

THE ST ANDREW'S SCOTTISH CHURCH MISSION IN CAPE TOWN, 1838—1878*

G.C. Cuthbertson
University of South Africa

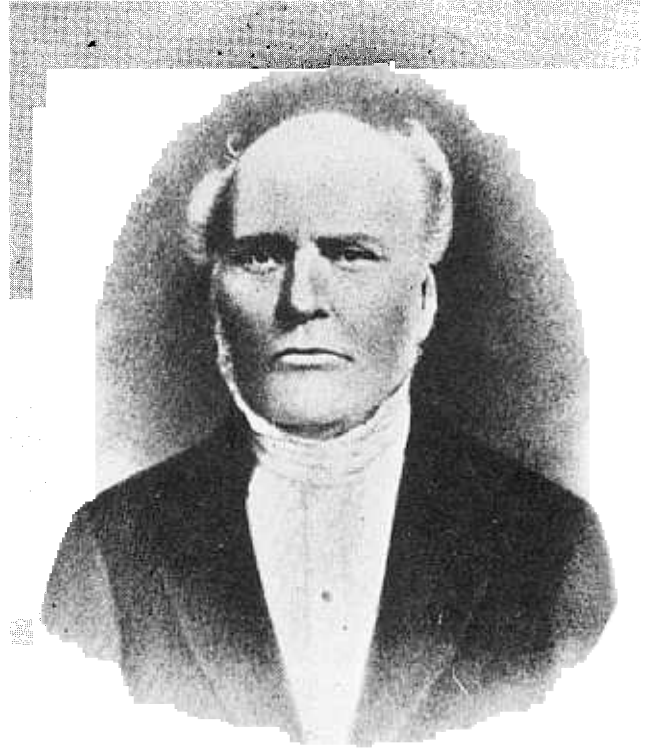
In the 1830s the slaves made up a significant proportion of the population of Cape Town and were closely integrated into the community in terms of occupation, residence, and personal relationships. They constituted about one-third of Cape Town's total population at that time and about sixty percent of the Coloured population.¹ The effects of changes involving them were therefore bound to be important.

Some scholars have suggested that the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the apprentices seemed to have reinforced, rather than broken down, the racial character of the class structure of Cape Town and increased hostility between people of different colours.² They argue that this, combined with the rapid spread of Islam among the Coloureds, which added a fundamental religious difference between Whites and Blacks, may help to explain the hardening of racial attitudes apparent by the mid-nineteenth century.³ What happened at St Andrew's Scottish Church after emancipation at the end of 1838 seems to support this theory. It is true that when liberated slaves became full members of St Andrew's by baptism, they worshipped separately from the White communicants. But this was necessitated by the fact that freed slaves received little or no education and therefore required elementary Biblical instruction. Their services were also conducted in the Dutch language. These factors made separate worship inevitable. Before 1838 the membership of St Andrew's had been entirely White, and separate services were introduced only after the inauguration of the Mission late in 1838.⁴ But St Andrew's was the first church in Cape Town to open its membership to Blacks and this accounts for the fact that ex-slave converts joined St Andrew's and not other churches.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION

The early Presbyterians first began to consider the need for mission work in 1836.⁵ The Session applied to the Committee of the Church of Scotland for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to establish a mission for the Coloured slave population at the Cape, and received that body's "sanction to the detention of Mr Nisbet, one of their Missionaries at Bombay, then at the Cape for the recovery of his health, provided that Mr Nisbet consented to the measure".⁶ This initial attempt to evangelize the slaves was not successful, however, because Nisbet decided to return to Bombay. It was not until September 1838 that the Session began its Mission among the apprentices. Certainly, this undertaking was the result firstly of the philanthropic ideal of the time, which emphasized the civilizing role of the church among Blacks; and secondly, of the Christian campaign against Islam. George Morgan, who succeeded James Adamson⁷ as minister of St Andrew's in 1841,⁸ confirmed the westernizing achievement of the mission in a report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edin-

burgh when he wrote: "Before joining the Mission some of these (Slaves) were professing Mohammedanism; but



The Rev. (Dr) James Adamson, who may be considered the founder of the Presbyterian Church in South Africa. He was the first minister of the St Andrew's Presbyterian (Scottish) church in Cape Town and served this congregation for thirteen years (1828—1841).

PHOTOGRAPH: ST ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CAPE TOWN

S.A. JUDGES, *Poverty, living conditions and social relations — aspects of life in Cape Town in the 1830's* (M.A., University of Cape Town, 1977), p.135.

2. See W. FREUND, *Race in the social structure of South Africa, 1652—1836, Race and Class* 18(1), and S.A. JUDGES, *op. cit.*, pp.165—166.
3. S.A. JUDGES, *op. cit.*, p.166.
4. St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Somerset Road, Cape Town (StAPC), *Record of the Scottish Church: Baptismal Register, 1829—1838*.
5. StAPC, *Minutes of St Andrew's Kirk Session*, no. 1, August 1836, p.188.
6. *Ibid.*
7. W.J. DE KOCK (ed.), *Dictionary of South African biography I*, p.5ff.
8. StAPC, *Minutes of Kirk Session*, no. 2, July—August 1841, p.30 and p.43ff.

*This paper was read at the Cape Town History Workshop, September 1979.

the greater part were living in a state of heathenism, literally without God and without hope in the world. Marriage was unknown among them, and the holy Sabbath, with all its sanctifying influences nothing more than a common day. Now having put on Christ, and become professors of the Christian religion, marriage is highly esteemed among them as an institution of mercy for the benefit of mankind; and nowhere is the worship of God on Lord's Day better attended, or more highly appreciated".⁹

During the first year of the Mission twenty freed adult slaves were admitted by baptism to membership of the church, and in 1840 seventy-one were selected from a much larger list of candidates and added to the church roll, and by August 1841 the total number was 134.¹⁰

Although the mission was served by members of other denominations, it was under the jurisdiction of St Andrew's Session and was therefore Presbyterian in form. The session appointed the Rev. G.W. Stegmann, assistant minister of the Lutheran Church, to take charge of the St Andrew's Mission.¹¹ The Mission was ecumenical in its nature; several members of the Dutch Reformed and Lutheran churches took an active part in the work.¹²

The activities were hampered, however, by the irregular attendance of some of the ex-slaves who, owing to their finding employment some distance from Cape Town, and being employed by Whites not sympathetic to the aims of the Mission, were prevented from receiving baptismal or catechetical instruction in preparation for

church membership.¹³ Nevertheless, the size of the Mission was such that it relied heavily upon the full-time services of W. Gorrie, a member of St Andrew's Session, and the part-time involvement of Mr Fleischer, a deacon of the Scottish Church, in addition to the work of Stegmann.¹⁴

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The ex-slaves attending the Mission services showed a desire to read the Bible, and a mission day school was established for this purpose. Besides those received into membership of the Church, about 1 000 adults joined the Mission between 1838 and 1841.¹⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that James Adamson, in a Memorial to the Governor about the Scottish Church, Cape Town, published in 1862, declared that the St Andrew's Mission "in conjunction with like undertakings on the part of others, resulted in the establishment of a steadfast and almost unexpected barrier to the prevalence of Mohammedanism among the emancipated slaves."¹⁶

In 1840 three services were held during the week, two for reading and Biblical instruction and one for catechism classes. Between 300 and 400 usually attended these services. On Sundays four services were held; two for preaching and two for catechetical lectures. The total expenditure of the Mission for the year was £360, which included the salaries of Mission officials.¹⁷

The day school provided Coloured children with an elementary education. In December 1841 there were 500 on the register and the daily attendance was about 350. Of these, according to the report presented by D.G. Kannemeyer, the teacher appointed by St Andrew's to run the school, 80 or 90 were the children of Moslems.¹⁸

The Rev. Georg Wilhelm Stegmann (1814—1890), Lutheran and later N.G. Kerk minister, who broke away from the St Andrew's Scottish Church Mission and established the St Stephen's congregation in 1843.

PHOTOGRAPH: BY PERMISSION OF THE QUARTERLY BULLETIN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBRARY 34(4), JUNE 1980



THE MISSION AS A WELFARE ORGANISATION

The Mission also performed a function as a welfare organisation to help the poorer elements of the population avoid the Pauper Establishment. There was apparently no means for the Coloured poor to make provision for themselves in illness or old age. But, in connection with its mission to the Coloured people of Cape Town, St Andrew's set up "a Friendly or Benefit Society ... by which members subscribing one shilling per month are supplied

9. StAPC, St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Mission Report of the Kirk Session to the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for Foreign Missions, December 1841, no pagination.
10. *Ibid.*; see also Record of the Scottish Church: Baptismal Register, 1840—1841.
11. StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 1, December 1838, p.190.
12. StAPC, St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Mission Report ..., December 1841.
13. *Ibid.*
14. StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 1, p.214.
15. StAPC, St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Mission Report ..., December 1841.
16. J.C. ADAMSON, *Memorial to the governor in regard to the Scottish Church, Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1862).
17. StAPC, St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Mission Report ..., December 1841.
18. StAPC, Report of the Scottish Church School, Bree Street Chapel, 1.12.1841 (in St Andrew's correspondence and documents file).

with medical attendance, medicines and burial".¹⁹ The Society was of particular help to the poor during the measles and smallpox epidemics of 1840–41: "While death was devouring the miserable Mohammedans and other heathens, by hundreds and by thousand, our mission people under the care of Dr Brown, the medical officer of the Society, were remarkably preserved alive."²⁰

THE CLASH BETWEEN MORGAN AND STEGMANN

The Mission became more Presbyterian in emphasis under the ministry of George Morgan, who had been minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Somerset East, and was proficient in the Dutch language.²¹ Consequently, he took a more active role in the teaching and preaching activities of the Mission. This ultimately brought him into conflict with G. W. Stegmann and resulted in the creation of the Coloured congregation of St Stephen's Church in Riebeeck Square, which later became a Dutch Reformed Church for Coloureds. It had little contact with Whites.

The clash between Morgan and Stegmann was a most unfortunate event in the early history of St Andrew's. Stegmann had originally been appointed by the Session to take charge of the Mission, subject to the approval of the Scottish General Assembly's Committee for Foreign Missions. He received a salary of £100 per annum from the Session.²² Stegmann had the status of a minister of St Andrew's; the first ex-slaves to be converted to Christianity, as certified by Adamson in the baptismal register, were baptised by himself or by Stegmann acting for Adamson. Stegmann also administered communion to the Coloured congregation. When Adamson left Cape Town in 1840 on a visit to Scotland, Stegmann was appointed to preach for him at both the Dutch and English services during his absence.²³ Effectively, he was acting minister for both congregations.

The reason for Adamson's visit was to persuade the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland to take over the St Andrew's Mission in Cape Town, but the Committee declared that it was so pledged with regard to India that it could not undertake responsibility for the Mission at Cape Town.

In July 1841 a call to the charge of St Andrew's was extended to the Rev. George Morgan, signed by Adamson, the Session and the White communicants, and also by Stegmann on behalf of a considerable number of Coloured members in the Mission.²⁴ Some Coloured members who could write signed the document as well. This shows that the Coloureds formed an integral part of the congregation at St Andrew's at that time. Morgan was inducted as minister of St Andrew's by Adamson on 14 November 1841, and all the Coloured members of the Mission "who had been invited to be present ..., joined with the other members in giving him the right hand of welcome in the usual manner".²⁵

Morgan, on assuming his duties, wished to preach to the Coloured congregation every alternate Sunday, but Stegmann, though he admitted Morgan's right to administer the sacraments of the church to the Mission congregation, was unwilling to share the preaching at public worship services with the new minister of St Andrew's.²⁶ Stegmann was under the jurisdiction of Session, but the Mission had grown to such an extent that besides using

the church on Sunday afternoons and two evenings during the week, another building was rented, in Stegmann's name, for the purposes of the Mission School. This suggested a certain independence for Stegmann from the direct control exercised over him by the Session and he continued, with the assistance of W. Gorrie, to perform all the services at the new chapel. In addition, he insisted on officiating at all the services at St Andrew's as well, as he had done during Adamson's absence overseas.²⁷

In January 1842 Stegmann made a tour of the colony, leaving Morgan and Gorrie to perform the duties of the mission. On his return Morgan wrote to Stegmann again requesting the opportunity to preach to the Coloured congregation every alternate Sunday. At the same time, Session passed a resolution confirming Morgan's right to the pulpit of St Andrew's whenever he wished to preach.²⁸ There followed an interview between Stegmann and two appointees of the Session, C.S. Pillans and J. Abercrombie, at which it was alleged that Stegmann had received donations from Indian visitors in support of the Mission and the school of which he had not given an account to the Session. The Session did not, however, accuse Stegmann of misappropriation of church funds. He refuted these claims declaring that monies had been "placed at his disposal by the respective donors".²⁹ The Session passed a further resolution in March 1842 defining the duties of Stegmann in relation to the Mission, which indicated a status subordinate to Morgan's.³⁰

STEGMANN'S RIVAL MISSION

On Wednesday 13 April 1842 Stegmann assembled the Coloured congregation of St Andrew's and "in a long and animated address represented to them that he had not been properly treated, and that he intended to send in his resignation to the Kirk Session, and commence a Mission on his own".³¹ Reports to the discredit of the Session were circulated among the Coloured members, and later that month Stegmann held a meeting in the chapel at which he called upon the Mission congregation to support the formation of an independent mission. A large majority severed their connection with St Andrew's as a result, and nearly all the Lutheran teachers in the Mission followed

19. StAPC, St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Mission Report ..., December 1841.
20. *Ibid.*
21. D.W. KRÜGER and C.J. BEYERS (eds.), *Dictionary of South African biography III*, p.632.
22. StAPC, St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Report of the state of the Mission in connection with the Scottish Church in Cape Town, 6.5.1842, no pagination.
23. *Ibid.*
24. StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 2, July 1841, p.30; St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Report of the state of the Mission ..., 6.5.1842.
25. StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 2, 14.11.1841, p.78.
26. See letters (StAPC) of G. Stegmann and G. Morgan (St Andrew's correspondence and documents file); St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Report of the state of the Mission ..., 6.5.1842.
27. *Ibid.*
28. StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 2, 9.3.1842.
29. StAPC, St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Report of the state of the Mission ..., 6.5.1842; Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 2, 2.2.1842.
30. StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 2, 2.3.1842 and 9.3.1842.
31. StAPC, St Andrew's Scottish Church Letter Book: Mission Report ..., December 1841.



The earliest picture of St Andrew's (from a drawing by H. C. de Meillon in the *Cape of Good Hope Almanack*, 1832).

PHOTOGRAPH: CAPE ARCHIVES DEPOT

Stegmann, who formed a congregation at St Stephen's.³²

The more amazing development in this split in the St Andrew's Mission is the support Stegmann received from the first minister of St Andrew's, James Adamson. A minute records that Stegmann "received much help from Rev. Dr. Adamson."³³ Dr Jack Dalziel, in his thesis, is of the opinion that the new mission set up by Stegmann was "a second Presbyterian cause in a city where there was room for only one", and concludes that "things must have been very difficult for the Rev. George Morgan in the 1840's."³⁴ The evidence suggests, however, that the Stegmann Mission was not a "second Presbyterian cause", but an independent mission because Adamson and Stegmann established a number of missions in and around Cape Town, which came together to form a loose union called the 'Apostolic Union'.³⁵ It is true they urged that the union should join the Free Church of Scotland which had been formed after the Disruption in the Presbyterian church in Scotland, but the Apostolic Union was never accepted into the Free Church.³⁶ The St Andrew's Mission which continued its work at the Scottish Church began to lean towards the newly-established Free Church, which had been formed in Cape Town by W. Gorrie, formerly of St Andrew's, and E. Miller. The impact of this local Free Church was limited and it was closed in 1851.³⁷

The records of the Apostolic Union cannot be traced, but it is reasonably certain that most of the missions formed by Stegmann and Adamson became attached to the Dutch Reformed Church in later years.

ST STEPHEN'S

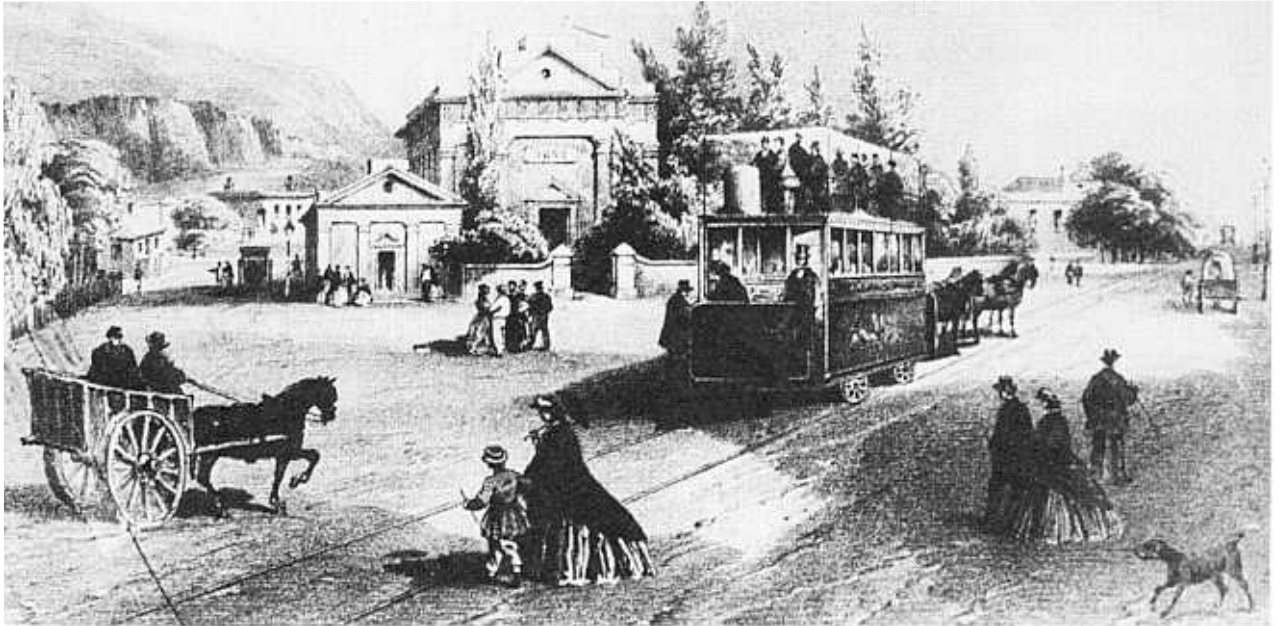
After the split in St Andrew's Mission in 1842, St Stephen's, formerly the African Theatre in Cape Town, was opened as a place of worship. It became the parent

church of the missions started by Stegmann and Adamson. In a report published in the *Free Church Missionary Record* of November 1850, Stegmann writes that "upon Dr. Adamson's departure for overseas [the] Rev. J.A. Stegmann, ordained in Holland, was called by 'the community' to occupy his place. The place of worship (St Stephen's) is calculated to contain 1 000, and it is generally well filled. The *Tokens* for Sacrament occasions number 300. The members with only a very few exceptions are from the 'Coloured Classes', the former slave population, a few Moslems and some negro slaves captured by men-of-war and liberated here".³⁸

1848 — A MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

At St Andrew's the Session built a school classroom in

32. StAPC, Correspondence between Morgan and Stegmann (St Andrew's correspondence and documents file): Stegmann — Morgan, 2.3.1842; Stegmann — Morgan, 16.4.1842; Morgan — Stegmann, 16.4.1842. Resignation of Stegmann: Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 2, 19.4.1842.
33. StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 2, p.86.
34. J. DALZIEL, *The origins and growth of Presbyterian ordinances of worship among English speaking European South Africans prior to the formation of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa in 1897* (Ph.D., Edinburgh University, 1957; on microfilm, J.W. Jagger Library, University of Cape Town), p.85.
35. Minutes of Colonial Committee of Free Church of Scotland, vol. 1, p.163ff., where the petition calling for the establishment of the 'Apostolic Union' is recorded; quoted in J. DALZIEL, *op. cit.*, p.86.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Free Church Missionary Record* (Edinburgh, Scotland), November 1850, p.81.
38. *Ibid.*, p.243ff.



An engraving of the "Scottish Church, Cape Town" by Thomas Bowler (1864).

PHOTOGRAPH: CAPE ARCHIVES DEPOT

1842 for the continuing St Andrew's Mission.³⁹ The new building was erected on the St Andrew's property. In 1848 a missionary association was begun, which continued the two separate congregations of St Andrew's — one White and the other 'mixed'.⁴⁰ The association continued for nearly twenty years. It was disrupted by a dispute between the Dutch and English sections of the congregation. The Dutch speakers were mainly people of colour. This split took place despite a declaration in the first report of the missionary association presented on 13 October 1848: "Though the converts from Heathenism are spoken of as a distinct congregation, the distinction is merely nominal, arising solely from the circumstance of their not being sufficiently acquainted with English to derive edification from religious services conducted in that language. This renders it necessary to have separate services in Dutch, and consequently causes an appearance of disjunction between them and the English portion of the congregation. In all other respects no distinction is observed; both form one Church or Congregation, enjoying the same privileges, and under the same superintendence of the same officers, according to the Scripture rule: 'ye are all one in Christ Jesus'."⁴¹ The tensions which grew up between the two congregations, however, finally dissolved the missionary association. The Dutch-speaking members felt that they were not enjoying the same benefits as the White English-speaking congregation.

The White membership of St Andrew's also suffered because of the severe depression during the 1860s and 1870s, which caused many families to leave Cape Town.

In 1873 there were only 151 names on the membership roll of the Presbyterian Church of Cape Town, of which 57 belonged to the Mission.⁴² Eventually, on 31 October 1878, the St Andrew's Mission, which had been started by Adamson in 1838, had to close down.⁴³ For some years it had been found very difficult to obtain the services of a Dutch-speaking evangelist. After the resignation of George Morgan in 1873,⁴⁴ the services had been conducted by an evangelist of the Dutch Reformed Church, but it seems that the Session felt that the time had come to discontinue the services altogether, owing to the diminishing congregation.⁴⁵

There is no record in the minutes about which members of the Mission accepted the invitation that was extended by the Session for them to join the English-speaking congregation. The Mission had always had a 'mixed' congregation, though predominantly Coloured, and it is reasonable to assume that if a large number accepted this invitation, it would be more than likely that some of those joining the English congregation were people of colour. Most of the elders of the Mission congregation were Dutch-speaking, and as they had for a number

39. StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 2, 26.4.1842.

40. *Proceedings of the Kirk Session of the Scottish Church, Cape Town, relative to the adoption of measures for providing assistance to the minister in the discharge of his pastoral duties* (Cape Town, 1870), p.15ff; StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 2, 12.10.1848.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *St Andrew's Scottish Church Annual Report, 1873.*

43. StAPC, Minutes of Kirk Session, no. 3, p.41.

44. *Ibid.*, no. 2, p.406.

45. *Ibid.*, no. 3, p.41.

of years been served by an evangelist of the Dutch Reformed Church it is safe to suggest that most of them joined the latter denomination.

There seems to have been no thought in 1878 that Blacks and Whites should always be separate, for no protests are recorded in the minutes, and nowhere do we read of any objections being raised. This could, of course, mean that it was only the few Whites in the Mission who accepted the invitation to join the English congregation of St Andrew's, and that the Coloured members joined missions of other denominations.

This was not the end of mission work at St Andrew's. In 1876 the St Andrew's Sabbath Morning Fellowship, which had been inaugurated during the early ministry of the Rev. John Russell, and was composed mainly of men, decided they ought to do something for the African population living in the slums of Cape Town. They decided to open a mission in Bloem Street.⁴⁶ A room was hired for the purpose, and at their own expense they began holding meetings and classes for Blacks. They employed a Black evangelist to assist in the work, and he was paid from their funds. In the 1890s Bloem Street became a predominantly Coloured area and consequently the Blacks moved to other parts of the town. Nevertheless, this mission to Blacks continued until 1893 when the Presbytery of Cape Town was formed, and in 1903 the African Mission of the Cape Presbytery in N'dabeni was begun.⁴⁷

The St Andrew's Mission School, which was started at the time of the liberation of the slaves, and had become one of the best elementary schools in the city, was continued until it was amalgamated with the Harbour Works Public School in 1896.⁴⁸

THE IMPACT OF EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES ON THE MEMBERSHIP OF ST ANDREW'S CHURCH 1838—1848

An important historical source in determining the class of people who came into contact with St Andrew's as members or adherents is the marriage register (1839—1849), which in some cases gives information about the ages, occupations, places of birth and residence of the contracting couples.⁴⁹ Though by no means complete with regard to such information, these records do provide an insight into the variety of occupations of people of colour in general, and ex-slaves or apprentices in particular. Many of the slaves had large families, but the church insisted on the institution of marriage, so that the majority of entries in the register were *de facto* and not *de jure*, i.e. no legal ceremonies were observed. Unfortunately, actual residential addresses are not given in the register and therefore it is not possible to ascertain from which part of Cape Town the free Blacks came.

The occupations of free Blacks included those of labourers, gardeners, coachmen, tailors, sail-makers, carpenters, bricklayers, waiters, shoemakers, fruit-vendors, wagon-drivers, fishermen, messengers, stone-masons, wood-cutters, hunters and painters. According to the register, Whites were doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants, policemen, military and naval officers, traders, blacksmiths, carpenters, hoteliers, wheelwrights, millers, book-keepers, shipwrights, turners, tailors, cooks, butchers, shopkeepers, and one who was ranked a 'Gentleman'.⁵⁰

Many of the *de facto* marriages were brought about on the insistence of the church as a pre-requisite to bap-

Originele Verklaring.

Wy, *Landoor* *Adriaanse*
 en *Anna*
 verklaren by dese plegtig, opregt en waarlyk, dat wy *Landoor*
Adriaanse en *Anna*
 op den *viertien* Dag van *Septembur* het Jaar *1840* of
 daaromtrent, te *Norren-Twintig Rivieren, Tielbagh*,
 onderling met elkander getrouwd zyn, en dat wy in gem. Hwelyk ver-
 wekt hebben *Nien* Kinderen, en niet meer, namelyk:

- 1 Een Kind (Dood) Ond een dag
- 2 Een Kind (Dood) Ond twee dage
- 3 Een Kind (Dood) Ond acht dage
- 4 Een Kind (Dood) Ond twee dage
- 5 Een Kind (Dood) Ond twee dage
- 6 Een Kind (Dood) Ond een week
- 7 Een Kind (Dood) half jaar -
- 8 Een Kind (Dood) Ond twee dage
- 9 Een Kind (Dood) Ond acht dage
- 10 Een Kind (Dood) Ond twee jaren

Sweligen

ALS GETUIGEN,
J. J. J. J.
H. J. J. J.
 Voor my verklaard, op den *viertien* Dag
 van *Januarj* 1840

Declaration of a *de facto* marriage, 1840.

PHOTOGRAPH: ST ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CAPE TOWN

tism and membership. The marriage register for the years 1839—49 indicates clearly that this new class of church adherent and member was illiterate, and many had families of more than nine children, of whom most had died during childhood because of diseases such as cholera and smallpox, and depressed living conditions. The infant mortality rate was extremely high.

During these ten years, 294 marriages were recorded, of which 141 were *de facto* marriages.⁵¹ A significant number of the ex-slave women did not have surnames. It is not possible to state with certainty whether or not marriage across the colour line were contracted, since no racial identity is given in the register. There was, however, a small percentage of marriages between English and Dutch parties.

The growth and composition of the membership of St Andrew's can be analysed from the statistics of attendance at communion services: in December 1832, 45 members were present. The number of communicants remained constant between 1832 and 1839. But with the emancipation of slaves and their admittance to church membership after Biblical instruction and baptism, the numbers increased to 66 in July 1839 and 104 by

46. *St Andrew's Church (Cape Town) Annual Report*, 1876, p.4.
 47. J. RODGER (ed.), *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Cape Town: a centenary record* (Cape Town, 1929), pp.30—33.
 48. *Ibid.*
 49. StAPC, Record of the Scottish Church: Marriage Register, 8.7.1839 — 9.2.1849.
 50. *Ibid.*; *Cape of Good Hope Almanack, 1838—1840* (microfilm, S.A. Library).
 51. Calculated from the information given in the Marriage Register, 1839—1849 (StAPC Record of the Scottish Church).

ORIGINAL REGISTER.

1846

Marriage solemnized at Cape Town, in the Parish of

, in the District of Cape Town

1846

No.	When married.	Names and Surnames.	Ages.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the Time of Marriage.	After Banns or Licence.	Consent by whom given, or Judge Order.
202	10 August	George Miss	Minor	Bachelor	Liberated African	Cape Town	After	W. Fiddell Collector of Customs

Married in ^{in detail} St. Andrew's Church at Cape Town aforesaid, After Banns, by me, George Morgan Minister of the said Church.

This Marriage was solemnized between us....

George
Kirk Mack
Miss
Ann X Mack
W. Fiddell

In the presence of us

J. Steffen
A. P. ...

Marriage Register (1846), showing marriage between freed slaves.
PHOTOGRAPH: ST ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CAPE TOWN

December of the same year. After 1840, the communicant's register of the Scottish Church indicates the number of Dutch (people of colour) and English-speaking members attending communion: 63 Dutch and 67 English in October 1840; 80 English and 120 Dutch in January 1841; 62 English and 140 Dutch in October 1841.⁵² These figures indicate the growth in membership caused by the influx of freed Blacks. St Andrew's was the first church in Cape Town to admit them to the benefit of Christian fellowship. When G.W. Stegmann resigned, however, he took with him the large majority of the Coloured congregation, causing the attendance figure for October 1842 to drop to 75 English and 44 Dutch. The situation was more or less unchanged by December 1846 when 65 English and 41 Dutch were in attendance.⁵³

REV. GEORGE MORGAN AND THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY

George Morgan was forthright concerning the political and social issues that prevailed — before and during his ministry at St Andrew's — and preached that religious liberty was inextricably bound up with political and civil freedom.⁵⁴ On the question of slavery he spoke with pride of St Andrew's pioneering mission to freed slaves, reaffirming that 'slaves by truth enlarged are doubly freed'.⁵⁵ In 1854 he declared that "Slavery, in its mildest, or rather its least oppressive, form, is a bitter draught; and it is injurious no less to the slaveholder than to the slave." He emphasised that "It is in a high degree detrimental to the interests of religion and virtue as everything must be which interferes with the natural rights which belong inalienably to man."⁵⁶ Morgan made little distinction between the ex-slaves and other members of his congregation: "I believe that, as a whole, their subsequent conduct will bear a comparison with that of any other class of professing Christians."⁵⁷ He had always considered "that from the very first (founding of the Mission) the converts from Heathenism and others speaking the Dutch language were regarded as an integral part of the congregation, the only apparent difference between the two

classes being, that in administering the Word and Ordinances, it was necessary, as is frequently the case in Scotland, to make use of two official languages."⁵⁸

It is significant, however, that by 1870 the tensions which had developed within the Session of the church and in the congregation over the status of the Dutch-speaking members had distinct racialistic undertones. This was the impetus for a forceful declaration by Morgan:

"It will scarcely be denied that wherever a Christian Church is planted ... it is the duty of that Church to endeavour, according to its means and opportunities, to extend the blessings of Christianity to all classes of men without distinction; and that when a professedly Christian Church ignores or neglects its duty in this respect it forfeits its claim to that title and has no right to expect Divine blessing ... In the early Christian Church attempts were made to set up class distinctions, but these were utterly repudiated and condemned by the Apostles, and the rule was clearly laid down that in the Church of Christ there is to be no 'respect of persons'."⁵⁹

Morgan's strong convictions, however, were not sufficient to persuade the opponents of the Dutch-speaking congregation that the St Andrew's Mission should continue after 1878. Consequently, the church became a solely English-speaking institution after that date, having a predominantly White membership. Morgan was compelled to defend himself by printing (in 1857) his sermons on the worship of the freed slaves and the responsibility of the Church towards them. ■

52. These statistics are provided in the Record of the Scottish Church: Baptismal Register (StAPC), which includes a list of communicants, no pagination (attendance information at the end of the register).

53. *Ibid.*

54. G. MORGAN, *A sermon preached in the Scottish Church, Cape Town, on occasion of the 25th anniversary of the opening of that Church* (Cape Town, 1854), p.10.

55. *Ibid.*, p.14.

56. *Ibid.*, p.13.

57. *Ibid.*, p.14.

58. *Proceedings of the Kirk Session of the Scottish Church, Cape Town ...*, p.14.

59. *Ibid.*, p.13.