

# CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE COLONIAL REGIMENTS AT THE CAPE, 1793-1817

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## Christensendinge en die Koloniale regimente aan die Kaap, 1793-1817

Met die ongeëwenaarde opbloeï van sendingywer en organisasies teen die einde van die agtiende eeu in Wes-Europa, is sendelinge van Nederlandse, Duitse en Britse genootskappe na die Kaapkolonie gestuur om onder die plaaslike ongekerstende inwoners te werk. Dit het o. a. tot groter geestelike bearbeïding van soldate van opeenvolgende Kaapse regimente gelei. Die persoonlike optrede van individuele sendelinge, eerder as genootskappe in die algemeen, het die leefwyse en houding van soldate van hierdie regimente grootliks beïnvloed.

With the unprecedented rise of missionary zeal and organisations by the end of the 18th century in western Europe, missionaries of the Dutch, German and British societies were sent to the Cape Colony to work among the local unconverted inhabitants. This led *inter alia* to greater spiritual work among soldiers of consecutive Cape regiments. The personal endeavours of individual missionaries rather than societies in general had a marked influence on the way of life and attitude of soldiers in these regiments.

Between 1793 and 1817 six regular Colonial regiments served under different administrations at the Cape, viz. the *Pandour Corps* (1793-1795), *Hottentot Corps* (1796-1801), first *Cape Regiment* (1801-1803), *Corps of Free Hottentots* (1803-1804), *Battalion of Hottentot Light Infantry* (1804-1806) and second *Cape Regiment* (1806-1817). These regiments had a unique character. The officers were well trained persons of European descent. The commanders of the regiments were leaders of standing, e.g. Johan Gerhard Cloete (*Pandour Corps*), Fielder King (first *Cape Regiment*) and Frans S.V. le Sueur (*Battalion of Hottentot Light Infantry*). The subalterns and rank and file comprised of Khoi and Coloured people. Contemporary sources referred to the soldiers as *Bastaard Hottentotten*, able to use *Snaphaanen* or flint-locks. These regiments, initially formed only to defend the Cape Peninsula, eventually assisted in controlling the turbulent Cape eastern frontier regions.

Various sick comforters and ordained religious ministers with a Calvinistic theological training worked among the Dutch and Huguenot citizens of the Colony during the rule of the Dutch East India Company. To a lesser degree they also attended to the religious needs of slaves and Khoi in Cape society. From the earliest days of Dutch rule some slaves were baptized and received religious teaching. However, the growth of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Colony was slow and mainly depended on immigrants from Europe and natural

increase of the population. The first successful, yet controversial, missionary at the Cape was the Moravian (Lutheran) Georg Schmidt who founded a Khoi congregation at Baviaans Kloof, near Zoetemelks Valley Post at the Zonderend River.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the eighteenth century various missionaries in the Colony played a more important role than in earlier times. They significantly affected the daily lives of soldiers. Representatives of the Moravian and London Missionary Societies were practically evangelical pioneers amongst the Khoi. They *inter alia* served as "representatives" or "agents" of the government of the day, assisting with recruitment and providing relief in the form of food and shelter to the families of men in military service and retired soldiers. The missionaries also became the "guardians" of these people, complaining to the authorities about vague or problematic aspects of service conditions and negative aspects of military life.

With regard to Colonial regiments at the Cape, closer attention must be paid to the role and influence of firstly, the Moravian missionaries, secondly, the representatives of the London Missionary Society, and, lastly, the contribution of one particular missionary of the Rotterdam Society to a Colonial regiment.

## 1. The Moravian missionaries

With the establishment of the *Pandour Corps* in April 1793, the three Moravian missionaries at Baviaans Kloof (since 1806 called Genadendal) were ordered by Jan Marthinus Theunissen, in charge of the Dutch East India Company's post Zoetemelks Valley, to send all Khoi and Coloured men, able of handling arms, to Cape Town to be screened and enlisted. The missionaries, Hendrik Marsveld, Daniel Schwinn and Johann Christian Kühnel, did not favour a drastic decrease in the number of young men at their mission station, because this would leave them with only sick and disabled people. The crisis, however, of a pending war in Europe and a military threat to the Colony, necessitated such military service. The missionaries encouraged the departing recruits to render loyal service and not to forget the Christian gospel.<sup>2</sup>

In March 1794 more recruits were sent from Baviaans Kloof to serve in the expanding *Pandour Corps*.<sup>3</sup> Consequently the absence of relatively large numbers of men from the Baviaans Kloof station, added more problems to the burden of the remaining inhabitants and missionaries. By the end of 1794 only three Khoi men could be baptized at the station due to this drain of young men. From time to time pandours were allowed leave to visit their wives and children for a few days at Baviaans Kloof, but this was not sufficient to support them with means to buy food, etc. With only a few cattle or sheep left, many of the women and children were obliged to eat wild roots and berries. The missionaries had no means to provide food for these families. They wrote to the Commander of the Cape garrison, Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon, to allow governmental rationing to dependent families of pandours. Commissioner-General Abraham Josias Sluysken eventually granted permission for such rationing according to a fixed formula, viz. one bag of bread grain per week to twelve women or 24 children of serving pandours. This did not completely solve the subsistence

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Vide K. Müller, *Georg Schmidt* (Herrnhut, 1923); F.J.G. du Toit, *G. Schmidt, the life and work of the first missionary to the Hottentots in South Africa* (unpublished MA dissertation, Unisa, 1946); Tim Dowley (red), *Die geskiedenis van die Christendom* (Kaapstad, 1988), pp. 470-471.

2. H.G. Schneider, *Gnadenthal, die eerste evangeliese Missie-stasie in Afrika*, Vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1892), pp. 40, 100-101.
3. *Uebersicht der Missions-Geschichte der evangelischen Brüderkirche in ihrem ersten Jahrhundert*, Section 2, paragraph 43 (Gnadau, 1833), p. 133.

problem of families at Baviaans Kloof, because rations were small and irregularly received. The missionaries were thankful for additional quantities of rice sent by certain individuals from Cape Town.<sup>4</sup>

In June 1795 the potential threat of a foreign military occupation of the Cape Colony became real. On 11 June an impressive British fleet under Admiral George Keith Elphinstone and troops under Major-General James Henry Craig, arrived in Simon's Bay. Landdrost Hendrik Lodewyk Bletterman of Stellenbosch immediately called upon the missionaries at Baviaans Kloof to urge the inhabitants to send all available men to render additional emergency military assistance. The small number of Khoi men at this station were initially unwilling, but the missionaries reminded them of their duty in times of crisis. One of the doubtful men, Isak, asked the missionaries whether the killing of enemy soldiers was acceptable. He became aware of the ambiguity of being a faithful Christian and trustworthy soldier. The missionaries advised him to obey his superiors in the army.<sup>5</sup> Eventually a number of men left Baviaans Kloof to assist with the defence of Cape Town and environment. By the end of June Theunissen declared another eighteen men at Baviaans Kloof suitable for military service and sent them to Cape Town. All these official demands hampered progress at the mission station.

After the pandours had been successfully involved in a skirmish against some British troops at Steenberg on 1 September, they marched in arms to the Castle in Cape Town to complain to Sluysken about various irregularities. The Commissioner-General disapproved of the mutinous behavior of these pandours, but took reconciliatory steps. Instructions were sent *inter alia* to Theunissen to arrange for additional food for families of pandours at Baviaans Kloof. Fieldcornet Andries Otto of Zwarteberg sent a waggon load of flour for this purpose to the Moravian missionaries.<sup>6</sup>

At this stage Sluysken endeavoured to increase substantially the number of pandours. Theunissen urged the missionaries at Baviaans Kloof on 14 September to send all available men for military service to Cape Town. He eventually selected ten men from a group of aged and sickly inhabitants. This was of no avail, because the British forces marched that same day from Muizenberg to occupy Cape Town.<sup>7</sup> Under the influence of the Moravian missionaries the Baviaans Kloof pandours generally rendered valuable service in the front lines against the British, but the role of this corps was insignificant in the final stages of the British occupation.<sup>8</sup>

During the British regime at the Cape (1795-1803) the missionaries continued to act as mediators between the Khoi and the government. On 27 February 1796 Landdrost Rijnho Johannes van der Riet of Stellenbosch urged the missionaries at Baviaans Kloof to encourage inhabitants to enlist in the new *Hottentot Corps*.<sup>9</sup> By May 1796 more than 100 Khoi of Baviaans Kloof had already been taken up in this new regiment. The missionaries were unhappy that British officers had used coercion to enlist some men and that the soldiers were

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Cape Archival Depot (C.A.), B.R. 41 *Bijlagen*, Le Sueur - Janssens, 11 Oct. 1803, pp. 339-340; H.G. Schneider, *Gnadenhal*, pp. 101-104.

South African Library (S.A.L.), *Periodical accounts relating to the mission of the Church of the United Brethren established among the heathen, 1795-1834*, p. 12; "Diary of the missionaries at Baviaans Kloof, 1795", *Quarterly bulletin of the S.A. Library*, Dec. 1953, p. 52.

Genadendal Archives (G.A.), *Diarium*, Vol. 2, 7-11 Sept. 1795, pp. 133-135. The first annotated volume of the Genadendal Diaries was published in 1992 by the Institute for Historical Research at the University of the Western Cape.

7. G.A., *Diarium*, Vol. 2, 12-16 Sept. 1795, pp. 136-137.

8. S.A.L., *Periodical accounts*, p. 20.

9. G.A., *Letters received*, 1795-1802, Van der Riet - Missionaries, 27 Feb. 1796.

compelled to serve a second year, notwithstanding assurances of Major-General Craig that only volunteers would be accepted and that they would serve only one year. The missionaries were also concerned about the lack of support of wives and children of Khoi soldiers.<sup>10</sup>

Several messengers were sent to Baviaans Kloof by Major Fielder King, who organised the new corps. The inhabitants were encouraged to enlist voluntarily. King ordered the missionaries to send him the name of anyone who would attempt to prevent the Khoi to enlist. The missionaries were alarmed by reports from Khoi soldiers on leave at the mission station, who reported that the British authorities wished to increase the numbers of the *Hottentot Corps* to at least 1 000 soldiers. The missionaries were not only upset by the decrease in the number of males at Baviaans Kloof, but also by the fact that many women followed the soldiers to the military camp at Wynberg where acceptable habits of industry could easily be forgotten.<sup>11</sup>

In November 1798 missionary Hendrik Marsveld was informed by Captain John Campbell that an additional twelve to twenty recruits were needed from Baviaans Kloof to replace men who had been discharged after two years of loyal service in the corps.<sup>12</sup> After the official Batavian take-over of the Colony on 21 February 1803, the Moravian missionaries assumed the additional responsibility of receiving aged and destitute discharged soldiers at Baviaans Kloof. They were permitted to cut wood for the construction of their huts in the state forest at Zoetemelks Valley.<sup>13</sup> The missionaries, however, had no means of assisting and accommodating large numbers of destitute people. The Batavian authorities eventually decided rather to use various existing homesteads (*kraals*) of traditional Khoi leaders to resettle ex-soldiers and their dependents, but these were relatively few in number. At that stage probably not more than a dozen of these were to be found within the Colony.<sup>14</sup>

After the establishment of the *Corps of Free Hottentots* in August 1803, the Commander, Captain Frans Sebastiaan Valentijn le Sueur, visited Baviaans Kloof. He requested the assistance of the missionaries to enlist recruits. Only 22 men volunteered. The missionary Christian Ludwig Rose wrote to Governor Jan Willem Janssens that the forty dependent wives and children of these recruits would require rations from the government.<sup>15</sup> This request was eventually conceded to and a standard formula applied.<sup>16</sup>

The military recruitment of Baviaans Kloof inhabitants placed the missionaries in a predicament. On the one hand they feared that a military life would be detrimental to the spiritual welfare of their people; on the other hand they could not ignore the wishes of the Batavian government which held the Baviaans Kloof inhabitants in high esteem. The last aspect was confirmed by the fact that most of the volunteers from Baviaans Kloof were soon appointed as sergeants or corporals.<sup>17</sup>

To meet the spiritual needs of the Khoi and Coloured soldiers, the Batavian rulers requested the Baviaans Kloof missionaries in 1804 to delegate one of their group to serve

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10. H.G. Schneider, *Gnadenhal*, p. 148.

11. S.A.L., *Periodical accounts*, p. 25; W. Brown, *The history of the propagation of Christianity*, Vol. 1, pp. 429-430.

12. G.A., *Diarium*, Vol. 3, 14 April 1798, as well as *Letters received*, 1795-1802, Campbell - Marsveld, 10 Nov. 1798.

G.A., *Letters received*, 1803-1806, Le Sueur - Missionaries, 18 March 1803, and Le Sueur - Rose, 9 April 1803.

14. C.A., B.R. 2 *Resolutien*, 16 June 1803, pp. 659-662.

15. G.A., *Diarium*, Vol. 4, 25-27 Sept. 1803, pp. 5-8.

16. S.A.L., *Periodical accounts*, pp. 38-39.

17. G.A., *Letters received*, 1803-1806, Report of le Sueur and Linde, 28 Sept. 1803, and *Diarium*, Vol. 4, 27 Sept. 1803, pp. 7-8.



**Figure 1.** Johann Philip Kohrhammer, missionary of the *Corps of Free Hottentots and Battalion of Hottentot Light Infantry* at Wynberg.  
(Genadendal Museum)

exclusively as chaplain to the *Corps of Free Hottentots*. After careful consideration the missionaries decided on Johann Philip Kohrhammer (Fig. 1) and his wife Eva Dorothea (born Lehmann). From 1798 onwards they had gained much experience of the work at Baviaans Kloof. It was clearly stipulated that Kohrhammer would retain his position as missionary (not chaplain) to attend to the spiritual needs of the members of the corps while posted at the Wynberg military camp, halfway between Cape Town and Muizenberg.<sup>18</sup>

Kohrhammer regularly preached the Christian gospel to the troops, their wives and children. He especially warned the soldiers against the misuse of liquor. He often visited the sick in the camp hospital. He and his wife started an elementary school for adults and children.<sup>19</sup>

The Kohrhammers underwent at least three alarming experiences at the Wynberg camp. The first was the news received at the end of September 1804 that a British fleet was expected to attack Cape Town. The whole corps was ordered to move in readiness to the Liesbeeck, closer to Cape Town. Kohrhammer was allowed to return temporarily to Baviaans Kloof.<sup>20</sup> The attack did not take place and by May 1805 the Kohrhammers returned to the enlarged and newly named *Battalion of Hottentot Light Infantry* at Wynberg.

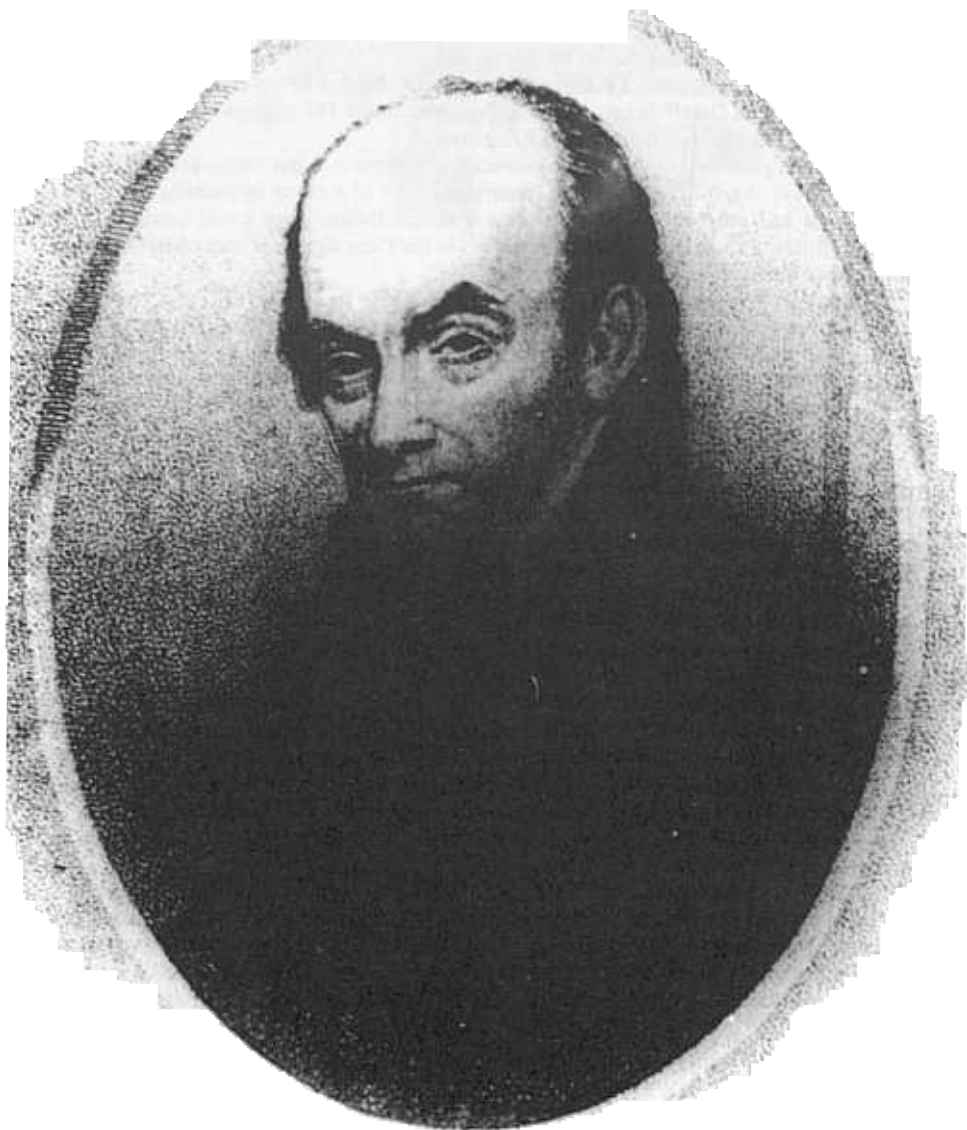
The second traumatic incident was the execution of three armed deserters of the battalion on 20 July 1805. Kohrhammer spent eight hours the previous day with these men, urging them to repent and accept redemption.<sup>21</sup>

The third major experience was the arrival of a sizeable British fleet under Admiral Home Riggs Popham, and the landing of troops under Major-General David Baird to the north of Table Bay on 6 January 1806. Two companies of the Khoi battalion took part in the futile battle at Blaauwberg on 8 January. The other two companies of the battalion were sent to protect posts at Muizenberg and Simon's Bay. Kohrhammer remained some time at Wynberg, but on the disbandment of the *Battalion of Hottentot Light Infantry*, he finally returned to Baviaans Kloof.<sup>22</sup>

When the new British authorities organized a new *Cape Regiment*, consisting of Khoi and Coloured soldiers in 1806, Kohrhammer diplomatically refrained from immediately accepting the suggested post as regimental chaplain. The local Moravian missionaries assumed a policy of "let things first develop".<sup>23</sup>

In subsequent years the Moravian missionaries continued to contribute substantially to the welfare of the *Cape Regiment's* soldiers and dependents, e.g. by rendering support during the enlistment or levying of recruits and the distribution of rations to wives and children of soldiers, and by providing limited sanctuary to some of the discharged soldiers at their various mission stations. It is clear that the Moravian missionaries usually responded positively to the needs of the Khoi, but that they were also bound to fulfil the wishes of the civil and military authorities of the day.

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18. C.A., B.R. 7 *Resolutien*, 27 June 1804, pp. 2051-2055; B.R. 88 *Letters despatched*, 1803-1804, Truter - Missionaries, 27 June 1804, pp. 308-309.
  19. S.A.L., *Periodical accounts*, pp. 50-51.
  20. G.A., *Berichte der Geschwister Kohrhammer von ihrem Aufenthalt an den Camp der Wynbergen*, 28 Aug. - 10 Oct. 1804 (enclosure to *Diarium*, Vol. 4).
  21. G.A., *Diarium*, Vol. 4, 28 July 1805.
  22. G.A., *Berichte der Geschwister Kohrhammer*, 4-28 January 1804 (enclosure to *Diarium*, Vol. 4). It is noteworthy that the Malay Artillery that fought at Blaauwberg under the French Lieutenant Madlener, was religiously officiated by a Muslim priest, Frans van Bengale. Vide B. Aldridge, "Cape Malays in action", *Quarterly bulletin of the S.A. Library*, Vol. 27, no. 2, Dec. 1972, pp. 24-26.
  23. G.A., *Diarium*, Vol. 4, 9 September 1806.



**Figure 2.** Dr Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp, pioneer missionary in the eastern frontier districts and severe critic of the Khoi regiments during the Batavian rule.

(Cape Archives)

## 2. Exponents of the London Missionary Society

The role and influence of missionaries of the L.M.S. on Colonial regiments were in many ways more controversial than that of the Moravians.

In 1801 the missionary Dr Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp (Fig. 2) assisted the British authorities in Graaff-Reinet to successfully encourage 147 unemployed and roaming Khoi to enlist as soldiers of the first *Cape Regiment*.<sup>24</sup>

The next year van der Kemp was instructed at his new mission station at Botha's post, near Algoa Bay, to tell Klaas Stuurman, notorious leader of a group of roaming Khoi, that his followers had only three options to earn a decent living. They could work as farm labourers, follow a career as professional soldiers in the *Cape Regiment* under Major Donald Campbell, or settle on one of the mission stations.<sup>25</sup>

Van der Kemp and his fellow-missionary, James Read (Fig. 3), who were both working at Bethelsdorp near Algoa Bay in 1803, were also requested by Governor Janssens to encourage young Khoi men to join the *Corps of Free Hottentots* after news had reached the Cape of the resumption of war in Europe.<sup>26</sup> Van der Kemp sent only nine volunteers for this purpose to Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay, where they were provisionally enlisted for one year's service. The missionary wrote to Janssens that most of the men of Bethelsdorp were unavailable, because they were employed on nearby farms, or were in the veldt, gathering honey and roots or hunting.<sup>27</sup>

The Batavian rulers were initially quite satisfied with the general conduct and performance of the soldiers from Bethelsdorp, but during the night of 1 February 1805 some 34 armed soldiers of the *Battalion of Hottentot Light Infantry* deserted their Wynberg Camp. The wives and children of six of the deserters lived at Bethelsdorp, including the wife and children of the "ringleader" of the conspiracy, Corporal Oerson Africaander.<sup>28</sup> When some of the deserters were eventually arrested, they responded by saying that they belonged to the "Battalion of Jesus" and that van der Kemp was their "General".<sup>29</sup>

Van der Kemp admitted on 19 April 1805 that the news of the desertion of some soldiers of the battalion did not surprise him at all. Various factors caused dissatisfaction amongst the soldiers, e.g. a prolonged period of military service, lack of leave during the war in Europe, methods of compulsion used by enlisting officers, the destitute state of many wives and children of Khoi soldiers and the exclusive use of European officers and organisation in the battalion. Under such circumstances van der Kemp declared his unwillingness to encourage any Khoi men to join the battalion.<sup>30</sup>

Janssens responded quickly. On 13 May 1805 he instructed van der Kemp to visit him personally in Cape Town. The Governor wrote to van der Kemp that his complaints about the enlisting methods of Captain Lodewyk Alberti were the products of his own imagination. It was generally acceptable that the period of service of soldiers could be prolonged in times of war or crisis. Janssens added that the alleged changed attitude of the Khoi regarding

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24. G.M. Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*, Vol. 4, Sherlock - F. Dundas, 30 Nov. 1801, pp. 98-99. For the early life of this missionary, vide I.H. Enklaar, *De levensgeschiedenis van Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp* (Wageningen, 1972).

25. C.A., B.O. 55 *Letters despatched*, 1802-1803, Ross - Van der Kemp, 28 May 1802, pp. 98-101; B.O. 28 *Letters received from Graaff Reinet*, 1802, Van der Kemp - F. Dundas, 3 Aug. 1802, pp. 79-81.

26. C.A., B.R. 40 *Bijlagen*, Janssens - Van der Kemp, 12 Oct. 1803, pp. 153-156.

27. C.A., B.R. 43 *Bijlagen*, Van der Kemp - Janssens, 11 Nov. 1803, p. 192.

28. C.A., B.R. 149 *Proclamations and notices*, 1803-1806, Extract, 3 Feb. 1805, no. 82.

29. J.P. van der Merwe, *Die Kaap onder die Bataafse Republiek* (Amsterdam, 1926), pp. 262-263.

30. C.A., B.R. 65 *Bijlagen*, Van der Kemp - Janssens, 19 April 1805, pp. 66-68.





**Figure 3.** James Read, Senior, protagonist of Khoi soldiers serving in subsequent Cape Colonial regiments.  
(Cape Archives)

military service must be ascribed to ill-disposed motives of the Bethelsdorp missionaries. The Governor stated that van der Kemp was foolish to suggest that Khoi officers should be appointed in the battalion. At that time there were no suitably trained or experienced officer candidates of Khoi origin available to fill such posts in the battalion. Janssens lastly denied that the wives and children of Khoi soldiers had been neglected by the Batavian authorities. He pointed out that the families of the white soldiers of the Cape garrison received no subsistence, but that rations were regularly distributed at Bethelsdorp and Baviaans Kloof to the known families of serving Khoi soldiers. Where such soldiers had more than one wife, only the wife of the moment could qualify for official support.<sup>31</sup>

Both van der Kemp and Read were restricted to Cape Town by Janssens when the second British occupation of the Cape took place in January 1806. Van der Kemp presented various suggestions regarding a new *Cape Regiment* to Major-General David Baird. He recommended that British officers should avoid using any coercive measures in recruiting Khoi soldiers. The serving soldiers should regularly receive a period of leave to visit their families in the interior. He added that only military officers (not landdrosts or fieldcornets) should be used for recruitment. He suggested that wives and children of Khoi soldiers should be placed at some or other settlement in the interior where they could more easily be rationed and assisted. Such settlements could also serve as a refuge for retired or discharged soldiers who were too old or sickly to earn a living any more. Lastly van der Kemp suggested that a small present (e.g. some handkerchiefs) be given to soldiers of the disbanded Khoi battalion. These suggestions were not new, but were reiterated and given emphasis by the missionary, in the hopes of convincing the British authorities.<sup>32</sup>

Military enlistment of Khoi at Bethelsdorp continued to hamper relations between van der Kemp and the acting Landdrost of Uitenhage, Major Jacob Glen Cuyler. The fifty men of Bethelsdorp who served in the *Cape Regiment* in 1807, caused a diminishment of the available local labour force and added to the problems of feeding women and children at the mission station.<sup>33</sup> Similar negative results were experienced at Theopolis, another L.M.S. station on the eastern frontier of the Colony.<sup>34</sup>

At a third station, situated to the north of the Orange River, known as Klaarwater or Griqua Town, the missionary William Anderson was ordered in 1814, to furnish a levy of twenty Griqua men to the *Cape Regiment*. This mission station was situated outside the jurisdiction of the Cape authorities and the inhabitants openly rejected the appeals of their missionary to respond more positively. Eventually Anderson became the "scape-goat" and was blamed by both the Cape Governor and the Griqua inhabitants of being uncompromising and inconsiderate. This caused much instability at Griqua Town and led to the eventual withdrawal of Anderson from this station in 1820.<sup>35</sup>

Van der Kemp used to refer to Uitenhage as a "Valley of Destruction", but Bethelsdorp became a "special burden" to the *Cape Regiment* in 1810. Military surgeon William Milton discovered that some Khoi soldiers had contracted syphilis from promiscuous Khoi women living at that station. Van der Kemp, who had studied medicine at the universities of Leiden and Edinburgh, turned down Milton's offer to give medical treatment

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31. C.A., B.R. 65 *Bijlagen*, Janssens - Van der Kemp, 16 May 1805, pp. 78-79.

32. C.A., C.O. 2559 *Letters received*, 1806, Van der Kemp - Baird, undated, no. 38.

33. J. Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, Vol. 1 (Reprint, New York, 1969), p. 117.

34. J. du Plessis, *A history of Christian missions in South Africa* (Reprint, Cape Town, 1965), pp. 246-247.

35. C.A., G.R. 16/5 *Letters despatched*, 1816, Stockenstrom - Anderson, 2 Sept., 1816, no. 425, and 12 December 1816, no. 532; C.A., G.R. 16/6 *Letters despatched*, 1817, Stockenstrom - Anderson, 10 Sept. 1817, no. 779.

to these women, saying that they should suffer the consequences of their sins.<sup>36</sup>

After the removal of the headquarters of the *Cape Regiment* to Grahamstown in 1812, various missionaries of the L.M.S. took the opportunity to preach the Christian gospel to soldiers of this regiment, e.g. Johann Gottfried Ulbricht and Read.<sup>37</sup>

In 1812 a special circuit of the Supreme Court, commonly known as the *Black Circuit*, investigated various complaints made by Read regarding the alleged ill-treatment of Khoi in the frontier regions. Major Cuyler, surgeon Milton and several soldiers of the *Cape Regiment* gave evidence before Judges Strubberg and Cloete. However, the *Cape Regiment* as such, was not involved.<sup>38</sup>

The popular commander of the *Cape Regiment*, Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, soon established amicable relations with the missionaries Read and Ulbricht during the Fourth Frontier War, 1811-1812. Read described Graham positively to the directors of the L.M.S. as "a man of great parts and particularly attached to the interests of the Hottentot nation."<sup>39</sup>

John Campbell, a director of the L.M.S., who visited the Colony in 1813, carefully observed the life of various officers and men of the *Cape Regiment*. He concluded that the military service contributed to the general development of the Khoi, but that it could not prevent, in some cases at least, incidents of immorality and lawlessness.<sup>40</sup>

At times individual missionaries of the L.M.S. criticised the *Cape Regiment* and its predecessors, but others were more positive about the military service of the Khoi. The Moravian missionaries experienced similar problems, but diplomatically maintained the best possible relations with the government of the day.

### 3. Chaplain Aart Anthonij van der Lingen

On 3 September 1806 the British authorities appointed a missionary of the Rotterdam Society, Aart Anthonij van der Lingen, as chaplain to the *Cape Regiment*.<sup>41</sup> During the first two years of his service at the Wynberg Camp van der Lingen experienced more personal problems than successes, but eventually, with the encouragement of Graham and the assistance of Adjutant Robert Hart, his regular meetings with the different companies of the regiment became opportunities for the soldiers to progress in their understanding of the Christian religion and Western civilization. By 1809 van der Lingen was responsible for the religious instruction of a total of some 1 400 Khoi and Coloured persons at the headquarters. This number included soldiers, their wives and children. The earthquake that struck the Cape on 4 December 1809 made many Khoi soldiers susceptible to the teachings of the gospel.<sup>42</sup> This fact encouraged van der Lingen to devote himself ardently to the construction of a new church building in the military camp. This building was completed the next year and valued at £400 (sterling).<sup>43</sup>

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36. C.A., C.J., 3447 *Bijlagen*, Cuyler - Caledon, 25 Oct. 1810, p. 18, as well as Milton - Cuyler, 26 July 1810, p. 55.

37. S.A.L., *Transactions of the L.M.S.*, Vol. 3, p. 392.

38. C.A., Uit. 15/1 *Letters despatched*, 1806-1813, Cuyler - Lyster, 25 Aug. 1812, and Cuyler - Lyster, 5 Sept. 1812; G.E. Cory: *The rise of South Africa*, Vol. 1, p. 213.

39. L.M.S.A., *Incoming correspondence* 5/1/E, Read - Directors, 8 Aug. 1812, no. 29.

40. J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (Reprint, Cape Town, 1974), pp. 73, 112-116.

41. Dutch Reformed Church Archives (D.R.C.A.), P/38 *Van der Lingen fragment*, p. 1.

42. D.R.C.A., P/38 *Van der Lingen fragment*, pp. 4-12.

43. Scottish Record Office (S.R.O.), G.D. 151/2/1 *Graham of Fintry letters*, John Graham - Robert Graham, 14 Febr. 1812, no. 143.

A visitor to the Wynberg Camp, Maria Graham, observed that the Khoi soldiers were very much attached to their chaplain. He communicated to them in the Dutch language, which most of them spoke well. Van der Lingen often warned them against the evils of the misuse of liquor.<sup>44</sup>

In October 1811 van der Lingen and his wife Agatha had to move from Wynberg to the Cape eastern frontier where all members of the *Cape Regiment* were permanently stationed.<sup>45</sup> This move brought a major change to their lives, as they had to adapt to the circumstances of a frontier war with all its insecurity. At Bethelsdorp van der Lingen established contact with the L.M.S. missionaries, especially Read, with whom he had worked many years previously at Wagenmakers Valley (Wellington).

When the headquarters of the *Cape Regiment* were permanently relocated in May 1812 at a strategic position in the Zuur Veld, subsequently known as Grahamstown, the van der Lingen family also settled there. At the termination of the war the soldiers of the *Cape Regiment* were deployed at various frontier posts to guard and patrol the sensitive border regions. Van der Lingen regularly visited these troops, and preached at numerous occasions to them and other locals. By 1814 some 800 soldiers of the regiment were under his spiritual care, in addition to the women and children of the troops.<sup>46</sup>

During his visit to the military establishment of Grahamstown, John Campbell of the L.M.S. noticed the successful work of van der Lingen in the *Cape Regiment*. When the missionaries Read and Barker visited Grahamstown in 1816, they similarly became aware of the religious awakening of many soldiers of the *Cape Regiment*.<sup>47</sup>

Khoi soldiers reported to van der Lingen that the Xhosa to the east of the Fish River boundary would welcome Christian missionaries in their region. The influential councillor of Chief Ndlambe, known as Nxele, Links or Makana, on various occasions visited van der Lingen at Grahamstown, where they had long conversations, but he was not converted to Christianity. Van der Lingen, however, welcomed the mission work of Joseph Williams of the L.M.S. that commenced at Kat River in June 1816 amongst the Xhosa of Chief Ngquika.<sup>48</sup>

Van der Lingen's wife, Agatha, assisted him at both Wynberg and Grahamstown by taking responsibility for the religious instruction of the spouses and children of soldiers of the regiment. This she did with dedication and success.<sup>49</sup>

Mainly due to financial reasons the *Cape Regiment* was officially disbanded on 24 September 1817. Van der Lingen took the opportunity to return with his wife and only son to the Netherlands. During his period as chaplain of the *Cape Regiment*, he brought the Christian gospel and primary education to about 1 100 Khoi soldiers, some 400 wives of these troops and a substantial number of their children.<sup>50</sup> Notwithstanding difficult personal circumstances, it is evident from the long and successful service record of van der Lingen that he had contributed substantially to the positive development and religious life of many a soldier in the regiment. Many of them were converted and baptized by him.

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44. M. Graham, *Journal of a residence in India* (Edinburgh, 1813), p. 175.

45. L.M.S.A. *Incoming correspondence* 5/1/E, Van der Lingen - Directors, 3 Sept. 1812, no. 30.

46. S.A.L., *Transactions of the L.M.S.*, Vol. 4, pp. 29-31.

47. J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, pp. 114-117; L.M.S.A., *Incoming correspondence* 6/3/B, Read Directors, 8 March 1816, no. 14.

48. *New monthly magazine*, Vol. 19, pp. 70-71; Basil Holt, *Joseph Williams and the pioneer mission to the South-eastern Bantu* (Lovedale, 1954), pp. 22-36.

49. E. Morse Jones (ed), *The Lower Albany chronicle*, Vol. 1, (Port Alfred, 1968), p. 10.

50. D.R.C.A., P/38 *Van der Lingen fragment*, p. 3.

#### **4. Conclusion**

It was inevitable that the missionaries and local authorities maintained different views of the Colonial regiments. Although both parties wished to enhance the development of the Khoi, their priorities differed. The military authorities regarded the maintenance and expansion of Khoi regiments as an indispensable arm of local defence, whilst the missionaries saw these regiments at certain times as an additional check to their primary goal of enhancing Christianity and rendering basic education to the Khoi. Individual missionaries attained success by adapting to this problem and accepting the challenge to work within the structures laid down by the authorities.