred County, the work is reported to have "been considerably disturbed by the defection of one of our recognized ministers, F. Ndzekeni."[76] Nonetheless, "the [native] people are now evangelizing the kraals and contributing to the support of an evangelist and teacher as well as giving their quota towards the minister's salary."[77]

These African led native churches, also referred to as sects, only served, according to the SABMS, to make matters worse because members were reported to have "been enticed away by various sects offering an easy religion without discipline."[78] The report mentions, however, "[that] many have seen their error and have returned."[79] It therefore hoped that "the Creation of the Eastern Native Council will help to consolidate the work and repair the damage."[80] By this period, only the Northern and Southern Councils were in existence. The return of these natives who erred by joining these African led churches was short lived, because a number of defections occurred a year immediately after the formation of the Bantu

[72] Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 37.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 17.
[76] Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 22.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid., p. 27.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

Baptist Church. The first of these was in the Transkei:

> Our Superintendent in this work, Rev Hugo Peinke, reports a year of great difficulty owing to the activities of that Anti-European organization known as the Wellington Movement. This has been very active all through this district. In the field under his care he has lost during the past year about 140 members to this movement. Mr Peinke is of the opinion that in his own district the movement is beginning to weaken but it is now spreading into other fields and apparently will soon be affecting his work in Glen Grey and other parts. Finance in the churches under his care had been adversely affected by it as many members who are watching to see the form it will take are not giving as they did and some preaching places have had to be given up altogether. The native preachers also report that they found a strong spirit of opposition and suspicion facing them as they went about their work.[81]

After 1927, a major defection, the second one in Baptist history to date, though numbers were not disclosed, occurred in Eastern Pondoland whereat "during the year 92 converts have been added to the list of [member] Probationers which now stands at 250."[82] But it is "among this class that the Ethiopians put out their strongest efforts."[83] Regardless of this opposition, the "aim of [the SABMS] has been kept before the members of making the work self supporting as far as native workers are concerned."[84] While faced with this opposition, "an amount of £72.10s.6d. has been contributed by the natives to the funds of the Society and in addition to this £16.10s.9d. has been raised for special needs."[85]

Lastly, Alfred County, in Natal, made up of a "little group of three churches, two of them very small, with a total membership of 63 members [unfortunately] ... two small churches in this area have gone over to the Ethiopians."[86] Interspersing these three reports from the respective fields, Rev Brailsford, the Superintendent of Pondoland is recorded to have "made an appeal for the return [to East Griqualand] of the Rev. S. Mashologu, at least for a year, to assist in the reorganization of the work,"[87] given the challenge posed by the Ethiopian movement and other sects. This appeal was made because "owing to the absence of a Superintendent in Kaffraria the Society was obliged to transfer Rev. S. Mashologu from Griqualand and our missionary [Rev Brailsford] was thus left without the help of his right-

[81] Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 9.
[82] Ibid., p. 10.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

hand man."[88] Of Mrs Mashologu it was instead reported that, "in the absence of her husband at Kingwilliamstown, [she] has rendered splendid service to our missionary [Rev Brailsford]."[89] It therefore remains without doubt that, given the absence of the Superintendent of Kaffraria, Rev Mashologu fulfilled the responsibilities of a Superintendent, but was still viewed like all other native ministers - in need of a European Superintendent.

Even though the SABMS became the only body through which European Baptist churches could participate in mission work, these churches never ceased to contribute to mission among the natives. European Sunday Schools were reported to be "sending contributions, and with individual subscribers we cannot fear for the funds of the Society."[90] Even though there were seven out of 22 European churches making contributions to the Mission Funds, "our young people are offered a life of Carey, or Saker, or Knibb, for collecting not less than £1 towards the funds."[91] As a way of encouraging the churches to show more interest in mission work, Rev D. H. Hay, Secretary of the SABMS, concluded: "Perhaps in no country in the world are European Churches more advantageously situated than we are for direct Missionary work, and it behoves us to prove our faith in Christ by continuing in and existing this work."[92] These contributions do not imply that the BU budget broke even; rather, the BU executive report for 1894-1895 presented at the 1895 BU Assembly reported that debts for 1895 amounted to £7,912.17s.7d. . "This is owned [sic] entirely by the English Churches and the Native Mission. Our German brethren have no debt."[93] In spite of this excess amount, the SABMS recommended its report to the assembly and the churches by pleadingly stating that: "This work amongst the natives we do not set up against the European work in which we are engaged, but we ask for it in equal share of your faith and love, for the work is one. We plead for the prayers and the gifts of the Lord's people towards this gospel enterprise, and we need not be disappointed."[94]

5.3. The financial rewards of SABMS European and natives workers during these formative years

Rev. C. Pittman was reportedly the first English missionary from Australia, "whose duty it is,

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[88] Ibid., p. 10.
[89] Ibid., p. 11.
[90] Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 54.
[91] Ibid., p. 55.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 7. 16.
[94] Ibid., p. 55.

among other things, to gather a band of Native workers, and thrust them into various districts,"[95] and the European churches were urged to support him. Rev H. Gutsche, SABMS treasurer from March 1893 to April 1896,[96] reported that: "A horse is wanted for [Pittman's] Mission work."[97] In challenging the assembly, Gutsche asked: "Is there no one that will give? The Lord hath need for him."[98] As will be noted later, the call never went unheeded. As for the bereaved Mrs John Adams, "The English church at East London raised [in 1893] a special fund of £6.10s. by an entertainment, for Missionary John Adams, then sick. During six months, the Society extended £18.14s.10d., in addition to the salary and allowances for the same purpose. The collections at Tshabo have been handed to Mrs Adams."[99] In the SABMS financial statement presented during the 1894 BU Assembly, Rev John Adams received a salary of £25 for the duration of March to August 1893, 12s.9d. was spent on his medical relief, £5.10s. was for his journey to Kimberley, and £12.12s. 1d. was for his monetary relief.[100] In sharp contrast to Rev John Adams, Rev C. Pittman earned a salary of £15 for Nov 15th to Dec 31st, 1893,[101] that is, for a month and a half compared to Adams's £25 for six months, not including the horse for Pittman.

Alongside financial rewards one might consider the working conditions the natives and European Baptist workers were respectively subjected to. Rev John Gifford in his presidential address to the 1895 assembly entitled *The Threefold Need of the Church* listed the three "distinctives" the Baptist Church in South Africa was faced with. These were: Distinctive Living, Distinctive Teaching, and Distinctive Working. Under Distinctive Working, he addressed primarily the problem of wanting to overwork the minister,[102] in particular, European ministers. The argument he raised, though it does specifically refer to European ministers pastoring European churches, also had far reaching implications for European missionaries. That is: "While it is important that we should have evangelical doctrines preached in the pulpit, it is equally important that there should be evangelistic effort in the

[95] Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 55.
[96] There is a record of another Gutsche: Rev Hugo Gutsche Jnr. who immediately followed Gutsche as Treasurer of the SABMS from April 1896 to October 1902. There is also another Gutsche, in this case Dr Philip Gutsche, who became Chairperson of the SABMS from 1916 to 1919 (Minutes of 1949 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1949-1950, pp. 131-132.).
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., p. 55.
[100] Ibid., p. 56.
[101] Ibid.
[102] This is because by 1895 there were no native Baptist ministers. Rev John Adams, the first ordained Baptist minister, died in August 23rd, 1893, at Kimberley (Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-

pew. Every believer is called to the life of activity and self-sacrifice for the good of others."[103] This, according to Gifford is because: "In the construction of the material creation our Heavenly Father worked alone, but in the construction of the moral universe He calls His people into holy partnership."[104] The problem and misconception about congregants is that "the minister is paid to do the Lord's work."[105] Furthermore, congregants "think the minister [is] very unkind if he ventures to disturb the consciences on the Lord's Day by telling them that they have a work to do as well."[106] Worst is the common practice of making the minister "the *factotum* in the Church, a man of all work, a general embodiment of theology and commerce, law and gospel, expounder and administrator, preacher and business man, prayer-leader and financier, student and gossip, sick visitor and schemer; at the head of all enterprise, and at the feet of all officials; responsible for filling the pulpit, filling the pews, filling the school, filling the treasury, filling the houses of all his members, filling their heads with sound doctrine, and their hearts with divine comfort, and all their peculiar whims and unreasonable demands with brimful satisfaction; responsible for conversions and Church increase, and success in every department and effort."[107]

Gifford also posed a question to intellectuals: "Is it not a fact, that there are large numbers of Christian professors, who seem to regard their attendance on the means of grace, and listening to the sermons as constituting the sum total of their religious obligations?"[108] This is because, according to Gifford: "They fail to realize that every saved soul is called to be a soul-saver, and that all the Lord's people are to be prophets and priests, to make known His will, and to offer spiritual sacrifices."[109] He concluded his challenge that "every Christian may be suitably employed, and every talent properly invested. If you want a field of labour you may find it anywhere. There are wanderers to be directed to the paths of virtue, sick people to be visited, sorrowing ones to be comforted, halting ones to be pressed into the vineyard of God, little children to be placed in the arms of Jesus, and a lot of real mission work to be done."[110] Gifford's challenge managed to achieve two goals. Firstly, to raise awareness among the churches regarding the realistic demands and working conditions of a

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1895, p. 53).
[103] Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 18.
[104] Ibid., p. 18.
[105] Ibid., p. 19.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid
[108] Ibid., p. 18.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., p. 20.

minister. Secondly, to redirect the European Baptists' attention away from being an inward looking local denomination towards putting effort into those outside the local church including intensified mission to the natives.

In the same assembly at which Gifford presented his presidential address, his Distinctive Working argument was heeded. This is evident in that the Missionary Session of the assembly resolved to adopt a proposal by the Missionary Committee to allocate "a grant of £15 to the ladies [Misses Bellin and Box]. To be set aside for work in Pondoland, by Mr Joyce, a sum of £25, and a suitable allowance be paid to Mr Pearce as successor to Mr. Pittman in King Williamstown, and £12 be set aside for our native student at Lovedale."[111] Also presented in the same assembly: "A letter was read from Major Sprigg, generously offering to entertain any missionary sent by the Society. A special note of thanks was heartily accorded Major Sprigg [magistrate of Bizana, also a Baptist] for his kind offer."[112] Furthermore, C. C. Hekel, Esq., governor of Umtata, in Transkei, "wrote suggesting Bomvaland as a suitable field for missionary labour, and kindly offering to render all assistance in his power in aid of the Society's operations."[113] While the assembly minutes report on the grants made towards mission work, including allowances to European workers, Rev Pittman's resignation is also reported. It is noted, "the Committee deeply regretted the fact that he should be giving up the [native] work for which he came to this country, and seemed to be adapted, and was taking up European work instead."[114] In accepting to be co-pastor with Rev W. E. Kelly at the Baptist Church in Johannesburg, "[he] gives over his horse, saddle and bridle to the lady Missionaries at Tshabo, and desires that this should be considered as his contribution of £1 for ten years towards the funds of the Society."[115] To date, Pittman's resignation became the first record of a European (male) missionary leaving native work for the European work, apart from Ms Harding,[116] who did not stay as the new teacher in Tshabo after 1869.

5.4. Formation of Native Baptist Church Councils (1923)
5.4.1. Background on native workers' "assemblies" (1904-1923)

The first record of a meeting of native Baptist workers was in 1904. According to the

[111] Ibid., p. 51.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] See Chapter 1.

SABMS Annual Report for 1904, "owing to the growth of the work, and the need of a conference of workers to devise ways and means to carry on the same, a Quarterly Meeting of Deacons and Preachers is regularly held at one of the Churches, whereat reports of the work at each place are submitted and discussed."[117] At this meeting, "a preaching plan is prepared and printed half yearly, the preachers themselves contributing to the cost."[118] This first meeting was held at Berlin and the evangelist, Dyantyes Mgoqi, was reported to have "rendered excellent service."[119] Besides the preachers and evangelists' meeting, there were also the native Christians' monthly prayer meetings. The first of such meetings was at Tsolokazi, in 1908, where they were "visiting and holding services in the huts."[120] In these meetings, the native Christians "did their best to ease the weight and to prevent our workers' energy from being overtaxed."[121]

The Quarterly Meetings seem to have proven successful over the years. For example, in 1915 it was reported that "Mr Pearce [Superintendent of Transkei] has introduced into the Transkei field the system of Quarterly Meetings of Church officers, which have proved so beneficial in Kaffraria."[122] Along the same lines, it was reported that "Mr Joyce [Superintendent of Pondoland] has successfully instituted quarterly meetings for preachers and Evangelists. These have been held, and have been very helpful to the work."[123] Mr Joyce's meeting also reported that natives at such a meeting - the record of which is not available - made financial contributions. In Easter of 1916, a new chapter concerning these native workers was written. That is, a Native Council representing the churches of Kaffraria and the Transkei, both under Mr Joyce, was inaugurated. This was called "*i Bunga lama Bandla ase Baptist*."[124] The SABMS assembly translated this title into "Baptist Council of Native Churches in Kaffraria and the Transkei."[125] After its founding, nothing else about this body was reported except that the "second Annual Assembly of this Council was held in Easter [of 1917] at Qora

[117] Minutes of 1904 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 44.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Minutes of 1909 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 33.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Minutes of 1915 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1915-1916, p. 34. According to the minutes, the Transkei had two fields. That is, "District 1 is under the charge of our Native Rev Maurice J. Mntwini, with 10 churches and outstations ... District 2 is under the charge of our Native probationer-minister Rev James Yaka, with 11 churches and outstations. In this district, the services have to be held in huts, there not being a single church building. Applications have therefore been made for sites for churches."(Ibid.).
[123] Ibid., p. 36. In the same meeting, "the native contributions amounted to 29.6s.6d. averaging a little over 3/4 per member." (Ibid.).
[124] Minutes of 1917 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1917-1918, p. 30.
[125] Minutes of 1918 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1918-1919, p. 16.

Springs."[126] About those present, it is reported that "besides the three Native ministers [Revs M. J. Mtwini, J. Yaka and S. Mashologu] and delegates from the three districts [Hugo Gutsche District, 1st Lott Carey District and 2nd Lott Carey District], there also attended four Native ministers with their deacons from the Lott Carey churches who desire to work under the auspices of our Society."[127]

Given this history of an existence of just over ten years, it is clear that these assemblies were not purely native assemblies. Even though the first of such meetings record no European present among these workers, over time the European superintendents assumed control of these meetings. That is, control in the sense that they oversaw their actual meeting and planning to the extent of restructuring the nature of such meetings. Mr Joyce's inauguration of the Native Council representing the churches of Kaffraria and Transkei, in Easter of 1916, is a case in point. That is, what started as a conference of native workers, with a quarterly meeting of deacons and preachers during which a preaching plan was prepared and preachers contributed to the costs, came under the "guidance" of European Superintendents. Does this latter point mean that they were not supposed to? Surely not, given that these native workers undertook mission under the auspices of the Baptist Church of South Africa. But what remained at hand was a problematic relationship of dominance and subservience. This relationship permeated all structures within the Baptist Church of South Africa, including its finances and related matters.

Following Joyce's inauguration of the Baptist Council of Native Churches in the Transkei and Kaffraria, in 1919 Pondoland was placed under the oversight of Rev. J. W. Joyce, reportedly "at the wish of the natives[!]"[128] In the same year, the third Baptist Council of Native Churches of Kaffraria and the Transkei was held at Tshabo Mission. This Council provides the most direct record of the European missionaries' control of these native assemblies. Reporting on the council, the Missionary Session of the assembly stated that "Rev. C. W. Pearce was in the chair"[129] while the attendees were "seven native ministers, four evangelists, five elders, seven deacons, seven preachers and six other deacons."[130] A deputation from the SABMS committee "consisting of the Revs. D. H. Hay and B. V. Bird

[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 37.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.

visited the [native] assembly. Their messages were greatly appreciated by all present. Funds were raised for the new hymn book and for the parent society [SABMS]."[131] Another second aspect about this Council is that it provides the first record of natives raising funds for the SABMS, in a native council chaired by a European. This aspect implies that when reading SABMS financial statements, which often do not reflect the contributions of the natives, one should not forget that natives contributed to the running of the SABMS.

In the Transvaal, the fist Transvaal Native Baptist Congress was held in January 1920, at Boksburg. According to the SABMS Annual Report for 1920-1921, this congress "unquestionably will result in much good."[132] The delegates at the meeting "listened to lectures and instruction from the Rev. J. E. Ennals, B.A., B. D., Rev. Baker and the Superintendent [Rev J. W. Joyce by then Superintendent of the Transvaal]."[133] At the request of this native assembly, "a small handbook containing the teaching and principles of our denomination is to be published in Native languages."[134] The report concluded by mentioning that a "generous friend has presented the Society with a motor cycle and side car for Mr Joyce's use along the Reef."[135] The following year, 1921, the Council for Native Churches in the Transkei and Kaffraria reportedly made "the suggestion that all candidates for ministerial recognition should first be recommended by the [Native] Council to the Missionary Society."[136] In the same meeting, a resolution was passed asking "for mutual representation by the Native Baptist Association at their respective meetings of assembly, in order to promote harmonious working."[137] That is, the NBA was inviting the Council for Native Churches in the Transkei and Kaffraria to attend its meetings or assemblies, which of course was to imply a reciprocal relationship. The Native Baptist Association (NBA) was neither founded by the SABMS nor the BU, but had its origin in the USA - the Lott Carey missionaries, as we shall later observe.

It is worth noting that the 1921 report on the Council of Native Baptist Churches in Transkei and Kaffraria is introduced by the statement: "Mr Pearce has fostered an annual assembly of the Council of Native Baptist Churches of the Transkei and Kaffraria, whether under our

[131] Ibid., p. 39. The same minutes report that during this meeting, a constitution was adopted and framed on that of the Border Baptist Association.
[132] Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 40.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Minutes of 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1921-1922, p. 44.

[SABMS] direct supervision or not."[138] But this supervision by the Europeans over the natives did become direct over time. Moreover, the natives were constantly reminded that they needed it. Since the founding of this BU up until 1921, there was no record of the Europeans' institutional policy towards the native workers. But what comes across throughout the BU minutes is that Europeans remained superior while the natives remained inferior. Noting that the Missionary Superintendents attended these natives councils and even chaired them, the SABMS's statement that the annual assembly of the council of native churches took place whether under the SABMS's "direct supervision or not" is worth commenting on. These councils, overseen by European Superintendents, who in turn were under the SABMS, were therefore, overseen by the SABMS. The level of supervising authority did not end here. These European Superintendents, being SABMS workers, were eligible to be elected the SABMS Committee, and in turn they could participate in the annual BU Assemblies. But more than this, whether they were in the SABMS Committee or not, they were allowed to attend these BU's annual assemblies.

The native assemblies initiated by the natives themselves, came to be more and more frequently supervised and chaired by European Superintendents. These assemblies, in 1922, were reported by the SABMS to be "a growing feature of our work ... of either evangelists and leaders, or of all associated with the work."[139] Furthermore, these assemblies were seen to "provide wholesome opportunities for expression and guiding of Native opinion."[140] In other words, native agency, so much as it was controlled, was allowed some expression - homogenously controlled under European guidance. Furthermore, concerning these assemblies, native expression is referred to as opinion, in contrast to European assemblies, whose discussion and resolutions were never referred to as such. This point reinforces the previously discussed one concerning the master-servant narrative, now taking form in an opinion-fact narrative. In other words, the servant (native) only has an opinion and is in need of the master (European), who will provide the fact. In the master-servant narrative during this missionary episode, the role of native agency did not unfold unnoticed. That is, the SABMS Committee acknowledged that the "work of the [European] missionary has in some cases been assisted by local ministers."[141]

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[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Minutes of 1922 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 3.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid. As indicated before, this is one of the earliest records of native ministers working under the SABMS.

Regarding these ministers, the SABMS Committee was "hoping through some such organization to find a useful advisory body with regard to ministerial recognition and general policy."[142] Structurally, the SABMS, being a national body operating under the BU, had not as yet founded a national native assembly. It reported that "our work is scattered at too great a distance to make one united Native Conference practicable on grounds of time and expense, but we hope in the near future to have two such formed on a common constitution representing the South and the North receptively."[143] In the interim, the Southern and Northern Sub-committees were formed. The former had oversight of Kaffraria, Transkei and Tembuland,[144] while the latter oversaw Transvaal, Pondoland, Lambaland, South Rhodesia and the outposts of O.F.S. and Natal. These sub-committees, which also consisted of European missionaries, were "found to work so well that it is proposed to hold two instead of three meetings of the general committee between Assemblies, and so to save expense."[145]

Native work kept growing primarily due to efforts by native agents, in particular, evangelists and ministers. For example, in the same report of 1922, it is recorded that "the most notable expansion of our work in the year has been in the Transvaal through the adherence to us of six pastors."[146] These pastors "had previously worked independently since leaving Rev. E. R. Davis many years ago, and have now come under the superintendence of the Rev. J. W. Joyce."[147] Immediately, however, the SABMS cautioned that, "while the Society provides the oversight these Native pastors must maintain themselves in their work, for which we undertake no financial responsibility."[148] This of course creates another paradox. That is, while the Society benefits from the labour of these workers, as it has been along with other natives, it did not commit itself to their upkeep. The question is: Why then did these native workers join such a society and remain within it? Could it be the need to associate with other native ministers? Or could it be the accompanying status of associating with a white led body rather than an individual white person (Rev Davis)? These questions and many others should be pondered by every researcher. The benefit that the Society had from the affiliation of these pastors was "the representation in the administrative capital of the Union [of South Africa],

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[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] In Tembuland, a conference of leading workers similar to a diaconate had already been formed and called itself *Ibunga*. (Minutes of 1922 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 7.).
[145] Ibid., p. 4.
[146] Ibid. In the same period in Kaffraria, mainly through the movements of evangelists, one station was resuscitated, at Ntsikizini, and a new one started at Donnington. (Ibid.).
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.

as well as in the Rustenburg, Waterberg, Pietersburg, and Pilgrims Rest districts."[149] These men however, were not easily accepted into the SABMS fold because they first "appeared before the Conference of Evangelists held at Boksburg, and were able to satisfy it after careful investigation, before it recommended them to our acceptance."[150]

Another interesting development during the Missionary Session of the same assembly was another resolution, which read: "That we refer the matter of the formation of Native Associations and the necessary Constitution for the governing of the same, to the incoming Committee of the Society."[151] A more vivid incident of separate racial practices in the Baptist Church is that while the missionaries and European pastors met amongst themselves, the annual assembly of the Southern Baptist Council of Native Churches also held in the same town as the assembly, was held aside.[152] Character-wise, which is of course not the reason for separate racial practices, the native assemblies were more of a revival kind of church gathering, characterized by an ordination service of those candidates approved prior to these assemblies, preaching, conversion and baptism of converts in the station where the assembly was held.[153] Policy and financial matters, as reflected in the minutes, were never discussed in these assemblies. Instead, Europeans discussed matters affecting and governing native ministers and evangelists during the Missionary Session of a given BU Assembly.

In 1923, native work started growing in large numbers. For example, in the Transvaal, Rev J. W. Joyce, Superintendent of the field, is reported to have "formed 136 Pastors, Evangelists and Preachers into 9 Preachers' Associations, in order to impart to them suitable instruction; and he has travelled hundreds of miles delivering Lectures on The Life of Christ to groups of preachers."[154] Their converts are the "many hundreds of the members [who] reside on farms,

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[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Minutes of 1922 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 47.
[152] Even though the BU Assembly and the Southern Baptist Council of Native Churches were held at the same time, native ministers never attended the BU assembly. Records of this assembly list only European ministers and missionaries as attendees. This therefore reinforces the argument that BU Assemblies (Chapter 2) remained a Europeans' only gathering.
[153] See Minutes of 1922 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, pp. 48 & 51.
[154] Minutes of 1923 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, pp. 50-51. It is important to note that most in the list were evangelists and preachers. This was because, by 1923, the SABMS had only ordained and accredited 13 native ministers in total. This was in all mission fields combined. These ordained ministers were: Mabena, M., of Springs; Makanda, W. N., of Nancefield; Mashego, S., of Frankfort in Pilgrims Rest; Mashologu, S., of Transkei; Mntwini, M. J., of Toleni in Transkei; Moheni, L., of Transvaal; Mahlangu, J. S., of Kliptown, Mgwigwi, J., of Cofimvaba; Ndzekeni, F., of Tsolo; Ntlahla, A., of Tsomo; Ntleki, J., [of Transvaal]; Ostrich, W. E., of Pretoria; and Pule, S. R., of Nigel & Heidelberg in the Transvaal. In the same year, only five native ministers from Native Baptist Association (NBA) were affiliated with the SABMS. These were: East, J.

where they have to give their time and labour without payment, [a reminder of the natives' dispossession from their land!], in return for permission to live on the farm, and a small piece of land to plough."[155] According to Rev Joyce, "our native workers are doing their utmost to minister to these unfortunate people."[156] In addition to Joyce's report, it was recorded that "under these circumstances it is interesting to have to report from Rev. J. W. Joyce that the contributions greatly increased during the year, and amounted to £361."[157] But the "greatest need of the Transvaal Field is of buildings in which to carry on the work which increases in every quarter."[158] This factor does not, however, negate the need to mention that "a Friend of Missions, through his generosity, has made it possible for a Church and Class rooms to be erected in the new location at Newlands."[159] This, according to Joyce, will "become the headquarters of our work for Johannesburg and the West Rand."[160] The report concludes with a jubilant note, that "it is worthy of notice that in this new and important [resettlement] Location, the Baptists are the first to erect a Church, and great credit due to Mr Joyce, and our warmest thanks to A Friend of Missions who made it possible."[161]

It is ironical that regarding this new and important location, which later turned out to be part of the western townships which constituted part of Soweto, the SABMS was delighted that the Baptists were the first to erect a church in it! By way of raising the argument of land dispossession, which of course caused most blacks to be relocated into settlements, all that European Baptists were concerned with is that there could be a church in this area. This is surely problematic in a number of ways. The church building, a symbol of Christianity, as a result of the colonial encounter, became a symbol of a faith used to justify colonialism and dispossession. Moreover, if one notes that the European Baptists did nothing to challenge the colonial system, and that the European Baptist missionaries and superintendents occasionally visited these mission fields, including the West Rand, their presence validated the distinction of space, class and inequality in general that not only existed in secular life but also within the Christian faith - the Baptist Church, in this case.

E., & Payne, H. A., both of Middledrift District in Kingwilliamstown, Koti, E. S. P., and Tshalata [sic], L., both of Harding in Natal, and Ntlahla, J., of Xwili in Qunu. (Ibid., pp.76-77.).

[155] Ibid., p. 50.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Ibid., p. 51.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

5.4.2. The Native Baptist Association

As hinted above, the NBA was a US led mission work in South Africa, unlike the SABMS, which through the BU had English origins primarily from the descendants of 1820 British settlers. As early as 1908 the names of native ministers working under NBA appear separately listed as native workers affiliated with the SABMS. The first of these were Revs D. E. Murff and E. P. Koti.[162] In 1912, the Missionary Session of the BU assembly resolved "that the Missionary Committee be requested to ascertain their [NBA] basis of membership and report to the Executive, who shall have power in conjunction with the Missionary Committee, to deal with the matter."[163] A list of questions to be asked the NBA's ministers in order to verify their doctrine and church administration, was drafted. Following them: "The reply as under having been received by our Missionary Committee from the Native Baptist Association, it was agreed that it be printed with the Missionary Statistics on affiliation with our Society."[164]

During the same assembly of 1912, the SABMS Committee reported that it "has been in communication with the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention [Inc.] of the U.S.A., the founding body of the NBA mission work in South Africa, with the result that, on August 30th [1912], a Joint Committee Meeting was held at Kingwilliamstown, consisting of Rev. H. Gutsche, Senr., D. H. Hay, and the Hon. Secretary [Rev B. V. Bird], representing the Society, and Rev. J. E. East (Moderator and Superintendent) and Rev. E. B. P. Koti (Secretary), representing the Native Baptist Association."[165] After considerable discussion it was agreed:

> (1) To recommend to the Committee of the B.M.S. and the Conference of the Native Baptist Association that, should the Baptist Union Assembly consent, the Native Baptist Association become affiliated as an Association with the Baptist Union of South Africa under the Baptist Union By-law No. VII.[166]

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[162] Minutes of 1909 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1908-1909, p. 45.
[163] Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 34.
[164] Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 45. See also Volume Three (Appendices), the document entitled: Conditions of membership with the churches affiliated with the Native Baptist Association.
[165] Ibid., p. 43.
[166] This By-Law VII concerns Associations. It reads: "(i) Churches within a given territorial area being voluntarily united for the purpose of fellowship and Church extension may be recognized by the Union as District Associations. (ii) Each such Association shall be self-governing within the field of its own operations. (iii) Each Association shall contribute to the funds of the Union the sum of not less than £5 per annum, and have the right to send two delegates to the Annual Assembly of the Union. (iv) All Churches within the Association shall report to the Union through the Association Secretary. (v) All applications to the Union for grants in aid

(2) That the Churches of the N.B.A. and B.M.S. should agree to interchange members by letter of transfer, and that members excluded by one body should not be received into fellowship by the other.

(3) And that, to avoid over-lapping, no church or preaching station should be started by the agents of either the N.B.A. or the B.M.S. in country districts within ten miles of a church or preaching station of the other body, without first coming to a mutual agreement between the two bodies.

(4) With regard to the starting of new stations or churches in the Location of the larger towns the ten miles limit should not apply, but agreement should be sought before the starting of work. [Mission spaces which the SABMS had negotiated with other European bodies were now being negotiated with a native led missionary body in South Africa. Was this agreement to last?][167]

At this meeting, "it was understood that the above recommendation should be submitted to the Committee of the B.M.S. and that of the N.B.A. for reference to the Assemblies of the two bodies."[168] But these resolutions should be viewed in the further light of related resolutions in the same minutes. In particular, it was also understood that "native ministers should be recommended by the Native Baptist Association for official recognition, the Committee of the Baptist Union deciding each case upon its merits."[169] The undertaken agreement between the SABMS and the NBA was expected by the SABMS Committee to "be a great advance of the Baptist Denomination amongst the native races of South Africa."[170] Furthermore, that the "denomination should be thoroughly one in Christian brotherhood and comradeship for the advancement of the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ."[171] The committee further mentioned: "The adoption of the recommendation will also undoubtedly lead to the formation of an Association of the Society's own Mission Churches which will seek to be affiliated with the Baptist Union in the same [manner as the N.B.A.] or a similar way. This will greatly encourage the native churches in their effort to become as much as possible self-supporting."[172] This recommendation of the Society's Association of mission churches, which would be affiliated with the BU, resulted in the formation of Native Baptist Councils in 1923 and the Bantu Baptist Church in 1927.

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from Churches within the Associations shall be made through the Association Assembly. (vi) The Annual Report of each Association shall be forwarded to the Union Secretary one month before the Annual Assembly." (Constitution of the Baptist Union, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, pp. 5-10.). See also Volume Three (Appendices), the document entitled: Constitution of the BU - as amended on 17th Oct. 1906.

[167] Ibid., pp. 43-44.

[168] Ibid., p. 44.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

The same year that the SABMS recognized affiliation of the NBA ministers to its structure, two particular events preceded this decision. Firstly, a few months before this decision, the SABMS had attended the Cape Town Missionary Conference, 3rd to 9th July, 1912, represented by Revs. E. Baker and J. Russell. The committee called to the Society's attention the resolution arising out of the Report of Commission I, passed by the conference appealing "to the Boards of the Society at present working in South Africa, and especially to the European Churches in South Africa, for an increased supply of Missionaries for the evangelisation of the untouched areas. The Report showed the population settled in unoccupied and semi-occupied territory to be 1,415,000 natives."[173] Secondly, on June 30th, 1912, the SABMS committee had sent "a letter to the Churches of the Baptist Union asking them to receive the missionary deputations."[174] When the 1913 BU Assembly commenced, most of the churches had already received the deputations and plans were made for further visitations in the near future. The deputations' purpose was to "earnestly urge upon the Churches the need, not only for the maintenance of the work at present in hand, but for self-sacrificing liberality in order to promote the further advancement of the work in the much land yet to be possessed."[175] Reciting one of Carey's missionary mottos, the committee concluded: "The old call comes to us with imperative reiteration, 'Lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes.'"[176]

The year (1912) when the NBA requested admission into the SABMS, it had 9 native ministers listed under the SABMS roll.[177] In the subsequent years, the list was drastically reduced. As mentioned before, it was understood that the native ministers should be recommended by the Native Baptist Association for official recognition, followed by the Committee of the Baptist Union deciding each case upon its merits. In 1914, only two ministers, Revs E. P. Koti and F. B. Mdodana, remained affiliated under the SABMS. Concerning the latter, the Committee of the SABMS recommended to "the Executive of the [Baptist] Union to delete the name of Rev. F. B. Mdodana from the list of Native

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[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid., p. 45.
[176] Ibid.
[177] The NBA ministers were all characterized by the SABMS as native even though Rev D. E. Murff who had been working in Cape Town since 1906 was a coloured minister. This Cape Town work of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention of the USA was established in 1894. (Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 46.).

ministers."[178] Besides these two, there were four other ministers listed as workers under the NBA. These were Revs. J. E. East, J. Ntlahla, M. Mtwini, and J. D. Zamzam.[179] What this means is that these four were not officially recognized by the SABMS but were only noted as ministers working under the NBA. Interestingly, three of these ministers were American seminary or university graduates,[180] one a graduate of Lovedale[181] and the remaining two probationers.[182] In 1914, the list of NBA native ministers directly affiliated with the SABMS was increased by three. This decision was made by the SABMS committee which "recommended to the executive of the [Baptist] Union the names of Rev. J. E. East, of Middledrift; Rev. John Ntlahla, of Ruzi, Libode, West Pondoland; and Rev. Herman Vanqa, of Rodana, Glen Grey, for recognition as Native ministers and marriage officers."[183] At this assembly, the By-Laws of the assembly held in Pretoria in 1899, which were "a series of Rules for the guidance of Missionaries, Probationers and Candidates,"[184] were reworked through the assistance and correspondence "of all the [European] missionaries, and the new By-laws have now been printed and circulated amongst the [European] missionaries."[185]

Politically, the BU, the parent body of the SABMS, passed in 1915 the period of the First World War, two important resolutions.[186] The first resolution gave immediate support to the South African government, in-spite of the fact that it was led by Afrikaners, and the BU was an English body. In uncompromising words, it was recorded: "The Assembly of the Baptist Union congratulates General Botha upon the successful conclusion of the campaign in German S. W. [Namibia] and views with hopefulness the further work to be done for the country and the [British] Empire under his continued leadership. We sincerely sympathise with the Government in the trying circumstances through which the people of the country have passed and we assure him of our continued support in his loyalty to the King and the country."[187] The second resolution addressed to "His Majesty the King," read: "That this meeting of the Baptist Union gathering in an Annual Assembly respectively desires to

[178] Minutes of 1914 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 40.
[179] Ibid., p. 57.
[180] These were Revs. F. B. Mdodana (Selma Univ. Alabama, USA), J. E. East (Virginia Seminary, USA), and J. Ntlahla, Jnr. (Kentucky Univ., USA) (Minutes of 1914 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 57.).
[181] This was E. P. Koti. (Minutes of 1914 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 57.).
[182] These were Revs M. Mtwini and J. D. Zamzam (Minutes of 1914 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 57.).
[183] Minutes of 1914 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 40.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid. See Volume Three (Appendices), the document entitled: SABMS Constitution of 1915.
[186] No BU Assembly was held in 1914 due to the First World War.
[187] Minutes of 1915 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1915-1916, p. 21.

express its devotion to the King and his throne and the Government in this hour of the Empire's trial. We wish to assure them of our continued and unqualified support both by prayer and service and pledge ourselves to respond to every appeal that is made to us to enable them to carry the war to a victorious issue."[188]

Prior to the above resolutions the assembly had presented an address to Honourable Viscount Buxton, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Union South Africa and High Commissioner for South Africa, that: "The Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa desire, as our first act in Session, hereby to express our loyalty to His Majesty the King of whom Your Excellency is the Representative in these lands."[189] The letter started by expressing sympathy to the King for "the painful and dangerous accident which lately occurred in France [and] most devoutly thank Almighty God for the King's recovery and continue in that prayer at this time."[190] These prayers, devoutly as they are reportedly said, are important given that: "His Majesty's activity means so much to the Empire and the great cause of civilization and humanity now committed to it."[191] Based on this, in its letter, an extract of which is quoted as one of the assembly's resolutions, the assembly unhesitantly stated what the BU of South Africa would do for the empire. That is: "For the task before us in South Africa at the present time is that of uniting all our European people into one sincere brotherhood, its members loyal to each other, to the Union [Government of South Africa] and to the great Empire of which we form a part, and another of equal importance long on our hands, that, namely, of uplifting to civilization and true religion of the great [but numerous] Native peoples all about us."[192]

One should also point out the irony, in this remark, that Britain fought on the frontier fellow Europeans: the Germans, in this case. But the colonial dynamics in terms of which this resolution was made meant that the natives epitomized the opposite of civilization and humanity. After all, these natives still needed "uplifting to civilization and true religion."[193] The BU's resolution assumed that Britain's involvement in the war was merely to promote civilization and humanity, which implies that those not supporting Britain represented the opposite.

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[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid., p. 28.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid., p. 29.

These above resolutions did not merely remain on paper but churches in the BU were also asked to pray for them. To effect this, a resolution on the "Day of Prayer" was passed. It read: "It was resolved that all Churches in the [Baptist] Union be requested to observe the first Sunday of January as a day of prayer or such day as may be appointed by the King [of Britain] as a special day of prayer in connection with the war."[194] Prayer was also promised for the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Union of South Africa, briefly stated as: "We beg to assure Your Excellency that we shall continually seek the Divine Blessing on your labours in South Africa."[195] The BU's pro-British stance during the war became an unequivocal reminder that South Africa was a colony of Britain.[196] And administratively speaking, the BU in South Africa could be argued to be an extension of the BU in Britain. For example, in the same assembly that resolutions in support of Britain were passed, one pertaining to admission of candidates for the ministry was also passed. It read: "That the Executive be instructed to draw up regulations for the admission of candidates for the Ministry, endeavouring as far as possible to bring them into line with those of the Home [Britain] Baptist Union and report to the next assembly."[197]

The BU's, including the SABMS's, support of Britain's activities in the expansion of the empire; the civilization of the natives being seen as one of the resulting benefits; the BU's endeavour as far as possible to bring its ministry into line with that of Britain ("Home"); and the BU's 1913 decision to decide the merits of each native case of NBA ministers recommended to it for official recognition; oversight of native leadership by European superintendence; suspicion of independently led African churches and reference to the same as nothing but Ethiopianism - these factors, merely some among many, resulted not surprisingly in several evangelists breaking off from the NBA in 1919 and they "took their congregations with them."[198] This break-up involved a third of the baptized NBA membership.[199] After the break-up, membership dropped to 1 200, but baptisms increased to 118 with the total number of preachers being 72.[200] In reporting on this break-up, the

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[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid., p. 21.
[195] Ibid., p. 29.
[196] See Chapter and the Epilogue.
[197] Ibid., p. 20. See also De Gruchy, J. W. "Grappling with colonial heritage: The English speaking Churches under Imperialism and Apartheid" in, Elphick, R & Davenport, R (eds). *Op.Cit.*, p. 155, in which he argues that church architecture, liturgy, and hymnody reminded the church members of home.
[198] Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 42.
[199] Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 21. In 1918 NBA had a statistical membership of 1 963, 84 baptisms and 709 scholars in its Sunday Schools.
[200] Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 42.

SABMS's secretary, Rev A. E. Brett, stated: "Mention must be made of the work of the Native Baptist Association, which though not directly under the control of the S.A.B.M.S. yet, is affiliated."[201]

The break-up, in comparison to the past break-ups by native workers in the Baptist Church of South Africa, the first being by Crawford in 1870, was the largest ever. Firstly, a third of the membership left the NBA. Secondly, and unique at this stage, was that this break-up was by several evangelists at once. This means that it was not a coincidence, but a planned action. The SABMS's and the BU's perception of the natives, and related practices towards them, fermented this reaction. Thirdly, the fact that this reaction was found more among the NBA than SABMS workers says a lot. For a start, the factor that these workers, mostly qualified at training institutions, with a number graduating at overseas institutions, is worth noting. Another factor is that NBA workers were granted highest leadership authority, particularly as Superintendents and also being referred to as missionaries. It should also be remembered that under the SABMS, the titles "Superintendents" and "Missionaries" strictly referred to European workers. To be precise, European missionary women were only referred to as missionaries while men were given both titles. Lastly, also an important factor which grieved NBA native workers was the BU's primary concern with the stipends of the European ministers over against native workers. During the 1919 BU Assembly, a Laymen's Committee was appointed to consider ministerial stipends. Among the seven resolutions it proposed to the assembly, the last one read: "In the opinion of the Assembly the minimum stipend for a [European] Minister in a large town should be £420, and in a small town £300 per annum, it being understood that in the case of a single man the Union Executive should be authorised to make special arrangements under exceptional circumstances, as also in the case of new causes."[202]

Another event which precipitated the break up had to do with the 1915 *Plan for Ministerial Training* of European candidates. Unlike the native NBA ministers who were graduates of training institutions, but were subject to their ministerial recognition being individually assessed by the BU executive (it is needless to mention that SABMS's workers were mostly without ministerial recognition), the European ministerial students were in, their third year,

[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid., 27. See also Volume Three (Appendices), the document titled: 1920 Ministerial Stipends - Report by Laymen's Committee.

guaranteed a placement in a church under a pastor, in addition to financial aid. The seventh of the nine clauses of this plan read:

> If the candidate satisfactorily passed the first two years of the course he shall then be accepted by the vote of the Executive as a probationer; and, if possible, arrangements shall be made for him to be placed with one of our ministers who shall give him help in study in return for pastoral assistance. Grants in aid for such probationers can be made by the assembly as the need arises.[203]

The break-up within the NBA by some ministers and evangelists, taking with them their churches, served to accelerate the SABMS's direct control over all native work connected with it. We shall later observe how this direct control was implemented; it is however worth noting that by the end of 1918, the three NBA ministers affiliated with the SABMS had all received ministerial recognition.[204] As mentioned before, native ministers in the NBA assumed higher leadership roles, including being referred to as missionaries in comparison to SABMS workers. The SABMS, though paternalistic towards native workers, including NBA workers and its ministers, was aware of the important roles these NBA ministers played in mission work, in addition to the fact that a good number of them had received their qualifications from overseas institutions. In its 1919 Missionary Report to the 1920 BU Assembly, the SABMS Committee reported:

> The Middledrift section under the Rev. J. E. East is doing well. The Buchanan Industrial School at Qanda Location is extensive and efficient. There are 8 qualified teachers on the Staff holding certificates from Schools in America and Cape Province. Carpeting, Blacksmithing, Domestic Science and Agriculture on modern lines are taught.[205]

This Buchanan Industrial School was the first Baptist industrial school, which, surprisingly, was led by a native, Rev E. P. East. Unfortunately, with the advent of direct European control of native work through the Baptist Church Council formed in 1923 and the Bantu Baptist Church in 1927, respectively, the demise of native led educational and mission work was

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[203] Minutes of 1917 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1917-1918, p. 48.

[204] Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 53. These ministers were: Revs. J. E. East; E. S. P. Koti; and J. Ntlahla. Related to the issue of stipends is one of funds for European workers in both the SABMS and the BU. For example, in 1918, among the many funds formed and to be formed within the BU, the BU assembly adopted the Ministers' Widows Pension Scheme. The second clause of the scheme read: "To provide a pension of £50 per annum as and after the age of 50 to the widow of a member of the Pension Fund in lieu of the gratuities, provided the necessary sums to complete the present Fund and to provide proposed pensions are raised." And who were members of the Pension Fund? These were described during the 1909 BU Assembly "as ... [European] Baptist Ministers and Missionaries in South Africa" (BU Minutes, 1909, p. 23). See also Chapter 6.

looming. This meant among others, the erosion of natives' higher leadership roles, and of the NBA ministers' financial sustenance, particularly from overseas sources. For example, in 1922, it was reported:

> The five "Lott Carey" Districts are prospering, and there have been many conversions from raw heathenism during the year, and 114 baptisms. The Native Ministers, in spite of much financial stress (on account of being stranded without financial help by the Lott Carey Convention of America), have laboured for Christ perseveringly and well. [This was the last report on this "affiliated" NBA with the SABMS.][206]

5.4.3. Formation of Native Baptist Church Councils (1923)

In 1923, during the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly, the SABMS's Acting Secretary, Rev C. M. Doke "submitted a draft Constitution for the proposed Native Church Councils which was discussed seriatim and adopted."[207] In the same assembly, it was resolved concerning the Native Baptist Association (NBA):

> That the Native Baptist Association be requested to join the Native Baptist Church Councils of the S.A.B.M.S. on the same terms and conditions as the Natives working directly under the Society. If the Association does not see its way to comply with this request within three months of its being submitted to them, then the present affiliation of the Native Baptist Association with the S.A.B.M.S. shall be terminated forthwith.[208]

Following the presentation of this proposal in a Europeans-only assembly by a Europeans-only SABMS committee, a constitution entitled: "Constitution of Native Church Councils in Connection with the South African Baptist Missionary Society,"[209] was accepted. According to this constitution, the constituency of the Councils "shall comprise by voluntary association representatives of Native Baptist Churches working under the South African Baptist Missionary Society, or under European Churches, and any other bodies recognised by and affiliated to the South African Baptist Missionary Society."[210] These representatives "shall comprise such Councils in various parts of the country as are duly instituted by the South

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[205] Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 42.
[206] Minutes of 1923 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 52.
[207] Ibid., p. 54.
[208] Ibid., p. 55.
[209] Ibid., p. 56. See also Volume Three (Appendices), the document entitled: The Constitution of the Native Baptist Church Councils in connection with the SABMS (1923).
[210] Ibid.

African Baptist Missionary Society."[211] In other words, the Councils would be constituted of representatives of native Baptist churches working under the SABMS; those under the European congregations; and any other body affiliated with the SABMS. Pertinent to note is that, respective European congregations involved in mission work could individually be represented in these councils unlike to native congregations or native body, for example, the NBA, which could only have representatives. But with the unfolding of time, the contrary was realized. As for the constitution, the following were its objectives:

> (a) To promote co-operation between all the Native Baptist Churches.
> (b) To labour for the more speedy and effective evangelisation of the Native Races of South Africa.
> (c) To foster the establishment of self-supporting and self-propagating Native Churches.
> (d) To obtain reliable numerical and financial statistics of the Native Churches.
> (e) To secure, prepare and ultimately recommend [such] suitable and reliable candidates as are recommended by the councils in their respective areas will be considered by the Missionary Society.[212]

The last objective replicates one of the earlier SABMS and BU resolutions concerning the official recognition of native ministers. These newly founded Councils will only serve to recommend, while the SABMS and the BU will decide. As indicated, this new body has as one of its objectives: to foster the establishment of self-supporting and self-propagating native churches. In terms of operations, however, these Councils "shall be consultative and advisory bodies for the more effective guidance of and mutual co-operation in the work of the Native Baptist Churches, the final authority being reserved to the [European-only] Missionary Society."[213] If this constitution thus far gave the impression that this was a natives' only and native led body, this was not the case. Among the list of those who could constitute the membership of this body were: "(a) Baptist European Missionaries of the Missionary Society; (b) Native Ministers and Evangelists; (c) Delegates appointed from each Church at the ratio of one for a hundred members, with a maximum of two from any one Church [Council] and; (d) Personal members may be elected by the Council on personal application from [native] Church members of good character."[214] It is worth noting the wording of this clause in relation to that of the BU and the SABMS concerning personal members. That is, the BU's clause did not stipulate the need for good character.

[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid.

Like the previously discussed native initiated bodies which ended up being led by Europeans, the constitution of this new body, though initiated by European missionaries, stated that its officers "shall consist of a Chairman who shall be a European Missionary of the Missionary Society, a Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer."[215] In practice this meant that the European Missionary, who was also Superintendent in a particular district field, automatically became chairman of the native council while the last three positions "shall be elected by ballot after nomination at the Council's [native] annual Assembly."[216] These four officers would form the executive committee of the particular Native Council. The role of the executive committee "is to arrange business for the Annual [native] Assembly"[217] and to "carry out its decisions and form a convenient body for consultation with the [European] Missionary in charge during the year."[218] Furthermore, the fifth by-law of the constitution lists the powers of the chairman, who can only be a European, and his responsibility towards the SABMS.

> The Chairman, while guiding discussion on all matters shall not vote thereon, but shall have the right of holding in abeyance any matter decided upon, until it can be referred anew to the Council or Executive Committee as the case may be. As the representative of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, it shall be the duty of the Chairman to refer all the important matters for final decision to the Committee of the South African Baptist Missionary Society. When thought necessary the voting shall be by ballot.[219]

Therefore, through this constitution the native meeting bodies, which at first were originally initiated by the natives themselves, were now directly brought under the control of the European missionaries, who chaired them. As stipulated, the chairman "shall have the right to holding in abeyance [or temporary suspension] any matter decided upon,"[220] not forgetting "to refer all important matters for final decision to the Committee of the South African Baptist Missionary Society."[221] This European-only SABMS Committee would have the final decision on the matter at hand. These councils the natives could not chair: they were however expected to maintain their running costs. That is, "on behalf of all [native] members of the

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[214] Ibid., p. 57.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid., pp.58-59.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid., p. 59.

Councils an annual subscription of 2/6 must be paid, and by personal members 5/-."[222]

Noting that the final authority of these Councils lay with the European missionaries, both as chairmen of these councils and also being the only race that could constitute the SABMS Committee, what then was the responsibility of the natives in these Councils, besides that of the only three natives who filled the posts of vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer? Articulating the European Baptists' position on what they perceived to be infantilized natives, the eleventh clause of this constitution clearly stipulated:

> As a grave responsibility rests on these Councils for guarding the moral life of the [native] Churches, any Pastor, Evangelist or Preacher, who is found guilty by these Councils or their Executive Committee, of drunkenness, immorality, dishonesty, or any other serious offence, shall be deprived of his office and membership of the Church, and shall not be reinstated without the sanction and approval of the Council, whose action in the matter shall be subject to the approval and endorsement of the Committee of the Missionary Society.[223]

Secondly, "all Pastors and Preachers must give reports of their work, and financial statements at or before each meeting of the Councils."[224] Lastly, what became a first step towards the natives' direct representation in the BU, which in a liberal interpretation might be understood as an important step towards change and inclusion, is actually nothing but systematic, tighter control of natives through direct oversight. This step, according to Clause 13 of the Constitution, read: "For the closer co-operation between the Native Councils and the Missionary Society, each Council shall have the right to appoint not more than two delegates to the Missionary Session of the Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union."[225] To ensure that these Councils were primarily accountable to the SABMS, the 14th Clause on the alteration of the Constitution read: "No alteration of this Constitution shall be made except by a two-thirds majority vote of the members present at the Annual Assembly, after notice of such proposed alteration has been forwarded to the Secretary six months previously, and to the Secretary of the Missionary Society."[226] Furthermore: "All alterations must be approved by the [Europeans-only] Committee of the Missionary Society,"[227] whose members were, at this stage, also members of the BU Executive.

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[222] Ibid., p. 59.
[223] Ibid., pp. 57-58.
[224] Ibid., p. 58.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid.
[227] Ibid.

A year later, in 1924, after the adoption of this constitution, a "deputation from the [SABMS] Committee consisting of the Treasurer and the Rev. Aitken visited at Easter the meeting at Mpotula of the Southern Native Council to officially install Mr. Peinke in charge of the work beyond the Kei."[228] The deputation also visited the Glen Grey field "so as to advise as to its future working."[229] The visit was reported to be "a means of cheer to our [European] missionaries and an evidence of interest, which the Natives greatly welcomed."[230] During the 1924 BU Assembly, the Missionary Session resolved to send greetings and an invitation to Rev Paul Raubenheimer,[231] working among the Coloureds, "with the invitation to attend the Northern Native Council."[232] Raubenheimer, a European missionary, was supported by the Cornelia Church[233] and "had members at Standerton, Frankfort, Viljoen's Drift and Pretoria."[234] He later joined the SABMS and was made one of the missionary superintendents and provided with a field to take charge of. This implied that native workers who had for a long period been carrying out the actual spadework of missions were bypassed in favour of a European, who was invited to join the SABMS. Given this blow to the natives among other blows previously experienced, why then were a great number of natives compared to those who left, still under the SABMS? Sibisi[235] advances an interesting theory to explain the motives for natives preferring to cope with subjugation under whites.

In his chapter: "The Psychology of Liberation," Sibisi, explaining why natives prefer to work

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[228] Minutes of 1924 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 16.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Ibid. It was further reported about Glen Grey that "the work has experienced a gracious revival, and 23 have been baptised, 8 at Kolonga and 15 at Mpotula. There were 30 converts on probation. A church and school which have been in prospect for 20 years have been built at Lahos and are in use ... . Kraal services have been conducted night and morning in various places with good results." (Ibid., p. 17.).

[231] According to the *SABMS Memory Reminders*. (1926). Cape Town: C. Blackshaw & Sons, in a short biography introducing him and his work to the SABMS mission partners: "At Cornelia, on the northern boundary of the Free State, is a considerable Dutch minister under the leadership of Elder J. W. Odendaal. Becoming convinced of the scripturalness of believer's baptism, he journeyed to Kingwilliamstown and received baptism at the hands of late revered Pastor Gutsche, the religious father of the German Baptists in this country. On returning home he gathered a congregation and then later a baptized church from the farming community in the neighbourhood. ... He has, however, extended the spheres of his labours and is constantly travelling to superintend the Natives working under him in contiguous parts of the Transvaal and Free State. ... It is hoped through the Northern Native Council a closer alliance may be formed, and more frequent intercourse may be possible," (Ibid., pp. 190-191.).

[232] Minutes of 1924 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1924-1925., p. 37.

[233] This church was founded in February 1st 1887, at a place called Cornelia, which was a four hectares of land donated by Mr Steyn. Church meetings were held at both Sugarloaf and at Steyn's farm, Mooiheid. No reference was made regarding a change of name but, from 9th October 1887, and for a number of meetings, "Mooiheid Ebenhaezer" or merely "M Ebenhaezer was used in the minutes. Later, the name was changed to the "Ebenhaezer Baptist Church of Cornelia." During the same year, a chapel seating approximately 150 people was built. (Hudson-Reed, S. 1983. *By Taking Heed*. Roodepoort: Baptist Publishing House, p. 211.).

[234] Minutes of 1924 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1924-1925., p. 37.

[235] Sibisi, C. D. T. "The Psychology of Liberation," in Pityana, N. B. Et al. (1991). *Bounds of Possibility*. Cape

with the apartheid regime, a conclusion which aptly applies to this Baptist history, decades earlier, stated that a common response is the defence mechanism of denial, not of one's inferiority, but of one's very blackness. Since all the symbols of success - material comforts, and scientific and literary achievements - are presented in a Eurocentric perspective, they are associated with whiteness. In turn, the defence mechanism of denial is usually regarded as inefficient and neurotic because constant effort is required to protect the ego against anxiety, which is liable to break through. The further effort thus required entails the employment of yet further strategies to protect the threatened ego - projection (ascribing one's pain and predicament to persons and influences foreign to oneself), reaction affirmation (the blacks who are whiter than whites) and identification with the aggressor. This last mechanism might be seen in the black official (the homeland leader or black security policeman) [that] diligently and with genuine conviction, enforces apartheid laws; but "not all black officials [in our case, black ministers] in the service of apartheid [church structures] are reluctant participants forced by economic necessity to play by the rules. ... There is no healthy way of adapting to apartheid [church structures] or exploitation."[236]

Concerning finance, the SABMS treasurer's report presented by Mr A. H. King noted that £577 was the year's contribution received from the natives. The native contribution "was welcomed as a mark of increasing co-operation in bearing the burden of the work, and a nearer approach to the principle that the Committee aims at of getting the Natives to support their own [native] workers and meet also the ordinary incidental expenses of the stations apart from the cost of European oversight."[237] This means that the European missionary was also maintained by native contributions - a primary responsibility followed by the secondary one which was to support their own native workers. Also in the same assembly, Mr J. G. Birch's paper on *Sunday School Work among the Native and Coloured Children* was presented. The assembly "agreed that parts of the paper relating to Native Sunday Schools be forwarded by the Secretary to the Native Councils with the recommendation that they be given effect to."[238] Furthermore, that "his suggestions as to inducing European Schools to take direct interest in Native Schools be forwarded to the secretaries of our European schools."[239] Among the many resolutions made about native matters, this assembly gave the

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Town: David Philip.
[236] Ibid., p. 133.
[237] Minutes of 1924 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 36.
[238] Ibid., p. 37.
[239] Ibid.

final blow to the Native Baptist Association. The statement read: "On consideration of the relationship of the affiliation of these ministers and the churches with our Society, it was resolved to reaffirm and carry out last year's resolution. This ended their connection with us and consequently any further ministerial recognition of their pastors."[240]

In 1924 Rev and Mrs Brailsford returned from furlough and in the same year "at the southern meeting in East Griqualand Mr. Brailsford was introduced as the new Superintendent."[241] Also reported is that "since Mrs. Brailsford's recovery and return the medical and women's work have been going at full length."[242] It was also found significant to mention that since Rev Brailsford's return, the work had progressed well with, for example, the item that "the institute building at Mjozi, has been put into repair, by a visiting builder, as it had for some time been causing anxiety."[243] Regarding conversions, "there have been 31 additions, but Ethiopianism accounts for the net gain being only 6."[244] But, according to the report, "a most encouraging feature is the higher standard of Christian living becoming manifest especially in relation to heathen customs."[245] While this work in East Pondoland continued, it was made financially sustainable by "the 23 unpaid [native] preachers, and Sunday School teachers."[246] Surprisingly, through these same workers "over £61 has been raised [for the SABMS]."[247] In East Griqualand, an area also under Rev Brailsford, "Mr. Brailsford has also visited this district and reports on the work under Mr. Mashologu as being well organised on sound lines and self supporting in 15 principal centres, with the aid of 2 or 3 evangelists, from Xameni as headquarters."[248] In addition, "there [at Xameni] a new church was opened at the meeting at Easter of the Southern Native Council, with very memorable service [while] ... at the main station Mr. Brailsford was able to open a new church at Govane."[249] Concluding the report on the resounding success of Brailsford's field, the SABMS report to the BU assembly stated explicitly that: "The missionary [Rev Brailsford] thinks a motor car is needed for travel in

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[240] Ibid., p. 35.
[241] Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 19. The following native ministers worked under Rev Brailsford; Revs. A. Jotile; D. Cebani; J. Nyatela; D. Mdibi; S. Zameko; F. Ndzekeni; P. D. Ntleki; S. Mashologu; A. E. Brett; and J. Siyo (Ibid., pp. 46-47.).
[242] Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 17.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid., p. 17.

this area."[250] While on the issue of the motorcar for Rev Brailsford, the same report had earlier stated:

> The people had welcomed the revision of our plans by which Mr. Peinke [stationed at Glen Grey] was enabled to stay on at Mpotula, and visit the Transkeian areas at intervals from there. He has been given a monthly grant to cover the maintenance of a motorcar, to enable him to undertake these long journeys as it was found that owing to prevalent horse sickness, it was very difficult to manage with his horses. It has [also] been necessary to make a large cistern to conserve the water at Mpotula, which is to remain his head station.[251]

In the same year, reporting on Native Councils in general, the SABMS Report to the BU Assembly stated that "the subject of ministers' stipends occupied much of the time, and it is desired to bring all into similar position, as regards support from the Society."[252] Surprisingly, the Report stated that, it was "recommended a 10 per cent decrease [of native ministers' stipends] so as to develop self support."[253] Most of the natives worked in abject poverty, and it is doubtful if they supported this recommendation. It should not be forgotten that European missionaries, mobile and settled at a well-maintained head mission station, chaired these councils, and as chairpersons were given powers of holding matters in abeyance. Remembering that discipline and the guarding of the moral life of native workers was one of the clauses in the constitution of the Native Baptist Church Councils, it was, however, another factor with which the Northern Council was dissatisfied in its implementation. Consequently, it "recommended ordinations and disciplinary erasure."[254] But what may be deemed to be surprising, in the same SABMS Report to the assembly was the statement: "the hands of the superintendent are strengthened in such matters when he has Native opinion behind him."[255] These recommendations, read within the context of the BU, are in themselves not surprising given that a year before, it had passed the following resolution on the native public question:

> This Assembly takes note of the efforts being made to locate Natives special [resettlement]

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[250] Ibid., p. 18.
[251] Ibid., pp. 16-17. The Transkeian areas are "as far as a little beyond Umtata, including Transkei, Tembuland and the western portion of West of Pondoland" (Ibid., p. 17.). Rev Peinke had the following native ministers under him: Revs. F. Mtini; M. Sixishe; J. Mgwigwi; J. Solwandle; A. K. Maqanda; A. Msimeko; A. Ntshinga; and M. J. Mntwini. (Ibid., pp. 44-45.).
[252] Ibid., p. 19.
[253] Ibid.
[254] Ibid. Rev W. N. Makanda of Nancefield had, for example, already been disciplined and his name erased from the ministerial roll and from the employ of the Society. Dishonesty is the reason given (Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 15.).

villages under Municipal control, and urges the government to see that these areas are kept free from intoxicating liquor of all kinds, and to provide the residents in such villages with suitable buildings and open spaces for recreation, and also to provide that all [European] recognized religious denominations and workers have free access to these areas on equal terms and conditions.[256]

In other words, the BU had no problem with separate developments and the creation of a native location, as long as the natives were provided with amenities, which of course, they had apparently never experienced under tribal authority or a chief of their own kind. In addition, recognized religious bodies, obviously European, have free access to those areas.

Regarding the issue of salaries, in the annual financial statement of the SABMS from 1st July 1924 to 30th June 1925, as indicated in the following two pages, an amount of £2, 373.2s. was spent on salaries. Out of this amount £1, 913.19s. was the total amount of salaries paid to European missionaries while £358.12s. was for native evangelists.[257] To be precise, this amount was for native ministers since native preachers were not included in the payroll. The two European lady missionaries, that is, Miss Box and Miss Field, were paid £21 with an additional £21 coming from the Baptist Colonial Society in Britain.[258] This therefore means that on the one hand, £1, 913.19s. was distributed among seven European missionaries,[259] including the wives of these missionaries. In practice, what happened in some fields is that, if the husband was the superintendent, the wife was the missionary. On other hand, an amount of £358.12s. was distributed among eleven native ministers.[260] There were however, other native ministers whose churches financially supported them; as a result, they did not totally rely on this amount. Besides the salaries paid to the European missionaries, the SABMS also paid their subscriptions to the Pension Fund and the Emergency Fund, which in this financial period amounted to £46.14s.2d. There is also in the financial statement what are called travelling expenses and local expenses. These differ from one mission station to the other according to the needs of the Superintendent in charge. In total, these expenses for this financial period amounted to £728.12s.3d. A critical factor worth noting in this very

[255] Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 19.
[256] Ibid., p. 30.
[257] Ibid., p. 60.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid., p. 68. These were: Rev. W. Brailsford; Mrs W. Brailsford; Ms. A. Cockburn; Rev J. W. Joyce; Rev. C. W. Pearce; Rev H. Peinke; and Ms. M. E. Price. It is worth mentioning that Ms. R. Sprigg is mentioned as a volunteer worker in Pondoland receiving no salary, provided the Society found boarding and lodging for her. (Ibid., p. 14.).
[260] Ibid. These were: Revs. M. Mabena; A. K. Maqanda; S. Mashego; S. Mashologu; M. J. Mntwini; L. Monchi;

S.A. BAPTIST MISSIOANARY SOCIETY.
ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT. From 1st July, 1924, to 30th June, 1925

INCOME

Church,	Alice	£11 1 9
"	Berlin	18 6 0
"	Bloemfontein	49 0 10
"	Boksburg	1 0 0
"	Cambridge	87 6 10
"	Capetown	257 6 0
"	Claremont	34 16 6
"	Cornelia	15 0 0
"	Cradock	11 1 11
"	Durban, Central ...	107 14 6
"	Durban, Bulwer Road	11 11 0
"	Durban, Lambert Road	107 14 6
"	East London, Buffalo St.	212 4 7
"	East London Porter St. ...	63 12 3
"	Germiston	11 12 5
"	Grahamstown	70 12 0
"	Johannesburg, de Villiers	118 1 4
"	Johannesburg, Troyeville	94 12 0
"	Keiskama Hoek	10 11 10
"	Kimberley	30 18 0
"	Kingwilliamstown, Bethany	21 7 2
"	" Emmanus	164 13 7
"	" Taylor St.	40 15 0
"	Macleantown ...	10 4 9
"	Obsevatory	26 18 2
"	Pietermaritzburg	137 3 3
"	Port Alfred	15 15 0
"	Port Elizabeth, Queen St.	118 13 3
"	Victoria Parl	35 7 3
"	Warmer Road	2 9 3
"	Pretoria	83 0 0
"	Queenstown	20 14 1
"	Roodepoort	20 0 0
"	Stutterheim	5 11 4
"	Hanover	3 3 0
"	Frankfort	3 19 0
"	Wakkerstroom	17 10 0
"	Wynberg	40 0 0
"	Rosebank	22 20 6

EXPENDITURE

1st July, 1924 Deficit of last Statement forward		£203 3 3	
Less last year's Cheque 091 cancelled		9 0 0	
			199 3 3
Local Expenses, Lambaland		93 10 8	
" " Glen Grey		28 3 2	
" " Kaffraria		89 4 5	
" " Pondoland		36 15 3	
Travelling Expenses Transkei		25 3 1	
Local Expenses, Transvaal		436 18 10	
" " Carey Mission		18 16 10	
Maintenance & Local Expenses of all Mission Fields			723 12 3
European Salaries		1913 19 0	
Native Evangelists per B.M.S.	358 12 0		
Native Evangelists per Somabula	2 8 0		
Native Evangelists per Halford Shares ...	10 0 0		
Native Evangelists per Baptist Col. Society	21 0 0		
Native Evangelists per Misses Box & Field ..	21 0 0		
		413 0 0	
Carey Mission Salaries		46 3 0	
Total amount of Salaries ...			2,373 2 0
Debit by Bank on Draft paid last year in excess		21 0 0	
Bank charges on Overdraft & Cheque Book		24 11 11	
Total amount debited by Bank ...			45 11 11
Treasurer's Petty Cash, ? requisits, Postage & ? Rent			
P.O. Box & Printing		28 8 5	
Share of Printing Handbooks ...		18 10 0	
Subscription to Pension Fun and			

J. Mgwigwi; F. Ndzekeni; P. D. Ntleki; W. E. Ostrich; and S. R. Pule.

Total of Gifts from Churches_____	£2, 122 10 6	Emergency Fund	46 14 2

S.A. BAPTIST MISSIOANARY SOCIETY (continued).
ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT. From 1st July, 1924, to 30th June, 1925

INCOME

German Baptist Young People's Association Union	10 0 0		
Personal Subscriptions	97 5 4		
In fulfillment of last year's promises	10 0		
Secretary's Gift (Honorarium) ..	30 0 0		
Collection at last Annual Meeting	7 18 3		
Grant by B.Union of S.A. (Transkei)	25 0 0		
Total amount of Gifts from Various Sources	_____	170 13 7	
Balance of late Mr. Aubrey's Bequest	7 6 0		
Christian Mission Church Tasmania	35 0 0		
Baptist Colonial Society	21 0 0		
Per Misses Box and Field, Melbourne	21 0 0		
Total amount of Special Gifts ...	_____	84 6 0	
Interest John Biggs Trust Fund ...	146 5 0		
Interest Missionary Trust Fund ..		152 14 9	
	_____	298 19 9	
Native Mission Churches Carey Nata	9 11 6		
" " " Lambaland	12 15 1		
Transvaal ..	436 18 10		
Somabula ..	2 8 0		
Kaffraria ..	112 13 11		
Glen Grey ..	43 11 2		
Pondoland..	75 17 0		
Transkei ..	4 0 0		
	_____	697 15 6	
		3,374 5 4	
Deficit		182 8 11	
		£3,556 14 3	

EXPENDITURE

Travelling Exps. of Committee and Rev. Pearce's Travelling Exps. to last years Assembly	52 18 9		
Bibles purchased for Kaffraria by Rev. Pearce	29 9 7		
Total amount of Sundries ...	_____	176 0 11	
Secretary's Honorarium, see contr...		30 0 0	
Retained by Treasurer of Natal Com.		43 11	

Out of moneys credited to the various Churches were remitted	
By the Treasurer S.A.B. Women's Association ...	£141 16 6
By the Treasurer of the Natal Missionary Committee ...	142 1 0
LIABILITIES.	
"A Friend of Missions" for purchase of Scriptures ...	41 10 0

20th July, 1925 Audited and found correct. J. MACKIE.

S.E BRAILSFORD

statement is that £697.15s.6d. came from the native churches,[261] while only £358.12s. was distributed among the native ministers!

These figures and the financial statement of July 1st 1924 to June 30th 1925 are an example of what became the annual practice within the SABMS, thus also in the BU. The fact that such a few European missionaries were paid high sums compared to the natives, who did the actual mission field work, leaves much to be desired. This practice within the Baptist Church of South Africa confirms Bonk's argument[262] that most European missionaries in Africa lived in opulence, compared to the people among whom or with whom (native agents) they were doing mission work. Other examples, like motorcars and a suitable residence (the head mission station), confirm Bonk's statement. Misses Box and Bellin, who in this case, were the lowest paid workers, are not in any way different from their fellow European missionaries. Despite their salaries, which were otherwise guaranteed, they also enjoyed hosts of benefits stemming from being European missionaries in a colonized frontier.

5.5. Formation of the Bantu Baptist Church (1927)

The initiative to form the Bantu Baptist Church (BBC) was that of the European Missionary Superintendents just as it was the initiative of the European-only SABMS Committee to found the Native Baptist Church Councils. In the case of the BBC, according to the Annual Report of the SABMS given at the BU Assembly at Port Elizabeth in September 1926, it is reported that: "Our four Missionary Superintendents in the [Baptist] Union met together for a few days in June to consider questions of policy, and they felt that the Conference was so useful that they desire to hold others from time to time."[263] It was decided "the next will be in Johannesburg in 1927 [and] in this way they could become familiar with the best methods employed in each other's fields."[264] But a far reaching consequence in their meeting was "the most striking recommendation made by them to which the Committee has agreed, is that the name of our Native churches be 'The Bantu Baptist Church of the S.A.B.M.S.'"[265]

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[261] Ibid., p. 61.
[262] See Chapter 1.
[263] Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, pp. 15-16. The four Superintendents were Revs C. W. Pearce in charge of Kaffraria; H. Peinke in charge of Glen Grey, Transkei, Tembuland and West Pondoland; W. Brailsford in charge of East Pondoland, East Griqualand and Natal; and J. W. Joyce in charge of Orange Free State and Transvaal (Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, pp. 44-50.).
[264] Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 16.

Just as European missionaries proposed and finalised, through the BU's support, the formation of the Native Church Councils in 1923, in the case of the BBC they argued, "this name will be most acceptable to the Natives and will help in the work."[266] This obviously meant among other things that the natives ought to be decided for, by Europeans, whose conclusions were predestined to be acceptable. Statistically and labour wise, native work at this period had grown to the extent that "there are over 300 preachers labouring voluntarily in our various fields, for whose faithfulness in face of many disadvantages through poverty of education and material resources, we cannot be too greatly appreciative."[267] In the same SABMS report, it is further acknowledged that "they [the natives] are the backbone of our work, without whose enthusiastic devotion, our European churches, would be absolutely helpless to carry on the work at all."[268] The report blandly stated, as to the financial implications of mission work, that: "It is well for us [European churches] on whom the financial burden presses, to realise that ours is only a part, and even the smaller part of the work that is done."[269]

Also significant at this period was "the success and usefulness of the Northern and Southern Council Native Councils [which have] led to the decision to form an Eastern one for E. Pondoland, E. Griqualand and Alfred County, and Durban, as distances have prevented their representatives from attending in Kaffraria and Transkei."[270] There is therefore, no doubt that while racist and paternalistic practices within the SABMS had earlier led to major defections by natives from the Baptist Church of South Africa, from 1926 onwards native work statistically grew, including the number of native workers. With this growth, which the SABMS European Superintendents thought should now be referred to as the BBC and that it would "be most acceptable to the natives," the contrary was the case. That is, there were dilapidated church buildings[271], which the natives had to contend with, continuing missionary perceptions of natives as primitive people,[272] and resurgence of native defections.[273] The first

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[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid., p. 14.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid., p. 16.
[271] Ibid. At Emdizini in Kaffraria two church buildings collapsed.
[272] Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 17. Rev Brailsford, Superintendent of E. Pondoland, reported that "good steady work has been done by the Evangelists and 27 preachers, resulting in 80 professed conversions. There are now 256 such converts being prepared for Church fellowship, but careful probation is very advisable among such a primitive people .... Mr Brailsford feels that added European help will be necessary if he is to supervise E. Griqualand." (Ibid.).

two of the three factors remained, it seems purposefully; they were less important to the missionaries whose concern were new fields of mission work.[274]

The following year became "the inauguration of the Bantu Baptist Church of the S.A.B.M.S. which took place at Tshabo, the birth-place of our work, on Friday, Feb 25th [1927]."[275] Present at the meeting were "our superintendents from all our fields including Lambaland, and also native ministers from the Border, the Transkei, Pondoland and Transvaal."[276] The inauguration was "carried out by the President of the Baptist Union, the Rev. C. Garratt, supported by members of the Executive, missionaries and friends."[277] Also at this meeting, "a Moderator's Bible was presented for future use, at the united assemblies [which was primarily a native gathering chaired by a European], wherein was inscribed a statement of belief for the guidance of our Native leaders."[278] Addresses "were given by our European and Native leaders, concluding with a Communion service."[279]

Also presented at the Bantu Baptist Church inauguration meeting was the "The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the South African Baptist Missionary Society."[280] Given that the decision to form the BBC was made by the four European Superintendents and presented at the BU Assembly, it is logical to conclude that these Superintendents could have, after drafting this constitution, simply announced the intention to form this new body at their respective Native Church Councils, noting the fact that "officers of the Council shall consist of a Chairman who shall be a European Missionary of the Missionary Society."[281] Moreover, the same chairman "shall have the right of holding in abeyance any matter decided upon, until it can be referred anew to the Council or the executive committee as the case may

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[273] Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 17. In Tembuland in W. Pondoland, Rev A. Msimeko withdrew from the SABMS.

[274] Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 17. According to these minutes, Mr Peinke had under him Transkei, Tembuland and W. Pondoland. As a result, he moved to Transkei, "the centre of this field [which] promises much closer oversight than has been hitherto possible. The congregations are much scattered, where the influence of the preachers had led to their formation, and the supervision will entail a large amount of travelling, this will be more effectively done by motor, than by horses owing to the prevalent horse sickness. It is hoped that he will be able to do something also for the scattered European Baptists, as well as continue the Baptist witness at Bolotwa." (Ibid.).

[275] Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 18.

[276] Ibid.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Ibid.

[279] Ibid.

[280] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928. See also Volume Three (Appendices), for the same titled document.

[281] Minutes of 1923 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 57. See Volume Three (Appendices), the document entitled: Constitution of the Native Baptist Church Councils in connection with SABMS.

be."[282] The BBC Constitution starts by prefixing, through divine ascription, the roles and responsibilities of European and native workers of the SABMS within the BBC structure by laying the "Foundation"[283] as follows: "This [Bantu Baptist] Church is based on Christ Jesus as the only foundation, and is instituted for the worship of the triune God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in accordance with the teaching of the Holy Scriptures."[284] The "General Statement of Belief" immediately follows the "Foundation".[285]

Unlike the Native Baptist Church Councils whose constitution laid down limited grounds for European ministers' direct involvement in native workers' assemblies, the BBC Constitution specifically outlined how European Superintendents would be involved in every level of office bearers in the Bantu Baptist Church. Firstly, the election of Deacons "should be made the subject of prayer for Divine guidance, and only such a member should be elected whose character and devotion conform to the requirements of the Word of God. (Acts 6.1-4, 1 Timothy 3, 8.13). A majority vote of two thirds of members present at the meeting must be given in favour of a candidate to ensure his election."[286] These deacons "should be ordained at a special service arranged under the guidance of the [European] Superintendent."[287] The duties of these Deacons "are principally concerned with the business affairs of the Church."[288]

Secondly, in terms of electing the Elders, these Elders "should be deeply spiritual and trusted men of experience, chosen with the approval of the minister by the deacons from among themselves and accepted by the church."[289] However, the "[European] Superintendent, or his deputy, shall be present at the election of Elders."[290] Furthermore, the duties of these Elders were "to assist the Pastor in every way, especially in the oversight of the Church, in cases of discipline and in every emergency."[291] But only at "the request of the [European] Superintendent or Pastor ... may [they] preside over Church meetings."[292]

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[282] Ibid., pp. 58-59.
[283] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the SABMS, p. I, in Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929. See also Volume Three (Appendices), for the same document.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid., pp. I-II.
[286] Ibid., p. III.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Ibid.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid., p. IV.
[292] Ibid.

Thirdly, regarding the office of the Lay Preachers, these "shall satisfy the [European] Superintendent as to their ability to serve in this way, and be appointed by him in consultation with the Council after they have given proof of their fitness for this ministry."[293] Closely related to Lay Preachers are Evangelists. These, like the Lay Preachers, "shall be appointed by the [European] Superintendent in consultation with the Council after they have given proof of their fitness for this ministry."[294] In order to keep them under close supervision, "each Evangelist and Preacher shall receive a Certificate signed by his [European] Superintendent, and this shall be available for not more than one year."[295]

Lastly, there was the office of Ministers. There were three prerequisites for anyone desiring to enter this office. They were "to be recommended by his [European] Superintendent, the church of which he is a member, and the Council."[296] They were also expected "to take a preparatory course of study, after having attained the educational basis of the Fourth Standard, as desired by the South African Baptist Missionary Society."[297] The duties of a native minister were: "To preach and teach the Word of God; to exercise oversight and discipline in the church; to administer the Ordinances; to preside at church meetings; to visit regularly the members of his congregations and to supervise the work of evangelists within his area."[298] In order to regulate all the above office bearers, "all Ministers and other workers under the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society shall accept and work in accord with the printed Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church."[299]

Discipline, which was a separate clause in the constitution of the Native Church Councils, was in the case of the BBC, the same but further elaborated. According to the BBC Constitution, there were two types of offences under which "every church member shall be made subject to discipline."[300] The first were Private Offences. These were "offences of one member against another [which] shall be dealt with in the manner prescribed by our Saviour (Matthew xviii. 4-7) [accompanied by] the passage in Matthew v.23.24 should also be borne

[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid. Unfortunately, there is no study of Baptist ecclesiology during this period that could help further throw light into this discussion.
[298] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the SABMS, p. IV, in Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929. See also Volume Three (Appendices), for the same document.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Ibid.

in mind."[301] The second type was Public Offences. These are: "Such offences as are a reproach or injury to the Church as a body, or the reputation of Christianity cannot be overlooked, and when such occur, facts must be ascertained before the matter is reported to the Church, which then shall direct the course of discipline as seems wisest in each case. Should the offending member not submit to the discipline of the Church, it shall be withdrawn from the offender for a time, notwithstanding any confession or promise of amendment."[302] (It is worth noting the similarities between these offences and those of the German Baptists as discussed in Chapter 1. The major difference is, however, that the German Baptists applied these requirements to themselves while in this case, the English Baptists applied them to the natives.)

These disciplines were to "be conducted in a spirit of Christian meekness and love, with a desire to remove the offence and win the offender."[303] Furthermore, they "must also be carried out under a deep sense of responsibility to maintain the honour of Christ's name, the purity of His Church and the integrity of His Truth."[304] Even though a number of native ministers and other native workers had already been disciplined and some expelled from the SABMS's native churches, the Public Offences clause, particularly in the case of this research, became the basis upon which future native offences were determined and judged. While still on the aspect of disciplines, these, according to Steve Biko, even though it was an argument he propounded four decades after this period of the BBC's formation, were "petty morals" in particular, the false notions of sin as primarily drinking,[305] smoking and stealing. And "by directing the attention of black Christians to these petty sins ... white theology prevented them from comprehending a larger perspective on sin."[306]

Related to native offences is the problem of native customs, in particular, *lobola* and polygamy. On the one hand, *lobola* according to the BBC Constitution, merited this response:

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[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid., p. V.
[303] Ibid.
[304] Ibid.
[305] In almost every assembly of the BU, a resolution was passed concerning drinking. These resolutions were referred to as the Temperance Resolutions. See for example minutes of the following BU Assemblies: 1887, p. 24; 1888, p. 15; 1889, p. 29; 1890, p. 15; 1891, p. 59; 1892, p. 6; and 1893, p. 24.
[306] Hopkins, D. "Steve Biko, Black Consciousness and Black Theology." In, Pityana, N. B. Et.al. *Op. Cit.*, p. 195. Hopkins further argues that: "In the South African reality, sin comprised a system of evil, of a structural matrix in which whites lorded themselves over the black majority. Because black Christians regurgitated the confused notion of petty sins, and not the more correct appraisal of systemic and structural sins, they gave support to apartheid, instead of witnessing and struggling against it."(Ibid.).

"Whilst the present state of Native Society makes it difficult to forbid *Lobola*, Superintendents and Pastors should do all in their power to check the evils of the system and to lead the native Christians to a high ideal of marriage."[307] This ideal marriage, discussed previously[308] in an article pertaining to South African Baptists and medicine, meant that monogamy, the status of women[309] and the raising of children, for example, were understood according to Western norms. On the other hand, polygamy, alternately referred to as the "great evil," merited this response: "While recognising [its] great evil ..., and the need for Superintendents and Pastors to emphasize the Divine purpose of marriage, they are left to use their discretion as to the admission of polygamists to church membership, but no polygamist shall hold office in the Church or be allowed to preach."[310]

In addition, the constitution also contained clauses on finance. These clauses made three distinctions. The first was: "Collections, [which] shall be taken as often as may be found expedient at all churches and preaching stations, and an account shall be kept of them."[311] Secondly, there were: "Quarterly Contributions [to which] every [church] member shall give a Quarterly Contribution as decided by each Council."[312] Lastly, there were the: "Thank Offerings [for which] each church shall hold an annual Thanksgiving Day towards the support of the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society."[313] Throughout all three, the controlling hand of the European Superintendent was visible. Further, the accounts of collections were "to be kept." In these accounts, the contributions of each church were indicated, which in turn started appearing in the Annual SABMS Reports. One of the effects of these printed

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[307] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, p. V. In Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook of 1928-1929.

[308] Mogashoa, M H. "A historical survey of the missionary purpose of the Baptist medical dispensaries to the 'natives' (1904-1949)," *Studiae Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, December 2001, pp. 74-97.

[309] The same missionaries allowed the destruction of the traditional family system through the migrant labour system. Writing on this aspect, Walker stated: "The most pervasive image of women under the migrant labour system is as victims – those 'left behind,' lumped along with children, the old and the sick into the emotive but blurry category of the 'dispossessed' or 'surplus.'" (See Walker, C. "Gender and the development of the migrant labour system c. 1850-1930: An overview," in Walker, C.1990. *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*. Cape Town: David Philip, p. 168.). Commenting further on the discourse on women and the migrant labour system, Walker cautioned: "Women still tend to disappear from the discussion – tucked into the family or 'domestic community,' their concrete lives obscure behind abstract concepts such as reproduction and, even, gender." (Ibid., p. 178). And, "Furthermore, women's role in agriculture and childcare in the African chiefdoms – while indeed a significant factor in their exclusion from the early migrant labour force – was not an expression of natural law, standing outside of history, but the product of very definite social interventions in the organization of relationships." (Ibid., p. 179.).

[310] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, p. V. In Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929.

[311] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, p. V. In Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929.

[312] Ibid.

accounts was the pressure they placed on the "under contributing" churches and the Superintendents in whose districts such churches fell.

An issue related to finance is property. The relevant clause read explicitly that "all property of the [Bantu Baptist] church shall be held in trust by the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society."[314] It should not be forgotten that the SABMS was accountable to the BU, to the extent that some officers in the BU Executive were also officers in the SABMS Executive. The opening clause of the revised SABMS constitution of October 18th, 1921, at the BU assembly in Pietermaritzburg affirmed: "That the Name be the South African Baptist Missionary Society in connection with the Baptist Union of South Africa."[315] And "That the [South African Baptist Missionary] Society is empowered to receive, purchase, hold, hypothecate, and sell movable and immovable property, also to invest monies available on first mortgage or other security approved by the Committee."[316] Furthermore: "That all property shall be vested in, and all bonds shall be made in favour of, the Trustees of the Society, who shall be the Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer, and their successors in office."[317] Finally, in the sixth clause it is mentioned that: "The affairs of the Society shall be controlled by the Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa to which the Officers and Committee of the Society shall be responsible."[318] Regarding the BBC property being held in trust by the SABMS, a clause which stood as a single sentence just as presented, it should be understood in the light of the SABMS Constitution regarding immovable property under its care, as indicated earlier on.

To ensure that the BBC assemblies achieved the intended objectives and that the members kept to their duties,[319] the executive committee of the BBC was to "consist of all

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[313] Ibid.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Minutes of 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1921-1922, p. 54.
[316] Ibid.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid.
[319] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, p. III, in Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929. The following are duties of the members: "To practice private prayer and the reading of the Scriptures; To attend devotional services (Hebrews 10:25) and any other meetings of the Church; and to help one another to do good works. (1 Thessalonians 5:11, Hebrews 3:13); To dedicate their children to God and train them in the fear and admonition of the unconverted by prayer and testimony and a consistent Christian life; To seek the salvation of the unconverted [fellow natives] by prayer and testimony and a consistent Christian life; To support the Church and its work by cheerful giving, for the maintenance of a faithful ministry and the spread of the Gospel; To help the poor, the aged and sick."(Ibid.).

Superintendents"[320] in addition to "the officers of the Assembly, the Ex-Moderator and one representative from each Council."[321] In terms of representation, the BBC Assembly should consist of: "(a) All [European] Missionaries of the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society; (b) All ordained native ministers; (c) All full-time evangelists [there were other evangelists who took other jobs to supplement their income] and; (d) Delegates - not more than four from each Council."[322]

In practice, the European missionaries had control over representation. That is, all missionaries, by virtue of being Europeans, were automatically represented in the assembly. Secondly, at Council level where the delegates were chosen to attend this major biennial Bantu assembly, only European missionaries could be presidents of the BBC, thus chaired these meetings, not forgetting that, at the same time, only they could chair the Native Church Councils, with "the right of holding in abeyance any matter decided upon, until it can be referred anew to the Council or Executive Committee as the case may be."[323] Furthermore, just as the constitution of the Native Baptist Church Councils prescribed these councils as "consultative and advisory bodies for the more effective guidance and mutual co-operation in the work of the Native Baptist Churches, the final authority being reserved to the Missionary Society,"[324] the BBC Assembly, likewise, was vested with "deliberative and advisory power only, the ultimate responsibility and veto resting with S.A. Baptist Missionary Society."[325]

These bodies, that is, the NBCC and the BBC, preoccupied native attention with consultative meetings, under the guise that they are widening responsibilities and access within the Baptist Church of South Africa. But this was not really the case. Rather than facing and dealing with paternalism, segregation and racism as practices in the Baptist Church of South Africa through the SABMS, a new body, the BBC, with many "trivial" responsibilities like guarding the moral life of fellow workers and church members, became another segregate and a misleading body, diverting native attention from fundamental racist practices needing to be uprooted from the SABMS and later the Baptist Church of South Africa.

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[320] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, p. VI. Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook of 1928-1929.
[321] Ibid.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Minutes of 1923 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, pp. 58-59.
[324] Ibid., p. 56.
[325] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the SABMS, p. VI. In Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in

Shortly after this inaugural BBC assembly, a detailed *Report of Inauguration*[326] was compiled and presented in the Jubilee BU assembly, held from 9th-19th September, 1927, in Cape Town. The year marked 50 years since the founding of the Baptist Union in 1877 at the Cape Colony. Given the earlier discussion of how the first native Baptist workers meetings (councils) were formed, the report starts rather awkwardly, focussing on what had been independent efforts by natives that "in recent years [negative grounds laid by natives' only meetings] Councils of Native Evangelists and Ministers have been formed. These Councils have enabled the native worker to consult, to express their views, and to give valuable counsel to our Missionaries and to the Missionary Committee."[327] The same kind of promises made to the natives during the formation of the NBA, were no different, in this case, that, "the Bantu Baptist Church is larger than these Councils, and is intending to embrace them."[328] And its constitution was meant to "clearly define the powers of the Bantu Baptist Church Assembly and its subordinate relationship to the [Baptist] Union."[329] Like the BBC Constitution, the *Report of Inauguration* clarified with respect to property ownership that:

> It [the BBC] will not hand over our work or our property; but it will give the natives fuller opportunities than they have now of discussion and expression, and of offering counsel which the Missionary Committee feels it needs from native sources, and it will also give our missionaries better opportunities of teaching and guiding the native worker.[330]

In addition to February, another meeting was organized for "all the Superintendent Missionaries of our various fields."[331] This occasion was "convened purposely at Kingwilliamstown, so that a day could be spared from its business and devoted to the inaugural ceremonies."[332] On this occasion, a "fleet of motor cars took the missionaries out early [to Tshabo]."[333] At Tshabo, the inauguration ceremony unfolded as follows: to start, a "Statement Concerning the Bantu Baptist Church"[334] presented by Rev J. Ennals was made.

BU Handbook for 1928-1929.

[326] The Bantu Baptist Church. Report of Inauguration at Tshabo, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927. In Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928.

[327] The Bantu Baptist Church. Report of Inauguration at Tshabo, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, p. 3. In Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928.

[328] Ibid.

[329] Ibid.

[330] Ibid.

[331] Ibid., p. 4.

[332] Ibid.

[333] Ibid. Also part of the gathering was "the widow of our late Kaffrarian Superintendent, Mrs C. W. Pearce, [who] was also of the party. Other friends joined us, among whom was Mr. Carl Franz, who assisted that late Rev. H. Gutsche at the first Communion service at the Tshabo, 37 years ago, and Dr. Ph. Gutsche, the Chairman of the Southern Committee of the SABMS." (Ibid.).

[334] This statement is part of the Report of the inauguration of the Bantu Baptist Church. This report is divided

In it, he argued why European supervision (and control) was necessary over the Bantu Baptist Church. Firstly, "this name [Bantu Baptist Church] marks the Church as belonging to the Bantu People, and will help them to realize that the Church is not a foreign institution, imposed on them from abroad, but is part of the universal Church of all nations, and languages, colour, and race that are bound together by the common bond of faith in and love for the Lord Jesus Christ."[335] It is "the hope and prayer of the European brethren that the Bantu Baptist Church may gain an increasing hold on the Bantu people and become an ever greater power for good [which the Bantu on their own have not reached] in their [separate] racial development."[336] This is because "every race has its own special characteristics, and therefore its own special gift to bring - its own [race defined] jewel to place in the crown of the Redeemer."[337]

Secondly, "the full significance of the change we are making [by founding the BBC] can only be understood in relation to the past. Our missionary Society came into being as an organized effort of the European Churches to reach the Native peoples and reveal to them the truth and faith that had been so enlightening and liberating in our own experience."[338] As a result, the Society "had inevitably been regarded as a European Society, working on behalf of the European Churches, doing work which singly they could not always do."[339] The Report quickly substantiated this point by drawing on the early history of German Baptist work among the natives. That is, "It is because the first work among the Bantu people was begun here at Tshabo, 55 years ago, by Mr. Carl Pape, from the German Baptist Church in Berlin, that we meet here today in honour of the past and the pioneers."[340] However, "this has all come about in ways due to European enterprise, and it has been natural to speak of the Native Churches of the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society."[341] But the new structure is, according to the report, meant to "help our Native churches towards self-expression and closer co-

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into the following parts: The Bantu Baptist Church; Inaugural Sermon by Rev. Chas Garratt; Statement Concerning the Bantu Baptist Church; Statement by the Senior Missionary, the Rev. J. W. Joyce; The Moderator's Bible; General Statement of Belief; Addresses in Response; Statement of Baptist Principles by the Rev. D. H. Hay; and An Historical Resume. (In other words, there was no input from the "natives.")

[335] The Bantu Baptist Church. Report of Inauguration at Tshabo, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, p. 10. In BU Handbook for 1927-1928.

[336] Ibid., p. 11.

[337] Ibid.

[338] Ibid.

[339] Ibid.

[340] Ibid.

[341] Ibid., p. 12.

operation."[342] Again, through this new structure, European Superintendents would be able to closely monitor native workers and their churches by "gaining the Native view point on matters of importance"[343] and reporting such to European churches, who also financially contributed to this work.

The third reason why it "is essential that there should be European control for the advantage of the work"[344] is, according to the *Report of Inauguration*, "not a question of racial difference, but of stored experience."[345] According to this *Report*, it is clearly stated that, "our [European] religion, like our [European] civilization, is old, with very many centuries of struggle and achievement behind it."[346] Furthermore:

> You will recognize that the Missionary Society has been pouring out funds through the years of the past in this work, and that the Europeans are vitally connected in its well being as well as yourselves [natives], and that still the great bulk of the money is raised through them, although we rejoice to know that the Native contributions are rising year by year, till they cover the salaries paid to the Native preachers. We venture to hope that the portion of the funds raised by you will increase, which will be one of the surest proofs of your fitness [into maturity and adulthood] for fuller responsibility.[347]

With these three reasons in mind why European control over the BBC is necessary, the SABMS committee and the European workers present further formulated that "we therefore ask you [Bantu people] to realize that, as your elder brethren in the faith, we do not want to restrain you, [which some of you may be thinking], but in a truly fraternal way to lead you to the fuller future that is in store for you by the way that we know [which you are not as yet knowing] will be safest for your feet."[348] The *Report* plainly concludes that:

> ... the Bantu Baptist Church is really the Native work of the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society as before, with all its property vested in and belonging to the Society, but we want to bring you more fully into consultation, that under our leadership you may share more clearly in the shaping of our destiny. It is proposed that, in order to give you a fuller opportunity of expression, an assembly [for natives] representative of all the fields of work should, if

[342] Ibid.
[343] Ibid., p. 13.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Ibid., p. 14.

possible, take place at regular intervals, and the first one will be arranged probably in 1928.[349]

Looking at the history of these native structures, what started as native initiated "assemblies" was taken over by the European missionaries with names like Baptist Council of Native Churches in Kaffraria and the Transkei in 1916, then followed by the Native Baptist Church Councils, in 1923. These Councils' constitution was drafted in such a manner that, a European missionary became the chairman in addition to overseeing the districts, which formed them. In 1927, the Bantu Baptist Church, another new body, and another European Superintendents' initiative further justified, in explicit wording, why "European control for the advantage of the work"[350] was necessary. Like the Native Baptist Church Councils whose formation was "to promote co-operation between all the Native Baptist Churches,"[351] the BBC wanted to bring the natives "more fully into consultation."[352] What emerges is that, European missionary Superintendents, through their associate SABMS committee and the BU Assemblies, continually channelled the native churches to whatever direction was convenient in order to keep control over them. This of course resulted in conflict, with a number of un-submissive native leaders either coming under European discipline or breaking off from both SABMS and the Baptist Church to join existing African Independent Churches or to form their own independent churches.

Those who broke off were few compared to the majority of native leaders and their churches that remained within the SABMS fold and submissively co-operated with their "experienced" European "elder brethren." To substantiate the point at hand, when this report was presented at the BU Assembly of 1927, it was noted that "there has been some defection of some unwilling to accept European control"[353] and that "their loss has been made up by increases in the work that remains."[354] Given this increase and the "rapid opening up of the hinterland of our country ... consideration was given by the Committee to the provision of a motor transit for our [European] missionaries, and this [the BBC Assembly was reminded that it] is not as a luxury but necessity."[355] The reason advanced was that the Society has "often been faced with the death of horses through sickness, and [at the moment] the roads have been so

[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid., p. 13. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the Comaroff's analysis of the nature of this control.
[351] Minutes of 1923 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 56.
[352] The Bantu Baptist Church. Report of Inauguration at Tshabo, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, p. 14. In BU Handbook for 1927-1928.
[353] Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 19.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Ibid.

much improved, that the car adds considerably to the work that can be done, and it is cheaper to supply a machine than another worker."[356] This car was to be "for Mr Brailsford's use in Pondoland ... and Miss Sprigg has made herself responsible for its maintenance."[357]

Native ministers on behalf of their respective councils gave two addresses at this inauguration ceremony, in response to the formation of the BBC. The first was by Rev Mashologu, on behalf of the Southern Council. In his address, he referred to the Europeans present that "you are sent of God to bring us together like this."[358] Mashologu seems to be aware that the purpose of the inauguration was to "report to us [natives] that you have given us such an important gathering."[359] In the same note of gratitude regarding what the Europeans have done for the natives in the Baptist Church of South Africa, which in Mashologu's opinion, was God's mission, he further added: "because of our [native] colour we are not able to go to some places to which we would like to go. [Therefore, the inauguration] gives power to have our own [native] Assembly where we can consult together and with you concerning the work."[360] At the same time that Rev Mashologu was expressing the need to maintain co-operation between blacks and whites, traces of dependency on the Europeans' master status became visible. He stated: "We want you still to continue to pray for us, and not to throw us over as if you were tired of us. We want you to help us so that we shall not do things at the Bantu Baptist Church that are not valuable. We want that you shall have great rejoicing in our work, so that Satan will not be able to destroy such a beautiful thing."[361]

Following Rev Mashologu, the next speaker, Rev W. E. Ostrich, on behalf of the Northern Council, expressed "how glad all the Native ministers are with whom I have travelled from the Transvaal."[362] Rev Ostrich further expressed gratitude that "we did not imagine that you would give us what we have today."[363] He also pleaded for Europeans "not to forget us in our smallness and in our primitive state."[364] An interesting account by Rev Ostrich, recapping on Rev Mashologu's appraisal of European efforts to bring the natives together, went as follows:

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[356] Ibid.
[357] Ibid. During this BU Assembly, Miss Sprigg and Mrs A. H. Chapman in addition to the gifts made, gave a considerable sum to provide for this car. This Miss Sprigg was the daughter of Major Governor Sprigg, magistrate of Bizana (See Chapter 2.).
[358] Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 17.
[359] Ibid.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Ibid., p. 18.

> From all that has been said today we can see that we have a place in Heaven. We did not hear that from our own people. And then, when we first heard preaching, we only heard that we were to repent. But since we have been connected with the Baptist Missionary Society we have been taught many things. And now today we hear that colour is not to prevent us from meeting and consulting. It helps us to believe in Heaven. I thought we natives might have a little Heaven all to ourselves. But now we hear there is only one Heaven, and we shall all be there together.[365]

As far as numbers are concerned, by this period, the native church "has grown to such an extent that we have over 320 Evangelists in our books [and] 12 ordained Native ministers on our books."[366] The inauguration ceremony closed thus: "A united Communion service, conducted by the President, concluded the proceedings of the day. About 100 Natives and 25 Europeans sat together around the Table of our Lord. The Thanksgiving prayers were offered by the Revs. S. Mashologu and W. E. Ostrich, and the bread and the wine were distributed to Europeans and Natives alike by Native preachers."[367] This occasion culminating with Holy Communion, specifically hinting that both blacks and white sat together at the table, preceded by Rev Ostrich's compliment on this historic occasion, which in his opinion helped natives believe in heaven, where they will be together with whites, is anomalous. How could the natives be together with Europeans in heaven while they cannot experience a oneness in running the Baptist Church of South Africa?

Following the BBC inauguration, the first BBC assembly was held in Easter,[368] of 1928, in Johannesburg. According to the SABMS Report, "when one considers the long and expensive journeys involved it speaks eloquently of the keen interest taken by our native brethren in this new development."[369] The following were elected officers of the BBC Executive: Revs. J. W. Joyce as Moderator; W. Brailsford and S. Mashologu as Joint Secretaries; and H. Peinke as Treasurer. The following were also added to the executive to represent their councils: Revs. T. Ndala for Northern Council, A. Jotile for the Eastern Council, Rev J. Ncapayi for the Southern Council, and Mr P. J. Raubenheimer for Cornelia.[370] Of a Mr Raubenheimer it was

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[365] Ibid.
[366] Ibid., pp. 26-27.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 16. Commencing with this assembly, all future BBC assemblies were to be held in Easter. Ordination of native ministers was also done during the assembly. In this one, Messrs Hoffman Miti and J. B. Shankie were ordained.
[369] Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 15. It is only recorded that "there were present [at this assembly] ministers, missionaries and delegates to the number of 36 from every part of our scattered filed."
[370] Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p.16.

reported during the 1928 BU Assembly that he "together with his workers have joined."[371] Raubenheimer's work was among the "Kaffir Dutch" and he had been "set apart for this work in 1923 by Mr. J. W. Odendaal."[372] He joined the BBC with "nine preaching stations under him with 192 members."[373] The fact that Raubenheimer's work joined the SABMS confirms one of the arguments throughout this thesis, that segregation within the Baptist Church of South Africa was primarily based on skin colour, not language or education.

The "main business of this first [BBC] Assembly was the study and discussion of the proposed Constitution"[374] which the native ministers and their respective Native Baptist Church Councils had not the time to study prior to attending the BBC inauguration service in 1927, at Tshabo. But the studying and discussion of the BBC Constitution was given a secondary importance since at this assembly "an effort was being made, and we believe successfully, to make the Assembly a time for spiritual uplift for those attending."[375] In the same report concerning this first BBC Assembly it is also mentioned that "[as] a result of a generation's work on the part of our Society, and under the blessing of God, there exists a Bantu Baptist Church, self-propagating, and to a large extent self-supporting, and now beginning to feel its way to being self-governing."[376] The issue of self-support had already been addressed prior to this assembly, in the Transvaal:

> A new and forward step in our native work has been taken in the Transvaal by the formation of the [Native] Sustentation Fund from which the native workers are paid. Into this fund all monies are paid and it not only helps our Superintendent to equalise salaries but is easier to change ministers from one sphere to another. The Society helped in the formation of this fund by making a monthly grant of £15 and this will be reduced yearly until the native churches can maintain it unaided. The formation of this fund placed an added burden upon our [European] missionary but it is a step in the right direction and will be watched with keen interest in all our other fields.[377]

This Sustentation Fund, different in every manner from the Sustentation Fund for European ministers and missionaries (see Chapter 6), is one of the vivid records indicating the European Superintendents' control over stipends. This "equalization" of native salaries and

[371] Ibid., p. 15.
[372] Ibid.
[373] Ibid.
[374] SABMS Annual Report for 1926-1927, in, BU Handbook for 1927-1928, 16.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Minutes of BU Assembly for 1927, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 11.

the "case" to change native ministers from one sphere to another, are extensions of the European's perpetual guardianship over the "inferior natives." Undoubtedly, this £15, contributed by the SABMS, was substantial in light of the fact that from 30th June 1927 to 30th June 1928, £187.10s. was the total amount spent on native evangelists in the Transvaal district. Following the 1928 BBC Assembly, the next BBC Assembly was "fixed for Easter, 1930, at Mjozi Station, Pondoland."[378] As with the first BBC Assembly, not much was to happen in these assemblies except the ordination of native ministers and election of new BBC officers. It was only in 1946 that a quasi-turning point occurred, which was the election of Rev S. Mashologu as the first native BBC Moderator.[379]

5.6. Native education and ministers' training (1893-1927)

Two emphases characterized mission among the natives. These were preaching services and Sunday schools. In turn, they brought about consistent church services and day schools, respectively. All these three mission activities, that is, church services, Sunday schools and day schools, were held in the same building and later, as mission work grew, classrooms were added to the mission station. The church building was used for church services while the school building was used for day and night school activities. These buildings, together with the Superintendent's or the European missionaries' residential quarters, constituted a mission station. During the BBC inauguration assembly in 1927, Dr Philip Gutsche, son of Rev Hugo Gutsche - "father of Baptist native missions," - in his paper "An Historical Resume,"[380] affirmed the same. In his words:

> From the beginning the work amongst the Natives was twofold. There was the preaching services as well as the schools. The schools differed in the different parts of our missionary work. We have ordinary day schools; and we have, in Lambaland [in Rhodesia], boarding schools where children are supposed to stay for about three years, so that they also learn to work with their hands, and have their characters formed, whilst they are young, as well as having religious instruction. The schools have not always had a prosperous way. The same that has [occurred] at the Tshabo has happened elsewhere, that occasionally they have had to be closed down because of want of pupils, or because the Government grant has been withheld because there were too few pupils, or boarding-schools closed down because there

[378] Ibid., p. 16.
[379] Minutes of 1946 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1946-1947, p. 27.
[380] The Bantu Baptist Church. Report of Inauguration at Tshabo, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, pp. 22-27. In, BU Handbook for 1927-1928.

was no food. Once we tried to have a training-school for evangelists.[381]

Given this report about the tried but failed native day schools and training school for evangelists, what could have gone wrong? Well, while events in Lambaland are outside the scope of our research, there are close similarities between the SABMS missionary attitude in South Africa and beyond the borders. Noting that schools were important in mission, though not always successful, it is also important to understand the effect that these schools were to have on finance matters and vice versa.

5.6.1. Natives' Sunday and Day schools education (1893-1927)

Since mentioning native education and ministers' training in 1892 (see Chapter 4), the BU assemblies and its SABMS sessions had never reported any native related education or its ministers' training until 1899. The only exceptions between 1892 and 1899 were statistical records of scholars at Tshabo mission.[382] In 1899, the Seventh Annual Report of the SABMS reported that in Kingwilliamstown, "a Night School has been carried on, and a Government Grant has been obtained."[383] In the same report it is reported about the work at Tshabo that: "The former Church has been converted into a suitable dwelling-house for our devoted lady Missionaries - Miss Box and Miss Field, all the expenses of which were defrayed by the generous kindness of two brothers - Gottlieb and W. Meier. A [hut] house has also been erected for the Native evangelist, W. W. Stofili [sic], and last, and of course the most important, the new Church has been finished and opened during the year."[384] In the same year, during the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly it was resolved that "this meeting recommends that a second Day School be established in a needy part of Tshabo; that the Missionary Committee organise a School committee in that place, in which, if possible, some Native residents shall be included, and that application be then made for grants in aid of

[381] Ibid., p. 25.
[382] These were: 34 scholars (1892); 30 scholars (1893); 3 teachers, no numbers of scholars mentioned (1894); 50 scholars (1895); 50 scholars (1896); 50 scholars (1897); and 29 scholars (1898).
[383] Minutes of 1899 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 35.
[384] Ibid. During the Missionary Session of the 1899 BU assembly it was reported that missionary reports concerning the Cape Colony "were received from the Rev. C. W. Pearce, J. W. Joyce, W. Stofile, and a verbal one from Miss Box. (Ibid., p. 63.). During the SABMS budget from January 1st to December 31st 1898, the new church and Evangelist's hut amounted to £88.9s.1d. while, alterations at Lay Missionaries' house were £12 (Ibid., p. 66.). In the SABMS budget from January 1st to December 31st 1899, 12 pounds was spent to repair the hut while 5 pounds spent in adding a veranda to mission house at Tshabo (Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 62.).

building and teachers' salary."[385] Another immediately followed the resolution, which read that "this Assembly authorises the incoming Committee to engage a European Missionary [as should be expected] for Kingwilliamstown and Tshabo as soon as funds permit."[386]

In the interim, "this Assembly feels it necessary to ask the Missionary Committee to set Rev. C. W. Pearce free from his present work, for at least a week to enable him with Mr. H. G. Meier, to try and bring matters to a better issue at Tshabo."[387] While the planning for a second Day school at Tshabo was under way, the native SABMS workers remained poorly remunerated. For example, during the same Missionary Session, it was resolved on the one hand: "That Mr. Petros Neyamana, a Native, be accepted as our Evangelist at £5 per quarter."[388] On the other hand, an honorarium was recommended: "That the recognition of the services of Miss Box and Miss Field be increased to £15 and £10 respectively."[389] It should not be forgotten that these lady missionaries, originally from Australia, received financial support from this country, with both receiving for example, from January 1st to December 31st 1898, £106 jointly.[390] This sum was in addition to the £12 (Ms Box) and £7 (Ms Field) they received as allowances from the SABMS in the same financial year.[391] It is also worth mentioning that Rev. C. W. Pearce had, during the same financial year, received £111.14s.9d. as his missionary allowance, while Mr W. Stofile, who later joined the secession Presbyterians under Mzimba, received £68.15s.[392] These disproportionate allowances and benefits between Europeans and natives, which were racially determined, remained in place for many years to come. Stofile's remuneration, which was £75 in 1901, was a unique case among SABMS native workers in that it remained the highest remuneration of a native worker from 1892 to 1949.

By the end of SABMS's financial year (1899), £12 had been spent towards this second school building in Tshabo and £2.9d. on fencing the garden.[393] An amount of £24 was also received

[385] Minutes of 1899 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 63.
[386] Ibid.
[387] Ibid.
[388] Ibid.
[389] Ibid., p. 65.
[390] Ibid., p. 67.
[391] Ibid., p. 66.
[392] Ibid. The SABMS secretary's report only reported that: "Stofile had joined the secession Presbyterians under Mzimba." (Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 132.). His salary as reflected in the 1901 financial statement was £75 and travelling expenses to annual meetings at Grahamstown was £6. (Ibid., p. 134.).
[393] Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 63.

from the government for the same school.[394] By the end of 1901, the total government grant for Tshabo was £22.[395] In the same financial statement, other teachers and other forms of day school work are mentioned. Unfortunately, these teachers are not mentioned by name. The first one is referred to as a "Native Teacher, [in] Cacadu,"[396] paid £10.1s. in 1901.[397] The other teachers are only listed as a group of teachers. These too are also anonymously recorded and are acknowledged under an: "Amount owing to Rev H Gutsche on relinquishing treasurership Teachers and School requisite at Buffalo Thorns and Qoqodala,"[398] which amounted to £54.

In 1903, the year following the Anglo-Boer war,[399] three important aspects concerning native education appear in the BU Assembly minutes. Firstly, for the first time the concept of a School-Church appears. It is recorded that "a special feature of work at Cacadu during the past year has been the building of the Church - or the School-Church - which will seat 150 to 200 people, when, as the Missionaries suggest, 'the seats are there.'"[400] About this work, the "Society is largely indebted to the Rev E. Eve for the enthusiasm which was thrown into this undertaking."[401] This is in addition to "the Lay Missionaries, Miss Bellin and Miss Cockburn, [who] brought some £27 when they returned from Australia towards this object."[402]

Secondly, the SABMS asserts the importance of native conversion as more important over and above the convenience of mission work, and the government's perception of native education. The SABMS Annual Report for 1903 argued:

> Our obligation does not depend upon an imaginary set of conditions; numbers and nearness are two factors, which enter into every consideration of our duty to the native races of this

[394] Ibid., p. 67.
[395] Ibid., p. 138.
[396] Ibid., p. 134.
[397] Ibid.
[398] Ibid., p. 135.
[399] On the church and the Anglo0-Boer War, see Curthbertson, G., "Christianity, imperialism and colonial warfare," in Hofmeyer, J. W., and Pillay, G. (1994). *A History of Christianity in South Africa*. Volume 1. Pretoria: HAUM Tertiary, pp. 150-171. This war is also referred to as the Great War. "Martial law was over the whole land [as a result, the BU assembly could not be convened for two years]" (Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 12.). The last assembly was in 1899, to be followed by another in 1903. The BU executive and SABMS reports were collected and published together in 1903. Thereafter, minutes of BU Assemblies and its Missionary Sessions for 1904, 1905 and 1906 were published together in the 1906 BU Handbook. From 1907, the minutes of BU Assemblies and Missionary Sessions were once again published yearly. Furthermore, the assemblies were also held yearly.
[400] Minutes of 1906 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 21.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Ibid.

country and make it more imperative. We may have a strong opinion about the necessity of native education, and our schools are valuable adjuncts to our work, or we may believe with the Governor of Cape Colony that the best education is labour, and with everything that induces self-respect and the exercising of the original sin of laziness, we have perfect sympathy. We may have been disappointed because the School Native has been confused with the Christian Native, and that some have not been "up to sample." Still one thing is plain. The Living Christ says, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," and the part of the world which His providence has mapped out for us is South Africa.[403]

Thirdly, during the Missionary Session of the same assembly, it was "resolved that the incoming Committee formulate an educational policy with reference to Missionary work."[404] The drafted policy, which lay dormant for some time, was to be presented as a proposal, during the 1913 BU Assembly,[405] as we shall later observe. But prior to 1913, other events concerning native education unfolded. For example, in 1904, there appears for the first time a record of natives paying the teacher's salary. This was at Nkobongo, in Kaffraria, whereat "our Church is growing in large numbers and in grace. The people are on a large farm near Kei River, and are greatly in need of a Church building, the hut in which services are held being often over-crowded. Several candidates there will shortly be baptised. At this place the people themselves became responsible for a teacher's salary, so that in January [1904] a school was started, and will we hope soon [to] be in receipt of the Government Grant."[406]

In the same year at Tembani, in Mpotulo, the lady missionaries, Misses Bellin and Cockburn, wrote in their field report: "We only have one man who is able to read, and every fortnight he holds a service in a kraal in different parts of the Location, thus reaching those who will not come to the Church. We are glad to see his desire to preach the gospel to his people, especially when we remember that a few years ago he was in his red-ochre blanket entering into many sins of the heathen Kafir."[407] The lady missionaries further reported that, as a result, "very shortly we hope to enrol several men and women, who have been well trained, and who by their daily work, have proved themselves to be true children of God."[408] Also in the same report, they mentioned that: "The young teacher of whom we spoke about last year as being desirous of becoming an Evangelist has been with us in this capacity since last

[403] Ibid., pp. 23-24. Regardless of the Cape Governor's belief that labour was the best education, the Government's grants for Baptist Mission schools in 1902 were increased to 86.10s. (Ibid., pp. 26-27.).
[404] Ibid., p. 25.
[405] Minutes of 1913 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 43.
[406] Minutes of 1904 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 44.
[407] Ibid., pp. 44-45

January, friends in Australia sending us part of the money for his support. He has been a great help, and has won the respect of all, Christians and heathens alike, and we shall be very sorry when he has to go, but rejoice with him that his way is opening up to still carry on his loved work amongst his people in dark Kafirland."[409]

This report by the lady missionaries concludes, however, with the problem of beer drinking among native women, which caused most of them to miss week-day meetings, and in turn to miss Sunday services. The conversion and education of native women was for missionary purposes important in that, beside themselves, their households and in particular their children, would form the scholars needed in Sunday schools. The husbands of most of these households were often away as migrant labourers.[410] Among the migrant labourers in the mine compounds,[411] beer drinking was also reported by the missionaries as a problem. According to the lady missionaries: "The usual week-day meetings are still held; lately the women have been too occupied with their beer drinks to come regularly to their meeting, but now that grain has become scarce, and therefore beer is not so plentiful, we hope to see them take more interest in their weekly gatherings. By constant visiting from kraal to kraal during the week, we get a fair attendance at the Sunday services."[412]

Statistically, there appeared for the first time, in the minutes of the 1908 BU Assembly, detailed statistics concerning Baptist work, both among Europeans and natives. These 'Statistical Returns' recorded every Baptist Church, or mission station in South Africa, the year it was formed, its helpers, branches, places of worship, seatings (including branches), increase,[413] decrease,[414] clear,[415] members[416] and Sunday Schools. Under Sunday Schools was recorded the number of schools, teachers and scholars. Unfortunately, only one native church by 1908 had recorded Sunday school statistical returns while other churches are

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[408] Ibid., p. 44.
[409] Ibid.
[410] Ibid.
[411] See Chapter 8.
[412] Minutes of 1904 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 45. In the same period, the SABMS financial statement from 1st October 1904 to 30th September 1905 reflects only one native teacher, at Tshabo, who was paid £6. (Ibid., p. 81.).
[413] Minutes of 1909 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, pp. 14-15. Under increase, statistics were divided into baptism, transfer and otherwise.
[414] Ibid. Under decrease, statistics were divided into death, transfer and otherwise.
[415] Ibid. Under clear, statistics were divided into increase or decrease. That is, by what number of people did the church's membership increase or decrease compared to the previous year?
[416] Ibid. Under members, the church concerned was to divide its record members into last year and this year. That is, it was to give the total membership of last and this year respectively.

mentioned but without any statistical returns. This particular church was in Brooklyn, Pretoria, and was founded in 1907. It was under the evangelist F. W. Biggs. It had one Sunday school, 5 teachers and 46 scholars.[417]

Also in 1908 at Buffalo Thorns, in Tembuland, it is reported that the School Inspector's Report was the best ever received and that Rev C. W. Pearce "speaks very highly of the evangelist in charge."[418] But more important was the grouping of schools, "assisted by School Grants received from Lady Frere under one management, together with the relief of our Kaffrarian Missionary, [which] make it necessary to revert to a plan which was adopted some time ago when the Rev. E. Eve was at Mpotulo."[419] According to Misses Box and Field, both stationed at Kanyayo, in Tembuland, these "Sunday School and Day School [are] considered as a valuable adjunct to our Missionary work."[420] From Pondoland, Rev J. W. Joyce, the Superintendent in charge, reported that "in our Churches in Pondoland there are not more than three or four who are able to read, and that the children are growing up as ignorant as their parents."[421] The SABMS Committee, based on the report from Pondoland, concluded that "Rev J. W. Joyce is strongly of the opinion that we should at once take steps in the direction of supplying this lack. Of course the education advocated is elementary and in the native languages."[422] It is also reported concerning children of European missionaries, that through the Baptist Ladies League, especially Mrs Doke, and with the co-operation "of others in the [European] Churches some £34 have been handed to the Treasurer for the purpose of meeting the expenses in connection with the education of Missionaries' children."[423] It was resolved during the Missionary Session of the 1908 BU Assembly that "the wife of the [BU] President for the year shall be the President of the League."[424] Furthermore, the SABMS Committee "handed in a special report directing the [BU] Committee to draft a Constitution for the Ladies' League."[425] Concerning native education, the Missionary Session "decided to refer the matter of Schools in Pondoland to the Committee, with Mr Joyce, for consideration."[426]

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[417] Minutes of 1909 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, pp. 14-15.
[418] Ibid., p. 31.
[419] Ibid.
[420] Ibid., p. 34.
[421] Ibid.
[422] Ibid.
[423] Ibid., pp. 34-35.
[424] Ibid., p. 39.
[425] Ibid., p. 35.
[426] Ibid., p. 39.

In 1909 also, a report from Pondoland observed that "our Pondo Native Church had grown its Evangelists; [but] another thing it has to do - and it possesses the material - is to grow its own teachers."[427] According to Rev Joyce:

> One thing that impresses the visitor is that in the Churches only perhaps half-a-dozen can read and that the children [like the year before] are growing up as ignorant as their parents. Little can be done among the adults, although their hunger to read the Bible is very great: and, of course a beginning has been made among the children, especially at Kanyayo, where the Lady Missionaries [Misses Box and Bellin] have given much time to teaching, with very gratifying results. There should be a central school at Mjozi, and arrangements made of the appointment of Native Teachers for quite elementary education, and in the Native language. The Society must help the Pondo Native Church "to grow its own teachers." The two Church buildings also now call for their use for school purposes. These buildings, the measurements of which are: Mjozi, 41x22ft., and Kanyayo, 31x18ft., were greatly needed, and we congratulate our Missionaries upon the realization of their wishes, and upon the fact that the buildings are out of debt. At Mjozi this was made possible by the great friends of the Missionary Society - Messrs. John and James Biggs and Mr. J. E. Halford - together with the Native contributions of £50. Kanyayo depended perhaps upon a larger number of donors, although the gifts were smaller, and the part, which Miss Box and Miss Bellin have taken by personal gifts, and the securing of gifts, is beyond praise. The services also of the male Missionaries, as architects and builders, it must not be forgotten, greatly helped to make it possible the result above-named.[428]

It is indubitable that the European male and female missionaries were instrumental in the establishment of native schools. Equally so, were the roles played by natives themselves who either raised the needed finance to build the school or paid the teacher's or teachers' salaries. While the earliest record of natives paying the teacher's salary was in 1904, at Kaffraria, at Mjozi the first such was in 1910, where "a Day School has been started and ... the chief and the people have met the salary of the School Teacher."[429] Also in the same report from Mjozi, it is reported that "we are also glad to report that Mrs Joyce is encouraged in her Sunday school work."[430] Worth noting in the same report is a statement that: "Our Missionary [Rev Joyce] is consulted by Chief and Counsellors upon all matters, although they have not renounced their heathen customs; and it is a matter of great thankfulness that through another year Mr. and Mrs. Joyce have been kept in health and strength to consolidate and extend the

[427] Minutes of 1910 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 38.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Minutes of 1911 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 37.
[430] Ibid.

work generally in the district of Pondoland, of which Mjozi [where Rev and Mrs Joyce are stationed] is the centre."[431]

Besides beer drinking, which as has been noted, was a hindrance to native women attending their meetings, there was also at Pondoland, according to Rev Joyce, attempts by the "heathen men ... to break up meetings by forcing their wives to depart, and by other means."[432] As discussed in Chapter 1, the Europeans' expectation that mission education should civilize the heathen kaffirs was still the aim in 1910. For example, at Kanyayo where there was a young woman native teacher helping in the Day School, Misses Box and Field reported: "Some of the Sunday School girls have decided for Christ during the past year, and side by side with the statement that the girls 'outnumber the boys,' and that they 'see a great difficulty ahead, i.e., where the Christian husbands are to come from,' they give a specimen of the curse of heathenism in the fact that 'the father of one of these girls is compelling his daughter to marry an old heathen man who has a wife; the girl is only sixteen and is in great trouble about it."[433]

Since the 1904 BU Assembly at which it was decided to establish a committee to formulate an educational policy with regard to missionary work, another significant milestone occurred during the Missionary Session of the 1911 BU Assembly, in which four important decisions concerning native work were made. These were: a monthly letter from the Missionary to each European Sunday School; an Education allowance for European Missionaries' children; completion of the Institute building for native training; and Evangelists' licences to be renewed annually. The last two aspects will be discussed in the last part of this chapter. Concerning the first, that is, supplying a monthly letter, the Missionary Session resolved that "the Committee be requested to supply a monthly letter from a [European] Missionary or from the Secretary, to the Secretary of each [European] Sunday School and to the Missionary Committee of each C. E. Society or other young people's society in connection with our Church."[434] This resolution effected the beginning of the direct European Sunday Schools' involvement in native Sunday Schools, which also upheld the same prejudices that European

[431] Ibid.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid., p. 38.
[434] Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 29. During the 1913 BU assembly, the Statistical Returns for 1912 listed only two stations with Sunday School returns. These were: Kaffraria under Rev C. W. Pearce with 3 schools, 4 teachers and 72 scholars; and Mjozi, in Pondoland, under Rev J. W. Joyce with 2 schools, 2 teachers and 52 scholars. (Minutes of 1913 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914,

churches had about natives and their culture. With the course of time, in particular, from 1929 onwards, European churches and their Sunday Schools were to initiate the establishment of native Sunday Schools in their surrounding native locations.[435] Also during 1911, the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly passed another resolution which stated that "the Committee's recommendation was accepted that an allowance of £20 each in respect of three children be made to Mr Joyce for the year in consideration of his sending the said three children away for education."[436] Did the children of native workers qualify for such an allowance? This we shall examine in the following chapter.

During the Missionary Session of the 1912 BU Assembly during which the Native Baptist Association's request for affiliation to the SABMS was discussed, Rev T Perry moved and Mr A. L. Palmer seconded "that the Missionary Committee be authorized to take steps to provide for the opening of day schools in Pondoland, as a necessary adjunct to our work in the District."[437] In the same year, at Mpotulo, Tsolokazi and Buffalo Thorns, "day schools have grown to 60 scholars each necessitating the appointment of assistant teachers."[438] But at the Tembani Mission station the lady missionaries, Misses Bellin and Field, are reported to be "meeting with much difficulty but are evidently working with undaunted courage."[439] Besides beer drinking being the common hindrance, "the work suffered too from the recruiting of boys to work in the mines."[440] As a result, "the day school has been maintained with difficulty, and there is little disposition on the part of the parents of the scholars to let them attend church in Sundays."[441] Nonetheless, according to the lady missionaries, "the day school is not without its evangelical influence, for the teacher takes interest in the teaching of the Bible."[442]

The decision to establish day schools in Pondoland was based on the report made by Rev T. Chapman, BU ex-president, to the SABMS committee. At this particular meeting he "reported at length upon the great need for the opening of day schools in connection with all the Society's stations in Pondoland, the favourable regard for the proposal among the natives,

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pp. 18-19.).
[435] Minutes of 1929 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1929-1930, p. 10.
[436] Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 29.
[437] Minutes of 1913 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 34.
[438] Ibid., p. 41.
[439] Ibid.
[440] Ibid.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Ibid.

the likelihood of government aid, and the steps to be taken to secure it."[443] He also reported on "the educational work already being done at some of the stations, and the probable financial cost of extension of this part of the work."[444] Concluding his presentation, he "outlined a proposal for the formation of an Education Committee consisting of the Missionaries and Natives."[445] The meeting resolved with a recommendation to the assembly "to authorize the [SABMS] Committee to take steps to provide for the opening of day schools in Pondoland, as necessary adjunct to our work in the district."[446] By 1913, progress towards the establishment of these schools in Pondoland had been made to the extent that the SABMS Committee Report for 1913 reported: "there are at present 7 [schools] at our 9 stations. These schools are in the pioneer stage, and will need financial help for some time to come."[447] Rev J. W. Joyce, the Superintendent of Pondoland, further added: "Some missionaries complain that the population in their districts is decreasing, through whole families removing to the other parts. Just the opposite is taking place here, and if the population of Pondoland goes on increasing as it has done for the past few years, it will become a very important native reserve."[448]

Besides the SABMS decision to establish as many schools as possible in Pondoland, another important native education matter decided on and achieved was the opening of the Pondoland Institute on June 8th, 1912 by Rev Chapman, then in his capacity as BU president. Furthermore, "a scheme for the curriculum for the training of evangelists and teachers has been drawn up by Rev. T. Chapman and is in the hands of the [SABMS] Committee, and will before final adoption be submitted to the Education Committee of the Baptist Union for their approval."[449] This Committee is not the one that Chapman proposed in 1912, as discussed in the paragraph above, but the one which was decided in 1904 during the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly. This 1904 Committee consisted only of Europeans. Surprisingly, it remained Europeans-only until 1949, regardless of the fact that in 1912 Chapman had proposed that it consist of both European missionaries and natives.

In 1913, the Mpotulo district which had Mpotulo, Tsolokazi, Cacadu and Buffalo Thorns

[443] Ibid., p. 43.
[444] Ibid.
[445] Ibid.
[446] Ibid
[447] Minutes of 1914 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 37.
[448] Ibid.
[449] Ibid., p. 42. The officers of the Education Committee for 1912-1913 were Revs. E. Baker, J. Russell, R.

under it, reported that it "has been found impossible to get the children to Sunday School, so week day classes have been arranged to meet the need."[450] There were at this time "4 day schools, 5 teachers, with an attendance of some 150; 4 churches, 4 preaching stations with no building, but regular services."[451] According to Rev Lowe, the Superintendent at Mpotulo, "we feel a special responsibility over the second generation with their fuller light and opportunities."[452] This particular generation, according to Rev Lowe, are "the elder children of our Mpotulo Christians."[453] At Cacadu station in particular, there were a number of problems when native day schools and Sunday school were begun. Firstly, the lady missionaries stationed at Cacadu, Misses Cockburn and Price, reported that the natives came in numbers to the station "for medicine for their bodies but none have come to the Healer [God] for the healing of their souls."[454] Secondly, "we are glad the present Inspector insists on the children learning their own language, as the majority drop out of school before reaching the second standard, and we feel they cannot receive much benefit from school unless they learn their mother tongue. If well taught they can read their Bible by the time they reach the second standard."[455] Lastly, "the work at our outstation is carried on under difficulties, as we often find no one at the place appointed for the meeting, and have to ride around seeking the congregation."[456] Surprisingly, according to the missionaries, when they (natives) are found, "they pride themselves on being willing to listen."[457]

In 1914 Rev Pearce, Superintendent of Kaffraria, reported that "owing to the increase in attendances at the school in Tshabo from 27 scholars to 131, it has been found necessary to enlarge the accommodation, by taking down the wood and iron church, and building it on to the old disused stone building."[458] According to the SABMS Report for 1914, the increased attendance "was due to the adoption by the Natives of the Location - Christian and heathen - of the principle of a voluntary tax for elementary education of their children."[459] In the same field report, Rev Pearce proposed "the raising of a Building Fund for Native Churches, to be

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Doble and Major H. Sprigg (Ibid., p. 4.).
[450] Minutes of 1914 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1914-1915, p. 36.
[451] Ibid.
[452] Ibid.
[453] Ibid.
[454] Ibid., p. 37.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Ibid.
[458] Minutes of 1915 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1915-1916, p. 33.
[459] Ibid., pp. 33-34.

loaned to the Churches and paid back by monies raised at the opening service."[460] In his opinion, "a modest capital of £100 or so would be of great service."[461] Another reason, complementing those listed by the lady missionaries as to why natives were hardly attending day or Sunday school, was listed in the report from Pondoland and Kaffraria respectively. That is, the European Sunday schools found it difficult "to work in connection with Native Churches, [which was due to] the parents [being] unwilling to spare their children from such work as minding the stock. This applies to all our southern fields."[462] Nonetheless, "a new Sunday school has been opened at Rabula, and there are now in the Kaffrarian District four Sunday Schools, seven teachers, and 97 scholars."[463] Furthermore, "the [European] Sunday School at Cambridge kindly gave to these Native schools a number of picture rolls, which are very useful."[464]

By this period, it had been some time since Rev Chapman had presented his Education Scheme to the SABMS committee concerning native education in Pondoland. Other Baptist mission fields had opened new native schools. For example, in 1919, "a new Sunday School was opened at Lower Tshabo with two teachers and 21 scholars, [but] some of them in their red blankets."[465] In total, the Kaffraria district, still under the Superintendence of Rev C. W. Pearce, had "12 Sunday Schools, 20 teachers and 240 scholars."[466] About these schools, the Superintendent reported that they "are of a primary character and instruction given is quite elementary and not all we would desire."[467] This was because "with the exception of the Bible and a hymn book compiled by another denomination we have no literature in the Kaffir language suitable for this work."[468]

Concerning this matter, the SABMS Report for the assembly stated that "this subject is occupying the attention of those interested in Sunday school work and it is hoped that this need will be remedied when the funds are more plentiful."[469] The red blankets, worn by the natives, were of great concern for the European missionaries, since these constituted, among

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[460] Ibid., p. 34.
[461] Ibid.
[462] Ibid.
[463] Ibid.
[464] Ibid.
[465] Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 37.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Ibid., pp. 37-38.

other factors, the native heathen in his superstitious uncivilized context. The Sunday and Day schools which were an adjunct to mission work were therefore meant to convert, civilize and produce a Christianized native agency both in terms of class and generation. These Christianized natives represented an important stratum among fellow natives, a fact validated by the chiefs who financially supported the establishment of day schools in their territories. For example, in 1917 at Kundulu in the Glen Grey district, "a church school has been built in the centre of a fairly large district occupied entirely by the heathen people. However, they [heathen natives] desire the school, but we [European Christians] seek also an opening for the word of God."[470]

To curb the problem raised in 1919 that there was no literature suitable for native Sunday school work except the bible and a hymn book, in 1923, during the missionary session of the assembly, it was resolved that "Superintendents be asked to introduce, where they have not already done so, the B.M.S. magazine *Wonderland* into our Sunday Schools, and that a letter be sent periodically from one or other of our Missionaries to our [European] young people as an insert."[471] A point to carefully note is that this was the same Missionary Session that resolved that the "Native Baptist Association be requested to join the Native Baptist Church Council of the S.A.B.M.S. on the same terms and conditions as the Natives working directly under the Society."[472] And also "if the Association does not see its way to comply with this request within three months of its being submitted to them, then the present affiliation of the Native Baptist Association with the S.A.B.M.S. shall terminate forthwith."[473] The following year appeared for the first time, a record in the BU executive report about "a separate examination held this year [1924] for Mission schools, and the Rev. E. Baker, who acted as Examiner, states that his outstanding impression is the rightness of having a separate examination for the Missions."[474] During the Missionary Session of this assembly, the previous (1923) year's resolution to end the SABMS' relation with the Native Baptist Association was effected.[475] Also at this Missionary Session, Mr J. G. Birch's paper on "Sunday School Work among Native and Coloured Children" was read by Rev R. Hall. The assembly resolved that "the parts of the paper relating to Native Sunday Schools be

[470] Minutes of 1918 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1918-1919, p. 36.
[471] Minutes of 1923 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 54.
[472] Ibid., p. 55.
[473] Ibid.
[474] Minutes of 1924 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 11.
[475] Ibid., p. 35.

forwarded to the Native Councils with the recommendation that they be given effect to."[476] Furthermore, "that his suggestion as to inducing European Schools to take direct interest in Native Schools be forwarded to the secretaries of our European Schools."[477]

Throughout this period, the government's subsidy for native mission schools continued. For example, prior to 1920, Stanley and Cornfields in Natal, under the superintendence of Rev T. Chapman had in 1919 recorded that "171 scholars attend the Schools whose 4 teachers are paid by the Government."[478] During the 1920s the Pondoland field report of 1926 noted that "140 children are taught in day schools for the most part supported by Government."[479] An interesting report, the first of its kind, is a report in 1926 from Durban by Rev James Siyo reporting that "the night school has 76 on the roll without expense to the Society."[480] But this report by Rev Siyo does not mention whether it was natives or the government that covered the costs of this school.

5.6.2. Native ministers' training, ordination and working conditions (1894-1927)

The earliest record of a native minister sent to a training institution by the SABMS was that of David Ncapayi, in 1894. The resolution of the Annual Meeting of the Missionary Society, later to be referred to as the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly, read:

> An effort was made by the Committee to procure a suitable Evangelist for Tshabo, but without success, and our attention has been called to the fact that we must train our own. The Committee resolved to send David Ncapayi, a member of the King Williamstown Mission, to Lovedale Institution for one year, to be educated at the expense of the Missionary Society.[481]

In 1897, Mr W. Stofile was appointed as a native evangelist at King Williamstown[482] and in 1898, the Tshabo day school was reportedly re-organized under Mr and Mrs. W. Stofile. This

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[476] Ibid., p. 37.
[477] Ibid.
[478] Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 42.
[479] Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 22.
[480] Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 18. This is the same Rev Siyo that pastored Umgeni Road Baptist Church prior to Rev William Duma. See: Mogashoa, M. H. (1995). *A critical study of the life and work of Rev Wiliam Duma (1907-1977), as a contribution to the history of the Baptist Church in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal. [Unpublished Masters Thesis.]. See also Mogashoa, M. H. "Correcting the 'Baptist' History on William Duma (1907-1977): An Oral History Contribution," in Denis, P. (2000). *Orality, Memory & the Past*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, pp. 194-209.
[481] Minutes of 1895 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1895-1896, p. 54.
[482] Minutes of 1897 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1897-1898, p. 27.

school was "now in receipt of Government grant."[483] In the same period, at King Williamstown, the "report recorded ten baptisms for the year, and that Mr W. Stofile was now in charge of that work."[484] Interestingly, in the Sixth Annual (1898) Report of the SABMS, it also reported: "a night school has been opened at King Williamstown, and is largely attended."[485] The same report further stated: "Petros Murwetwyana [sic], a Native member, has conducted services in a hut at Toleni, near Butterworth."[486] Among these early SABMS native workers, Mr Stofile seems to have been better qualified[487] than other native workers under the SABMS. This is evidenced among other factors by the remuneration he received. For example, the 1897 SABMS financial statement recorded that £10 was spent on a horse for Mr Stofile and an additional 7s.2d. on the horse's poundage.[488] The same amount was spent on a horse for Mr Pearce, a European Superintendent for Buffalo Thorns, Tembuland while, £8 was spent for Miss Thorpe, a European missionary stationed at Mjozi station, in Pondoland.[489] Unfortunately, there is no record of this amount for their horses' poundage. The following year, as indicated earlier, the annual report of the SABMS noted that at Tshabo "a former church has been converted into a suitable dwelling-house for our devoted Lady Missionaries - Miss Box and Miss Field, all the expenses of which were defrayed by the generous kindness of two brothers - Gottlieb and W. Meier,"[490] and it was also reported that "a house has been erected for the Native Evangelist, W. W. Stofili [sic]."[491]

Also in 1899, there appeared another record of a paid Baptist native worker, who was "that Mr. Petros Neyamana [sic], a Native, ... accepted as an Evangelist at £5 per quarter."[492] The same session during which Nenyamana's employment was decided, also resolved "that the application of Mr. Skiveiyeya [sic] be referred back to the Missionary Committee, to act upon as they deem best after full enquiry."[493] By end of 1898, Mr Pearce, Superintendent at Buffalo Thorns, is reported to have "been greatly encouraged in his work, and reports most

[483] Minutes of 1898 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1898-1899, p. 69.
[484] Ibid.
[485] Ibid., p. 61.
[486] Ibid.
[487] During the Missionary Session of the 1899 BU Assembly, it is recorded that Missionary Reports "were received from the Rev. C. W. Pearce, J. W. Joyce, W. Stofile and a verbal one from Miss Box" (Minutes of 1899 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 63.). This is the first record in the BU minutes of a Missionary Field reported on by a native, without collaboration with European missionaries, as was the case with John Adams in 1890.
[488] Ibid., p. 64.
[489] Ibid., p. 65.
[490] Minutes of 1899 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 35.
[491] Ibid.
[492] Ibid., p. 63.

favourably of the good done by Petros at Toleni, and Skweyiya at Macubeni."[494] In the SABMS financial statement of 1899, there is also a record of Mr Squiyiya [sic] being paid £7.10s. In the same statement, Mr Petros Mrwetyana is recorded to have been paid £10 while Mr W. Stofile received £68.15.[495] This difference is possibly due to the qualifications Stofile had. The striking factor about the 1899 BU Assembly minutes was the SABMS report in which it is recorded that "the absolute necessity of a Training Institution presses itself upon us constantly."[496]

As early as 1902, natives started assuming leadership responsibilities in the Baptist Church, particularly when European Missionaries were absent mainly as a result of being on furlough. The first on record is an unnamed, the "first convert he [Rev Joyce] had been able to leave in charge of the mission, while he journeyed to Cape Town."[497] It was about the same period, in 1901, as indicated before, that Rev Stofile left the Baptist Church and joined "the secession Presbyterians under Mzimba."[498] While the necessity of a training institution for natives was noted during the 1899 BU Assembly, it was only in 1904, during the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly, that the SABMS Committee was "authorized to prepare a course of study for the training of Evangelists to work under the European supervision."[499] A year previously, in 1903, a resolution was passed concerning native education. It was at the 1904 BU Assembly that the SABMS Committee in its Annual Report reported that "rules have been drawn up for the course of study for the training of Evangelists, and a scheme of educational policy has been adopted."[500] These rules, which also appeared in *The South African Baptist Magazine* (SAB) of December 1905, stated that "it must be understood that Missionaries may appoint Missionary Lay-Helpers without the following qualifications, but these are the requirements for recognized Evangelists:"[501]

1. The Educational basis shall be the Fourth Standard.

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[493] Ibid.
[494] Ibid., p. 35.
[495] Minutes of 1903 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 62.
[496] Minutes of 1899 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1899-1900, p. 36.
[497] Minutes of 1902 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1900-1903, p. 91.
[498] Ibid., p. 132. Two reasons explain why Rev Stofile, the only native worker who was paid decently seceded. Firstly, having trained and graduated at Lovedale, he met fellow natives who belonged to other churches. As a result he was exposed to what is happening in other churches. Secondly, noting that he was a qualified teacher and had another employment prior to being employed by the SABMS, he was confident that he would find another employment outside the Baptist Church.
[499] Minutes of 1906 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 52.
[500] Minutes of 1905 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook of 1903-1906, pp. 76-77.
[501] *The South African Baptist*, December 1905., p. 302.

2. That the Committee draw up an outline of Doctrinal teaching for the instructing of Native Evangelists, and that the Gospel of Mark and Acts of the Apostles form the basis of examination as to the Scripture knowledge.

3. The *Pilgrim's Progress* in Kaffir [Xhosa language] and Vedder's *History of the Baptists* are also recommended for instruction and examination.[502]

The 1905 BU Assembly became another important turning point of Baptist work among the natives. Firstly, a curriculum concerning training of native evangelists was approved. Secondly, both the BU and SABMS approved four articles concerning native educational policy. Lastly, the assembly officially recognized the different Baptist operations among the natives of South Africa. The BU and SABMS were heeding the frequent request "to give its recognition, made necessary by the various Colonial governments of South Africa, to certain Conventions, Associations, and Individuals engaged in Baptist Church work among the Native Peoples of South Africa; and especially by the National Baptist Convention and the Lott-Carey Convention of U.S. of America, and by the South African Native Baptist Association."[503] The same assembly also approved the BU Annuity and Insurance Scheme for its European workers.[504] Following on the conditions for the recognition of evangelists, the following were those for the recognition of native ministers:

A. That any applicant working under any organised Convention or Society shall produce in support of his application:

1. A copy or evidence of an agreement between his Society and the Baptist Union of South Africa as to areas of work, to prevent overlapping and antagonistic spheres of Baptist operations.

2. The written endorsement of his application by his society.

3. The recommendation of two Ministers or members of the Baptist Union Assembly, whether officers or not.

B. That each applicant shall with regard to qualifications:-

1. Give or produce evidence that he has attained what is equal to a Fourth Standard Education.

2. Give or produce evidence of understanding the uses of, and his capacity to execute, documents such as Marriage Registers.

C. That these further conditions shall be operative:-

1. Each applicant shall only be accepted on the grounds of having embraced the Christian faith as held by Baptists and bearing a moral character that is free from open reproach.

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[502] Ibid. These requirements also appear in Minutes of 1905 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 82.

[503] Ibid.

2. Each applicant shall declare his personal and public influence to be free from sympathy with a movement known as "Ethopianism."
3.Each applicant shall declare his refusal to demand the re-baptism of any baptised convert of any other Evangelical Baptist Church recognised by this Union.
4. Each applicant shall give assurance that his Church consents to receive upon transfer duly given the members of every other Church recognised by this Union.
5. Each accepted and approved Minister or Missionary shall furnish to the Union Secretary a statistical return of his work during the year according to Union rules and requirements.
6. No territorial association or individual minister can give a position equal to ministerial status to any person without the applicant's previous recognition by the Union under these regulations.[505]

While the training of native evangelists was to be by Europeans, consequently maintaining the subservient role of natives, it should also be noticed that some of these Europeans funded the training of some of these natives. For example, the lady missionaries in Tembani, Misses Bellin and Cockburn, reported in their 1904 field report that "the young teacher of whom we spoke last year as being desirous of becoming an Evangelist has been with us in his capacity since last January, friends in Australia kindly sending us part of the money for his support."[506] The two missionaries further reported "we shall be very sorry when he has to go, but rejoice with him that his way is opening up to still carry on his loved work amongst his people in the dark Kafirland."[507]

As mentioned above, the first proposal for the formation of a native training institute was in 1899. However, by 1907 the institute was still not formed. An incident in 1906 reminded missionaries that such an institution was urgently needed. According to Rev C. W. Pearce in his field report concerning Buffalo Thorns district:

> Before Mr Pearce left the Tshabo [station] he had the great joy of welcoming Ncapayi, who, as those who are acquainted with the Tshabo [work] will remember, was a foremost worker until he was drawn away by a 'wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness' which masked itself under the monstrous contention that Baptism if administered by white men was no baptism at all. It is a matter of great regret that some of the best succumb to the strangest ideas, which are disseminated by ignorant, unbalanced or wicked men. The only

[504] See Chapter 6.
[505] Minutes of 1906 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 71.
[506] Minutes of 1904 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1903-1906, p. 45.

> effective antidote is the stability which comes from fuller knowledge and discipline; and everyone who comes into touch with the practical work of our Missionary Society has continually brought home to him the conviction that one of the absolute necessary auxiliaries to our work is a Training Institution for our Native Workers.[508]

Mr Ncapayi's secession is one among many such incidents in the Baptist Church of South Africa. Earlier on, Mr Stofile also left the Baptist Church to join Mzimba's Presbyterian Church, and never returned to the Baptist Church. Concerning Mr Ncapayi's secession, his reasons for leaving the Baptist Church, that baptism if administered by a white man is no baptism at all,[509] highlights one among many reasons which caused the secession of native workers and church members from the Baptist Church of South Africa. Undergirding all these reasons and this "white man's baptism" is the rejection of segregated European leadership in the Baptist Church of South Africa. The issue concerning the white man's baptism is that native evangelists toiled hard in making converts while the European missionaries took centre stage during special services to baptize them.

Another example of native resistance within the SABMS was by Rev Koti from the Native Baptist Association, also referred to as the Lott-Carey Convention of U.S. America. He had applied for ministerial recognition with the SABMS but "was made aware of the resolution expressing willingness to recognize him as Probationer for the Ministry, working under the direction of Revs. E. Eve and C. E. Coles."[510] Rev Koti, on the contrary, "was unwilling to accede to these terms, as he did not see he could withdraw from association [Native Baptist Association] to which he was pledged."[511] As a result, "the executive of the [Baptist] Union and a committee of the Missionary Society agreed to appoint a commission, Rev. J. J. Doke representing the former and the Secretary of the Missionary Society representing the latter."[512] Unfortunately, findings of the commission do not appear in the BU minutes or in the SAB magazine except that "a separate report concerning this matter has been presented to the Executive."[513] A year later, in the list acknowledging people attending the BU Assembly

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[507] Ibid.
[508] Report of Missionary Society for 1906-1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 31.
[509] Ibid., p. 30. In the SABMS Annual Report 1904-1905. Joseph Dyantyes is reported transferred from Tshabo to take oversight of the work at Buffalo Thorns, under the superintendence of Rev E. Eve. It is also reported in the same report that Mr Koti refused the SABMS's terms under which he could be recognized as a probationer minister, one of which was to withdraw from the association (NBA) to which he was pledged.
[510] Minutes of 1905 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1905-1906, p. 77.
[511] Ibid.
[512] Ibid.
[513] Ibid.

of 1907, at Port Elizabeth, it is recorded that the "Revs. E. P. Koti and Gawlor George, representing the National Baptist Convention of America, were welcomed."[514] It was the first time that they attended the BU Assembly, also for the first time that NBA workers had done so. In 1923 the SABMS broke its association with the NBA.

Politically, the period from 1905 to 1906 was not easy for the Baptist mission among the natives. The introductory paragraph of the Report of the Missionary Society for 1905 to 1906 summed this up as follows: "The past year, we all regret to remember, has been marked by another Native Rising, and, although our Missionary has not been within its area, yet the fact has diminished sympathy with mission work in some, while, from the consideration that scarcely any members of Mission Churches joined the rebels, it has accentuated the sense of need and beneficial results in others. This latter record ought to be remembered and emphasized, for it is one of the demonstrations on a political level of the value of evangelization, and a vindication of the sacrifice and toil in taking up 'the White Man's burden' - or rather the Christian man's burden."[515] It is within this context that the SABMS committee decided that "one of the absolute necessary auxiliaries to our work is a Training Institution for our Native workers."[516] But by 1910, the formation of a native training institution had not taken shape except in the passing of another resolution by the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly. It is stated: "The Rev. T. Perry read the report, when it was resolved that negotiations be continued; that the scheme be approved, viz., the formation of an Institute in which instruction can be given to Native Evangelists and that the Committee for this work consist of the Revs. T. Perry, E. Brett and J. J. Doke."[517]

The same Missionary Session also resolved on the one hand, "that the income of the

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[514] Minutes of 1907 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 18.

[515] Report of Missionary Society for 1905-1906, In BU Handbook for 1906-1907, p. 37. This native rising was the Bambatha Rebellion. In explaining its causes Smail wrote: "The Coalition Government under the Hon. C. J. Smythe, confronted by an embarrassing budget deficiency, passed in August 1905 a Poll Tax Act which as far as the Africans were concerned in Natal was virtually the last straw, as since the end of the Zulu War of 1879 and the Anglo Boer War of 1899 to 1902, the locust invasions and the rinderpest, they suffered innumerable hardships which also included the great loss of life when the East Coast Fever swept through the country. The starting date for the collection of Poll Tax was on the 20th January, 1906. On the 17th January, three days before, Henry Smith, a farmer was stabbed to death on his farm at Umlaas Road during his attempt to induce his farm labourers to pay their tax in advance. ... The Rebellion ended in the Monte Gorge on the 10th June 1906, but hostilities were still to continue in Natal. (See Smail, J. L. 1971. *Those Restless Years*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.) For a detailed discussion of this rebellion in Natal, see: Marks, S. (1970). *Reluctant Rebellion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. And for the roles played by the missionary bodies and the African Christians in this rebellion, see: Berge, L. (2000). *The Bambatha Watershed: Swedish Missionaries, African Christians and an Evolving Zulu Church in Rural Natal and Zululand 1902-1910*. Sweden: Elanders Gotab.

[516] Report of Missionary Society for 1906-1907, in BU Handbook for 1907-1908, p. 31.

Missionary Society shall be subject to a toll of 1 per cent, which shall be paid into the Union Emergency Fund, and that the Fund shall be responsible for £5 per annum on behalf of the Pension for each of the three Lady Missionaries."[518] On the other hand, it resolved "that an Evangelist be appointed for Buffalo Thorns at an allowance not exceeding £30 per annum."[519] Interestingly, two years prior to the 1910 BU Assembly, the SABMS had recognized a number of native ministers from the Lott-Carey Convention of USA and the South African Native Baptist Association. It, however, reiterated its 1905 position, as discussed above, concerning recognition of evangelists. Following Mr Koti's recognition as an affiliated native minister with the SABMS, the BU Assembly of 1908 resolved that "Mr Murff [who] was received and welcomed into the Assembly, his name be placed with that of Mr. Koti on the Native Ministers' roll."[520] During the Missionary Session of the same assembly, it was "recommended to the Assembly that the Revs. D. F. Murff and E. P. Kote [sic] be given ministerial recognition on the lines laid down in paragraph page 71, Handbook 1903, on their undertaking to deal with certain irregularities reported in relation to Solani and other Native Missionaries connected with their Associations."[521] Both the names of Revs Koti and Murff appeared for the first time, though separately listed from SABMS native and European workers, as affiliated native ministers with the SABMS. Next to their names are the names of the institutions (Rev Murff at Wayland Seminary, in Washington, and Rev Koti at Lovedale Training Institution) where they were trained.

In terms of growth, native work during this period had outgrown the number of native evangelists and ministers available. The SABMS Annual Report of 1908-1909 reported that Pondoland was a large area, which "takes several hours to ride from one Station to another."[522] To curb this problem, which, according to the report, is mentioned as the "one way by which this may be effectively done, viz.: by Native Evangelists with our Missionaries' supervision,"[523] needed a two-pronged approach. That is, "there must be the maintenance of our present Native Evangelistic Staff [and] there ought to be an increase. The addition to the staff of such men as Galada and Macibi would mean great development."[524]

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[517] Minutes of 1910 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 34.
[518] Ibid.
[519] Ibid.
[520] Minutes of 1908 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1908-1909, p. 23.
[521] Ibid., p. 39.
[522] Report of the Baptist Missionary Society of 1908-1909, in BU Handbook for 1909-1910, p. 37.
[523] Ibid.
[524] Ibid. The Report further mentioned how Galada "overcame kaffir-beer" and Macibi, who could neither read nor write, "uses his natural and spiritual eyes to good effect" (Ibid., pp. 37-38.).

The Report summed up all field reports by stating that "the plea that reaches us from all stations makes us feel the necessity not only of the men, and of the funds which would make their appointment possible, but of means of training our own."[525] Adopting this expedient was, according to the SABMS Committee, "...owing to departure to the mines and along the Rand and in other places ... a larger opportunity, and a greater attraction is being presented by native labour is an occasion for gratitude, but from the standpoint of our Mission work it is an occasion for concern, especially when it is remembered that there is no Church at the large centres to which they could be transferred: the latter fact points out one of the defects of our work when considered as a whole, or as a chain with a missing link."[526] Two years later, in 1911, Rev Pearce, Superintendent in Kaffraria, stated in his field report: "We have great difficulty to supply the preaching services at the outstations, for no less than nine of my deacons and preachers have been recruited for the mines in Johannesburg and German West Africa. It is a pity that we have no organised native work for our Church at Johannesburg, and the sooner we have a Baptist cause for the natives in that centre the better it will be for our work."[527]

As indicated before, it was in 1899 that the necessity for a native training institution was raised. But it was only in 1911 that serious progress towards erecting a building for such a purpose was made. Also as mentioned before, though in 1905 a course of study for the training of native evangelists was drawn up, in the subsequent BU assemblies and Missionary Sessions, there were never any progress reports concerning this matter. The first report regarding the training institution was towards the end of 1909. According to the SABMS Committee in their Annual Report for 1909-1910, "[the] Arthington Trustees generously decided to make a grant of £150 towards a new Mission in Pondoland, with accommodation for Native Evangelists for training, and £100 per annum for a period of three years towards its support."[528] It was only during the Missionary Session of the 1911 BU Assembly, following a letter from Rev. H. L. Staines, that "the [SABMS] Committee was empowered to spend as much as £50 to complete the Institute Building and was urged to keep the costs as low as possible in consistency with due regard to the efficiency of the building."[529] Furthermore, "that the Assembly approves the suggestions of the Colonial Aid Society that

[525] Ibid., p. 40.
[526] Ibid.
[527] SABMS Annual Report of 1909-1910. In BU Handbook for 1910-1911, p. 41.
[528] Minutes of 1911 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 40.
[529] Minutes of 1911 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 29.

the grant in aid of the Institute work should be spread over five years and notes with gratitude that the guarantee of the Society now amounts to £400 for this work."[530] The minutes of the Missionary Session also recorded that "hearty thanks were accorded the Rev. E. Brett for a gift of land on his farm for a Native Institution."[531] This was the same Missionary Session that "strongly urged Rev D. F. Murft [sic], [of the Lott Carey Convention of the U.S.A.], not to ordain or recognise Native Evangelists or Ministers except in connection with Missionary Committee, the Transvaal Auxiliary of the Society or the nearest Minister of our [Baptist] European Churches."[532] Furthermore, the same session resolved, as previously discussed, that the "Missionary Committees and District Committees be empowered to issue certificates to our accredited Evangelists. These certificates or licences were to be renewed annually and at the discretion of the [Europeans-only] Committee."[533]

The first record concerning this Institute, built in Pondoland, appeared in the SABMS Annual Report for 1910-1911. In it, it is recorded that:

> The Native Institute reported to the last Assembly and adopted is coming into existence. During the year £100 was received by the Colonial Society, a plan was drawn and accepted by the Committee, and before the rainy season commenced, the work of brick-making was taken in hand and stone had been quarried for the foundation. The estimated costs exceed the amount available from the Colonial Society, but we hope that some of the items in the list of expenditure will be reduced so that the amount necessary to complete it will not be burdensome. Owing to East Cost fever the restrictions upon transport will involve additional expenditure, but an estimate of the cost of this has been included in the total sum of £378. The completion of the Institute will inaugurate a new stage of our work in connection with the Society and make provision for the training of Native Evangelists.[534]

As far as expenditures are concerned, the expenses of the Institute building appeared in the SABMS financial statement for the period of 1st October 1910 to 30th September 1911, during which £56.16s. was spent with £43.4s. as the remaining balance.[535] In the following year's financial period, it was reported that the building cost £331.11s.5d.[536] The Pondoland Institute, also referred to as the Arthington Institute, was opened by Rev T. Chapman on June

[530] Ibid.
[531] Ibid., p. 30.
[532] Ibid.
[533] Ibid.
[534] SABMS Annual Report for 1910-1911, in BU Handbook for 1911-1912, p. 35.
[535] Ibid., p. 33.
[536] Minutes of 1912 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 37.

8th, 1912. It is described as follows:

> It [the Pondoland Institute] contains two fine Lecture Rooms, each measuring 20ft. x 20ft. and 13ft. in height; a Dining Room 20ft. x 14 ft., and another room 20ft. x 14ft., a kitchen 14ft. x 14ft., and another room of the same size; a front veranda and a back stoep. The whole is substantially built and our Committee have expressed the hearty thanks of the Society to Rev J. W. Joyce and Mr A. D. Law for their splendid workmanship and devoted labours. The necessary equipment of the Institute with various furniture and various utensils will necessitate some outlay. A scheme for the curriculum for the training of evangelists and teachers has been drawn up by Rev. T. Chapman and is in the hands of the Committee, and will before final adoption be submitted to the Education Committee of the Baptist Union for their approval.[537]

This Curriculum Scheme is the same as the one discussed before. During the opening of the Institute, Rev Chapman spoke on the need to open day schools in Pondoland and proposed the formation of an Education Committee consisting of the Missionaries and the Natives.[538] From 1913 however, the SABMS had to look for ways to fund this Institute. One such amount, that was £20, came from the Colonial Aid Society.[539] Concerning the Institute building, it seems it was of low quality because, hardly a year after it was built, Rev Joyce in his filed report reported that, "when he returned from his deputation tour, he found that three week's heavy rains in March had done considerable damage to the Institute building."[540] But "this has now been thoroughly repaired by a skilled mason."[541] Also in this report, there is a record of the first native teacher, J. J. M. Dipa, at the Institute. Concerning his services, it is said: "Your Committee has secured the services of James J. M. Dipa, a fully certificated Native teacher, highly recommended by Rev. James Henderson, of Lovedale, and he enters upon his duties as teacher at the Institution under Mr Joyce this month. Your Committee is consulting with the Ministerial Education Committee of the [Baptist] Union as to the Rules and Curriculum to be observed in the training of evangelists. Before such training can be given, these young men will require elementary teaching under the Native teacher."[542]

While Pondoland Training Institution, the long awaited native training institute, was being

[537] SABMS Annual Report for 1911-1912, in BU Handbook for 1912-1913, p. 42.
[538] Ibid., p. 43.
[539] Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of Moneys received from the Baptist Colonial Society by October 25th, 1913, in BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 28.
[540] SABMS Annual Report for 1912-1913. In BU Handbook for 1913-1914, p. 38.
[541] Ibid.
[542] Ibid.

realized, a number of mission stations continued with other forms of training. For example, in Brooklyn, at Graff-Reinet, Rev Joyce reported:

> We have about seven farms, which are more or less regularly visited by Native preachers from Brooklyn, or Groot Vlei, Cradock, the latter two places being included in the seven ... . The special features of our work during the year have been the growth of love between the Christians, and the special training class for Native preachers. Regarding the first, it has been great joy to see many members of different denominations sitting together around the Lord's Table - to feel the Spirit of Love ... . The training class for Native preachers has been useful; unfortunately, owing to my many journeys, it has been discontinued, as I have not been able to give it sufficient personal attention. Still I feel convinced there is practically no more fruitful way of spending one's time than that of training workers. Who can tell what can be accomplished by a dozen men who have been carefully trained for three or four years living in close contact with the [European] Missionary.[543]

A period of five years lapsed before there was another mentioning of the Pondoland Institute or any other form of native evangelists or preachers' training. This was in 1919, during the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly, during which it was resolved that "the future working of the Pondoland Institute should receive the serious consideration of the Missionary Committee."[544] This Missionary Session also adopted the Co-ordination Scheme, which was then approved in the BU Session. According to this Scheme:

> ... the president of the BU shall also be chairman of the SABMS; the secretary and treasurer of the SABMS shall be ex-officio members of the BU Executive; the president, vice-president, ex-president, the secretary and treasurer of the BU shall be ex-officio members of the SABMS Committee while at the Annual meeting of the SABMS four additional members shall be elected to the SABMS Committee. At the Annual meeting of the BU four additional members shall be elected to the BU Executive. The Executive of the BU and the Committee of the SABMS shall meet in a common centre three times a year between Assemblies and in the same week. The SABMS and BU shall share travelling expenses of the joint official and elected representatives and that the BU and SABMS shall defray the expenses of their four elected members and; that the SABMS Committee appoint from their members two emergency Committees, one to be centred in the Transvaal and the other at the Border.[545]

The implication of this Scheme was that the BU Executive would become directly involved in running the SABMS and its work. In terms of chronology, with the NBCC formed in 1923,

[543] Ibid., p. 39.
[544] Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 34.
[545] Ibid., p. 29.

and the BBC formed in 1927, the BU through the SABMS Committee directly oversaw the native leadership and its churches. On the Institute the next report after 1919 was in 1921. The Institute was beginning to be felt as a burdensome liability. According to Rev Brailsford, the superintendent at Pondoland, while reporting on the "4 paid evangelists for this wide district ... [who] are obliged to cover much more ground than formerly, but have been working well. [He added] The condition of the building, especially the Institute and the house has meant a good deal of labour and expense. Difficulty has been experienced in getting an estimate for partial rebuilding of the former, but the necessary alterations will probably soon be able to be carried out."[546] Following from this, in 1924, Rev Brailsford also reported that "the institute building at Mjozi, has been put into repair by a visiting builder, as it has for some time been causing anxiety."[547] This was the last report on the Pondoland Training Institute. In 1927 however, dawned another interest in a native training institution. This was immediately after the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church in Tshabo, at Kingwilliamstown, in 1927. It was on a Thursday, September 15th, 1927, that the Missionary Session of the BU Assembly resolved: "That this Assembly hereby requests the Executive of the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society to consider the possibility of inaugurating a scheme for the establishment of an institution for training Native Missionaries and Ministers, and furnish a report to the next Assembly."[548] This second attempt by the SABMS and the BU to form another native training institution resulted in the Ennals Institute, which later became the Millard Institute, as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The SABMS and BU policy of self-government and self-propagation (also referred to as self determination), adopted in 1892, which culminated in the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church in 1927, was rather problematic throughout Baptist history. This is because they were policy matters only on paper without practical implementation. For example, at the founding of the Bantu Baptist Church in 1927 as discussed before, this body was primarily for deliberation purposes only, just as the Native Baptist Church Council of 1923. The final authority lay with the Europeans-only SABMS committee. Related to the issue of authority being held by Europeans-only committees, are the nature of the resolutions the BU passed, particularly, resolutions intended to criticize the government's discriminatory policies

[546] The 29th Annual Report of the SABMS. In BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 45.
[547] The Thirty-Second Annual Report of the SABMS. In BU Handbook for 1924-1925, p. 17.
[548] Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 43.

towards the natives.[549] One such resolution, for example, concerned the Natal Native Location. This resolution highlights the SABMS's awareness of the importance of native leadership, given the fact that there were few European superintendents in comparison to the vastness of the mission field, which most European superintendents found "inaccessible." Furthermore, this same resolution also highlights the caution and the farthest extent to which the Baptist Church of South Africa was willing to criticize the government, provided their missionary (and financial) gains were not at stake, and including the status they enjoyed merely by the fact that they were Europeans. It read:

> This Assembly desires to place on record that it views with considerable apprehension the attitude of the Natal Government with regard to mission work on native locations. We fully recognize the absolute necessity of missionary work amongst the natives being carried on under European supervision; but this, in our opinion, does not necessitate the placing of a European Missionary at every mission station. Any law, which prevents one from making use of trained evangelists who are placed under the control of an accredited Missionary Society, must permanently hinder the extension of missionary work among the natives of this Colony. We desire to join with the various Missionary Societies of Natal, the Congregational Union of South Africa, the Wesleyan Conference, and the Church Councils of Durban and Maritzburg, in respectfully urging upon the Government the necessity for a speedy alteration of their policy.[550]

5.7. Conclusion

5.7.1. Synopsis

Three time periods have been discussed in this chapter. These phases are: (a) prior to the formation of the Native Baptist Church Councils (NBCC), (b) the formation of the NBCC (1923), and (c) the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church (1927). Prior to the formation of the NBCC, Baptist mission work amongst the natives was of two types. These were: work by the South African Baptist Missionary Society (SABMS); and independent native Baptist work by European churches, which were members of the BU - the parent body of the SABMS. European attitudes whether in the SABMS or the respective European churches working independently among the natives, were the same. Perceptions such as, among others, the infantilization of the natives,[551] and of the natives' culture and clothing as heathen,[552] continued. Hughes, BU president for 1894-1895, described the European's responsibility

[549] See Epilogue
[550] Minutes of 1906 BU Assembly in BU Handbook for 1906-1907, p. 29.
[551] See Chapter 4.

towards the natives as follows:

> ... ebullitions of coarse crime that we every now and again witness among the unlettered and superstitious tribes of this country, and ... by the more cultivated classes of European extraction, are painfully distressing evidence of the necessity of a much wider diffusion of Christian principles among the people generally.[553]

In 1924, the SABMS Committee while acknowledging that "the work of God has been operative in the hearts of the native congregations, [further mentioned that] ... we remember how hard it is for many people to break away from the ties of heathenism."[554] The Committee concluded, however, that, "we thank God for such a manifest token of the power of the gospel in their lives."[555]

Even though the SABMS was formed in 1892 and a number of European churches continued with their independently initiated work among the natives, native leaders "developed" their own meetings or "assemblies" as early as 1904. This earliest meeting is described as "a Quarterly Meeting of Deacons and Preachers ... held at one of the Churches, whereat reports of the work at each place are submitted and discussed ... a preaching plan is prepared and printed half yearly, the preachers themselves contributing to the cost."[556] These quarterly meetings, which are also recorded to have proven successful over the years, noticeably without any record of Europeans' direct control over them, in 1915 however, appeared the first record to the contrary. According to this record: "Mr Pearce [Superintendent of Transkei] ... introduced into the Transkei field the system of Quarterly Meetings of Church officers, which have proved beneficial in Kaffraria."[557] In the same report, Mr Joyce, Superintendent of Pondoland, is also reported to have "successfully instituted quarterly meetings for preachers and evangelists."[558] Such European superintendence over natives was made stronger in 1916 when a Native Council representing the churches in Kaffraria and Transkei was inaugurated. This was called *I Bunga lama Bandla ase Baptist* [A Convention of Baptist Churches].[559] In the course of the development of similar councils, these councils served to sift fellow native ministers by suggesting that "all candidates for ministerial

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[552] See Chapter 1.
[553] Minutes of 1894 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1894-1895, p. 16.
[554] The Thirty-Second Annual Report of the SABMS, p. 14. In BU Handbook for 1924-1925.
[555] Ibid.
[556] Minutes of 1904 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1904-1906, p. 44.
[557] Minutes of 1915 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1915-1916, p. 34.
[558] Ibid., p. 36.

recognition should first be recommended by the [Native] Council to the Missionary Society,"[560] one should not forget that a European, for example "Rev C. W. Pearce, was in the chair"[561] in the care of Pondoland.

With the formation of the NBCC in 1923, a body decided on by Europeans for the natives, European control was made explicit. According to the NBCC Constitution, the officers "shall consist of a Chairman who shall be a European Missionary of the Missionary Society, a Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer."[562] But this committee would not have the final decision over native work in the Baptist Church of South Africa. Such a decision lay with the SABMS Committee, a Europeans-only committee. And for "closer co-operation between the Native Councils and the Missionary Society, each Council shall have the right to appoint not more than two delegates to the Missionary Session of the Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union."[563] The natives' acceptance into a privileged white led meeting for the reason that the they provide the native with the opportunity to properly consult among themselves is nothing but a way of further subduing the natives and maximising benefits as a result of their diligent servanthood. One such opportunity "to properly consult" was to give responsibility to these Councils "for guarding the moral life of the [native] Churches, any Pastor, Evangelist or Preacher, who is found guilty by these Councils or their Executive Committee, or drunkenness, immorality, dishonesty, or any other serious offence, shall be deprived of his office and membership of this Church."[564] Such a culprit "shall not be reinstated without the sanction and approval of the Church, whose action in the matter shall be subject to the approval and endorsement of the [Europeans-only] Committee of the Missionary Society."[565]

In 1927, with the formation of the Bantu Baptist Church, relations between the natives and the Europeans did not improve. This was regardless of the dissatisfaction the NBA and SABMS native workers had expressed, which resulted in defections from the Baptist Church. What happened in 1927 was the further strengthening of European paternalism. Like in the NBCC, only a European could be the Moderator of the BBC. But far more than in the NBCC, through the BBC the European Superintendents were to become involved in every level of

[559] Minutes of 1918 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1918-1919, p. 16.
[560] Minutes of 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1921-1922, p. 44.
[561] Minutes of 1919 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1919-1920, p. 37.
[562] Minutes of 1923 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 52.
[563] Ibid., p. 58.
[564] Ibid., pp. 57-58.
[565] Ibid.

BBC office bearers. That is, in the election of deacons, elders, and the offices of lay preachers and ministers. Discipline of the natives, which preoccupied native attention in the NBCC, further did the same under the BBC. To be precise, offences were divided into Private Offences and Public Offences and "every [native] church member shall be made subject to discipline."[566]

The three periods categorizing the stages of mission work among the natives from 1893 to 1927 are also helpful in categorizing the nature of native education and ministers' training during this period. But more than this, they should be understood as an intertwined whole. This refers to Baptist mission among the natives, in particular natives' training, ordination and working conditions. The European Baptists' perception of the natives affected how they evangelized and the way in which they expected them to become proper Christians. This perception also involved the leadership responsibilities perceived to be suitable for natives within Baptist structures. As indicated before, this is why, among other reasons, only European Superintendents could become chairmen of the NBCC and the BBC, respectively. In addition, one should not forget that the veto and final decision powers of these "native" bodies were however, reserved for the executive of the SABMS, which not coincidentally consisted only of Europeans. Furthermore, native Sunday Schools and their teachers reported to the European Superintendents who unceasingly requested European churches and their Sunday Schools to take a direct interest in native mission work, in order to civilize those who were at their door steps or "in the surrounding locations." Besides Sunday Schools, the Superintendents were also in charge of day schools, most of which were subsidized by government grants. It was hoped that at these schools, also referred to as a necessary "adjunct to our work," more natives not found in churches or Sunday schools could be reached. These schools did also extend SABMS mission work in that a number of chiefs and local people financially supported their establishment, including teachers working in them. In the course of time, students for these schools became teachers, ministers and other kinds of graduates. The graduates dearest to the European missionaries' hearts were those who became either evangelists or ministers. This was one of the SABMS' founding objectives: to produce native Christians who could work among their "own" people. But the conditions under which they were "produced" are worth remembering as a background for the following chapters.

[566] Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the SABMS, p. IV. In Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929.

5.7.2. Precedents and beginnings of Baptist policy on native finance matters

Unlike the three periods summarized above, there are only two phases describing the financial implications of the Baptist mission to the natives during the period 1893 to 1927. These are: prior to 1927 wherein finance matters were not policy or constitutionally formulated; and after 1927, during which native finance matters became a policy. To be precise, such a policy refers to the Constitution of the BBC wherein the SABMS in explicit terms made it clear as to who owned the property of the native churches. Once again, before 1927, such a policy had never existed, but decisions and actions by the European Baptists became a precedent that informed 1927 onwards.

In highlighting these specific events, it should be noted that finance matters or temporal wants were not isolated from spiritual matters,[567] in the colonial frontier. In other terms, temporal and spiritual matters in the colonial frontier complemented one another and were buttressed by the missionaries' theological tradition. This tradition justified the missionaries' so-called Christian responsibility to master the natives (servants) - the inferior other.[568] The natives, of whom it was expected that one day they would assume this responsibility gradually,[569] were beginning to assert it, according to the Europeans when they began "giving their quota towards the [native] minister's salary"[570] at East Griqualand, for example. But as more natives made such financial contributions, a number of them defected from the Baptist Church of South Africa. The result of this action among others, in the Transkei, for example, was: "Finance in the churches under [Rev Peinke] ... been adversely affected ... as many members who are watching to see the form it will take are not giving as they did and some preaching places have had to be given up altogether."[571]

While the SABMS experienced, on the one hand, the defection of native ministers, it was grateful on the other hand for those native ministers from independent Baptist work joining its ranks. In particular, those ministers who had left Rev E. R. Davis to join the SABMS in 1922. Reporting on the affiliation of these pastors it stated that: "This gives us representation in the administrative capital of the Union [of South Africa], as well as in Rustenburg,

[567] See Chapter 3.
[568] See Chapter 4.
[569] See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the Comaroff's "gradualism."
[570] Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928, p. 22.
[571] Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1928-1929, p. 9.

Waterberg, Pietersburg, and Pilgrims Rest districts."[572] Ten years earlier, in 1912, the NBA had approached the SABMS seeking affiliation with it. But their admission into the SABMS became stringent since the SABMS made a distinction between noting and recognizing the NBA ministers. Even though most of the NBA ministers were graduates and were even running the Buchanan Industrial school, the SABMS decided to weigh each and every NBA minister's ministerial recognition in the SABMS's native fold. Unfortunately, there is no record to ascertain the financial implications of this relationship. It does seem, however, that the SABMS never benefited from it, thus resulting in the 1919 major break-up of the NBA from the SABMS. There is no doubt that this break-up influenced the SABMS native workers to follow suit when experiencing European paternalism. But more significant about this 1919 break-up for current discussion was that, during the 1919 BU Assembly, a Laymen's Committee which was appointed to consider ministerial stipends recommended among the seven resolutions that:

> In the opinion of the Assembly the minimum stipend for a [European] Ministers in a large town should be £420, and in a small town £300 per annum, it being understood that in the case of a single man the Union Executive should be authorized to make special arrangements under exceptional circumstances, as also in the case of new causes.[573]

Such a one sided racially motivated financial decision in the Baptist Church of South Africa was not new. For example, a few years earlier, in 1915, a Plan for the Ministerial Training of European candidates was approved. Among its nine clauses, one of them read as follows: "If the candidate satisfactorily passed the first two years of the course ... Grants in aid for such probationer can be made by the assembly if the need arises."[574]

While decisions such as these caused the NBA and SABMS workers to break off from the Baptist Church of South Africa, the SABMS saw such break-ups confirming the need to maintain tighter control, or rather, to be more careful about their Christian responsibility over the natives. Consequently, the formation of the NBCC in 1923 promised through its Councils to comprise "consultative and advisory bodies for the more effective guidance of and mutual co-operation in the work of the Native Baptist Churches, [but] the final authority being reserved to the [Europeans-only] Missionary Society."[575] Defections nonetheless continued.

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[572] Minutes of 1922 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1922-1923, p. 4.
[573] Minutes of 1920 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1920-1921, p. 27.
[574] Minutes of 1917 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1917-1918, p. 48.
[575] The Constitution of the Native Baptist Church Councils in connection with the SABMS (1923). In Minutes

And in 1924, the SABMS decided to end its relation with the NBA, offering the only "alternative" that individual NBA ministers could apply for ministerial recognition with the SABMS. This decision marked the culmination of European Baptists tightening control over the native ministers and churches during this period, that served as a precedent for the decision passed in 1927: the formation of the BBC. Following the formation of the BBC in 1927, there appeared thereafter, records of the SABMS Financial statements that indicate on the one hand that besides European missionaries receiving their salaries, the SABMS also paid their subscriptions to the Pension Fund and the Emergency Fund.[576] On the other hand, from Pondoland, Rev Joyce reported that the work was made sustainable by "the 23 unpaid [native] preachers, and Sunday School teachers [in addition] ... over £61 has been raised [by the same]."[577] But all was not smooth, as " the subject of ministers' stipends occupied much of the time"[578] in the Transkei area, under Rev Peinke.

In 1927, however, for the first time an institutional policy decision concerning native finance matters was made. It was made explicit by clauses in the BBC Constitution. Regarding the BBC itself, while a Europeans-only Superintendents' meeting had decided on behalf of the natives the formation of the Native Baptist Church, the same paternalism prevailed when Europeans, once again, decided to found the Bantu Baptist Church, because, according to their account, "this name will be most acceptable to the Natives and will help in the work."[579] The same year that such a decision was made on behalf of the natives, it was reported that there were "over 300 [native] preachers labouring voluntarily in our fields, for whose faithfulness in face of many disadvantages through poverty and material resources, we cannot be too greatly appreciative."[580]

Concerning finance, the BBC Constitution made a distinction between money and property. About money, there were three ways of raising it among natives: through collections, quarterly contributions and thank offerings. The native ministers were to keep and present records of these contributions at their respective councils. It is worth recapping the insistence on the quarterly contributions "[which] every member shall give."[581] Making these

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of 1923 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1923-1924, p. 56.
[576] Minutes of 1925 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1925-1926, p. 61.
[577] Ibid., p. 17.
[578] Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[579] Minutes of 1926 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1926-1927, p. 16.
[580] Ibid., p. 14.
[581] The Constitution of the Bantu Baptist Church of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, p. V. In

contributions peculiar is that they were decided on by each council - not forgetting that only Europeans could chair these councils, who even had the power to hold any matter in abeyance.

Regarding property, the clause read: "all property of the [Bantu Baptist] church shall be held in trust by the S.A. Baptist Missionary Society."[582] Furthermore, the SABMS was empowered to "receive, purchase, hold, hypothecate, and sell movable and immovable property, also to invest monies available on first mortgage and other security approved by the Committee."[583] In turn, "the affairs of the Society shall be controlled by the Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa to which the Officers and the Committee of the Society shall be responsible."[584] Reaffirming this decision in layperson's terms, the *Report of Inauguration* on the BBC's formation stated that the BBC "will not hand over our work and our property."[585] This meant that the SABMS saw itself as the sole owners and custodians of native work and property irrespective of the contribution the natives made to Baptist work.

This policy decision became the milestone regarding European Baptists' perception of and future procedural relationship with natives concerning native finance matters. Furthermore, this "our" and the implied "their" in policy matters, characterized the subsequent discourse. But this dualism was not clear-cut as the "their" (natives) was only defined and enjoyed financial benefits in the Baptist Church of South Africa, when so determined by the "our" (whites). What actually occurred, as we shall observe in the following chapter, is that the "our" preoccupied themselves in ensuring that the Baptist Church's structure and associated Funds worked to their benefit, while the "their" still ought to present "surest proofs of ... fitness for fuller responsibility."[586]

Minutes of 1928 BU Assembly, BU Handbook for 1928-1929.

[582] Ibid.

[583] Minutes of 1921 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1921-1922, p. 54.

[584] Ibid.

[585] The Bantu Baptist Church. Report of Inauguration at Tshabo, Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, p. 3. In Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928.

[586] The Bantu Baptist Church. Report of Inauguration at Tshabo. Kingwilliamstown, Friday, February 25th, 1927, p. 12. In, Minutes of 1927 BU Assembly, in BU Handbook for 1927-1928.