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AN EXAMINATION OF THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE JESUIT ORDER IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1879 - 1934

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ABSTRACT

The Society of Jesus, founded in 1540 by St Ignatius of Loyola, dispatched the first group of five priests and three brothers to the Cape in 1875. Their destination was St Aidan's College (1875-1973) in Grahamstown which they would staff. Two of the priests went to Graaff-Reinet where the Society established a mission house and noviciate (1875-1889).

On 1 July 1878 the Zambesi Mission was founded with Henry Depelchin as its appointed leader. The Mission was placed under the direct control of the Jesuit General. St Aidan's became the headquarters of the Zambesi Mission and it was hoped that trainees for the Mission would emerge from the College.

The first group of missionaries bound for the Zambesi regions left Grahamstown in 1879. Negotiations followed with the Ndebele chiefdom in Bulawayo and stations were established at Tati, Empandeni and Pandamatenga. Unsuccessful probes into Barotseland and Gazaland followed and a decade later the mission

to Zambesia was abandoned and the Jesuits returned to the south where there had been further expansion of the Order's activities.

Dunbrody (1882-1934), situated on the Sundays River had been set up as a base for the Zambesi Mission, as an educational centre for Blacks and as a farm. Keilands (1886-1908) was an attempt to establish a missionary base for the extension of activities into the Transkei. Vleischfontein (1884-1894) in the Western Transvaal, was developed as a staging post between Zambesia and the Cape. In 1924 the Order attempted to develop parish work in Claremont, but initially nowhere else.

By 1890 the Jesuits were ready to return to Matabeleland and in the post colonial years a string of stations were founded. Partly to conserve its manpower for the Zambesi enterprise and for financial and economic reasons, Graaff-Reinet was abandoned in 1889, followed by Vleischfontein, Keilands, the parish at Claremont, and Dunbrody. By 1934 the terminal point of the thesis, the only Jesuit presence in South Africa was at St Aidan's which was saved from closure by Papal intervention.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.R.	:	African Studies Review.
C.E.M.	:	Cape Education Museum.
C.L.	:	Cory Library.
D.A.P.E.	:	Diocesan Archive, Port Elizabeth.
D.S.A.B.	:	Dictionary of South African Biography.
E.B.	:	Encyclopaedia Britannica.
J.A.H.	:	Journal of African History.
J.A.L.	:	Jesuit Archive, London.
J.A.R.	:	Jesuit Archive, Rome.
J.A.Z.	:	Jesuit Archive, Zimbabwe.
J.R.A.	:	Journal of Religion in Africa.
J.T.S.A.	:	Journal of Theology for Southern Africa.
K.M.D.	:	Keilands Mission Diary.
L.N.	:	Letters and Notices of the English Province of the Society of Jesus.
R.C.A.	:	Roman Catholic Archive, Cape Town.
S.A.C.M.	:	South African Catholic Magazine.
S.A.L.	:	South African Library, Cape Town.
S.A.L.R.	:	South African Law Reports.
S.C.	:	Southern Cross.
Z.J.	:	Ziqudu Journal.
Z.M.R.	:	Zambesi Mission Record.

PREFACE

I have conducted an investigation into Jesuit missionary and parochial work in the Cape and Transvaal from 1879-1934. The first Jesuit teachers arrived at the Cape in 1875, but by 1934 the South African Mission had, with the exception of St Aidan's College, all but been abandoned. The College is mentioned only in relation to the Zambesi Mission, thus the role of the Jesuits as missionaries and parish priests, rather than as educators, is being considered. I have not attempted a detailed, comparative study of Jesuit work in the field of education, except within the context of their missionary endeavours.

The contribution of the local Jesuits must be seen against the background of the Zambesi Mission which administered the South African Mission. I have placed the local missionaries within regional and global contexts to assess their work and strategies. Comparisons drawn between the South African missionaries and their Catholic and Protestant counterparts, both on the African continent and abroad, reveal that their achievements are largely insignificant, but this does not suggest that their contribution is of little importance, or of no interest.

CHAPTER 1

JESUIT MISSION STRATEGY

"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost".

- St Matthew 28:19

In the minds of the uninformed the word Jesuit conjures up thoughts of great power and influence, enormous wealth and extraordinary success in the educational and missionary fields. At best the Jesuits have been casually referred to as "that arrogant Order", at worst as "the Mafia of the Pope". The Society of Jesus has been admired, hated, envied, even suppressed - a far cry from the humble origin of the Order, established to spread the Christian faith throughout the world.

The Society of Jesus founded in 1534 and approved by Pope Paul III in 1540 centred upon the person and example of a Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola.[1] On 15 August 1534 Loyola and six followers

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1. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) was christened Inigo Lopez de Ricalde, and born of a noble family in the castle of Loyola in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa. The youngest of
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climbed to the chapel of Saint-Denis on Montmartre where they took vows of poverty and chastity, vowing to undertake a missionary crusade to Palestine. If this proved impossible, they would promise absolute obedience to the Pope's orders. The six followers swelled to nine, comprising two Savoyards, Favre and Le Jay, two Frenchmen, Brouet and Codure, the Portuguese

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thirteen children, his early years were spent in the castle of Arévalo. He became a page of Ferdinand the Catholic (1479-1516), and learned the Exercises of a Gentleman in the household of Queen Isabella's chief Treasurer. Until the age of thirty, Loyola devoted his life to knight-errantry, but this career ended abruptly in 1521 at the siege of Pamplona when he was seriously injured by a cannon ball which shattered his right leg, and damaged the other. French surgeons were summoned to set his leg, but it was so badly done that it had to be reset by Spanish doctors. The injury left him with a permanent limp. During his convalescence, he read his sister-in-law's books of devotion which included Life of Christ by Ludolf of Saxony and The Golden Legend. During this period he underwent conversion and declared his intention to devote his life to Christ. He decided that the first step would be to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He set out early in March 1522 on muleback for the Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat in Catalonia, intending to take a ship from Barcelona. At Montserrat he confessed his sins and after a vigil before the Shrine of Our Lady, put on beggar's clothing. Afterwards he retired to a cave near Manresa where he drew the broad outlines of the Book of the Spiritual Exercises. In 1523 he set out for the Holy Land, staying there for ten months only, hoping to convert the Moslems to Christianity, but he soon realized that this would be a fruitless exercise unless he first improved his own education. Loyola returned to Spain and between 1524 and 1528 he learnt Latin with the school children of Barcelona, later furthering his education at the Universities of Alcala and Salamanca. As a student he

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Roderiguez, and the four Spaniards, Xavier, Lainez, Salmeron and Bobadilla. The following year witnessed the separation of Ignatius and his followers, who regrouped on 6 January 1537 in Venice, where Loyola and five followers were ordained to the priesthood. During the next two years they built themselves a considerable reputation in Rome by their work among the poor and sick and by the standard of their learning. While in Rome, the Jesuits attracted the attention of Contarini whom they induced to present to Paul III their proposed charter of foundation. The charter envisaged a society of clerks regular, propagating the faith by spiritual exercises, sermons, works of charity and the instruction of children and uneducated people in Christian principles. The charter reiterated the themes of absolute obedience to papal commands, prompt response to the orders of superiors, an absolute vow of poverty, and the abolition of choir offices, exempting members from any obligation to say the office of prayer or worship together as one group instead of individually and in their own time. The Bull of Foundation, Regimini militantis ecclesiae of September 1540, incorporated

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preached in the streets and was imprisoned twice by the Inquisition. To escape the attention of the Inquisition and to further his education, he moved to the University of Paris. He arrived in Paris on 2 February 1528 and attached himself to the Montaigu College and the Collège de Ste Barbe.

all the desired principles, placing the new order on a military footing with a vicar-general at its head and provincial commanders under him. The vicar-general, known as the Black Pope, and chosen for life, was empowered by the charter to make new constitutions. Initially membership of the Order was limited to sixty, but this was later revoked. The Jesuits developed a method of apostolate which represented a sharp break with the dominant spirit of the sixteenth century. They manifested a flexibility and revived methods of cultural adaption which had played a prominent part in the history of the early Christian Church existing at the time of the Roman Empire. St Ignatius imposed no method of apostolate as such on his followers although the members of his order were required to learn the language of the country in which they resided. This was the first step towards cultural adaptation rather than teaching the faith through interpreters. The Jesuits differed in other ways too. They rejected the spirit of monasticism, prayer was reduced, and fasts and mortifications were not considered a normal part of their discipline. The Jesuits differed from other orders in the long training required of their members (in excess of ten years), and the notion of an enclosed order was rejected. They mixed and rubbed shoulders

with people from every walk of life, and became such successful educators that they held the monopoly in Europe. One of the most famous Jesuit educators and Catholic reformers was Peter Canisius (1521-1597), who more than any other person, established the Catholic reformation in southern Germany and Austria. In 1540 there were ten Jesuits but when Loyola died in 1556, there were one thousand Jesuits in one hundred houses spread over twelve provinces.[2] In 1616 the Order had 13 112 members and by 1740 there were 22 000 Jesuits. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Order had established 769 colleges and university establishments.

From the earliest days the Jesuits favoured education, concentrating upon the religious formation of children in every class of society as well as illiterate adults. To this end Loyola established a system of education designed for training members of the Order and in this way, the Jesuits became teachers rather than pastors in Europe, but in Africa the reverse generally occurred. They recognised the need to convince the intellectual classes of Europe of the importance of

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2. M.L. Bush, Renaissance, Reformation and the Outer World (London, 1971), p. 207.

establishing seminaries and colleges. Their earliest colleges were the lodgings of the Order's scholastics who were attending university courses, but the colleges later took in young men who were not destined for the priesthood. Jesuit colleges which sprang up in European countries were frequently aided by princes who gave disused monasteries and funds to start and support the new colleges.[3] As educators and tutors the Jesuits built up a fine reputation throughout Europe, but it was in the missionary field in particular that they achieved the most astonishing results, if one is to attempt to measure success or failure in

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3. Jesuit Colleges were founded in Coimbra (1542), Valencia (1544), Barcelona (1545), Alcala, Perugia, Bologna (1546), Salamanca, Gubbio, Messina (1548), Burgos, Billom (1550), Ingolstadt and Munich (1559). Others followed at Palmiers, Touron, Mauriac, Dôle and Dijon. The Collège de Clermont was founded in Paris, the Collegium Romanum, now the Gregorian University, in 1550, followed by the Collegium Germanicum two years later. Various high schools were reorganized by the Jesuits in Europe, at Vienna, Ingolstadt and Dillingen. Louvain University was revived and at Douai and Rheims the Order founded special colleges for English Catholics.

   Additional information on the origin of the Jesuits and St Ignatius Loyola can be obtained from J. Brodrick, The Origin of the Jesuits (London, 1940). E.M. Burns, The Counter-Reformation (New York, 1964), pp. 35-39. M.L. Bush, Renaissance, Reformation and the Outer World (London, 1971), pp. 203-209. H. Daniel-Rops, The Catholic Reformation (London, 1968), pp. 1-64. A.G. Dickens, The Counter-Reformation (London, 1968), pp. 75-90. M. Foss, The Founding of the Jesuits: 1540 (London, 1969), G.W. Searle, The Counter-Reformation (London, 1973), pp. 60-64.

terms of statistics. However, in matters of religion statistics are far from providing the best means of judging results. A single conversion can be of capital importance, alternatively, where the number of converts is low, the seeds of the Gospel sown by pioneer missionaries are reaped by their successors. High statistics of the other hand, may reflect mass conversion with little understanding of the complexities of the Catholic faith.

Two missionary strategies were to evolve as a result of Jesuit missionary endeavour. The first method won converts to the faith, while the second strategy aroused wide-spread resistance and suspicion. In countries like Paraguay and China where Jesuits adopted an attitude of tolerance and accommodation to indigenous customs and systems of beliefs, small bands of supporters gathered around the priests. On occasion, mission villages were established with the support and approval of ruling chiefs, with the priest playing a pivotal role in the community. The strategy employed in New France, Zambesia and South Africa was quite different. In these regions the missionaries unanimously condemned local customs and sets of beliefs, unintentionally adopting inflexible attitudes so prevalent in nineteenth century Western Europe. They consequently encountered solid resistance to Christianity from all ranks of indigenes.

At the outset St Ignatius gave to his missionaries who were to travel to distant and unknown countries, instructions that breathed a broad spirit of accommodation. The most successful Jesuit missionaries in the Far East were those who attempted to amalgamate Christian and Chinese or Indian cultures to produce a Sino-Christian or Indo-Christian civilization. The practice of accommodation worked both ways; if Chinese or Indian culture had to change, Christianity also had to adapt itself to the new environment, but this was difficult, since Christianity was not just a culture, but a revealed religion and there could be no meddling with Catholic doctrine and moral truths. This method of winning converts was perfected by the Jesuit Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656). In 1606 he was given a post at Madura and he introduced a completely new technique, quite different from the mass conversions by Xavier.[4] He dealt first with the high castes who controlled public opinion and tried to make himself

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4. On 7 April 1541, a year after the establishment of the Jesuit Order, the zealous Francis Xavier set sail aboard the flagship Santiago with two fellow Jesuits, bound for the East Indies and Goa. (H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1963), p. 276.) He landed at Goa eleven months later and found that Mohammedanism and the immovable prejudices of Brahminical caste were huge difficulties to be overcome. In 1560 the Portuguese viceroy banished certain leading Brahmins from Goa,

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one of them. He studied India and her people and was fluent in the popular dialect Tamil. He had a complete mastery of Sanskrit and was knowledgeable about the Hindu Scriptures. Three years after his arrival he had converted seventy Brahmin. His colleague, Fr Fernandez, condemned his methods as did the Inquisition at Goa, holding that practices of this nature were idolatrous and superstitious. When De Nobili appealed to a superior tribunal of the Inquisition at Lisbon, his method of evangelization was upheld and this was confirmed by Pope Gregory XV.[5] De Nobili's technique succeeded because he had not tried to impose the framework and methods of European Catholicism upon his native converts, and consequently Christianity was not perceived as an "imported" religion.

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whereupon the Jesuits were able soon after to baptise some 13 000 converts, (E.M. Bliss (ed.), Encyclopaedia of Missions, Volume II (New York, 1891), p. 289.) and by the second half of the sixteenth century there were an estimated 300 000 Christians in parts of India. (H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1963), p. 292.)

5. H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1963), p. 292.

The policy of accommodation was also perfected by the Italian Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, who arrived in China in 1583 at a time when the Chinese mainland was still closed to outsiders. The missionary strategy of the Jesuits working in the East had undergone further modification after De Nobili. Alessandro Valignano who was the Visitor of Jesuit missions in the Far East, established a new approach which stressed the adaptation of national customs.[6] Great emphasis was placed on the importance of learning the native language and on the acquisition of knowledge of the native culture, as opposed to the use of Latin in religious rites and the imposition of Western customs upon the natives. To this end, Ricci learnt Chinese and wrote a description of the Chinese people, customs, institutions and government, for he realized that a knowledge of Chinese civilization was an indispensable preliminary to an effective apostolate. He dressed like the Chinese, used their literary names and behaved with Chinese courtesy. At this time the popularity of Buddhism was declining, and Ricci, by closely studying Confucianism, showed the Chinese of the time, that Confucius's teaching was opposed to Buddhism. He concluded from this that Buddhism might not gain the political ascendancy and

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6. G.H. Dunne, Generation of Giants (London, 1962), pp. 15-17.

that he had to prove that Christianity and traditional Confucianism were compatible. His most famous work The Teaching of the Lord of Heaven showed how six passages from Chinese classics harmonized with Christian teaching, and emphasised that Christianity and Confucianism had points of contact and resemblance.[7] The central concept of Confucian thought is harmony with nature, with oneself and one's fellowmen. If one substitutes God for nature, this statement would be an exact formulation of one of the fundamental theses of Catholic moral philosophy.[8]

During these pioneer years, Ricci tried to understand the Chinese veneration of Confucius and the religious honours paid to ancestors. He did not agree that these rites were elements of paganism to be rejected out of hand, nor that they were pagan anticipations of Christianity. He regarded them as rituals of Chinese society that could be adapted to Christian purposes. Although his apostolic labours won him converts in China, he aroused the suspicions of the West who maintained that the

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7. M. Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns of Christian Acceptance: Individual Response to the Missionary Impact 1550-1950 (London, 1972), p. 50.

8. G.H. Dunne, Generation of Giants (London, 1962), p. 287.

distinctiveness of Christianity was being compromised in syncretistic fashion. Ancestor worship and Confucian devotion were regarded as an inseparable element of traditional Chinese religion and therefore incompatible with Christian worship and doctrine.

Ricci realized almost immediately that because Chinese scholars were only mildly interested in Christianity, he and his successors would have to use Western knowledge of mathematics and astronomy and Western products to gain their attention and an entrance to their ranks. The interest of the Chinese was therefore gradually directed towards Western scientific advances and towards the missionaries' expertise in astronomy rather than towards the Christian religion.[9] The presence of some Jesuits in the astronomical office brought not only prestige to the Order, but helped to make the contacts so necessary for spreading the faith. By converting the nobility of China and securing their goodwill, thereby obtaining official local permission, their work of evangelization was made easier. Until the officials themselves turned against Christianity, this practice worked, if one judges by the rapid growth of Christian

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9. P. Caraman, The Lost Empire (London, 1985), p. 3.

communities.[10] By the time of Ricci's death in May 1610, there were some 2 500 converts grouped around the four residences, but forty years later, there were as many as 150 000 Catholics in China.[11]

The missionary technique adopted by the Jesuits in South America was similar to that adopted by the pioneer Jesuits in the East. They however, attempted total acculturation of the neophytes, rather than selective acculturation, in preference to confrontation, relying on the Indian caciques, or chiefs, to co-operate with them. In South America Jesuit missions were scattered over a wide territory and embraced a number of Indian tribes living in what is now Bolivia, the Argentine as far as Northern Patagonia, Paraguay, Uruguay and the Brazilian states of Paranà and Rio Grande do Sul.[12] The Jesuit mission in Paraguay was established in 1580 when the Bishop of Tucuman appealed to the Provincials of the Jesuits in Peru and Brazil,

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10. M. Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns of Christian Acceptance: Individual Response to the Missionary Impact 1550-1950 (London, 1972), p. 37.

11. H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1963), p. 291.

12. K.S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity Volume III (New York, 1970), p. 42.

to establish a mission there since the Franciscans had had little success with the Indians, especially the Guaraní.[13] The two obstacles which had hindered evangelization were the nomadic way of life of the Indians, and the Spanish colonists who pillaged their goods and stole their wives. As early as 29 March 1503, instructions issued by the Spanish Crown charged officials in Espanola to bring all Indians into reductions, where there would be a church, priest and school. Indians would be given clothing and introduced to Western civilization.[14] This is precisely what the Jesuits, coming in at a later date achieved with remarkable results. They settled the Indians in remote villages far from Spanish colonists and slave traders, teaching them to build houses, cultivate the soil and handle weapons for defence purposes. The Indians were instructed in their own language, as required by a meeting of the Synod of Asunción in 1603.[15] The first Jesuit reductions were established in 1611 among the Guaraní Indians in the valleys of the upper Parana and Uruguay Rivers, and among the Tapes in a region called Guayrá. The missions in Guayrá were soon attacked

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13. H.A. Wyndham, The Atlantic and Slavery (London, 1935), p. 149.

14. P. Caraman, The Lost Paradise (London, 1975), p. 36.

15. Ibid., p. 29.

and ruined by slave raiders from the Portuguese province of Sâo Paulo. Between 1627-1631 the Paulistas destroyed nine mission pueblos and carried away 60 000 Indians, but the missions were moved and rebuilt, and by the end of 1736, thirty reductions were operating with an Indian population in excess of 100 000.[16] The priests assumed responsibility for direction, administration, military defence, control of production, exchange and religious instruction. The organisation of the reductions led to the establishment of a separate political and spiritual unit, which was self-contained and exclusive. It was a communal régime under which everything was held in common, the Indians working not just for themselves, but for the public good. All the families were equal and had the same possessions. Although the Indians had their own fields to till, they also cultivated communal land, the produce of which was placed in the reduction storehouse and held in trust for the community for the sick, widows and orphans.[17] The major stumbling blocks in the path of conversion of the Guaraní included plurality of wives allowed to chieftains by tribal

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16. C.H. Haring, <u>The Spanish Empire in America</u> (New York, 1963), p. 184.

17. P. Caraman, <u>The Lost Paradise</u> (London, 1975), pp. 116-129.

custom, drunkenness, lust and cannibalism, yet the Jesuits' success in South America lay in their ability to preserve Indian society as much as possible, while adjusting it to the requirements of Christian morality, but without compromising the faith in any way.[18] The missions were finally destroyed in the War of the Seven Reductions of 1758, by the Portuguese slave raiders from São Paulo. The Jesuits stayed on in Latin America for another nine years but in 1773 they were expelled from the Catholic Church and suppressed. This followed the Jesuits' expulsion from Portugal in 1759, France in 1764, Spain and her colonies including those in Latin America in 1767, and the Hapsburg lands in 1773.

In Brazil the pioneer Jesuits adopted a similar approach,[19] by

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18. Ibid., p. 44.

19. The Franciscans had obtained meagre results in Brazil and were followed by six Jesuits in 1549 who learnt the language of the country and began to collect the remnants of the coastal Indians who had not already been enslaved or driven inland, into settlements under their supervision. (H.A. Wyndham, The Atlantic and Slavery (London, 1935), p. 135.) Villages containing Christian Indians were developed, each with a çhurch and a school. In 1655 Fr Antonio Vieria obtained an edict from the Portuguese king which placed all the Indian settlements under the direction cont. ....

settling the Indians in reductions, but amongst the Huron and Iroquois Indians in New France, the Jesuits attempted cultural conquest rather than cultural conformity, insisting with often disastrous results, that the Indians effect fundamental changes in conduct. The first Jesuits in New France arrived in 1611 but the mission of Frs Biard and Massé lasted only three years.[20] They were followed by more of their Order in 1635 and by 1649 there were eighteen Jesuits working amongst the Indians. They had all taken the first step towards successful evangelization by learning Algonquian, the language of the Indians, but there their attempts to adapt ended. They demanded that the Huron abstain from sharing in cannibal feasts of their enemies and insisted that their converts give up divorce, polygamy,

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of the Jesuits. (K.S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity Volume III (New York, 1970), p. 165.) Vieria was appointed Superior of the Missions with the authority to control the expeditions into the interior and to settle Indians where he pleased. (H.A. Wyndham, The Atlantic and Slavery (London, 1935), pp. 139-140.) By 1584 Brazil boasted 142 Jesuits, of whom sixty-six were priests. (K.S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity Volume III (New York, 1970), p. 163.)

20. M. Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1945 (London, 1956), p. 13.

sacrifices to appease evil spirits, joining in the "eat-all" feasts, and obeying the promptings of dreams. Drunkenness and gambling were condemned and those converts who abstained from these practises became outcasts in the minds of the non-converts.[21] Huron stations were established at St Michel, St Joseph, St Louis and St Ignace, and St Jean and St Matthias amongst the Tobacco Indians. The mission was characterized to a large extent by martyrdom and attacks by the Iroquois, but despite these setbacks, and the Jesuits' reluctance to accommodate most of the Indian practices, some Indians were converted to the faith, but not with the same success as the Jesuits had in the Far East.[22]

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21. G.M. Wrong, The Rise and Fall of New France, Volume I (London, 1928), p. 301.

22. Ibid., pp. 304-312.
The experiences of the Jesuits on their missions in New France were recorded in their famous Relations.

On the African continent the Jesuits' policy of accommodation was particularly successful in the Congo and Ethiopia. In 1491 a Catholic mission to the Congo resulted in King Mani's baptism, followed by his son Alfonso's in 1507. Alfonso I reigned from 1506-1545 and at his request, the early Portuguese embassies and missions to the Congo included not only friars and priests, but skilled workers and artisans.[23] In 1492 German printers with their presses emigrated voluntarily to the country and several Portuguese women were sent to teach the local women. Alfonso attempted to make Christianity the state religion and sent several young men to Lisbon for an education. One of them was his son Henry, who was ordained a priest and later consecrated bishop of Sâo Salvador, the Congo capital.[24] The Jesuits arrived in Sâo Salvador in 1548 and opened a school for 600 children who were taught to read and write. They instructed women and imported artisans to teach trades. There were many baptisms but the process of conversion was not as smooth as it was hoped at first. It was difficult to reach the women who did not attend Mass, nor did they receive any religious instruction because the Jesuits felt that they could not have any confidence

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23. C.R. Boxer, Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion 1415-1825 (Johannesburg, 1961), p. 28.

24. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

in them. The problem with the men was that many would not admit that they had sinned. The following year, in 1549, the good relations between the Jesuits and the King, Diogo, turned sour when one of the priests had a quarrel with the king's daughter. By 1550 all the Jesuits had left the Congo, but in 1553 Gomes returned from Portugal with four new recruits. He settled the quarrel with the king, but towards the end of the year another quarrel broke out when Gomes was suspected of being an agent of European aggression. He left the Congo in 1555 after realising that polygamy or marriage with close relatives, would be a source of constant friction between the Church and future conversion because these two institutions were vital in the Congo political structure.[25] The Order returned before the end of the century and founded a college on land which King Pedro II (1622-1624) had granted them. From this base they successfully enlarged their educational work, instituted a class for young men to learn Latin with a view to entering the priesthood, introduced the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction and began making use of native catechists to assist

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25. J.M. Vansina, Kingdoms of the Savanna (London, 1966), pp. 61-63.

them in their work.[26] The policy of accommodation was so successful in the Congo that Christianity was completely adapted to the indigenes' conception of religion and cosmology, the priests even referring to themselves as "nganga" performing all the public and private roles expected of religious practitioners.[27]

In 1555 Pope Julius III officially appointed three Jesuits to establish a Catholic hierarchy in Ethiopia although the Ethiopians had long possessed Coptic Christianity. Fr Nunez Barreto was named Patriarch with Frs Andrea d' Oviedo and Melchior Carneiro as his coadjutors.[28] The instructions given to Barreto breathed a broad spirit of accommodation. He was to multiply schools and hospitals and develop a native clergy. No violence or force was to be used in propagating the faith. He

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26. H.A. Wyndham, The Atlantic and Slavery (London, 1935), pp. 89-91.

27. J. Thornton, "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo 1491-1750". J.A.H., Volume XXV, pp. 152-157.

28. H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1963), p. 274.

was to take engineers, agricultural experts, doctors and surgeons with him, and he was warned not to be too precipitate in the removal of abuses which might have crept into the liturgy, but to remove them gradually so as not to unduly shock deep-rooted prejudices.[29] St Ignatius advised the three priests to adapt themselves as far as possible to the Ethiopian customs and to take with them books and scientific instruments, but this mission accomplished little because the Emperor never gave the missionaries any support.

A fresh team of Jesuits set out for Ethiopia in 1589.[30] The two new priests Pedro Paez and Antonio de Monserrate, like Ricci in China, made no attempt to evangelize the native population immediately. Both priests concentrated on the court and tried to present Western Christianity in such a way that it would be acknowledged at least in certain aspects to be superior to the native religion. Paez studied Amharic, the tongue most widely spoken in Ethiopia, as well as Ge'ez, their ancient liturgical language. He recognised that the chief obstacle lying in the path of success was the pride that the natives had for their own

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29. P. Caraman, The Lost Empire (London, 1985), p. 11.

30. H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1963), p. 274.

religion and he concentrated on bringing the Emperor and persons of influence to recognise the superiority of Western Christianity in the hope that customs not consistent with it would later be abandoned for more acceptable practices. He avoided direct confrontation with their old practices and soon won the admiration of the Ethiopian Emperor, Susenyos. Two months before the death of Paez on 3 May 1622, Susenyos professed his faith in the Catholic Church.[31] When the new Patriarch Alfonso Mendez, forbade circumcision instead of accommodating the practice, Susenyos's successor and son, Fasiladas, would have nothing further to do with the Order and they were expelled from the country.[32]

After two centuries in the missionary field in the Americas, Far East and Africa, the Jesuits had defined and indeed perfected a strategy which had yielded spectacular results. The policy was based on a thorough knowledge of the native language, culture, beliefs and people, followed by years of making contacts and friends, particularly with those in official posts who could smooth the way for the mission. It was also desirable to make

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31. P. Caraman, The Lost Empire (London, 1985), pp. 131-132.

32. H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1963), p. 275.

contact with the ruler or Emperor, who would then not undermine the work and authority of the missionaries. It was not always possible to place Christian converts in mission villages, away from external influences, like the reductions in Paraguay before 1758. Nor was it always possible to isolate the converts from the neophytes. Where this system was possible, the priest became both the spiritual and administrative leader of the converts. The most important contributory factor towards conversion was undoubtedly the Jesuits' ability to accommodate practices among the indigenous people which other orders regarded as heathen and barbaric. In so doing the Jesuits did not compromise the faith, but showed sympathy towards their converts who regarded Christianity dressed in Western clothing as unacceptable and unfamiliar. Where the Jesuits rejected local customs and traditions out of hand, without trying to accommodate at least some of them, the results were generally meagre and temporary.

In Southern Africa Jesuits were sent to establish themselves at, or near, a chief's kraal, to obtain a grant of land, build a mission house and church, begin farming operations, and open a school as soon as the opportunity presented itself. An ability to speak the vernacular was required, but there was no method of enforcing it. It was also hoped that the converts would settle close to the mission house, thereby forming mission villages.

This technique was diligently pursued in Southern Africa, but with little success. One explanation is that the Jesuits were not prepared to base their missionary enterprise upon a policy of acculturation. The reason for this decision has its roots in the early eighteenth century. In 1703 Pope Clement XI sent Cardinal Tournon to the Indies to investigate the Jesuits' policy of accommodation. After thorough investigation Tournon suggested the decree of 1710, whereby he rigorously forbade all accommodation to heathen usages. From his successor, Clement XII, the Jesuits obtained a virtual revocation of the 1710 decree, but the next pope, Benedict XIV, in the bull Omnium Solicitudinum of 7 October 1744, again condemned and forbade the Order's practices.[33]

Prior to 1622 the Jesuits had formulated their own mission strategy, but when Pope Gregory XV established The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, (also known as Propaganda or the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) in 1622 he charged it with the supreme direction and administration of all missionary activity within the Catholic Church. Propaganda was established to institute reforms in mission

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33. E.M. Bliss (ed.), Encyclopaedia of Missions, Volume II (New York, 1891), pp. 289-290.

policy in addition to bringing about a more united and concerted missionary action. A congregation of cardinals was appointed for the propagation of the faith, and a Cardinal Prefect was appointed by the Pope and the curia to decide upon mission policy, issue instructions, make appointments and monitor the progress of missionaries throughout the world. One of the first tasks of Propaganda was a study of missionary activity. The study revealed several obstacles: the insufficient number of missionaries, their ignorance of native languages and cultures, the mercenary pre-occupation of some of them, the discord between missionary orders, the failure to develop native clergy, and a lack of willingness to adapt to indigenous cultural values. The Congregation was given exclusive jurisdiction over all missionary activity, territories and personnel, insisting upon the preservation of cultural characteristics and social autonomy of the non-Western lands. However, when the Congregation found itself embroiled in the Chinese rites controversy it took a stand against any future missionary adaptation, thereby closing the door on the Jesuits' most effective missionary technique.

The Jesuit priests sent to the Cape and Transvaal mission stations were generally well-educated, intelligent, dedicated men, but they came much later in time. They realized that any attempt at acculturation would bring swift rebuke from Propaganda, the Jesuit General and nineteenth century society

which had an excessive mistrust of anything like an adaptation of Christianity to native customs and traditions, especially after the Chinese rites affair. Thus, from the outset they were faced with the challenge of developing new strategies to replace the policy of total or partial accommodation.

CHAPTER 2

SOUTHERN AFRICA: EARLY CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT MISSIONS AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE JESUITS

One of the earliest Jesuit missions to South Eastern Africa was that of Fr Goncalo da Silveira, but he found to his cost, that Christianity made little impact upon the indigenous populations. When Sebastiao de Sá, the captain of the fortress in Mozambique, recommended that priests be sent from Portuguese India because the surrounding territory seemed ripe for conversion, the bishop of Portuguese India chose Goncalo da Silveira, a Portuguese of noble birth, who had been Superior of the Mission in Goa.[1] Accompanied by another priest, Fernandes and a brother, Da Costa, the party landed on 4 February 1560[2] at Sofala and travelled to the Zambesi where Silveira baptised both the Shona chief and his mother.[3] The next year on

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1. E. Axelson, Portuguese in South-East Africa 1488-1600 (Johannesburg, 1973), p. 145.

2. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 37.

3. M.F. Bourdillon, (ed.), Christianity South of the Zambesi Volume II (Gwelo, 1977), p. 25.

16 March he was strangled to death by the local inhabitants, after which Fernandes withdrew from Gazaland, where he had been working among the Thonga, but with very little success.[4] Thus ended the first Jesuit attempts to convert the neophytes in South Eastern Africa.

In Southern Africa prospects for conversion by Catholic missionaries were equally bleak. It was the Dutch who brought Christianity to the tip of Africa when they occupied the Cape in 1652. Two years earlier the Dutch East India Company had declared that the official church was the Reformed Protestant Church, and forbade the Roman Catholic Church and other Protestant Churches to enter the Cape Colony. Catholic priests or survivors of shipwrecks who called at the Cape were well received by the Dutch officials, but they were forbidden to attend Mass.[5] Such was the case in 1660 when the Catholic Bishop of Madagascar and four priests arrived as survivors from the ship La Maréchale which was wrecked in Table Bay. Ten years

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4. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 39.

5. J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in Southern Africa (London, 1911), p. 366.

later another French ship, Le Phénix, reached Table Bay with a Bishop and some Capuchins on board and they too, were denied permission to celebrate Mass on shore. In 1685, a ship carrying the French ambassador to Siam, called at Table Bay. On board was a party of six Jesuit astronomers who were well received by the visiting Commissioner-General Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, and by Governor Van der Stel, who provided them with accommodation and put the pavilion in the company's garden at their disposal. In return for this hospitality the Jesuits offered to make the results of their astronomical observations known to the Governor.[6] One of the party, Père Tachard later wrote that "no sooner had we got possession of our little Observatory, when the Catholicks of that Colony, who are pretty numerous, had notice of it, ... They who could not otherwise express themselves because we understand not their Language, fell upon their knees and kissed our hands. They pulled Chaplets and Medals out of their Bosoms to show that they were Catholicks ... They who spoke French, Latin, Spanish or Portuguese were confessed. We visited the Sick in their Houses and in the Hospital. This was all that could be done for their consolation in so short a time, they not having the Liberty to

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6. J.B. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond (Durban, 1975), pp. 2-3.

come on board of us to hear Mass, nor we to say it to them a Shoar".[7] In February 1707 the Belvliet brought a Jesuit priest, Guillebert Bordes to the shores of the Cape, but he was not even allowed to land. Later in 1737 a Jesuit, Fr Loppin, accompanied by two missionaries visited the Cape and stayed with a Frenchman.[8] Loppin was able to receive Catholics and say Mass secretly probably because he dressed in civilian clothes. Because the Dutch East India Company was so strictly Protestant, the few Catholics who were at the Cape did not have the freedom to practise their faith openly. Some Catholics in fact had their children baptised and brought up in the Dutch Reformed Church.

In 1802 the Cape was taken over by the Batavian Republic after the Peace of Amiens, and the Commissioner-General of the Batavian Republic at the Cape, De Mist, published an ordinance promising religious toleration to all those who believed in a Supreme Being.[9]

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7. J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in Southern Africa (London, 1911), p. 367.

8. J.B. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond (Durban, 1975), p. 6.

9. Ibid., pp. 5-7.

By 1802 the turmoil of the French Revolution had passed, but Napoleon was subduing Europe and a fragile agreement had been reached between him and the Catholic Church. In the midst of this uncertainty and tension, the Protestants moved into the mission field, although the chief founders of Protestantism, Luther and Calvin, had been opposed to missions amongst the heathen. The whole weight of Reformed tradition opposed any form of missionary haste, and Calvin maintained that it was wrong for a layman, even in an emergency, to baptize. Furthermore, this was regarded as a usurpation of a ministerial function and the idea that baptism was necessary for salvation was rejected out of hand by Protestant leaders.[10] However, the growth of Catholic interest in missions coupled with the rise of the Pietist Movement in Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century, made the Protestant leaders mission conscious. The Protestants had also lacked religious orders, but in the late eighteenth century, mission societies were founded, such as the Pietists who centred themselves in Halle in Germany. One of the most outstanding Pietists, Count Zinzendorf, was responsible for supplying missionaries to distant lands. By the time of his death some two hundred

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10. P.B. Hinchliff, The Church in South Africa (London, 1968), p. 4.

missionaries had gone out from Herrnhut to various parts of the world, one of which was the Cape Colony.[11] The first Protestant missionary in the Cape was the Moravian Georg Schmidt who was sent by Zinzendorf.[12] Schmidt left Cape Town in September 1737 for a site which had been allocated to him on the Sondereind River. Before a year had passed, he had moved further down the river to Baviaanskloof where he continued ministering to the Khoi. Because he was not an ordained priest, he was forbidden to baptize his converts, and when he returned to Europe to obtain permission to continue his work, permission was denied.[13] At this stage organized missions in the Cape ceased to exist. Pastors appointed by the Dutch East India Company served the white communities, but there were too few of them to carry out their work effectively amongst the Colonists,

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11. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974). pp. 5-6. Pietism began as an influencial religious reform movement in German Lutheranism in the seventeenth century. The Moravian Church in Bohemia and Moravia is principally a product of German Pietism. This occurred in 1722 when a group of Moravians stirred by Pietism, settled at Herrnhut where they encountered Nikolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), E.B., Volume XII, pp. 435-436.

12. P.B. Hinchliff, The Church in South Africa (London, 1968), p. 9.

13. J.M. Sales, The Planting of the Churches in South Africa (New York, 1971), pp. 27-28.

let alone among the slaves, Khoi or Blacks. By 1750 there were about 5 500 white settlers in the Colony and only three ministers to care for their spiritual welfare, one each at Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.[14]

For the next fifty years or so there were no missions to the heathen, but then a young Hollander, Van Lier, arrived at Cape Town in 1786 and stayed for seven years to work amongst the Khoi and slaves. The Moravians now returned in November 1792 to Schmidt's old settlement at Baviaanskloof, which was renamed Genadendal.[15] They established mission stations directed mainly at the Khoi throughout the Cape, even accompanying the lepers when they were moved to Robben Island in 1846.[16]

The establishment of Genadendal marks the beginning of the permanent establishment of mission stations in the Cape. While some of the Moravian missionaries married, the Moravian village at Genadendal was actually a monastic community. The Moravians

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14. P.B. Hinchliff, The Church in South Africa (London, 1968), p. 8.

15. Ibid., p. 11.

16. J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in Southern Africa (London, 1911), p. 244.

were the first missionaries with a mission strategy, establishing peasant villages characterized by frugality, hard work and devotion. All the missionaries "ate together, prayed together, had fixed time for work, and fixed times for their private devotions ... Each of the missionaries has a trade which he practiced, and which he taught to Hottentot boys who signed on as apprentices."[17] The settlements became villages where the dignity of labour, the skills of the trades themselves, and an elementary general education were all taught together with the gospel. The policy of establishing enclosed settlements based on the Herrnhut pattern, evolved by accident rather than by design, but the strategy was so successful that it became the ideal for other missionary groups to imitate. Van Lier was followed in 1794 by Michiel Vos who returned to the Cape after training for the ministry in Holland. Vos settled down to work at Roodezand where he devoted his labours to a white congregation.[18]

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17. J.M. Sales, The Planting of the Churches in South Africa (New York, 1971), p. 30.

18. P.B. Hinchliff, The Church in South Africa (London, 1968), p. 10.

In 1802 Protestant missionaries, like their Catholic counterparts, responded to the promise of religious toleration at the Cape. This, coupled with the rise of Wesleyan evangelicalism, Continental Pietism and the Enlightenment which had emphasised greater holiness, the importance of education, the need to emancipate slaves, and the founding of Protestant missionary societies had increased missionary activity. The interdenominational London Missionary Society, founded in 1795 had begun work in the Colony in March 1799[19] among the Khoi, Griqua and Tswana, and was followed by the first Wesleyan missionary, Barnabas Shaw in 1816.[20] The Methodists directed their activities at the inhabitants of Namaqualand, the Xhosa and the Rolong, and William Shaw in particular was not content with haphazard missionary squatting, and like the Moravians, developed a mission strategy. He made full use of a system of classes and local preachers amongst the settlers and blacks alike, and by 1860 there were 132 Methodist missionaries, manning a chain of connected stations in the heart of the

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19. J.M. Sales, The Planting of the Churches in South Africa (New York, 1971), p. 32.

20. M. Dischl, Transkei for Christ; a History of the Catholic Church in the Transkeian Territories (Queenstown, 1982), p. 24.

Eastern Cape among the Xhosa.[21] In 1820 the Baptists arrived in the Eastern Cape and were later reinforced in numbers by the German Legion.[22] When the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape experienced an acute shortage of clergy, Scottish Presbyterians were invited to the Colony under the aegis of the Glasgow Missionary Society. John Knox had emphasised the need for every Church to have its own school, and the Cape Church was no different. The Institution of Lovedale was started in 1841 by Rev. William Govan and it succeeded in training young men as preachers and teachers, building a strong core of indigenous clergy and laymen on the mission stations.[23] The United Presbyterian Church followed soon after. In 1829 the Paris Evangelical Mission Society and the Rhenish Missionary Society arrived under the aegis of Dr John Philip, the Superintendant in Southern Africa for the London Missionary Society from 1819-1851,[24] respectively working amongst the Sotho and mixed races of the Cape. In 1835 Captain Allan Gardiner of the Church

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21. P.B. Hinchliff, <u>The Church in Africa</u> (London, 1968), p. 33.

22. M. Dischl, <u>Transkei for Christ; a History of the Catholic Church in the Transkeian Territories</u> (Queenstown, 1982), p. 35.

23. A. Murray, "A Brief Survey of Missions South of the Zambesi", <u>South African Religious Pamphlets</u>, p. 10.

24. J.M. Sales, <u>The Planting of the Churches in South Africa</u> (New York, 1971), p. 59.

Missionary Society started working among the Zulu in Natal, and was joined two years later by Francis Owen. The American Board for Foreign Missions opened twelve missions in Natal between 1847 and 1850 and the Berlin Missionary Society founded a station at Emmaus in 1846.[25] The Anglicans arrived in the mission field much later than their Protestant counterparts although Anglican clergy acting as naval and military chaplains had been in the Cape for a few decades. The first Anglican Bishop, Robert Gray only arrived at the Cape in February 1848. The first Anglican missions in the Eastern Cape were founded in 1853[26] at a time when the Norwegian and Swedish[27] missions were also establishing themselves in the Colony.

When Bishop Gray of the Anglican Church arrived in Cape Town in 1848 he set off to visit as much of the Cape as possible, to ascertain the needs of his church. He too recognized the importance of establishing industrial training, other types of

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25. J.B. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond (Durban, 1975), p. 15.

26. M.M. Goedhals, Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown under the First Two Bishops 1853-1871 (M.A., Rhodes University, 1979), p. 79.

27. J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in Southern Africa (London, 1911), pp. 382-385.

schools and hospitals. Gray was greatly assisted by The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which, after the 1817-1820 contingents of British settlers to the Eastern Cape, began according financial assistance to the Anglican Church.[28] The Anglicans successfully employed a variety of methods to reach the Blacks. They created Christian settlements on land obtained for this purpose, or they encouraged Christians to remain where they lived, thereby influencing non-Christians who lived in the same area, or the missionaries visited at regular intervals, the Blacks who were living and working on farms. Like their Methodist counterparts, the Anglicans made good use of schools for the laity and for the training of indigenous teachers, catechists and clergy.

Most early Protestant activity was sporadic and haphazardly planned, with few groups arriving at the Cape with a specific modus operandi. The Moravians had emphasised the need for establishing enclosed peasant villages, while the Methodists, Scottish Presbyterians and Anglicans gave great prominence to the training of an indigenous ministry. The Glasgow

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28. K.S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Volume V, (London, 1947), p. 326.

missionaries expressed the need for a boarding school where youths could be taken away from their homes and trained as teachers and pastors, and other organizations followed suit when the Cape Governor, Sir George Grey made government grants available to mission boarding schools. The Methodists consequently built a school at Healdtown where teachers and ministers were trained, and the first boarding school for Black girls was founded in 1861 at Emgwali by the Presbyterians.[29]

Large scale mission work including that of the Roman Catholics did not really begin in Southern Africa until the nineteenth century. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate were active in Basutoland after 1862 and Pfanner introduced the Trappists in the 1880's. Delay in the establishment of such missions was primarily due to the fact that France, the principal source of Catholic missionaries, had been cast into the turmoil of the French Revolution in 1789. In 1791 diplomatic relations were broken between the Papacy and France, but an uneasy agreement followed in February 1797 with the signing of the Treaty of Tolentino. Tension increased between the two signatories and

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29. J.M. Sales, <u>The Planting of the Churches in South Africa</u> (New York, 1971), p. 76.

when it came to a head in July of the same year, Pius VI was transferred from Rome to Valence, which became his prison. On 14 March 1800 he was succeeded by Pius VII and delicate negotiations followed, resulting in the signing of the Concordat of 1801 between the Papacy and Napoleon. Both signatories derived an increase in strength, and prestige was recovered by the Papacy. The Concordat effectively won over the Catholics to Napoleon's régime and the clergy again found themselves on the way to becoming an instrument of power.[30]

The goodwill existing between Napoleon and the Holy See was shortlived when Napoleon declared "The Pope shall be my vassal".[31] In July 1809 Napoleon ordered the Pope's arrest and he was taken to Savona for three years, before being transferred to Fontainebleau in 1812. Eleven days before Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo on 18 June 1815, Pius VII returned to Rome. From a position of weakness Pius VII had triumphantly moved from signing the Concordat in exile, to imprisonment and restoration, all of which culminated in a policy of reconstruction within the Catholic Church. Seminaries were

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30. H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in an Age of Revolution, 1789-1870 (Great Britain, 1965), pp. 65-75.

31. Ibid., p. 93.

reopened, missions resumed and new religious orders were created, all visible proof of the strength of the Church's inner spiritual life. Many of the largest religious orders were also reconstituted, one of them being the Jesuits, thereby signalling a dramatic reassertion of papal authority over the Catholic Church. In August 1814 Pius VII while still in exile, and working with a sense of great urgency, restored the Society of Jesus to full legal validity, forty-one years after Clement XIV had issued a brief of suppression upon the Order.[32] In 1817 The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was also reconstituted after it had been closed by Napoleon from 1809-1814. Missions in particular had been hardest hit by Propaganda's closure, which was accompanied by the suppression of all papal administration, the transfer of Propaganda's archive to France and the seizure of its finances. Missions

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32. On 21 July 1773 King Charles III of Spain, co-operating with the court in France, persuaded Clement XIV to suppress the Jesuits in the brief, Dominus ac Redemptor. (P. Hazard, European Thought in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1954), p. 109.) The suppression was a huge blow to the Catholic Church which lost some of its best educators, teachers and missionaries at a time when neither the other orders, nor the secular clergy were capable of replacing them. This was because the standard of clergy in recently colonized territories with the exception of the Jesuits and Capuchins, was generally low. (C.R. Boxer, Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion 1415-1825 (Johannesburg, 1961), p. 84.)

were boosted further by the establishment of four Pontifical Mission Aid Societies. The largest, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was established in 1823 as an organ for the Holy See for the collection and distribution throughout the world to missionaries, of the alms of the faithful. It was followed by The Holy Childhood, the Society of St Peter the Apostle and the Missionary Union of the Clergy. The restoration of the Church's influence and position was acknowledged throughout Europe with the Holy See signing Concordats with Bavaria in 1818, France in 1819 (upholding the Concordat of 1801) and Prussia in 1821.[33] In Britain the revival of Catholicism was echoed with the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, ending in the 1927 Catholic Relief Act. In 1845 King Oscar I of Norway granted freedom to all Christian Churches and in 1849 freedom of worship was granted to all in Denmark.[34]

The post-1815 years ushered in an era of relative peace and growing prosperity and wealth in the Occident, induced by

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33. H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in an Age of Revolution, 1789-1870 (Great Britain, 1965), pp. 141-145.

34. H. Daniel-Rops, A Fight for God, 1870-1939 (London, 1963), pp. 341-347.

colonial and imperial extension. Developments in science and new inventions had improved transport and communication and they combined with the relative peace to increase the wealth, power and populations of Europe. Until the end of the eighteenth century Protestant missions had counted for very little, but from 1789, for the next century, 300 Protestant bodies were formed at a time when the Catholic Church was hamstrung by the French Revolution and Napoleon. It was thus mainly through Protestantism, (with the Catholic Church of the main colonial powers, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Portugal next), that Christianity expanded most rapidly.[35]

The arrival of missionaries to Southern Africa in the nineteenth century was thus part of a world-wide trend which heralded a change in mission strategy. In the nineteenth century The Society for the Propagation of the Faith was the chief general agency for raising funds for Catholic missions. Previously, assistance had been given to missionaries by governments or monarchs and princes. By the nineteenth century the spread of

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35. K.S. Latourette, <u>A History of the Expansion of Christianity</u>, Volume VII (London, 1945), p. 447.

Christianity was no longer left to small monastic groups through the initiative of princes, but expanded largely through voluntary mission societies and the rank and file of Europe. A new trend in the nineteenth century saw missionaries making increasing use of orphanages, dispensaries, hospices, hospitals, leper colonies and schools to prepare for, or to support their apostolic task. Schools became the obligatory annexe of the missions, thus charitable and educational activities were closely allied with the apostolate. The era witnessed a move away from mass conversion with greater emphasis being placed upon the conversion of individuals. A greater effort was also made to train an indigenous leadership and to transfer administration to it. This was not a new idea. Missionaries had long been enlisting lay support in the East Indies, China and Indo-China but on 23 November 1845 this practice was given papal approval. Gregory XVI issued a directive to Propaganda to address the heads of missions throughout the world, instructing them to pursue a programme for the Church's expansion which rested on the multiplication of local churches through the formation of a native clergy.[36]

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36. H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in an Age of Revolution, 1789-1870 (Great Britain, 1965), p. 378.

The first Catholic priests arrived at the Cape in October 1805 from Holland on board the Prussian ship President Von Vinke. The priests, Johannes Lansink, Jacobus Nelissen and Lambertus Prinsen, had a room at the castle put at their disposal for use as a chapel and there they ministered to the Catholic soldiers and colonists. In the same year Lansink was appointed Prefect Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope,[37] but De Mist's declaration of religious toleration was short-lived because three years later the British took over the Cape. Governor Janssens and the entire Dutch garrison and the three priests were expelled and returned to Holland by Major-General Sir David Baird.[38] Lansink died and was buried at sea on his way home. No priests were sent to replace the three sent back in 1806, and

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37. W.E. Brown, The Catholic Church in South Africa (London, 1960), p. 6.

38. The Catholic Church was not allowed to set up its dioceses in Britain until 1851 and there was no toleration of Catholics in office until 1829 when the Irish achieved a breakthrough with Daniel O'Connell (1775-1854). In July 1828 a seat fell vacant in County Clare and O'Connell stood against a member of the government and was elected, but the House of Commons rejected him by 190 votes to 116. The rejection contributed to increased tension and unrest in Ireland, and in March 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Act, applying to the whole of the British Empire, was passed by the House of Commons and House of Lords.
H. Daniel-Rops, The Church in an Age of Revolution, 1789-1870 (Britain, 1965), p. 178.

only in 1818 was a Benedictine bishop, Dom Edward Bede Slater, appointed to the Cape.[39]

When Sir John Cradock left England to become the Governor of the Cape in 1811, his instructions included the guarantee of religious toleration, but the Colonial Office in Britain did not permit a Catholic Bishop to take up residence at the Cape until 1837. Slater was consequently not permitted to live at the Cape although he had been appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope in 1818. In 1819 his jurisdiction was extended to include Mauritius and the surrounding islands which included Madagascar, Australia and New Zealand.[40] He made his headquarters on Mauritius and only called at the Cape in December 1819 with three missionaries, Therry, Connolly and Patrick Scully.[41] When Slater sailed for Mauritius he left Scully to minister to the Catholics at the Cape. In March 1826 Scully was replaced by a Dutch priest, Theodore Wagenaar, but he was not fluent in English and declared his intention of leaving

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39. W.E. Brown, The Catholic Church in South Africa (London, 1960), pp. 6-7.

40. J.E. Brady, Princes of His People (Catholic History Bureau, 1951). Introduction.

41. J.B. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond (Durban, 1975), p. 9.

unless an English speaking priest arrived to assist him. In May 1827 Rishton arrived to assist Wagenaar, and when Wagenaar left the Cape in 1832, Rishton succeeded him, until he became ill and returned to England. The Cape was now without a chaplain but eventually Fr Thomas Morel, a Spanish Dominican who was returning to Spain from the Philippines, was persuaded by the churchwardens in Cape Town to remain at the Cape for six months.[42] In April 1837, a Monsignor Brady passed through Cape Town on his way from the island of Bourbon to Rome and he promised to inform the Pope of the need for a resident Bishop at the Cape.[43] The next year an Irish Dominican, Patrick Griffith, arrived in Cape Town on 14 April and was appointed resident Vicar Apostolic. He was assisted by two priests and a deacon, Daniel Burke, George Corcoran and his brother Joseph. At the end of 1838 Griffith's team was strengthened by the arrival of additional clergy. The newcomers consisted of two priests, Devereux and Brownrigg, and a deacon, Thomas Murphy.

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42. J.B. Brain, (ed.), The Cape Diary of Bishop Patrick Raymond Griffith, (Mariannhill, 1988), p. 11.

43. J.E. Brady, The Catholic Church and South Africa, (Cape Town, 1951), p. 116.

By 1846 Bishop Griffith's vicariate had come to include vast areas of the Eastern Cape, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. This area proved to be too vast to administer effectively, consequently, when Griffith sent Thomas Murphy to the Vatican as his delegate, he requested the Pope to divide his vicariate into two separate dioceses and suggested that Devereux be appointed vicar apostolic of the eastern district. In July 1847 Pope Pius IX accepted this proposal and Aidan Devereux became the first Bishop of the Eastern Vicariate.[44] In December 1849 Devereux returned from England with a band of volunteers to assist him in the Eastern Vicariate. The group included James David Ricards a subdeacon, De Sany and Hoendervangers, who were both members of the Premonstratensian Order, Van Cauwelaert, a secular priest who brought two of his sisters to work in the missions, and Mother Gertrude with her six Assumption sisters who opened the Grahamstown Convent in January 1850.[45] With this increase in staff, Devereux was able to have resident priests in Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort as well as travelling

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44. J.E. Brady, Trekking for Souls (Natal, 1952), pp. 18-19.

45. Additional information on Notre Mère and her Assumption Sisters can be found in the thesis by M. Young, A Critical Edition of the Memoirs of Amelia De Henningsen (Notre Mère) (M.A., Rhodes University, 1984).

priests in the outer districts. Van Cauwelaert was dispatched to Graaff-Reinet, De Sany to Cradock and Hoendervangers to the districts of Bedford, Richmond and beyond. Devereux was nevertheless still concerned about the absence of a priest in Natal after it had been annexed by the British in 1843, thereafter becoming a district of the Cape Colony in 1844. In a letter to Propaganda he requested that a separate Natal vicariate be established and that either the Society of Jesus or the Congregation of the Holy Ghost be asked to undertake to work in Natal.[46] Devereux's suggestion did not bear immediate fruit and he took it upon himself to send Thomas Murphy on a visitation to Natal in 1850.[47] Murphy's six months witnessed the inception of the Catholic Church in the area, and in March 1852 the first group of Oblates of Mary Immaculate arrived in Natal under Bishop Allard and settled at Pietermaritzburg and Durban. Ten years later the Oblates crossed the Drakensberg into Lesotho and were joined in 1864 by the Holy Family Sisters. The Irish Dominican Nuns arrived in Cape Town in 1863 and in Port Elizabeth in 1867. Their instructions were to teach

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46. J.B. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond (Durban, 1975), pp. 14-15.

47. Ibid., p. 20.

the children of colonists, but they never limited their work to this group only. When diamonds were discovered near Hopetown, Fr Hidien from Bloemfontein went to Colesberg Koppie, Pniel and Kimberley, and when gold was found at Pilgrim's Rest in 1874, Fr Walshe was sent there. When Catholicism was tolerated in the South African Republic in 1870, priests were encouraged to visit Pretoria and Potchefstroom.[48] Only in 1877 when the SAR was annexed, did Catholic priests settle in the area.[49] The Catholic Church had finally become a permanent fixture in South Africa.

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48. Rev. Fr Agathangelus (ed.), The Catholic Church and Southern Africa (Cape Town, 1951), pp. 117-119.

49. J.B. Brain, Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond (Durban, 1975), p. 81.

CHAPTER 3

THE JESUITS IN THE EASTERN CAPE

3.1 ST AIDAN'S COLLEGE

By the time Devereux had been appointed the first bishop of the Eastern Vicariate, there were numerous Protestant mission stations stretching from the Cape to Natal, and as far north as Botswana where Robert Moffat of the London Missionary Society toiled. Undeterred by Protestant competition, and encouraged by his team of helpers, Devereux bought a piece of land in Grahamstown on which to build a school. The cottage on the plot was too small to be used for educational purposes, so he employed two Irish immigrants from Wexford to build his school.[1] James David Ricards,[2] by then an ordained priest,

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1. F.L. Coleman, St Aidan's College Grahamstown (Grahamstown, 1980), p. 6.

2. James David Ricards (1828-1893). He became the third Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Districts of the Cape Colony. He was instrumental in inviting the Jesuits to Southern Africa in addition to the King William's Town Dominican Sisters and Nazareth Sisters, Marist Brothers and Trappists. In

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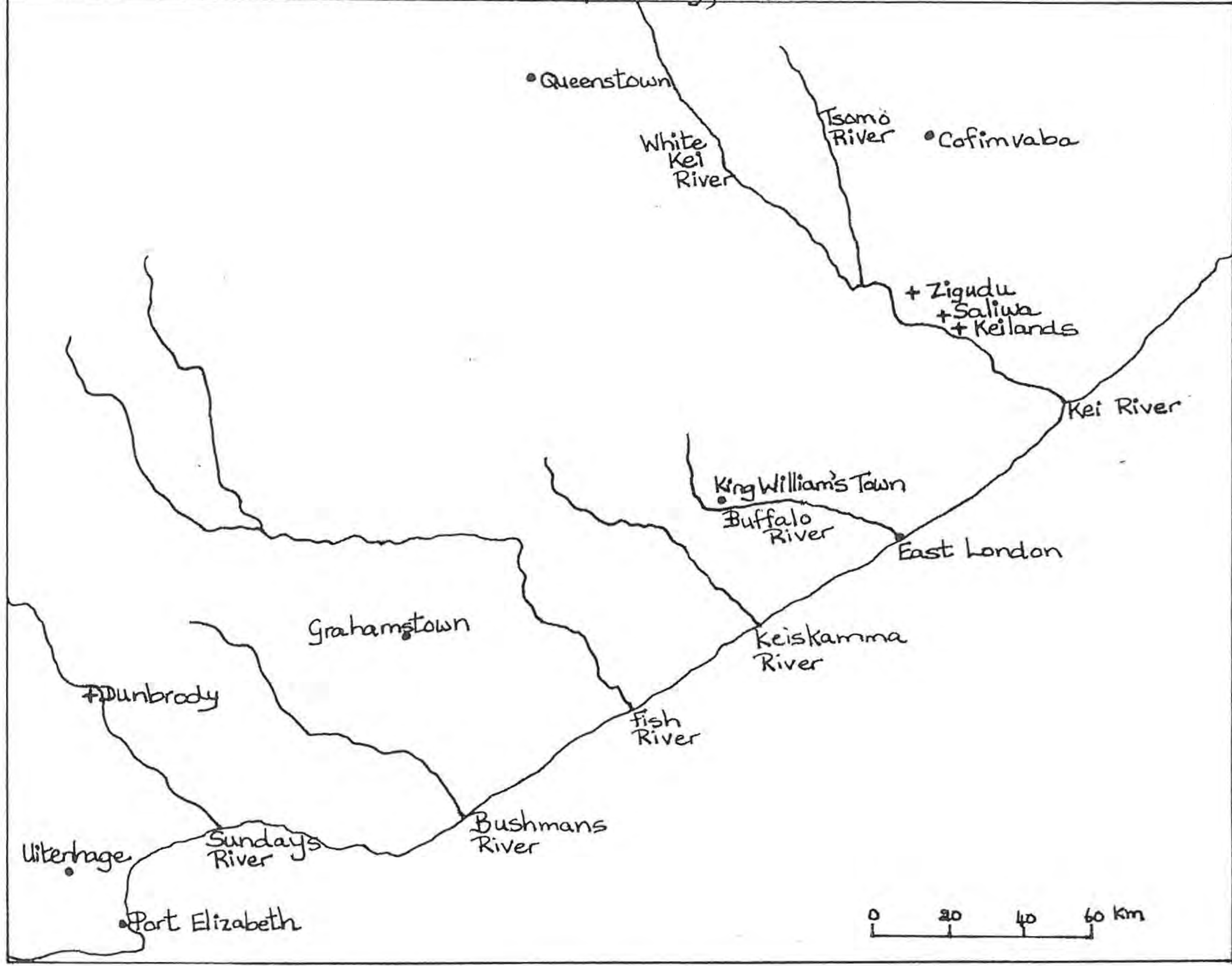
Stations of the Zambezi Mission in the Cape Colony, 1902.



was appointed Headmaster with Jerry O'Riley as his assistant.[3]

On 6 January 1875 James David Ricards, then Bishop of the Eastern Vicariate, left Port Elizabeth on board the Walmer Castle to find more priests for the territory under his spiritual guidance. He first approached the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in France, but the French Province had no English speaking personnel to spare, so the General of the Jesuits, Fr Beckx and his English Assistant, Fr Alfred Weld[4] were then consulted.

Weld who spearheaded later Jesuit activities in the region, became firm friends with Ricards. He was a man of diverse interests and great talent with a wide knowledge of geology, botany and mathematics. Weld was a Fellow of both the Royal Astronomical and Royal Geographical Societies. Ricards, like others who had dealings with the charismatic Weld, was impressed

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1850 he became the editor of the weekly newspaper The Colonist and in 1891 he founded the Catholic Magazine for South Africa. He wrote The Church and the Kaffir and Catholic Christianity and Modern Unbelief. A man of great vision and energy, he died of a stroke in November 1893. M. Young, A Critical Edition of the Memoirs of Amelia Henningsen (Notre Mère) (M.A., Rhodes University, 1984), p. 365.

3. F.L. Coleman, St Aidan's College Grahamstown (Grahamstown, 1980), p. 6.

4. See Appendix H.

by his far-sightedness, judgement and energy. On 29 May, Beckx took the decision to provide Jesuits for Ricards' school in addition to two Dutch Jesuits to be stationed at Graaff-Reinet. Beckx's decision to provide Jesuits was not unique, but part of a broader missionary strategy aimed at Africa. The Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome had in fact previously asked the General to supply personnel to start a mission in the African interior, but the General had refused, because he had not had the men.

On 20 September 1875 the English Provincial, Fr Gallway, and Ricards signed an agreement whereby "the Fathers of the Society are wanted in South Africa chiefly to conduct the College at Grahamstown, but that they may also be employed in giving retreats on missions, and in exercising the Sacred ministry during the times of vacation if in the judgement of the local Superior health and leisure permit of this."[5]

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5. J.A.L. 27/3/7/4, Agreement between Gallway and Ricards, 20 September 1875.

In the meanwhile, Ricards' school changed its name to "Little St Aidan's" and then "St Aidan's College". In a letter to Bishop Rooney in Cape Town, Ricards proposed "to send boys of good promise, carefully selected, to St. Aidan's as Boarders until they pass the Matric and then give them the soutane, place them under a Prefect of my own choice in a house on the Dunbrody property (a Jesuit mission station and farm), where they would attend for their Philosophy and Theology the schools of the Jesuit scholastics."[6] Ricards suggested that these boys would be educated at the expense of the Bishops in Southern Africa but that only the Rector of the College and Bishop would know of their special position. The boys would be accepted at reduced fees but they were to be treated like all the other boys at the College. This plan meant that St Aidan's never became an apostolic school, but instead, built up a reputation of being vocationum fecunda parens. Scholars not destined for the priesthood were given tuition to prepare them for entry to the learned professions, the Civil Service, Armed Forces and Universities. Unlike the Jesuit mission stations that were

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6. D.A.P.E: Letter of Ricards to Rooney, 21 June 1888.

later established, St Aidan's offered scholars an academic syllabus with classics and maths as the core, together with English, Dutch and Xhosa.[7]

The agreement signed between Gallway and Ricards also made provision for the purchase of the College, and two acres of land, for the sum of £500, but "if the Fathers at any time cease to have a College at Grahamstown, or the immediate vicinity they shall make over the College and land now purchased in a good state of repair to the Bishop for the same sum of five hundred Pounds plus compensation for any future outlay on the premises to be awarded by arbitration."[8] By the same agreement the mission of Graaff-Reinet was made over to the Jesuits who simultaneously became the owners of the house and land purchased for the Graaff-Reinet Mission, which extended to the towns of Murraysburg, Richmond, Aberdeen and Jansenville.

Ricards' plan for an ecclesiastical seminary in which any Catholic novices could be trained, was never put to the test, because the house of philosophy and theology at Dunbrody was

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7. F.L. Coleman, St Aidan's College Grahamstown, (Grahamstown, 1980), p. 32.

8. J.A.L. 27/3/7/4, Agreement between Gallway and Ricards, 20 September 1875.

given up a short while after its inception.[9]

When Ricards' party of missionaries, comprising teachers, nuns, priests and students, left Britain in September 1875, there were six Jesuits bound for St Aidan's - three Anglo-Saxon priests, John Bridge, a strict disciplinarian who was the first Rector of the College from 1876-1878, John Lea,[10] a devout and efficient teacher who succeeded Bridge as Rector from 1879-1884, and Augustus Law.[11] Law was the most amiable and good-natured of the group and was initially instructed to teach in the Preparatory class. A great lover of the outdoors, Law was also an enthusiastic amateur painter. The group of lay brothers included Thomas Bash, Antonio Sanguinetti and John Penny. The two remaining Dutch priests in the group were De Wit[12] and

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9. The closure of the Dunbrody scholasticate is discussed more fully in Chapter 3.4.

10. See Appendix H.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

Van Wersch[13] who were destined for Graaff-Reinet. De Wit was later appointed Visitor to the Zambesi, after Weld and the General had heard rumours of food shortages and starvation from one of the missionaries in the pioneer group travelling to Zambesia. De Wit established that the rumours were without foundation, and to the distress of the expedition leader, Depelchin, he stayed on in Zambesia as one of the missionaries. De Wit's position as Visitor was eventually terminated, to the relief of Depelchin, and he became an ordinary member of the Zambesi mission.

Weld viewed the Jesuit take-over of St Aidan's as giving the African Mission that Propaganda Fide was anxious to establish, "an existence and pointed out the direction which future development should take (in the interior) ... not too far from our basis (St Aidan's) ... from which the missioners might reasonably communicate ..."[14] When the Zambesi Mission, again manned by Jesuits, was established four years later in 1879, with Weld as its founder and first superior from 1883-1887, St Aidan's was the obvious choice as the headquarters of the

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13. Ibid.

14. A. Weld, "Mission of the Zambesi", L.N. XII, p. 147.

Mission. However, when the Zambesi Mission was partitioned in 1893, Bulawayo replaced St Aidan's, as the headquarters of the Mission.

Although Ricard's vision that St Aidan's would develop as a Catholic seminary for future priests and brothers, never materialised, though it remained the Order's intention until the closure of the College in December 1973, the role of the College was never restricted to education only. Jesuit influence extended far beyond the classroom. Between 1876 and 1973, fifty-eight priests and brothers found their lifelong vocation at the College, thereby influencing vast numbers of people through their educational, pastoral and missionary activities.

3.2 GRAHAMSTOWN TOWNSHIP

Those Jesuits who conducted St Aidan's College were also employed in giving retreats or missions, especially during school vacations when they assisted with parish work in the diocese. The staff of St Aidan's frequently made apostolic excursions into the outlying districts and evangelized among the Blacks in the Grahamstown Township.

This work was begun by Augustus Law and Peter Prestage but their College commitments made it impossible for them to do much. In 1882 when Prestage went to Tati, his place was taken by Francois van Wersch who had a school and chapel built in the township.[15] He was assisted by John Hornig who taught catechism in Xhosa and English. The following year saw Joseph Cordier in charge of the mission, and living in the township from 1884. In 1885 a new school was built to cater for the increasing number of Black and Coloured pupils. Capable of holding 300 pupils, the school served as a chapel on Sundays. In November 1885 the school was blessed by Ricards and opened two months later with one hundred pupils.[16]

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15. J.A.Z. 245/1, History of Grahamstown, Dunbrody and Graaff-Reinet, p. 113.

16. Ibid., pp. 114-115.

3.3 GRAAFF-REINET: 1875-1889

On 6 January 1875 Ricards left the Cape en route to Europe, to find priests and personnel for his vicariate. He returned with six Jesuits bound for St Aidans, and two for Graaff-Reinet, Anthony de Wit and Francois van Wersch, who purchased a house and land for their parochial work.

The mission, established in the heart of the Karoo, was the smallest and least successful of the Jesuit stations. In 1882 Fr Henry Depelchin reported to Weld that he liked "this little town and green valley, where numberless gardens on both banks of the Sunday river are covered with vines, fig trees and all kinds of luxuriant vegetation, so scarce on this ever dry soil of Africa. The town is neat, and the streets cut in straight lines are bordered by various trees which make the place look fresh and pleasant. All around high mountains of a grand and wild aspect are crowned with clouds and form on the clear blue sky a most picturesque horizon. It is in the midst of this beautiful valley we have our residence with a large garden extending from

one street to another and abounding in fruit trees and vineyards."[17]

The mission catered for the spiritual requirements of all races in a predominantly Dutch community. The largest congregation consisted of some 150-200 whites, mostly Irish with a sprinkling of German, English and Belgian Catholics. The greatest possibilities lay not with the British and foreign immigrants or with the Dutch Afrikaners, but rather with the Coloureds. Most of the Blacks in the area belonged to the Dutch Churches.[18]

A year after the arrival of De Wit and Van Wersch, a school for white pupils was built near the church in the garden of the mission house.[19] The school was poorly supported by Catholic families so the Jesuits took the decision to raise the standard of education to encourage Protestant families to send their children there as well.[20] A Catholic widow was appointed as

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17. J.A.L. C.K. Letter of Depelchin to Weld, 16 February 1882.
    See Appendix H.

18. J.A.Z. 244/1, Letter of Gordon to Weld, 30 January 1880.

19. J.A.Z. 245/1, <u>History of Grahamstown, Dunbrody and Graaff-Reinet</u>, p. 133.

20. J.A.Z. 244/1, Letter of Gordon to Weld, 30 January 1880.

teacher, and when the number of pupils rose, a second teacher was appointed. The school received a government subsidy and the government assisted with the expense of school furniture.[21] The school for the Blacks received a grant for a teacher to the value of £30 per annum, and the pupils and adults attended an evening school where they were catechised in Dutch. A Coloured school was also established, but progress was slow in the absence of a regular teacher.[22] In addition to the schools the Jesuits had seven outstations to tend to at Jansenville, Middelburg, Pearston, Aberdeen, Murraysburg and Richmond. Many took a days travelling to reach and the majority had only a handful of Catholics living in them.[23]

There was not nearly enough work to keep the two priests active and this prompted Depelchin to suggest to Weld that a scholasticate be established at Graaff-Reinet in preference to one in Grahamstown. In 1882 he wrote that he was of the "opinion that we could not choose a better spot than this to

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21. J.A.Z. 245/1, History of Grahamstown, Dunbrody and Graaff-Reinet, p. 134.

22. J.A.Z. 244/1, Letter of De Wit to Weld, 1 November 1879.

23. J.A.Z. 244/1, Letter of De Wit, no date.

establish our Scholasticate. We have here all the accommodation and comfort we can wish for. It would be well to buy another piece of ground to build upon and to enlarge the garden. Then the garden or farm under the management of a lay brother will produce abundance of fruits and vegetables for the Community, and besides the vineyard will give wine enough for the whole Zambesi Mission and even for all the priests of this Vicariate. So the expenses of such a house of study would cost very little. With £500 we can build all that is necessary for our purpose. Then FF. Jacobs, Blanca, Van Wersch would be sufficient to teach our students and at the same time to do all the work of the Parish. So Graaf-Reinet might soon become a Missionary Station worthy of our Society; whilst now, it is a miserable concern. Is it not a pity to keep here two able men, who get exceedingly tired of doing nothing?" He continued, rejecting the idea of having a Scolasticate at Grahamstown because "living in that town is too dear, and absorbs too much money. Besides in that city of Saints, as it is called there is no prospect of having ever a garden or a farm which saves so much expense, and makes a house comfortable and pleasant."[24]

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24. J.A.L. C.K. Letter of Depelchin to Weld, 16 February 1882.

The idea of a Scholasticate at Graaff-Reinet was never implemented because Dunbrody, the largest of the Jesuit mission stations in the Eastern Cape, was occupied in December 1882 and it was thought to be more suitable for a house of studies.

However, in 1885 a building adjoining the residence in the town was bought for the establishment of a noviciate, but lack of funds prevented the actual foundation until 1887,[25] when the house of probation was opened under Fr Alphonse Daignault[26] as Novice Master. Daignault was a Frenchman who had had considerable experience in Austria, Canada and America. He later became the superior of the Zambesi Mission and from 1908-1911 was the rector of the Jesuit scholasticate in Quebec. In February 1887 four novices journeyed to Graaff-Reinet under Fr Denis Corboy's[27] supervision. Corboy was from Ireland and spent ten years at the Cape where he had charge of St Brigid's Orphanage and Robben Island. Three of the novices came from

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25. J.A.Z. 245/1, History of Grahamstown, Dunbrody and Graaff-Reinet, p. 134.
    J.A.Z. 244/1, Historia Domus, 1887.

26. See Appendix H.

27. Ibid.

Holland, and one from Roehampton, but two of them deserted almost immediately. The first one to leave, when a boat called at Cape Town, was the novice from Roehampton. The second one disappeared in far more dramatic fashion. One evening Peter Bontemps[28] noticed that his fellow novice was absent from the meal. He went out to look for him but was unsuccessful. After the meal, a careful search of the grounds was organized. The missing man's cassock was found on the edge of the garden well, but there was no trace of the owner. The following morning the mystery of his whereabouts was cleared up. He[29] had leapt over the wall and sought asylum under the roof of the local Dutch Reformed minister who lived across the road.[30]

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28. He was the younger brother of Adolphe Bontemps at Vleischfontein.

29. Johanny does not mention the novice's name, but adds that he trained as a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape and served in Natal and the Transvaal for some fifty years.
J.A.Z. 244/1, Johanny's Notes.

30. J.A.Z. 244/1, Johanny's Notes.

The poorly situated Graaff-Reinet mission proved disastrous and in 1888 the number of White Catholics in the town diminished with the discovery of gold on the Reef and the following year the Jesuits transferred their responsibility for the mission back to the Diocese.[31] The noviciate had closed the previous year on 2 February when a new noviciate was opened at Dunbrody. Daignault was again appointed Superior and Master of Novices at Dunbrody. The first two novice scholastics at Dunbrody were John O'Conner and Robert Harvey, while Thomas Arnold and James Kelly became the first two novices lay brothers.[32]

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31. J.A.Z. 245/3, Prime's Notes.

32. J.A.Z. 244/1, Historia Domus.

3.4 DUNBRODY: 1882-1934

Dunbrody, the largest Jesuit mission station, was bought to fulfil several purposes. It was to serve as a scholasticate where young men in formation could get to know each other, receive a uniform training, and study a black language while making their philosophy, theology and tertianship.[33]

It had been learnt from bitter experience that the pioneers who had gone directly to the area of the Zambesi Mission had succumbed to sickness partly through not being acclimatized. On this point one must question the wisdom of the Jesuit General who tried to set up stations in Zambesia before establishing a base of operations in the Cape, apart from St Aidan's. Alfred Weld, the English Assistant to the General in Rome, judged that those who were to follow in the footsteps of the Zambesi pioneers, would have a much better chance of withstanding the climate of the Zambesi Mission, if, instead of going north directly after their arrival from Europe, they were to spend

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33. "A Devastating Flood at Dunbrody", Z.M.R. VII, pp. 57-59. For tertianship see Appendix A.

several years in the Cape where they could become accustomed to the heat and hardships of Africa.[34] Once the students had completed their noviciate at Dunbrody, they were to remain until, on the expiration of their third year of probation, they would be ready for mission work amongst the Blacks. Dunbrody also served as a training centre for young lay brothers of the Order who became skilled in a trade, thereby becoming valuable auxiliaries to the mission.[35] In addition to functioning as a scholasticate, Dunbrody was to serve as a sanatorium for worn-out missionaries in the Zambesi area who needed a change and a rest in a hot, dry, healthy climate near the coast.[36] The mission would provide St Aidan's College with farm produce, and assist with the laundry and mending of the College but this was later found impracticable, for the roads were in a poor condition and the perishables rotted in transit to Grahamstown.[37] The mission would serve as a religious house

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34. J. O'Neil, "Dunbrody Mission after Twenty Years", Z.M.R. II, p. 298.

35. Ibid.

36. J.A.Z., 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 2.

37. Ibid.

where priests could do retreats, and with good management it would form a foundation for the support of the Zambesi Mission and become a half-way house between England and the Zambesi.[38] It was hoped that Black, Hottentot and other Coloured people might choose to settle at Dunbrody where they would receive Roman Catholic instruction and be trained in agriculture and various crafts.[39] This was in line with Anglican mission policy from 1853-1871 whereby useful skills and habits of industry were taught on the stations.[40] To the missionary Christianity and idleness were incompatible therefore industry and religion grew simultaneously. In 1882 Weld expressed the desire "to separate them from the Pagan, and form a sort of reduction gradually bringing them together till we get a good village".[41] Weld was obviously aware of the success of the Paraguay reductions and wished to imitate this sort of Christian village wherein the priests were the spiritual leaders and administrators of the new converts. He envisaged that the

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38. J.A.Z., 235/1, Weld's Notes.

39. "Documents Relative to Dunbrody", L.N. XLVII, p. 280.

40. M.M. Goedhals, Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown Under the First Two Bishops 1853-1871 (M.A. Rhodes University, 1979), p. 79.

41. J.A.L. T/3, Letter of Weld, 31 August 1882.

priests would become the heads of Christian communities, responsible for teaching the Christian way of life and maintaining its discipline. The community would become self-supporting and all mission work would be centralized. Intent upon establishing mission villages, Weld took little notice of what his Anglican counterparts were doing. As early as 1863, Bishop Cotterill had maintained that missions were no longer places of shelter. Instead, he advocated that Christians were not to live grouped on mission ground, but to live scattered amongst their heathen and Christian fellowmen.[42] Weld was one of the only Jesuit Superiors of the Zambesi Mission who had sufficient vision to adopt a policy used by his predecessors in other countries. Regrettably, he was replaced as Superior in 1887, before he had the opportunity to see his policy entrenched and his goals achieved. Weld had his own reasons for establishing mission villages because in the 1800's the majority of Blacks in South Africa had lived in independent chiefdoms controlling their own land and labour power. Later, mainly through conquest many Blacks were deprived of their land but some continued occupying it, either as share-croppers,

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42. M.M. Goedhals, Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown Under the First Two Bishops 1853-1871 (M.A. Rhodes University, 1979), p. 146.

labour-tenants or squatters. After conquest or colonization, others lived in tribal areas called reserves, but these areas were always smaller than they had been before conquest. As the population increased, pressure on the diminished reserves became greater and large numbers of Blacks became landless. The reserves could not feed the population who in turn could not pay their taxes or debts.

In the 1860's and continuing for the next two decades, South Africa experienced a mineral revolution. In 1867 diamonds were discovered near the confluence of the Orange and Vaal Rivers followed in 1886 by gold on the Witwatersrand. With these discoveries, labour recruiting agencies scrambled for unskilled labour to work on the mines. The men in the reserves became migrant labourers, compelled to make a living staying in compounds on the mines and eventually returning to the reserves with cash, guns and consumer goods. The discoveries catapulted South Africa from a slumbering subsistence economy into a fast-growing capitalist economy, resulting in the disintegration of tribal and family life, and the collapse of the Black chief's power. What emerged was a large, landless, frequently unstable urban proletariat, which was ripe for conversion.

The Dunbrody Estate consisted of two quitrent farms of some 3 500 morgen, in the heart of the Sunday's River Irrigation District. The first farm Klein Gras Rug, of 1 500 morgen,[43] was on the right bank of the river, but some distance from it.[44] The second farm, Geelhoutboom, of 1 900 morgen straddled the Sunday's River[45] which ran right across the property from west to east, cutting it into two areas. The White River from the north and the Bezuidenhout River from the south west flowed into the Sunday's River on the mission, but these two rivers seldom flowed and then only for a short time.[46] The Estate was conveniently situated about forty kilometres from the coast, between the two great branches of the Midland railway of the Cape Colony.[47] The Midland station,

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43. J.A.Z. 236/3, The Dunbrody Mission, April 1928.
44. J.A.Z. 234, Description of the Dunbrody Estate, 23 May 1927.
45. J.A.Z. 236/3, The Dunbrody Mission, April 1928.
46. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 1.
47. J.A.Z. 234, Description of the Dunbrody Estate, 23 May 1927.

Blue Cliff[48] was 10 kilometres from the Estate,[49] while the north eastern station was Coerney,[50] some nineteen kilometres from Dunbrody.[51] The mission thus commanded not only the principal markets of the Colony, but was within easy reach of all the chief centres of the population of the Eastern Cape. The soil on the mission was deep and rich but the climate umpredictable. Rainfall was uncertain, the sun damaged crops and grass alike, and the rivers would shrink to a series of pools, which after heavy rains became raging torrents, tearing up fields and orchards planted on the river banks.[52]

In 1879 Bishop Ricards had purchased these two farms, Geelhoutboom and Klein Gras Rug, to establish a Catholic Mission for Blacks[53] who would be taught habits of work and industry

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48. Schermbrücker, et al., "A Visit to Dunbrody Abbey", L.N. XVIII, p. 324.
49. "Documents Relative to Dunbrody", L.N. XLVII, p. 279.
50. Schermbrücker, et al., "A Visit to Dunbrody Abbey", L.N. XVIII, p. 324.
51. "Documents Relative to Dunbrody", L.N. XLVII, p. 279.
52. "A Devastating Flood at Dunbrody", Z.M.R. VII, pp. 57-59.
53. D.A.P.E. Eastern Province Herald, 23 May 1879.

while simultaneously receiving instruction in the faith. In September of 1879 Ricards journeyed to Europe to try to persuade a group of Trappist monks to settle on his mission. At the Chapter of the Trappist Order, the Abbot of Sept Fons informed Ricards that the Chapter had unanimously decided in favour of sending Trappists to his vicariate and that Prior Franz Pfanner of Bosnia would accompany the group as superior.[54] Ricards was delighted with Pfanner's offer to head the group and wrote "that Prior Franz is one in ten thousand. He needs no architect. Knows every trade - a man of iron - the most mortified of them all - no dressing for his salad - plainer food than the plainest sanctioned by the rule - simple as a child. About 45 I should think -"[55] Ricards promised to pay the passage of the monks and to provide on loan the agricultural machinery for the settlement and to feed the community at Dunbrody until they had cultivated the land. The two farms

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54. A.A. Weiswurm, The Dunbrody Episode (Mariannhill, 1975), Letter of Ricards to Sister Gertrude, 17 September 1879.

55. Francis Pfanner (1825-1909) Pfanner was the founder of Mariannhill monastery and several other mission stations in Natal. In his time his followers were Trappists. The congregation of Mariannhill Missionaries (CMM) came into existence in 1909 under Father Gerard Wolpert - Pfanner had stopped being abbot in 1892 and had gone into voluntary exile at Emaus, East Griqualand. The Precious Blood Sisters were founded in 1885 when Pfanner accepted five mission helpers from Germany and gave them a red habit.

which Ricards had bought for £5 000 from Kirkwood, were now renamed Dunbrody Abbey after an abbey erected by the Cistercians in Wexford, Ireland, which was where Ricards had been born and lived before he set out for the Cape in 1849. Ricards planned to establish two Trappist Monasteries; one in the Cape, the other "on the Frontier among the Tambookie Kaffirs".[56]

On 3 July 1880 Ricards and the Trappists left Dartmouth on the Duart Castle bound for Cape Town.[57] The Trappists spent a little over two years at Dunbrody, and during this period, Ricards' favourable opinion of Pfanner changed dramatically. The Prior believed the Trappists should build a suitable monastery first, during which time their bills for food and equipment would be met by the vicariate, but Ricards wanted the monks to cultivate the soil until they could feed themselves, then he planned to transfer the property to them and they could build at their own expense. A second bone of contention involved a £2 000 loan. One of the conditions attached to Pfanner's heading the group of Trappists was that Ricards would lend him £2 000 to pay pressing debts in Bosnia. However, the

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56. D.A.P.E. Circular Letter by Ricards to English and Irish Bishops, no date.

57. D.A.P.E. Port Elizabeth Advertiser, 31 July 1880.

Prior contended afterwards that this advance was a gift.[58] In the meanwhile, the Trappists applied to Bishop Charles Jolivet, a Breton priest who was appointed second Vicar Apostolic of Natal in 1874, to settle in his vicariate. Ricards was prepared to consent to the Trappists settling in the Vicariate of Natal, provided "that all the Trappists should leave my Vicariate. That Prior Franz should pay at once the £2 000, which I lent him to enable him to pay his debts in Maria Stern, Bosnia. That Bp. Jolivet should be [stand] security for the payment to me of $3 000 within seven years with interest at 5½% per annum, to be paid yearly - this amount of £3 000 being something towards repaying me for the large amount, considerably over £3 500 which I had paid for the Trappists since their arrival in my Vicariate."[59]

A fortnight later Ricards wrote in his Letter Copy Book that he "never meant the Bishop to be responsible for the £2 000. Hence I allow the Trappists to leave my Vicariate and consent to their settling in the Vicariate of Natal without asking the Bishop to

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58. A. Wilmot, <u>The Life and Times of the Right Rev. James David Ricards</u> (Cape Town, 1908), p. 134.

59. A.A. Weiswurm, <u>The Dunbrody Episode</u> (Mariannhill, 1975), Letter of Ricards to Fr Joseph, 16 August 1882.

undertake any pecuniary responsiblity."[60] Determined to receive payment of the £2 000 Ricards wrote to Fr Joseph, Sub-Prior at Dunbrody, explaining that with "regards the £2 000 which the Prior owes me, this will be left to the proper authority to determine whether or not it is a just claim on my part. If it is determined by the authority that the Prior owes me the money, he will of course pay it; otherwise it will be my painful duty to lay the matter before the Propaganda ..."[61] In the meantime Ricards approached Propaganda with a view to obtaining financial assistance for his vicariate because of the expense, £5 797,[62] of establishing the Trappists at Dunbrody. Propaganda was sympathetic but the Cardinal Prefect explained that "I cannot come to your assistance, on account of the present financial condition of the Sacred Congregation, which forbids me incurring any great expenses. But I hope that the charity of the faithful will not leave you helpless; and that you will find some good friends who will take pity on your

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60. Ibid., Letter Copy Book III, 1 September 1882.

61. Ibid., 5 September 1882.

62. Ibid., Chronicon, 30 June 1888.

mission, and assist you generously in your necessity."[63] Ricards was, like the Jesuits in later years, forced to rely on private contributions, collections, bazaars, parishioners and the Cape Government for funds that were not forthcoming from the mission funding societies in existence at the time. Eventually, in 1891 Ricards received news that the "decision of the General Congregation is that the Vicar General of the Trappists pay your Lordship £1 000 within a month from the date of publication of the decision, and the remainder of the money as proposed by yourself in your letter of May last year. If the £1 000 are not paid you within the month the Congregation reverts to the judgment pronounced in June 1889 and the Trappists will be made to pay the original sum with interest within the period of the next five months, under pain of the severest canonical censures."[64]

The other chief reason why the Trappists abandoned Dunbrody was because of drought. In the first year good rains fell, but the Trappists, unacquainted with the erratic climatic conditions in the valley failed to plant crops that would carry them over a

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63. Ibid., Letter of Simeoni to Ricards, 26 June 1886.

64. Ibid., Letter of Ricards to Fagan, 2 March 1891.

lean year. Pfanner went ahead with his programme of constructing buildings and roads, with Ricards supplying the money but in the second year, Ricards was short of funds, and the Trappists, in the face of severe drought had no reserves of food or sufficient water for irrigation.[65] Thus, when Jolivet consented to the Trappists moving to his vicariate, the first group left Dunbrody on 22 November 1882 followed by the second group on 9 December.[66]

By this time Ricards was short of money and to keep the diocese out of the bankruptcy court, Weld bought Dunbrody from him for the Jesuits for £5 000, the same price as the Bishop had paid for it.[67]

On 9 December 1882, Francois van Wersch from the Graaff-Reinet Mission, left Grahamstown to take occupation of the mission with

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65. J. Meiring, Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), p. 30.

66. A. Balling, Abbot Francis Pfanner (1825-1905) (Marriannhill, 1980), pp. 53-54.

67. J.A.Z. 238/2, Rome Statement, 1924.

two lay brothers, Thomas Curry[68] and Anthony Sanguinetti.[69] Sanguinetti had a delicate constitution and was an unexpected choice for taking occupation of Dunbrody. There is no evidence that he ever learnt a trade, except that of clockmaking, but though he did his work in his own, not very efficient way, it was always done with cheerful alacrity. Curry was quite opposite in temperament to Sanguinetti. A hard-working, silent man, Curry steadily pursued ostrich farming at Dunbrody, an occupation that was not without its dangers. On one occasion he barely escaped the claws of a savage cock by throwing himself under a mimosa bush, but a thorn so severely injured one of his eyes that he lost the sight of it.

The chances of developing the mission into a viable economic proposition were excellent. There was no mortgage bond, therefore no interest to pay, and Weld and coadjutors were full of energy and enthusiasm for the venture. If water supplies proved sufficient and they made a profit in farming the estate, they would be able to support themselves and some Black families living on the mission.

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68. See Appendix H.

69. Ibid.

When the first Jesuits arrived at Dunbrody, there were only one or two Black and Coloured families residing on the property. All newcomers on the estate were asked if they were willing to attend religious instruction classes and to send children who were old enough, to school. In return, the Black settlers had to sacrifice such practices as witchcraft, and if the practice persisted, they were ordered to leave the farm. Similarly, after the 1857 cattle killing, Bishop Cotterill decided that Anglican missions should remain centres of influence and that the Black population should be encouraged to settle near them. At the Anglican Mission of St Marks at Cofimvaba, about fifty families were to be encouraged to settle on the mission farm. They too were expected to do agricultural work, build huts, place themselves under Christian instruction, send their children to school and abstain from heathen practices.[70] The Blacks and Coloureds soon realised that there were advantages in living on the Dunbrody estate. The head of the family was given a residential site and land to till, they did not have to pay hut tax, they were permitted to keep cattle and goats that could be pastured for a small rent, employment was offered on the

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70. M.M. Goedhals, Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown Under the First Two Bishops 1853-1871 (M.A. Rhodes University, 1979), p. 39.

mission to those who desired it, and the children were looked after, taught and fed at the expense of the Jesuits. The mission women earned one shilling per 5-day week and their breakfast. This was slightly less than the men, who received from one pound five shillings to one pound ten shillings per month. The women's chores included the herding and milking of cows, tending the ostriches, plucking ostrich feathers, and making cheese and butter. It was not only Blacks who were attracted to the mission stations, but the Coloureds as well. Dunbrody had a large Coloured community that had a basic knowledge of Christianity before settling on the mission. Some had previously lived on Protestant mission stations and the Coloureds were generally much easier to convert as they were not expected to reject polygamy or bride price as these were not elements of their culture. Two of the most colourful and outstanding Christians were members of the Coloured community on the farm. The first Jesuit convert was Peter Windvogel who arrived at Dunbrody shortly after the Society had taken over the property from the Trappists. For some time he would not hear of being instructed, but little by little his opposition gave way and early in 1885 he was baptised. He was married five times and "His present partner in life is, like himself, far advanced in years. They were married two or three years ago, shortly after the demise of Mrs Windvogel Number Four, and they live very happily together. If she goes first it is as likely as not

that the old man will try to find a Number Six."[71] Peter's son-in-law was a devout, trustworthy shoemaker and hunter who had a most peculiar appearance, for, "some eight or nine years ago, while he was returning one day from the station in charge of a loaded waggon he managed to slip and fall, and one of the front wheels of the vehicle passed over his head. The man must have a marvellous hard cranium, since, so far from his skull being crushed by the heavy weight, he was out and about a few short weeks after the accident, just as if nothing had happened."[72]

The main source of Dunbrody's income came from the farm together with the vineyard and garden. From the very first it was the intention of the authorities that the mission should be self-supporting, and to this end the farm was stocked with cattle and ostriches, and farming operations were vigorously begun. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith never sent the Zambesi Mission funds for the period under review. This placed a severe strain on the Mission which had to rely almost

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71 J.A.Z. "The Hottentot Congregation of Dunbrody", Z.M.R. II, pp. 108-110.

72. Ibid.

exclusively upon the generosity of individuals to exist. Donations from the Zambesi Mission, and occasionally gold sovereigns, made their way south, but the Cape and Transvaal stations relied on other sources of income. In each instance farm land was rented to Black and Coloured settlers and each station sold products such as wheat, fruit, ostrich feathers or vegetables to swell the coffers. The superiors of the stations had the inenviable task of trying to balance income against high expenditure, particularly in times of severe drought or flooding. Expenses incurred usually included monthly provisions and wages, alter wine, clothing, travelling expenses, messages, furniture and tools, medicine, mortgages, repairs to existing buildings and the construction of new ones.

The Dunbrody cattle and ostriches were placed under the charge of Thomas Arnold, an ex-member of the Cape Mounted Police from Somerset West, whose career in the force had been cut short when he allowed a prisoner to escape from his custody by trusting him too much.[73] Dunbrody was also stocked with pigs, poultry and turkeys, and the estate initially sent supplies of dairy

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73. He had arrested a Black accused of murder, and after putting on the handcuffs, was taking him across country to

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produce, meat and vegetables to St Aidan's.[74] In the early days the gardener was Bro. Frances Ostrowski[75] but when he left for Chishawasha, Bro. John Baptist Breiten,[76] a German, took his place. When Breiten joined the Zambesi Mission he arrived at Chishawasha with a temperature of 104° and a bout of blackwater fever. He was then sent to recuperate at Dunbrody where he became the gardener and wine maker. The mission grew mealies to help support the settler families, as well as oats, barley and lucerne for the ostriches. Several fruit tree orchards were planted and the Jesuits successfully made beer

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Grahamstown. They had a long way to go and the day was hot. After proceeding some kilometres, and still far from town, the Black complained that the handcuffs were galling his wrists and he begged his captor to remove them. The prisoner at once whipped out a knife, stabbed Arnold viciously, and made his escape. The authorities declared that his vocation was not that of a policeman and he was dismissed. Soon after that, Thomas Arnold got to know Weld and put himself under instruction and joined the Jesuits in April 1886.

74. Schermbrücker, et al., "A Visit to Dunbrody Abbey", L.N. XVIII, pp. 323-324.

75. See Appendix H.

76. Ibid.

from prickly pears.[77] These agricultural successes can be attributed to Breiten who was an excellent cook and gardener. He grew such good potatoes while he was at Chishawasha, that whenever Cecil Rhodes was in Salisbury, he sent for some. He was ably assisted by Bro. Edward de Smedt,[78] the Belgian wine maker and tailor at Dunbrody who had been trained at the Groot Constantia government farm.[79] The mission had more than 5 000 vines under cultivation and he supplied the other Jesuit stations with Dunbrody wine. Surplus wine and brandy, part of the income of Dunbrody, was exported to England.[80] De Smedt's death on 16 August 1904 was a great loss to the Dunbrody community, and he was succeeded by Bro. Patrick Caulfield,[81] an ex-fireman on the Midland railway, who was the cook at Dunbrody. He produced a palatable wine and Cape brandy which he always supplied to North-bound travellers.

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77. J.A.Z. 234, Anonymous Notes, 1879-1925.

78. See Appendix H.

79. A wine producing farm it became the home of Simon van der Stel, Governor of the Cape from 1679-1699.
"Documents Relative to Dunbrody", L.N. XLVII, p. 285.

80. J.A.Z. 234, Anonymous Notes, 228.

81. See Appendix H.

A suprising amount of farming was achieved, despite a decade of severe drought, outbreaks of rinderpest and invading locust swarms. As soon as the rain, when it eventually did fall, had softened the earth so as to let the ploughshare in, the brothers lost no time in turning up the soil, and scattering the seed, but as the summer heat grew in intensity the promised harvest withered and died. The years 1894 and 1895 brought forth utter crop failures and in 1896 when the Government Produce Inspector arrived at the mission to procure statistical information for the Board of Agriculture, he was unable to leave with too many statistics. Having taken down the name and address of the mission, the Inspector proceeded to ask questions about the farm during 1895 and 1896. "How many horses had you at the beginning of the year? - how many now?" "We started with seven; three died."

"What did they die of?" "Drought."

"How many donkeys?" "... all are living; they are tough customers."

"How many head of cattle?" "Three hundred was our number, but 130 died."

"What was the sickness?" "Drought."

"Pigs, goats and so forth?" "We disposed of all in time."

"Of the 7,000 acres, how many have you under cultivation?"
"About twenty for private use, and fifty for the natives."
"And you sowed?" "One bag."
"How was that?" "Drought, locusts, etc." ...
"You have vines I perceive, how many?" "6000."
"Have you lost any?" "Yes, over 2000."
"Had you any grapes?" "Yes, enough to make three casks of wine."
"Apple trees?" "Out of 500 drought subtracted over 200."[82]

The repeated failure of crops was a very serious drawback to missionary work but the economic struggles of Dunbrody were not unique to them only. Economic failure meant that the mission had to support nearly every family by providing work for the men and boys and assisting with alms those who were unable to do anything for a livelihood. It meant, too, that any notable increase in the number of families settled at Dunbrody was out of the question for they had as many employed as they could afford to pay. It also resulted in the mission losing some of the very best young men, who went away to the towns in search of higher wages than the mission could offer.

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82. Ibid., p. 345.

Locust swarms harassed the missionaries and likewise tested their equanimity, leaving in their wake, a "seared wilderness of leafless limbs and withered roots ... Not a leaf on the shrubs or trees, not a blade of grass on the broad veldt, ... All - all has been devoured!"[83] Another plague remained to test the farmers. Rinderpest broke out in 1896 but nothing could check its progress. "We turned to Him who "gives aid in a seasonable time," and on St. Ignatious day blessed all the Dunbrody stock. A little later we applied Edington's system of inoculation. Every beast was prostrated, and knowing farmers declared the herd doomed. One by one they fell till twenty-five were buried, then all the rest took the better turn and in a short time our stock was in the pink of condition; whereas the natives, after debating on and finally voting against the expediency of following our example had to stand by and see their beasts sicken and die till hardly one of the 200 odd was left to walk the veldt."[84]

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83. Ibid., p. 346.

84. Ibid., p. 348.

Grain and stock farming proved almost impossible during the drought years and it was for this reason that the period 1909-1910 witnessed the migration of ostrich farmers in the Oudtshoorn district to the Sunday's River Valley, where the industry flourished and quick fortunes were made. Larger land owners bought up the farms of small owners and land prices rocketed when property became scarce. Those farmers who found it impossible to extend their own farms, began to cast about for some other area suitable for ostrich farming.[85] Their first choice was the Sunday's River Valley, where the depth of the soil and the abundance of water favoured the growing of lucerne, the staple food of ostriches. After 1900, Dunbrody's chief source of income was from the sale of ostrich feathers, but in the 1914 slump, thousands of birds originally bought at £10 and £30 a piece were sold in the Sunday's River Valley for 2s.6d. and turned into biltong which was then forwarded to Allied soldiers fighting on the front in World War I.[86]

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85. J. Meiring, Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), pp. 51-54.

86. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 9.

The collapse of the ostrich industry came in 1914 with the threat of a European war, but there were other causes besides the war which had restricted the use of luxury articles. The Report of the Ostrich Feather Commission gave three other reasons: the change in women's fashions; the support given to the anti-plumage agitators; and overproduction of feathers.[87]

As the ostrich feather industry declined, farmers supported storage projects suitable for the types of farming which they were driven to pursue after the collapse of the industry. Flood irrigation systems which had been suitable for ostrich farming purposes were now found wanting. Fortunately, the Jesuits had had the foresight to diversify in various farming activities. Although they had incurred losses with the collapse of the ostrich feather industry, they were able to continue with agriculture and fruit farming, and it was from this source that the Jesuits drew profits which were used to establish the farm and construct the mission buildings, schools and boarding establishments.

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87. J. Meiring, Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), pp. 51-53.

The Jesuits established two mixed schools for local Black and Coloured settler children. The building clay obtained from the further side of the Sunday's River was also used to enlarge the priests' chapel, and build a house for the shopkeeper Mr Powels,[88] as well as a church and an observatory. In the latter the Jesuits kept their meteorological instruments for measuring temperature, humidity, rainfall and wind velocity. Weld, an ardent astronomer even considered printing and publishing a magazine named the Dunbrody Scientist, but this was never accomplished.[89]

In 1892 a visitor to Dunbrody reported that "The best building is, as it should be, the Church, which is a neat brick structure covered with corrugated iron, and capable of containing several hundred people. Inside there is a statue of our Saviour above the high altar, and on each side a most beautiful and striking oleograph. ... Proceeding from the Church we enter a square, on three sides of which there are buildings - all plain, modest and suitable - refectory, recreation room, bedrooms, &c., &c. The library comprises a most valuable collection of books ...

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88. Z.M.R. 11, p. 486.

89. Schermbrücker, et al., "A Visit to Dunbrody Abbey", L.N. XVIII, p. 322-323.

We must pause in the quadrangle to learn that under our feet is an immense tank in which is collected the rain-water from all the roofing. In front is a large reservoir, into which the water of the Witte River is pumped and thence sent out for irrigation purposes. Having passed through the kitchen and examined the great iron stove made on the premises, we admire the huge brick oven in which the bread of the establishment is baked, and pass below to tunnels well bricked and ventilated, which form cool and spacious cellars for butter, butter-making, and storage, ... "[90] Other buildings on the estate included the bakery, smithy, apartments of the students and Jesuit Professors,[91] and two hostels for boys and girls who were boarders and had come to Dunbrody from all over South Africa and Zambesia.

The day boys and girls were recruited from the farms[92] and they, like the boarders, orphans and neglected children at the schools were fed, clothed and trained entirely at the expense of

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90. S.A.C.M. II, March 1892, p. 118.

91. Schermbrücker, et. al., "A Visit to Dunbrody Abbey", L.N. XVIII, pp. 320-321.

92. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 6.

the Jesuits.[93] From 1902 onwards, some of the pupils were indentured to the Jesuits in an attempt to prevent them leaving the mission at an early age to earn money. Most pupils passed standard three between the ages of twelve and fourteen, and with their school course completed, the parents withdrew them from the Jesuits' care.[94] To prevent this occurring the Magistrate of the town where the children came from had to see that a formal agreement was signed by the parent or guardian of the child, in which they agreed to leave the child with the mission until the age of eighteen.[95] The Jesuits' reasoned that when the pupils left the sheltered environment of the mission, they would be older and better equipped to withstand undesirable influences of unconverted Blacks. There was a further need for caution in the light of the manner in which the children of contract labourers on farms could be used as hostages to retain the services of contract labourers.

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93. J.A.Z. 236/2, The Dunbrody Mission, April 1928.

94. J. O'Neil, "Dunbrody Mission after Twenty Years", Z.M.R. II, pp. 301-302.

95. Ibid., p. 302.

A small school for the boys was started in 1883 and was supervised by one of the Jesuit students at Dunbrody. Before 1890 the boys had been taught and lodged in sheds and outhouses, but when the scholastics left, their quarters were turned into classrooms. Later in 1900 Fr Henry Gillet,[96] who had come to Dunbrody after working in British Honduras, had sleeping quarters built for them.[97] The emphasis at Dunbrody was to train pupils as artisans rather than as academics. On the Paraguay reductions the boys were instructed in reading and writing, the girls in spinning and needlework.[98] Likewise, at Dunbrody there was no balance between intellectual and skills training. Unlike St Aidan's, the pupils wrote no public exams and the highest standard passed was standard four. The boys, segregated from the girls, were trained in carpentry, tailoring, building, blacksmithing[99] and engineering.[100] Agriculture was the principal work taught to the boys, in addition to the

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96. See Appendix H.

97. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 5.

98. P. Caraman, The Lost Paradise (London, 1975), p. 141.

99. Z.M.R. II, p. 527.

100. Schermbrücker, et. al., "A Visit to Dunbrody Abbey", L.N. XVIII, p. 321.

three R's, and each day followed a strict routine. "At 6 a.m., mass is said, at which all are present - breakfast follows; and from 7 to 7.30 a.m., there is preparation of lessons, and from 7.30 to 8 a.m., religious instruction; 8 to 12, usual school studies, with an interval of half an hour at 10 o'clock; from noon to 2.30 p.m., there is time for dinner and recreation. Then the rest of the day is spent in the fields or in the workshops. Of course by far the larger portion are in the former, and all species of Colonial agricultural farming are thus learnt. From 6 to 6.45 p.m. there is study, then the Rosary is said, and this is followed by supper. There is recreation afterwards until 8.15 p.m., when the night prayers are repeated and the bell at 9 p.m. is the signal for retirement."[101]

At approximately the same time Anglican mission policy likewise concentrated on reading, writing and arithmetic which were taught at their mission schools. By 1870 most Black pupils had been taught to read the vernacular, with smaller numbers learning to read English. Music was a popular subject of all

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101. S.A.C.M. II, March 1892, p. 119.

pupils, while more advanced pupils were given the opportunity of learning English grammar and geography.[102] Similarly, instruction at Dunbrody was in the vernacular only.

The boys, like the girls were educated at the expense of the mission but a Government grant of £90[103] was secured for both schools. This placed an obligation on the schools to allow government inspectors to make annual visits.[104] In terms of Act 13 of 1865, also known as the Education Act, mission schools fell under Order B which entitled them to government aid, provided certain conditions were met. Government grants were to be spent on teachers' salaries only; a government inspector could visit the school that had to have a teaching day of a minimum of four hours; Religious Instruction was not compulsory; education should as far as possible be in English;

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102. M.M. Goedhals, Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown Under the First Two Bishops 1853-1871 (M.A. Rhodes University, 1979), p. 179.

103. "Dunbrody Mission 1915-1917", L.N. XXXVI, p. 9.

104. "Documents Relative to Dunbrody", L.N. XLVII, p. 281.

suitable buildings had to be provided and statistical returns were to be furnished as required.[105]

The boys were instructed by priests and brothers with widely divergent origins, interests and home languages. Bro. John Göll,[106] a German from Mannheim, had served his apprenticeship as a carpenter and it was this trade which he taught. In 1890 Fr Joseph Moreau,[107] a Belgian, arrived at Dunbrody to teach and to prepare the pupils for the annual government inspection. He was replaced four years later by a Frenchman, Fr John Manssy,[108] who was in charge of the boys for the next twenty-four years. At the end of 1896 the boys' school was given into the charge of Fr John Etterle.[109] He was a strict disciplinarian with whom no liberty could be taken. He arrived from Belgium and went to Dunbrody where he completed his

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105. M.M. Goedhals, Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown Under the First Two Bishops 1853-1871 (M.A. Rhodes University, 1979), p. 90.

106. See Appendix H.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

philosophical studies. He was then dispatched to Caia on the Zambesi. His presence was plainly resented by the chief and his people, but Etterle was determined to stay on. The unwelcome neighbour was eventually dislodged when a peace offering of a basket of pawpaws was sent to Etterle. The missionary ate some of the fruit, not suspecting treachery, and felt unwell the next day. He died the day after, and the medical officer at Mopea who performed the post-mortem declared that his death had been due to poisoning. Etterle's place at Dunbrody was taken by the Frenchman John Baptist Loubière,[110] who also died as a result of foul play. In 1889 Loubière left Dunbrody to complete his theology in Belgium but in 1893 he set sail for the Mission of Milange, north-north-west of Quelimane. A few weeks after Loubière's departure a party of Blacks arrived at the Governor's Residence at Quelimane with the body of a white man in an advanced state of decomposition. The Governor was unable to elicit any coherent explanation from the porters and had the body buried. Afterwards, one of the porters handed the Governor a letter of Innocent Perrodin, brother of Peter Perrodin who was later committed to an asylum in Grahamstown. The Governor immediately had the body exhumed and it was identified by the

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110. J. O'Neil, "Dunbrody Mission after Twenty Years", Z.M.R. II, p. 300.

Superior of the Portuguese Missions as that of Perrodin. A priest was dispatched from Quelimane along the road taken by Perrodin and Loubière, and he learned from the Blacks that Loubière had died first and that Perrodin had buried him before he himself had succumbed. Loubière's grave was eventually found and a handsome cross was erected over it.

Loubière was replaced by the Belgian, Fr Edmund Gisler[111] who was in charge of the schoolboys for fifteen years, until he was replaced by Bro. Thomas Arnold[112] who was born in 1860 at Somerset West and who entered the noviciate at Graaff-Reinet in 1886. He was employed as both school-master and tailor at Dunbrody.

The girls' convent was started by a German nun Sr Anne Schultz,[113] in October 1885, in a hut which was situated across the White River, one kilometre from the mission

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111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.

113. Sister Anne spent thirty-three years at the girls' school and died at the age of sixty-four from the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918 in which at least 140 000 South Africans died.
J.A.Z. 234, Anonymous Notes 22B.

buildings.[114] It was never a real convent, rather a boarding school for Coloured and Black girls, run by the blood sisters, Sisters Anne and Rose[115] but owned by the Jesuits. Dunbrody suffered a blow in 1895 when two of their women staff left. Miss Nigg[116] the sister of Theodore Nigg who was a pioneer on the Zambesi Mission, had assisted Sr Anne, but she left to enter the Trappist convent at Mariannhill. Miss O'Reilly then left the outschool of the mission[117] which had been built for pupils who lived too far away from the mission to attend its school.[118]

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114. "Documents Relative to Dunbrody", L.N. XLVII, p. 281.

115. Rose joined her sister in 1889. When the Convent closed, she left for Rhodesia and was received by the Dominican nuns. She was buried at Chishawasha cemetery among the Dominican Sisters. There is no information about the community to which Sisters Anne and Rose belonged, neither is there any record of a superior who would have guided and assisted them.

116. Miss Nigg left Dunbrody in September 1895 for Natal where she entered the Sisterhood as Mary Polycarp. The Sisters of the Precious Blood formally took this name and were recognised as a religious congregation only in 1901, six years after Miss Nigg had joined the Order. She died at Mariannhill in 1908.
Z.M.R. II, p. 142.
J.A.Z. Letter of Lallemand to Johanny, 27 August 1930.

117. H. Gillet, "The Girls' School at Dunbrody", Z.M.R. II, p. 142.

118. J.A.Z. 245/1, History of Grahamstown, Dunbrody and Graaff-Reinet, p. 130.

In 1891 an addition to the existing brick building of the school was completed in which the schoolgirls lodged with their teachers,[119] and in 1902 the double-storeyed girls' school was completed. It was designed by Fr Henry Gillet and built by Bro. Henry Corten[120] who spent the remainder of his life at Dunbrody. A pious, humble and obedient Belgian, he had fully mastered the trades of carpenter, wheelwright, blacksmith, mason, watchmaker and cook. The greater part of the buildings at Dunbrody, including the schools, were erected by him. In 1892 Corten's girls' school had twenty pupils varying in age from five to fifteen.[121] They were taught the rudiments of reading and writing in the vernacular but little else besides domestic skills which included spinning the stray wool gathered from the veld, crochet work, knitting, sewing, and dairy and household work. They were also responsible for all St Aidan's washing and ironing. All in all, 600 boys and 450 girls passed

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119. "Documents Relative to Dunbrody", L.N. XLVII, p. 281.

120. See Appendix H.

121. S.A.C.M. II, March 1892, p. 121.

through the Dunbrody schools,[122] over a period of fifty-two years. The average number of girls and boys in attendance at Dunbrody at any one time was thirty-nine.[123]

In September 1884, two years after the missions inception, eleven more scholastics arrived from Europe but they were not bound for Graaff-Reinet. The train took the new scholastics from Port Elizabeth to Blue Cliff, after which they had to walk through the dry bed of water courses, cacti, mimosa and other thorny and prickly plants until they reached Dunbrody. At the mission they were to follow scientific and philosophical courses, and study the Tonga language with a view to working in Zambesia.[124] Due to the almost uninterrupted drought, Dunbrody was not able to support the students of the Zambesi

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122. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 7.

123. Ibid.

124. J. O'Neil, "Dunbrody Mission after Twenty Years", Z.M.R. II, p. 299.

Mission, who together with their professors numbered forty. Consequently, the decision was taken in 1888 to send the students to Europe for the completion of their course of studies. Dunbrody was quite unsuitable as a house of studies, as the best priests were unable to do missionary work while simultaneously acting as professors.[125] The students suffered from a shortage of reference books; their accommodation was poor and limited; the classrooms were iron shanties that became overcrowded, and there were risks in accepting novices from Europe who had not had any previous training.[126] In December 1888, those scholastics who were ready to begin their theological training were sent to Europe, the philosophers and their professors following in 1889 and 1890 respectively.[127] At a time when Protestant missionaries were heavily engaged in training an indigenous laity, the Jesuit Superiors pursued the policy of training scholastics who came predominantly from Europe in an attempt to increase the number of priests. This policy was both outdated and unwise because the white priests

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125. "Documents Relative to Dunbrody", L.N. XLVII, p. 280.

126. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 4.

127. J. O'Neil, "Dunbrody Mission after Twenty Years", Z.M.R. II, p. 299.

were never so readily accepted by the Blacks, that they were regarded as one of them.

In 1899 during Fr Denis Corboy's[128] term of office as Superior, the Second Anglo-Boer War broke out and for the first ten days of October, the Dunbrody community was in hourly dread of a visit from a party of Boer invaders who "had crossed the Zuurberg Mountains and were only a few miles away ... for at that time an engagement was commencing between the British troops under Gorringe and the Boers - ... on a farm twelve miles from us. We did not suspect that an engagement was ending so near to us till about five o'clock, when the big guns began to boom, every shot fired was distinctly heard. Then at last ... they (Boers) fled northwards and hopes were entertained that our valley might escape a visit. But this was not to be. It appears - so we heard afterwards - that the Boer commando, after being roughly handled by Gorringe's column, split up into three bands ... the third, about eighty in number, swooped down upon the Sunday's River Estate (seven miles from us) ... caught fourteen of the defence force napping, surrounded and captured them. Had it not been that they were hard pressed by the

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128. See Appendix H.

British troops we should most certainly have seen the invaders here ... On Thursday morning we were visited by a strong patrol of the Addo Defence Force, who had been upon the top of the mountains during Monday's night and had witnessed everything. After dark on the same day we received another scare when five members of the Sunday's River force, who had managed to elude the Boers on the previous Tuesday, rode up saying that they had heard that the enemy was at Dunbrody. A report to this effect had been brought to the Estate by a native, and immediately on hearing it these five gentlemen rode over in haste to ascertain if it were true. It was a very kindly act, and one most highly appreciated by us all. During the next six days various rumours were afloat as to detached parties of Boers being in hiding in the mountains, and there seemed good reason to apprehend that some of them might come galloping up at any moment. It was not until the 9th that word was brought to the effect that the district was quite clear of the enemy, and our period of anxiety and tension was at an end."[129] It was not the war though which was to cause the mission staff the greatest anxiety, but contact with unscrupulous lawyers and land speculators in the Sunday's River Valley.

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129. <u>Z.M.R.</u> II, pp. 5-7.

At its inception the Jesuits at Dunbrody realized that the mission could only survive if it obtained sufficient water from the Sunday's River. Without water the mission could not offer employment to settlers on the farm, and the two schools as boarding schools would not survive without the crops which the Jesuits had planted. Although the Sunday's River was a reliable source of water the difficulty was to convey the water up a hill the distance of 145 metres and it was of this that the Trappists had despaired. The Trappists had erected a pulsometer but the Jesuits found it expensive to run, and it lifted very little water.[130] Gillet replaced the pulsometer with an oil-engine pump and in October 1916, a gas suction engine was installed.[131] A weir was built across the White River by the Jesuits and a furrow three kilometres long was dug to carry the water to the lands.[132] The water for the use of the house was supplied by a permanent spring close by, and a deep well was dug near the house which yielded excellent water. A large cistern

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130. J.A.Z. 245/1, History of Grahamstown, Dunbrody and Graaff-Reinet, p. 129.

131. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 9.

132. Ibid.

holding 90 922 litres of water was also constructed, its supply being derived from the rainwater falling on the roofs.[133]

On 15 March 1905 the Englishman Fr Isidore Lallemand[134] arrived at Dunbrody from Zambesia to fill the post of local Superior, left vacant by the death of his countryman, Fr Anthony Stempfel.[135] It was during Lallemand's term of office as Superior, that Dunbrody became involved in disagreements concerning the use of water from the Sunday's River. It was perhaps inevitable that land speculators should turn their attention to the Sunday's River Valley, with its fertile soil and abundant water supply. In the early 1880's the valley had been in the hands of a few farmers and no attempt had been made to exploit it, but this position changed with the arrival of James Somers Kirkwood, the first man to envisage an irrigation system for the Sunday's River Valley. By 1883 he had bought up over 35 000 morgen of land, twenty-one farms in all, to float a

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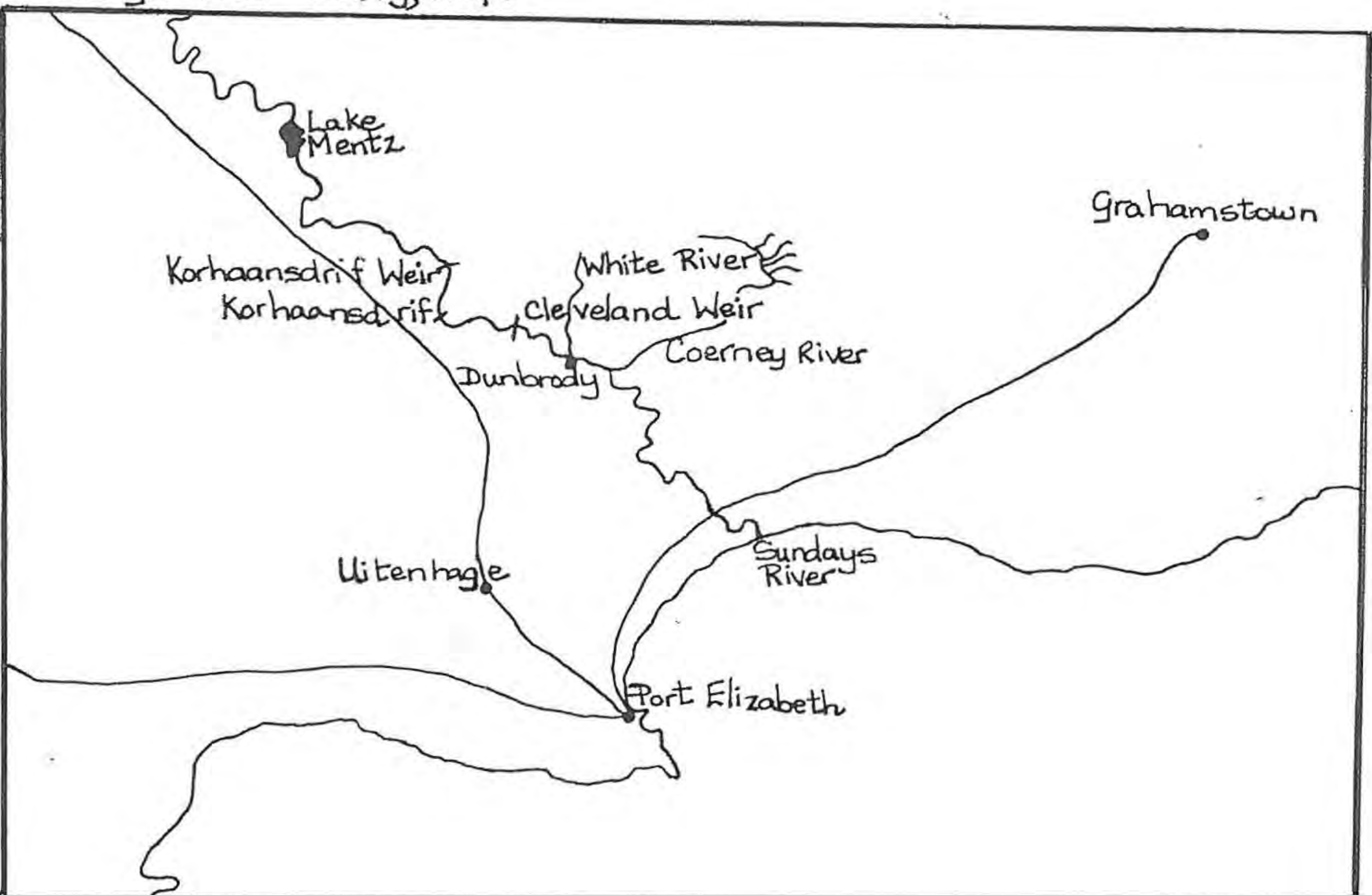
133. J.A.Z. 245/1, History of Grahamstown, Dunbrody and Graaff-Reinet, pp. 127-128.

134. See Appendix H.

135. Ibid.
J.A.Z. 234, Dunbrody Diary, 15 March 1905.

Sundays River Valley, 1934.



company and develop a private irrigation scheme.[136] At a time when men were investing in ostrich farming, James Somers Kirkwood entered into an agreement with C. Lovemore and J. Walker to form the Sunday's River Land and Irrigation Company Limited which was placed before the public in December 1883.[137]

Kirkwood's project was declared insolvent four years later, at a time when the country was in the grips of a trade recession which left many ostrich farmers bankrupt. The Prospectus of the Company had emphasised pastoral and agricultural farming as opposed to ostrich farming. Prospective shareholders were no doubt deterred by the knowledge that returns on their investments would of necessity be slow. Kirkwood's assets were taken over by the Guardian Assurance and Trust Company of Port Elizabeth.[138] Other land speculators, whose only object was to acquire land at a low price and sell it for the highest possible sum they could obtain, now focused their attention on the valley. On 13 February 1903 the Guardian Assurance and

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136. J. Meiring, Sunday's River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), p. 33.

137. Ibid., p. 36.

138. Ibid., pp. 38-40.

Trust Company received an offer of £22 000 for their Sunday's River Estate Company and the sale went through.[139]

Two years later in 1905, the Strathsomer's Company built a weir at Korhaan's Drift, laid out their property in lots and sold it to various white purchasers. The Strathsomer's property was not contiguous to Dunbrody, but higher up the Sunday's River. The purchase of this property by the white settlers resulted in the expulsion of several Black settler families thus diminishing the number of pupils and settlers at Dunbrody.[140]

The Strathsomers' Company was followed by the Cleveland Estate Syndicate which was formed in 1912 and proposed ultimately to irrigate a vast stretch of land, until that time entirely undeveloped, between Strathsomers' and the sea. The Cleveland Syndicate embarked upon the construction of the Cleveland Weir and two main canals on either side of the Sunday's River,[141] to establish a flood water irrigation scheme in the Valley,[142]

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139. Ibid., p. 43.

140. J.A.Z. 238/2, Rome Statement, 1924, pp. 1-2.

141. J. Meiring, Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), p. 59.

142. J.A.Z. 236/3, The Dunbrody Mission, April 1928.

and commenced a vast system of distribution works, fed from the weir by gravitation on both sides of the river.[143] The Syndicate sold their lots to white settlers, and this again denuded the country of Blacks around Dunbrody.[144] The cost of the proposed construction of the weir was estimated at over £80 000 but with the collapse of the ostrich feather industry, the outbreak of World War I, lack of funds and support,[145] and the fact that the Sunday's River flooded immediately after heavy rains only, when no irrigation was necessary,[146] the Syndicate faced financial disaster which could only be averted with an amalgamation with the Sunday's River Settlements Company formed in 1913 by Sir Percy FitzPatrick, an Old Aidanite and Member of Parliament.[147] The amalgamation was unsuccessful and the Cleveland Syndicate's assets were finally taken over by the Cape

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143. J.A.Z. 238/2, Rome Statement, 1924, p. 2.

144. Ibid.

145. J. Meiring, Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), pp. 59-60.

146. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 10.

147. Author of Jock of the Bushveld he became Chairman of the Irrigation Board in the Sunday's River Valley in 1917.
J.A.Z. 236/3, The Dunbrody Mission, April 1928.
J. Meiring, Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), p. 69.

Sunday's River Settlements Company Limited, a much greater concern which had been formed by Sir Percy FitzPatrick in 1917.[148]

Early in 1912, Dunbrody represented by the Superior of the Zambesi Mission, Fr Richard Sykes, and the Cleveland Syndicate, signed an agreement. Sykes had been advised by the Jesuit legal advisor, Chabaud in Port Elizabeth[149] to sign an agreement whereby the mission granted to the Syndicate under certain conditions the right to use their land for the passage of a canal system. The Syndicate agreed to allow the mission the use of the canal system for the irrigation of their lands on payment of a rate of 35 shillings per morgen per annum. The agreement however contained an extraordinary clause, whereby either party at the expiration of the twelve months, could give the other party twelve months' notice cancelling all the clauses except the one conferring the use of the lands for the canal system of the Company.[150] By 1915 the Cape Sunday's River Settlements

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148. J. Meiring, <u>Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement</u> (Cape Town, 1959), p. 60.

149. J.A.Z. 240, Report to the Prime Minister, March 1924, pp. 2-3.

150. J.A.Z. 238/2, Rome Statement, 1924, p. 2.

Company had taken over the Cleveland Syndicate and the Cape Sunday's River Settlements Company now persuaded a number of riparian owners to petition the Government to proclaim an Irrigation District in the Valley. Dunbrody would not have anything to do with the petition and was the only dissentient out of 200 voters.[151]

In March 1917 the Irrigation District was proclaimed and all the owners of property in the district were liable for the costs incurred by the construction of an irrigation system whether they would benefit by it or not. The first Irrigation Board of the district was elected in May 1917 with Sir Percy FitzPatrick as Chairman.[152] Both the Irrigation District and the Irrigation Board were a means to an end; the construction of the Lake Mentz Dam. Named in honour of the Minister of Lands, Colonel Mentz, the dam ultimately cost £560 000.[153] In 1917 letters were written by the land companies to the Irrigation Board, and thereafter were acted on as contracts, called the "basic agreement". The letter from the Cape Sunday's River

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151. J. Meiring, Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), p. 69.

152. Ibid.

153. Ibid., p. 142.

Settlements Company stated that "the company is willing to allow the use of its works for delivery of water from the conservation dam, and that no extra charge will be imposed in respect of such supply over what may be due to the company in terms of agreements with its irrigators, it being understood that there will be no interference in the distribution from our headworks of whatever water is available there for our irrigators and that the company retains the right of extending and controlling its works".[154] The rate of levy on the owners of property in the valley was £2,10,0 per morgen. In addition to this they had to pay a maintenance rate of five shillings per morgen. This meant that Dunbrody would have had to pay £232,15,0 for maintenance a year, and £2805 annually for the construction of the dam. The annual tax to be paid by Dunbrody to the Company was £3037 which excluded taxes imposed by Divisional and Provincial Councils. This sum also excluded the amount the mission had to pay for the supply of water.

The Jesuits now had a choice. They could not possibly afford to pay these taxes but if they did not pay, the Company would seize

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154. S.A.L.R., Eastern Cape Supreme Court, May 1926, p. 359.

part of their land in lieu of the taxes they had imposed.[155] As an alternative, Dunbrody could have constructed its own system of canals if it did not want water from the Cape Sunday's River Settlements Company, but this would have cost the mission £450,000,[156] at a time when the Black population on and around the mission was almost non-existent. At the end of forty years, Dunbrody would have paid £121,550,0,0 towards the construction of Lake Mentz, not including interest.[157] The Cape Sundays' River Settlements Company now set their sights on Dunbrody ideally situated between two furrows, with 2000 morgen of bush veld just above,[158] and the squeezing out process began. The Company offered the Jesuits £15 per morgen for their land which was under lucerne, at a time when raw land was being sold for more than £50 a morgen.[159] The Jesuits rejected the Company's offer and the sale of Dunbrody land was advertised in the newspapers.

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155. J.A.Z. 240, Report to the Prime Minister, March 1924, pp. 6-7.

156. D.A.P.E. I. KirkPatrick, Sunday's River Settlement, p. 8.

157. J.A.Z. 240, Report to the Prime Minister, March 1924, p. 6.

158. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand, History of Dunbrody, p. 11.

159. Ibid.

In 1918 a letter arrived at Dunbrody from the Company to the effect that the agreement entered into between the Cleveland Syndicate and Dunbrody had been rescinded. Dunbrody, having only obtained water from the Cape Sunday's River Settlements Company was now prevented from selling their land to anyone else, since they could not guarantee their water supply. The Jesuits could now sell to the Company alone. When the agreement was rescinded the Jesuits were not compensated for the loss of their land on which the canals had been constructed but the Company did express its willingness to negotiate another agreement improving upon the old contract to the mutual advantage of both parties.[160] The mission continued to obtain water from the canals at the same rate of payment, and signed no contract with the Company binding it to supply the water at that rate (35 shillings) or any other rate.[161] In October 1922 Lake Mentz was completed,[162] but three months later the Cape Sunday's River Settlements Company went into liquidation and Sir

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160. J.A.Z. 240, Judgement, 23 July 1926, p. 4.

161. S.A.L.R., Eastern Cape Supreme Court, May 1926, p. 369.

162. J. Meiring, Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), p. 126.

Percy FitzPatrick resigned from the Irrigation Board on which he had served since 1917.[163]

When the Cape Sunday's River Settlements Company went bankrupt from the enormous cost of Lake Mentz Dam, the Union Government took over the defunct Company to redeem the loan for Lake Mentz, and appointed its own Irrigation Board to look into grievances in the valley.[164] In 1922 the Board prepared a schedule of irrigable areas based on surveys by its surveyors, who, owing to an error as to some high lying land which could not be irrigated from the company's canals by gravitation, stated that Dunbrody's irrigable area was 1,490 morgen. The mission sent in a return showing about thirty morgen under irrigation and 600 morgen remaining to be brought under irrigation. At a meeting of the Board sitting as a court, the mission's representative objected to the figure of 1 490 morgen, but produced no evidence. The Board, after hearing one of the surveyors and being unaware of the error, passed a resolution that "the whole area 1 490 morgen as given by the Board's surveyors be accepted, that the

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163. Ibid., p. 127.

164. J.A.Z. 234, I. Lallemand's Notes, August 1925.

objectors themselves must prove the amount of irrigable area by actual survey".[165] The Board caused an assessment of a rate of 2s.6d. per morgen for 1923 to be made, and an account was sent to Dunbrody for £186 5s. 0d. The mission then had a survey conducted by their own surveyor, Restall, which showed the irrigable area to be 979 morgen subject to certain deductions, and at its session as a Schedule Court in 1923 the Board reduced the figure of the mission's irrigable area to 935 morgen.

In the middle of 1923, Fr Edward Buckland[166] was deputed by the Zambesi Mission Superior to go into the question of the water rights of Dunbrody. A qualified attorney, Buckland matriculated from St Aidan's and entered law in partnership with Gerald FitzPatrick in Kimberley. When Buckland found out in September 1923 that the attorneys who had been acting for the mission were the attorneys of the Board, he withdrew the mission's work from them and the Zambesi Mission Superior appointed him as Dunbrody's attorney. Buckland now arranged for an interview with the Minister of Lands, who said that he could

165. S.A.L.R., Eastern Cape Supreme Court, May 1926, p. 359.

166. See Appendix H.

not assist the mission in any way.[167] Later, however, the Government made an offer knowing that the Jesuits might stand to lose everything. The Government, who wanted to settle poor whites on the Dunbrody Estate,[168] stated that it was prepared to buy the property at a reasonable price and they would send a representative to survey and value the estate.[169]

After the survey of the Government Surveyor, Dalton,[170] the Government made an offer to the Jesuits of £25 000. The Minister of Lands wrote to Buckland stating, "that I made an offer subject to the approval of the Cabinet to purchase the property for £25,000 cash. The question was in due course submitted to the Cabinet by me. After seriously considering the matter it refused to sanction the purchase of the property in question. This step was taken solely because it was felt that there was a grave doubt as to whether there would be sufficient water in Lake Mentz to justify the Government in purchasing

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167. S.A.L.R., Eastern Cape Supreme Court, May 1926, p. 374.

168. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Lallemand to Brown, 19 September 1924.

169. J.A.Z. 238/2, Rome Statement, 1924, p. 5.

170. Z.M.R. IV, p. 584.

the Dunbrody Mission ground."[171] Buckland was prepared to accept a minimum of £35 000 for the mission and would in any event have turned down the Government's offer because the mission had been valued by Albertyn of the Uitenhage Board of Executors for £46 520.[172] In 1924 the Dunbrody stock alone was valued at £2 488,10,0[173] and the 979 morgen of irrigable land was worth more than £30 per morgen as the average price of the rawest land was sold for under this amount.[174]

The Jesuits had over the last forty years spent £17 000 on improvements on the Estate,[175] and at this time the Jesuits were offered £35 000 by a Syndicate for the mission, but they withdrew their offer after hearing about the mission's water

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171. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Minister of Lands to MacSherry, 4 September 1925.

172. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Buckland to the Minister of Lands, 29 December 1925.

173. J.A.Z. 238/2, Rome Statement, 1924, p. 7.

174. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Lallemand to Brown, 19 September 1924.

175. "Documents Relative to Dunbrody", L.N. XLVII, p. 283.

rights and canals.[176] Buckland now tried selling to a number of Companies, including the De Beer's Company, Schlesinger, and the Memorial Settlers' Association, but when he realized that he would not get an offer for the property again, he decided to develop the mission and increase its productivity.[177]

At the end of October 1925 Fr Isidore Lallemand sailed for Europe on holiday.[178] When he had arrived in South Africa from Manresa in 1885, he had been a virtual invalid, but the dry climate restored his health and he was appointed Superior of Dunbrody, a position he held for twenty-one years. His success as Superior sprang from his deep understanding of human nature - his own experience of much physical and mental suffering widened and deepened his sympathy with souls and bodies in distress. A notable feature of Dunbrody was Lallemand's hospitality and the restful atmosphere prevailing at the mission. In December 1924

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176. J.A.Z. 237/4, Letter of Lallemand to Buckland, 6 August 1926.

177. J.A.Z. 237/5, Dunbrody Mission Report, 17 March 1926, p. 1.

178. J.A.Z. 235/1, Johanny's Notes.

the English Provincial, Bodkin visited Dunbrody and took Lallemand back to England for a rest after thirty years of labour. In his absence, Buckland, who was South-African born, took charge of the mission. He was one of the first St Aidan's boys to become a Jesuit and achieved recognition not only for his valuable contribution to the Society in England, but because he was one the the best left-hand bowlers in South African cricket. Buckland later practised as an attorney in Beaconsfield, Kimberley, and was, by all accounts a lawyer of distinction, but he should never have become involved in the legalities of Dunbrody's water rights, because he was beyond his depth and his involvement was on a personal level rather than a professional one. While Buckland had been trying to find a buyer for Dunbrody, the mission's water rates were assessed for 1924 and 1925 on 935 morgen. The Jesuits refused to pay the rates in arrears for 1923 and 1924 and Buckland wrote a letter admitting that "The Irrigation Board are again threatening to sue us if the rates are not paid by the end of the month. I am pretty sure that it is bluff and have instructed our solicitors to resist if only for the purpose of securing delay."[179]

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179. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Buckland, 22 March 1925.

In 1925, the Irrigation Board sued the mission for the outstanding rates. At this point Buckland blamed both the Government and the Board for the plight the mission found itself in, and he seemed determined to view both the Government and Board in the worst possible light. In 1925 Buckland wrote, "Meanwhile I am, as always, convinced that we shall get redress in the Law Courts and there only. It is going to mean an infinite amount of work and worry for me but as long as I am loyally supported I am willing to go on to the end. This will mean that we shall require Fr Lallemand as a vital witness in the case."[180] In April 1927 Buckland launched a scathing attack on the Government, blaming it for Dunbrody's predicament. "If one had a trustworthy Government to deal with it would be easy to get matters right. But they are most unreliable. Their predecessors were even worse. Politics and shift and a desire to get hold of Dunbrody for their political supporters is at the back of their minds all the time."[181] In fact, the Government had had nothing to do with Dunbrody's water rights. Buckland remained convinced that the only path open to

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180. Ibid., 11 August 1925.

181. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Buckland to Johanny, 5 April 1927.

the mission was to take the Irrigation Board to court. "I have seen Mr Newman, who was the engineer of Lake Mentz and he told me he was fully convinced that if we took vigorous action we should very soon have them suing for peace. That is my opinion also."[182]

The decision to go to court was taken by Buckland to settle three main issues: He pleaded that the rates were not due as the Board had failed to distribute water to the mission during the period 1923-1926, although water had been available for distribution during this time. He argued that the Board had, by the "basic agreement" closed the canals of the Company to the mission, thereby rendering the mission's land non-irrigable and therefore non-rateable, and the area of irrigable land had been incorrectly fixed at 1490 morgen for the year 1923 instead of 935 morgen. Buckland counter-claimed that the mission had to bear the cost of its own surveyor, that the mission had suffered damages when the Board distributed water to non-riparian land by withholding water from the mission, and declared that the Board was bound to arrange for an equitable distribution to the

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182. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Buckland., 22 August 1925.

mission of water stored in Lake Mentz.[183] It appears that Buckland wanted to use the court case to launch an attack upon the misdeeds of the defunct Cape Sunday's River Settlements Company which had not played a straight game when they had levied rates on the whole acreage of the mission, although the Jesuit survey had found that much of the land was not irrigable land and therefore non-rateable. There were genuine grievances, but Buckland seemed determined to redress not only the mission's grievances, but those of the settlers as well,[184] some of whom were personal friends of his. The Cape Sunday's River Settlements Company had sold £50 000 worth of non-riparian lands as riparian, mainly to ex-officers in England after World War I when they had immigrated to South Africa.[185] It was for this reason that Buckland became involved with the grievances of the settlers.

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183. S.A.L.R., Eastern Cape Supreme Court, May 1926, pp. 359-360.

184. J.A.Z. 235/1, Johanny's Notes.

185. J.A.Z. 238/2, Rome Statement, 1924, p. 4.

By taking the board to court, Buckland had tried to get even with the Government when it was not at fault. The Government had in fact given proof of its readiness to sort out the problem and in any event, the Cape Sunday's River Settlement Company had ceased to exist.

On 16 May 1926 the case opened before three judges of the Eastern District High Court in Grahamstown. The hearing lasted three weeks and judgement was delivered on 23 July 1926.[186] The Irrigation Board won the case on all points and the Jesuits had to pay the costs, but they did get back their water rights, and the area of rateable land was reduced to the correct figure.[187] Because the counter-claims of the Jesuits were dismissed with costs, all the mission's hard earned savings were used to pay the lawsuit which cost £2 300.[188] In giving judgement the judges stated that if the Jesuits had approached the Government "all the present proceedings could have been

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186. J.A.Z. 235/1, Johanny's Notes.
J.A.Z. 234, Dunbrody Diary, 16 May 1926.

187. J.A.Z. 240, Judgement, 23 July 1926, pp. 48-49.

188. J.A.Z. 237/6, Bert to Johanny, 17 November 1934.

obviated".[189] Lallemand, who had been recalled from England as a witness at the court case, echoed the sentiments of the judges. "As was to be expected the Irrigation Board which sued us won the case on all points, and we have to pay the costs. However we get the water rights. The judges said that it was a pity we ever went to court. Things could have been settled easily had we approached the Government for redress. Well we shall be the wiser for our folly and conceit. Fr Buckland had the lawyers itch and wanted to go to law, not to redress Dunbrody's grievances but to fight for his friends the Settlers, or to show up the injustice of the Water Company in selling or irrigating non-riparian land. These friends at first so keen refused to appear as witnesses, and now will they help to pay a 1d towards the costs? Not they. What had Dunbrody to do with non-riparian land? Nothing, and so the judges stuck to the points that concerned Dunbrody alone. 'We are riparian owners. By law riparian owners have to pay for the construction of Lake Mentz, therefore Dunbrody has to pay.' There was no way out of it. Only they have to give us water at 35/ per morgen. This, the judges say, could have been settled out of Court. Perhaps they did not know, that when the Government took over the whole

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189. J.A.Z. 240, Judgement, 23 July 1926, p. 45.

show from the bankrupt Water Company, the Government offered proper [? illegible] to settle that very question, but Fr Buckland rejected all advances, saying that, if he entered into any negotiations, he would have no case to bring before the court."[190] In early 1927 Lallemand was transferred to the Cape Town parish of Claremont, but the recriminations between Buckland and Lallemand continued until Buckland's death in 1935.

The outcome of the case brought gloom and despair to the mission and to rub more salt into the wound, Buckland was appointed Superior of Dunbrody on 7 February 1927 and told by the General in Rome to sell and close down the mission as soon as possible.[191] This instruction came as no surprise to the mission staff, because in 1923 the Superior of the Zambesi Mission, Fr Robert Brown, had written to Buckland informing him that "you have an absolutely free hand to do just as you think best. With regard to the possible contingency of having to give up Dunbrody altogether, I think it would really be a good thing. It has been mooted several times and the only reason why

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190. J.A.Z. 237/4, Letter of Lallemand to Bichler, 28 July 1926.

191. J.A.Z 237/5, Dunbrody Mission Report, 17 March 1926, p. 1.
J.A.Z. 234, Dunbrody Diary, 7 February 1927.

it was not given up long ago, was that the General did not wish the Catholics on the Farm to be left, but that is really up to the Bishop, so that if we are forced to leave it will be a solution to the question."[192] Two years later Brown again suggested to Buckland that if the Government offered to purchase Dunbrody for £25,000, then the mission must be sold. "I have seen the Provincial and finally we decided that if the Government will not go beyond the £25,000 then to accept that sum and conclude the deal."[193]

Buckland had been involved in Dunbrody's water rates dispute since 1923 and even at that stage he envisaged the closure of the mission. In a report sent to the General in Rome in 1924, he clearly stated his reasons for closure: "what concerned me most was the thought that here we have a certain number of missionaries supposed to belong to the Zambesi Mission, yet who were doing work which had nothing whatever to do with the Zambesi Mission, and work moreover the value of which was questionable and which ought to have been done by the Bishop of

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192. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Brown to Buckland, 14 September 1923.

193. Ibid., 5 December 1925.

the Vicariate. It has been supported by the Zambesi Mission all these years, without any help from the Bishop of the place, except for a few Masses now and then ..."[194]

By 1926 Buckland had even more reason for wanting Dunbrody closed. He reported to the Provincial that at least £50 000 was required to develop the property. At this time Lake Mentz was empty and the Jesuits could not possibly have sold the mission. He reported that the "farm is in a terrible state of neglect. The Veld has been so badly ruined by overstocking that it will take five years to get it right. This is an important matter in South Africa. The situation has been much aggravated by the terrible drought the worst ever known in this country. No citrus has been planted, though it is the only form of farming of any value in the Irrigation District. All the Settlers are far in advance of Dunbrody tho we have had three brothers and more capital and other advantages available ... These (houses) were in a condition of neglect and dirt beyond description. Buildings have been allowed to fall down and remain unrepaired etc. ... The Sacristy and Sanctuary, Vestments etc were also in

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194. J.A.Z. 238/2, Rome Statement, 1924, p. 6.

a bad state."[195] Lallemand must be partly blamed for this state of affairs, but matters did improve with the acquisition of Captain Reddie as Farm Manager in an attempt to up-date existing farming methods and entice possible buyers. A citrus plantation was started in mid- 1928 and in March 1932 an agreement was signed between Dunbrody and the Lion Match Company whereby the mission would plant poplar trees. The Company was to have the option of purchasing the timber when the trees reached the stage where they could be turned into matchwood.[196] But these were long-term projects which did not address the immediate problems. Few citrus trees had been planted in previous years on the farm, when everyone else in the Valley was farming with citrus because the ostrich feather industry had finally been abandoned and cotton growing discontinued.[197]

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195. J.A.Z. 237/5, Dunbrody Mission Report, 17 March 1926, p. 4.

196. J.A.L. BY/6, Report on Dunbrody, 23 August 1933, p. 12.

197. J. Meiring, Sundays River Valley: Its History and Settlement (Cape Town, 1959), p. 147.

When land surrounding the mission had been sold to white settlers in lots, the Black population near Dunbrody was considerably reduced through expulsion and loss of employment, and both boarding schools were closed in 1928,[198] but not before the two chief teachers had earned themselves a reputation for severe corporal punishment. Buckland was not long in discovering that the "discipline was very lax. The brothers had been allowed to do exactly as they pleased. Brother John Matske claimed to have complete control of the Farm and the right to spend considerable sums of money without permission."[199] Matzke was tough as well as head strong. On one occasion he was driving the mowing machine to the lucerne field, and on his way there the horses took fright and bolted, overturning and smashing the machine, and dragging the Brother along with them. He had, unfortunately for himself, twisted the reins round his waist in order to have a stronger hold on the restive steeds. He was unable to extricate himself, and he was dragged along for a considerable distance and badly injured. He escaped with his life, although he sustained a concussion of the brain, had

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198. J.A.Z. 235/1, Johanny's Notes.

199. J.A.Z. 237/5, Dunbrody Mission Report, 17 March 1926, p. 2.

his right shoulder dislocated, a deep cut in the back of the head, a wound above the right eye, a gash on the cheek, the lower part of one ear torn off, and his whole body bruised. He was picked up unconscious and carried home, where Fr Lallemand dressed his wounds. The lay brother, Francis McGinty, who taught at the Boys' School caused constant ill-feelings between the mission and the boys' parents, by resorting to good beatings for the least provocation. In 1927 Buckland wrote that he had "hardly finished my letter of this morning and returned from the Convent when I found more trouble from B McGinty. F. Erhart told me when I first came here that on account of his having unmercifully beaten a boy and thereby caused a lot of trouble with the mother F Superior had strictly forbidden him to touch any boy. I had been here a week when three boys ran away. He was very indignant when I refused to have them back. I got a letter soon after from the mother of one of the boys to say that the reason why her son ran away was that B McGinty was continually hitting him. I said nothing about this but when the brother came to my room and wished to order me to get the boys back, I showed him the letter, and then and there told him he was on no account to touch any of the boys but if they were to be punished he was to send them to B Arnold. I also told Brother Arnold that he was to observe the same rule. There is a boy here whose head has been very bad for months. B McGinty sent him out of school and also started doctoring him but this I

stopped. The boy under B Arnold was well on the way to recovery but with his head still bad. This morning B. McGinty for no reason beyond that he appears to dislike the boy and because he was out of step in drill, struck him on the back with a stick and on the head opening a number of the sores. I find also he has been formally disobeying my orders and has hit boys with the stick on the hands ever since I forbade him. He also takes on himself to change the hours of the school without my sanction."[200]

The girls at the Girls' School suffered similar punishment at the hands of their teacher, Ellen Perez, a halfbreed Portuguese who had arrived at the mission some thirty years previously, who was brought up at the expense of Sisters Anne and Rose. An official report confirmed that "The root of a great deal of the trouble for years at the Convent is the harshness and brutality of Ellen Perez. Corporal punishment is dangerous, even with Natives especially in the Colony. There are widespread complaints amongst the local natives in this regard, and it is the chief cause why they will not send the children here."[201]

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200. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Buckland to Johanny, 6 May 1927.

201. J.A.Z. 237/5, Dunbrody Mission Report, 17 March 1926, p. 9.

Both Boarding Schools closed in 1928, but a small day school was kept on by an old pupil, John Bruce, but the Black population was too small to give any hope of ever developing Dunbrody into a flourishing station.[202]

The expensive lawsuit sealed the fate of the mission as did the state of the farm which had not developed much after the collapse of the ostrich feather industry.[203] The large staff at Dunbrody was out of all proportion to the small Black and Coloured congregation, and the Jesuits, ignorant of modern, intensive, farming methods, were not qualified to develop the property. Had they kept on the farm, the rates and costs would have strangled them. At this time, state schools were being opened for Blacks in many towns and the two Dunbrody boarding schools were made redundant. In addition, Dunbrody had to compete with other mission schools in the Province with 116,945 pupils in attendance in 1930. Mission schools in the Uitenhage area in 1930 included Addo with 120 pupils, Kirkwood with 172, Prentice Kraal with 113 and Uitenhage with 155.[204] By 1930

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202. J.A.L. BY/6, Report on Dunbrody by Bert, 23 August 1933.
203. J.A.L. BY/6, Wilmot's Notes.
204. C.E.M. Education Report for 1930, p. 154.

Dunbrody could barely keep its small day school open, so few pupils did it have. The mission had no future scope for expansion either. It was limited within its four boundary fences, and in any event the Jesuits at Dunbrody were doing work which had nothing to do with the Zambesi Mission. The farms had been worked entirely for the benefit of the native Mission, the whole of the monies being devoted to the support and improvement of the natives. The income received had never been sufficient for the purpose and on an average a sum of £200 (per annum) was contributed by the Zambesi Mission.[205] Buckland sent a full account of Dunbrody to Rome, advising the General that "the mission as such should be given up as under existing circumstances there appeared to be no hope of the mission flourishing, especially taking into account the fact that the natives as such have almost disappeared in the district owing to the encroachment of white settlers." He went on to add that "Permission had been sought in previous years to give up the mission but Propaganda had always refused the requested permission. To-day I received from Rome the beneplacitum of Propaganda for the giving up of the mission and I therefore propose to dispose of the property and transfer the staff of

Dunbrody elsewhere."[205]

From 1925 to 1931 plans to sell Dunbrody were thwarted by the lawsuit, but Buckland nevertheless attempted to up-date existing farming methods to entice prospective buyers. On 18 September 1931 Brown was replaced as Superior of the Zambesi Mission, by Fr Philip Beisly[206] and he decided to dispose of Dunbrody at any cost. When Beisly arrived in South Africa from England, he made enquiries as to the price of wool and property, and was told that the price of both was very low.[207] In the Great Depression of 1931-1932 the world price for wool fell dramatically from 16,6 pence in 1927-1928 to 4,4 pence in 1931-1932.[208] Dunbrody had about 100 sheep with wool and Beisly was ready to sell Dunbrody at any price,[209] so he

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205. J.A.Z. 237/2, Letter of Buckland to MacSherry, 26 January 1925.

206. See Appendix H.

207. J.A.Z. 234/1, T. Esser's Notes.

208. T.R.H. Davenport, <u>South Africa - A Modern History</u> (Johannesburg, 1989), p. 302.

209. In a letter to Johanny dated 10 September 1934, Tilman Esser mentioned that Beisly would have possibly accepted an offer of less than £3 000 for the Mission.

instructed the last Superior of Dunbrody, Fr Charles Bert,[210] to advertise the sale of the farm, but Bert's outstanding common sense and great practical gift of administration and organisation made him reluctant to carry out Beisly's request. Beisly then personally organized the sale on Wednesday, 29 August 1934 to Isaac and David Aires for £3 000, a price which excluded church furniture, library books and personal effects.[211] This amount was £2 000 less than Fr Alfred Weld had paid Bishop Ricards, fifty-two years before. A special request was made after the sale to secure Bro. Arnold's sewing machine and the church bell.

Beisly, who had acted in good faith but somewhat hastily, could not have been prepared for the backlash of opinion which was angry, bitter and resentful. White Catholics felt that they might have been able to salvage the mission, saying that it had been sold in a "light-headed, joking way with no sense of responsibility"[212] while Bert wrote that "we are the laughing

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210. See Appendix H.

211. J.A.Z. 236/3, Agreement of Sale and Purchase.

212. J.A.Z. 234/1, Esser to Johanny, 10 September 1934.

stock of the Valley".[213] Ironically Lallemand, who had always blamed Buckland for wilfully plunging the mission into the lawsuit, returned after the sale to clear away the wreckage.

The lawsuit had been the beginning of the end of Dunbrody. Although the decline was gradual, the process was never arrested. The schools were closed in 1928 and in 1932, the mission celebrated the golden jubilee of its foundation, but two years later in 1934 it was sold lock, stock and barrel to the Aires brothers. At the close of the mission, the Baptism Register showed 2 008 entries. The first had been Maggie Fisher's baptism on 2 February 1885; the last entry made by Bert was on 28 October 1934.[214] These statistics are not particularly impressive as there were on average thirty-eight baptisms per year. If one compares Dunbrody with St Matthew's at Keiskamma Hoek, the Anglicans recorded 2 135 baptisms for the period 1888-1905, an average of 266 baptisms annually. On average Dunbrody confirmed fifty-one adults or children annually, while St Matthew's averaged 102 for the period 1881-1905. Bert recorded ninety-three marriages in total at

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213. J.A.Z. 235/1, Johanny's Notes.

214. J.A.Z. 237/6, Letter of Bert to Johanny, 17 November 1934.

Dunbrody while St Matthew's married 161 couples from 1881-1905, an average of twenty marriages a year.[215]

Like the early Zambesi disasters, the Dunbrody venture was inadequately master-minded and poorly executed. A combination of poor leadership, bad management and a lack of business acumen resulted in the Zambesi Mission Superiors paying more attention to the Rhodesian enterprise, in the post-colonial years after 1890. Lobengula had fled and whatever resistance there was to Christianity withered in the absence of a powerful chief. From this point onwards, the Jesuit mission stations in the Cape and Transvaal became of secondary importance to the succession of Zambesi Mission Superiors, but this is not to suggest that the Rhodesian mission succeeded primarily because of the closure of Dunbrody.

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215. C.L. MS16829, Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Statistics, 1860-1935.

3.5 KEILANDS: 1886-1908

Alfred Weld's purpose in opening a mission station at Keilands was to have a mission field for his young men in formation at Dunbrody Mission, for although Dunbrody gave them an opportunity, it was less accessible to the Blacks who lived across the Great Kei River in Thembuland. Keilands, on the eastern side of the Kei River enabled a few young men to begin their apprenticeship in Thembuland, besides working in the Grahamstown Black township after they had completed their philosophy studies at St Aidan's College. These scholastics included Anthony Stempfel in 1888, Innocent Perrodin in 1889, John Hornig in 1890 and Joseph Moreau in 1891. Later, only ordained priests were sent to Keilands.[216] At the mission station the scholastics could learn a Black language, make acquaintance with the Black way of life and ideology and thus be ready for effective action in the Zambesi Mission.

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216. J.A.Z. 243/1, Notes of Johanny.

In 1884, Weld was notified by Byrne, a Catholic lawyer at King William's Town, that a farm, Rocky Nook, could be acquired near the Great Kei River,[217] and in early January 1885, George Fraser paid the site of the proposed mission a visit. Fraser had been at the Cape since 1880 and was employed at St Aidan's as a teacher. In 1884 he had left the College bound for Dunbrody where he studied theology.[218] On his first visit to Keilands, he was accompanied by Ewers, who acted as his guide. "I have seen Rocky Nook and a rocky nook it is. It took us 13 hours to get there 11 hours in the saddle left Stutterheim at 6.30 got there about 7.30 p.m. slept in Kafir hut Ewers so disgusted with place and difficulty of getting there and destruction of his horse hoofs by sharp stones that he resolved to return next day and told me to do whatever I wanted as soon as possible so I got up before 5 a.m. and examined the place as well as I could before 10 a.m. when we started back the soil appears good, perhaps about 100 acres could be irrigated if a dam were made across a gully through which after rain water comes down from the mountain. The place is most wild and weird

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217. M. Dischl, Transkei for Christ; A History of the Catholic Church in the Transkeian Territories (Queenstown, 1982), p. 122.

218. J.A.Z. 243/1, A. Wilmot, A History of Stutterheim and Keilands, p. 2.

shut in by high stoney and barren mountains and chiefly inhabited by baboons. I walked all along the river but as far as I could see and as far as I heard the river is nowhere fordable on the farm, if it were there is an absolutely perpendicular wall of rock rising sheer out of the river on the opposite side to an immense height, except in one place where it recedes a little from the perpendicular and there is a footpath for cattle and natives but up which a horse could not go. I could not cross the Kei but from the top of the hills on this side I could see plenty of Kraals and mealie fields at some distance, but I think it would take as far as I could judge at least an hour and a half hard dangerous climbing for a man with strong wind to get to the nearest natives ... I had a long talk with Byrne this morning he at first seems to think that I in so short a time could not form a correct judgement of the place, but after considering the matter in its practical details he agreed with me that Rocky Nook was not the place for us and wished he had never recommended it."[219]

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219. J.A.L. 124-179 v/4, Letter of Fraser, 9 January 1885.

The purchase of Keilands was held in abeyance for eighteen months, but in June 1886, Fraser visited Keilands again, this time with Weld. "We went in a cart with horses as we had to carry provisions and the necessaries for saying Mass. Everybody said it would be impossible to get there in a cart, so we brought saddles to ride in case of necessity. We started at 6 a.m., passed through a hilly country and frequently had to get out and walk up interminable hills. About 4 o'clock in the evening we got into very rough and broken country near the Kei; here the road became awful. Of course we had to walk while the cart went bumping down from one ledge of rock to another. No one but a Kaffir driver could have attempted to take a cart there, but ours was the best driver I ever saw. Just at dark we came to a hut inhabited by a Dutchman who said that we had come considerably out of our road and could never get to Rocky Nook that way. However we pushed on and when it got too dark to see an inch before us we outspanned and cooked our supper and slept in the bush. Next morning we were up about 3 o'clock and Fr Weld said Mass on a ledge of rock by the light of a lantern and gave me Holy Communion. I was afraid to say Mass; the wind was so strong that it threatened to blow everything away. Then we got to the Kei and found an awful place to cross, deep water with huge boulders standing out everywhere. We went in and got about three or four yards and then came bang against a stone.

There we stuck, the driver lashed the horses but they could not move the cart. At last I got into the water and crossed. It was however deeper than I had expected and I got wet all over. Fr Weld got over the back of the cart and back to the bank we had left, the driver got in and at last turned the horses and cart off the rock and broke the front of the cart, finally the horses jumped right over the rocks, the cart flew up in the air and then went down under water, making everything, clothes etc into a pulp and got across triumphantly. Fr Weld got across somehow and then we went on and landed on Rocky Nook about eleven the same morning. We took up our quarters in a small hut called a Hartebeest hut made of mealy stalks, open to all the winds of Heaven. There we lived three days, sleeping on the ground in the hut or outside. Fr Weld enjoyed it immensely. The nights were sharp and I felt the cold a little though I am greatly benefited by the outing and so is Fr Weld. We spent the three days in exploring and finding a site for the house."[220]

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220. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser, July 1886.

On the second day of the expedition, Weld and Fraser met Saliwa, one of the local chiefs, who "came with his councillors to pay his respects; he expressed himself delighted at the prospect of a mission and hoped we would be his friends, which meant that we were not to send his cattle to the "schint" (pond) when they came on our land; he appears to be a villainous old chief."[221] Fraser was later to change his opinion of Saliwa.

After this visit Weld bought Keilands property from Walter Edwards in July 1886, for £750 of which £300 was paid in cash upon transfer and £450 in instalments.[222] Keilands property consisted of two quitrent farms, Keilands and Rocky Nook, 1 068 morgen in size.[223] Fraser described the property as "a triangular piece of land sloping from the top of a mountain to the river; the opposite bank of the Kei River rises to a height

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221. Saliwa lived on the right bank of the Kei River looking downstream, and was a prominent counsellor and partisan of the Xhosa chief, Sarhili. He was later given the position of tax gatherer by the British and ruled over one of the villages.
J.A.Z. 243/1, A. Wilmot, A History of Stutterheim and Keilands, p. 6. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser, July 1886.

222. J.A.Z. 243/1, Purchase Document, July 1885.

223. Ibid.

of 500 to 600 feet and in most places as a perpendicular wall of rock so that the place is in a deep narrow valley completely shut in by rocky walls, the scenery is most wonderful. Fr Weld said he never saw anything like it, the grass-covered slopes of the river are studded with curious and picturesque Euphorbias and Melkhout trees; the sides of the mountains are covered in many places by magnificient aloes with huge scarlet flowers. Enormous baboons ran among the tops of the rocks and roared like mad bulls. Wild ducks and geese on the river and hares, quails, pheasants and antelopes in the grass. The place is very hot and smothered by flies, but a better place for a mission could not be found".[224] Fraser's dramatic change of heart can be attributed to Weld's great enthusiasm and spirit of adventure. Despite the proposed mission's isolated position, Fraser and Weld agreed that it would be close enough to the Thembu under the chief Darala, yet secure from danger in case of Black disturbances.[225] The soil was good, water was abundant, there were stones for building purposes and a good supply of timber and firewood.[226] When the Catholics in Stutterheim and King

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224. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser, July 1886.

225. Ibid., 8 January 1885.

226. Ibid., July 1886.

William's Town heard that Weld had puchased the property and intended establishing a mission, they prophesied that the Keilands enterprise would be a failure, but neither he nor Fraser took heed of these forebodings.[227]

Keilands was situated on the left bank (facing downstream) of the Great Kei River a little above the confluence of the Great Kei with the Tsomo River, and close to the Great Place of the Xhosa Chief, Sarhili.[228] The mission was situated on the border of the Natal Vicariate, in the territory of the Vicar Apostolic of the eastern district of the Cape Colony, in the division of Stutterheim and sixty-four kilometres from the town, but the two outstations of the mission, Saliwa, established in 1895 and named after the chief Saliwa, and Zigudu, established in 1901, were under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic who resided at Pietermaritzburg.[229]

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227. J.A.Z. 243/1, A. Wilmot, A History of Stutterheim and Keilands, p. 3.

228. Ibid., p. 2.

229. J.A.Z. 243/1, Notes of Johanny.

In the spring of 1886 a group of five people left for Keilands to take occupation. The party comprised Fraser, Bro. Francois de Sadeleer, a Belgian, who would be the cook[230] but who left in 1887,[231] a Dutchman Hubert Bayne, who wanted to be a farmer, and two workers who were a father and son team who would build the house, chapel and school.[232] The journey to Keilands took two weeks with their heavily laden waggons labouring on the poor roads. For the first four days the party lived in a shanty and then moved into two huts without windows or doors which had belonged to Blacks. De Sadeleer and Hubert Bayne occupied the one, which also served as a diningroom, while Fraser occupied the other, which doubled as a storeroom, and chapel. Fraser wrote to his family in England, informing them

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230. Ibid.
See Appendix H.

231. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser, 24 February 1887.

232. Ibid., 28 August 1886.

that "It is a very good place to live in, very large and roomy and very cool in the day, but rather close at night as there are no windows and only a small opening for a door. The roof is thatched with grass and the walls are made of wattle plastered with cow-dung and clay. Among all these Kaffirs we have not been able to get one to act as servant. We have three to work for the masons; the consequence is that as Brother de Sadeleer has been occupied all the week mending the plough and Scotch Cart we have to fish for ourselves and have turned carpenter and, with the assistance of Bayne, who is as clever as I am at these things, finished a useful piece of furniture made of two packing cases in which we put shelves to hold the stores. ..."[233]

Fraser's room was also used as a schoolroom for children in the morning and for adults at night. The school was very primitive; the children sat on the floor, while Fraser sat on the remnants of a barrel.[234] By 1887 Fraser had thirteen

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233. Ibid., 26 September 1886.

234. J.A.Z. 243/1, A. Wilmot, A History of Stutterheim and Keilands, p. 4.

scholars at his small school[235] and he was now appointed Superior of the mission, a position he held until illness forced him to leave Keilands for a few months in 1889.[236]

Fraser quickly set about the construction of the mission, and to this end he employed five young men as extra hands at ten shillings a month including food, but when they justifiably went on strike for an increase of wages, he fired them all.[237] Despite this setback, a sturdy hut was built and local Blacks were invited to assemble there on Sundays.[238] A stone building which eventually replaced the hut was used as a chapel.[239] It was capable of holding close on 100 people,[240] and was dedicated to Our Lady.

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235. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser, 17 January 1887.

236. J.A.Z. 243/1, A. Wilmot, A History of Stutterheim and Keilands, p. 5.

237. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser, 26 September 1886.

238. J.A.Z. 243/1, A. Wilmot, A History of Stutterheim and Keilands, p. 4.

239. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser, 10 August 1891.

240. J. Hornig, "Early Days at Keilands," Z.M.R. I, p. 56.

In January 1887 Fraser was joined by a scholastic from Dunbrody, Julius Torrend[241] who learnt to speak Xhosa and published a Catechism in the language[242] in addition to a Comparative Philology of South African Languages.[243] His research into African languages was continued by John Hornig who arrived three years later. Torrend's assistance was short-lived because he left Keilands two years later, bound for Europe to study theology. He was greatly respected and loved by the Blacks who sorely missed him after his departure. This is borne out in a letter from one of his Black friends who wrote giving him some local news. "We are still alive as when you left us, only our heart is broken by your departure because you understand us and we understand you and we hoped that would have lasted all our lives ... We are very uneasy at the want of rain for the sun has flattened all the country, the little maize we planted is no more and we do not know how we shall support our lives this year. The cows are so thin they scarcely give any milk. Although you are far away from us we beg you to pray that rain

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241. J.A.L. BY/6, Keilands History, 14 February 1892.

242. J.A.Z. 243/1, A. Wilmot, A History of Stutterheim and Keilands, p. 31.

243. S.A.L. S.A.C.M. 1891, p. 118.

may be given to us ..."[244]

Due to a shortage of lay brothers, the first priests at the mission led very active lives. In addition to preaching and teaching they had to look after the masons, quarrymen and carpenters, distribute food to the Black workmen to enable the Jesuits to get their share of the crops, look after the division of land among the Blacks, and tend the garden and livestock.[245] The intrepid Fraser soon built up a reputation as a dentist and doctor, despite the fact that he had had no medical training whatsoever. He was hounded regularly by Blacks searching for a cure to their ailments and on one occasion, "a fine young man came to me with toothache; he had had it for about two months, could not sleep and was evidently suffering very much though perfectly cheerful. I found the tooth was the one fartherest back of all in the top jaw and the merest stump. I told him that was beyond me and he must go to a professional; however he besought me to try, as I did; after digging about some time I succeeded in getting a grip. I was determined it should come out now, as I tugged and twisted and wrenched with

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244. J.A.Z. 243/1, A. Wilmot, A History of Stutterheim and Keilands, p. 32.

245. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser, 24 February 1887.

all my might, he bore it for some time but at last it was too much even for a Kafir and he began to struggle; there was a crackle and the pincers came out without the tooth; he thought it was broken and glared at me with his eyes full of tears with such a look of agony and reproach, I half expected him to fly at my throat; presently he put his hand in his mouth and fished out the tooth whole and entire; he was delighted and the spectators filled with admiration ..."[246] Fraser also had the additional task of supplying passes to any Blacks who wanted to go anywhere on the Colonial side of the Kei River. The responsibility fell on his shoulders, since a pass had to be signed by an official or any owner or occupier of land.[247]

Fraser's first convert was one of Saliwa's four wives and on one occasion he enquired from Saliwa how his wife was faring. When Saliwa informed him that she would die the following day, Fraser "went down to the river at once to try to cross. It was very

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246. Ibid., 10 October 1887.

247. Ibid., 29 November 1886.
An act of 1857 made provision for the issue of passes which prevented Colonial Fingoes and certain other subjects of Her Majesty from being mistaken for Xhosa, and thereby being aggrieved.
M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa Volume I (Oxford, 1969), p. 311.

broad and very rapid but I did not know how deep it was. I went in till the water came up to my waistcoat when I found I could not stand against the current, so I went back. I then tried two other places and again in the same place, but I could not manage it. Next morning I went down early, determined to get across somehow, I took off my clothes and tied them in a bundle and held them in one hand and a long stick in the other and went in. The water was up to my armpits and the current fearfully strong but I got across at last. I went to the old woman and found her very weak but she did not look at all as if she was going to die at once. However, I thought Saliwa's prophecy significant so I baptized her. Next day a man came to say she had died last night and was already buried. So I was just in time. On Monday I went with Bayne to bless the grave and put a rough wooden cross upon it. That was the end of the first convert."[248]

Saliwa was later converted as well and to prove his sincerity and upon the insistence of Fraser, he gave up one of his wives.[249] Saliwa's conversion was prompted by other factors

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248. Ibid., 27 October 1886.

249. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser to Ricards, 5 September 1887.

however, that had little to do with faith. When his three sons with their wives and children became Christians, Saliwa was so incensed that he requested a witchdoctor to poison his sons. Soon after, the eldest was struck by some malady of the spine and died within a few weeks, while the other two became mentally ill. During the 1897 rinderpest plague, Saliwa lost 100 head of cattle. He was so upset by this misfortune that he attempted suicide by casting himself into the river; but he was rescued in time and promptly baptized by Fraser.[250]

Gradually, Blacks came to settle at Keilands, each family being allowed a small piece of arable land to farm.[251] One such Thembu who had eighteen children, two waggons, ten horses, 200 cattle, 600 goats and 1 000 sheep, was permitted to settle on mission land provided he brought only his family, 100 cattle and 300 goats. He was also permitted to plough a piece of land and send ten children to the mission school for a minimal amount of money per annum. By the end of 1887 there were about thirty Black families established on the mission. This figure rose steadily but only those Blacks who were willing to listen to

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250. M. Gouws, All for God's People (Queenstown, 1979), p. 301.

251. J. Hornig, "Early Days at Keilands," Z.M.R. I, p. 56.

Catholic Doctrine were allowed to settle.[252] This was a prerequisite on all the Jesuit and Protestant mission stations.

The mission continued to prosper and the number of converts rose steadily, but towards the beginning of 1889, Fraser's health swiftly deteriorated. He lost his voice entirely and when he eventually consulted the doctor, he was declared to be far advanced in consumption. He was sent to Dunbrody but his health did not improve and at his request he was sent back to Keilands in October 1889. Fraser, a highly talented, dedicated man, with a great zest for life, died the following year on 26 January 1890[253] and was buried on the mission station,[254] to which he had devoted so much time.

In 1889 while Fraser was in poor health, Bro. Theodore Nigg, a diminutive German from Lichtenstein arrived at the mission. Nigg, who was greatly valued for his versatility, acted as cook, shoe-maker, builder, tailor and musician. While at Gubulawayo

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252. Ibid.

253. J.A.L. BY/6, Keilands History, 14 February 1892.

254. Z.M.R. I., p. 330.

he had entertained Lobengula with his accordian.[255] Nigg set about planning and building Fraser's long awaited chapel but died of fever caused by sunstroke before he could complete it.[256]

The new chapel was consecrated three years later by the Zambesi Mission Superior, Fr Henry Schomberg Kerr, on 5 July 1894. It contained Nigg's statue of Our Lady which he had carried with him throughout all his travels.[257] The chapel bell was donated to the community by a Belgian benefactress. Nigg's chapel was soon too small for the new converts so stones were gathered for the construction of a large church which was constructed by a Trappist mason, Bro. Eberard.[258] On 9 September 1896 the new church was opened and blessed by Fr Henry Gillet.[259] Gillet was the eldest of four brothers who

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255. J.A.Z. W.F. Rea, The Pioneer Missionaries.

256. See Appendix H.

257. J.A.Z. 243/1, K.M.D.

258. Ibid.

259. See Appendix H.
J.A.Z. 243/1, Historia Domus.

all became Jesuits attached to the English Province. Educated at Stonyhurst he was sent to British Honduras and was then transferred to the Zambesi Mission. In 1896 he was appointed Superior of Keilands and one of his first tasks was to open the new church. "Notwithstanding the heavy rain of the previous day, the morning of the 9th burst forth in renewed glory, and the people began to assemble in good time for the feast. The bell then announced the approaching hour, and at 8 o'clock the service began ... When the whole procession had formed a semicircle around the façade and in front of the main door, the Rev. Father H. Gillet, the newly-appointed Superior, assisted by Fathers Hornig and Bick, proceeded to the blessing of the church according to the Roman ritual. Rev. Father Hornig, as the honoured labourer in the vineyard, had the privilege of singing the first High Mass in this new sanctuary of Kaffraria, and the native choir, under the direction of Father Bick, did themselves credit by the good rendering of Bordese's Mass ... The principal donor towards the erection of the church is Madame Alphonse Bewaerts, a Belgian lady, who has taken great interest in the progress of the mission from its commencement, and who in response to Fr. Hornig's appeal has advanced sums to the amount of more than £280. The church is 70 ft. long, 25 ft. wide, and 30 ft. to the ridge, while the main walls measure 22 ins. thick ... The material man had his share too in the feast. The fatted ox, given by the Fathers and several pigs and goats

presented by principal members of the congregation were distributed amongst the cooking pots to the number of 26. Rice, mealies, &c., were served out as well and when the culinary department declared that all was ready, men, women and children sat down to partake of a festal meal."[260]

In January 1890, Fraser died and he was succeeded as Superior of Keilands by Fr John Hornig,[261] a talented linguist. Upon his arrival at the mission, Hornig found that a good foundation had been laid by Fraser and Torrend, but not much progress had been made in converting the Blacks. He obtained a complete mastery of Xhosa and began catechizing young and old, counselling and visiting the sick. He was greatly aided in his task by a printing press, the gift of Madame Alphonse Bewaerts.[262] Fraser had first used it to print 400 copies of his Catechism.[263] Hornig printed Xhosa Hymns, the Epistles and the four Gospels[264] including Deharbe's small Catechism and

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260. "A Red Letter Day at Keilands," S.A.C.M. 1895, pp. 599-601.

261. See Appendix H.

262. Z.M.R. I, p. 79.

263. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Fraser, July 1886.

264. L.N. XXV, pp. 100-101.

Prayer Book,[265] and Garden of the Soul[266] which he had translated into Xhosa. While on sick leave in Europe, he had Schuster's Illustrated Bible History printed after it too had been translated into Xhosa.[267]

One of Hornig's first projects involved the establishment of an irrigation scheme from the Kei and Quanti Rivers, which, when completed would end famine and would allow a greater number of Blacks to find employment and a means of subsistence on the property. To this end the mission bought a three inch rotary pump driven by a 9½ brake H.P. oil-engine.[268] Before the pump could be transported to Keilands, "The first thing we had to do was to repair the old road, and construct a new one for some distance over rugged mountains ... Nearly three months passed before the road was fit for traffic. Then the first loads of machinery started from Dohne, our nearest railway station.

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265. Z.M.R. II, p. 609.
266. Ibid., III, p. 545.
267. Ibid., p. 46.
268. Z.M.R. I, p. 256.

After a delay of some days, caused by the breaking down of two waggons which had to be repaired on the road, all the machinery together with the tools for putting it together arrived safely. The engineer was on the spot to receive it, and the work of erecting the plant began forthwith."[269] Although the pump supplied the mission reservoir with plenty of water, the pump could only work effectively if the river beds held water. Keilands was situated in a region of extremes: there was either an abundance of food, or none at all, depending on the rainfall. Sister Benigna Osterberger who arrived at Keilands in 1894 wrote in the mission annals that the "worst drought in living memory was experienced here in 1900. Eventually our victuals were depleted and every effort to procure provisions in the stricken district was of no avail, for absolutely nothing was obtainable. In our great need we asked St Anthony of Padua's help and intercession. On about the third day of our novena, Tom, one of the African parishioners, came saying: 'I understand that the Sisters are very poor. My wife said I should give you this pig with its three young ones.' It is now September 1901, and that pig has supplied us with several litters. Sad to relate, during last year's drought, typhoid

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269. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 380.

fever broke out, to which good old Tom and his wife succumbed. ..."[270]

Even before Hornig had been appointed Superior, he had expressed the hope that the King William's Town Dominican Sisters who were anxious to settle at Keilands, would come to assist the Jesuits in running their schools.[271] On 28 August 1894 the Sisters left King William's Town with their possessions loaded onto the waggons, with Alphonse Daignault,[271] the Graaff-Reinet and Dunbrody novice master, as their guide. "We travelled by train as far as Dohne Siding. Having secured our luggage we now boarded one of the ox-waggons awaiting us, while the Priest and Brother took possession of the other. Each wagon was drawn by a span of fourteen oxen. They took us across the veld where there was no road at all, and finally halted for the night at a little clump of trees on a river bank." The next morning Daignault gave them Holy Communion and "... After soul and body had been refreshed we were ready to continue our journey when, alas, the oxen were lost! They had strayed into a farmer's field and were

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270. M. Gouws, All for God's People (Queenstown, 1979), p. 301.

271. L.N. XXII, Letter of Hornig, 27 December 1892, p. 243.

taken to the pound some miles further away. By the time these animals had been retrieved it was clear that we would have to spend another night in our tent on the veld. Now, however, the oxen were tethered to the yokes, and so we could proceed in the morning ... As we approached our destination Father Daignault pointed out a flat rock on which the late Father Fraser, S.J., said Mass when he came to found this mission in 1886."[272] The group of nuns comprised the Prioress, Mother Euphemia Koffler and Sisters Benigna Osterberger who became the Superior, Rósa Schnell, Camilla Klostermeier, Bartholomea Kreppold and Isidore Weidemann.[273]

In terms of the Agreement signed between Daignault and the Prioress,

"i. The Fathers of the Zambezi Mission whilst retaining the ownership of the properties of Rocky Nook and Keilands agree to let the Nuns have the use, full control and usufruct of the said properties and buildings as long as they remain in charge of the Schools.

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272. M. Gouws, All for God's People (Queenstown, 1979), p. 300. Alfred Weld used the flat rock on which to celebrate Mass, not George Fraser.

273. Ibid.

2. The Nuns will receive any Grants which may in future be obtained from Government.
3. They will also receive the rents paid by Natives for the plots of ground and cattle.
4. The Fathers of the Society will either continue to pay the annual Quitrent or redeem it as they best think, but the Sisters will pay the road tax.
5. The Nuns undertake the charge of the Schools and Management of the properties.
6. They undertake also to support one Father, who will have charge of the Mission and be confessor of the Nuns - and also if necessary, of one Brother.
7. As the Sisters do not pay any Salary to the Father in charge of the Mission - and receive the use of all buildings and all the rents from the Land, they undertake to pay half the expenses of a house to be erected later on for the Father.
8. The Father in charge of the Mission keeps the right of sending away the tenants whom he judges to be any obstacle to the spiritual welfare of the Mission."[274]

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274. J.A.Z. 243/1, Document of Agreement, 27 August 1894.

Daignault imposed strict rules restricting visits by priests and brothers to the Convent, in order to limit close contact between the priests, brothers and nuns. "No one is allowed to go to the Convent or hold conversation with the Sisters, either in or out of the Convent, without general or special leave of the Superior. When anyone, with the Superior's leave, either general or special, goes to the Convent, he must not remain there longer than is necessary, and he must not enter into any idle conversation with the Sisters. When anyone wants anything from the Convent or has any complaint to make either about food, washing or anything else, he must not ask for the thing wanted or make any complaint himself ... or indirectly through the servants, but only through the Superior."[275] It appears that these rules were directed towards John Hornig who had been firmly reprimanded by Fr Richard Sykes, Kerr's successor, by letter on 8 February 1898. The letter, written in point form stated that there must be

"1. Fewer visits to convent from now on. Only on business and occasional visit with Fr Apel.

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275. J.A.Z. 243/1, Memorandum by Daignault, no date.

2. Any repetition of previous happenings will have the gravest consequences."[276]

On the same day Sykes wrote a note to Hornig's assistant, John Apel asking him to keep an eye on Hornig and to write to him from time to time to report any lapses in conduct.[277]

In 1892 a newcomer arrived at the mission, Fr John Apel.[278] He realized almost immediately that a big school at Keilands would attract children from all over the country, who could be selected for the purpose of becoming schoolmasters and catechists, thereby assisting the missionary and enabling him to extend his work.[279] On 30 July 1895 the new boys' school building was occupied.[280] Prior to this the boys had been taught in Nigg's chapel.[281] By 1895 the Dominican Sisters had

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276. J.A.Z. Letter of Sykes to Hornig, 8 February 1898.

277. Ibid.

278. See Appendix H.

279. L.N. XXII, Letter of Apel, 27 December 1892, p. 244.

280. J.A.Z. 243/1, K.M.D.
J.A.Z. 234/1, Historia Domus.

281. Ibid., 4 February 1895.

taken over the girls' school and in February of that year the schools reopened with sixty girls at the convent and twenty-eight boys at the chapel. These numbers may be compared with those at St Matthew's Anglican Mission at Keiskamma Hoek where the Rev. C. Taberer reported in 1887 that the average attendance in the boys' school was between fifty-five and sixty, and in the girls' from forty-five to fifty.[282] Although the schools were subject to government inspections, the Jesuits received no grants for the two schools, for there were never enough scholars at either school on a regular basis to qualify for the grant. Aid was given if there were twenty-five scholars or more in attendance. Although there were as many as sixty pupils attending the outstation school of Zigudu, their attendance was erratic and the average too low.[283] All the pupils were instructed by the Jesuits in their own language as well as English. The adults were instructed in the evenings.[284] Conversion was slow, and most years saw less

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282. C.L. <u>The Mission Field</u>, Volume XXXIII no. 379, 1 July 1887, C. Taberer, Keiskamma Hoek: Report for the year of Mission and Industrial Work at St Matthew's Mission.

283. <u>Z.M.R</u>. II, p. 486.

284. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Gillet, 24 August 1895.

than twenty baptisms per year. The exceptions were 1892 with thirty-two baptisms and 1895 with forty-one. The statistics for those confirmed in the faith, were generally higher, for example, in 1891, thirty-four were confirmed while in 1897 the number rose to sixty-one. These figures fall considerably short of the number of baptisms at St Matthew's for the period 1891-1897. From 1891-1895 there were 276 baptisms at St Matthews, and 138 were confirmed. For the period 1898-1902 St Matthews had 936 baptisms and 280 for confirmation.[285] The Anglicans' record is certainly more impressive and it was this which no doubt spurred Apel on to extending Jesuit work further east of the Kei River.

To this end the first outstation school, Saliwa, was opened by Fr Charles Bick in 1895.[286] Apel, who instructed the pupils, was assisted by a Black catechist.[287] Saliwa, situated on the eastern side of the Kei River, three kilometres from Keilands,

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285. C.L. MS16829 Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Statistics, 1860-1935.

286. See Appendix H.

287. Z.M.R. I, p. 42.

consisted of a stone chapel which was also used as a school room, Sacristy and accommodation for the priest in charge of the station during the week. By 1900 thirty to forty local children of both sexes were attending the school.[288]

The second outstation school, Zigudu, was established in 1901, in the region of chief Gwe, lying north of Saliwa. After the 1877 Frontier War, Whites were unable to own property east of the Kei except with the mutual permission of the Cape Government and the chiefs of the area, and it was this regulation which had prevented the Jesuits from establishing Zigudu earlier.[289] However, four years later, on 7 November 1905 the Zigudu school closed. Attendance had dwindled from eighteen in 1900, the year of famine, to almost nothing during the great floods of 1905, making access to the school virtually impossible. In addition to the floods, the teacher at Zigudu, Klaas, who had been paid a

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288. Ibid., p. 332.

289. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Gillet, 25 February 1896.

salary of 30 shillings a quarter and daily rations of one pound of mealies, eloped with his girl-friend.[290] Without a teacher the school collapsed, but not before it had included among its pupils, Black twins who were later themselves ordained as Jesuits, Stephen and Michael Phako.

In most of Africa a native episcopate had not existed in the nineteenth century, but there were exceptions. Bishop Griffith, like Apel in later years, had foreseen the need for an indigenous clergy as early as 1839, while Pfanner had trained indigenous Catholic laymen as catechists from the 1880's and had sent four young men to Rome to be trained for the priesthood at the turn of the century. The lack of local lay priests and clergy was highlighted in a great Encyclical, <u>Maximum Illud</u> in 1919 which ended by stating that "Only where there functions completely a clergy properly trained and worthy of its holy vocation has the missionary crowned his work".[291] This objective was to be achieved by the development of a native clergy and the preparation for the introduction of an autochthonous hierarchy. As a Catholic, Apel's policy was clearly ahead of its time, but it is possible that he was only

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290. J.A.Z. 243/1, <u>Z.J</u>. July 1905.

291. H. Daniel-Rops, <u>A Fight for God 1870-1939</u> (London, 1963), p. 389.

trying to imitate the Anglicans who had made use of Black agents at St Mark's and St Matthew's from 1859. In 1864 the missionary at St Matthew's, Rev. Greenstock, appointed deaconesses to visit the sick and report on their needs, while by May 1865 at St Matthew's, there were two paid Black catechists, two paid teachers with ten unpaid agents and five deaconesses.[292]

In 1890 Daignault, Jesuit Superior of the Zambesi Mission, had expressed his desire to establish a mission in the Cofimvaba area in the hope that if this mission were connected with Keilands, it would result in an extension of Jesuit work and influence in the country.[293] Bishop Jolivet, Vicar Apostolic of Natal, gave Daignault permission to establish such a mission on his side of the Kei River and granted him the civil district of St Mark's for Jesuit missionary activity.[294] The chief disadvantage of this offer was that Cofimvaba was outside the Eastern Vicariate. Although Jolivet was happy to have the Jesuits in the Natal Vicariate, it did not follow that his

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292. M.M. Goedhals, Anglican Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown under the First Two Bishops, 1853-1871 (M.A., Rhodes University, 1979), p. 138.

293. J.A.Z. 243/1, Memorandum.

294. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Bishop Jolivet to Daignault, 7 May 1890.

successors would agree to this so readily.[295] Nevertheless, on 4 June 1890 Jolivet offered Daignault 1 000 acres of land in the Tsomo Valley for the proposed mission. This land had originally been chosen for a mission station and had been granted by the Cape Government, first to Ricards for the Trappists, and then Jolivet.[296] A year later Daignault requested Jolivet to take over Keilands to make it a nucleus of a new Transkei Mission which would then be in his vicariate. At this time the Jesuits were short of manpower, but Jolivet said that he was unable to oblige as Keilands was outside his vicariate.[297]

Little else was done to establish a mission at Cofimvaba, but when the Jesuits showed renewed interest in the area again in January 1899, the Archdeacon of St Mark's Anglican Church, Coakes, opposed their plan to build a school and mission, by appealing to the Acting Magistrate to stop them in the absence

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295. J.A.Z. 243/1, Memorandum.

296. J.A.Z. 243/1, Letter of Bishop Jolivet to Daignault, 4 June 1890.

297. Ibid., 15 December 1891.

of his superior. When this failed, Coakes apparently tried to frighten the local chiefs into not giving the Jesuits land, saying that he alone had the right to open schools among the Blacks.[298] After several meetings with the magistrate of Cofimvaba and the chiefs, the authorities at Cofimvaba agreed that Apel could open a school in the ward of Chief Gwe. More negotiations followed in early 1900 between the resident magistrate, the authorities at Umtata and Cape Town, as well as the chiefs Gwe, Siyabalela and Tindala.[299]

On 28 October 1900, the Cape Government granted the Jesuits two and a half morgen of land in Gwe Darala's ward, and on 14 November 1900 the Acting Magistrate at Cofimvaba, Jonas Roose, approved the site chosen by Apel and subsequently granted

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298. J.A.Z. 243/1, Z.J., 1899.
In 1853-1854 Bishop Armstrong of the Grahamstown Diocese set out to found four missions, St Matthew's, St Mark's, St Luke's and St John's. St Mark's was founded in 1855 and was the first Anglican Mission beyond the Great Kei River. When the Diocese of St John's, Kaffraria was formed in 1873, St Mark's was transferred to the new diocese.
C.L. MS 16750, Notes on St Mark's Mission, May 1954.

299. M. Dischl, Transkei for Christ; A History of the Catholic Church in the Transkeian Territories (Queenstown, 1982), p. 124.

by the Government.[300] In October of this year the building of a brick school and chapel began under the direction of a Spaniard, Bro. John Barbera.[301] The complex included a small cottage for the resident missioner,[302] and on 18 November 1901 the Jesuits opened a school at Gwe Darala's Kraal when he put one of his huts at their disposal.[303] Fr Ambrose Casset[304] a French-speaking Savoyard who had trained in France, opened the hut school and Bernard, a Black assistant, helped Apel with the teaching.[305] Fr Adolph Bontemps from Belgium arrived at Keilands on 5 March 1903 and stayed until 1908 when he too went to Zigudu to teach and learn Xhosa.[306] On 25 December 1903 Bontemps went to Cofimvaba and had the contract signed for the building of a school which was to replace the hut. Building started soon afterwards and on 25 January 1904 the school was

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300. J.A.Z. 243/1, Z.J.
J.A.Z. 243/1, Historia Domus.

301. See Appendix H.

302. J.A.Z. 243/1, Johanny's Notes.

303. J.A.Z. 243/1, Z.J.

304. See Appendix H.

305. J.A.Z. 243/1, Z.J.

306. J.A.Z. 243/1, Johanny's Notes

officially opened by Inspector Hagan.[307] A week earlier, Hagan had opened the new school chapel, which was 16,6 metres long, 8,3 metres broad and 4 metres high.[308]

One of Apel's greatest contributions to Keilands lay in the establishment of the two outstations of Saliwa and Zigudu, and the school at Gwe Darala's Kraal. However, his contribution towards the spiritual and physical welfare of the Blacks on the mission far exceeded his other achievements, because, like Fraser, he was highly respected and deeply loved by the Blacks. On one occasion Apel was at Keilands where he had gone the previous day to enjoy at least for twenty-four hours the pleasures of community life of which he was deprived at Saliwa. "After dinner a messenger arrived requesting the Father to come over the river. A child of a ...[Black] heathen was living dangerously ill. At about 8 in the morning he had been found

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307. J.A.Z. 243/1, <u>K.M.D</u>.
St Mark's school near Sarili's kraal was in direct competition with the Jesuit school at Cofimvaba and was held on a weekly basis while the Anglican school at the mission station, was held six days a week, operating a night school as well.
M.M. Goedhals, <u>Anglican Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown under the First Two Bishops, 1853-1871</u> (M.A., Rhodes University, 1979), pp. 35-36.

308. <u>Z.M.R</u>. II, p. 367.

unconscious on the door-step. Nobody had any notion as to how his state had been brought about. It was thought that the little fellow must have climbed on to a roof and had fallen down and broken his neck. Two Kaffir doctors who had been summoned, considered the case hopeless and went away unable to do anything. As a last resource they thought of the umfundisi. As soon as he could, Fr Apel hurried across the river, wading through as he usually did. On arrival he found the patient stretched on a matting, quite unconscious, and breathing heavily like a person in the throes of death. The Father could discover no fracture anywhere, and came to the conclusion that the child was suffering from concussion of the brain. He applied Mattei's remedies without any apparent result. Then he gave different directions, and left, to return again at 8 p.m. He made fresh applications and thought there was a slight change for the better. Still, not knowing how the case might end, he earnestly begged the child's father to allow his boy to be baptised. He represented to him that a parent has no right to hinder his child's salvation, and that possibly God might grant life and health through the virtue of baptism. This he said to encourage the father, for all these heathens have a great dread of baptism. They think it will infallibly kill the sick. But little hopes could be entertained of obtaining the man's consent, as he had always been hostile to the school and to Christianity. To Fr. Apel's great surprise, after some

consultation with his friends, he gave his consent. When the short ceremony was over, the Father put a medal of St. Benedict round the neck of the boy, and went to his quarters. Next morning the teacher came to him saying, "The boy is getting on all right. Towards daybreak, for the first time during the last twenty hours, he lifted up his head and called his father. The joy of the parents was great." During the day Fr. Apel saw his little patient again. He was weak and ... another few days treatment restored him to perfect health. Then the child's father came and insisted that his son be admitted to the school. Needless to say his request was willingly granted."[309]

In 1903 when Hornig returned to Grahamstown,[310] Apel took over the management of the entire mission, but in 1905 there was talk of closure between the Jesuits and the Trappists of Mariannhill, who suggested that the Trappist Mission of Monte Cassino in Zambesia be exchanged for Keilands. The Trappist, Bro. Nivard, was sent from Mariannhill to Keilands to take stock of the farm

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309. Ibid., I, pp. 113-114.

310. Ibid., II, p. 208.

and the general situation, but the Apostolic Administrator, Abbot Obrecht, who was the temporary head of the Mariannhill Trappists from 1905-1907, was against any expansion of Trappist mission work. After his departure, the issue was reconsidered and when the Trappists met at the General Chapter in May 1908, the majority of the priests were against the exchange. In fact, the good rapport that existed between the Christian community on the Mission and the Jesuits continued after the Trappist occupation until the Pallottinis took over from them in July 1927. Prior Isembard Leyendecker conveyed the Chapter's decision to the Apostolic Prefect of the Zambesi Mission, Fr Ignatius Gartlan,[311] whereupon Gartlan made the generous offer of handing Keilands over to the Trappists without any compensation. Gartlan, an Englishman of deep and genuine piety and yet with a keen eye for the practical realities of life, was motivated in his offer by the great distance between the Zambesi and the Cape and by the lack of mission staff, especially Sisters.[312] Keilands was some 1 931 kilometres from Bulawayo

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311. See Appendix H.

312. M. Dischl, Transkei for Christ; A History of the Catholic Church in the Transkeian Territories (Queenstown, 1982), p. 124.

by rail, whereas the Trappist missions extended westward from Natal to within 161 kilometres of the Kei River. They were the ideal Order to sell to for they would be able to look after the spiritual welfare of the Christians near the mission.

On 20 June 1908 a letter arrived at Keilands from Leyendecker, Prior of Mariannhill, in which he announced that he intended to inspect Keilands with a view to taking it over.[313] This was followed four days later by a letter from Gartlan, which informed the community that the Trappists with the Sisters of the Most Precious Blood had decided to take over the mission.[314] Casset simultaneously received his orders to go to St Aidan's.[315]

On 23 July 1908 Leyendecker arrived at Keilands[316] and on 11 August the Dominican Sisters, Bontemps and Barbera left. Barbera and Bontempts went to Dunbrody and on 10 September Apel

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313. J.A.Z. 243/1, K.M.D.

314. These Sisters are sometimes called Mariannhill Sisters. They are the foundation of Franz Pfanner, but an independant Order, with a rule of their own.

315. J.A.Z. 243/1, K.M.D.

316. Z.M.R., III, p. 543.

left Keilands bound for Zambesia.[317] The only Jesuit conditions connected with the transfer were to continue with missionary activity in the Transkei and to offer prayers for the benefactors who had made possible the foundation of Keilands.[318]

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317. J.A.Z. 243/1, K.M.D.

318. M. Dischl, Transkei for Christ; A History of the Catholic Church in the Transkeian Territories (Queenstown, 1982), p. 124.

3.6 PARISH WORK AND MISSIONS

At the outset the Jesuits were active in giving retreats and missions. In 1875 at the invitation of the parish priest, Farrelly, and at the request of Bishop Ricards, John Lea and Augustus Law of St Aidan's went to Uitenhage to give a mission. Seven years later two Jesuits arrived from Ireland at the invitation of the Bishop of Cape Town to give missions throughout the Cape Colony. In Uitenhage these two Jesuits, Cullen and Colgan established the Apostleship of Prayer. Cullen returned in 1922 to give another mission, this time accompanied by a different priest, Murphy.[319] Other Jesuits acted as locum tenens at Uitenhage, and at Stutterheim, James Nesser was the temporary priest from 1896-1898. The Jesuits also became resident priests, for example Ferdinand Engels at Stutterheim and Denis Corboy at Bedford.[320]

As primarily educators and missionaries, it was unusual for the Jesuits to establish and run a parish in Claremont, Cape Town. The only Jesuit parish of its kind in South Africa, it existed

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319. D.A.P.E. Pierce, History of the Catholic Church in Uitenhage, pp. 41-42.

320. S.A.L. S.A.C.M., August 1899, p. 477.

for five short years, opening in 1924 and closing in 1929 after being handed over to the Franciscans. In 1923, Rooney, the Vicar Apostolic of the Western Cape from 1903 to 1924, approached Robert Brown, Superior of the Zambesi Mission, requesting that the Jesuits run the Claremont parish.

The suggestion remained in abeyance until the following year when Bodkin, the Provincial of the English Province, arrived in Cape Town on the visitation of the Zambesi Mission.[321] When the Provincial and Bishop met, Rooney offered the Jesuits a property he had bought at Brookside, Claremont, for which the Jesuits paid £3768-14-0. On 21 September possession was taken of the property.[322] Two weeks later Patrick Daly arrived from Empandeni to take charge of the parish at 26 Lansdowne Road, which consisted of a church and porch converted from a stable.[323] On 11 October, St Ignatius Church was formally opened. The boundaries of the parish to the north were the

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321. J.A.Z. 244/5, Anonymous Notes.

322. Ibid.

323. Ibid.

Annberg Ravine, Camp Ground Road as far as the railway straight to the intersection of Belvedere and Keurboom Roads to the junction of Boundary and Milner Roads, on to the Cape Flats Railway at Crawford Station. The southern boundary was the municipal boundary of Claremont, to the east, the Cape Flats Railway and to the west, the top of Table Mountain.[324]

Rooney had asked the Jesuits to work at Claremont to enable the Rondebosch priests to work on the Mowbray side of their parish but this could only occur if they were relieved of Claremont. He hoped that a hostel, residential retreat house and public church would be established in addition to the Jesuits being responsible for parochial work and the spiritual care of schools and Catholic institutions in the area.[325] Claremont was also to serve as a house of retreats to laymen and a home for convalescents of the Zambesi Mission. With the parish as a base, Jesuit missions were successfully conducted at Bedford,

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324. J.A.Z. 244/5, Agreement between Rooney and Brown, 11 December 1924.

325. Ibid.

Sea Point, George, Parow, Rondebosch, Belmont, Simonstown, Aliwal North, Lansdowne, Somerset West and Uitenhage.[326]

Notwithstanding the fact that the Jesuits travelled extensively throughout the Cape giving retreats and doing parochial work, they only established the one White parish at Claremont, which they also ran. The Jesuits were generally at their most influential through retreat and pastoral work and their endeavour in this kind of apostolate must be regarded as extraordinarily far-reaching.[327]

Despite a Jesuit presence at Claremont, Jesuit strategy was not directed towards mission stations and parishes established for Whites, but rather towards ones for Blacks and Coloureds. In the field of education and training on these stations, the Jesuits embarked upon a programme directed towards all races, but St Aidan's remained a college for white boys only, although

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326. J.A.Z. 244/5, Letters of Lallemand to Johanny, 1923-1929.

327. In 1935 the decision was taken to establish a permanent Chaplaincy at the University of Cape Town - a project which had been proposed in 1917. The Superior of the Zambesi Mission, Philip Beisly sent Bryan Gavan - Duffy to Cape Town to take up the post of Chaplain, and when the property and residence of the late Dr Petersen was put on the market, it was purchased and named Kolbe House.
R.C.A. Kolbe Student: 50 Years, p. 8.

there was no law preventing Black pupils from attending private schools. On the question of integrated education, Jesuit policy was dictated by the pressure of public opinion.

CHAPTER IV

ZAMBESIA

Three years after Ricards had secured the Jesuits to staff St Aidans, Jesuit attention was turned towards the enormous Zambesi River regions which could probably be more receptive to Catholicism at a time when the Protestant missionaries were very well established in the areas south of the Limpopo River.

The death of David Livingstone, a missionary and explorer in Southern and Central Africa, in 1873 had stirred the imagination of many who hoped to answer his call and introduce Western civilization to the lands in which he had travelled. Within five years of his body having been carried from Chitambo's Kraal among the Bangweulu marshes to the coast by Black bearers, a number of new missions had been launched. There were two Scottish Missions in Nyasaland, the Livingstonia Mission and the Blantyre Mission, the Livingstonia Inland Mission and that of the Baptist Missionary Society in the Congo, the Church Missionary Society in Uganda and the London Missionary Society

in Tanganyika.[1] The English Assistant to the Jesuit General, Alfred Weld, had this to say of Europeans who had turned their attention to the African continent: "A great effort is being made to raise up these poor creatures from the barbarism into which they have fallen, to teach them to feel something of the dignity of man, to instruct them in habits of industry and principles of justice, to teach them to live in peace with one another, to turn to profit the treasures with which a bountiful nature has supplied them, and, above all, to lead them to a life of faith and to the future happiness for which they were created".[2] Like other missionaries of the era Weld associated Christianity with what appeared to be a higher culture and was accepted along with other aspects of that civilization. African groups whose inherited culture and religion was disintegrating under the impact of a civilization of which Christianity seemed to be a part, consequently turned to that faith for guidance and assurance in their spiritual uncertainty.

Interest in the Upper and Lower Zambesi grew rapidly in the late

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1. A.J. Dachs et al., <u>The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979</u> (Gwelo, 1979), p. 16.

2. A. Weld, <u>Mission of the Zambesi</u> (London, c. 1882), p. 3.

nineteenth century, when the African continent in particular was enjoying widespread prominence due to the publicity given to trade and the recent advances in medicine. With the arrival of the missionary Dr Robert Moffat,[3] there were renewed attempts at conversion after the much earlier failure of Silveira and the Dominicans. In 1829 Moffat paid Mzilikazi,[4] the chief of the Ndebele, a visit at his capital.[5] Thirty years later, Moffat, together with Rev. William Sykes visited Mzilikazi again and persuaded him to allow them to set up a mission station at

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3. Robert Moffat (1795-1883) was of Scottish descent and joined the LMS at the age of twenty. He arrived at Cape Town in January 1817 (J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in Southern Africa (London, 1911), p. 154.) and established a station at Kuruman which was at that time the most northerly station of the LMS. He paid five visits to Mzilikazi between 1829 and 1859 and opened the Inyati station in Matabeleland. He later returned to Kuruman where he retired from missionary work in 1870. (C.E. Fripp et al. (eds.), Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland (London, 1949), p. 236.)

4. He was the founder of the Ndebele nation and was formerly an induna of the Ndwandwe. After having settled first in the Northern Transvaal he was driven across the Limpopo by the immigrant Boers and finally settled in 1840 in what is today called Matabeleland. He is the father of Lobengula. C.E. Fripp et al. (eds.), Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland (London, 1949), p. 237.

5. R. Blake, A History of Rhodesia (London, 1977), p. 21.

Inyati, in the Valley of Inyati.[6] The Inyati station was established in 1859, some forty-eight kilometres from the present town of Bulawayo. The next year Moffat departed from Inyati, leaving his son John, a Welshman Thomas Morgan Thomas and Sykes to continue in his absence. Life at Inyati proved harsh and the climate exhausting. Supplies were scarce and very expensive and the process of keeping alive left little time for conversion. Tension mounted amongst the missionaries under these trying circumstances, and by July 1865 they were living in adjacent huts and communicating with each other by letter only.[7] Sykes remained at Inyati until his death in 1887 without winning a single convert[8] In 1877 the Inyati settlement was visited by Rev. Francois Coillard who spoke of it as "the most perplexing problem in modern missions. The Reverends Thomas and Sykes," he went on, "have laboured for twenty years in the country. Mr John Moffat first and then Mr Thomson consecrated to it the first fruits of their ministry. In spite of all their efforts and sacrifices there is no school,

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6. C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa (London, 1955), p. 98.

7. R. Blake, A History of Rhodesia (London, 1977), pp. 22-23.

8. M.F. Bourdillon, (ed.), Christianity South of the Zambesi (Gwelo, 1977), p. 32.

no church not a single convert, not one! In fact I do not know which ought most to astonish the Christian, the barrenness of this mission field, or the courage and perseverance of these noble servants of Christ who have for so long ploughed and sowed in tears."[9] Although Inyati and Hope Fountain were destroyed in the Ndebele War of 1894, both were rebuilt and the following year witnessed the opening of a centre at Dombodema in Matabeleland.[10]

In 1860 the London Missionary Society established a station among the Makololo but the mission proved disastrous. One of the missionaries, John Mackenzie, who later played a prominent part in Bechuanaland, was delayed by his wife falling ill, a providential misfortune, which probably saved both their lives. But the other two, Holloway Helmore and Roger Price, duly set out for the Makololo Mission. They were warmly welcomed by the Makololo chief and by his people, but within a month, four of the nine Europeans were dead. Helmore's son died on 7 March, Price's daughter on the 9th, Helmore's daughter two days later

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9. F.Coillard, On the Threshold of Central Africa (London, 1902), p. 44.

10. C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa (London, 1955), p. 98.

and on the next day Mrs Helmore. Helmore himself died on 21 April. Price then managed to get away south to make in the reverse direction the parched journey through Bechuanaland. It killed his wife. He himself and two of the Helmore children were the only survivors out of the nine who had initialy set out.[11]

In 1860 Moffat left Matabeleland and headed for the last time, for Kuruman. In 1868 Mzilikazi died, and two years later, the new chief, Lobengula gave land for a new mission at Hope Fountain situated south of Bulawayo. Here C.D. Helm took up his life work, retiring only in 1914.

At a time when the missionary world - Catholic as well as non-Catholic - was concentrating its attention on Africa, Bishop Ricards, the Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern District of the Cape Colony, responded to the call to spread Christianity on the continent. One motive which strongly recommended his petition was the fact that the Cape Colony had at its back a vast continent virtually untouched by the Church, and he hoped that

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11. W.F. Rea, The Missionary Factor in Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury, 1962), p. 5.

St Aidan's College would serve as a base and nerve centre of radiating missionary enterprise.

In a letter written to Alfred Weld, the English Assistant to the General, dated 1 July 1874, the Bishop mentioned his hope for a mission.[12] However, the story had not begun there, because the letter states that The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome had previously asked the General to start a mission in the African interior, which the General had refused because he did not have the men. Ricards' attention was not at this stage directed to that part of Southern Africa where the Jesuits eventually established themselves, but to the area which Livingstone had worked and travelled in, namely Nyasaland (now Malawi), but this project was dropped since the mission would be too close to the Free Church Mission and the Portuguese who had the reputation of controlling all river trade.

When the Malawi project was abandoned, it was replaced by an equally chimerical one. Ricards suggested to Weld that Bangweulu could become a mission site, but it was inaccessible

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12. A.J. Dachs et al., The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979 (Gwelo, 1979), p. 16.

and unhealthy. From 1877 no more was heard of a Catholic mission in the Bangweulu region, but there was still talk of a mission beyond the Zambesi River and south of the Zambesi in Matabeleland.[13] The Zambesi area looked inviting to Weld who thought that it was "desirable to establish the mission in a region in which this influence would produce fruit as far as was possible consistently with the selection of a virgin soil, one free from the evil example of Europeans, and yet not too far from our basis or at least in a position from which the missioners might occasionally communicate with the College at Grahamstown, either by means of intermediate stations or otherwise. All these reasons pointed to the neighbourhood of the Zambesi as a suitable district. The population on the left bank of the river is simple and industrious: it has been rarely visited by white men: no Protestant missionaries have ever been established there: the slave trade is unknown except within the range of the influence of the Portuguese stations, and it has behind it a large extent of country which has never been explored."[14]

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13. Ibid., pp. 16-18.

14. A. Weld, "Mission of the Zambesi", L.N. December 1878, p. 147.

It was only two years later though, that Weld suggested to Cardinal Franchi,[15] Cardinal Prefect of The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, to establish a mission north of the Limpopo River.[16] The proposal was received with great favour by the Cardinal in a letter written to Weld in late 1877. "I have received the letter which you have written to me in the name of the Father General your Superior, and having read it with extreme interest, I cannot but praise the excellent dispositions you show for the definitive establishment, when the proper time comes, of a mission in Africa, in the place which you have pointed out to me by word of mouth. I assure you that this Sacred Congregation will do all in its power to further the proposal of the esteemed Father General, and later will take steps to establish the mission which is desired. In the meantime I shall be glad if the Father General will send out one or more subjects to explore whether and in what parts the mission in question can be established. And awaiting a more

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15. Alessandro Franchi (1819-1878) was an Italian priest who was appointed Prefect of Propaganda in 1874. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), p. viii.

16. A. Weld, "Mission of the Zambesi", L.N. December 1878, pp. 147-148.

or less detailed report to be sent to this Sacred Congregation, I entirely agree with the Father General in the advisability of beginning at once to collect the means which will be necessary to meet the great expenses which from the outset will attend the development of a work so glorious to religion and so useful for the salvation of souls."[17] Owing to the distance of the mission, and the difficulty and expense of the journey, it was necessary that the exploring party be in reality the first band of missioners, and the Sacred Congregation consequently granted full missionary faculties to the head of the party, whose duty it was, after having explored the country, to write a report to the Sacred Congregation on receipt of which the limits of jurisdiction would be definitely settled.

It was decided that as the jurisdiction of Monsignor Comboni, the Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa, extended southwards to the tenth parallel of south latitude, the sphere of the Zambesi Mission should extend south of this. The area of the proposed mission was outlined to Henry Depelchin,[18] the appointed

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17. Ibid., p. 149.

18. See Appendix H.

leader of the mission, in an audience with Pope Leo XIII in December 1878 just before Depelchin left for Africa.[19] Depelchin was a Belgian and had had considerable experience in organization, administration and personnel management. He was the Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Calcutta where he developed a Jesuit College before he accepted the position as Superior of the Zambesi Mission. Lobengula was so impressed by his appearance when he first caught sight of him, that he is reported to have remarked, "It is the face of a lion."

The limits of the Zambesi Mission fixed by the Rescript of the Congregation of Propaganda stipulated that the boundaries would be "To the North, the Tenth parallel of south latitude. On the South the Limpopo from the point where it enters the Portugese Territory to the point where it traverses the line of the Tropic, then the line of the Tropic to the 22 of Longitude East from Greenwich. On the East the territories of Portugal. On the West the 22 degree of Longitude East of Greenwich."[20] The area set aside for the Zambesi Mission covered some 1 206 975 square kilometres, which included modern day Zimbabwe, Zambia,

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19. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), p. xxii.

20. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), p. 49.

Malawi, northern Botswana, eastern Angola, southern Katanga and part of southern and south-western Tanzania. Depelchin was appointed Superior of the Zambesi Mission in 1877 and he envisaged setting up missions not only along the Zambesi from the far north in Lealui among the Barotse, but also much further south towards Mozambique and even to the far north-east on Lake Bangweulu where Livingstone had died.[21] Depelchin with the assistance of two colleagues, now set about collecting alms and men for the undertaking travelling widely in Belgium, Holland, Germany and England.[22]

At this point the question arose as to what route should be taken to reach the Victoria Falls, the place chosen as the site for the main station. Three routes presented themselves - that by Dar es Salaam, that by the mouth of the Zambesi, and the route through British territory. The decision was eventually taken to use the last route although the distance from Grahamstown to the Victoria Falls was in excess of 1,931 kilometres. This route was favoured for hostile chiefdoms would

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21. A. Weld, "Mission of the Zambesi", L.N. December 1878, pp. 152-154.

22. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 54.

be encountered on the other two routes, and other obstacles such as unreliable porters and guides, the lack of food in uninhabited districts, the dangers in crossing large rivers and the swamp areas with the risk of fever, would not only have worn out the missionaries with illness and fatigue, but diminished their numbers long before they had reached the Victoria Falls. The Cape route offered the chance of avoiding the fever bearing swamps of the coasts, and the missionaries would be able to use waggons or ponies. The party in the interior could keep open communication with the outside world, and to do this more effectively it was proposed to establish an intermediate station with a friendly chiefdom, to have the dual function of being a mission station and a secondary basis of operation. There would also be plenty of grazing along the Cape route, for the oxen pulling the waggons.[23]

While touring Europe, Depelchin picked ten men to accompany him to the Zambesi. The missionaries chosen were an international group because the Zambesi Mission was entrusted to the Society of Jesus in general and not to a particular province, falling

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23. A. Weld, "Mission of the Zambesi", L.N. December 1878, pp. 150-152.

under the direct authority of the General in Rome, who placed it under the control of Weld. Beckx, the Jesuit General, realized that the mission could not be established without the help of some brothers who would be needed for growing crops, building houses, caring for the oxen, mending the waggons and a multitude of other tasks, so several were included in the pioneer group, which consisted of three Belgians, Fr Charles Croonenberghs,[24] Bro. Francois de Sadeleer[25] and Bro. Louis de Vylder, a tough brother who had fought in the papal army against Garibaldi at Mentana in 1867.[26] The German group consisted of Fr Anton Terörde a teacher and soldier who had served in the Franco-Prussian war in the Prussian medical corps,[27] and Fr Karl Fuchs who was the first member of the Zambesi Mission to die. He had also served in the Prussian medical corps in the Franco-Prussian War, but left Germany a year later because of the Kulturkampf.[28] The third German, Theodore Nigg was a versatile dwarf who was a cook, builder, tailor and

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24. See Appendix H.
25. Francois de Sadeleer worked in the Cape Colony until 1891 but then returned to Belgium.
26. See Appendix H.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.

musician.[29] The two Italians in the party were an unfortunate choice. Fr Salvatore Blanca[30] was a hot tempered Sicilian who was later responsible for deeply distressing Depelchin, while Bro. Pietro Paravicini[31] suffered continuously from fever. The two Englishmen, were Fr Augustus Law and Bro. Joseph Hedley who had joined the Merchant Navy in his youth and had been shipwrecked off the coast of Tunisia.[32] Before their departure to Africa, after all the arrangements had been made, the group of missionaries went to Rome for a final blessing from the Pope. Later, on 18 December 1878, Depelchin and Weld were received in private audience by Leo XIII,[33] during which he finalized the boundaries of the Zambesi Mission and blessed the banner of the Sacred Heart, which would be taken on the expedition.[34]

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29. Theodore Nigg left the Zambesi Mission in 1884 bound for the Cape Colony.

30. See Appendix H.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), p. ix.

34. Ibid., p. ix.

The African-bound missionaries sailed from Southampton in two groups. Depelchin left on 2 January 1879 on the steamship Nyanza with Terörde, Nigg and Paravicini and they arrived at Port Elizabeth in February. The rest of the party sailed from Southampton in the Durban on 30 January 1879, but were delayed at Ascension Island for engine repairs, and only arrived at Cape Town on 6 March 1879 and Port Elizabeth six days later.[35] In Grahamstown the missionaries were joined by Augustus Law, a priest who had come out to the Cape with Bishop Ricards, in 1875, to teach philosophy and theology at St Aidan's College.

Meanwhile in Grahamstown, which was not only the meeting but also the starting point of the expedition, there was great excitement. Scientific notes in Latin were printed for the priests to stimulate research among them in their spare time.[36] In preparation for the expedition, Law began learning Zulu to enable him to converse with Lobengula, the chief of the

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35. Ibid., Letter from Depelchin, 11 February 1879.

36. P. Caraman, "Le Convoi est en Marche", L.N. LXXXVII, p. 4.

Ndebele. An elderly Zulu[37] went to the College every day to help him with the language. The missionaries remained in Grahamstown until all their provisions, travelling goods, tools and maps had been collected and packed on their waggons. Depelchin wrote to Weld informing him that the "caravan is composed of four waggons for which we paid £110 each, or sum total £440. The oxen are at this moment very dear, and we had to give £12 per head. There are three spans of 14, and one of 16 for the buck-waggon. Consequently the expense for the oxen will amount to £696. We have got a good conductor, Mr. Impey to whom I agreed to give £10 per month and food. Then we have to pay four drivers and four leaders at the rate of 30 shillings each per month. The goods bought for exchange money will amount again to a thousand pound and more. Add to this the expense of provisions and you will see that our journey will cost the mission at least £4000. We leave Grahamstown on Easter Tuesday at 4 p.m. to outspan in the evening at 3 miles distance from this place. This first encampment is made near the town in

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37. The Zulu was Umtaka Baba who had been baptised by Ricards. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), Letter of Croonenberghs, 20 March 1879.

order to supply the wants of the expedition if anything has been forgotten in the shape of provisions or furniture."[38] They were to attempt to reach the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi, by following the road used by hunters and transport riders which passed through Colesberg, Kimberley, the Transvaal, Shoshong and Matabeleland.

On 15 April, High Mass was celebrated in Grahamstown in St Patrick's Cathedral, to bless the expedition. Depelchin reported to the General that "The Fathers and the five Brothers who were to form the Mission were in the sanctuary. I had Fr. Blanca as Deacon and Fr. Terörde as Sub-deacon. Fr. Croonenberghs and F. Füchs were assistants at the throne. The Bishop presided in cope and mitre. The Brothers, in surplices, were acolytes. Thus all who were to share in the apostolic expedition were gathered together before the altar. You can well understand, Very Reverend Father, that during the ceremony we did not forget out magnificent banner, the work of some devout ladies of Bruges. This banner of the Sacred Heart, which

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38. J.A.L. C.K. Letter of Depelchin to Weld, 10 April 1879.

His Holiness Pope Leo XIII had blessed, and to which he attached indulgences, was carried at the head of the procession, and during the Mass it was exposed before the faithful, crowds of whom had come together for the imposing ceremony."[39]

Towards evening a crowd gathered on the square in front of St Aidan's College where four waggons and fifty-eight oxen formed the four teams of the convoy. Ricards blessed the caravan at six in the evening by the light of a dim lantern, but in spite of the activity it was impossible to leave until the next day at 4 p.m. "At last we moved and the 4 waggons each pulled by 14 oxen descended at a brisk walk down the valley to climb the slope of the opposite hill which overlooks the city of Grahamstown and the great trip started. The waggon Claver,[40] loaded with provisions for six months, led the caravan and had the privilege of being pulled by a span of 16 oxen. Fr Law, Brother Hedley and the guide rode on top of the provisions and cases. The waggon Blessed de Britto[41] followed with the two

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39. Ibid., 16 April 1879.

40. St Peter Claver (1581-1654). A Spanish Jesuit, and the son of Catalonian peasants, he worked among Negroes and slaves. He was canonized in 1888.

41. St John de Britto (1647-1693) was a Portuguese Jesuit in Southern India who was canonized in 1947.

German priests Fuchs and Terörde and Brother Nigg. The third waggon is consecrated to St Francis Xavier and under the protection of this great apostle sheltered Fr Croonenberghs and Brother De Sadeleer. Finally the waggon St Ignatius pulled by 14 oxen black as ebony made up the caravan and covered in a cloud of dust carried Fr Blanca and the 2 brothers De Vylder and Paravicini."[42]

On 11 May 1879 the caravan reached Kimberley, and Law reported to Weld that "We have had, thank God, a most successful journey without let or hindrance of any sort. The weather beautiful, plenty of water, and I should add for a good part of the journey plenty of dust too ... The night after leaving Colesberg, we crossed the Orange River, and so entered the Free State ... On the 10th Saturday we outspanned 12 miles from Kimberley."[43]

After the caravan had left Grahamstown, Depelchin remained in the city a few days longer. He eventually arrived in Kimberley five weeks later, after travelling in the mail cart. In

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42. J.A.L. C.K. Letter of Depelchin to General, 16 April 1879.

43. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), 12 May 1879.

Kimberley he planned to get the support of Sir Bartle Frere,[44] Governor of the Cape Colony. Depelchin reached Kimberley on 30 April and joined the party of ten on 11 May after obtaining a letter of recommendation from Frere to Lobengula, and a letter of introduction from the trader F. Barber, to Khama, chief of the Ngwato.[45]

At this stage of the journey, Depelchin was uncertain as to where they would be welcome to settle in the interior. On 22 January the Zulu had overwhelmed the British force at Isandhlwana and it was considered unsafe to pass through Lobengula's country to the Zambesi as the Ndebele had been refugees from the Zulu and there was doubt as to how well they would be received at Bulawayo. Depelchin realized that they might have to be satisfied with a station at Khama's in Botswana.[46] The party of eleven left Kimberley on 21 May en

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44. Depelchin had met Frere earlier in India.

45. Frederick Hugh Barber (1847-1919) was a trader, hunter and miner in Southern Africa.
M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 57.

46. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), Letter of Depelchin, 3 April 1879.

route for the Transvaal via Christiana, Bloemhof and Zeerust, meeting Francois Coillard[47] at Bamboo Spruit between Bloemhof and Zeerust. Coillard was later to become their rival on the Zambesi.[48] On 19 June the convoy arrived at Zeerust and at this stage the health of the missionaries was good, but on 22 November the General wrote to Depelchin informing him that he was sending a Visitor, Fr Anthony de Wit of Graaff-Reinet, because he had received complaints about too little care shown to the missionaries. For several weeks the missionaries were said to have tasted no meat and to have had only the nourishment "on which the poor natives live, perhaps suficient for them but not enough to sustain the health of Ours: some were sick or weak,

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47. Francois Coillard (1834-1904). Born of Huguenot stock in 1834 in Central France, he attended a Protestant Training Institution at Paris and later went to Strasbourg University. He left for Southern Africa as a Paris Evangelical Missionary and worked in Botswana from 1857-1877. In 1877 he crossed the Limpopo River but was arrested for entering the Ndebele Kingdom without permission. He consequently turned his attention to Barotseland and in 1878 obtained chief Lewanika's permission to settle there. He founded the station at Sefula in 1887 and died in Barotseland in 1904. C.E. Fripp et al. (eds.), Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland (London, 1949), p. 233. L.H. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia (New York, 1969), p. 43. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), p. 20. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey tq Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), p. 81.

48. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), Depelchin's Travel Diary, 6 June 1879.

even exposed to death ... I hope all this is exaggerated but in the circumstances I must pay attention to them. I have spoken to Bishop Ricards now in Rome and he approves of my sending a Visitor to see what needs doing and to do it at once".[49] In a letter to Weld, dated 18 February 1880, Law denied these charges against Depelchin, saying that "reports had reached you that we were all sick with dysentery and starving at Tati. I am afraid that the foundation of such a false report must have come from some letter of one of the members of the Mission - I trust he, whoever he was, was joking but if not, I think the sooner such a man returns from whence he came the better - what is true is this - that there was a want of meat when first we arrived. But cannot those who glory in the name of Zambesi Missionaries go without meat for a few days?" A few months later, on 11 May 1880, Depelchin wrote to Weld reporting on the satisfaction of the outcome of the Visitor's visit, and referred to the starvation report as a matter "too stupid and too shameful to be even mentioned".[50] The culprit responsible for the complaints, was later identified as the Italian priest, Blanca.

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49. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), Letter of General to Depelchin, 22 November 1879.

50. Ibid., Letter of Law to Weld, 18 February 1880.

A hot-headed, quarrelsome man, Blanca was a real trial to his companions who attempted to be patient with him. His misleading reports about Depelchin's alleged mismanagement were a source of constant distress to Depelchin although he was fully exonerated in the Visitor's report.

On the trip north, the Jesuits had hoped to establish a base at Mangwato town where late comers to the Mission could be acclimatised and taught Black languages, but at Notwani River the Jesuits were met by William Sykes of the London Missionary Society who apparently hastened ahead to persuade Khama, whose capital was at Shoshong, to refuse to let the Jesuits establish a mission in his territory.[51] On 23 July the party reached Shoshong and gave Khama their letter of introduction from the trader, Barber. "The bearers of this are going into your country and the interior to teach the Word of the great Creator. They are neither traders nor hunters but teachers only. I have told them about you Khame of whom they had already heard a great deal. They are friends of our great Chief Sir Bartle Frere, who is here at the Diamond Fields now and who has

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51. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 57.

spoken very highly of you as the great Khame."[52] The letter made little impression upon Khama, who informed them that he had enough teachers in his country for many years to come.[53] Disappointed with Khama's attitude, Depelchin arranged to move onwards to Gubulawayo, capital of Lobengula.[54]

Although the pioneers had entered the Zambesi regions, the General was having second thoughts on establishing "a station in the Dwarsbergs in the Transvaal, through which we must pass to come here from Kimberley. There are there indigenous Bechuanas who seem to be well disposed. Our Fathers could work there among the Setchuana and begin to evangelise there the many

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52. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), Letter of Barber to Khama, 22 May 1879.

53. A.J. Dachs et al., The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979 (Gwelo, 1979), p. 20.

54. Gubulawayo, Lobengula's first capital from 1870-1881, was also referred to as Old Bulawayo. New Bulawayo was the Ndebele capital from 1881-1893.
E.C. Tabler, Pioneers of Rhodesia (Cape Town, 1966), p. 176.

Bechuana tribes of our mission ..."[55] Nothing materialized from the General's thoughts, and on 17 August when the Tati gold-fields were reached, the Jesuits occupied a small house which was retained as a base because it was conveniently situated near the border of Lobengula's territory. At Tati Paravicini suffered from fever so he remained there until he was sent back to Grahamstown in October 1880, in the company of his difficult and rude countryman, Blanca. Tati was a useful trading centre where other settlers and hunters lived, and it formed the central point from which roads radiated to Shoshong, the Zambesi and Gubulawayo.[56] Depelchin resolved to leave some of his missionaries at Tati to rest and refit while he, Law and De Sadeleer travelled on towards Gubulawayo with only one waggon to visit Lobengula. Depelchin chose Law to accompany him because he was the most versatile of the missionaries, and the best educated. He displayed some talent in sketching, much to the delight of Lobengula, in light verse and he also had some ability as a musician. Due to his naval training he meticulously recorded longitudes and latitudes during the course

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55. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), Letter of De Wit to Weld, 25 October 1880.

56. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), Depelchin's Travel Diary, 18-19 August 1879.

of his travels. The other companion was the tough De Sadeleer who was chosen to accompany Depelchin because of his great stamina and resilience in times of hardship.

The three Jesuits arrived at the Royal Kraal of Ishoshani or the White Rocks on 2 September and gave the chief some trinkets, a Martini rifle, a music-box and two blankets.[57] Lobengula later permitted the Jesuits to purchase a property from a Jew, H. Greite,[58] for the sum of £500. The property consisted of two stone houses, an iron storehouse and a stable. Although he allowed the Jesuits to live near the royal kraal about ten kilometres from Bulawayo, to buy Greite's house, to acquire land by grant, to continue to live at Tati in an area also claimed by Khama of the Ngwato and to travel through Matabeleland to the Zambesi,[59] on no account were they allowed to preach to the Ndebele, although they were permitted to teach industrial work

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57. Ibid., Letter of Depelchin, 6 September 1879.

58. H. Greite was a trader at Gubulawayo who sold his premises to the Jesuits for £500, before trekking to Zeerust. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), p. 40.

59. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 59.

to them.[60] The first Jesuit mission site was near Lobengula's kraal, Bulawayo, but when Lobengula shifted to his new kraal, New Gubulawayo, it seems he did not want the Jesuits so close at hand because he sent them out to Empandeni some 113 kilometres away, where he gave them a huge grant of land,[61] estimated by some to be approximately 161 square kilometres, where they would be less of a threat to the Ndebele system.[62]

Barely six weeks after the arrival of the pioneer group, Terörde and De Vylder left Tati by waggon bound for the Cape for further supplies and missionary reinforcements. Terörde was the youngest priest in the pioneer group and Depelchin had originally ear-marked him to start the mission in Bechuanaland. It was partly due to his inexperience and the Italian, Blanca, that De Wit was appointed Visitor. Terörde left Tati with De Vylder, an exceptionally cheerful lay-brother whom the Barotse referred to as "the white hunter who is always laughing." He was a good shot and contributed regularly to the pot, although

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60. C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa (London, 1955), p. 98.

61. P.S. King, Missions in Southern Rhodesia (Cape Town, 1959), p. 24.

62. C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa (London, 1955), p. 98.

Depelchin did not entirely approve of his hunting; however, he had less objection to brothers doing so than priests. In February of 1880 Terörde and De Vylder were joined by seven new recruits to the mission; the priests were Charles Wehl,[63] Francis Berghegge,[64] John Weisskopf[65] and Anthony de Wit,[66] and the brothers included Francis Simonis,[67] Henry Proest[68] and Arnold Vervenne.[69] With the exception of Charles Wehl who was Austrian, the remaining missionaries were all Dutchmen. Upon the arrival at Tati of the new missionaries Depelchin planned to have four mission stations, one each at Tati, Gubulawayo, one in Umzila's country among the Shangaan, and one amongst the Thonga, whose chief was Mwemba.[70]

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63. See Appendix H.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), Letter of Depelchin, 7 May 1880.

Depelchin now planned two expeditions, one to the Zambesi and the Thonga with five men accompanying him, and one to the Shangaans headed by Law who would also visit the Sofala Coast. Alexander Bailie, a Government surveyor in Kimberley had initially roused Law's interest in Umzila's country. Later Law held talks with the Shangaans who had travelled to Gubulawayo for the occasion of the marriage of Lobengula to one of Umzila's daughters. At these talks he heard that Umzila was fond of Europeans and he would welcome missionaries. Law expressed his hopes for the Umzila mission in a letter to Weld, soon after their arrival in Gubulawayo. "I do most earnestly hope that whether we are able to settle here in Lobengula's country or not, we do not lose the glorious opportunity offered us of going into Umzilo's country. There are no Protestants there. There is an open field for us. We have had 2 or 3 interviews with these people. (There are about 1000 of them here now - the marriage party). We have been received by them whenever we visited their camp with the utmost kindness & heartiness. They all declare that they wd be delighted if we were to come into their country, that Umzilo wd receive us very well."[71]

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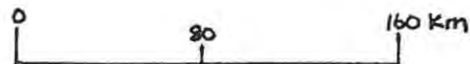
71. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), Letter of Law to Weld, 8 October 1879.

The Zambesi Mission, 1878 - 1934.



The first expedition to Thonga country set out from Tati on 17 May 1880 travelling in a north-westerly direction, reaching Pandamatenga on 25 June.[72] Here the Jesuits stopped and Depelchin resolved to set up a post where the ox transport could be left behind as the tsetse zone lay ahead.[73] Weisskopf, Simonis and Nigg remained at Pandamatenga, and Depelchin, Terörde and Vervenne, accompanied by George Blockley set out into Thonga country beyond the Zambesi River.[74] Blockley was one of the partners of George Westbeech[75] with whom the Jesuits later had dealings. Westbeech was a well known trader and hunter who first entered Matabeleland in 1863, and opened a trading station in 1872 at Pandamatenga with his partner "Elephant" Philips. On 9 August the party reached Mwemba's kraal in the Zambesi Valley, below the Victoria Falls. Terörde and Vervenne remained with Mwemba to found the residence of the

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72. Ibid.

73. C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa (London, 1955), p. 135.

74. L.H. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia (New York, 1969), p. 46.

75. In 1888 he died at Vleischfontein, the Transvaal Jesuit mission station, on his way to the Cape Colony.
C.E. Fripp et al. (eds.), Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland (London, 1949), p. 238.
M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), p. 20.

Holy Cross, but no sooner had Depelchin departed for Pandamatenga, than Terörde developed fever and Vervenne went down with dysentery. On his return to Pandamatenga, Depelchin was struck by fever. Nigg and Weisskopf at Pandamatenga rushed to Depelchin's assistance, but when Depelchin received bad news about Terörde's health, Nigg and Weisskopf travelled on to Holy Cross to find that Terörde had died the previous night, and Vervenne was in a delirium. Depelchin wrote to Weld, informing him that "Moemba seeing Br. Vervenne left alone in a dying state, and in the hands of native servants, availed himself of our misfortunes to demand a portion of our goods ... Meanwhile Br. Nigg having arrived found Moemba making new demands. He extorted from him 22 blankets, a quantity of cloth, powder, lead, a fine gun etc. ... Moemba got frightened of his own work, thinking that I would ask an account of his conduct, and came to the conclusion that the best plan for him was to send away from his territory the white people, and he therefore compelled Br. Nigg to leave at once the place with his dying man. The people made a rush upon our flock and dispersed them and stole some 40 sheep and goats. Still to conceal better his plunders and robberies, they say that Moemba had even made a plot to cut Brother Nigg's throat and to throw the poor sick man

into the river!"[76]

The Moemba tragedy was echoed in the Shangaan expedition headed by Law and Wehl. They were accompanied to Umzila by De Sadeleer and Hedley. The latter was of great practical value to the Mission and on the expedition and it was he who painted Lobengula's waggon, which Croonenberghs then decorated. The Law expedition left Gubulawayo on 28 May 1880, bound for the eastern Zambesi. On 27 July the two priests and two brothers reached the Sabi River and attempted to find a good place to cross. Law recorded that "once we made an attempt & failed getting into a deep hole - half the oxen & the leader Zambesi, having to swim ... Of course we were totally dependent on our guides ... However we went on - On the 6th Aug. F. Wehl, who was very fond of going at a dangerous distance from the wagon, was missed about 5 pm. I had seen him about 2 walking about 150 yds away & Br. Sadeleer, who was sitting with me in front said: "F. Wehl goes too far". I said, "Yes. I will tell him when he comes back." We were too much occupied in clearing the road, cutting trees to think of his absence till 5 p.m., when some one said: "Where is F. Wehl?" We fired 5 discharges one after the other

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76. J.A.L. C.K. Letter of Depelchin to Weld, 10 October 1880.

wh. wd. have told him where the wagon was, if he had been alive. Br. Sadeleer remarked: "I don't believe he is alive." ... I sent out people at once in search. But they returned having seen nothing of him. For 3 days we waited at an outspan a few yards further than where we missed him, sending out every day searchers with promises of large rewards if they found him ... I came then to the conclusion after considering before God that it wd be better to abandon the wagon & make the best of our way on foot to Umzila's. For it was certain that the wagon wd be attacked ... We had a long laborious walk of 170 miles till at last we arrived here, on the 1st of Aug. living by the game we shot. The day after we arrived Umzila sent us a bag of amabele & a young ox. We lodged in a little hut. On the 5th we saw him. He wanted us all to go back to the wagon with his people. But Br. Hedley & myself were unable to undertake 20 miles a day, the rate his people wd be going. So Br. Sadeleer, the driver & the Hottentot went. The King's boys remaining with us. The meat was soon out, & we have been on amabele now about 3 weeks. This at last told upon us & we both got fever."[77] On 25 November Law died after he had celebrated his final Mass

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77. J.A.L. C.K. Letter of Law to De Wit, 27 September and 10 October 1880.

with ropes under his arms and tied to the roof of the hut to support him.[78] Hedley managed to get to his colleagues at Umgaan where he stayed because Wehl and De Sadeleer then set out on foot for Sofala. Along the way Wehl contracted fever and died at Sofala on 12 May. When De Sadeleer returned to Umgaan, he and Hedley then returned to Gubulawayo,[79] and this ended the calamitous expedition.

Undeterred by the death of his colleagues and the failure of the Zambesi and Umzila expeditions, Depelchin determined to try again, and the following June, Depelchin, Berghegge and De Vylder set out for Barotseland. The chief, Lewanika,[80] was most generous, assuring them sites for two mission stations, promising labour for the buildings and a waggon road which would be opened to them.[81] Two years later on 14 March, Berghegge,

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78. A.J. Dachs et al., <u>The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979</u> (Gwelo, 1979), p. 23.

79. M. Gelfand (ed.), <u>Gubulawayo and Beyond</u> (London, 1968), pp. 300-304.

80. Lobosi, chief of the Barotse, secured power after an internal struggle in 1878 and built his capital at Lealui in the Barotse Valley. He became known as Lewanika in the mid-1880's.

81. W.F. Rea, <u>The Missionary Factor in Southern Rhodesia</u> (Salisbury, 1962), p. 10.

De Vylder and Simonis set out to request fulfilment of the promise Lewanika had made. De Vylder drowned while crossing the Zambesi and the two surviving Jesuits found Lewanika greatly changed.[82] He refused them sites for the stations and the use of labour. When the Jesuits were robbed they left Lewanika's country after being forbidden to remain any longer, unless Lewanika were given more presents.[83]

With so many mission personnel dead or fever-ridden, Depelchin requested a second batch of reinforcements for the Zambesi, but their arrival in 1882 did little to rescue the disaster-struck mission. The group comprised six missionaries, four priests and two brothers. The Englishmen were Fr Peter Prestage,[84] who had attended the Jesuit colleges at Liège and Stonyhurst and Bro. Alfred Allen.[85] The two Dutch priests were Bartholomew

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82. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), p. 406.

83. W.F. Rea, The Missionary Factor in Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury, 1962), p. 10.

84. See Appendix H.

85. Ibid.

Kroot[86] and Henry Booms,[87] a jovial, kindly man, known for his generosity. Fr Ferdinand Engels[88] was a German from Westphalia and he was accompanied by his fellow-countryman, Bro. Maurice Meyringer.[89]

The continuing poor health and high mortality rate of the missionaries was a matter of great concern to Weld and Depelchin. By 1885 the prospects for future conversion were most depressing and the price had been very high in terms of lives lost. The first to die of fever had been Fuchs[90] in January 1880. It was a puzzle to his fellow missionaries why someone who had such a weak constitution should ever have been sent to the Zambesi and he soon succumbed to the rigours of the interior. He was followed by Terörde in September 1880, Law two

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86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), p. 405.

months later, then Wehl in May 1881, De Wit[91] and Hooy[92] in March 1882, De Vylder[93] in April 1883, Heep[94] and Weisskopf[95] in July 1883, Allen[96] in February 1885, and Kroot in June 1885. The high mortality rate was due mainly to the lack of quinine[97] amongst the missionaries and the absence of a doctor to give them expert medical attention. Not surprisingly, all but Peter Prestage had been recalled to the Cape by 1886,[98] but the decision to abandon the Zambesi after a decade of failure and sacrifice was influenced by other factors as well.

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91. Ibid.

92. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 69.

93. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), Letter of Berghegge to Weld, 1 November 1883.

94. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 92.

95. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), Diary of Peter Prestage, 21 July 1883.

96. Ibid., 14 April 1885.

97. Commonly known as Jesuits' or Peruvian Bark, quinine was not discovered by the Jesuits but by the Incas. The Peruvian Jesuits introduced it to Europe in 1650. P. Caraman, The Lost Paradise (London, 1975), pp. 145-146.

98. I. Linden, The Catholic Church and the Struggle for Zimbabwe (London, 1980), p. 8.

The Zambesi Mission relying heavily on donations from private citizens had been a financial drain on the coffers of the Order. Depelchin records that no alms were collected or distributed to the Mission by The Society for the Propagation of the Faith which had been in existence since 1823. The only plausible explanation for Propaganda's stand is that the Zambesi Mission was under the personal control of the General who directed all matters of finance to the Provincial of the Zambesi Mission. The vast distances of the Mission from its base in the Cape Colony, coupled with poor communications and the great expenses incurred in running the mission stations, taxed the Order's income very heavily. The decision to withdraw from Matabeleland was also influenced by the complete failure of missionary work among the Thonga and the Shangaans (a not uncommon experience) and the failure to gain even a foothold amongst the Barotse, due in part to the fact that no Jesuit could speak Sikololo and Lewanika seems to have been offended by their attempts to settle in Thonga country which the Barotse considered part of their sphere of influence.[99]

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99. L.H. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia (New York, 1969), p. 46.

It was unfortunate too, that the Jesuits were unable to secure the support of the trader and hunter, George Westbeech. His support was essential to any European intending to work in the Zambesi Valley and Westbeech used his influence to keep the Order out of the Valley to assist Francois Coillard. In his diary Westbeech wrote: "I have kept the Jesuits out to assist Coillard, who asked me in 1878, although he does not listen to my advice". Later he wrote "and again when I think that through me their (Coillard's) mission is established in the country, and I could so easily have settled the Jesuits in the Valley, who even offered me £550 to assist them which I refused because I had given my word to Coillard to assist him, it rather riles me".[100]

An equally compelling reason for failure was the Jesuits' condemnation of Ndebele custom, social structure and life style. They perceived the Ndebele and other black chiefdoms in the Upper and Lower Zambesi as societies based upon power, military might, polygamy and witchcraft, all of which were in direct conflict with the teachings of Christianity. The failure of the Jesuits to make converts has frequently been explained in

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100. E.C. Tabler (ed.), Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland (London, 1963), p. 38.

terms of kinship, traditional religious beliefs and institutions which buttressed Ndebele political and social structures, but a more plausible explanation is that the Jesuits adopted an inflexible and arrogant attitude towards the Ndebele, believing that there was nothing worthwhile retaining in their society, culture or tradition. That the Jesuits had the most cordial relationship with Lobengula, and that they were all proficient in the Ndebele language is undisputed, but they failed to Africanize Christianity party because of their own prejudices, Propaganda's policy and partly because Lobengula would not permit Christian converts. There was no proposed modus operandi as to how the Jesuits would deal with difficult and complex Ndebele tribal customs, consequently they could not follow the example of Ricci in China. They were not prepared to accommodate any of the Ndebele practices, and with the absence of powerful incentives to embrace Christianity, the Ndebele perceived the faith as foreign and Westernized.

The Ndebele were criticised by the missionaries for their superstitions, their absolute loyalty to Lobengula and fear of punishment if they joined or professed any Christian religion. Likewise, the system of giving unlimited power to the chiefs was severely condemned. There is no record revealing that the Jesuits came to grips with the Ndebele system of beliefs and the only way the Jesuits attempted to counter this system of beliefs

was by learning the Ndebele language and by trying to win converts through acts of Christian charity.[101]

The Jesuits were predictably unsuccessful in Mashonaland where they never tried to counter Lobengula's wishes by settling within the Shona dependencies. Lobengula's policy on this point was inflexible. White missionaries were able to reside in Matabeleland proper, where he could keep an eye on them; but they had no business to set up mission stations within his Shona sphere of influence.

In 1885 the final decision to abandon the Matabeleland mission stations was taken by Weld, with Pandamatenga closing on 27 November 1885 and Tati in 1886.[102] The policy to withdraw seems to have first been raised by the German priest, Kroot, in August 1883 in a letter written to Weld. He mentioned the failure with Lewanika and claimed there was no hope in Matabeleland as long as Lobengula was alive. He wrote that "the

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101. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), Letters of Law to Notre Mère, 6 October 1879; De Wit to Beckx, 16 June 1880; De Wit to Weld, 28 July 1880.

102. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), pp. 76-78.

plan itself of this Mission has been from the very beginning rather a misfailure ... The scale is so large, and consequently the loss of money, people and time too great and not at all in proportion to the prospect. It would be far better and cheaper if all that people was kept together in one or two houses more to the South, and enabled to learn the language thoroughly, which is now impossible".[103] Weld's decision to abandon the three stations was also strengthened by the need to find staff for the new station at Vleischfontein in the Western Transvaal which was in a much healthier part of Africa and which had been purchased in 1884. On the insistance of Prestage the Empandeni mission was kept open, but by the end of 1889, the Jesuits had yet to make any real progress in Matabeleland and only one leper had been converted.[104] When Prestage, stationed at Empandeni, requested Lobengula to give him complete freedom to instruct the Ndebele in religion, this was followed by the establishment of a small school in 1887.[105]

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103. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), p. 397.

104. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), Letter of Croonenberghs, 5 May 1881.

105. M. Gelfand (ed.), Gubulawayo and Beyond (London, 1968), p. 427.

Lobengula's change of heart towards the Jesuits was no doubt prompted by the fact that Cetshwayo, the Zulu chief in Natal had been defeated, and in 1883 and 1885 Ndebele warriors had been defeated by Batauwani warriors around Lake Ngami. Of even greater concern to Lobengula, was Sir Charles Warren's proclamation of a British Protectorate over Khama's country in 1885.[106] However, when Rhodes's plan for a settlement in Mashonaland became known, the Jesuits withdrew from Empandeni in 1889, after hearing reports that Lobengula had repudiated the Rudd Concession, that his regiments wanted to attack white settlers and that war would certainly break out.[107]

At a time when more than one European power was anxious to establish itself in Africa, the British Government granted a charter to the British South Africa Company. Early in 1888 Lobengula had entered into a treaty of peace and amity with Great Britain, and C.D. Rudd, R. Maguire and F.R. Thompson had been sent to Matabeleland to obtain concessions with a view to forming the Chartered Company. Lobengula, pressurized by the

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106. Ibid., pp. 433-434.

107. M.A.G. Davies The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 98.

Europeans, granted the Rudd concession on 30 October 1888, followed by the Royal Charter, obtained on 29 October 1889.[108]

The company, having decided to open up Mashonaland first, organized a pioneer column under Frank Johnson in June 1890, consisting of approximately 200 Europeans and 150 labourers. The aim of the column was to cut a road 644 kilometres long from Macloutsie, passing through the south of Matabeleland and terminating at Mount Hampden in Mashonaland. Two members of the pioneer column were the Jesuits Peter Prestage and Andreas Hartmann[109] who had volunteered to act as chaplains to the column. Hartmann was an Austrian priest who later compiled an Outline of a Grammar of the Mashona Language and an English-Mashona Dictionary. Hartmann met the column at Cecil Camp on the Crocodile River and accompanied it,[110] but

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108. T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa - A Modern History (Johannesburg, 1989), pp. 174-175.

109. See Appendix H.

110. I. Linden, The Catholic Church and the Struggle for Zimbabwe (London, 1980), p. 8.

Prestage stayed behind to act as chaplain for the King William's Town Dominican Sisters for whom arrangements had been made for their entry into Mashonaland. Fear of attack from Lobengula's impis led to Prestage and the nuns being delayed at Macloutsie for ten months, but eventually Prestage re-entered Mashonaland in 1891, after having abandoned Empandeni in 1889.

In return for their services, Prestage and Hartmann were granted four farms by the British South Africa Company: Mt Dombo, Silveira, Penhalonga and Chishawasha,[111] the latter some twenty-two kilometres outside Salisbury and about 12 000 acres in size.[112] In 1895 Empandeni was re-occupied by the two priests,[113] and this heralded a change of Jesuit mission policy, which, in later years, was concentrated mainly on the Zambesi, rather than on the Cape or Transvaal, as Vleischfontein had closed in 1894.

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111. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 103.

112. I. Linden, The Catholic Church and the Struggle for Zimbabwe (London, 1980), p. 13.

113. A.J. Dachs (ed.), The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979 (Gwelo, 1979), p. 42.

When Fort Salisbury was founded at a spot nineteen kilometres south-east of Mount Hampden, the pioneer column was disbanded.[114] Initial development was centred at Salisbury; a temporary church was erected for the settlers and a hospital was opened by the Dominican Sisters,[115] after the Jesuit Superior, Daignault, had taken the decision that Catholic nurses should staff the first hospitals in Mashonaland. With the support of Cecil John Rhodes he went to King William's Town to see Mauritia Tiefenboeck O.S.D., the Prioress of the Sacred Heart Convent. In 1892 a hut, which served as the first school in Mashonaland, was opened with ten pupils on 18 October[116] by the Dominican Sisters. Much was done by the Company in the next few years to develop the country. Townships were laid out, roads constructed, a postal system was inaugurated, forts were built and a military police force was enrolled. In October

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114. I. Linden, The Catholic Church and the Struggle for Zimbabwe (London, 1980), pp. 3-4.

115. M. Gelfand, Mother Patrick and her Nursing Sisters (Cape Town, 1965), pp. 2-3.

116. M.A.G. Davies, The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), pp. 105-107.

1890, when Colquhoun assumed the administration of Mashonaland there were about one thousand white men in the country.[117]

In 1893 war broke out between the Ndebele and the Company, and Lobengula fled and died in exile shortly afterwards.[118] The Company took over the administration of Matabeleland, reducing the Ndebele to the status of squatters, with the exception of those who lived in Reserves on the Shangane and Gwaai Rivers. Defeated but not broken, the Shona and Ndebele rebelled in 1896; the Ndebele were finally suppressed in October 1896 and the Shona in late 1897.[119] The fall of the Ndebele Kingdom, the suppression of the 1896-1897 risings and the subsequent rapid development of a western type economy created a congenial ground for the growth of Christianity among the Ndebele and Shona. These events stimulated fresh interest among missionaries already labouring in the Ndebele territory, luring

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117. A.H. Holland, Short History of Rhodesia (Bulawayo, 1910), p. 4.

118. J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in Southern Africa (London, 1911), p. 277.

119. T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa - A Modern History (Johannesburg, 1989), p. 177.

new evangelical societies and organisations from Mashonaland, South Africa and Europe. By 1900 there were no fewer than eight societies of missionaries operating in Matabeleland, one of which was the Society of Jesus.[120]

In 1891 Fr Henry Schomberg Kerr succeeded Depelchin as the new Superior to the Zambesi Mission and a return was made to the original plan to concentrate Jesuit efforts north of the Limpopo River. While Depelchin had had little experience of the African interior, he had great courage and determination that strengthened in times of adversity. Sometimes inflexible, and attempting to do everything by the book he had an optimism and enthusiasm which one disaster after another could not quench. As the most senior of all the pioneers to the Zambesi, both in age and position in the Society, he succeeded as Superior as well as any man could have done, bearing in mind the widely divergent national, educational and cultural backgrounds of the missionaries under his charge, and the obstacles which they had

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120. A.J. Dachs (ed.), The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979 (Gwelo, 1979), p. 41.

to encounter. Fever, death and failure, synonomous with Depelchin's pioneers, was replaced in the post-colonial years by widespread success in missionary, parochial and educational fields.[121] The reasons for this change were multifarious.

When the Zambesi Mission was founded in 1878 it had been under the direct control of the Jesuit General in Rome with its local head-quarters in Grahamstown, at St Aidan's College.[122] Early Jesuit missionaries had been unsuccessful in their efforts in Matabeleland until 1890 and the most logical and obvious policy to adopt until Matabeleland became more receptive to missionaries, was to develop the southern mission stations in the Cape and Transvaal. When the Pioneer Column of 1890 reached Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and once Lobengula had been

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121. An account of Jesuit successes in the post 1890 years can be found in A.J. Dachs (ed.), <u>The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979</u> (Gwelo, 1979), M.A.G. Davies, <u>The History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960</u> (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974).

122. The local head of the Zambesi Mission was the Superior but in 1896 he was also given the title of Prefect Apostolic. The same man could hold both offices and could be addressed either as Monsignor or as Father, depending on which of his offices was being referred to.

defeated, the Jesuits were able to resume their earlier work. In 1893 the Zambesi Mission was partitioned; the lower Zambesi was assigned to the Portuguese Province of the Society, leaving the rest to the English Province, so St Aidan's ceased to be the head-quarters of the Mission.[123] The next division occurred in 1897 when the Vicariate of Nyasa was formed from the whole of Nyasaland and the north-eastern districts of Northern Rhodesia. The greatly reduced Zambesi Mission now consisted of present-day Zimbabwe, the greater part of Zambia, and sections of Botswana.[124] The final division occurred on 15 July 1927 when the northern areas of present-day Zambia were cut off to form the Prefecture of Broken Hill, which was entrusted to the Polish Jesuits. Simultaneously, the remaining portion of the Zambesi Mission became the Prefecture of Salisbury which resulted in Salisbury emerging as the centre of the Prefecture rather than Bulawayo.[125]

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123. Z.M.R. VIII, p. 476.

124. A.J. Dachs et al., The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979 (Gwelo, 1979), pp. 74-75.

125. Ibid., p. 75.
The ecclesiastical divisions of the Catholic Church in South Africa are explained in Appendix B.

The ecclesiastical divisions within the Zambesi Mission evolved as a result of the enormous success of the mission stations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland in the post rebellion years. These stations had multiplied and grown at a remarkable rate to meet the demands of the new converts, whereas the Jesuits in South Africa were having a difficult time financially and their results in the mission field were not as spectacular. When the Jesuits withdrew from Dunbrody, the only other Jesuit presence in South Africa in 1934 was at the College in Grahamstown, because the parish at Brookside, Claremont had been handed over to the Franciscans in 1929.

By 1934 St Aidan's was in dire straits; the number of boys had declined from 145 in 1916, to seventy-four in 1932, and below sixty in 1933. The effects of the world depression of 1929 had resulted in a steady dwindling number of pupils which contributed to the financial crisis experienced by the College. By 1932 the major centres in the country had their own state schools, catering for both boarders and day scholars, and by this time the decision to close Dunbrody had been taken. On the advise of the English Provincial, the General took the decision to close the College at the end of 1933. When Martindale, a Jesuit priest and writer who visited the College in 1931, was received in private audience by Pope Pius XI, he appealed to the Pope to overrule the decision of the English Province. Shortly

after this meeting the Pope and General met and decided to keep the College open.[126]

But there was no turning back to South Africa after the 1890 return to Matabeleland and Mashonaland where mission farms provided the core of Jesuit missionary enterprise. The ownership of mission land provided food and a base from which to travel to neighbouring Black villages and reserves. For this reason missions were purchased close to populated Black land giving work opportunities and shelter to the Christian communities who could be collected and protected. The farms became supply centres for the reserve missions and outstations where crops could be grown and herds pastured to raise grain and finance for other stations.

The Rhodesian Jesuits, like their colleagues further South tried to begin a school at the mission at the earliest possible moment. They too, realized that older Blacks would not readily accept Christianity, so they set their sights upon the younger settlers and their children. Since the inception of Chishawasha

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126. F.L. Coleman, St Aidan's College Grahamstown (Grahamstown, 1980), pp. 79-81.

in 1892 Jesuit policy had emphasised that "Christianity and work go hand in hand and add such book learning as would enable the black man to be a useful member of the community. On leaving our school at the age of fourteen the young Mashona had to spend two to four years in farming or gardening, or acquiring a trade such as carpentry, smithing, building, stone cutting, tailoring, cobbling or even cooking."[127]

This policy was reinforced by the General who wrote in 1896 that "The most important task of all is the education of the Africans. Other work, if necessary, must yield to this because all missionary work among the Africans will be barren unless the young are carefully instructed in the Faith and thoroughly imbued with religious principles. This, however, cannot be done except by means of schools ... Therefore no Residence should be without a school, and if a school is impossible, a Residence should also be considered impossible."[128]

Prestage and Hartmann had been granted farms at Mt Dombo, Silveira, Chishawasha and Penhalonga by the British South Africa

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127. A.J. Dachs et al., The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979 (Gwelo, 1979), p. 95.

128. Ibid.

Company, including eight stands in Salisbury, four in Umtali and eleven in Bulawayo.[129] In addition, a piece of land just outside Salisbury was transferred to them from Sir John Willoughby who had been second in command of the Company Police that had accompanied the Pioneer Column. This property became known as Hartmann Hill. On 31 July 1892 a group of German Jesuits under two priests, Richartz and Boos, and five brothers founded the Chishawasha Mission.[130] By January 1895 a school had been established at Chishawasha and in 1911 Chishawasha's first outstation was founded at Kutama. Empandeni was re-occupied by Prestage in 1895 and its first outstation, Embakwe, was begun in September 1902, followed by Chikuni in 1904. By 1908 when Keilands closed, Empandeni had three outstations and by 1923 there were twenty-five outstations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, each controlled by a Black catechist. Some of these outstations such as Musami and Makumbi grew into flourishing mission stations themselves, deep in the Shona and Ndebele areas.[131] In 1904 Driefontein was acquired

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129. M.A.G. Davies, A History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 104.

130. A.J. Dachs et al., The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979 (Gwelo, 1979), pp. 46-50.

131. Ibid., pp. 51-61.

close to the Chilimanzi Reserve and because of its favourable position, Holy Cross, St Joseph's and Hama's were established as outstations with Chilimanzi in the Reserve itself.[132] In May 1898 Mzondo mission was opened but the site had been so poorly chosen that the two missionaries placed there had died of fever and it had been temporarily abandoned.[133] The mission re-opened in 1909 on a new site and the station's name changed to Gokomere, from which the outstation Silveira sprang. Silveira grew into a permanent mission in the Bikita Reserve.[134] In the same year the station of St Barbara's opened.[135] In addition to these stations, St George's Public School was started on 13 January 1896 in Bulawayo but when Salisbury became the centre of the newly created Prefecture in 1927, St George's was moved to Hartmann Hill. The Jesuits also established a teacher training centre at Driefontein which was later transferred to Kutama.

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132. M.A.G. Davies, A History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), pp. 59-61.

133. Ibid., p. 151.

134. A.J. Dachs et al., The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979 (Gwelo, 1979), pp. 89-90.

135. Z.M.R. VIII, p. 477.

By 1912 the Order had built churches with schools attached for both Salisbury and Bulawayo townships and by 1924 churches, schools and missions had been established which covered all the main settlement areas.[136] This could never have been achieved without sacrificing the South African mission stations and their manpower.

136. M.A.G. Davies, A History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974), p. 133.

CHAPTER 5

TRANSVAAL

VLEISCHFONTEIN: 1884 - 1894

The only Jesuit mission station to be established in the Transvaal was Vleischfontein, or Tseni-Tseni, in the south western Transvaal. It was started in 1884 and given up ten years later. The mission's establishment and final abandonment represented the adoption and abandonment of a policy, which if persevered in, would have changed the whole history of the Society in Southern Africa.

As early as 1879, when Henry Depelchin was leader of the pioneer group of Zambesi-bound missionaries, he remarked in a letter to Alfred Weld that they had passed the Dwarsberg near the Marico and they had met an immense population in the mountains. He expressed the hope that the Jesuits could establish a station among the Tswana people as it would be a link between Kimberley and Shoshong. If there were a mission, travelling would be less demanding for the missionaries and the oxen could be changed. He urged Weld to consult with Propaganda to "get these mountains under our jurisdiction. Now it belongs to nobody. There we shall not have to fight with Protestant Missionaries. The

Marico does not at all enter into our mission, as the tropical line is higher up ... Kindly see if it is possible to place the Southern limit to the south of the Dwarsberg, viz. following the Marico R, down to the 25° S. Lat. I think you will not meet with the least difficulty. The people of these mountains belong to the Betchuana - a people very well disposed to receive the Gospel."[1]

This hope was later expressed by Anthony de Wit who informed Weld of the Marico area's potential. "After breakfast some of us went out to see Tsenni Seni. It lies in a nice valley. To the north there is a series of hills & mountains & around the village you see at a great distance many fields of Kafircorn. The whole consists of several quarters or kraals each encircling from 10 to 40 huts in a fence of bush. The nicest huts however were built of well plastered sunburnt bricks of clay, with an entrance or door of 6 by 2½ feet & the roofs were thatched with dry long grass & supported by poles. These same huts were surrounded by a wall of clay at a distance of some 12 feet, with a gate opposite to the entrance. From the hill I counted from 250 to 300 huts. Wherever we met natives in the crooked

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1. J.A.L. C.K. Letter of Depelchin to Weld, 15 July 1879.

streets, they seemed a little puzzled at the sight of white men, but at our greeting them with "homela", the only Sechuana word I knew, they constantly replied with an approving "hé, hé". If this place had been within the limits of our missions, we should fain have established there a residence, for the people, although poor, appeared to us industrious, quiet & kind."[2]

Depelchin, still convinced that a station at Vleischfontein would prove worthwhile, wrote from the Zambesi, to the Prefect of Propaganda on 7 September 1883, that "... to achieve a lasting work we must be able to rèly on a regular and civilized government; we must have a place which is healthy and not too far from the fevers of the Zambesi where the missionaries in case of sickness or accident can take refuge and continue their apostolic works. This base, which easily presents itself to us in the Transvaal because it is the nearest country to our mission and has all the required conditions: firstly, this country enjoys an excellent climate and secondly it has a large Kaffir population which speaks the Bechuana language. Now Sechuana (Tswana) is one language which is understood and spoken

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2. J.A.L. C.K. Letter of De Wit to Weld, 12 June 1880.

by most of the tribes bordering on the Zambesi. Thus missionaries who are suffering from fever at the Zambesi could be transferred to the Transvaal, where, while regaining their strength, they would be able to continue their work among the Bechuanas, and those who are enjoying good health in the Transvaal could go and fill the empty posts on the Zambesi. By means of this exchange, and owing to the fact that there is the common language of the two territories - which would form one single Mission - there would be no interruption in evangelising work which would bear fruit on both sides. If on the other hand we have not got the Transvaal as a base, our operations would have no stability: at any given time sickness or wars could ruin everything".[3]

The purchase of Vleischfontein as a base in preference to the Portuguese colony of the Lower Zambesi was prompted by logistical reasons because "that part of Africa is the most unhealthy country in the world. Secondly how would one supply from there the missionaries in the interior. The rapids on the Zambesi make navigation virtually nil, and the earth roads present an insurmountable difficulty - Quilimac (Quelimane) can

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3. J.A.L. C.K. Letter of Depelchin, 7 September 1883.

only just supply the station at Tete. How then can one manage to get through with convoys of supplies to the cataract at Victoria, and then on to the Barotse country? Once again on this point, only the Transvaal can supply provisions and relatively safe and certain transport to the heart of our Mission. There is another point to consider, that in the whole of the Transvaal ... there is only one priest who looks after the Convent in Pretoria and at the same sees to the spiritual well-being of this immense territory. Thus in giving the Transvaal to the Zambesi mission no-one will be upset and one could look after the religious needs of this big country which has a population of half a million Kaffirs and a fairly large number of Europeans".[4]

In 1879 the pioneer Jesuit column had passed through the Transvaal on their way to Gubulawayo and their route had led them past the villages occupied by the Tlhaping[5] on the Dwarsberg.[6] Although Depelchin and Anton Terörde made

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4. Ibid.

5. The name given to the Black chiefdom living in the Marico area.

6. A mountain range in the Marico District of the Western Transvaal.

acquaintance with the chiefs of the Tseni-Tseni district, they did not establish a station amongst them at once, as the Transvaal was not within the limits assigned to the Zambesi Mission and the opportunity of working and settling amongst the Tlhaping did not occur until a few years later,[7] when Depelchin was no longer Superior of the Zambesi Mission.

In early 1883, Depelchin's successor, Weld, arranged for the purchase of the 4 000 morgen farm, Vleischfontein. The contract was signed at Zeerust between the owner, H. Greite[8] and the Jesuits[9] after Greite had turned down an offer of £1200 for the property, "as the party who wished to purchase the farm is not good enough for the money, which is a great object to me, as I intend to take a trip to Europe ... Therefore I would sooner take less for the farm. I think it is sput cheap at £800; if you like to give that for it, you may have it."[10]

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7. J.A.Z. 244/2, History of Vleischfontein 1883-1890, p. 2.

8. A Jewish trader in Gubulawayo from 1875-1880. In 1879 he sold his premises to the Jesuits for £500. He settled in Zeerust after closing his business at Gubulawayo. R.S. Roberts (ed.), Journey to Gubuluwayo (Bulawayo, 1979), p. 40.

9. J.A.Z. 244/2, History of Vleischfontein 1883-1890, p. 7.

10. J.A.L. CK. Letter of Greite to Depelchin, 3 March 1883.

The proper name of the farm was Kalkfontein, but owing to game being plentiful in that area, hunters gave it the name Vleischfontein. Close to the Jesuit farm was a farm called Kalkfontein that belonged to an Irish Catholic, Coghlin,[11] and his family. These were two different farms; the Jesuit farm was north of the Dwarsberg, while Coghlin's farm was south of the Dwarsberg some forty kilometres from the Jesuit farm, lying between Swartfontein and Brakfontein.[12] Vleischfontein was also referred to as Tseni-Tseni,[13] after a district in the Marico.

Vleischfontein was well watered and had a sheltered, fertile valley with seven perennial springs which filled three large reservoirs made by Greite, which attracted quails, wild ducks and geese.[14] Compared to the three Jesuit mission stations

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11. Coghlin was married to a Protestant and he specially asked the Jesuits to have his children received into the Catholic Church.
    J.A.Z. Mission Notes by Johanny, II.

12. J.A.Z. Mission Notes by Johanny, II.

13. J.A.Z. Z.M.R. I. p. 449.

14. J.A.Z. 224/2, History of Vleischfontein 1883-1890, p. 8.

established in the Cape Colony, Vleischfontein was not only well positioned but a paradise through which travellers and transport riders passed. A high regional rainfall ensured that all year round the "ground was moist and soft, and vegetation throve amazingly, to such an extent in fact that the gardeners had to be continually hoeing to keep down the luxuriant growth of weeds. One of the worst weeds ... was prime Transvaal tobacco ... Needless to say, all sorts of vegetables, cabbages excepted, could be cultivated with ease ... But it was not for its vegetables or cereals that the garden was chiefly noted. What gave it a reputation for many miles around was the large number of fine fruit trees which it contained ... So abundant was the annual yield of fruit that the Fathers, though they used to dry a great quantity, were quite unable to consume more than a small fraction of the crop. Large boxes and baskets were periodically filled and despatched to the big police camp at Gaberones, 42 kilometres away; the natives on the property were occasionally invited in ..."[15]

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15. J.A.Z. <u>Z.M.R.</u> I. p. 478.

On 8 December 1884, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Frs Charles Croonenberghs and John Baptist Temming arrived at Vleischfontein to take occupation of the farm. Croonenberghs was the ideal person to establish the new mission station. He was one of the priests who worried Depelchin by his hunting, and his free and easy way of life. He showed great charity and friendliness to all, and got along splendidly with everyone, including Lobengula, chief of the Ndebele. He had painting and medical skills too and Lobengula even sent his queens to be treated by him. A versatile and patient man, he was a great asset to the Zambesi Mission. Croonenberghs had just returned from Europe in September 1884 and had been at Dunbrody when he was sent to occupy and organize the new station. Temming was an accomplished linguist. He printed several works in Sechuana and took down in writing, for the first time, the Chiswina language.[16] On 9 December Croonenberghs assembled the heads of the nearest village and explained to them the reason for their coming. This meeting was followed on Christmas Day by a visit from Mankurwane, the great chief of the Tlhaping who lived six kilometres away from the proposed station. The two priests

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16. J.A.Z. 244/2, History of Vleischfontein 1883 - 1890, p. 7.

received the Chief in their waggon and he stayed with them all day. Upon his departure he agreed to leave his people free to go to the mission school and chapel. Without further delay the building of a mission house was begun. The house, built by Croonenberghs himself, was six metres square and three metres high, with a galvanised iron roof and two doors made from packing cases. Despite two violent storms which threatened to undo his building efforts, the first Mass was celebrated on New Year's Day in 1885 by Temming in the presence of about forty Tlhaping, a day after a statue of Our Lady of Lourdes had been placed beneath the branches of a Koolboom and the new station had been placed under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception.[17] Early in the new year, Croonenberghs left Temming at Vleischfontein to return to Dunbrody, whereupon he left for Port Elizabeth en route to Europe on 13 March.[18] Fr Ferdinand Engels was sent to take his place at the mission although he was not made the new superior. This position was

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17. Ibid., pp. 6-8.

18. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Johanny to Vollmer, 18 July 1945.

given to Fr Edmund Delplace[19] who had been the Vice-Rector of St Aidan's College.[20] Delplace was a Belgian who had been ordained at Calcutta in 1873 and had spent ten years working on the plains of the Ganges Delta before arriving at the Cape with Weld. The community in late 1885 consisted of Delplace, Temming and Engels and three lay brothers, Vervenne, Simonis and Pietro Paravicini. Simonis was responsible for all the carpentry at the mission and Vervenne looked after the garden, growing mealies, vegetables, cereals and fruit trees.[21] The Italian, Paravicini, was sent to Vleischfontein to recover from fever contracted at Pandamatenga in Zambesia.

Like his Jesuit predecessors who had ventured on pioneer ground, Temming regarded the learning of Sechuana as vital, enabling him to teach Dutch to the Tlhaping. In addition to a day school he established a night school for adults who worked in the fields during the day, and who wished to learn something of the Dutch language and Catholic Doctrine through the medium of

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19. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Johanny to Vollmer, 18 July 1945.
20. J.A.Z. 244/2, Johanny's Letter to Brady, 1 March 1955.
21. J.A.Z. Z.M.R. I. p. 478.

Sechuana.[22] Temming was greatly aided in his task by the mission printing press on which he printed a Sechuana Catechism, hymn book, prayer book and résumé of the New Testament.[23]

Temming was responsible for looking after the spiritual welfare of a few Catholic Europeans living as far away as Marico, Zeerust and Mafeking, as well as a small community of Black Christians living on mission land. There was no need for the Jesuits to establish a mission village; a Black settlement had been in existence on the farm when the Jesuits purchased the property. When C.D. Rudd returned from Matabeleland after securing the Rudd Concession, he recorded upon his arrival at Vleischfontein on 15 October that "He (Temming) was delighted to see me, and couldn't do enough for me, cooking some breakfast for me himself and giving me wine and spare clothes - mostly new - to wear while my own were being dried by the kitchen fire. Afterwards we walked round the garden and place, and he had my pony well looked after. There are three missionaries, one of

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22. J.A.Z. 244/2, History of Vleischfontein 1883-1890, pp. 9-10.

23. J.A.Z. 244/2, J.E. Brady, The Story of Vleischfontein Mission, February 1955.

whom was away, and the second was doing penance or something and couldn't be seen. They have a native location consisting of some five hundred kaffirs connected with the mission, and they are practically chiefs of the location, and the farm, buildings, etc., belong to the mission. He gave me one of the natives as a guide, some grain for my mules, and everything I could want".[24]

The name Temming was deservedly well-known, not only among the Catholics whom he visited on his missionary excursions and by the Bechuanaland Police, but by all colonists and traders around Macloutsie and Mafeking. Travellers too, frequently looked in upon the mission and were always met with kind words and what help they needed, but Temming's chief work was among the Black settlers.

Temming was an earnest preacher, who strove constantly to instill habits of Christian life and piety in his congregation, but the process of conversion was slow and in 1887 Temming wrote to Weld mentioning that "We have had twenty-three baptisms.

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24. C.E. Fripp et al. (ed.), Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland (London, 1949), p. 215.

Five of the baptized were children of white parents living in the neighbourhood or residing occasionally near our property on their journeys to and fro. The remaining eighteen were natives. Eight of them died, three were adults and five children"[25]

From the outset the number of converts was never high and even at the closure of the mission, for the period 1 July 1891 to 1 July 1892 there were only twenty-six baptisms.[26] By comparison, St Matthews Anglican Mission in the Eastern Cape recorded 276 baptisms for the period 1891-1895.[27] The Jesuits claimed it a difficult task to convince the Tlhaping of the existence of God, but they, like other nineteenth century missionaries, were ignorant of Tlhaping religious, social and cultural traditions. The Sotho-Tswana did in fact believe in an "it" which was referred to as Modimo, rather than in a deity.[28] Despite a lack of knowledge of this nature, the Jesuits had the

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25. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Temming to Weld, 1877.

26. Ibid., 14 September 1892.

27. C.L. MS 16829, Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Statistics, 1860-1835.

28. G.M. Setiloane, The Image of God among the Sotho-Tswana (Rotterdam, 1976), pp. 79-80.

greatest success with women; the men being reluctant to give up their polygamous ways and many of the children were absent for the greater part of the year tending to the cattle, returning home to the kraal only once a month.[29] Furthermore, the Protestant missionaries had preceded the Jesuits by some forty years in the area and had consequently held the upper hand from the very beginning. Under these circumstances conversion proved difficult especially when the priests held that "They (Tlhaping) have their faults but they are faults produced by centuries of moral and social degradation, and are by no means incurable".[30] By following a strong contemporary attitude to pagan practices, they did little to expedite conversion and this served only to compound the problems facing the missionaries. There is no written evidence whatsoever that the missionaries tried to put across Christian doctrines in the light of existing Tswana ideas about God and creation.

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29. J.A.Z. 244/2, History of Vleischfontein 1883-1890, p. 12.

30. Ibid., p. 14.

On 20 November 1890, Delplace left Vleischfontein to return to Europe for reasons of health. In the latter half of 1889, Temming had gone to Stutterheim, but when Delplace left, he returned to replace him. Upon his return to Vleischfontein, in 1890, Temming was delighted to find Arnold Vervenne,[31] still labouring at the mission. However, their friendship was short-lived because a year later, Vervenne died in the veld as a result of sunstroke. Temming had him buried at Vleischfontein.[32]

After Vervenne's death, Temming continued unaided until the arrival at the end of 1892 of Fr Adolphe Bontemps who taught at the school on the mission.[33] Bontemps had been ordained by Bishop Ricards in 1885 and was one of the eleven scholastics who studied at the scholasticate at Dunbrody. The following year saw the arrival of a new lay-brother to the community, Peter Perrodin.[34] The mission continued to prosper but in 1894 tragedy struck when two of the community died within months of

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31. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Johanny to Vollmer, 18 July 1945.

32. J.A.Z. 244/2, J.E. Brady, The Story of Vleischfontein Mission, February 1955.

33. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Temming to Kerr, 14 September 1892.

34. See Appendix H.

each other, and Perrodin had to be sent to an asylum in Grahamstown. Temming was subject to what he termed "Matabele Fever" after a short sojourn at Bulawayo, and he died on 31 January 1894, aged thirty-eight, after the fever had affected his bronchial tubes.[35] He was buried at Vleischfontein,[36] where he had won the deep affection and fullest confidence of every member of the farm community.

Six weeks after Temming's death, Fr Aloysius Leboeuf arrived at the mission by waggon. A Canadian by birth, he had attended Stonyhurst from 1882-1883 and was a skilled architect and weaver. His destination was Fort Victoria, but he had been instructed to halt at the mission until the Oblate Fathers could come to take it over.[37] His halt lasted six months, so he learnt Sechuana and helped Bontemps with the parochial work.[38]

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35. S.A.L. S.A.C.M. 1894, p. 162.

36. J.A.Z. 244/2, J.E. Brady, The Story of Vleischfontein Mission, February 1955.

37. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Johanny to Vollmer, 18 July 1945. See Appendix H.

38. J.A.Z. Z.M.R. I. p. 481.

Towards the end of April 1894, Leboeuf and O'Neil, a scholastic from Dunbrody who spent a year at Vleischfontein, accompanied Perrodin and a young leper girl to Vryburg to see them safely onto their respective trains.[39] Perrodin had been inclined to melancholic since the death of his Jesuit brother Innocent, on the Lower Zambesi. He had tried to escape twice from the mission station and had been under the illusion that he was out of the Society and eternally lost. Upon his arrival by train in Grahamstown he was taken to Fort England Asylum where he spent several years in anguish about his eternal salvation. He died in Port Alfred.[40] Leboeuf's other passenger had been driven away from her home in Mashonaland, and when Temming had sent a waggon laden with young fruit trees and provisions up to Mashonaland for the Jesuit mission, Chishawasha, Fr Peter Prestage had sent her down on the waggon on the return journey to be forwarded to Robben Island to the Leper Settlement as soon as the opportunity presented itself. Temming could not allow her to live among the Tlhaping, so he built her a hut about 161

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39. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Johanny to Vollmer, 18 July 1945.

40. J.A.Z. 244/2. Notes written by Johanny based on what O'Neil had told him.

metres away from the mission homestead.[41] Much time was lost at the station as the railway officials demurred, but fortunately Prestage, who had just come from leave at the Cape, arrived and contacted the Administrator, Sir Sidney Shippard, and through the Administrator's intervention, the leper girl was allowed to board the train.[42]

Leboeuf and O'Neil now left for Vleischfontein, taking Prestage with them. At Brakfontein Leboeuf had a premonition that all was not well at the mission station and he and O'Neil left for the station, leaving Prestage and the oxen to rest. At the station, Leboeuf found the mission house in disorder and Bontemps lying on his bed, semi-conscious, with his left hand bandaged and in great pain. Some days before, in skinning a diseased goat, he had cut his hand and blood poisoning had set in. Bontemps set off for the nearest doctor at Gaberones Camp some thirty-two kilometres away, but when he arrived in the two seater cart driven by a mission Tlhaping, the doctor was out on his rounds and nobody could tell when he would return. An orderly dressed his hand, but back at the mission he implored

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41. J.A.Z. Z.M.R. I. p. 480.

42. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Johanny to Vollmer, 18 July 1945.

Leboeuf to let him go on to Mafeking for help, 161 kilometres away. On Sunday 27 May 1894, Leboeuf had just sat down to supper after evening Mass, when the Tlhaping driver appeared with a note from Coghlin of the farm Kalkfontein, in which he said that Bontemps's condition was desperate and that Leboeuf had to come immediately. Once the oxen had been inspanned, Leboeuf travelled all night, but when he reached Kalkfontein on the Monday, Bontemps had already died. He was buried on Coghlin's farm.[43]

The untimely deaths of Temming and Bontemps within a few months of each other, and the loss of Perrodin, left the mission without a religious community. These losses coupled with the building of the railway from Kimberley to Bulawayo during the 1890's made it unnecessary to keep Vleischfontein as a stopping place for waggons on their way to or from the Interior. By 1885 the railway had reached Kimberley, and by 1894, Mafeking.[44] In 1887 Weld was replaced as Superior of the Zambesi Mission by Alphonse Daignault who decided to send a chaplain with the Pioneer Column to Mashonaland, and this return to earlier policy

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43. Ibid.

44. T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa - A Modern History (Johannesburg, 1978), Map 6.

saw, once again, widespread missionary enterprise north of the Limpopo River. With this change in policy, Vleischfontein's future hung in the balance.

In 1894 the Vleischfontein area was transferred to the Prefecture of the Transvaal in keeping with the new ecclesiastical divisions under the Very Rev. Schoch O.M.I. who was the prefect apostolic. The Zambesi Mission Superior, Fr Henry Schomberg Kerr now decided to sell Vleischfontein. Kerr, born in Devonshire, was the grandson of the sixth Marquess of Lothian. At the age of fourteen he entered the Royal Navy and rose to the rank of Commander. He later left his ship the Bellerophon at the age of twenty-nine to join the Jesuits. Kerr offered to sell Vleischfontein for £1 000, retaining ad perpetuum half the mineral rights to the farm.[45] Schoch was the prefect apostolic of the Transvaal and, at the same time, the Oblate vicar of missions. He replied to Kerr's offer, in which he stated that he was "prepared to take the mission over. I could not on the present moment send a Father, but may do so

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45. J.A.Z. 244/2, J.E. Brady, <u>The Story of Vleischfontein Mission</u>, February 1955. Further information can be found in S.L. McMorron, <u>Pro Deo et Ecclesia: the Foundation of the Catholic Church in the Transvaal</u>.

in a month or so."[46] A week later Schoch contacted Kerr again, informing him that Kerr's "price of £1 000 with half the mineral rights is not only fair but very considerate, and I have nothing to do but to thank you for it."[47] The Deed of Transfer was signed and sealed on 6 July 1894 by Schoch and Kerr. In August Schoch accompanied by two priests, Noel and Isidore Tresch OMI, arrived from Johannesburg to take over the mission from Leboeuf, and the Jesuits were able to withdraw from the mission without leaving their Christian community unattended.[48]

According to Kerr's instructions, Leboeuf now set out in his waggon bound for Fort Victoria, while O'Neil travelled by road and rail to Grahamstown.[49] Only in 1913, when the Transvaal diocese was in serious financial straits was the farm sold to the Oblates, for 25 000 francs.

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46. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Schoch to Kerr, 5 June 1894.
47. Ibid., 12 June 1894.
48. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Johanny to Vollmer, 18 July 1945.
49. Ibid.

The Oblates later sold Vleischfontein in 1950[50] and in 1973, the mission was taken over by the Redemptist Fathers.[51]

The demise and final abandonment of Vleischfontein by the Jesuits had little to do with their reluctance to adapt Christianity to local Black traditions and beliefs, although it made the task of evangelizing more difficult. Vleischfontein was an extremely small pawn in the far greater Zambesi Mission plan and was thus easily expendable. Without mission personnel to continue the work of spreading the faith, coupled with the development of railways, there was no need to retain the mission. In June 1890 the Jesuits had returned to Matabeleland and plans were afoot to reoccupy the abandoned Jesuit mission station of Empandeni. This was duly accomplished in 1895 by Peter Prestage and Andrew Hartmann.

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50. W.F. Rea, "The Jesuit Mission in the Transvaal", L.N. LXIX, p. 173.

51. J.A.Z. 244/2, Letter of Barry to Rea, 9 October 1973.

CHAPTER 6

THE JESUITS IN RETROSPECT

The greatest degree of success in Jesuit missions occurred where a willingness to syncretize was accompanied by a spirit of concession. Where this did not occur, the neophytes unanimously rejected a distinctly Western Christianity.

Missionaries who arrived in a country as the invited guests of the royal house, tried to make their religion as acceptable as possible to the reigning monarch. When missionaries arrived uninvited as in Matabeleland, they were often tolerated, yet their faith was vigorously opposed not only by the ruler but by all sections of the population regardless of position, age or sex. Resistance of this nature was doubly effective and extremely difficult to overcome. Once this resistance had begun to crumble the missionaries attempted to make contacts and friends after having familiarized themselves with the local language. Early missionary attempts by Goncalo da Silveira in the Zambesi regions floundered for precisely this reason. He had knowledge of neither the language nor living conditions. The Shona habits were foreign to him and he was consequently incapable of establishing and developing close contacts. A breakthrough was essential before a laity could be trained and

an indigenous clergy established with the dual function of not only assisting the missionaries, but transforming Christianity into an African faith. This could then be accomplished by people who knew and understood both the indigenous culture of their own chieftain and Christianity. In this way the indigenous clergy became not only catechists, but catalysts. The Paraguay reductions and later Jesuit mission stations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland all relied upon an indigenous laity to assist the priests and brothers, thereby playing an integral role in the success of the missions.

In Matabeleland the first Jesuits encountered a united, powerful chieftainship whose ruler made them welcome but wholly restricted their work as missionaries. As teachers they placed a strong emphasis on education but this was a means to an end: to enable future converts to read the Bible. They encouraged any children or adults to attend school to learn to read and write. In addition to a formal but somewhat elementary education, they taught ploughing, irrigation, and skills such as carpentry, waggon-making, smithing and masonry but these were always of secondary importance to the main objective of the missionaries, and that was to spread the word of God.

The missionaries kept in Lobengula's favour by painting his waggons, mending his guns and performing odd jobs, but

Lobengula, like his father Mzilikazi,[1] knew that if he allowed any missionaries to become influential through their teaching of the faith, they would undermine the basis of the Ndebele state. When Coillard tried to settle at the kraal of chief Mashiangombi in Mashonaland, Lobengula had him removed by a force of his warriors and warned him not to repeat the exercise. The Jesuits were not allowed to set foot in Mashonaland and were only tolerated in Matebeleland for the favours they did for Lobengula, who saw no reason to adopt Christianity and accompanying literacy when the Ndebele had done without it in the past. The Jesuits were no doubt themselves partly to blame for their early failure in Matabeleland. Their lack of understanding of Ndebele cultural life and their uncompromising attitude towards traditional Ndebele religion and its customs, thereby effectively destroyed any hope of spreading Catholicism. One must nevertheless concede that a lack of compromise was common practice amongst nineteenth century missionaries. Lobengula nevertheless recognized the need for Western knowledge and technology and this is possibly why he allowed Prestage to open a small school in Matabeleland. This was a major concession, because no serious attempts were made at

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1. Mzilikazi died in 1868 having had no contact with Jesuit missionaries.

religious accommodation by either Lobengula or the Jesuits in Southern Africa as a whole.

With the establishment of the mission villages one would have expected the South African Jesuits to have imitated St Ignatius and Ricci in their attitudes and methods of work. That they had knowledge of the Chinese rites controversy there can be no doubt, but they failed in every way to reconcile Christianity with traditional practices and beliefs. This was because they were products of their age, an age in which a particularly arrogant and dangerous form of Europeanism had emerged, possibly even more arrogant than the posture of the conquistadores and the Paulistas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The South African Jesuits were given a free hand to develop their own strategy which was determined largely by public pressure. The General in Rome issued no constraints to his missionaries because he could not suggest an alternative line of action for them to follow. Any non-European and non-Christian culture was treated with derision and regarded as the work of the devil. The missionaries, perceiving themselves as servants of God, attempted to replace these cultures with a Western Christian culture. Any thoughts of syncretism with the cultures of the neophytes was not only intolerable but quite unthinkable. The South African Jesuits consequently did not enter into the lives of the people sufficiently to understand their rituals and

festivals, and remained ignorant of their complex system of beliefs and customs. Their unanimous condemnation of polygamy, bride price, ritual-killing, ancestor worship and old religious beliefs amongst all the chieftains with whom they came into contact, had little in common with St Ignatius's policy of accommodation, but then he too, would not have condoned polygamy or ritual murder.

The Jesuits were generally unable to grasp the social and structural importance of polygamy. By desiring monogamy they were faced with the practical problem of how to deal with men who were polygamous. If they were to convert them, or put them on trial for a period, what would happen to the minor wives? Like polygamy, bride price cemented all social relationships and secured the status of the married woman, protecting her from physical abuse. The passing of cattle by the groom's group to the bride's group on the occasion of marriage was a sign of a legal union; without the passage of the cattle, no legal bond was established and any children remained under the authority of the bride's lineage. Once cattle had been passed, children belonged to the lineage which had given the cattle. Ritual-killing was performed for appeasement, conformity, invocation, soliciting aid and thanksgiving and was not simply ancestor worship but a cult which sanctioned respect for seniors upon which the social and political system was based. Ancestor

veneration strengthened family solidarity, ensured the continuity of culture, was a sanction for morality, and enforced to some extent the right behaviour of children towards their parents. Ancestor veneration was an integral part of the Blacks system of beliefs and should have been accommodated as Ricci had done in China. Likewise, polygamy and bride-price were not just heathen practices which had to be stamped out at all cost. They were practices which were of enormous social and structural significance, fulfilling a very positive function. It was these positive effects which the Jesuits should have exploited, rather than dwell on the negative effects of the neophytes' traditions. This raises the question of whether the Jesuits were in fact suitably trained to enter the mission field if their knowledge of the neophytes was so limited. Their knowledge on matters of the faith and church is undisputed but in their defence it must be acknowledged that they had no access to modern anthropological studies of Africa which stem from the first half of the nineteenth century when the first systematic racial classification was made following the publication in 1859 of Darwin's On the Origin of Species.

It is very likely that those chieftains who had a notion of a Supreme Being accepted Christianity more easily. The Khoi had an idea of a Supreme Being whom they invoked by the name of Tsuni-Ilgoab, Heitsi-eibib or IlKhab, the Bushman believed in a

unknown being, 'Kaang, and the Xhosa believed in a creator of all things who governed and controlled all, who was a rewarder of good and a punisher of evil. The acquisition of knowledge of this sort, vital for effective, lasting evangelization, was deliberately and rigidly condemned and completely ignored by the Southern African Jesuits.

As in the case of Matabeleland in the post colonial years, Christianity appealed most to those whose old world had been totally destroyed and who wanted to build a new world. This is clearly evident in Jesuit dealings with the Xhosa chiefs Saliwa, Gwe, and Mankurwane, chief of the Tlhaping. As long as tradition remained, Christianity had little chance of success, but this does not suggest that the faith had nothing attractive in itself. Had Mzilikazi succumbed to Christianity, a structural shift in Ndebele society would have occurred which would have weakened his powerful position. He, as the King, was not only the ruler of the Ndebele, but also their representative before their ancestors' spirits. His political and religious roles were so inextricably linked that the one could not function without the other. Likewise, Lobengula resisted the Jesuits, but once he had been defeated and driven from Bulawayo, the British South Africa Company took control of Matabeleland and Mashonaland and the number of converts increased. What facilitated and encouraged conversion in Southern Africa was the

weakening or breaking of the ruler's power and the presence of a strong imperial or European government.

The Jesuits in the Cape were quick to take advantage of the Blacks' new socio-economic circumstances accelerated by the 1857 Xhosa cattle-killing tragedy. The pioneer Jesuits in Matabeleland had moved from one chiefdom to the next one in their apostolic endeavours, but this habit was replaced in the Cape by the concept of the mission farm. At Dunbrody, Keilands and Vleischfontein, Black children learnt to read, write and do arithmetic in addition to some knowledge in agriculture and a trade. Their parents were given the opportunity of working for a wage on the farm, consequently there were always a few hundred Blacks living on mission ground. Through this close contact the Jesuits attempted to influence the settler families to live according to the Christian code of behaviour. At Dunbrody the schools developed into boarding schools because experience had shown that young blacks were easier to convert when they were separated from their families and traditional religious influencies. In this way they were moulded into loyal, conforming Christians.

The policy of establishing mission farms in the Cape and Transvaal was deemed so successful by the Superiors and Provincials, that after the return of the Jesuits to Zambesia,

it was decided that the farms should be replaced by mission villages similar to the Paraguay reductions, Bethelsdorp and Genadendal. As soon as a stable economic foundation had been secured, Christian communities were grouped around the church and school in the village, away from the influence and contact of non-Christian neophytes. This policy was strongly advocated by the Jesuit, John Baptist Loubière and Bodkin, the English Provincial who maintained that "On each station as far as it is possible Native Christians should be gathered into Christian Villages in the neighbourhood of the mission church ... It is essential to the complete Christian formation of the neophyte, to the Christian training of the family, to the Christian upbringing of future generation, that shall protect and strengthen the Christian community against existing pagan influences ..."[2] In fact the concept of the mission farm proved highly unsuccessful in the Cape and Transvaal, yet it was used with great success in Zambesia. The Jesuits in the Cape and Transvaal made several serious errors which cost them dearly in lost lives, lost opportunities and lost funds. They adopted the mission farm concept at a time when the Anglicans had abandoned the idea years before, thus the concept proved to be both out-dated and difficult to implement.

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2. A.J. Dachs et al., The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe 1879-1979, Volume I (Gwelo, 1979), p. 81.

A major drawback of the Zambesi Mission was that it fell under the direct control of the Jesuit General. The local mission superior and the English provincial took all decisions regarding the establishment or abandonment of stations, seeking the General's permission once they had already taken the decision. Propaganda Fide was consulted on only two occasions: to establish the Zambesi Mission and to determine its boundaries and secondly to get permission to withdraw from Dunbrody. This was because the policy of the Church is to hold landed property and the cardinal prefect's permission is needed before it can be sold. However his permission is not required if land passes from one congregation to another; the decision is then made by the two superior generals and he is usually informed. Even the Society of Jesus, whose father general has wider powers than any other superior general, has to conform to this rule. The dispute between Ricards and Pfanner over Dunbrody was reported to the cardinal prefect who settled the dispute after considering the reports of both superior generals. At Keilands and Dunbrody the Jesuits were accorded financial assistance from the colonial government through school subsidies, but this was a very modest amount, and they were forced to supplement their income from Europe and Britain. Propaganda requires missionaries to report every year on the mission's status, resources and prospects, but again there is no record that the Jesuits ever sent in this information so it was impossible to

assess their financial requirements, or comment on their statistics. Funds had to be applied for and were not distributed automatically. The superiors and English Provincial seem to have been satisfied with either high or low statistics in the Cape and Vleischfontein, because the Jesuits in these two regions were only biding their time before they could return to Zambesia.

The Jesuit superiors were also guilty of not making provision in their plans for any future institution of higher education. Their schools offered the pupils elementary industrial training with the emphasis on skills rather than academic subjects. The Jesuits never considered establishing secondary schools or colleges for Blacks, yet the Anglicans had established two such institutions before 1860, the Zonnebloem College in Cape Town and the Kafir Institute in Grahamstown.[3] The establishment of a Jesuit run secondary school should have received top priority, because St Aidan's did not accept Black pupils. Those pupils with a vocation in the Catholic Church could then have been sent on to Graaff-Reinet and Dunbrody to the noviciate and scholasticate. Not surprisingly, the Jesuits only drew two

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3. M.M. Goedhals, Anglican Missionary Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown under the First Two Bishops, 1853-1871 (M.A., Rhodes University, 1979), p. 139.

Blacks to the ranks of the priesthood, because, unlike their early counterparts in the Congo and Ethiopia, they attached little importance to the establishment of an indigenous clergy and laity despite explicit papal instructions to do so. This is evident in the number of novices and scholastics who arrived from Europe and Britain.

The international character of the Zambesi Mission created serious problems relating to divergent languages, cultural backgrounds and education of the missionaries. A sample of sixty-three Jesuits revealed that only a handful were educated at Dôle, Stonyhurst and Liège, while most of the clergy were novices at Graaff-Reinet, Manresa, Paris, Slough, Jersey, Tronchiennes, Blyenbeeck or Limburg. Some attended Dunbrody or Roehampton for their philosophical studies. A common training was simply insufficient to establish a united band of missionaries as the sample revealed that of the sixty-three clergymen, ten came from the Netherlands, nine each from Germany and Belgium, six from France, three each from Austria and South Africa and one each from Canada and Spain. The wide differences in age compounded the problem. The age of recruitment to the Society varied from seventeen to forty-four. John Lea, Henry Booms and Mark Bartholomey joined up at seventeen, while Maurice Mayringer joined at the age of forty-four.

The Zambesi Mission was characterised by a general lack of unity and co-operation between its missionaries, requiring a man with strong leadership qualities to ensure tight control, but after the return to Matabeleland, the Zambesi Superior was stationed in Matabeleland, which was too far from the Cape to administer it effectively. The Superiors of the Zambesi Mission did attempt to group the missionaries according to language, but this was not always possible. One exception was when the two Dutch priests, Anthony de Wit and Francois van Wersch were sent to Graaff-Reinet with a predominantly Dutch community.

The Jesuits in the Cape and Transvaal failed to achieve any of their long-term objectives. St Aidan's ceased to be the headquarters of the Zambesi Mission when it was superceded by Salisbury. Ricards' ideal of establishing St Aidan's as a seminary never bore fruit, although the College produced vocations to the priesthood. Vleischfontein ceased to be a staging post en route to Zambesia, Keilands failed to expand further east, Dunbrody was no match for wily businessmen, intent upon large profits, and their noviciates, scholasticate and parish were abandoned. Each station operated as an island, with little co-operation between superiors. Not surprisingly, the superiors did not state their ideals, nor did they make concrete proposals about their future in the area, consequently there was nothing upon which to lay the basis of all subsequent thinking.

Because their thinking was largely static, it was impossible for them to keep abreast of the times.

The four Jesuit stations and parish were all abandoned through a loss of funds, personnel or changing economic circumstances, but this does not constitute failure in the Christian sense. The contribution of the Jesuits is immeasurable in terms of human souls and their influence must have been enormous. They were responsible for translating the Bible into at least three languages, in whole or in part, which was then reduced to writing. Their zeal and devotion in education prepared their converts for a Christian way of life, simultaneously furthering their intellectual progress. The missionaries also played a positive role in the reconstruction of Black life after the disintegration of their old way of life, although the missionaries had actually been part of the disintegration process.

Despite their obvious shortcomings it should be borne in mind that the Southern African Jesuits were men with Western ideas, driven by the spirit of Christ, genuinely concerned about their converts, offering them employment and training in skills and agriculture, and through education they offered them literacy and in their opinion, a better way of life. They took decisions concerning their converts, missions and the Zambesi Mission as a

whole which influenced the future of the Mission and which were mistakenly considered to be in the Mission's best interests at that time. The policy of administering and financing the South African Mission from the English Province and later from the Salisbury Mission, proved both difficult and slow over such long distances, and it was inevitable that the majority of Jesuits withdrew from the South African Mission to concentrate their efforts upon that region which had originally been entrusted to the Zambesi Mission in 1878. In fact the closing of some stations, and the sale of Vleischfontein and Dunbrody can also be viewed as an example of their flexibility in adapting to changing circumstances. However their failure in the early years had not been in vain. It was a prerequisite for future success in the mission field, but they paid very dearly in lost lives. The absence of a doctor or priest with medical training in the pioneer group, shows a real oversight in planning, especially since the malaria disease was recognised and antidotes known at this time. Insufficient supplies of quinine suggest a lack of preparation, resulting in 38,4 % of the pioneers succumbing to malaria fever.

The South African Mission was characterized by an acute lack of vision and co-ordination. This was because the Zambesi Mission lacked any form of modus operandi or effective control and administration, vital to co-ordinate policy decisions, finance

and personnel. The highly successful technique of accommodation was never replaced by any other strategy, successful or otherwise, yet the Jesuits still succeeded in laying a solid foundation for future conversion and evangelization. Because they were human they made errors, some of which could have been avoided, but they were men of their time with ideas to match, thus their fortitude ought to be admired for many had the thankless task of sowing the seeds of the Gospel, leaving the reaping of that harvest to others who were to follow them.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ABBEY NULLIUS: The abbot is a titular bishop and has jurisdiction over all clergy in his territory, whether they are members of his order or not. Nullius means that the territory forms part of no diocese.

ARCHDIOCESE: A diocese of which the holder is Archbishop.

DIOCESE: This is the territorial unit of administration in the Catholic Church which is governed by a bishop, with the assistance of clergy. A diocese is divided into parishes.

JUNIORATE: This is a two year course attended by junior members before entering the priesthood of the Society of Jesus.

NOVICIATE: A novice is a probationary member of a religious community who receives training at a noviciate. In the Society of Jesus the period of probation is two years during which a novice may be dismissed from the community at any time or may of his own free will leave at any time.

PREFECTURE: This is an ecclesiastical territory created as a temporary unit for administrative purposes. The administrator is referred to as a Prefect.

REDUCTION: The origin of the word from the Spanish "reducir", means to reduce into townships, each with a church, priest and school. This is the name given to Jesuit mission stations in Paraguay.

SCHOLASTICATE: This is a training college of a religious community for candidates to the priesthood. Unlike a seminary it does not train religious candidates to the secular priesthood.

TERTIANSHIP: Also known as the Schola Perfectionis, it is the third and final year of the noviciate for those who wish to join the Jesuits.

VICARIATE: This territorial unit is controlled by a Vicar Apostolic. He is a titular bishop in a Christian or missionary country where the normal hierarchy has not been established or the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop has been impeded. He performs the spiritual functions of a diocesan bishop and generally has the same rights and delegated powers.

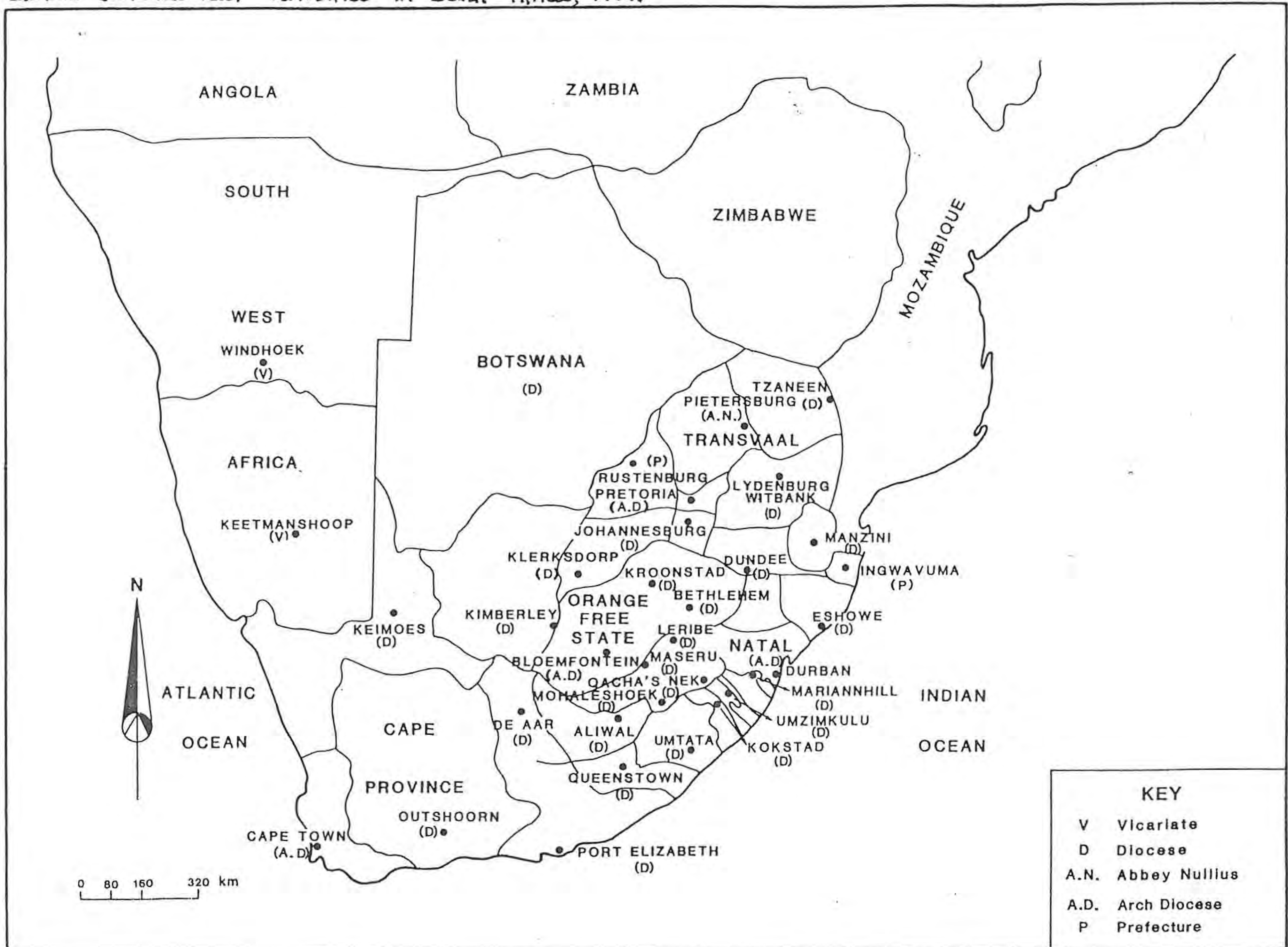
APPENDIX B

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS WITHIN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

In 1847 the original Vicariate of the Cape of Good Hope was divided into the Western and Eastern Districts until 1939 when they became the Cape Town and Port Elizabeth Vicariates respectively. The rest of the territory outside the western and eastern districts that today forms part of the Republic of South Africa, was part of the original Vicariate of Natal, to which Bishop Allard was appointed in 1850. The Bishop's Vicariate extended from the Kei River (which was the boundary of the Eastern Vicariate of the Cape of Good Hope) to Quelimane (which was the southern extremity of Portuguese territory) and interiorly to the Tropic. His area included present day Botswana, the Kalahari desert, parts of South West Africa and the territory around Pretoria and Bloemfontein. From this vast area the Vicariate of Pretoria was created in 1904, with Bishop W.P. Miller as first bishop and Johannesburg as the seat of the bishop. Pretoria became a diocese in 1948. The Prefecture of Zululand was created in 1921 and the Bloemfontein Archdiocese in 1951.

On 11 January 1951 the Bull Suprema Nobis of Pope Pius XII erected the Hierarchy of the Church in Southern Africa. Four ecclesiastical provinces were created with four metropolitan

Catholic Ecclesiastical Territories in South Africa, 1989.



Archbishops at Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria and Bloemfontein. The Cape Town Province was given the suffragen dioceses of Aliwal North, Oudtshoorn, Port Elizabeth and Queenstown; Durban those of Eshowe, Kokstad, Mariannhill, Umtata and Umzimkulu; Pretoria those of Bremersdorp, Johannesburg, Lydenburg and the Abbey Nullius of Pietersburg; Bloemfontein those of Bethlehem, Keimos, Kimberley, Kroonstad, Leribi and Maseru. Three prefectures were also created at De Aar, Volksrust and Botswana.

Numerous changes have been made since 1951. The Prefecture of De Aar became a diocese in 1967, and the Volksrust Prefecture became the Dundee Diocese in 1983. In Natal the Prefecture of Ingwavuma was created in 1962. Rustenburg Prefecture was created in 1972 and the Klerksdorp Diocese was established in 1978.

In the neighbouring states the Bremersdorp Diocese in Swaziland became the Manzini Diocese. The Maseru Diocese in Lesotho became the Maseru Archdiocese and two new dioceses were established at Qacha's Nek in 1961, and Mohaleshoek in 1978. The Botswana Prefecture was changed to the Gaberone Diocese in 1966.

APPENDIX C

Superiors of the Zambesi Mission

Henry Depelchin	:	1-7-1878
Alfred Weld	:	3-12-1883
Alphonse Daignault	:	13-12-1887
Henry Schomberg Kerr	:	25-3-1891
Richard Sykes	:	11-8-1896 and Prefect Apostolic
Ignatius Gartlan	:	4-10-1904 and Prefect Apostolic
Richard Sykes	:	6-6-1911 and Prefect Apostolic
Edward Parry	:	18-11-1919 and Prefect Apostolic
Robert Brown	:	13-2-1923 and Prefect Apostolic
Philip Beisly	:	18-9-1931 to 1947

APPENDIX D

Superiors of Dunbrody Mission

(1882 - 1934)

Francois van Wersch	:	1885
Peter Dischamp	:	1886
Denis Corboy	:	1889
Henry Gillet	:	1896
Anthony Stempfel	:	1902 - 1904
Isidore Lallemand	:	1905
Edward Buckland	:	1927
Charles Bert	:	1933

APPENDIX E

Superiors of Keilands Mission

(1886 - 1908)

George Fraser	:	1886
Joseph Hornig	:	1890
Henry Gillet	:	1896
Joseph Hornig	:	1896 - 1901, 1902 - 1903
John Apel	:	1903

APPENDIX F

Superiors of Vleischfontein Mission

(1884 - 1894)

Charles Croonenberghs	:	1885
Edmund Delplace	:	1886
John Baptist Temming	:	1894

APPENDIX G

Priests and Brothers from among Old St Aidan's Boys:

Father Michael Austin S.J. 1948*

Father John Bader 1886

Father William Barnes 1942

Father John Berrell S.J. 1934

Father James Braniff O.M.I. 1914

Father Bernard Brewer S.J. 1941

Brother Anthony Bridge F.M.S. (Bro. Aidan) 1948

Father John Brogan S.J. 1935

Father Edward Buckland S.J. 1879

Brother Oswald Cant O. Cist. 1948

Father Gerald Coleman O.M.I. 1934

Father Austin Collingwood 1938

Father Alfred Connell S.J. 1914

Father James Connellan 1936

Father Anthony Dillon 1925

Father Desmond Donovan S.J. 1940

Father Denis Doyle S.J. 1892

Father David Dryden S.J. 1954

Father Bryan Duffey O.M.I. 1953

*Year of entry to St Aidan's College

Father Philip Erasme O.M.I. 1917

Father Peter O'Connor Ferrero 1938

Father Lewis Gately 1888

Father Christian Granzier C.S.S.R. 1932

Father Roger Hickley 1952

Father Julien Hofman S.J. 1960

Father Charles Hughes S.J. 1922

Father Paul Hughes 1942

Father Laurence Hylands O.P. 1914

Father Maurice Kilroe S.J. 1916

Father Patrick Kinna S.J. 1940

Father Fritz Leicher 1901

Father Michael Lewis S.J. 1962

Father Gero McLoughlin S.J. 1952

Father John McTernan 1876

Father Peter Morris S.J. 1928

Rt Rev. David O'Leary O.M.I. 1911

Father Alban O'Riley 1878

Rt Rev. Bernard O'Riley 1878

Father Denis Peart 1926

Father Patrick Peart 1926

Father Seamus Peart 1920

Father Alphonse Pollet S.J. 1938

Father William Quirk 1896

Father John Robinson 1947

Father Peter Rooney 1940

Father Claudio Rossi S.J. 1957

Father Timothy Smith S.J. 1964

Dom Maurice Summer O.S.B. 1919

Father John Troy 1877

Father Andrew Varrie 1892

Father Ronald Voisin 1953

Father Kevin Walsh 1936

Father Nicholas Watkins 1927

Father Barton Watson S.J. 1929

Most Rev. Patrick Whelan O.M.I. 1918

Father Richard Wiber S.J. 1916

Father Christopher Wilmot S.J. 1876

Father Barry Wood O.M.I. 1952

APPENDIX H

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON JESUIT MISSIONARIES

ALLEN, ALFRED (1850-1885). He was ordained in 1871 and arrived in Port Elizabeth at the end of 1882. He spent the next three years at Pandamatenga where he died.

APEL, JOHN. He spent a year and a half with Hornig at Keilands after which he was sent to Macloutsie military camp as chaplain from July 1893 to September 1895. He then travelled to Europe for his tertianship and worked in a parish in England. He returned to Keilands in October 1897 and was put in charge of the Transkei Mission and was simultaneously appointed priest at Keilands.

ARNOLD, THOMAS (1860-1935). He began his noviceship on 25 April 1886 at Graaff-Reinet, ending it at Dunbrody. From 1890-1892 and 1893-1894 he was the tailor at St Aidan's. He lived at Dunbrody from 1895-1934 until the mission closed after which he was transferred to Driefontein in Zambesia. He died in Salisbury.

BARBERA, JOHN (1860-1933). Born at Verula in Spain he was a wool-dyer by trade. He entered the Society for the Zambesi Mission in 1882 and was sent to the Lower Zambesi. The climate was detrimental to his health so he was sent to St Aidan's, Dunbrody and Keilands. When Keilands closed he went to the new Gokomere Mission in Zambesia. He died at Chishawasha, aged seventy-three.

BEISLY, PHILIP (1895-1949). Born at Fulham he was the Rector of St George's College from 1929-1932 and Superior of the Salisbury Mission from 1931-1947.

BERGHEGGE, FRANCIS was born at Delft in 1849 and became a Jesuit in 1867. He left the Zambesi in 1886 and worked amongst the Grahamstown Blacks and Coloureds.

BERT, CHARLES (1869-1952). He was born at Oostcamp near Bruges and educated at the Apostolic School at Turnhout. In 1888 he entered the noviciate at Tronchiennes and went on to Manresa. After his ordination in 1902 he set sail for Africa where he stayed for almost fifty years in Zambesia.

BICK, CHARLES (1861-1939). Born in 1861 in Strasbourg he joined the Zambesi Mission in 1879. He was one of the first group of scholastics at Dunbrody after which he taught at St Aidan's in

1887. After his ordination from 1893 to September 1898 he worked among the Blacks at Keilands. Most of his life was spent in Zambesia where he died at Holy Cross, Chilimanzi.

BLANCA, SALVATORE (1839-1916). He joined the Society in 1859 and was stationed at Tati from August 1879 to October 1880 after which he went to Grahamstown. Letters which he and Terörde sent to Rome led to the General sending De Wit as Visitor to inquire into the management of the Mission. He returned to Sicily in 1883.

BONTEMPS, ADOLPH (1858-1894). Born in Lovanense, Belgium, and ordained by Ricards as a deacon in 1885, he was one of the eleven scholastics who joined the new scholasticate at Dunbrody. He joined the Society in 1879, and died at Vleischfontein in 1894 after he had cut his hand while skinning a diseased goat.

BOOMS, HENRY (1853-1890). He joined the Jesuits in 1870. When Pandamatenga was closed in 1885 he returned to Grahamstown but the next year he joined Prestage at Bulawayo, moving later to Empandeni. He died in Mafeking.

BREITEN, JOHN BAPTIST (1869-1955). Born at Nanort, Hesse-Nassau he entered the Society in 1887 and joined the German Province.

He was a novice at Blyenbeek in Holland, and after taking his first vows was assistant cook at a juniorate at Wijnandskade until 1891. In 1896 he was chosen for the Zambesi Mission. He died at Monte Cassino, aged eighty-six.

BUCKLAND, EDWARD (1864-1935). Born at King William's Town he entered the Society and was a novice at Slough. He was ordained in 1897. He eventually returned to St Aidan's troubled by ill-health in 1920 and became priest in charge of Port Alfred. From 1927-1933 he was Superior of Dunbrody after which he returned to England where he died. He was buried at Preston.

CASSET, AMBROSE (1863-1928). Born in Savoy he was educated at Dôle then continued his noviceship and juniorate at Tronchiennes. In 1886 he was a scholastic at Dunbrody after which he left for Europe to further his studies. From 1889 he was at Gokomere and Empandeni and two years later he arrived at Keilands to teach at the two outstations, until the closure of Keilands in 1908.

CAULFIELD, PATRICK (1868-1934). He began his noviciate at Manresa in 1895. Within a fortnight of taking his vows he set sail for Algoa Bay. He was a cook at Brookside, Claremont for a year and was moved to Dunbrody in 1927 where he stayed until the closure of the mission in 1934. He died in the same year at Port Elizabeth.

CORBOY, DENIS (1851-1911). Born in Ireland he entered the Jesuit Noviciate in Belgium in 1884 and later studied at the Irish College in Paris. He was ordained in 1874 and then left Paris, bound for Cape Town. He spent most of his life at Graaff-Reinet and Bedford where he died. He was appointed Superior of Dunbrody for the period 1889-1896, during which time extensive building operations were conducted at the mission.

CORTEN, HENRY (1837-1903). Born at Hersselt he joined the Belgian Army for two years as a cook. In 1870 he entered the Jesuit Order in the Belgian Province. He arrived at Dunbrody in 1884 where he lived until his death in 1903.

CROONENBERGHS, CHARLES (1843-1899). He joined the Jesuits in 1863 and taught in Belgium. He was put in charge of the station at Gubulawayo and was transferred to Vleischfontein in 1884. In 1885 he was sent to North America to raise funds for the Zambesi Mission, before returning to Belgium where he died.

CURRY, THOMAS (1837-1893). He arrived from Ireland with his fellow countryman, Thomas Manning in the latter half of 1882, and was sent to Dunbrody where he started the ostrich farming industry.

DAIGNAULT, ALPHONSE (1850-1938). He joined the Jesuits in Rome in 1870 and was Superior of the Zambesi Mission from 1887-1891. Later, he was appointed Procurator of the Mission in Europe from 1891-1894 and again from 1901-1907. He was transferred to Canada in 1908 and remained there until his death in 1938.

DE SADELEER, FRANCOIS (1844-1921). He was born in Flanders and joined the Society as a brother in 1869. He accompanied Law on the expedition to Umzila and was at Pandamatenga in 1885 when the station was abandoned. He worked in the Cape Colony until 1891 but then returned to Belgium. Two years later he returned to Africa to the Congo where he stayed until his final return to Belgium. His biography Thirty Years in the African Wilds originally written in Flemish by W.E. Verwimp, was translated into English by W. Peters and M. Hannan (Dublin, 1938).

DE SMEDT, EDWARD (1869-1904). Born in Lille he was orphaned at an early age and brought up by his grandfather. When his spine was injured in an accident, he suffered permanent deformity. He obtained work as a master tailor at the house of the Brothers of Notre Dame de Lourdes, Oostaken. On joining the Jesuits and the Zambesi Mission he was sent to Dunbrody until his early death at the age of thirty-six.

DE VYLDER, LOUIS (1841-1883). He joined the Jesuits as a brother in 1877 and was sent to Africa while still a novice. He drowned on the Zambesi on 29 April 1883.

DE WIT, ANTHONY (1823-1882). He was born in the southern part of Brabant and entered the Society in Belgium. From 1842-1844 he was a novice at Tronchiennes and was then a parish priest in Amsterdam. He arrived in the Cape Colony in 1875 bound for Graaff-Reinet. Four years later in November he was appointed Visitor to the Zambesi Mission after Weld and the General had been misinformed about matters on the Mission. He died at Tati at the Blue Jacket Mine when he was thrown from his horse.

DELPLACE, EDMUND (1841-1927). In 1883 he was repatriated from India to Europe and accompanied Weld to the Cape in 1884 where he laboured for six years. He died in his native town of Bruges on 20 July.

DEPELCHIN, HENRY (1822-1900). He joined the Society in 1842 and was sent to India. In 1878 he was put in charge of the Zambesi Mission but resigned from the position in 1882. Six years later he returned to India and founded the College of Darjeeling where he was Rector until 1892. He died on 26 May at Serampore in India.

ENGELS, FERDINAND (1847-1915). Born in Ageseka, Westphalia, he joined the Jesuits in 1869. He offered himself to the Zambesi Mission and remained in Southern Africa until his death. On account of poor health, he left Zambesia for the Cape in 1895, where he stayed for four years at Dunbrody. He returned to the Zambesi in 1900 and was buried at Chishawasha.

ETTERLE, JOHN (1859-1897). He was appointed the Superintendant of the two Dunbrody boarding schools in 1887. Ordained in 1891 he set out two years later for the Lower Zambesi, where he worked at Inhambane, Chipanga and Caia. He died at the age of thirty-eight.

FUCHS, KARL (1839-1880). He was ordained as a secular priest in 1864 and joined the Jesuits in the following year. He worked in England and France before coming to Africa. He died at Tati, the first of many Jesuits to succumb to malaria.

GARTLAN, IGNATIUS (1848-1926). He was Prefect Aspostolic and Superior of the Zambesi Mission from 1904-1911, after which he returned to England for the instruction of English and Irish tertians at Tullabeg. He died in London, aged seventy-eight.

GILLET, HENRY (1842-1911). He was ordained at Preiquena and served in British Honduras and Southern Africa. In 1891 he was

appointed Superior of Keilands and from 1896-1902 he was Superior of Dunbrody. From 1903 he was stationed in Salisbury where he was parish priest and chaplain to the Dominican Nuns. In 1911 he returned to Dunbrody for health reasons but died there within a week of celebrating his jubilee in the Society of Jesus.

GISLER, EDMUND (1860-1921). Born at Tournai, he was at Roehampton as a scholastic novice. In 1882 he taught at St Aidan's but in 1888 he left the priesthood and joined the lay brothers. He died at Dunbrody.

GöLL, JOHN (1871-1952). He stayed at Dunbrody for a year before leaving for Zambesia via Beira, on the newly completed railway line. In his time, Göll made fifteen alters, and eleven or more vestry tables. He died at Chishawasha, aged eighty-one.

HARTMANN, ANDREAS (1851-1928). He was ordained a secular priest in 1879, and during the Ndebele Rising and Anglo-Boer War he acted as military chaplain, after which he worked at Empandeni from 1900-1924. He died in Salisbury.

HEDLEY, JOSEPH (1846-1933). He joined the Society as a brother in 1873. He accompanied the party that visited Umzila after which he returned to Gubulawayo in 1881. Six years later he

went to Grahamstown. In 1889 he returned to England where he died.

HORNIG, JOHN. He was Rector of Keilands from 1890 when he was appointed Superior of Keilands with Apel in charge of the Transkei Mission. Hornig left Keilands in 1901 and part of 1902 for reasons of health, but returned in 1902 for a short time before being recalled to St Aidan's in January 1903.

KERR, HENRY SCHOMBERG (1838-1895). He was ordained a Jesuit in 1875. In 1979 he was chaplain to the British troops in Cyprus and from 1880-1885 he was the chaplain to the Viceroy of India. He was appointed Superior of the Zambesi Mission in 1891, but died four years later in Bulawayo.

KROOT, BARTHOLOMEW (1847-1885). He was ordained in 1871. Initially he was sent to Pandamatenga but was moved to Bulawayo because of ill health.

LALLEMAND, ISIDORE (1862-1945). As a novice at Manresa he offered himself to the Zambesi Mission. He was sent to St Aidan's where he taught for three years and then went to Dunbrody for his philosophy course. In 1892 Ricards ordained him. He served at Gwelo for three years from 1902 but returned south in 1905 when he was appointed Superior of Dunbrody until

1927, after which he was transferred to the Jesuit parish at Claremont, Cape Town, where he stayed for eighteen years doing parochial work.

LAW, AUGUSTUS (1833-1880). Born to an Anglican clergyman who became a Catholic, he joined the British Navy and later spent three years in British Guiana. He joined the Jesuits in 1854 and spent three years at St Aidan's before journeying to the Zambesi in 1879.

LEA, JOHN (1838-1890). He was at St Aidan's from 1876 to 1884 and succeeded John Bridge as the second Rector of the College.

LEBOEUF, ALOYSIUS (1858-1926). Born in Quebec he joined the Jesuits in 1877 and was ordained in 1891. He spent time at St Aidan's where he designed the Memorial Tower and Chapel of the College. When he moved to Matabeleland he designed St George's College and the Cathedral in Fourth Street. The last two years of his life were spent in Salisbury at Hartmann Hill on account of total blindness.

LOUBIèRE, JOHN BAPTIST (1886-1930). He was a novice at Graaff-Reinet and spent most of his life at Chipanga, Chishawasha and Kutama on the Lower Zambesi.

MANSSY, JOHN (1859-1937). He was born at St Pierre Chandieu and was educated at the Apostolic School of Dôle. He joined the Jesuits in Mariendaal and then offered his services to the Zambesi Mission. He was one of the first philosophy students at Dunbrody. In 1880 he taught at St Aidan's but the following year he moved to Dunbrody for health reasons. He lived on the mission for eighteen years, teaching at the Black school. In 1934 he was transferred to Chishawasha as a permanent invalid.

MEYRINGER, MAURICE (1853-1915). He joined the German Province of the Society of Jesus but returned to Europe in 1888, after which he was committed to a mental asylum in Belgium.

MOREAU, JOSEPH (1864-1949). He spent time at Keilands, Dunbrody and St Aidan's before heading north to work at Chishawasha, Empandeni and Chikuni where he died, aged eighty-five.

NIGG, THEODORE (1848-1891). He joined the Society in 1869 as a brother. He left the Zambesi Mission in 1884 bound for the Cape Colony.

OSTROWSKI, FRANCIS (1853-1913). He joined the Jesuits in 1875 and spent seventeen years at Dunbrody from 1884-1901. The next twelve years were spent at Chishawasha where he died.

PARAVICINI, PIETRO (1834-1899). He was born in Italy and joined the Jesuits as a brother in 1864. He was one of the pioneers to the Zambesi, but returned to Grahamstown suffering from fever. Two years later he returned to the Zambesi and was unwisely sent to the fever-ridden mission of Pandamatenga. In 1884 he left Pandamatenga, bound for Vleischfontein and later Dunbrody. Three years later he left the Zambesi Mission for good and went to Brazil where he died.

PERRODIN, PETER (1844-1914). He arrived in the Cape Colony in 1886 and went to St Aidan's. The following year was spent in Quelimane. From 1888 he spent time at St Aidan's and Dunbrody. He died at Port Alfred, aged seventy.

PRESTAGE, PETER (1842-1907). He entered the English Province of the Society in 1860. He was ordained in 1875 and arrived in Grahamstown in 1877 to teach at St Aidan's for five years. As a missionary he was stationed at Tati and Bulawayo. He died in 1907 at Empandeni.

PROEST, HENRY entered the Society at the age of nineteen. In 1885 he left Matabeleland for the scholasticate at Dunbrody and then he went to Grahamstown, possibly returning to Europe in 1898.

SANGUINETTI, ANTHONY (1824-1896). Born in Genoa, he lost his parents when he was very young. He journeyed to England to seek his fortune and offered himself for the Zambesi Mission. He became a skilled clock maker but spent almost all his time at St Aidan's College. At the age of seventy-seven he died at Stonyhurst.

SIMONIS, FRANCIS (1842-1929). Born at Leyden in 1842 he joined the Jesuits in 1871. He served in Matabeleland, Vleischfontein and Grahamstown and died at Dunbrody.

STEMPFEL, ANTHONY (1862-1904). He was born at Pfaffenheim in Alsace and sailed for the Cape in 1884, bound for Dunbrody to complete his philosophy and language studies. In 1893 he was ordained at Enheim and spent time at Chishawasha, St Aidan's, St Peter Claver, Gwelo and Dunbrody. He died at the age of forty-two at Dunbrody where he was the Superior from 1902-1904.

TERöRDE, ANTON (1844-1880). He became a Jesuit in 1862 and was ordained in 1875. In Austria he taught for three years before joining the Zambesi Mission. He later died of fever at Mwemba's kraal.

VAN WERSCH, FRANCOIS (1830-1888). He joined the Dutch Province and became Professor of Philosophy and Theology at the Dunbrody

scholasticate in 1885 and 1887 respectively.

VERVENNE, ARNOLD (1834-1891). He was originally sent to the mission at Graaff-Reinet in 1880 but spent the next five years on the Zambesi Mission. He died at Vleischfontein.

WEHL, CHARLES was born in Austria in 1838 and joined the Jesuits in 1856.

WEISSKOPF, JOHN (1848-1883). Born in 1848 he joined the Society in 1868. He was appointed the Superior of the mission at Pandamatenga.

WELD, ALFRED (1823-1890). Born in Lancashire, he was Director of Stonyhurst Observatory before joining the English Province in 1864 as Provincial. In 1870 he was promoted to the position of English Assistant to the Jesuit General. He spent the last three years of his life in Grahamstown at St Aidan's College.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

I BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

There is an acute shortage of scholarly works which have a bearing on Catholic and missionary history in South Africa. Some of these publications, while making interesting reading, reflect an unprofessional approach and I have used them with caution. Numerous references to the Jesuits and their works appear in the press, such as _Grocott's Daily Mail_, _The Southern Cross_, and the _Chronicon_, but no research has been undertaken on any of their ventures, with the exception of St Aidan's College Grahamstown (Grahamstown, 1980) whose history has been written by Francis L. Coleman. This is strictly an account of the College and does not include details of other Jesuit activities in the region.

The material for this thesis has been drawn from manuscript and printed primary and secondary sources. The _Zambesi Mission Record_ and _Letters and Notices_ (the house magazine of the English Province of the Society of Jesus) proved to be the most valuable official sources. The Jesuits in Southern Africa originally had an archive at St Aidan's College, but when the College closed the Jesuits made a bonfire, destroying many of their records. The remaining records were moved to the Vice-Province of Zimbabwe, although Cory Library also houses

some interesting newspaper collections onSt Aidan's. It was at the archive of the Vice-Province of Zimbabwe that I found the largest collection of primary sources relating directly to the South African Mission and they proved to be the most informative and useful. A wealth of unsorted documentary material was found in the Diocesan Archive in Port Elizabeth, but it was in a disorderly state. The Jesuit Archives in Rome and London were singularly unilluminating on South Africa, but the latter does contain an enormous quantity of documents relating to Zambesia and to Depelchin and his pioneers. A great number of these documents, which include letters and journals of the pioneer Jesuits, have been published in the two works, Journey to Gubuluwayo by R.S. Roberts (ed.) (Bulawayo, 1979) and Gubulawayo and Beyond: Letters and Journals of the Early Jesuit Missionaries to Zambesia 1879-1887 by M. Gelfand (ed.) (London, 1968). The most comprehensive account of the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe was written by M.A.G. Davies, A History of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia to 1960 (Ph.D., University of South Africa, 1974). The State Educational Archives in Cape Town and Pretoria and the School Library Service in Cape Town contain no Jesuit-related reports or letters, but the latter does contain some interesting statistics on Catholic and Protestant mission schools. A handful of documents on Keilands and Dunbrody are lodged in the Government Archive Depots but there are no Magistrates' reports, Native Commissioners' reports or

Government Land records specifically relating to Jesuit enterprises. The Government Archive Depots contain documents on the Sundays River Land and Irrigation Company, but they are too general in scope to be of much value.

The biographical details which occur in the footnotes have been taken from Letters and Notices, Our Dead (a collection of biographies) and the Jesuit Catalogues in the Zimbabwe Archive. The Catalogue is frequently inaccurate and must be treated with caution although it remains the most informative source for biographical details of mission personnel.

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