

AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE  
DIOCESE OF ST JOHN OF THE  
CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE  
OF SOUTH AFRICA,  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE  
TO BISHOP CALLAWAY'S  
VISION OF A BLACK CLERGY

by

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in the subject

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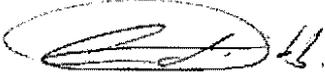
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# DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all the work contained in this dissertation is entirely my own, and all references and sources have been duly noted.

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An historical study of  
the Diocese of St John's of the Church of the Province of South Africa,  
with special reference to Bishop Callaway's vision of a black clergy

Henry Callaway (1813 - 1890) came to South Africa with Colenso. In 1857 he founded a mission at Springvale, and later at Highflats and Clydesdale. He was highly respected as an expert in the Zulu language, customs and religion. He became bishop of St John's in 1874.

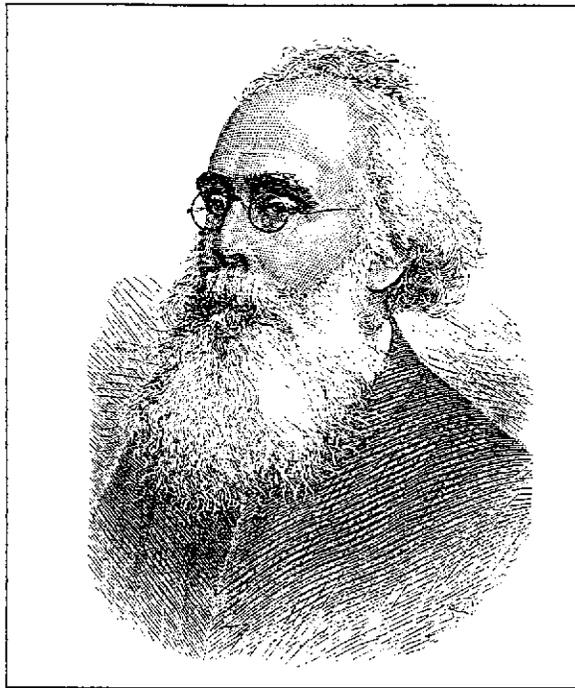
Callaway developed St John's from four isolated mission stations into a thriving diocese. He laid the foundations of education and health systems as well as organising the Church itself. Of special interest was the training a core of black clergy to carry the church to the people.

Callaway resigned because of ill health in 1886.

Key Words:

Callaway, Henry. Diocese of St. John's. Anglican Church. Springvale. Umtata. Clergy training. Black Clergy. Historiography.

**SKETCHES FROM SPRINGVALE  
AND THE DIOCESE OF ST. JOHNS**



Bishop Henry Callaway<sup>1</sup>  
(1813 - 1890)

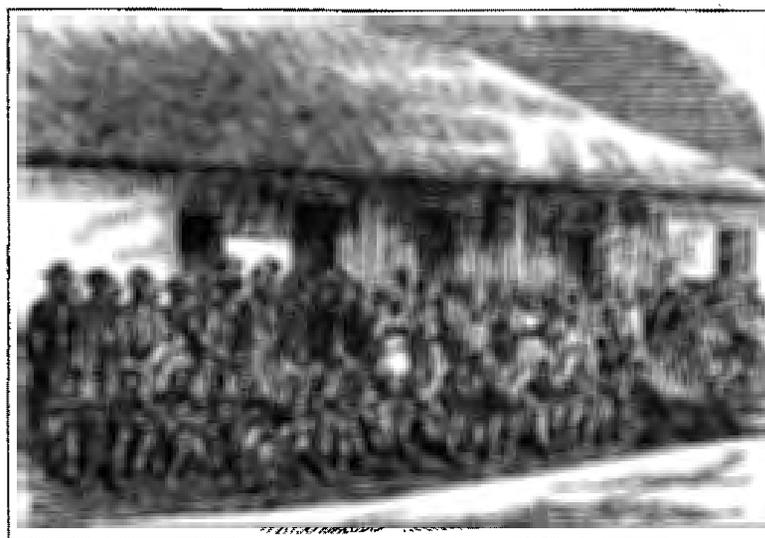
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<sup>1</sup> The Mission Field. 1890:195

## SPRINGVALE



Woman and Child<sup>2</sup>



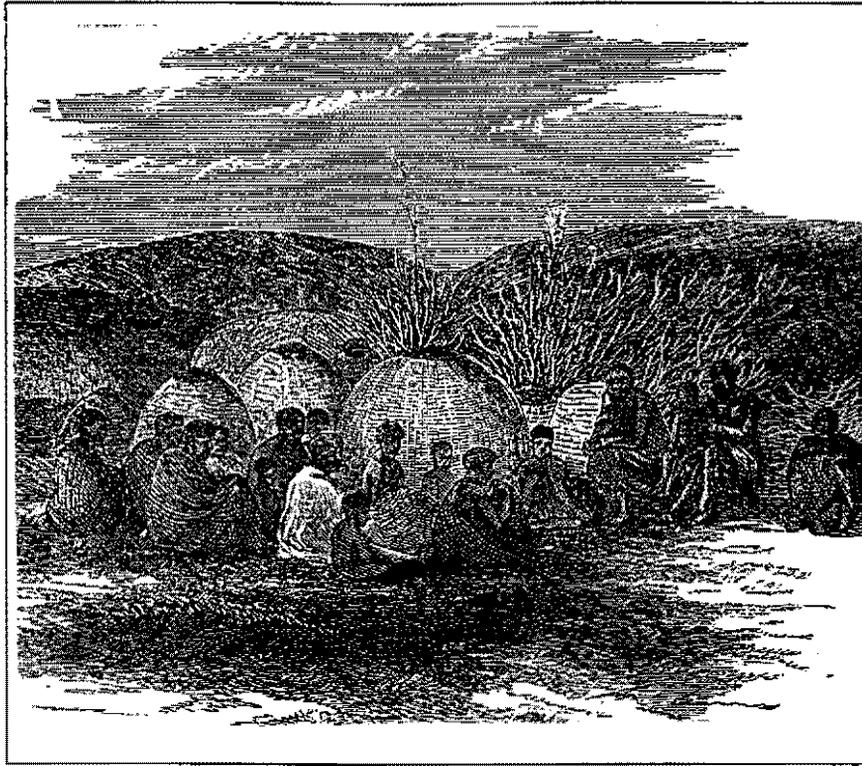
The Congregation at Springvale<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The Mission Field 1868:70

<sup>3</sup> The Mission Field 1868:97

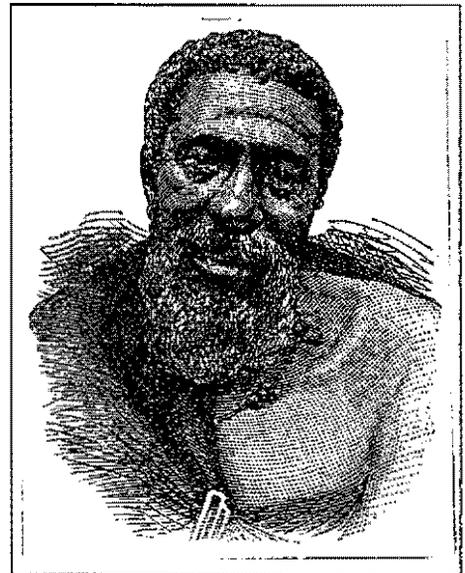
## Traditional St. John's



A Kraal<sup>4</sup>



A Pondo Warrior<sup>5</sup>



The Great Chief, Kreli<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The Mission Field 1888:274.

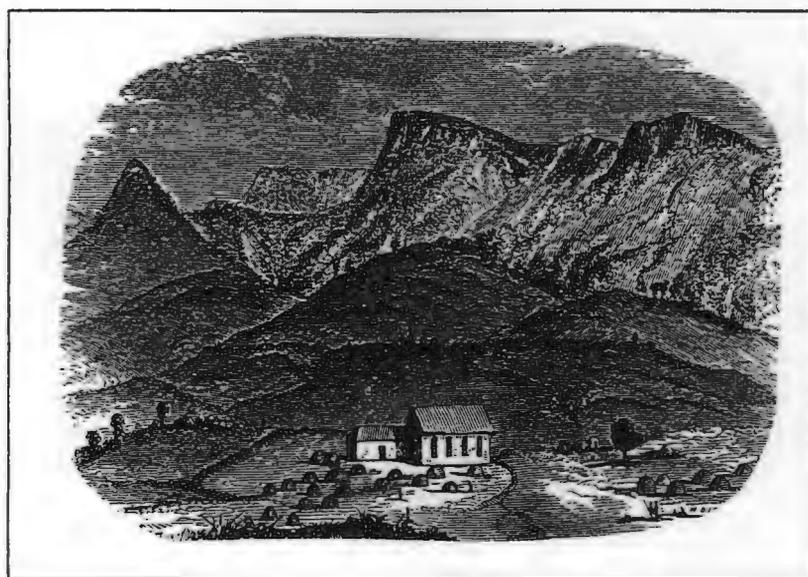
<sup>5</sup> The Mission Field 1888:58

<sup>6</sup> The Mission Field 1888:57

## Diocesan St. John's



The Parsonage Hut, Umtata<sup>7</sup>



St. Mark's Mission Station<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The Mission Field. 1885:366.

<sup>8</sup> The Mission Field. 1867:246.

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## PREFACE

The Diocese of St. John's began as a mission diocese in one of the final areas of South Africa to come under the governorship of the British Empire. In 1874 it was an area about to go through a period of transition and flux as old customs fell away and were replaced by new. One of these new aspects that affected Black culture was Christianity, brought to the area over a period of fifty years by missionaries from various churches.

It is the purpose of this dissertation to examine the beginning of the association of the Church of the Province of South Africa and the people in the area known in the nineteenth century as "Kaffraria". Because the Anglican church is episcopal and diocesan in nature, the role of the central missionary, in this case, Bishop Henry Callaway, is vital. This does not mean that other missionaries did not play any central role in the story, indeed, each mission station has its own story to tell, yet to get as complete a picture as possible, it is necessary to focus on the Bishop.

Nineteenth century sensibilities are different from those of our modern times. In this dissertation I have tried to convey as much of the flavour of that era as possible by quoting directly from letters, journals and magazines whenever possible. This means, however, that within those quotes one finds terms currently offensive. Yet in their own milieu they were not offensive. Terms like "Kafir" or "Native" carried no negative connotations, and were certainly not used with the same sense of approbrium connected with them today.

Similarly geographical terms have changed. The area making up the Diocese of St. John's is currently part of the Province of the Eastern Cape. However at the time discussed in this dissertation it was called

"Independent Kaffraria", or just "Kaffraria", or "the Transkei". These names will crop up periodically in quotations, and it should be remembered that they are retained to give the flavour of the times.

No history is written in a vacuum, and a work of this nature inspires great interest and zeal among those who know the writer. The assistance and encouragement offered to the writer goes a long way to making up the deficits and skill. In recognition of this I would like to thank those whose help has been unstinting: Dr. Joan Millard of the University of South Africa, for her unflagging support and encouragement over the past two years. It has been a joy and a privilege to work with so fine an historian. Special thanks also to those who helped with the research: Mrs. Thirion of the Unisa library, whose computer searches provided much of the background material used in this dissertation. Similarly, Carol Archibald and Claire Kruger of the CPSA Archives at the University of the Witwatersrand, whose help in finding primary source material was invaluable. Special thanks to Mr. Lodge of Rhodes House Library, Oxford, for his gracious assistance during my short, but extremely valuable, visit there. Thanks also to the staff of the Kaffrarian Museum in King Williamstown for their assistance.

There are many friends whose kind encouragement has helped me along the way. They are too numerous to list individually, but they know who they are. I would like to especially thank Mrs. Margot von Beck for her tireless help in editing, and Mrs. Virginia Stephens for her help with formatting, paginating and setting up a table of contents for this dissertation. Her computer skills were of great help. Also I would like to thank the people of the New Church Buccleuch for their continued interest and support in this project.

Finally I would like to thank my wife Cara and my children, Malcolm, Meghan and Laird for their constant support. It is my hope that sorties

into the field of research will become one of their great interests in life and afford them as much pleasure as it gives me.

## INTRODUCTION

**I**t is amazing how many people try to live only in the "present", as if the brief span of time we call our lives stands isolated from the broader sweep of time we call "history". History is an integral part of our daily lives: defining who we are by contextualizing us in the past. It is not possible to live entirely in the moment, because each moment is so closely bound up with the past, even the distant past, in subtle ways which the historian tries to discover and recount.

South African history has become very complicated in recent years. Old assumptions have been challenged by new models of awareness. Perhaps it is too much of a generalisation to say that many people in the 1990's are confused about their individual and collective identity because the idea of our national history is in a state of flux as definition and redefinition follow each other in a dance of mutual denial. Yesterday's heroes are today's villains, and events previously labelled as one thing are now labelled another. Historians have divided into camps: liberal and radical vie for centre stage. Individualists contend with Marxists, each advancing their theories about the motivations of people long gone.

The task of the historian, as I see it, is to try to get to the kernel of the story and see its relevance in its own context and its contribution to the ongoing tide of life. Each particular model of historiography offers something valuable, yet each loses much of its value when it claims to be the only and orthodox way of interpreting the past. To define the past in the glowing terms of altruism is as erroneous as condemning it in its entirety a perpetual class struggle.

Each individual human being is a complex collection of motives, some good, some less than good. A person is quite capable of acting sincerely in

one moment and insincerely the next. Possibly the only thing we know for certain about history, is the fact that we cannot know the full motivations of the people at any time. We can only observe their external behaviour, and judge them according to that. To claim more is to arrogate to ourselves power which does not belong to us.

This does not mean we should take the past only at face value: rather an historian needs to sift the evidence, to find both strengths and weaknesses, both altruism and greed. A picture of a person, a time, or an event can only begin to surface as one goes through the process of reading the evidence and interpreting it. Part of the historian's challenge, then, is to remove as much as possible the filters of ideology, race and culture, to come to the core of the issue at hand.

In church history the process is more complex. A church historian tells the story of the rise and establishment of the church, the Body of Christ, which makes the subject at hand somewhat more difficult. Criticising the Church, its beliefs and practices, may seem at times to be tantamount to criticising God Himself, or casting aspersions on those who claim to be His duly ordained delegates. On the other hand, observation of the church over the past two millennia shows clearly how those very delegates misused or abused their position of trust. Greed, racism and class distinction are just as common in church history as in secular, and, as in secular history, they rub shoulders with altruism. Thus the church historian is in a difficult spot: to try to be objective, to face the past in such a way that both the good and the bad get an equal hearing. There is a temptation, perhaps more in church history than in secular history, to make basic assumptions about the church, for example, that the church was only concerned with the spiritual welfare of her people.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I approach the subject of the history of the Diocese of St. John's during the years of its first bishop, Henry

Callaway. As in the case of most founding Bishops, Callaway placed his mark on the formative stage in the development of the diocese. As a man he can be viewed from a variety of perspectives, resulting in him being seen either as a saint or a sinner. In reality, he was probably both and neither, really an ordinary person doing an extraordinary job, thrust into a time frame not of his making, marked by the attitudes and ideals of his era which he no more considered challenging than we consider challenging our own.

The question one has to ask, therefore, is to what degree the man "Callaway" imposed his own feelings and thoughts on the nascent St. John's? In answering this question, it is necessary to begin with an overview of the models needed to assess his work. The first chapter of this dissertation, therefore, outlines different historiographical approaches. The purpose of this section is to provide a framework of thought.

It is conceded, however, that the models of historiography sometimes run completely counter to the perceived and stated goals of nineteenth century missionaries themselves. Some historians dismiss these stated claims as a smoke-screen or cover-up of the missionaries true aims, but this is a very cynical view. Like most people, the missionaries of the mid- and late-nineteenth century were driven by different and mixed motives. Rather than seeing themselves as agents imposing western culture on recently conquered peoples, they seriously believed themselves agents of God on a mission to bring Christianity to people. It was their greatest belief that those who had not been saved through admission to the Church, were doomed to hell-fire. That in itself is strong motivation. In their minds, partly because of the point of view of the time, they equated Christianity squarely with British culture.

Thus if we are to examine missionaries according to the models of the final decade of the twentieth century, then we need to afford the courtesy

of examining carefully their own perceived contextualization. This then, is the subject of the first chapter.

The early history of the Diocese of St. John's vests heavily in the person of Henry Callaway. Granted he was not the only missionary operating in what was then called "Kaffraria", but as Bishop he was responsible for the initial organisation and development of the Diocese. Many of the institutions characterising St. John's were set in motion by Callaway. In order to understand the Diocese, therefore, it is important to understand Callaway. His back-ground in the Society of Friends, and his subsequent conversion to the Church of England had massive effects on the way he regarded missionary work, and particularly on his goal of giving to others what was almost lost to himself: the priesthood.

Thus chapter two of this dissertation explores the man and his own formative experience. What emerges is a picture of a man strong in his faith, committed to his work, and, despite what people may say one hundred and fifty years after the event, as dedicated to Africa and Africans as anyone in his own era could be.

If it is necessary to examine Callaway in great detail, it is equally important to explore the future diocese closely. The Diocese of St. John's was founded in a time when culture was in great flux. Colonialism was already established over much of South Africa, and it was only in small, almost isolated corners of the country, like the Transkei, where its effects were not yet fully developed. Callaway's arrival coincided with the annexation and subjugation of the area. Thus at the time of his episcopacy the wounds, the hurt feelings, the indignities suffered by a people in transformation were still very fresh. In times to come, Callaway would experience reaction to this colonial onslaught and witness its consequences to the Diocese.

In the years before he arrived in St. John's, however, every aspect of tribal life was under threat: family structures, the chieftainship, loss of land and changing methods of farming. These put great pressure on the people at that time, and it is important to see Callaway's tenure as Bishop in the light of this transition.

The difficulties in the geographical area resounded in the ecclesiastical. When Callaway arrived as Bishop of St. John's in 1874, he found very little upon which to build a viable organisation. Only four mission stations existed. His staff was stretched to breaking point over a vast area. Finances inhibited the projects so close to his mind. In the first three years of his episcopate, Callaway had to do such basic things as decide on a name for the diocese and find a suitable central station. Only later could he concentrate on greater issues like establishing schools and hospitals. Chapter Four of this dissertation, therefore, outlines the work of establishment, and traces how the diocese grew.

In these years, by begging and cajoling, and using a lot of his own money, Callaway was able to erect the skeleton of the diocese; a cathedral was built, and schools founded. New areas opened up, and the work prospered. In one sense Callaway was everywhere, travelling about in his "light wagon", in another he was always "there", be it in Pondoland, or Umtata, or in the south of the diocese. His constancy provided a stabilising centre-point, and much of the work prospered.

In chapter five, however, we see the coming together of two major forces; the discontent of the people who had seen their land taken away, their power broken by the forces of colonialism, and the church, working to change the culture of the people into what the missionaries believed was a higher civilisation. The result was war. In 1877 and again in 1880 the church suffered in times of conflict. In these times the church was caught in a difficult position - its express motive was to help the people, and yet it

relied on the government for finances and protection. For several of the missionaries this was a difficult point as they could see the effects of colonialism on the people, and yet they were loyal to their government.

The church rode out those storms, and yet after them it was as if the innocence of the diocese was lost. Things would never be the same again. In winning the war the colonial authorities firmly established their power over the territory and her people, and they, in their turn, were subdued, without hope of regaining their independence.

It is in this time of great conflict that Callaway began to realise his own ambition of creating a priesthood. Perhaps because the Quakers so vehemently denied the use of an ordained clergy, and because of his own pull towards it, Callaway maintained throughout his life in South Africa that the only way to reach the black people with the Gospel is through one of their own.

Chapter six outlines how this vision finally became a reality. Beginning in his pre-diocesan days in Springvale, when he began using black catechists to reach his outstations, he worked steadily onwards. Before coming to St. John's he was able to train two men for orders, but once he settled in the Diocese, for the first few years, his work was too closely bound up with the practical details of getting the diocese established to put the kind of energy into training as he would have liked.

His commitment, however, never wavered, and he ordained the first black man, Peter Masiza, into the full priesthood of the Church of the Province of South Africa. In time, he prepared many more candidates, but his involvement in this work decreased as his health deteriorated, and training clergy fell increasingly to Bransby Key.

The fullness of his work came into being through his Coadjutor and assistant, Bransby Key. In chapter seven we see how years of struggle left him old before his time, and increasingly weak. In 1880 Callaway had to stop work altogether and return to England for a rest - although as soon as his energy returned he launched a lecture circuit to raise funds for and interest in, the diocese. The decline of his health, however, was irreversible, and even after coming back to South Africa, he was compelled to cut back considerably. In 1883 he accepted Bransby Key as his assistant.

From that time onwards, Callaway's health went into even greater decline. He retired in 1886, almost blind and paralysed, and finally died in 1890.

How then does one measure such a lifetime? How do we measure the impact of one man on the formation of a diocese covering a huge geographical area and serving thousands of people? Did he act purely from altruism, as the liberals may say, or was he responsible for perpetuating the injustices of the past, guilty of establishing a class structure from which the Transkei has never recovered? There are no easy answers to these questions. The final chapter in this dissertation is dedicated to examining some of these issues in the light of his "history". While the precise answer, however, will never be known, for no one can know another's motives, what will hopefully become increasingly apparent, and an object lesson to us all, is that no single model of interpretation works ideally - there are cracks in the system, and those cracks are filled with people like Bishop Henry Callaway.

## CHAPTER ONE

### *HISTORIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS*

**T**he image of missionaries in Africa has undergone a great change in the century and a half since Dr. Henry Callaway landed in Durban to begin his life's work of furthering Christianity on this continent. Crucial to the change of perspective is the consideration of the impact of white influence and colonialism on the indigenous black population of South Africa. Callaway arrived at the beginning of the heyday of colonialism, and since the interpretation of the colonial concept determines the view one has of events occurring within that period, so understanding his work will require an examination of the differing views of his era.

In his book, "Colonialism and Christian Missions", Stephen Neill points out that as a term "colonialism" is of relatively recent vintage, replacing the original "imperialism". He writes:

It is used almost exclusively as a term of reproach, implying that the only aim of colonial rule has been the exploitation and impoverishment of weaker and defenceless people, and that its only results have been the destruction of what was good in ancient civilisations, and the multiplication of measureless evils (Neill, 1966:11).

Interpreted in this context, the colonial era in South Africa was characterised by both "the exploitation and impoverishment" of the people, with increasingly hardening attitudes on both sides of the racial divide. This was inevitable because of the inherent nature of colonialism which John Phillip describes as "conquest concomitant with dispossession" (Cochrane, 1987:36)

and resistance from the colonised people. Striking a balanced view from a century and a half later, therefore, is difficult because the world-view of the late twentieth century is entirely different from that of an idealistic mid-nineteenth century missionary.

The concept of colonialism, with all its negative connotations, has pervaded every detail and aspect of this country's history. Sometimes, either fairly or unfairly, people caught up in the whirlpool of events and attitudes for no other reason than that these formed the very atmosphere of their time, have been labelled and judged for acting within the context of their era. Among the makers of South African history, there are those who have been improperly tarred and feathered, and others who get the opprobrium they deserve. Yet so often the deciding criteria rest with the individual interpreters of history.

One group who has come in for special examination of their motives and impact is the missionary community active in South Africa during the entire course of the colonial era. Missionaries made indelible marks on the history of this country as the intermediaries between black and white, as those who were primarily responsible for the demolition of traditional black culture through Christianity and education, and as agents in various forms for the imperial government. Their participation in the process of colonialism varied from man to man, from church to church, making it difficult to describe an interpretation of history which suits each one of them.

These dynamics so profoundly mark the nineteenth century political economy of South Africa, and their consequences are so weighty, that no genuine understanding of the role of missionaries is possible without considering the interconnections of religious, political and economic concerns. The way in which colonial missionaries engaged with the indigenous people; their hand in the subjugation of chiefdoms, their relation to the forms of economic expansion and to the

creation of labour; their specific part in the emergence of a black elite with advantageous connections to the colonies and metropolis - all these themes come to the fore (Cochrane. 1987:21).

Dr. M. Goedhals (1989:17-18) points out three interpretations of mission history which evolved during distinct phases of historiography which in some measure address the "religious, political and economic" concerns of the missionaries. The first and longest period of historical interpretation is the "liberal" period, in which historians, from a liberal view, acted as apologists for both missionaries and the colonial era. More recently, however, and largely in response to a growing awareness of black perspectives and Marxist interpretations, a radical view emerged, which saw missionaries in quite a different light than before. Radical historians tend to view missionaries in partnership with colonial forces actively undermining black culture, dispossessing the black people of land and cattle, thus reducing them to abject poverty and chattels in the hands of the whites. It would be permissible to say that liberal historians focus on the religious and political concerns, while the radicals tend to dwell on the political and economic. The final view Goedhals offers is that of Dr. Monica Wilson who tries to bridge the divide between liberal and radical by suggesting that while the missionaries were agents of the state, they nevertheless "attempted to provide a world-view and practical skills which would enable Africans to adjust to changing circumstances" (Goedhals. 1989:18).

## THE LIBERALS

Liberals acted as apologists for the missionaries, judging them "on the basis of their stated motives" (Goedhals. 1989:17), accepting the bona fides of missionaries who came to bring Christianity and civilisation to the black people of this country. Obtaining a picture of the missionaries' publicly stated motives is not difficult: they were requested to provide them in writing

to the directors of various mission societies (Piggin. 1978:327). They came to bring blacks into the Christian fold, and so into the orbit of white culture through the churches, by teaching "the dignity of labour" and education. One result was permanent change to traditional culture.

Liberals were generally protective of missionaries, an approach evident in the writings of Edgar Brooks, who believed the missionaries "served Africa well, and their denigration is neither justifiable nor even decent" (Cochrane. 1987:13). From his point of view the missionaries sacrificed greatly for the sake of the continent, and their service should be seen from this perspective.

In a similar vein, Neill defends the missionaries:

Missionaries have often been accused of destroying simple peoples by changing their age-long customs, and introducing such purely western habits as the wearing of clothes. It has to be admitted that missionaries have made many mistakes, and have not always been wise in their handling of converts. But on the whole the weight of evidence tells heavily against their critics (Neill. 1965:355).

Perhaps the diffidence of Neill's terminology, and the very superficial example he chose to highlight, is due to his being unaware of the depth and complexity of the changes to African life and culture brought about by colonialism in general and missionaries in particular. One criticism of liberal historiography is the minimisation of the negative impact of colonial systems on indigenous people. The cultural changes experienced by colonised people went far deeper than the adoption of certain superficial westernisms, it went to the core of African society itself.

The liberal perspective, however, does have merit in that it takes into account the motives of the missionaries themselves. It is often argued by more radical scholars (for example, Cochrane and Majeke) that they were

agents of the imperium, but is this true of the missionary's own perspective? Their writings indicate that they saw their culture as God-given and superior in every way to all other cultures on earth, and that it was their duty, the "white man's burden", so to speak, to share this with the less privileged peoples of the world. This may well be cultural arrogance and yet, in many individual men, there was a heartfelt yearning to assist those who were perceived as less fortunate than themselves. Thus Neill shows insight when he says:

The missionary enterprise of the churches is always in a measure a reflection of their vigour, of their wealth, and of that power of conviction which finds expression in self-sacrifice and a willingness for adventurous service (Neill. 1965:323).

Andrew Porter points out that it would be foolish to claim this assertion false (Porter. 1978:49). In the zenith of the colonial era the churches were vigorous, wealthy and driven by the conviction "that proselytisation and zealous conversion of the entire human race was the supreme task of the Christian community" (Cochrane. 1987:13), and these things are reflected in the history of this country.

## THE RADICALS

The liberal approach to missionaries began to change from the middle of the twentieth century when those who had been colonised, those whose culture has been forcibly changed, looked back at the process and added their own insights to those of scholars sensitised to the impact of western culture on a traditional people. Generally radical scholars came to realise that much of the effort to bring Christianity to the world meant a very western form of Christianity, and the civilisation accompanying it was definitely western.

Scholarship on the missionary movement in the nineteenth century has, since the 1960's, demonstrated a commendable awareness of the manner in which the internalised cultural assumptions of western missionaries influenced their interaction with the indigenous peoples they served (Sohmer. 1944:174).

From this perspective the ideals of the individual missionaries were subordinated to their general impact on the African community, and especially on their role in assisting the imperial government in its subjugation of the people. Radical scholars point out ways in which missionaries had internalised their culture, thus claiming the superiority of their own culture at the expense of any other. This kind of cultural imperialism is reflected in the relationship between church and state, especially perhaps in South Africa where the church aided and supported the state in its progressive development into Empire. Nosipho Majeke describes this interdependence in her book, "The Role of Missionaries in Conquest".

At the outset, the missionary approaches the chief humbly, Bible in hand, and asks for a small piece of land to set up his mission station. At his heels hastens the trader, the purveyor of cheap goods. Thus the Bible and the bale of Lancashire cotton become the twin agents of a revolutionary change. The peaceful penetration by the missionary and the trader is followed in due course by an 'agreement' between the chief and the Governor, whereby the British become the 'friends and protector of the chief' (Majeke. 1952:7).

This initial contact between black and white led eventually to a British resident commissioner, usually in the form of a magistrate, and eventually to full incorporation into the empire.

The fact that this scenario repeated itself countless times in the nineteenth century, gives added weight to Majeke's opinion that the missionary came deliberately as an "agent of conquest" (Majeke. 1952:5). She describes how, with their "divide and rule" politics, missionaries, traders and politicians worked hand in hand with the deliberate intention of extending the empire, each sharing a cynical disregard for the true welfare of the people. Their basis for doing this was the internalisation of their own culture which blinded them to the effects on the culture of the conquered:

The missionaries came from a capitalist christian<sup>1</sup> civilisation that unblushingly found religious sanctions for inequality, as it does to this day, and whose ministers solemnly blessed its wars of aggression (Majeke. 1952:4).

The merits of this approach can be seen in the missionary philosophy of the nineteenth century - there were those indeed whose purpose apart from their stated objective of spreading the Gospel - was to change African culture and bring the black man into a state of obedience under white rule. To achieve this they co-operated with the government as "political advisors" who helped develop Native policy and were apologists for "a ruthless military campaign and eulogists of the governor" (Cochrane. 1987:13).

Yet it is also true that many missionaries were concerned with the state of British culture, fearing the results of an association between their own civilisation and the non-Christian world. Thus the growth of the Empire and spread of British culture was not necessarily a universal motivator:

Missionary motivation thus became closely bound up with the desire to prevent contact between western and non-European societies from bringing out the worst in each other (Porter. 1978:351).

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<sup>1</sup> Majeke never capitalises "Christianity".

The difficulty faced by the historian is to interpret the lives and works of individuals who, having internalised their own culture, were moved with an inner conviction of their mission, in their minds divinely given, to bring this culture to others. It seldom occurred to missionaries either that their culture was unwanted, or that they were part of a destructive process which would reverberate around the world for a long time to come. Indeed, some missionaries were in favour of the destruction of African lifestyles as part of the process of "opening up newer fields of missionary work" (Porter, 1978:352). Many of them, because of their nationalistic sentiments believed themselves to be acting with the best intentions in the world, and that the changes they wrought were in the best interests of the people (Piggin, 1978:328).

We should not always assume, therefore, that missionaries were blind in relation to either their own culture and its impact, or the culture of the colonised. To assume they were blind distorts the historical view of missionaries, for many were not "uncritical supporters of imperialism" (Piggin, 1978:332).

One of the major difficulties of the radical approach to historiography lies in seeing people only in terms of economics. The missionary in Africa did not come essentially to offer a culture, he or she came "in the name of 'Him who died for *them*'. To grasp that is to grasp the essence of the missionary movement (Piggin, 1978:333).

Criticism, therefore, needs to be tempered with mercy, and yet not allowed to lose its sting. To forsake the critical approach is to look unobjectively at the past, and so miss the lessons it teaches, while an over application of critical method leads to an overall disparagement of the past which is equally unhealthy. Cochrane highlights this when he points out the need to be aware of the different sides of the argument for and against missionaries:

Brookes and Majeke clearly reflect a distinct disparity in their historical presupposition and historiographical method. They manifest wide disagreement in their opinions of the Church. Their dissimilarity is of considerable significance: it bears directly on how one interprets the Church and its role in the nineteenth century, the early part of the twentieth, and later (Cochrane. 1987:14).

## THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The divide between liberal and radical historians poses a problem to those who wish to concede some points to both sides and yet not fully accept either. It is no longer acceptable historiography to uniformly acclaim the people of the past, be they politicians or clergy - modern cynicism has been fed on a diet of fallen idols. Yet it is also not the nature of people to consistently condemn the past, especially when there have been tangible results arising from it. An attempt to bridge the divide has been made by anthropologist/historian Dr. Monica Wilson. Goedhals writes:

In an attempt to counter [the impasse], the anthropologist and historian, Monica Wilson, acknowledges that the missionary, together with the trader and the magistrate, was one of the agents which contributed to pressure on Nguni society in the nineteenth century, but argues that it was Christian missionaries alone who attempted to provide a world view and practical skills which would enable Africans to adjust to changing circumstances (Goedhals. 1989:17-18).

Wilson approaches the problem from a different angle than either the liberals or the radicals. Anthropology is unencumbered with the rhetoric of historiography and attempts to view the interaction of missionaries, governments, colonists and colonised peoples as social phenomena, and how these phenomena fit into certain patterns of behaviour.

Thus from a liberal point of view missionaries were altruistic, and from a radical perspective they were agents of destruction, from an anthropological outlook they simply conform (or not) to norms of societies in transition. From this perspective, Wilson advances the theory that missionaries did not conform to anthropological theory.

Anthropologists and sociologists keep talking about how religion in a society expresses and maintains group solidarity. The glory of our English and Scottish forefathers in South Africa is that they followed the apostles in rejecting an exclusive church, a church that was no more than group solidarity (Wilson. 1976:184).

In other words, if the missionaries had remained faithful to their cultural norms, they would have reserved Christianity for the use only of the white colonists, and kept the Africans in a state of spiritual and temporal ignorance. That this was the norm at the time can be seen from the resistance of many of the settlers to both the Christianising and educating of Africans. Yet in spite of objections, and sometimes hostility, missionaries stepped beyond their cultural norm in an effort to bring the blacks both to salvation and civilisation.

This perspective provides a bridging view: if the missionaries are accused of conveying an internalised culture, they also worked in opposition to their own culture by using religion and education, which should bind society together exclusive of other societies, as a way of spreading their own culture. By doing this they broke the anthropological mould, which to some degree weakens the argument of the radicals that they were merely agents of the state. In a similar vein, by following the apostles in their approach, the missionaries also broke somewhat the bonds of their mother churches.

Wilson's solution to the historiographical argument has merit because rather than denying the realities of an opposing faction, it is inclusive, and yet seeks to provide a rationale by which we might more accurately interpret the past. The inclusivity of her argument makes it possible to recognise that in many cases missionaries were agents of the state, they were imperialistically minded, and they practised a social imperialism upon a defenceless people. Yet her model also provides room for the equally pertinent reality that missionaries also championed the cause of the Africans, frequently standing between them and the colonists. It provides a recognition of their intentions to do good to their fellow human beings to the best of their ability.

#### A FOURTH VIEW

A final question on the nature and role of missionaries arises if we ask whether nineteenth century missionaries were any different from modern missionaries. Were they driven by the same motivational forces, did they strive for the same ends? Both Botha et al and Piggitt pose this question. According to Botha, the modern missionary is described as follows:

We understand Christian mission to be a wide and inclusive complex of activities aimed at the realisation of the reign of God in history. It includes evangelism but is at the same time much wider than that. Perhaps one could say that mission is the "cutting edge" of the Christian movement - that activist streak in the church's life that refuses to accept the world as it is and keeps on trying to change it, prodding it on towards God's final reign of justice and peace (Botha et al. 1994:21).

Botha et al. (1994:24) point out the issues facing a modern South African missionary and include such problems as institutionalised racism, interfaith relationships, and black perceptions of Christianity. They point out that

racism is endemic to South Africa, noting that "both black and white South Africans have been so negatively conditioned by legalised racism that one wonders whether there is enough social cohesion (enough democratic "glue") to bind our society together". They also note that interfaith relations could be better than they are, as some

Christian groups who, in born again or orthodox purity, exclude churches and persons from the realm of salvation (for example, African initiated churches, liberation theologians, "political priests", etc.) (Botha et al. 1994:27).

The modern missionary also has to contend with the perceptions of blacks about Christianity, which for so long has been identified as the "medium of exchange that whites used to purchase the land" (Botha et al. 1994:29).

While many of these issues are very pertinent to modern South Africa, no less so since the demise of apartheid, they are rooted in the very soil of the local expression of Christianity. Nineteenth century missions faced many of the same challenges, for example the endemic racism of the settlers who believed that educating an African was a waste of time and detrimental to labour needs.

In a similar way the Africans a hundred and fifty years ago also had reservations about accepting Christianity. Many stories are told about missionaries who laboured for years to gain their first convert, and on the Eastern Frontier, it was not until after the great cattle killing of 1857 that the missionaries of that area had any kind of success in converting people (The Mission Field. 1867:320).

The practical issues of then and now are remarkably similar, and so the definition of a missionary as given by Botha, Kritzinger and Maluleke is valid. The nineteenth century missionary operated under a widely inclusive

definition: he was a preacher, a teacher, a doctor, a farmer, an engineer, architect, builder, and a great many other things beside. Many of these men and women were mavericks in the truest sense of the term kicking over social norms to reach out to those they believed ignorant and in need of help, and in doing so they put aside their own culture to some extent.

It can be argued very cogently that missionaries were agents of the state, whose work undermined the culture of the people of Africa, but it can also be argued just as cogently that they acted from pure motives in what their culture taught them was the highest level of altruism, the giving of one's life for one's friend (John 15:13).

#### *NINETEENTH CENTURY MISSIONARY PHILOSOPHY*

**S**ince the missionaries internalised their culture, brought it to Africa and imposed it upon the conquered Africans it is of profound importance to understand the intellectual milieu in which they lived. As Cochrane points out, "the missionaries who began work in southern Africa did not arrive in a vacuum. They carried with them the mentality of their time and place of origin" (Cochrane. 1987:16).

As the Empire expanded, the church in England became increasingly aware of spiritual needs in the occupied territories. This awareness took a two-fold form: the need of colonists to be properly connected with the church at "home", and the need to reach out to the indigenous peoples in the colonies (Rowley. 1874:10,21). Bishop Wilberforce, the Bishop of Winchester, as spokesman for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and an advocate of missionary work, pointed out that the mother church was responsible for those whose spiritual lives were in jeopardy through ignorance and neglect of

their spiritual duties (Rowley. 1874:19,20). His views reflect the views of mid-century missionary philosophy.

Wilberforce saw the mass emigration from nineteenth century Britain as being opposed to the will of God unless it was also a means of spreading the Church. In a speech at Truro he said:

We do not allow of emigration merely that we may get rid of a superfluous population which have become troublesome to us; but a Christian nation permits emigration because it is inwardly conscious that it is fulfilling the command of God to replenish the earth and possess it (Rowley. 1874:57).

In fact, Wilberforce felt so strongly about the need to minister to emigrants, that he claimed that sending them out without proper spiritual care was tantamount to murder (Rowley. 1874:58).

Thus nineteenth century concepts of missionary work focused on “preaching the gospel outside England, and the opportunity to do this sprang from the expansion of the British empire” (Goedhals. 1989:105).

The second thrust of British missionary endeavour was to bring Christianity to the “heathen”. Wilberforce considered it part of the “general duties” of Christians to extend their Christianity to those as yet uninitiated (Rowley. 1874:21). In his mind, the church and civilisation went hand in hand:

We know perfectly well that what we call civilisation is really another word for Christianity in some shape or another. Where is there at this moment civilisation upon the earth where there is not Christianity, and where Christianity has not been? (Rowley. 1874:7).

In his mind, the Divine force bringing Christianity and civilisation had one common purpose: the imparting of spiritual light to those in the dark. Civilisation was a means to an end, for through the benefits of civilisation, people could be brought to an understanding of spiritual things. Thus Wilberforce saw God's providence in the opening up of continents (cf. Rowley. 1874:19).

Finally, Wilberforce also saw the duty of the church as being a buffer between the colonists and the indigenous people. In his mind colonists came from those furthest removed from the centre of British society, and thus most distant from the values of Christianity<sup>2</sup>. He feared that the impact of these people upon unsuspecting aboriginal peoples would be negative.

It must happen therefore, that unless there is a strong and dominant religious principle introduced into the colony which goes from the civilised land to settle in the uncivilised country, the ravelled edge at which the civilised life meets the uncivilised will be one of cruelty, harshness, and utter want of brotherly regard to the people amongst which it settled (Rowley. 1874:27).

The church believed in its responsibility to protect the indigenous people of the Empire against the colonists who were separated from the roots of their own spiritual life. The way of doing this was partly to tone down the independent spirit of the colonists and partly to introduce the colonised people to the benefits of British religion and culture:

Britons were convinced of their ability to bring liberation and light to what they regarded as the Dark Continent, and interpreted historical events in a way which tended to confirm this. In an era when the

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<sup>2</sup> At a speech in Manchester in 1863, Bishop Wilberforce asked "And who go? You know perfectly well that it is the poorest and least provided who go, the people who have the least of fixed regulation in their own moral character at home; who are ardent, who are impetuous, who are somewhat ungoverned, who are a little undisciplined, who have found the strait-laced sobriety of home life a little irksome." (Rowley. 1874:10)

grim industrial cities of England were in desperate need of pastoral care, the scriptural text most commonly quoted to justify evangelical expansion was Christ's commission "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel" (Goedhals. 1989:105).

By the mid 1800's England's empire was growing at unprecedented speed as huge tracts of land were subjugated and brought under her authority. The bewildered inhabitants of these areas were judged by English standards and found wanting. In Africa there was no writing, no wheel, no culture of labour, in fact nothing to satisfy the intellectual, technological and industrial nature of the English. Instead they found people living in what was by their standards appallingly barbaric circumstances. While Darwinians laid the cause of European advance on inherent moral and spiritual strengths within the white race, there were missionaries who preferred to give Christianity the responsibility:

The real question, therefore, is not whether the English are more truthful than the natives, or whether the natives are more temperate than the English, but whether the Anglo-Saxon race has made more progress since it embraced Christianity towards mastering its traditional vice of intemperance than the Christians of this country have made, in proportion to the shortness of their period in which they have been Christians, towards mastering their traditional vice of untruthfulness (The Mission Field. 1867:342).

On the other hand, some missionaries saw the blacks as capable of being advanced to a level comparable with whites. In the Mission Field it is noted that "the very stability of character, which makes the Kafir less susceptible of quick impressions, forms, perhaps, the best basis on which a reasonable and enduring faith can be built up" (The Mission Field. 1867:317). From this faith, one assumes, that the blacks would embrace the qualities of western civilisation, and thus close the gap between black and white culture. Thus

the missionary saw his work as furthering the cause of Christianity, and at the same time of furthering his own culture and civilisation. Certainly Bishop Wilberforce saw the situation in this way. He stated in a speech that

We find tribes here [in South Africa] at this moment so possessed with the notion of the superiority which our education and our faith have given us, that they are sending to us to desire us to supply missionaries to instruct their people in the faith. They are sending the children of their chiefs, that we may educate them ourselves (Rowley. 1874:29).

This state of affairs did not strike anyone as unusual, as the British intellectual minds of the day interpreted African conditions as inferior to their own. Judging their own culture on the yardstick of technology they found the non-technological African far beneath them. Due, perhaps to the arrogance of their own time, the Victorians applied Darwin's theory of evolution to the conquered people of the realm. Darwinian theory thus became "Social Darwinism", which "viewed Africans as racially handicapped and facing a long evolutionary struggle before being able to aspire to parity with Europeans" (Ashley. 1976:255)<sup>3</sup>.

The ideal of "Social Darwinism" contained "notions of Caucasian racial superiority, the evolutionary struggle and the triumph of the fittest" (Ashley 1976:252). This concept can even be found at Henry Callaway's consecration in Edinburgh, where the sermon contained the essence of racial superiority:

A man need not be a Christian to desire the Christianising of Africa. It is only required that he should be a European of ordinary sense.

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<sup>3</sup> Wilberforce unwittingly gives a fine example of this concept in a lecture at Bradford, Yorks.: "It is the very character of Englishmen, by which any young English lad, sent out as we send them out to India, by the mere presence of the English blood in him, is able to direct the minds of hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants of that land, although no other European was near him to stand by him and to succour. (Loud Cheers from audience)" (Rowley. 1874:74).

The introduction of the worst form of Christianity would make a happy change in the present state of things in Africa (The Mission Field, 1973:375).

Thus the missionaries were handicapped before they even left England. The confusion of Christianity with British culture fed their preconceived notions of Africans, and fed the fires of their determination to rescue the African from the perceived life of barbarity and their fallen spiritual state (Cochrane, 1987:20). Intellectually and culturally justified, the missionaries set about their work with vigour entirely oblivious to the impact of their labours on the Africans under their charge.

It is possible that if the problems of the twentieth century racial relations were pointed out to them, most missionaries would not have accepted them as the results of their labour. Blinded by the certainty of the rightness of their culture and life, many missionaries accepted the doctrine of the "Manifest Destiny" of England to rule the world, which

provided divine sanction for the dominance of European people and the British in particular, by arguing that providence reigns in the affairs of nations. Rule is therefore a providential matter, as is privilege. Rule was further legitimated by the notion that privilege carried with it responsibility for ruling the unprivileged (Cochrane, 1987: 19).

The concept of manifest destiny provided not only the nationalistic fervour of the missionary, but also the spiritual underpinning. If God was the reason for England's phenomenal rise to empire, then obedience to God required the conversion of the heathen. Failure to do so would have run against both the concept of "the Great Commission" (Matthew 28:19), and against nationalistic fervour (Rowley, 1874:60). The result was a sense of responsibility towards the people of the Empire to somehow lift them out of

their state into one more compatible with that of the ruling colonialists<sup>4</sup>. In a little book published to bring the concept of mission work to the fore, J. Latimer Fuller, gives form to this sense of responsibility:

Here is a country for which each Englishman is directly responsible, by virtue of the share he has had in making it a part of the Empire, - responsible for making both country and people better than he found them (Fuller. 1907:preface).

Cochrane points out one further factor bound into this mixture of secular and spiritual motives, as there was “apparently a belief among Evangelicals that the second coming of Christ was dependent on the Gospel being sounded among all nations” (Cochrane. 1987:20).

Victorian Anglicans saw “signs” of the coming millennium in the spread of Islam in Africa, in renewed Roman Catholic missionary aggression and in the decline of the Turkish Empire. They believed these signs heralded the Second Coming, and this spurred them on to a more intensive defence of Christianity (Porter. 1978:357).

Thus the missionary of the mid-nineteenth century, fed on religious dogmatism and imperialistic concepts of greatness and destiny, arrived in Africa ready to do their part to lead the African to Christ and assist at the same time to establish the empire. “They carried with them the mentality of their time and place of origin” (Cochrane. 1987:105). In sincerity they believed in the manifest destiny of England to bring light and life to Africa (and other parts of the Empire, too). The Englishman’s duty was to rise to the occasion, forgo personal safety and comfort, and carry the torch for God, Queen and country:

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<sup>4</sup> Wilberforce during 1859, in a speech at Exeter, also pointed out the moral debt owed to the people of Africa by the English. “Remember that throughout the vast peninsula of Africa, war, treachery, and misery were engendered, as far as your influence could reach through the curse of the slave trade, which you introduced and fostered in it” (Rowley 1874:33).

Do you really believe that God has given to us in England the wonderful power He has given us on the earth, only that we may have greater physical enjoyment at home, or only that our name may be spread throughout the world? Have you so read history, so studied your Bibles? And can, therefore, a Christian nation have received its national greatness to spread the kingdom of Christ, and that grace to make others partakers of it also? God has given us, as a nation, very peculiar powers of doing this work (Rowley. 1874:4).

### *THE IMPERIAL VIEW OF MISSIONARIES*

**I**t is often argued by radical scholars that missionaries were agents of the state who sought to bring British culture and power to Africa (see Cochrane and Majeke for example), and while there is truth in this argument, it is also true that missionaries were manipulated by the state to achieve a similar end. The colonial governments saw missionaries as a way of expanding Christianity as a prelude to civilisation (Burnett. n.d.:22).

The relationship between church and state existed across the Empire. Speaking primarily of India, Sir Bartle Frere<sup>5</sup>, described the impact of British civilisation on Indian culture as a revolution embracing everything in “political, moral, social and religious life” (The Mission Field 1871:118). Central to this revolution is the church, which he saw as the “solvent applied to disintegrate the old fossilised India” (ibid.). Thus the church was a tool seen by the Imperial Government to “rivet India to England by cords which could never be broken” (ibid.). These concepts enunciated by Frere at

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<sup>5</sup> Sir Bartle Frere was Governor of Bombay, and later became Governor of the Cape Colony.

Cambridge University, were consistent across the Empire, including South Africa, as a way of extending British culture to the conquered masses.

In South Africa the white population of the two colonies was made up of three distinct groupings: officials, colonists and missionaries. "Within each of these categories there occurred major differences of opinion over the conduct of 'native policy'" (Welsh, 1971:1). The officials sought a system of government which would both appease the white colonists' sense of order by promoting conditions suitable to the economic growth of the colony, and at the same time, not stir the Africans into rebellion by draconian legislation. The colonists, who saw the land as their own, wanted a source of cheap labour. For most white colonists the "native problem" and the "labour problem" were synonymous (Welsh, 1971:31). Finally, the missionaries wanted to bring Christianity and education (thus western culture) to the Africans. Notwithstanding these differences amongst the whites, they were united in their general ignorance and disregard of the Africans:

The whites did not understand the culture of the Africans who surrounded them, and they believed implicitly in the superiority of their own culture. Initially, at any rate, they believed also that Africans should be moulded in accordance with what they considered to be a higher and more desirable civilisation (Welsh, 1971:1).

Thus unity of desire to change African culture, coupled with the general ignorance of that culture, was in fact a common strand uniting the white community together. They agreed to a common goal, but took different routes to attain it.

The Government expected missionaries to use their influence amongst their converts to lead them into a state of loyalty to the British Government (Goedhals, 1989:107). In addition to this, imperial leadership saw missionary work as the civilising arm of Government itself (Cochrane,

1987:17). For example, the magistrate at Cofimvaba called a meeting in 1876 to establish "The Emigrant Tambookie Association for the Promotion of Civilisation", and the Church of the Province was represented in the person of Archdeacon H.T. Waters (Waters. 1877a:285).

The colonial government relied firstly on missionaries to establish schools to educate the blacks, and also to create, through this education, a

special privileged 'class' of educated Africans who would carry out the work of missionaries among their own people - a class which would tend to owe allegiance, not only to their own people, but to the government of the white man (Ngewu. 1992:35).

The result of developing this loyal class would enable the government to enlist this class in the development of a democracy for "those who have developed sufficiently to accept it and carry its responsibilities" (Cochrane. 1987:17). In the liberal era of the mid-nineteenth century, a steady progression from savage to middle class was actively pursued by the imperial government with the missionaries as one of their prime civilising agents.

The missionaries did not view the education of blacks as subversive, however. In 1874, H.T. Waters saw this attempt as a way of giving blacks opportunities previously denied them. Thus he wrote in the Mission Field:

The wonderful results of Sir George Grey's scheme of forming native boarding schools strikes one with astonishment. Some hundreds of native teachers and preachers are now in full work, and there is an increasing demand for more. The great majority are the growth of the past twenty years. Every year sees an increased number of natives seeking a higher education than is offered in the ordinary Mission schools (Waters. 1874a:15).

To achieve this, government and missionary worked hand in hand. Sir George Grey, governor of the Cape saw the relationship as a partnership. He was

convinced, as were all who knew and respected the Kaffir character, that there lay no choice between their civilisation and conversion, or their extermination (The Mission Field. 1867:245).

Consistently with this partnership Grey generously handed out grants to missions

for the erection of buildings and the maintenance of industrial establishments. For the payment of school masters, for agricultural and industrial teachers, and for all the necessary apparatus, he, in the name of the Government, would be answerable; but the Missionary staff must be provided and supported by the Church itself (The Mission Field. 1867:245).

Thus in 1876 H.T. Waters could report that the Colonial Government funded "twenty boarders and eight apprentices at St. Mark's", and the assistance was likely to increase in the future (Waters. 1877a:282).

The partnership between church and state extended beyond educational and developmental boundaries into the social arena, as churches from time to time were drawn into the work of spreading government aid to those in need. For example after the great cattle killing of 1857 amongst the AmaXhosa, when the people were starving,

the Governor, Sir George Grey, came forward liberally with the means of saving them from starvation, and the Missionaries were the ministers of the Government bounty (The Mission Field. 1867:319).

The practical results of this co-operation served both church and state: the state was able to establish hegemony over areas once hostile, and the church grew as grateful people turned to her for natural and spiritual security. "From this time the work of conversion may be said to have commenced" (The Mission Field. 1867:320)

### *THE MISSIONARIES*

**B**y the time Henry Callaway arrived in Durban in 1854, many of the attitudes and practices characterising nineteenth century missionary activity had been forged and the groundwork laid for the last part of the century. The interaction between church and state was rapidly developing along lines which would prove grist for the historian's mill. Callaway himself would in time prove guilty of confusing Christianity with English culture, he also benefited both from government largesse (in the development of Springvale) and mutually co-operated with the Government (his see at Umtata became the capital of British Kaffraria.)

Missionaries arrived in South Africa with very little strategy: they settled where they liked, claimed a tribe as their own and began preaching in a language unintelligible to the tribesman (Hinchliff. 1963:54). A wonderful example was related to Rev. H.T. Waters of St. Mark's Mission

of the erroneous views that most men fresh from England have of the state of the natives, he mentioned the case of a newly arrived missionary who, when visited by a Kaffir chief, went into his study, and brought out a copy of the New Testament in Kaffir, presented it to the astonished visitor, who, after being made to comprehend the matter, returned the book to the missionary, requesting him to keep it for him, as he could not read. The missionary was shocked to find

that even the chiefs of the people could not read, and were not in any hurry to receive the Word (Waters. 1866:248).

Armed with their predisposition that African culture and religion had no value (Goedhals. 1989:107), they began the work of rooting out the work of the devil (Hinchliff. 1963:67). To do this they attacked the underlying social and religious structures of African culture by condemning black healers as charlatans and so unnecessarily depriving the people of useful treatments. The result was to diminish the African's sense of self-worth (Etherington.. 1987:77) and so added to the foundation for much of the pain that has characterised race relations in South Africa ever since.

### BISHOP GRAY

Bishop Gray's arrival in South Africa marked an end, at least for the Anglican Church, of some of the arbitrariness of mission work, and he is credited with beginning the Anglican missionary work (Lewis and Edwards.. 1934:52). Arriving as the Bishop of Cape Town, he believed in an orderly and organised mission system which he envisioned spread across South Africa bringing the missionary's mix of Christianity and civilisation. He is reported to have said:

A missionary, a mechanic, and an agriculturalist, a dispensary if possible. I should like to see missionary villages springing up, in which the people may become possessors of the soil, and aid in the maintenance of their own minister. (Green.. 1974:22)

As he saw it, the church would develop according to "its own exertions" (Lewis and Edwards.. 1934:50). He was aware of the church's entitlement from the state (Lewis and Edwards.. 1934:50), but believed that each parish should work towards its own support. This basic concept of self-sufficiency carried over from the established "white" congregations into the mission field itself. In laying the ground work for a mission in 1850, he notes:

We must have at least a priest and a deacon; we do not mean to offer any stipend, they must be fed and clothed, that is all. I am most anxious that they should be willing to live a hard life with few comforts and no luxuries. In order to make any impression there must be much self-denial. Everything, indeed, under God, will depend on the zeal, devotion and self sacrifice of those who undertake the work (Lewis and Edwards.. 1934:51).

Gray outlined the kind of men he wanted as Anglican missionaries in South Africa. His definition of what would make a good missionary shows an insight into the qualities that the kind of life would take:

1. Men of subjugated feelings, great humility, having the spirit of obedience, habits of order, and the power of living together without private interests and almost without private purse.
2. Men of industry, accustomed to manual labour, and yet with talent to acquire languages.
3. Men who do not want to make reports (Lewis and Edwards.. 1934:51).

It was men of this calibre who responded to the call to come to South Africa as missionaries. Beginning with the bishops of the divided diocesan districts of Grahamstown and Natal, Bishops Armstrong, Cotterill and Colenso, we see men who were committed to breaking the mould of haphazard missions. Each was dedicated to the furtherance of the church, and so attracted the individual missionaries under them: H.T. Waters, Dodd and Key from Grahamstown, and central to all of them, Henry Callaway from Natal.

In 1853 Gray divided his diocese into two further sees: Grahamstown and Natal under Bishops Armstrong and Colenso respectively (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:66). Each of these men, and Armstrong's successor, Bishop Cotterill, did much to define the kind of policy needed to bring the church

into Africa. It could be argued that they also did much to undermine the culture and civilisation of the blacks in their diocese. Their commitment was always twofold, although they would have seen it as seamless: to bring Christianity, and thus equip the African to cope with their changing world more effectively. As Wilson would say, they provided a world-view for the Africans under their care, and endeavoured to provide it in such a way as benefited, from their perspective, both the church, the state, and most importantly, the African.

### BISHOP ARMSTRONG

The newly formed diocese of Grahamstown was placed under the care of Armstrong, whose eighteen month tenure laid the ground-work for missions along the eastern frontier and the area then known as Kaffraria. The Eastern Frontier of 1855 was still very much a frontier - cross border raids were common, and the area was heavily fortified. Part of Armstrong's purpose was to bring some measure of peace to the area through conversion rather than military exercise. To achieve this he set about getting to know the people immediately across the border from the Cape Colony. He undertook to get to know Umhalla, the chief of the Xhosa: "Greetings were most friendly, the chief told him that he preferred missionaries to soldiers, and tobacco was distributed to men and women alike" (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:251).

During Bishop Armstrong's tenure, we see the close relationship between church and state in the Cape Colony. If Armstrong's objective was to secure peace through conversion, then the Imperial Government was most anxious to assist:

Missions were enormously and unexpectedly helped by the arrival of the new Governor, Sir George Grey, in December 1854. He had just settled the native question in New Zealand, and determined to try the same pacifying method in South Africa. He believed in christianising

and educating the native tribes as a preventative of war (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:252).

Grey believed that conversion to Christianity was the only protection for the blacks from total extermination (The Mission Field. 1867:245), and so undertook to support the missionary activity with zeal. He was prepared to pay for almost all the peripherals of missionary life, from school teachers and agricultural tools to the very buildings themselves. All he asked was that the church provide the missionary staff.

Grey's support made Armstrong's work much easier. The bishop came up with a five point plan to convert the Africans of his diocese:

1. A mission to Umhalla.
2. A mission to the Fingoes at Keiskama Hoek.
3. A mission to Sandile and Gcaikas.
4. A mission to Kreli across the Kei,
5. A school in Grahamstown location (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:252).

The result of these plans was a string of missions across the diocese of Grahamstown extending well into Kaffraria. The five mission stations: St Luke's in Umhalla's area, St. Matthew's among the Fingoes, St. John's in Sandile's, St. Mark's in Kreli's country and St. Phillip's were all established, and it is interesting to note that Sir George Grey paid four thousand pounds "for the erection of buildings on these stations in 1854, and promised more the following year" (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:253).

The impact of these missions was not felt by the Africans for a long time. Amongst the missionaries, however, the flame of eternal hope was well lit. The men and women who responded to Bishop Armstrong's call to Africa came prepared by their own internalised culture to bear the burden. They

came with the concept that their labour would free the African from ignorance. As Archdeacon Hardie wrote:

The religious sense is so thoroughly dead in the Kafir, that nothing short of God's grace can revive it. We missionaries of this generation must be grateful if we are prepared to sow the seed of Life broadcast over the dark fields of heathendom. Our stewardship will, probably, be closed before the gathering in of the harvest. At any rate, we must not be impatient of the increase, which GOD alone can give, and doubtless, will give in His own good time (The Mission Field. 1867:317).

## BISHOP COTTERILL

Bishop Armstrong's short term of office laid the foundations of missions across the Grahamstown diocese, but these did not come into full operation until the arrival of Bishop Cotterill in South Africa in May 1857. The timing of his arrival was crucial, because it came in the wake of the disastrous "cattle-killing" of February 1857 which left thousands dead, homeless and starving<sup>6</sup>.

The direct result of the cattle-killing was increased contact between black and white on a completely different scale and basis than before. Prior to 1857 most contact was military, but with the starving masses pouring into the colony, the relationship between black and white turned from war to employment as white farmers hired the starving blacks to work their lands.

The church saw this tragic event as an opportunity to reach out to those in need. Backed by the government which had bought up stores of corn and

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<sup>6</sup> The Xhosa Cattle Killing is one of the most tragic events in South African history. In 1856 a young girl, Nonqawuse, claimed visions of the ancestors who told her that if the people slaughtered their cattle, the whole nation would rise from the dead. Between April 1856 and May 1857, about 85 per cent of all Xhosa men killed their cattle and destroyed their corn. As a result an estimated 40 000 Xhosa died of starvation (Peires

cattle in the event of the disaster (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:261), the missions swung into action:

By the instinct of Christian charity these poor helpless creatures were received by the Mission Stations, and their immediate necessities provided for from the stores at the disposal of Missionaries, who appealed to their friends in England for help.. From this time the work of conversion may be said to have commenced; and year by year believers were added to the church (The Mission Field. 1867:319).

Cotterill, therefore, arrived at a crucial moment in the development of the church. He considered Grahamstown a mission diocese, and brought the full force of his astute mind to bear on systematising the various missions under his control, including those across the river in Kaffraria (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:262). In 1866 he published his mission philosophy in *The Mission Field* reviewing the Apostolic process of conversion, from preaching repentance to the establishment of an episcopate (Cotterill. 1866:177-182). He then turns to the missionary efforts of his own time, indicting the labours of his own time for failing to create “Churches with organic spiritual life in themselves” (Cotterill. 1866:209).

Our converts, he says, remain feeble dependants on the teaching and authority of foreign pastors, and receive from them a new religion as a system wholly external to their own national and social life, which is only kept alive by a continued supply of teachers from a distant land: in short, that Christianity does not take root in these nations, does not become indigenous, or even acclimatised, among those who accept it (Cotterill. 1866:208)

Cotterill could almost be talking from the perspective of a modern radical historian in these words. The problem, he points out, is that contemporary

mission has departed from the Apostolic model in awakening but not using the spiritual awareness of converts (Cotterill. 1866:209-210). In order to develop, the church needed to be less protective of converts, to allow them to fill their callings as teachers, clergy and full members of the church. Thus he suggests that the church follow the Apostolic paradigm in relation to the converts in South Africa:

1. Granting ecclesiastical status by confirmation.
2. Allowing new members to be part of the church discipline.
3. Creating a subordinate ministry, of which he writes:

A yet wider field is open in the employment of both men and women, under efficient direction and supervision, as labourers in temporal and spiritual ministrations among their fellow-countrymen. The effect may be thus produced, even at an early period, in calling forth the powers and resources of native Churches, and the willing offering of themselves by the native Christians to their Lord's work (Cotterill. 1866:213).

The aim of his mission philosophy, therefore, was to establish in South Africa, according to the methods of the Apostles, a church system which would both incorporate the fundamental principles of the Church of England, but in the terms of African reality. The fruit from this planting would be a church with its "own distinctive nation form" (Cotterill. 1866:214).

In addition to these principles, Cotterill also undertook closer direction of missionaries under his care, laying down four major ground-rules:

1. Missionaries should learn the language of the people: "All English services were to be considered exceptional, and required a special sanction from the bishop" (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:263).

2. Teaching ought to be the first object of services, especially the "Gospel of Christ, the great facts of His life and death and resurrection, and the way of salvation through Him" (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:263).
3. The format of services is left to the missionaries, but emphasis should be placed on the Creed, Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. It was also "recommended that the baptised, the catechumens and the heathen should sit separately. He also recommended that singing should be part of every service" (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:263).
4. But of the greatest importance were the private prayers of the missionary. Nothing could be a substitute" (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:263).

Thus Cotterill began to build upon the legacy left by Armstrong, greatly strengthening the entire system of missions in the Diocese of Grahamstown. This would have a great impact on the establishment of the Diocese of St. John's which inherited three major missions from this system. In the future they would provide a weight to the southern end of the new diocese, forming, as it were, the skeleton of Callaway's future work.

Cotterill had a further part to play in the development of St. John's: he left Grahamstown in 1871 to become the Coadjutor Bishop of Edinburgh, and in doing so "he promised to help the Church in South Africa in any way he could. A promise grandly kept" (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:266), for it was the Church in Scotland which sponsored the creation of the Diocese of St. John's just three years later.

## BISHOP COLENZO

If the contribution to the formation of the Diocese of St. John's by Bishops Armstrong and Cotterill was significant, that of Bishop Colenso was even more important. It is true that Colenso never had any direct dealing with Kaffraria, while the former bishops were responsible for the southern missions. Yet it is also true, and perhaps even more important, that Colenso played a great role in forming the mind and mission policy of Dr. Henry

Callaway, St. John's first bishop. By the time the Diocese was founded in 1874, Colenso was off the scene of the Church of the Province of South Africa: the disruptions over his views were long resolved, and Bishop Macrorie occupied the bishopric. However, it is not Colenso's views on the nature of the Bible which so influenced Callaway, but his attitudes towards the African people, and his process of delivering the Gospel to them.

Colenso reacted against the prevailing view of African culture (Hinchliff. 1963:61,67). Other missionaries, including Callaway, frequently saw blacks as savages and heathen, whose customs needed to be broken down and rebuilt into a reflection of the current Christian and therefore British Imperialist civilisation. Instead Colenso tried to look beneath the surface to the reality of black culture, and came to the conclusion that:

Africans are men, shrewd, intelligent, inquiring; but they dread any closer contact with Christianity which is to tear up at once their families, rend asunder the dearest ties which connect them with each other, and fill their whole tribe with anarchy and confusion (Cochrane. 1987:33, Welsh. 1971:74).

This assessment formed the basis of his interaction with Africans in Natal, and the direct result was that he tried to present Christianity in an entirely different way than before. To him it was more important to Christianise the people rather than destroy their culture (Hinchliff. 1963:67), and Hinchliff (Hinchliff. 1963:61) points out that he had no desire to break Zulu beliefs as a preliminary to Christianity.

Colenso therefore approached missionary work by attempting to marry Christianity to tribal or natural, religion by using existing religious ideas as a foundation for preaching the Gospel (Hinchliff. 1963:61). Thus his ideas on the nature of God and the translation of "God" into "Unkulunkulu", and also on polygamy, were quite out of step with his contemporaries.

The dichotomy of his approach and that of other bishops did not worry Colenso much. His aim was to bring the Zulu nation to Christ, but to do so in a way which would preserve their Africanness, not replace it with western culture. Thus he did not try to reach individual Africans and separate them from their people, for this would tear the fabric of society - instead he strove to convert whole tribes - to Christianise the whole culture and society of the Zulu (Hinchliff. 1963:61). Key to this approach were the chiefs, and using the model of early Christian missionaries in medieval Europe, he believed that if the chief converted the tribe would convert.

To achieve this end he spent a great deal of time with the Chiefs, establishing his "Kaffir Harrow" at Ekukanyeni for their sons, which eventually came to house a school, theological college, farms, church and printing press - all the tools needed to reach every part of Zulu life (Hinchliff. 1963:63).

To a large degree, Colenso's approach was successful, for although he met some initial resistance from the chiefs, he soon won their confidence. His attitude towards the Blacks earned him a respect not generally afforded to missionaries (Cochrane. 1987:52), and it is unfortunate that his work was tainted by the label of heresy, which, to a large degree was the result of his original and fresh approach to mission, which was largely responsible for his later theological thinking (Hinchliff. 1963:64).

Colenso's impact on Callaway will become more evident in later chapters, but it can be observed now that Callaway first worked closely with Colenso, and adopted much of the bishop's style. Like Colenso, Callaway was also impressed with the nature and depth of African culture. He saw many truths in their natural religion which were not incompatible with Christianity. He did not debunk African medical practices. Callaway also believed it counter-productive to closet converts in mission villages,

preferring them to return to their own families, acting as leaven. However, Callaway could not go quite as far as Colenso in accepting polygamy or identifying God with the Unkulunkulu of tribal legend. He saw the tremendous strains and rifts the social system inflicted on tribal families and communities, and in time became adamant in his opposition to it.

Yet Colenso's influence on Callaway was deep. When the latter broke from his duties in Pietermaritzburg to found Springvale, many of the same ideas and practices from Ekukanyeni were carried over.

### CONCLUSION

**M**odern scholarship is greatly concerned with the responses of blacks to this missionary effort. As Cochrane points out,

the divines were 'targets for brickbats from both sides', for not only were they resented by white settlers, but 'Africans, kholwa and pagan alike, saw them as instruments of racial and cultural domination.' This last admission is, however, rather revealing, not of the men as such but of the role of missionaries in general. The implication is that Africans in general, converted or not, saw the missionaries as part of the forces of conquest (Cochrane. 1987:13).

While this may indeed be true, and the argument is forcefully presented by both Cochrane (1987) and Majeke (1952), it is also true that many blacks did indeed embrace both Christianity and western culture. Literature is filled with examples of chiefs who resisted the coming of the missionaries, but who nevertheless allowed their people to convert, and the fact of a growing Christian population is evidence of this fact.

From a radical perspective, the missionaries were agents of the state, and this cannot be denied. Bishop's Armstrong and Cotterill both benefited greatly by grants from the colonial government in the establishment of their missions. In some cases the government paid for the very buildings on the mission stations. Yet was this the primary motivation of the missionaries themselves?

Judging from their own personal testimony the answer seems to be negative. Their dedication to their work and loyalty to the blacks in the face of encroaching white racism seems to counter the argument that they were concerned only with power and economic enrichment. At least in the mid-nineteenth century they worked towards a (granted, liberal) dispensation for the Africans in the colonies.

It is into this activity that we find stepping a man of paradoxes, a man who could easily be mislabelled as either a racist or a saint. Dr. Henry Callaway was largely a man of his time, and yet he was enough of a free thinker to buck the commonly held misconceptions of African life. He saw both good and bad in tribal culture, and worked tirelessly to strengthen the good and remove the bad. His contribution was a unique understanding of Africa freed from many of the influences of Social Darwinism, filled with a sense of hope for the spiritual upliftment of a people who, according to his understanding, were trapped in gross ignorance and moral poverty.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *BISHOP HENRY CALLAWAY*

**T**he man who laid the foundations of the Diocese of St. John's in many ways both fitted and broke the mould from which missionaries were generally cast. A product of his era, he was profoundly individual. He carried some of the imperialistic attitudes of his day, and yet saw an inherent goodness about African life. He tried to spread Christianity and civilisation as he saw it, and yet mourned the loss of many aspects of tribal culture. The early history of the Diocese was largely shaped by Dr. Henry Callaway, but he in turn was shaped by his own experiences both in England and Africa.

Bishop Wilberforce, in one of his many addresses about missionaries, described the ideal sort of man to fill the role of missionary:

It is of extreme importance that we should get really living spiritual men to do the work. You don't want to send out the dull and the dry; you don't want to export bad goods to the cheaper market (Rowley, 1874:39).

It would be impossible to label Callaway as "dull and dry" or as "bad goods". His qualities were recognised in his own life-time. Bishop Colenso offered him the position of Bishop of Zululand long before that post was finally created (Hinchliff, 1964:76). During his years at Springvale Mission, he was regarded as one of the foremost missionaries in Natal.

When one views missionaries from twentieth century perspectives their qualities are blurred by the dogma either of liberalism or radicalism. While it is true that both these poles of interpretation have merit, it is important to allow the man himself to shine forth from the pages of history. Human beings do not fit neatly into cubby holes created by theorists. At times people's actions err on one side or another, making it impossible to label accurately a person one way or another. In doing so the whole untidy mess we call humanity is lost.

Henry Callaway was a human being. He could be labelled and indeed was, in his own time, called a great missionary. He could also be labelled a racist carrying imperialistic jingoism into Africa who systematically undermined indigenous culture, for example he opposed polygamy, and introduced the plough, both of which undermined tribal culture. Both labels to some degree are accurate. Between the labels, however, is the man himself: a passionate Christian willing to devote his life to the welfare of others, a man of deep principles who saw more deeply than simply surface issues of both tribal culture and Christianity, a gentle man in every sense of the word. Sara Sohmer alludes to this contradiction in some missionaries when she writes that it is true that in general nineteenth century mission philosophy included a large dose of imperialism and racism, but

ethnocentrism, cultural insensitivity and destructiveness [were not] the only responses European culture could muster in its encounter with the strange and different. The presence of Europeans capable of assigning value to very different cultures is in fact persistent enough in the historical record of encounter to merit far more attention than it has received (Sohmer, 1994:174).

Some missionaries, she writes, "proved quite capable of assigning value to indigenous cultures and of accommodating the Christian message to their

needs" (Sohmer. 1994:175). She may well have been writing about Callaway himself. He fitted the profile of the nineteenth century missionary, and yet he did not.

Cochrane comments that missionary activity "could normally do no other than transmit the values and structures embodied in British imperial colonialist expansion" (Cochrane. 1987:26). He claims that missionaries had an inability to distinguish between beneficial and destructive consequences of their activity for their people. Yet we have to ask if and to what degree this was true of Henry Callaway. In many ways while trying to change African culture, he also actively supported it, endeavouring to find a congruence between it and Christianity. In this sense he does not fit the image.

#### CALLAWAY'S BACKGROUND

Part of the reason for this dualism in Callaway's character was his background. He was born on 17<sup>th</sup> January 1817, in Lymington, Somersetshire, the eleventh child in his family (although only six survived birth). As a child he was raised in the church of England, but his family was not particularly religious. Callaway received a "sound classical education" at Crediton Grammar School, and at age sixteen he was appointed assistant teacher at Heavitree. This move was to have a lasting significance in Callaway's life, for there he was drawn by the headmaster into the Society of Friends, and thus as a young man he became a Quaker<sup>7</sup> (Benham 1896:1-2). Although plagued by many doubts and questions,

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<sup>7</sup> "The Quakers are members of the Religious Society of Friends which derives from a puritan group which formed around George Fox in the 1650's. They have no sacraments and no ordained ministry. Instead authority derives from the 'inner light of the living Christ' in each believer" (Beaver et al. 1982:422)

Callaway remained a Quaker until 1852, when his developing conviction of his call to the priesthood led him to reject their teachings.

His religious experiences with the Quakers were to have a profound effect on his later thinking in two ways. Firstly, he came to reject the passivity of Quakerism when he realised

that the Christian religion was essentially practical in its genius, and destined to bring about a new creation by regenerating the soul, and that God's love in Jesus Christ was universal and unbounded by race or clime, were strongly fixed as truths in my mind (Benham 1896:4).

His later years bear testimony to this belief, as he laboured to "bring about a new creation" in the people of Africa. His work first at Springvale and later in St. John's was all part of his concept of "a new creation", in which he envisioned not the destruction of African culture per se, but its Christianisation and thus perfection.

The other way his Quaker years affected his thinking was to impress on him the importance of an active ministry. Quakers have no ministry as such, and this always bothered him. He felt an inner pull in "a way I knew not to a place and service in His Church" (Benham 1896:4). The Quakers could not satisfy this inner urge nor assuage the emptiness he felt.

To compensate Callaway turned to medicine as a way of helping humanity. As he studied to be a doctor, the call to missionary work became increasingly stronger. In 1852, while still an active Quaker he wrote:

I had no other idea but that of labouring in an outward calling whilst also engaged in the ministry; but my chief view in studying medicine was that it was intended to aid me in the work of a missionary in Africa (Benham. 1896:17).

His missionary drive, however, could not find any outlet within the Quaker church. Without an organised priesthood, they were therefore without the means of sending out missionaries. This lack formed a vacuum in Callaway's life, leaving him no immediate options but to practice medicine in London.

Upon completion of his studies he went into the practice of medicine, and became a popular doctor with a thriving practice. This, however, did not satisfy his inner pull to the ministry, although this was in opposition to the professed belief of the Quakers. During this time Callaway went through torturous struggles to try to equate his own feelings with those of the Quakers. He grew ill trying to understand the will of God in the issue. Finally as he reached his conclusion he described how he "felt persuaded that it was in accordance with God's will that a body of men should be set apart from all worldly occupations, for the work of the ministry" (Benham, 1986:18).

Once he had reached this conclusion he began to withdraw from the Quakers as his ideals of how to serve God no longer fitted with their teachings. Increasingly he felt it hypocritical to practice as a Quaker when he felt so different. In Quaker worship, as there is no ordained priest, the gathering of people wait for the spirit to descend on someone and inspire them to talk. Callaway, by recognising the need for a priesthood, saw the need for preaching and sacraments. He was no longer comfortable with their worship.

The logical solution was the Church of England. Here he found his spiritual home, here he could be a priest and serve in the way he felt called. Callaway's entrance into the Anglican Church and a strong push towards missionary work was largely facilitated by the books of F.D. Maurice<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> F.D. Maurice 1805 - 1872.

Callaway read Maurice's "The Kingdom of Christ"<sup>9</sup> at the time when he was becoming increasingly distanced from the Quakers.

The "The Kingdom of Christ" appealed to Callaway because it "emphasised the commission of the priesthood and the reality of the sacraments" (Hinchliff. 1964: 19). For Callaway, struggling to settle his inner disputes with the Quakers, these books strengthened his resolve. In his diary, Callaway notes his surprise at Maurice's categorising the Quakers as having "formed narrow, imperfect and earthly notions of a spiritual kingdom, and a low estimate of the transcendental gift of the Holy Spirit" (Benham. 1896:41). This concept made a great impact on Callaway, confirming his opinion that Christianity needed to be more than a passive waiting for the Holy Spirit to move one. In response to this passage in Maurice, he wrote:

I believe it is perfectly true, and merely another way of expressing my idea that they preached a universal light as the gift of God to all men, not perceiving the transcendent excellence and superiority of the gift of the Holy Spirit which is made to believers (Benham 1896:41).

He was able finally to justify the concept that God's spirit can work through ministers, something the Quakers denied, giving him an inner permission to pursue his long-held goal of actively serving in the priesthood. Thus on the 12<sup>th</sup> December 1852, Callaway made a complete break with the Quakers, writing in his diary:

I am no longer a Quaker. I feel no longer bound by [Quakers'] rules, it seems almost hypocrisy to practice them ... I differ from the Quakers on the great question of the maintenance of ministers, and should hardly feel at liberty to refuse the payment of tithes, should I ever again be so circumstanced as to have the demand made (Benham 1896:27).

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<sup>9</sup> Published in 1836.

There was something else in F.D. Maurice's "The Kingdom of Christ" which also appealed deeply to Callaway: the notion of missionary work, which Callaway saw as the only true outlet for his inner calling to the ministry.

The foundation of Maurice's missionary theory was the notion of Christendom as a family, into which the heathen should be welcomed as part of the larger family of man. Maurice refused to accept that the heathen were benighted. Properly educated, Christian missionary enterprise would "recognise not only a conscience and a light among the heathen, it will see the materials out of which the divine universe has been created" (Etherington.. 1987:79).

Although in later years Callaway would come to the conclusion that the heathen were indeed "benighted", still he clung to the belief that through proper, Christian education a light could be kindled in them. It was to this task that Callaway was to dedicate the rest of his life, and which would have such an impact on the formation of the Diocese of St. John's.

Maurice acted as a catalyst to Callaway's growing dissatisfaction with the Quakers, and helped to bring the Church of England into perspective. After finishing "The Kingdom of Christ", Callaway took communion for the first time since breaking away to join the Quakers (Benham. 1896:42). From this point onwards it was but a small step to seek orders in the Church of England.

The effect of this background on Callaway's later work both at Springvale and in the Diocese of St. John was profound. Not only was he familiar with the struggles of someone embracing a new religion, but he was sensitive to the call to the ministry. Over time he developed a firm belief that the only way the Church would develop was through the training of a black clergy who would promote the activity of the church, rather than rely on imported

white priests who would represent a passivity on the part of the converted tribal people. In his mind the clergy were the vanguard of Christianity, and the better trained they were, the more effective they would be. In his eyes the most effective vehicle for Divine truth would be a Zulu, trained to think Christian concepts in the Zulu language, preaching to his own people and adapting the message of Christianity to fit their own needs. Thus throughout his life, Callaway tried to inculcate Christianity to people according to the idiom of their own language, and while the ground-work for this would be laid at Springvale in the translations of the Bible and prayer book into Zulu, it really came to fruition during the years of his episcopacy at Umtata.

#### CALLAWAY AND COLENZO

**T**he next major impact on the formation of Callaway's missionary philosophy was Bishop Colenso of Natal. Just at the time that Callaway had broken away from the Quakers, and finished reading Maurice, he heard about Colenso's mission to Natal. When he also heard that Colenso, like himself, was a reader of Maurice, he abandoned his lucrative London medical practice<sup>10</sup>, took holy orders and sailed for South Africa in 1854 (Etherington, 1987:79), offering himself as a missionary under Colenso (Burnett. n.d.:47).

His idealism and enthusiasm in fulfilling his vision of missionary work is shown to be both humble and practical in a letter he wrote to the SPG after acceptance by Bishop Colenso:

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<sup>10</sup> The annual income from this practice was about one thousand five hundred pounds a year, a considerable sum in those days.

As regards the terms on which I am to go, I shall be satisfied with food and raiment for myself and my wife ... I cannot but think that my work as a missionary would be much more efficient if, before going, I could spend a few months with some learned divine who would give theological consistency to my theological knowledge. For although I have been a theological student for more than 20 years, yet I have arrived at the truth I now hold by wading through erroneous writings (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:357).

Callaway came to South Africa to teach Christianity. He believed that example was more valuable than words, and, filled with idealism, planned to teach people to plough and the dignity of labour (Burnett. n.d.:47). In order to do this, he first had to learn Zulu in order to communicate effectively, and mastered the language in a relatively short time, after labouring at it for ten hours a day. Thus within a year we wrote:

I ought to be thankful to be now able to preach regularly to the Kaffirs in their own language, and what is still more difficult, to catechise them. (Benham. 1896:52)<sup>11</sup>

He began work on Colenso's central mission station at Ekukanyeni, but found after a while that his restlessness grew in proportion to his disagreement on how the mission was run (Burnett. n.d.:47). In time he was able to hand over his work to someone else, and concentrated on work in Pietermaritzburg, where he was the rector of St. Andrew's Church in 1855. He found this work increasingly unrewarding, as his attempts to reach the Zulu population were partly frustrated by the attitudes of whites in the area (Burnett. n.d.:47). In spite of his efforts to reach the black population, which he did by holding evening services for blacks on Sundays, starting an evening

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<sup>11</sup> In January 1876, however, he noted that his "knowledge of Zulu does not justify me in assuming to criticise Kxosa (sic) translations; yet the two dialects in their grammatical structure are so similar that I am frequently able to detect errors." (Callaway 1876. Diary Entry for Jan.15<sup>th</sup> in the Mission Field 1877:40.)

school (Benham. 1896:52), and preaching in the gaol (Lewis and Edwards. 1932:358), he still found the city a poor place to evangelise.

The relationship between Callaway and Colenso at this time is interesting, for while they had much in common, they disagreed over many things.

Colenso and Callaway stood apart from most other missionaries of their era because of their enthusiasm for confronting African beliefs on their own terms. The two missionaries differed, however, in their studies of Nguni society because of their contrasting intellectual abilities and interests (Etherington. 1987:79).

Although they had much in common, the two men had very different approaches to missionary work: Colenso was a mathematician, a linguist and a linear thinker. He allowed his understanding of Scripture to be influenced by Zulu objections, and accepted certain aspects of Zulu life, like polygamy and bride wealth (Etherington. 1987:79,80). Callaway was a healer, a doctor of body and soul, essentially a pastor. He too was a linguist who tried to get to the very spirit of the language rather than simply mastery of the words. Unlike Colenso he never allowed his closeness to the people to interfere with his understanding of the Scripture, remaining always orthodox. While there were certain Zulu customs he could accept, those going against the thrust of Scripture were taboo. Thus while Colenso accepted polygamy as at least a temporary lesser of two evils and was willing to baptise polygamists, Callaway wrote a long tract denouncing it. He prefaced the booklet with the comment that

in consequence of the publications of the Bishop of Natal, the subject of Polygamy has of late claimed an amount of attention, which would have been deemed scarcely possible a few years ago. A difference of opinion has been clearly shown to exist on the subject; and it is necessary to give it a careful investigation (Callaway. 1862 : Preface).

One important difference between the two men was their approach to the study of culture: Colenso did not study Zulu culture for its own sake, while Callaway did, for he retained his Quaker belief in an inner light of Divine truth in all people and sought it out as a basis upon which Christianity could be built. In addition, because he was a doctor he was aware of the limitations of Western medical science and therefore was less inclined to believe that Western culture was as superior as it usually portrayed itself (Etherington. 1987:80).

Despite their differences, Callaway had a profound respect for Colenso, sharing with him the vision of the Church spreading amongst the Zulus (Benham. 1896:115). In many ways Callaway followed Colenso's lead, and the founding of Springvale had very similar aims and methods of achieving them as Colenso had used at Ekukanyeni.

His support of Colenso, however, was not uncritical. Believing that he knew the Bishop, he found that they thought "curiously alike" (Benham. 1896:54), though he writes that he does "not agree with Maurice as he does, but we agree in all main questions and get on very nicely together." (Benham. 1896:55).

Callaway's arguments with Colenso stem from their differences regarding theology. An example of this is Colenso's translation of the word for "God" as "Unkulunkulu". In his diary he listed four reasons for his dislike of this term:

I am sorry to find that the Bishop intends to introduce the word Unkulunkulu into the Prayer Book. I feel an objection to it on these grounds:-

1. Unkulunkulu is a proper name, and not a word expressing the idea of Divinity as Deus-Gott. It would be no more proper to adopt such

names as Jupiter, Mercury, Woden, as names of God, than to adopt Unkulunkulu.

2. The people themselves attach very many wrong and absurd notions to the Unkulunkulu, and one man ingeniously confessed to me when I pointed these to him, 'O Sir, I perceive that the people believe vain things.'
3. The Jews were expressly commanded not to adopt the names of heathen people.
4. Although S. Paul finding an altar inscribed 'To the Unknown God,' used that as a fulcrum on which to apply the lever of Gospel truth; and adopted the word Theos for God; yet he did not employ any of the names of the Grecian gods as a synonym for Jehovah. Indeed, how could he, when as he taught the Corinthians (1Cor 10:20) the gods whom the Gentiles worshipped were devils? (Benham. 1896:56).

Callaway never came to terms with this translation of the term God. He spent a great deal of his time at Springvale studying the Zulu concept of God.

During Callaway's time at Pietermaritzburg the breach between Callaway and Colenso widened, and the idea of beginning his own mission station, where he would be independent of close supervision, began to take form in his mind. He recognised that such a project would "require more money than I am able to command" (Benham. 1896:58). The vision made his work at Pietermaritzburg even more difficult to tolerate. Later he was able to reflect back on this time and put words to his frustration which was so great that all during the time he felt "like a man working in a strait-jacket" (Benham. 1896:208).

*SPRINGVALE*

Springvale was the third and final major influence on Callaway's life in his preparation for episcopacy. Here, more than anywhere else, his mission philosophy crystallised through years of experience, and his understanding of the African spirit and needs were refined. The development of the early years of the Diocese of St. John's is directly affected by the experience Callaway gained at Springvale. Springvale, its sister station, Highflats, and later Clydesdale across the Umzimkulu River were in fact dress rehearsals for the development of St. Johns.

Springvale was an abandoned farm. "There was water, wood, arable and pasture lands, and nine Zulu kraals" (Lewis and Edwards. 1932:359). He managed to obtain this three thousand acre farm from the Natal government which at that time was granting land to encourage settlers to move beyond the Umkomanzi River.

Freed from close episcopal scrutiny, and away from the influences of white settlers, Callaway began to put his ideas into action. His aim was to rescue the Zulus both from the whites and from themselves. He wanted to break the stereotypical approach to the African people which held that the "Kaffir is a convenient beast of burden, a drudge; but how few [whites] feel that he is a fellow-man, a brother of the same blood, and for whom the one Blood of the Son of God was shed?" (Benham. 1896:57).

He saw his mission of rescuing them from colonial degradation by taking them "away from the city" (Benham. 1896:57). Yet he did not want to sever the people from their roots, but to leaven their culture with Christianity.

To do this he established a mission station different from the norm. While many missionaries adopted the "disserverance" approach, which required people to leave their homes and live on the station (Ngewu. 1992:36),

Callaway preferred his converts to continue living in their kraals and interacting in the daily life of the tribe<sup>12</sup>. The strength of this approach is that the missionary is able, through the influence of the converts themselves, to reach a wider range of people than one would if all the converts lived on a central mission station. Thus, at least in theory, there would be a transformation of the converts' lives, and by extension the lives of their families and neighbours.

His intention was to build a community that was more than an isolated island in a sea of heathen. He would encourage people to gather about him as families without breaking their links with their non-Christian relatives. Children would be taught to honour their fathers, parents to honour their chief, and chiefs to serve their people. More than this Callaway intended to 'carry the Gospel into the kraals and endeavour to teach those to become followers of Christ in holy life' without leaving their homes (Etherington. 1987:80).

He continued to use this method of mission building in all his later stations. Later, in 1869 he wrote:

We must try to develop Christianity among the Natives in their own homes and not separate them (as soon as they believe) from their relations to form a distinct class. As Christians they become the salt of the earth, and they should be encouraged to bring their friends to Christ (Lewis and Edwards.. 1932:363).

In later years Callaway would carry this same concept into the development of the diocese, instructing his clergy that

it is desirable that Mission stations should cease to have the appearance, or to merit the name "Missionary compounds" or

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<sup>12</sup> Ngewu calls this "the transformation approach". (Ngewu 1992:36)

“religious hot-beds”. . The word of the Missionary must be addressed not only to individuals, with the result of making them “Mission people” as distinguished from “chief’s people” and thus destroying their sense of nationality; but as far as possible to the <sup>13</sup>*total population* with the view of making Christianity an integral and essential part of national life (The Mission Field. 1879:530).

Building the community of the Church meant that Callaway also had to take the lead in building the physical structures, and also to encourage the blacks to work with him. This was often challenging as this type of work was alien to the black men of the time - in tribal culture manual labour was performed by women. To encourage the men to work, therefore, Callaway himself did a great deal of the physical labour, until gradually the men of the area grew accustomed to the idea themselves (Benham. 1896:68).

At Springvale Callaway shows himself a realist, as is shown in his writing while he established Springvale:

I had formed no gorgeous expectations, no enthusiastic visions of the future; indeed I am not sure that I was sanguine enough. I looked at missionary work, not with the vivid imaginings of a young and ardent convert, but with a judgement sobered by many years of bitter conflict (Benham. 1896:70).

He held the first church service at Springvale on 21st February 1858 under a mimosa tree. Only three people attended (Burnett. n.d.:49).

It was at Springvale that Callaway really came to know the African culture. Essentially objective, he saw good and bad. Callaway did not want to “see Africans loosing their Africanness” (Ngewu. 1992:37), but he did want them to learn Christianity. He was profoundly aware of the cultural gaps between

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<sup>13</sup> Italics are Callaway’s.

Christianity and Zulu tribal culture, noting while still in Pietermaritzburg that "there is not a single thing that the Kaffirs do not require to be taught, from the washing of their bodies to the building of their houses" (Benham, 1896:57).

At Springvale he was going to undertake to teach them all these things. If he was going to convert the people, it needed to be on their own ground, and yet his task was to bridge the gap between two cultures. If he was going to train a priesthood to serve their own people, then in at least some men, the chasm between black and white, western and African, Christian and heathen had to be crossed. It would take a long time and much effort. As a realist he knew the work would be slow, commenting that "it is of course uphill work, this labouring against the ignorance and deeply rooted prejudice of a clever, shrewd and selfish people" (Benham, 1896:76).

Yet he threw his heart into the work. In time he became one of the most successful, respected and loved missionaries in Natal. Part of the reason for this was his dedication to reach the people on their own level. Thus he continued to spend time learning and perfecting his grasp of the Zulu language and culture, and these never lost their appeal for him.

Springvale became a jumping off point for future missionary work headed by Callaway. In 1869 he founded Highflats, where he established his printing press under the care of Mr. Blair (Lewis and Edwards, 1932:363). Callaway envisioned that Highflats would eventually replace Springvale as the primary mission.

In 1870 he travelled south of the Umzimkulu River to establish the Clydesdale Mission among the Griquas under Adam Kok. Again this mission followed a similar model to that of his earlier ones - people converted, but not living on a central station. During his episcopacy Clydesdale would become one of the most important mission centres in the Diocese of St. John's.

*AFRICAN STUDIES*

One of the factors which made Callaway a successful missionary was his interest in the culture of the people. He believed that only knowledge of the people would make it possible to present Christianity in a way palatable to them. During his years at Springvale, Callaway made an intensive study of African religion, and could not accept, as many missionaries did at that time, that the Africans were essentially atheistic, although he did believe their religion was in a deep decline (Etherington. 1987:85). The accusation of atheism came from the observation that the Zulus had no external, easily recognisable, religious system: "no idols, no fetishes, no observed prayers or sacrifices" (Etherington. 1987:86).

He believed that Zulu religion had declined over the course of many centuries as the office of the priests "who claimed special knowledge of the wishes of dead ancestors and who exercised secular political power through the office of consecrating chiefs" declined until only the 'Inyanga'<sup>14</sup> were left (Etherington. 1987:86). By the time Callaway moved to Springvale, Zulu spiritual life was

wrapped in an all pervading magic. Religious doctrine had been replaced by a species of codified superstitions. There was, for example, a Creator - who had made mankind in a bed of reeds - but he occupied no particular place in a divine hierarchy. He was neither worshipped nor placated; he was simply a convenient answer to the

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<sup>14</sup> cf. Etherington 1987:82: "The Zulu word 'inyanga' like the English word 'doctor' was used to designate learning combined with skill in any field." There were doctors of medicine and doctors of divination. Both practised their art through the use of bones, spirits and inner sight.

question posed by existence. Ancestral spirits were far more immediate and frequently appeared, usually in the form of small snakes, to remind their descendants of their presence. There were spirits everywhere, in animals and plants and geographical features and meteorological phenomena, and their propitiation necessitated endless attention (Morris. 1965:34).

The only way to break this stranglehold of superstition was to become an apologist for Christianity. By studying tribal religious concepts, he would be able to address the deep-seated needs and fears of the people. In addition, African religion fascinated Callaway. By closely questioning his converts, he probed until the story of African beliefs was revealed to him<sup>15</sup>. This he wrote down<sup>16</sup>. His discoveries confirmed his concept that Zulu religion was in decline and held in thrall by the doctors, whom he believed were "great villains, probably the descendants of some old priesthood, and retaining all the evil influence and cruel tyranny of priestcraft over the minds of people. They are our most formidable opponents" (Benham. 1896:76).

He was not willing, however, to proclaim their religion altogether dead. Spirituality lived on in the idea of a conscience, and a knowledge of the difference between goodness and evil was preserved in their belief structures. He discovered words in the Zulu language which described the "opposing principles of good and evil, which are at work in the heart of man" (Benham. 1896:99). Another word, "umbeza", he defined as being very similar to the conscience, explaining that "it is a witness for good in man, the principle which urges him to act in accordance with his supposition of what is right" (ibid.). In opposition to this conscience was a "carnal mind" impelling one to act contrary to the Divine law of right. These discoveries greatly excited

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<sup>15</sup> His student, Mpengula Mbanda was of great assistance to him, and it was during research on the religious system that he first came to appreciate Mpengula's abilities (Callaway in the Mission Field 1872:102)

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *The Religious System of the Amazulu*. By Henry Callaway.

Callaway, for rather than confirming the currently held supposition of Zulu atheism,

they proved by the use of these very words that, independently of the missionary, they had a sense of right and wrong - imperfect indeed, and in some places defective and erroneous, but still there it was - at work within them, urging them to do justice, to avoid sin, to choose the good and to avoid the evil (Benham. 1896:99).

He was always hopeful that the conscience would emerge the victor in the battle between goodness and evil.

In addition to finding a basis of spiritual life within the tribal religion, Callaway was also interested to discover similar concepts within the Zulu beliefs of life after death, and he used these similarities as a basis for teaching Christian doctrine (Benham. 1886:101).

From his studies of African religion, he came to the conclusion that there was a universality of the religious instinct in all people, which would serve as a "soil in which Christianity naturally takes root and flourishes" (Benham. 1896:299). His task as a missionary, and later as a Bishop, was to make possible the planting of the seeds of truth, and then to nurture and nourish them until they produced fruit.

Over the years Callaway's respect for black religion did not diminish. He laid the blame for Christian misconceptions and ignorance about African culture at the door of the Christians themselves and their own concept of God which despises anyone who does not meet accepted Christian criteria. In his mind this made the Christian God "horrible" who consigns "to perdition the masses of humanity" (Benham. 1896:219).

Callaway's interest in Zulu religion led him also to an interest in their medical science. In a religion as populated with spirits as the tribal religion, it followed that a great deal of medical practice revolved around the appeasement of spirits. Thus

Callaway perceived that Nguni religion could not be considered in isolation from beliefs about healing. Beliefs about the origins of the universe, the influence of ancestral spirits, witchcraft and illness were inextricably interrelated. Callaway stood apart from other missionaries who took for granted the superiority of European medicine. He approached paranormal phenomena with a relatively open mind. He condemned Victorian prudes for refusing to allow plain speaking about bodily functions (Etherington. 1987:77).

With a great deal of open-mindedness for a Victorian missionary, Callaway was willing to concede that the Zulus had some powerful remedies in their medical arsenal (Benham. 1896:77).

#### *CALLAWAY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE AFRICAN PEOPLE*

One sees in Henry Callaway a man who is not easy to fit into the general cast of nineteenth century missionaries. On the one hand he has a great deal of respect and admiration for the blacks, and on the other he seems to denigrate them. In 1858 in a letter to the SPG, he calls them "a clever, shrewd and selfish people" (Benham. 1896:76). On another occasion, ten years later, however, he notes their goodness, saying that "on the whole I believe the natives are as moral, as truly religious, as reasonable and as differential to the advice of their teacher as any such class of white people anywhere" (Benham. 1896:207).

This view shows a development and maturity in Callaway's view, not only of the blacks but of the whites as well. It has already been noted that he saw much merit in their religious and medical schemes, and could support that. He was not able, however, to give his support to the system of polygamy, which he saw as completely destructive of family life. He describes this in vivid detail how men claim polygamy to be pleasant, but the truth is far from

the pleasantness of which the Kafir speaks ... is the pleasantness of having wives to till the ground, that he may have plenty to eat; to make beer for him, that he may get drunk, and call his friends in crowds to get drunk with him, and in their drunkenness, in a kind of Bacchanalian orgies, to enact obscenities, the details of which we cannot write. This is the pleasantness of their polygamy. But, the daily life, what is that? Jealousies between wives, hatred of the beloved one, quarrelling, fighting, slandering the husband, adultery, litigation in consequence, murders, disputes about the inheritance, first between the mothers, then the children, as they grow older take up the quarrel, to hate each other, and to fight with each other (Callaway. 1862:25).

Thus he paints the bitter scene of daily life. He encountered this problem at every kraal he visited, and it showed him the dark side of life. This is what accounts for his mixed attitude toward black people, and gave him the impetus to redouble his efforts to bring Christianity to them, not to westernise, nor to undermine culture, but to remove the basic problems brought about by the legacy of traditional culture. No wonder he finished his tract on polygamy with the words:

He who supports polygamy, and the system of ukulobola, becomes, unintentionally it may be, the supporter of the oppressor, and the trampler upon the oppressed (Callaway. 1862:115).

He also did not approve of the cultural system of labour division. Part of his goal in spreading Christianity was to teach "the dignity of labour" (Burnett. n.d.:47), and to draw men into the active labour. The active labour, however, had to be voluntary and for their own benefit - he had seen the degradation of blacks in the towns, where they were "a convenient beast of burden, a drudge" (Benham. 1896:57), and established Springvale away from the city in order to deliver the blacks from this kind of exploitation.

As the work of the mission made its effect felt in the areas surrounding it, Callaway felt that the impact on the African population was positive. Towards the end of his time at Springvale, in 1872, he wrote how

a great change in very many ways has taken place since I have been in Natal and in this neighbourhood. The native mind has opened, and they now listen with intelligence to what appeared to them formerly nothing but fables. The belief in God - that is, in a Creator and Lord of all, - is extensively taking possession of the native mind, not as yet expelling the old faith and worship of dead ancestors, but contending with it and ultimately destined to displace it. (Benham. 1896:222)

Reflection of this "great change" gave him heart, which would be necessary when, as bishop of St. John's, he would be expected to do on a grand scale what he had done before at Springvale, Highflats and Clydesdale.

### *EPISCOPACY*

Callaway's years at Springvale and his experience at his daughter's missions of Highflats and Clydesdale gave him a unique insight into the character, nature and habits of the blacks, and served as a training ground for his important work as a missionary Bishop - no other

Bishop in this country at that point had had this kind of experience. His potential as a missionary bishop was first noticed by Colenso in 1858, who spoke to Callaway

of the need of a further extension of the Episcopate, and had mentioned him as the most suitable clergyman in Natal to be appointed to the Bishopric of Zululand if the plan could be carried out (Benham, 1896:256).

The plan could not be carried out, however, and Callaway remained at Springvale. In December 1871, the bishops of the Church in South Africa sent an address to the Primus and Bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church, noting that the "Scots were interested in establishing a Mission to the heathen," and venturing "to invite the attention of the bishops of that church to the great field of Southern Africa, where there is a providence of heathendom partly within and partly adjoining the borders of British territory, which, whether as regards population or extent of soil, exceeds that of any other possession of the British crown, India alone excepted.." (Benham, 1896:259). As a result of this address to the Scottish Church and in collaboration with the SPG, Callaway was invited "by the bishop of Scotland and Mr. Bullock on behalf of the SPG, to become 'missionary bishop for Kaffraria'" (Benham, 1896:261).

When the idea of a bishopric in Kaffraria was first mooted, and Callaway was again called to the episcopacy, he was not sure he wanted the job. He wrote to the Secretary of the SPG mentioning his reservations, saying

I have no idea that it would be right to quit my present position. I have taken root here, and should not transplant well; unless God transplant me with His own Hand .. There is a great deal of work which no one else will do if I do not, cut out for men (Benham, 1896:223).

The pressure to accept the post continued, however, and finally Callaway accepted the call with reluctance, yet very soon began to see the possibilities of the new job:

'Already,' he said to Mr. Bullock in his letter of acceptance [May 5th 1873], 'the future of the work is spread out before my mind like a map, and I count on your continued help and sympathy to enable me to win to Christ this new country of heathendom. I purpose to travel westward through Kaffraria by way of our Church mission, that I may be somewhat acquainted with their condition and needs.' (Benham. 1896:261).

Thus Callaway travelled through his new see on the way to his episcopal consecration in Scotland. He was consecrated by the "Bishop of Moray, and Ross (Primus Bishop of the Church of Scotland), the Bishop of Brechin, and the Bishop of Edinburgh" (The Mission Field. 1873:375). His work of preparation spanning the years between 1854 when he first arrived in South Africa, and 1873 when he was consecrated, were over. His new work lay spread before him "like a map".

### ASSESSMENT

**H**ow then does one assess Henry Callaway? If one adopts a liberal view, it would be a very easy task to judge him not only on his stated motives, of wanting to spread Christianity by way of labour and culture amongst the people of his various mission stations. Neill comments that "on the whole the weight of evidence tells heavily against [the missionaries] critics" (Neill. 1965:355). There is a great deal of truth in this, as Callaway was recognised by black and white during his own life-time as a

great benefactor of the people, so the weight of his achievements is opposed to critics of missionaries. He did not insist that his people learn English and become English ladies and gentlemen. Rather, he did not seek to destroy the Africanness of the people, but to re-establish Zulu culture on a Christian footing, which would remove the injustices and pain caused by falsities of religion and practices like polygamy.

It is because of this that if one viewed him from a radical point of view, one could assert that he imposed an external culture on the people. Again there is truth to this. Callaway would not admit polygamists to the church. He actively encouraged men to labour, and educated children in ways unknown to their parents. He introduced the plough which was to have such far reaching effects on black culture. Thus his form of Christianity was very western. In doing this, one could accuse him of undermining the culture of the day.

Yet one has to ask if he was doing this either for the greatness of the British Empire, or for his own personal benefit. The answer is neither. He responded to an inner call which had led him to radically change and reorient his own life. He was willing to give up his own lucrative medical practice in order to answer this call. Once in South Africa, he derived little personal benefit from his work, other than the satisfaction that he was leading people to the Christian ideal. His work drained both his finances and his health.

In her article, Dr. M. Goedhals describes a bridging approach to viewing missionaries:

Monica Wilson acknowledges that the missionary, together with the trader and the magistrate, was one of the agents which contributed to pressure on Nguni society in the nineteenth century, but argues that it was Christian missionaries alone who attempted to provide a world

view and practical skills which would enable Africans to adjust to changing circumstances (Goedhals. 1989:17-18).

This appears to be the best way to assess Callaway, by bridging the truths perspectives about him given by both liberals and radicals. Callaway broke the moulds created by both liberal and radical scholars in many ways, and yet conformed to them in others. Was he really any different from any modern missionary who sets out in zeal to bring people to his understanding of God and God's will?

This individualist, therefore, with his wealth of African knowledge and awareness of their culture and their spirituality became the first Bishop of the Diocese of St. John's. Many of the crucial early decisions which set that Diocese on its road were made by him.

## CHAPTER THREE

*ST. JOHNS BEFORE CALLAWAY*

**D**r. Henry Callaway became Bishop of St. John's in 1874, at a point in his personal career when he felt he was making progress in his missions in Natal. Initially he was reluctant to accept the position which would take him away from the "work which had occupied him for so many years" (Benham. 1896:261). His years at Springvale, Highflats and Clydesdale had prepared him for the task ahead of him. He was seasoned in Africa, with an informed idea of the African mind, which enabled him to be very effective as a missionary bishop (cf. Lewis and Edward 1934:534).

The Transkei to which he came was in the process of transition. The early "red" culture of the people was being increasingly exposed to the influence of missionaries and white settlers. The twenty years before Callaway's arrival had done more to change the way of life of the people than the centuries before. British expansionism in the Eastern Cape had brought farmers into areas once purely African. The Mfecane had displaced tribes, the Cattle Killing of 1857 had decimated tribes, and the influx of the Griquas into East Griqualand had introduced a new "tribe". Added to this movement of people, missions had sprung up in various parts of the Transkei with the intent of Christianising the people and thus changing further their traditional culture.

African life before the arrival of the missionaries was culturally stable, for the movement of tribes and people due to the Mfecane and Cattle Killing did not change or introduce a new culture. Even the Griquas did not contribute to a cultural change on the same scale as the missionaries - for they had

settled in "no man's land", an uninhabited stretch between the Transkei and Natal. Callaway arrived at a time when this cultural stability was changing, with the ways of the past disappearing, never to be seen again. Before his arrival, in general

men and women shared the same beliefs, the same fears, the same sense of right and wrong. Customs, taboo, marriage and kinship obligations, all of this and much else was accepted by all in an essentially unreflective way (Hastings.. 1993:109).

After his arrival things would be completely different as new factors and forces related to missionary activity, to politics and the market place broke up the old cultural stability and ushered in a time of transition which would leave an indelible mark on the area.

The arrival of missionaries in the Transkei is a study in itself, but it is enough to mention here that beginning in 1827 Wesleyan missionaries planted a series of mission stations across the area, stretching from north to south (Redding. 1987:37). They established about one mission station every two years, and so white influence was started. It was due to their efforts that the first Xhosa grammar and dictionary were made, they set up the first printing press to produce Xhosa language books (Green. 1974:15). These early missionaries were the origin of much of the cultural change experienced during Callaway's term of office, for they brought ploughs and intensive farming methods previously unknown to the people. Their final impact was the presence of the white farmers who followed behind the missionaries to settle along the Umtata River (Redding. 1987:37).

The Anglicans were relative late-comers to the South African mission field, but under the leadership of the first two bishops of Grahamstown, mission activity in the Transkei began in the mid-1850's. In 1855 the well-known missionary, HT Waters founded the village of St. Marks on the banks of the

White Kei river<sup>17</sup>. This mission played a key role in helping the people after the Great Cattle Killing of 1857 (Benham. 1896:258). Waters measured the his success after 1857 by the impact of Christianity on the people in three ways: by a decline in theft, "although this part of the country, five years ago, was a refuge for thieves and vagabonds from every tribe in Kaffraria", less drunkenness and a greater attendance at prayers (Pascoe. 1901:308).

The early success of St. Marks prompted the establishment in 1859 of All Saints, which was followed in 1865 by the founding of St. Augustine's by the Revs. Dodd and Key (Lewis and Edwards. 1934:533). In the north, on the Natal border, Callaway himself founded a mission at Clydesdale in 1870 (Lewis and Edwards. 1934:364). Thus in 1874 four Anglican missions formed a gap-toothed picket across the Transkei.

The result of these early contacts with whites was to have a profound and incremental impact on the traditional culture of the people. The initial mission stations took a long time to develop, for example it was only after the Great Cattle Killing that St. Marks mission began to prosper, thus it is reported that two years after the Cattle Killing (i.e. 1859, or four years after he began) Waters could count a significant number of people on his mission (Benham. 1896:258). Even then, the western culture was slow to take root - it was only after five years, in 1860 that Waters could report that an African had advanced in education to long division (Benham. 1896:257).

Other mission stations also reported similar slowness in growth: Dodd and Key laboured for three years at St. Augustine's before the first adult was ready for baptism, and after seven years, they could boast only twenty members (Lewis and Edwards. 1934:533). The vast majority of Africans remained resistant to missionary activity in the mid-nineteenth century

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<sup>17</sup>. HT Waters gave up his parish in Southwell in 1855 to become a missionary. He came to South Africa accompanied by a catechist, Mr. RJ Mullins, a school mistress, Miss Grey, and an agriculturist (Pascoe 1901:307).

Transkei, but they were not immune to the influence of missionary activity on their culture.

The change in culture became apparent to the missionaries who had spent time in the area. In 1868, thirteen years after starting St. Marks, Rev. H.T. Waters noted how he had baptised over eight hundred souls, who, spread across the land, "are leavening the lump, as all travellers admit" (Waters. 1869b:232). The impact of missionary activity was found mainly in the difference in customs of the people. H.T. Waters describes the softening influence of Christianity:

To live with a rich wild Kafir for a day is to some men a pleasure, but lengthen your visit, so as to see the brutal manners, to hear the most obscene language, the fear of the women and children at the least tone of anger from the ferocious men, and you will not wish to repeat your trial to become one of them. Now visit some of these people who have embraced Christianity, and you will enjoy the change. Kindness rules the house, obscene words and actions are rarely heard (Waters. 1869b:233).

He mentioned in the same report that at least one kraal his tea was served in an English tea-pot, while in even the most out of the way churches, it was not uncommon to find "congregations of respectably clothed men and women, in some cases very expensive costumes and head-dresses are met with" (Waters. 1869b:233).

The people found themselves in the grip of changing events, for while their culture remained more or less stable up to that time, they were by no means static (Hastings. 1993:109). The political processes resulting from contact with whites was beginning to make themselves felt, and increasingly, during Callaway's episcopal tenure cracks in traditional life would appear, only to be widened by the advent of Christianity in its missionary garb.

The cause of this cultural change cannot only be laid at the feet of the missionaries, they were certainly catalysts, but the true cause was the incompatibility of western and African culture (Majeke, 1952:18). When these two cultures were brought together, something had to give, and to a large degree it was the traditional culture of the people. As Z.K. Matthews points out that "when two legal systems are inextricably juxtaposed, there is a lack of congruency between them which leads to social confusion and maladjustment" (Matthews, 1934:4,5).

It was in this state of incongruence that Callaway took up his episcopacy, and so it is important to examine the state of the Transkei of which he became bishop. In many ways he had experienced similar conflicts in Natal, and so was well equipped to face them in Transkei.

## *AFRICAN LIFE*

### KINSHIP

**T**he traditional culture of the people of the Transkei revolved around kinship - ties of blood and marriage which regulated the social and cultural relationships and obligations of the society "a person belonged first to his family, and beyond that to a clan sharing a common 'praise name' in Nguni society" (Davenport, 1991:62).

Under the principle of kinship we find that the society is based upon the blood tie, real or fictitious. This tie takes the forms of common descent and intermarriage. Descent may be reckoned through the mother only, or through the father only, or through both parents (Matthews, 1934:29).

The blood-bond within the clan formed a cohesive and tightly-knit group with common purposes, especially defence. Thus the individual within the family took his or her position according to relationships held with others in a hierarchy of leadership. This hierarchy extended beyond the immediate group to include liaisons with other groups, also based on blood and marriage (Matthews. 1934:29).

The focus of kinship groups was placed in the person of the father of the family, or the headman of the clan. On a larger scale this leader became the chief of the tribe. His role was to exercise the authority of his position established by virtue of his position within the clan. His greatest realm of authority was in the area of family relationships and the rights of the individual within that grouping (Matthews. 1934:32).

Each individual found a niche in this social structure, for according to the nature of bloodline-based relationships, "every member of the tribe was regarded as valuable in the eyes of the community as a whole, and had a right to appeal to the chief for protection at any time when he felt that his rights were in jeopardy" (Matthews. 1934:67).

At the same time, the very closeness of the members of the clan, each in their particular position in society, made sure that individuals were conscious of their common beliefs, customs and taboos. Anyone who overstepped the mark, or who broke custom became an outcast who had neither the protection of the clan, both living and dead, nor of the tribe (Matthews. 1934:74). Thus the kinship group acted as an efficient mechanism for keeping peace and order within the tribe.

## THE CHIEFS

If kinship ties forged the basic bonds of African society, then those bonds were recast on a greater scale as the kinship groups extended their connections to form tribes. As part of this structure, the “clan is connected with other clans in part by multiplication with causes subdivision, in part by intermarriage, so as to form a tribal or quasi-national union” (Matthews. 1934:29).

In essence the tribe is just a large clan, and the chief a headman with more power. While the headman was in charge of his particular village, or group of villages, the chief could control the relationship between the villages of a group of headmen, and establish his authority over them for military and fiscal purposes. He could maintain this only by giving constant and visible reminders of his presence (Davenport. 1991:55). These reminders extended from the chief into the person's of his counsellors and officers. He maintained their loyalty by

plying the men he valued with the plums of office - headmanships, district governorships, military leaderships, and wealth in wives and cattle - and at the same time depriving those he wished to edge out (Davenport. 1991:64).

In this way he maintained a presence in every village under his domain, because in every area there were those who, enjoying his favour, were willing to impose his will on the people. There were also those, in attempting to curry favour, also exercised his will.

Prior to the arrival of white people, the chiefs were responsible for administering the customary law of their respective tribes. These laws, being an expression of the clan's customary laws, originated from “the

national will". The "will of the chief", therefore, was not arbitrary or capricious (Matthews. 1934:17). The chief, therefore, was more an "instrument of government" than "government itself":

As a rule supreme authority was vested in the Chief of the tribe, who, however, did not act independently as is often supposed by those who have made only a superficial study of Bantu social organisation. In all his official acts the Chief acted in conjunction with and with the concurrence of his counsellors (Matthews. 1934:64).

While in many cases the loyalty of these counsellors was purchased through gifts of power, cattle and wives (Davenport. 1991:64), there were among them men of experience in dealing with state matters and who represented the will of the people. While there was no fixed system of electing these counsellors, their position in the "cabinet" was attained by recognition of their insight into the issues of their communities (Matthews. 1934:64). These counsellors acted as regents for the chief, and a hierarchy of petty chiefs and headmen operated under them (Matthews. 1934:69).

This political system had been in place since time immemorial before the events of the mid-nineteenth century began to overturn it. The rise of Chaka in KwaZulu-Natal, and the appearance of the British in the Cape Colony both had a great effect on this political structure. During the nineteenth century many of the petty groupings and clans were welded into larger tribes (Davenport. 1991:63). Petty chiefs came under the sway of great regional chiefs whose word was law.

As a result of this concentration of power in the hands of paramount chiefs, the cracks and faults in the chief-tribal-kinship system began to become more apparent than before.

One of the main problems of chiefly government was the instability which stemmed from a number of causes inherent in the system. Assassination of chiefs sometimes occurred, generally as a consequence, not of social revolution or ideological disagreement, but of a succession dispute (Davenport. 1991:66).

As the century wore on, the issues and differences between chiefs, the rise and fall of benevolent despots and miserable dictators, would take on less and less importance. With the missionaries came cultural change. The chief's role in society was diminished as he gradually lost control of his land and people until he finally ceased to play a meaningful role in the colonial government except on a ceremonial and superficial plane.

#### LOSS OF POLITICAL POWER

By 1874, when Callaway arrived, the chiefs power had been seriously eroded, but was still a force to be reckoned with. The loss of power was related to several factors, each of which was contributed to by the missionaries. As we have seen, the chief formed the focus of the tribe's governmental structure. In the pre-colonial era, he was

the father of his people, expected to govern conscientiously, wisely and generously. He was the judge of all serious misdemeanours, the law-giver, the war leader, the distributor of land, and the universal provider, in time of need, from the royal herds, which were largely composed of beasts levied as fines or tribute (Cochrane. 1987:31).

The tribal systems of authority were held in place by polygamous marriages, which also shaped family structures and formed the basis for food production and tribal reproduction (Cochrane. 1987:31). The chief as father of the tribe owned the land, distributing it to those either in favour or in need. The idea

of individual land ownership was alien in the traditional tribal structure (Cochrane. 1987:32).

Gradually, however, this system began to change as missionaries and magistrates undermined the polygamous nature of society, as settlers claimed individual ownership of the land, and as the colonial authorities enforced the power of magistrates. The process of transformation did not take long, for in less than a century the traditional culture based on a subsistence economy was transformed into a Christian culture based on a money economy (Cochrane. 1987:29). In the process of change the chiefs witnessed the rapid erosion of their tribal power (Redding. 1987:65). Bransby Key, at St. Augustine's Mission, who was a witness to the war of 1880, describes the causes of the war as a result of the breakdown of the chief's power which he calls "constitutional" and which was violated by the imposition of the magistracy:

I call it constitutional because the relations between chief and people were founded on old custom and precedent: the chief was not recognised as having any power to decide cases, suits coming to magistrates not as appeals but as new cases. In fact, as one of the magistrates said to me, on my inquiry what he thought the cause of the war, 'we have been trying to separate two classes who did not wish to be separated, the chiefs and the people' (Key. 1881. CLR 123:160).

Unravelling this process is a little like trying to decide whether a chicken or an egg came first: the main culprits in this process are the missionaries and the colonial government. According to Majeke, the destruction of the chief's powers was a deliberate policy of the British, for by removing him they removed a potential rallying point of resistance, and ultimately forced the complete break-down of tribalism. The first step, therefore was to break the power of the chief (Majeke 1952:25). This destructive approach was

particularly followed in Natal, where Governor Pine saw chieftainship as “the greatest barrier in the way of Africans emerging from traditional society” (Cochrane. 1987:33). Sir Theophilus Shepstone believed that Chieftainship should give way to magistracy as customary law was abolished (Cochrane. 1987:33). These colonial officers failed to recognise the existence of tribal law because it was unwritten and therefore inaccessible to those outside the tribe (Matthews. 1934:16). Thus they were blinded by their own culture to the culture of the African people.

The process of transformation, however, was gradual, and not often noticed by the chiefs, who, at times collaborated unwittingly in their own destruction. The first “attack” on the tribal system came from missionaries, who in establishing their mission stations offered an alternative lifestyle to the African people. Many chiefs did not see missionary activity as a direct threat to their own authority, and yet conflict was inevitable as new converts were called upon in one way or another to test their loyalty to the chief or the church. “Allegiance to the missionary undermined allegiance to the chief” (Majeke. 1952:25).

An example of the relationship between the chief and the missionary before the undermining of the former’s authority is given in a report by Rev. Dodd of St. Augustine’s Mission. He writes:

Our chief gives us every assistance for carrying on our work, and by our wish takes all political and legal matters into his own hands, thus relieving us from magisterial duties. At the same time he is most willing to be guided by us in certain matters, eg. at our suggestion he has given orders for Sundays to be observed as a day of rest, and exhorted those near to send their children to school. In fact, we have all the privileges of chiefs without the duties, having access to the people to carry on our work (Dodd. 1866:272).

This excerpt shows somewhat the relationship between many missionaries and their local chiefs, for while chiefs may be agreeable to cooperate, the missionaries themselves were quite prepared to take on magisterial roles if the need arose. In the missionary's mind, it is only through his "wish" that the chief is permitted to continue in his traditional role. The influence of the missionary, however, is powerful enough to "suggest" laws to be enforced on a tribe. Thus the relationship becomes clear, for the chief still has nominal power, but as the missionary's influence grows, so the missionary increasingly becomes the power behind the throne.

Not every relationship between missionary and chief, however was as smooth as Dodd's description. The missionaries came as "friends", and it was only as mission stations developed that it dawned on the chief that his power was being undermined (Majeke 1952:25). Some chiefs grew concerned about the loss of converts from their own jurisdiction and army (Cochrane. 1987:33), so that as missions grew, conflict developed between the two authorities.

The missionaries recognised that they were seen as threats to the chief's authority. The activities of the missionaries in establishing schools, for example, was acknowledged as a threat to the traditional role. Thus in 1883, the Rev. A.G. S. Gibson observed that

the natives fear that the formation of a school is the thin edge of the wedge, and that they will be forced to give up all their customs (harmless or not), will have their country inundated either with Fingoes (who are very grasping), or with white people, and will eventually come under European laws and administration, which they cannot understand and do not like, and which are in their practical working here inferior to the native government, the general effect of which is good and orderly. The chiefs, on the other hand, fearing to lose their position, not unnaturally do not look with a very favourable

eye upon that which they think is the beginning of the end (The Mission Field. 1883:329).

Trouble could develop as mission stations became too large and the threat undeniable. Dodd points out that when the mission station is too large

the Chief of the tribe regards the missionary with jealousy and will render him no assistance, and should the missionary in an unwise moment appeal to a neighbouring chief for assistance, a war would probably spring up between two tribes (Dodd. 1866:271).

Many chiefs were actively opposed to the work of missionaries, but saw them as a form of protection against their rivals and a source of gifts and wealth (Neill. 1965:371). What they did not realise at first was the dilemma between being a chief in Africa and being a Christian. Being a Christian meant that he had to forgo his many wives, which were the basis of his relationships with others as well as a symbol of his wealth. He also had to give up non-Christian practices, for example his leadership in the cult of his ancestors (Neill. 1965:374). This meant that Christianity completely undermined the socio-political and religious basis of chieftainship. As Majeke puts it so succinctly, this destroyed the traditional culture, the tool of which destruction "is christianisation, which involved something much more than the simple question of religion. The aim is the destruction of one culture, tribalism, and replacing it by capitalism" (Majeke. 1952:18).

In order for Christianity to take hold, the habits of the people, including the chief had to be broken down and replaced (Majeke. 1952:18), which involved "issues of morality, education and organisation and affected the traditional society" (Cochrane. 1987:18). The chiefs found themselves at the losing end of this battle, with their power consistently undermined as their people embraced Christianity and acceded to the Christian way of life.

The other factor contributing to the destruction of tribal chieftaincy was the increasing presence of the colonial powers, who followed in the wake of the missionaries. As Britain stretched her wings over the Transkei, so she instituted rival political organisations: the magistrate was made the chief legal functionary of the region, and tribal chiefs were reduced to subordinate status (Cochrane. 1987:23). By the time Callaway became bishop in 1874, the process of annexation had largely taken place. Writing to the SPG he notes:

During my absence in England almost the whole of Kaffraria has been taken under British protection and government. And since my return Griqualand has been annexed to the Cape, and is now a British possession. Mr. Orpen as Resident Magistrate is to have the charge of the country. These changes will make a considerable difference to us, but I believe will turn out to the furtherance of the church work there. (Callaway. 1874c. CLR 123:10).

The difference annexation made was that when Callaway entered his diocese, he had no need to ask permission from any chief to commence his work. Instead he had the full encouragement and protection of the British Government, who could, if necessary, intervene on his behalf to protect that work, which, as we will see in the rebellion of 1877, is exactly the case.

### *THE EROSION OF AFRICAN LIFE*

**T**he change in political structure was symptomatic of the many changes in African life at the time Callaway became Bishop of St. Johns. The breakdown of the chief's power found reflections in other areas of transition. As people came to embrace Christianity, very few aspects of their lives were untouched by this new and conflicting world-view provided by the missionaries.

## LOSS OF LAND

One of the major results of colonisation was the enclosure and loss of land. This had a ripple effect through all areas of African life. While it is true that in the Transkei the loss of land ownership was not as prevalent as in other parts of South Africa, nevertheless, the impact was profound (Cochrane. 1987:28).

In pre-colonial culture land was vested in the person of the chief and held in common. He portioned out parcels of land to tribesmen according to their wealth and political or social connections. Land played a vital role in the pre-colonial economy not for its own sake in particular, but because the economy was based on cattle as the outward and visible sign of wealth, and land allowed for grazing and the multiplication of herds (Cochrane. 1987:24).

The missionaries played an important role in the closure of Transkeian land. Their stations represented areas closed to local tribes' people, and "became important centres for the transformation of traditional land relationships and at least one author believes they did more than any other institution to alter the relations of production" (Cochrane. 1987:25).

The missionaries were followed by whites who enclosed their farms. In this practice there was a direct clash of cultures, for individual tenure of land was as alien to the Africans as communal ownership was to the whites (cf. Cochrane. 1987:21). In addition to private ownership, the state also expropriated land as "crown" land, thus further restricting access of blacks to land (Cochrane. 1987:27).

The effect, while not broadly seen in the Transkei, of land closure was found in land use. The missionaries introduced intensive farming practices previously unknown in the Transkei. This western system of farming was dependent on the emerging towns and villages as markets, and thus blacks found themselves in competition with whites to sell produce (Redding, 1987:71). The days when cattle were the only means of visible wealth thus declined as a money economy took over.

In the systematised expropriation of land, there was very little that blacks could do to protect themselves against state sanctioned land invasion. The power of the chiefs, already under threat from the Christianisation of the culture, was politically unable to contest the loss of his lands, and so the foundations of society were radically altered (Cochrane, 1987:21).

A natural result of the loss of land, and the destruction of the chiefs authority, was the concerted effort to make the Africans rely on money as their basis of exchange, rather than the traditional cattle. According to Majeke, this was a direct effort on the part of Governor Grey who encouraged a

process of binding the African to a money economy [which] had a revolutionising effect on all relationships within the tribe. It tended to dissolve the old tribal allegiances, to break those ancient ties between people and the chiefs, between headman and the chiefs, and also the allegiance of the chiefs and headman towards the people (Majeke, 1952:66).

This was the situation in the Transkei in 1874, and although it was not as markedly advanced as in Natal, still the gradual loss of land was a concern as was the breakdown of social and political structures once based upon common land ownership. Even before becoming Bishop, Callaway was

sensitive to these issues because he had experienced them in Springvale. In 1870 he noted the presence of whites and the impact on the blacks, writing to England that

we are getting a congregation of whites settling around us; they are interfering with and disturbing a good deal of the natives. They are taking up the land, and the natives have no place to herd in and have to go further back. No efforts made artificially can preserve them from quiet extinction. It is possible that they may try an issue of strength with us. We are disturbing them in many ways, taxing them, making them pay rent - making them work, beginning to interfere by law with their customs, and unsettling them in many ways; and we do not give much in return that they can appreciate. They have security for life and property, good roads, market for producers and to work - and thus the means of being and of living better is brought home to them. But when they put these things in the scale against what they are obliged to give up, they think very little of the advantages. (Benham. 1896:214).

## LABOUR

Closely affiliated with the problems arising from changes in land ownership were those relating to labour. Missionaries, Callaway included, believed implicitly in the British and Protestant work ethic: they held idleness to be sinful, and "one of the worst features of their [i.e. the African] character" (Dodd. 1866:270). They believed it their duty to introduce the African, especially the males, to labour. It is to their credit that to induce the men to work, the missionaries set an example, toiling alongside the tribesmen. An example of the work "ethic" inculcated by missionaries is given in an account of the work done by Revs. Dodd and Key at St. Augustine's:

in these works, [i.e. building St. Augustine's] we have employed Kaffirs living around us, and they work very well on small pay if only we set the example. By thus giving the Kaffirs work, they are induced to give up their idleness, which is one of the worst features of their character; the women generally do all the work while the men sit and smoke. However, we have had a great many asking for work here; they see that we work and they do not think it a degradation to do the same; they willingly conform to the rules of the station, attend our daily services, and in a great many cases are anxious to learn (Dodd. 1866:270).

In coming to St. John's, Callaway had already learned the work habits of the Zulus of Natal, and formed his own opinions on the subject, which, in many respects mirrors those of Dodd and other missionaries. It is at times charged that the whole object of the missionary approach to labour was to undermine African culture and make it subservient to white culture (cf. Majeke. 1952:66). If one only views history from a radical perspective this may be true. Yet was it truly the idea in the minds of the missionaries themselves?

Callaway believed in the Protestant work ethic, and believed it his duty to teach that to the people on his mission stations. His intention, however, was not to destroy black culture, but to bring blacks to a level, as he perceived it, where they would be recognised as valuable by the colonial culture. He writes:

I should hope to turn out good servants and good mechanics, and in this way cause not only the Kaffirs to long for instruction, but make white men see that it is to their advantage to endeavour to elevate their coloured brethren (Benham. 1896:57).

This letter was written while Callaway was still at St Andrew's in Pietermaritzburg, long before he went to St. John's, but his sentiments stayed much the same - to educate the blacks in all areas, including the work ethic, for their own ultimate good. He never believed that blacks should remain servants (Benham. 1896:59), but that instead they should adjust to a new order of society imposed upon them by the colonisation of South Africa.

When Callaway arrived in St. John's in 1874, the transition from the tribal labour system to that of the colonial era was just beginning. In the southern parts of the diocese the impact of the Cattle Killing of 1857 had already had an effect as thousands of people entered the Cape Colony in search of food and shelter. Many of those who were left behind resisted this migration because of the pass laws in the Cape, plus concern for family left behind, and the fact that migrant labour was not very remunerative (Redding. 1987:44-45).

In the main, however, migrant labour really only became a factor after the diocese was established, although it had a tremendous effect on the first decades of the diocese. Callaway, however, was aware of the system of migrant labour long before coming to St. John's. While still at Springvale he commented in his diary that "it is not desirable that men should leave their homes, wives and families for months together" (Benham. 1896:72).

Yet the process was beginning. The diamond fields had been discovered in 1867, only seven years before the founding of the diocese, and as people fell into deeper and deeper poverty, so the men were tempted to the diamond fields. The result was broken and scattered homes across areas which had only a short time before been kept stable by a traditional culture.

Cochrane notes that "hardly a missionary understood the implications of the economic, political and cultural domination over Africans by outsiders in the wider society, or their incorporation into relations of coercion and obedience"

(Cochrane. 1987:27). Yet is this true of Henry Callaway? He came to the Transkei with years of experience in the mission field. His letters and diaries show just how well he did understand these things, and how, first at Springvale and later at St. John's he tried to convert and "civilise" the blacks, but also how he tried to protect and preserve the good things of their culture, to develop their Africanness along more Christian lines, while maintaining that very essence of what it is to be an African.

### *Changes in Gender Roles and Family Structure*

It is a great truth that aspects of life cannot be placed in isolated boxes. Change in one area of a culture has ramifications in other areas. The effect of changes in the area of labour had significant repercussions in the family life and social structure of the people of the Transkei. At the time Callaway became bishop, the changes in labour were making themselves felt as the plough became more common. Simultaneously there were immense challenges to the pre-colonial tribal family structure.

The role played by missionaries in the social changes was immense as they assisted in redirecting the social mechanism of labour, diverting the responsibility for farming from women to men. At the same time they instilled new concepts of the nature of femininity and the ideal of the "Christian" family structure. All these were alien to the original culture.

The Kaffirs have a great idea that the Missionary was an 'especial guardian of women'. At a visit to Chief Faku's kraal in 1860 (made with a view to establishing a Mission there) Mr. Waters heard several conversations on the subject; one man saying 'Now the missionary is coming, we must not beat our wives with sticks!' 'Well, well,' said another, 'what shall we do now if our wives will not bring wood? Truly

our wives will have all their own way if we scold them only, for they will not hear' (Pascoe. 1901:809).

Callaway, like other missionaries, carried a great deal of responsibility for these cultural changes. He was determined to change the traditional pre-colonial way of life in regard to the sexes. By the time he came to St. John's this attitude was firmly entrenched in his mind. He came with the experience of years in Natal, where he saw the impact of traditional gender values and was horrified by them. For example as early as 1858 he wrote from Springfield:

Diary. July 8<sup>th</sup> 1858. Two lads came today, each attended by a girl somewhat younger than himself. The girls were carrying all the burdens. I asked the young men why they did not help them; one of them replied, pointing with his finger as he spoke, 'She is my ox, and she is his.' From their very childhood the male is taught to look down upon the woman as his inferior and slave, and the woman is accustomed to submit (Benham. 1896:71).

At the time Callaway arrived, the impact of contact with western culture was already becoming apparent. In the pre-colonial culture there was a sharp division between men and women. Men were responsible for looking after the cattle, which carried both a monetary value and religious significance. Their monopoly over cattle entrenched men symbolically as the controllers of wealth, as spiritual leaders in direct contact with ancestors, and a vassal of the chief (Redding. 1987:34).

Women had no such external symbolism. Their role was simply hard labour: tending the fields and crops. In Callaway's mind, this imbalance of gender roles "induced a want of moral fibre which barred their progress in spirit no less than in worldly things" (Benham. 1896:90).

This pre-colonial culture was threatened during the mid-nineteenth century. The impact of missionary technology was profound. Between the 1830's and the 1870's the plough was introduced which replaced the old hoe (Redding. 1987:38). Ploughing requires draft animals, thus bringing men into an area of life previously the preserve of women (Redding. 1987:39). In addition sheep were introduced which carried a monetary value, but had no religious significance (Redding. 1987:39). Thus gradually men began to lose their privileged status to some degree.

If the change in African male culture was occasioned primarily through labour, in the African female it was brought about through education. Callaway, like many other missionaries, gauged the degree of "civilisation" of a society on the position of women (Labode. 1992:9).

#### THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

One area of change in African society directly attributable to missionary activity was in the field of educating women. In gender issues the British missionary and the African male were not as far apart as they imagined. Victorian culture saw a vast distinction between men and women which assigned distinct roles and spheres of interest to each sex. Masculine roles were more public, the feminine relating to the home (Labode. 1993:127). Hastings. argues that

African tradition no more entirely subordinated women to men than did European tradition, while missions would appear to have provided scope for female initiative to a degree rarely possible in the sending society (Hastings. 1993:110).

However, the missionaries had a vested interest in changing the culture of women. They saw the traditional feminine role as an obstacle to the

development of the Church, and recognised that without the support of women their efforts would come to nothing (Labode. 1993:128). Their approach to African women was shot through with inconsistencies. The missionaries' own culture greatly coloured their concept of ideal womanhood, which they saw as inconsistent with the tribal culture (Labode. 1993:126). At the same time they perceived African women as more resistant to Western civilisation than the men (Labode. 1993:128).

The confusion over the traditional role of women lies in the question of the degree to which women were willing participants in the tribal culture. Thus from viewing women as virtual slaves to the system, they also saw them as more atavistic than the men (Labode. 1993:128, 129). This confusion, however, did not prevent them from actively seeking to change the status quo.

The only solution, therefore, was to adjust the perceptions of both men and women. It is interesting that many of the first converts were often women (Hastings. 1993:111), and in their contact with these women, the missionaries often communicated an atmosphere of equality, freedom and independent responsibility (Hastings. 1993:111), especially in areas of labola (or bride-wealth) and polygyny.

In keeping with their own Victorian culture, the missionaries saw the role of women as homemaker, mother and wife. Thus

simply converting Africans to Christianity was not enough; the missionaries' goal was nothing less than restructuring African society. 'Restructuring' suggested physical changes in the household, such as favouring square houses over round huts; these physical changes corresponded to the spiritual changes which took place in the convert (Labode. 1993:126).

Thus they sought to change the tribal kraal into a Christian home, in which Christian women would preside in the way a Western Victorian woman controlled her home (Labode. 1993:126). As Christianity penetrated more and more deeply into tribal culture, it became apparent that if women were to be "Christianised", and because women were perceived to be atavistic, that "some girls had to be taken into a European, Christian environment and taught how to live" (Labode. 1993:129). This thinking was part of the basis for the creation of mission boarding schools for girls (Labode. 1993:129). Labode argues that the education offered at these mission schools did not really liberate the women from their tribal structures. Rather education tied them to another kind of limitation, domesticity, which

was closely associated with the experience of Christianity for women; there does not seem to have been an equivalent concept of such importance for men. Domesticity drew on ideas concerning the relationship between public and the private. Domesticity was not simply an imposition of British ideas on African women (Labode. 1993:9).

The approach to educating women in the mission system has been discussed at length by Labode, who sees the issue in gender terms, which has great bearing on the subject. However, there is another aspect which bears consideration, that the missionaries were also affected by a class consciousness, in which they saw blacks as a working class, somewhat akin to the British working classes. Thus the education offered black women was not significantly different from that offered working-class women in England, who were also expected to run and maintain Christian homes, be servants for others, and thus domestic.

The issue of gender and the women's role in tribal society was one of great interest to Callaway. It would be easy to label him as a heavy handed missionary whose only desire was to undermine and destroy the tribal

culture. Callaway, however, looked for both the good and bad in culture. Some of the things he saw women suffer appalled him. Theirs was the bondage of labour, the unhappiness in homes where women were not valued, were beaten and treated poorly. He laid the cause at the door of polygyny, and from his earliest days in South Africa determined to eradicate it - crossing swords with Bishop Colenso on the subject.

Callaway also shared the concept that the only way to develop a free feminine society was to educate the women, and so pioneered a girls school at Umtata. However, he repudiated those "who would use Kaffirs only as servants" (Benham. 1896:59). Education for him was a way of uplifting the people.

### CONCLUSION

**B**ishop Henry Callaway, therefore, came to the Transkei at a pivotal point in its history. Very little change had occurred in the area before his arrival, and great changes were going to happen after. The diocese prior to 1874 was still steeped in the pre-colonial culture, culturally unchanged by external forces for centuries.

Yet the seeds of change were there. The Methodist missionaries and early white settlers introduced a new culture to the area, beginning the gradual process of fragmenting a culture. Over time the Chiefs would lose their power as land and cattle dwindled. The family unit would be changed by the dynamics of a changing workforce, economy and gender roles.

The period of Transkeian history between 1827 and 1874 mark the beginning of that change. Callaway arrived after the seeds of change had germinated. By the time he arrived the area was firmly under British colonial control: magistrates extended their authority over the chiefs.

Other events in South African history also played an enormous role in defining the relationships between black and white. In the late 1870's, to the north of Natal, the Zulu's flexed their power. No real friends of the people of the Transkei, they nevertheless awakened within them a desire to curb and cast off the encroachment of white domination. Mr. Green., of All Saints' Mission vividly describes the effect of the Battle of Isandhlwana on the people of his area, and how, when news of the Zulu victory

was known here, congratulatory visits and important discussions took place between chiefs. Men's minds were indeed roused. But if the Pondos keep quiet, we need not fear serious trouble this side of the Umtata. The greatest evil- greater than a mere outbreak here would be - is that the native mind is again quickened to reconsider the possibilities of the black man's power against the hated white; and a result, to last for years, is the question. Why receive this new education, civilisation and worship, when we may possibly drive the originator away before many years? Before the Natal conflict all the tribes about here had exalted ideas of the Zulu prowess (The Mission Field. 1879:395).

During Callaway's tenure the pressures of these cultural changes came to a head. The diocese was wracked with war twice as chiefs tried to re-exert their authority. He learned to deal with the suspicion of blacks towards whites on many levels of society.

Callaway was not unaware of effects these changes would have on his new diocese. His years in Natal had educated him in the ways of the African. He

spoke their language, had studied their customs, culture and religion. He understood the impact Western culture made on African culture, and strove to value the good things about African culture while educating people to change the things his religion taught were harmful.

Thus Callaway was an ideal man for the task of establishing a Diocese of the Church of the Province of South Africa in almost virgin territory. The assignment would take all his skills, all his knowledge and patience. He needed to have the spiritual and natural energy to bring the church into the changing culture of the time, and to erect an ecclesiastical structure which would not only survive the changes, but would contribute positively to them.

He guided his diocese through the turbulent years of the 1870's and early 1880's with the recognition that a missionaries status "is of a very precarious character" (The Mission Field. 1879:529). He both recognised and taught the fact that

the chiefs really do not approve of Missionaries having anything to do with legal cases. They look upon them with respect and fear as arbitrators between them and their people when they are oppressing them, and it may be as informers against them to the stronger British Government. They feel them to be *imperium in imperio*. (The Mission Field. 1879:529).

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Blueprint for a Diocese*

**A**t his election, Callaway, from his experience in Natal, had some idea of the needs of a missionary diocese. His concepts provided the basis for the structure of the diocese that would emerge under his episcopacy and mature during the tenure of his successors. In many ways his ideas were simple: to take the needs of a single mission station and extrapolate them over an entire diocese (Callaway. 1874:6). Thus during his stay in England in 1874 he codified his blueprint in a statement of prospects and needs for his new diocese (Benham. 1896:268). His plans included:

A Boy's Institution to be the seed bed of the church (Benham.1896:269).

A Girl's Institution, to train women to hold worthily the higher social position which Christianity was to establish for them (Benham. 1896:269)<sup>18</sup>.

The Printing Press, an instrument for the intellectual culture, which he held, was the soil in which Christianity would attain its greatest vigour (Benham. 1896:269).

A College for the training of natives for the ministry - in his eyes, as we have seen, a most important step in the social and spiritual progress of the community (Benham. 1896:270). This subject, because it is so central to understanding both Callaway's mission philosophy, and the history of the Diocese of St. John's will be treated of in greater detail in Chapter Five.

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<sup>18</sup> The school at Springvale averaged between 80 and 90 students. There was also a special class of boys who boarded in the village. This would form the nucleus of the Boys' Institution and Girls' Institution, which required only buildings in order to be completed (Callaway. *The Mission Field* 1874:7).

A Cathedral or Mother Church, not elaborate and costly, but of simple beauty and dignity, to be a symbol of the faith which God had sent His servants to plant in the midst of the people (Benham. 1896:270).

A library, to compensate in some measure to colonists for the loss of intellectual society which they had incurred in leaving England (Benham. 1896:270). Callaway explained the premise behind building a library as follows:

The Bishop feels so strongly that, when separated from the elevating influences of good society, the clergy should be supplied with the best substitute, that of good books, that he has determined to give his own library, a very good one, consisting of some thousand volumes, to the diocese, in the hope that it may become the nucleus of one capable of supplying the utmost needs of clergy and others in Kaffraria (Callaway. 1874:10)<sup>19</sup>.

His cherished hospital (Benham. 1896:270), which he envisioned would not only heal disease, but also be of use "imparting instruction to young men who are being trained for Holy Orders, which would be of incalculable benefit to them when settled on isolated stations" (Callaway. 1874:8). As a doctor Callaway was keenly aware of the inadequacy of the medical profession, exacerbated by lack of facilities. As he commented when faced with a nine year old boy suffering from an unknown disease: "How glad I shall be to get the hospital erected!" (Callaway. 1875b:262).

Although these projects may seem ambitious for the very beginning of a diocese in St. John's position, Callaway drew extensively from his experience at Springvale. Each of the institutions on his wish-list existed already on a smaller scale at Springvale (Callaway. 1874a:6).

He was aware that the fulfilment of these goals would take time - he had as yet no episcopal seat, limited staff and resources, and very few members. His simple translation of mission station needs to diocesan needs was going to require time, money, devotion and patience as

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<sup>19</sup> The library is currently housed as part of the "Cathedral Collections" in the Archives of the University of South Africa in Pretoria.

the work of the diocese is very different in many respects from what I expected, and much more extensive and arduous (Callaway, in Benham. 1896:293).

### *Difficulties with Bishop Macrorie*

Callaway's break from Natal was more difficult than he had imagined. His appointment to the episcopacy had come at a time when he was looking ahead to the further development of Highflats and Clydesdale, while Springvale, his opus maximus to date, was thriving. Tearing himself away from this work caused him great regret (Callaway. 1875. CLR 123:42).

Before accepting appointment to Kaffraria, Callaway thought he had reached an agreement with Bishop Macrorie of Natal, that he, Callaway, would retain oversight of Springvale and Highflats, although both were in the Diocese of Natal. These two stations, and especially Springvale, would provide the nucleus from which the new Diocese would develop, at least during the gestational period, the home and centre of the diocese (cf. Callaway. 1874:7, 11).

The agreement did not hold, prompting Callaway to write to the SPG that:

Bishop Macrorie appears to intend entirely to back from the understanding I had with him before accepting the oversight of Kaffraria (Callaway. 1874. CLR 123:1).

Callaway felt that Macrorie wilfully misunderstood his reasons for wanting to retain control of the two missions, and that the Bishop's refusal to allow Callaway to continue his work, especially in view of their previous agreement, was incomprehensible to him.

The result was that when Callaway returned from his inaugural trip to England, he found Springvale dispirited, with very little work being accomplished (Callaway. 1874. CLR 123:5). The potential disintegration of his life's work was

a major blow. He wrote: "I am utterly at a loss to comprehend the principle which determined the action of the Bishop [Macrorie] towards Springvale" (Callaway. 1874. CLR 123:5).

He had no option, however, but to respect Macrorie's wishes (Callaway 1874. CLR 123:3), and pull back from involvement with his previous missions, making it increasingly necessary to establish a centre south of the Umzimkulu River where he would essentially start from scratch.

This caused difficulty on several fronts, apart from the deep emotional bond he had formed over the years for his great work. The first was that many workers and residents of Springvale and Highflats wished to follow him to Kaffraria. This put Callaway in a difficult position, for if he took them with him, it would weaken the infrastructures he had spent a life-time constructing. Yet if he did not take them, they could well scatter and go elsewhere (Callaway. 1874. CLR 123:3). Thus in terms of manpower and people, Callaway was convinced that his Natal missions would collapse.

Callaway knew that there would be those who followed him to his new work, but he did not encourage a mass emigration from Natal to Kaffraria, as he made clear in a letter to the SPG:

I shall not encourage any general emigration - that would take place not only of the Christians but of many of the surrounding heathen if I only said the word. But I do not think it desirable. I must take some as leaven for the new work; and others who have set their hearts on going, if refused would not stay here, but get unsettled and go to some other place" (Benham. 1896:276).

The second reason for difficulty was personal: it was the money Springvale represented in Callaway's personal estate. He owned the farm upon which the mission was built. He had invested hugely in the development of the mission from his own funds, and the financial return per annum was about two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, a considerable sum. Without this annual income, Callaway could find himself in financial difficulties (Callaway. 1875. CLR 123:25).

Thirdly, over the years Callaway had established viable schools for boys and girls at Springvale. He had hoped that during the initial period of the establishment of the Diocese, he could continue to use these schools until such time as a Central Mission was established, where all his planned institutions could be planted (Callaway. 1874:9). However, since he was not permitted to continue oversight of Springvale and Highflats, this work was delayed for several years.

Thus with considerably mixed feelings Henry Callaway left behind the work of a great deal of his adult life. As he turned to the wild, tribal country south of Natal, one chapter of his life closed and another opened. He was aware of the difficulties lying ahead, not only in the development of the church, but in the nature of the changing culture of the times. He was to become, on a grander scale than ever before, an agent of spiritual, cultural and political change, although the latter was not his primary motive. It was a daunting task, where "half a dozen settlements in a vast heathen area is not much of a foundation upon which to build a diocese" (Hinchliff. 1963:163).

Still, when Callaway began the work in Kaffraria, he did so with the encouragement and support of the people of Springvale. In November 1874, as he set out to visit the Pondo chief, Umkqikela, to search for a site for a central mission, he compares the experience with the time when he left Pietermaritzburg to start Springvale:

I remember how different was everything when, seventeen years ago, I set out from Pietermaritzburg to come to Springvale. Did I heave no sigh, experience no lingering doubt whether it was right to forsake this beautiful place which has grown up under my hand, and go again into another wilderness, and begin again another work, which for its completion appears to require the strength and vigour of youth? I can truly say, that though I have loved my work here, though I love the place and love the people, I am more content with what lies before me in God's vineyard (Callaway. 1875a:162).

### *Staffing the Diocese*

**I**n 1874 the Diocese of Kaffraria consisted of four mission stations, three in the southern half, which had been closely affiliated to the Diocese of Grahamstown, and Clydesdale alone in the northern sector, which Callaway had himself established. His principle staff at that time consisted of the few missionaries manning these stations:

*Rev. H.T. Waters at St. Marks*<sup>20</sup>

*Rev. John Gordon at All Saints*

*Rev. Bransby Key at St. Augustine's*

*Rev. Thurston Button at Clydesdale*<sup>21</sup>

In addition to these dedicated workers, Callaway also brought a team from England, of whom he said: "they are all real heated people and intend work" (Callaway. 1874. CLR 123:9). This addition to the corps were:

1. Rev. J.O. Oxland - skilled at Zulu, secretary to Callaway.
2. Mr. Hamilton - who would be in charge of schooling in the Diocese.
3. Mr. Tonkin - who would be sent to Clydesdale to assist Mr. Button.
4. Mr. Crowley - who would initially go to Clydesdale with the intent to be sent to St. Marks.
5. Miss Phillips - a teacher in school.
6. Miss Kirkpatrick - "our Dorcas but not for the poor only and women, but for the clergy and already we are wearing cassocks made by her in the most approved style." (Callaway. 1874. CLR 123:9)

It is interesting to note the inclusion of two women in the group. Callaway believed that women had a unique role to fill in mission work, and they had an effect "an entrance into the hearts and minds of the natives" (Callaway. 1874:10). Their teaching would be more by example than by direct teaching, and any

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<sup>20</sup> H.T. Waters came to South Africa in 1848 under the auspices of Bishop Gray. He was the first missionary in the Transkei region. (The Mission Field. 1884:78-84)

<sup>21</sup> Rev. Thurston Button was born in South Africa, and trained for orders at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. On returning to South Africa, Callaway sent him to Clydesdale. (The Mission Field 1874:2)

woman who joined the mission would be required "to exhibit practically to the heathen world what a Christian wife and family really are; what the holiness and blessedness of Christian married life" (Callaway. 1874:10).

The role of women was greatly appreciated, for example, by H.T. Waters, who noted that he was able, with help from the SPG to maintain "wholly or in part, fourteen female teachers, who are all doing a good work, and setting a good example" (Waters. 1877b:441).

This core group was "willing to work at the Central Station as a brotherhood, until the work were sufficiently advanced to justify the establishment of other centres" (Callaway. 1874:9). In bringing these men and women to South Africa, Callaway had "nothing to promise them". The only reward was the work itself, success in converting the people, and a "Well done" from the Lord (Callaway. 1874:9).

By the end of 1874 Callaway was ready to begin the task of organising his diocese and impressing it with his own peculiar stamp. He brought to the work the qualities of an outstanding missionary and administrator (Hinchliff. 1963:163), although he found the work of being bishop in many ways different from being a founder missionary on his own station. Not only was the area of the diocese vast by comparison, but he had the additional burden of co-ordination and finances to consider. He found the issue of diocesan finances particularly difficult - the pathos of which comes across in an early letter to the SPG in which he says, "I feel my time and feelings and judgment should not be taken up with merely money matters. There is work calling for my attention on every side. (Callaway. 1876. CLR 123:44)

The sheer vastness of the area over which he had charge was equally daunting. By his estimate there were six hundred thousand unconverted souls in an area the size of Scotland requiring his attention (Benham. 1896:293). A tour of the entire diocese took fourteen weeks (Benham. 1896:286). After his first visitation realisation of the extent of his work dawned on him, and he noted that "if before the visit I felt the vastness of the work, I feel it much more now" (Benham. 1896:268).

Despite these challenges, however, the Diocese continued to grow. By 1877, the number of mission stations had multiplied to nine, served by eleven clergy, eighteen black and one white catechist. The church membership has swelled to about five thousand five hundred members (The Mission Field 1877:436).

### *The First Synod of Clydesdale*

**I**t is one thing to have a perception of the vastness of one's work and have plans on how to proceed. It is quite another to co-ordinate the few, scattered resources in order to make the goals a reality. Callaway's first priority on his return to South Africa, therefore, was to assemble his clergy in order to include them in the planning of the diocese. Thus he wrote to the SPG requesting

the clergy of Kaffraria to meet me for the purpose of conferring on their individual works and the work generally of the diocese with as little delay as possible. I hope the conference will take place in November (Callaway. 1874. CLR 123:10).

Actually the Synod ran from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1874, and was attended by four priests, two deacons and five catechists, who besides the bishop made up almost the entire staff of the diocese. Only the four "native deacons" were missing (Minutes of the Synod, CPSA Archives AB 1653). The synod was opened with "solemn services which were carried throughout the session" (AB 1653).

As an organisational synod it was necessary to set some very basic structures in place. The Rev. John Oxland was elected secretary, and the Rev. Francis Broadbent his assistant (AB 1653). It was also necessary to determine the full extent of Church activity in Kaffraria, which could only be done by obtaining from the missionaries a full list of black catechists holding licences to preach (AB 1653).

Thus at the very inauguration of the diocese Callaway stressed the need for a black leadership to ensure the growth and development of the Church - catechists were a vitally important part of the mechanism for carrying the Gospel into the kraals of the people. Callaway urged the need for active co-operation between clergy and laity as the most effective means of supplying the want until a larger staff could be obtained (Benham, 1896:280). He believed the strength of the diocese would increase as clergy were drawn from people who knew the language and culture of the Africans, and therefore he

recommended that the clergy should watch to find out boys and young men, especially among the colonist's families, who might suitably be trained as missionaries - believing that those who had grown up among the natives would be most effective in influencing them (Benham, 1896:281).

At the Synod of Clydesdale he thus laid the foundation of his policy about training a clergy, which would find early fulfilment in the ordination of Peter Masiza to the priesthood, and longer term fulfilment in the creation of St. Bede's College.

The Synod also concluded some of the very early organisational affairs needed to define and give identity to the new diocese, even to the most basic necessity of defining and naming the area under the bishop's jurisdiction. Thus the synod resolved

that the new Diocese between the Umzimkulu and Kei hitherto styled "Kaffraria" be called the Diocese of St. John, South Africa, and that the Bishop take the name of St. John's instead of his surname. (AB 1653).

The next order of business was to develop a constitution to govern the diocese. It was decided temporarily, at least, to borrow from the experience of other episcopal sees in South Africa. The secretary, Rev. John Oxland, was instructed to apply to the Diocese of Grahamstown for a copy of their manual "Rules and Instruction for the Guidance of Those Engaged in Mission Work in the Grahamstown Diocese" (AB 1653).

The need to develop some degree of conformity within the diocese extended even to a diocesan dress code, and after discussion it was agreed that the clerical staff would wear "a short black cassock with trousers of some dark material - leaving the other articles of dress for further consideration" (AB 1643). This decision was somewhat of a confirmation of a *fait accompli*, as Callaway had reported to the SPG in October 1874 that Miss Kirkpatrick was already providing "cassocks made by her in the most approved style" (Callaway, 1874, CLR 123:9).

### *Clergy Finances*

**B**y far the most important issue to be discussed at the Clydesdale Synod, an issue which would take Callaway a long while to resolve, was that of the financial status of the diocese and the clergy. The new diocese was funded partly by a block grant from the SPG (Callaway, 1874:1) and partly by contributions from members at home and abroad. The promise of funds, however, was insufficient for the needs. Within the diocese there was not yet a broad enough base to carry the financial support necessary, making the overseas donations of special importance. It became evident fairly quickly to Callaway that the finances of the diocese were both inadequate and lop-sided. In 1876 he wrote to Mr. Bullock, the SPG secretary that he had failed, "it seems to me, to impress upon you the real distress under which I have been labouring and shall still labour, unless I can get more regular support" (Callaway, 1876, CLR 123:52).

Lack of finances had a severe dampening effect on the development of the Diocese. In his early days as bishop, Callaway was besieged by missionaries willing to work. Each had a "scheme for extension of his work" (Callaway, 1876, CLR 123:57), and applied to Callaway for assistance. As it became clearer and clearer that no money was available a despondency settled over the diocese. Full of pathos Callaway wrote to the SPG:

I cannot convey to you by any words I could write how much distress I have suffered from the inefficiency of means at my disposal... I do not see how it will be possible to carry on the work. Under any circumstances it is

very arduous, but when in addition to other cares I have many anxieties it often feels unendurable (Callaway. 1876. CLR 123:57).

The response from the SPG was slow, and as the financial situation failed to resolve itself, Callaway became increasingly aware of missed opportunities. He seldom failed to make these known to the SPG in the hopes of eliciting more funds. Thus in November 1876 he wrote:

I cannot express to you the depressing effects of seeing needs everywhere, which we are unable to supply and to see opportunity after opportunity slip away from us, whilst dissenters are occupying ground we ought to have occupied. Events are moving on with wondrous rapidity. My inability to act last year has, I fear, snatched from me the power of acting in many directions, it may be forever (Callaway. 1876. CLR 123:57).

Some relief came at the Second Synod of 1877, when the diocese appointed a "Finance and Trust Board" which would work out the best use of funds coming from England (Callaway. 1877. CLR 123:71). The text of the resolution establishing this board reads as follows:

That the revenues of the diocese be received and administered by a Diocesan Finance Board, under the presidency of the Bishop of the Diocese, consisting of the members of the Diocesan Board of Trustees, three of whom shall be necessary to constitute a quorum, one of whom it is desirable should be a layman. In the absence of the Bishop the Finance Board shall elect its own chairman (The Mission Field. 1878:15).

This board would also investigate the possibility of investing money in order to create an endowment to generate future funding. However, with funds so scarce, it was necessary to develop local resources in South Africa. These came from a combination of contributions, Government assistance and income investment. By 1879, although the financial crisis resulting from setting up costs for the diocese was by no means over, Callaway was able to report greatly increased local income:

We have received:

1. From the Government: [Pounds]2949.16.0 from April 1877 to April 1879.
2. Offeratories from Umtata: [Pounds]311.2.5.
3. Donations, considerable sums of which we have no regular returns from the several stations. Those from Umtata amounting to [Pounds]177.5.2.
4. We also have [Pounds]1500 invested as endowment at 7%<sup>22</sup> (Callaway. 1879. CLR 123.114).

Modest as this local income was, it demonstrated the tenacity of the young diocese to carry on in the face of financial difficulty. It was a blow, however, to discover that the SPG intended to cut off financial aid to the diocese after nine years, prompting Callaway to write:

I received your circular dated May 27<sup>th</sup> 1879, suggesting that grants should cease at the end of nine years. This system might possibly be good for some places in a much more advanced state than Kaffraria. But for many years to come, if our work progresses, as we have reason to hope and as every churchman would desire, this diocese will require larger and larger funds. We are doing all we can to raise local funds, and are succeeding much beyond our expectations. But the means of supporting white clergy are not likely to be forthcoming from a people just emerging from barbarism (Callaway. 1879. CLR 123:128).

The most pressing financial issue, which Callaway spent many years trying to resolve, was that of clergy salaries. Discussion with his clergy at the Synod of Clydesdale showed that the majority of the priests were suffering under severe financial pressures and were sinking deeper and deeper into debt (Callaway. 1875. CLR 123:16). The reason for this was two-fold. The first was the problem of accessing funds in England, and the other the inequalities of a salary structure inherited from the original controlling authorities in the Diocese of Grahamstown and Natal.

When the Diocese of St. Johns was formed, the three southern mission stations were drawn off from the Diocese of Grahamstown, while Clydesdale was technically a part of the Diocese of Natal. Each worked and funded their mission

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<sup>22</sup> This would bring in an annual income of one hundred and seven pounds, some of which would have to be ploughed back in order to develop the endowment.

stations very differently. In addition to this anomaly, the southern end of the Transkei had been annexed by the Cape Colony much earlier than Pondoland, with the result that Cape Governmental funds had an established history long before the diocese was formed. By 1876 the northern end of the diocese was at a great financial disadvantage to the southern end.

This disadvantage was reinforced by the break-down of the block grant Callaway received each year from the SPG, which appears very clearly from a letter written to the SPG in 1876:

I would also point out to you that the southern half of the Diocese receives [Pounds]2110.10.0 of the block grant and the northern half, quite as extensive and in some respects more important, receives 460 pounds. The southern clergy have large governmental and local aid; and the northern as yet receives no such aid. The southern clergy have "allowances" in accordance with the rules of the Grahamstown Diocese, the northern not only do not receive such allowances, but their incomes are smaller than those of the south (Callaway. 1876. CLR 123:58).

The allowances granted by the Diocese of Grahamstown were based on the number of the missionary's children, and length of service. There was an increase in salary every five years (Callaway. 1879. 123:104). This put the southern missionaries at a greater financial advantage over the northern.

Callaway wished to change the system of payment. In his mind the system of allowances was both inconvenient and vicious (Callaway. 1879. CLR 123:114). He tried to convince the SPG that it would be better to pay a consolidated salary to each missionary, thus a larger salary, but the SPG was unwilling to adopt this (Callaway. 1880. CLR 123:143). Instead Callaway was compelled to examine more closely the idea of allowances for his clergy, and he appealed to the SPG to make extra money available to facilitate this (Callaway. 1879. CLR 123:114).

What frustrated Callaway most about this whole situation was his lack of freedom to act. Short of money, he did not have the ability to do what he considered the obvious solution: to raise the salaries of the northern missionaries to the same levels of those in the south. On several occasions he mentions his desire for control over this financial issue. Thus in 1876 he wrote

to the SPG requesting them "to put it in my power to equalise these matters, not by diminishing the incomes of the south, but by raising those of the north (Callaway. 1876. CLR 123:58). Later in the same year he wanted "a greater elasticity as to funds and a greater freedom of action" (Callaway. 1876. CLR 123:61).

These wishes were not to be granted, and Callaway spent a great deal of time during his episcopacy arguing the matter with the SPG. Watching the struggles of his clergy added to his worries about getting the diocese off the ground. It came as a great blow when in 1877 the Rev. Gordon of All Saints quit the church because of money<sup>23</sup>.

In all fairness to the SPG, they had helped Gordon pay school fees for his three older boys. The pressure of struggling without adequate finances, however, was too much, and Gordon resigned. Callaway was upset, partly with Gordon, whom he felt had received greater support than missionaries in the north, as well as extra educational funding, but also with the SPG whom he held responsible by holding salaries too low. In the wake of Gordon's resignation he wrote to the SPG to reinforce his plea for better salaries:

I would make this a ground of earnest repetition of what I have several times pointed out ... that the increases of the missionaries in Kaffraria are not enough for their maintenance. Money no longer buys what it bought a few years ago. Everything has increased in value (Callaway. 1883. CLR 123:187).

Gordon's resignation kept alive in Callaway's mind the dual spectre of clergy leaving, and others not being attracted<sup>24</sup>. The church faced competition from the government for educated people, and clergymen were often enticed away with the promise of higher governmental salaries. The only way to combat this, Callaway argued, was to raise salaries, and "at least to give them the means of building a house. No house can be rented and even if they were they could not

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<sup>23</sup> Gordon moved to King William's Town to act as a military chaplain in order to educate his children. (Callaway. *The Mission Field*. 1878:17)

<sup>24</sup> In the early 1880's the SPG did establish the "Missionaries' Children Education Fund" to assist missionaries around the world who either could not afford to educate their children, or who lived in places where no schools existed. (Frewen. 1885:14-17.)

afford to pay the rent out of their slender incomes" (Callaway. 1878. CLR 123:88).

Whilst these immediate financial difficulties occupied much of the Bishop's mind and time, an added problem loomed over the horizon: what to do with retired ministers. In 1874 Callaway noted that "it is to be regretted that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has no special fund for pensioning aged missionaries" (Callaway. 1874:10).

This lack of job security was a deterrent to men who wished to enter into mission work, but who were reluctant to place themselves and their families at such risk. The only solution Callaway could offer was for some "wealthy Churchmen in Great Britain" to raise funds to meet such contingencies (Callaway. 1874:10).

These financial difficulties took much of the joy out of Callaway's work. His struggles with the SPG over funding the diocese in general, and ministers salaries in particular, spanned the entire period of his episcopacy.

### *Episcopal Seat*

#### THE FOUNDING OF UMTATA

Starting a diocese from scratch in an area largely uncolonized brought problems unknown in any other diocese of South Africa. Cape Town, Grahamstown and Natal all had substantial colonial centres suitable for an episcopal seat. Kaffraria had none. The only suitable town by western standards was Kokstad, but the church was not as strong there as it should have been to warrant being the centre of the Diocese. Thus Callaway had the task of finding a place most suitable to the entire diocese.

He spent most of the first year of his tenure centred in Pondoland where at first he thought he might establish the central station, while he dealt with the basics of organising the diocese. Early in 1875, after the Synod of Clydesdale he began his search:

My delay in Pondoland has not been by any means useless. This neighbourhood has been strongly recommended as a suitable site for our central station. But my own judgment has not fallen in with the recommendation (Callaway, 1875. CLR 123:17).

He began his search further south, commenting that the St. John's River (the Umzimvubu), "though not locally the centre, must be the actual centre of Kaffraria in any further development of the country" (Callaway, 1875. CLR 123:17).

At first glance Pondoland had a lot to recommend it. Callaway investigated two places which were "fertile and beautiful, but as yet somewhat inaccessible" (Callaway, 1875b:257). In trying to choose a suitable place, Callaway consulted the chief, Umkqikela, during December 1874, where he ought to plant a station. The chief was quite surprised to hear that Callaway had not chosen a specific place for a station, and pleased that the Bishop awaited his permission (Callaway, 1875a:173). The chief directed him to a district under his jurisdiction called "George Knight's Place" (Callaway, 1875b:257)<sup>25</sup>, as it was not very far from his kraal (Callaway, 1875a:174).

Unable on that trip to visit the site, Callaway returned to Springvale for the Clydesdale conference. However, he was correct in approaching the chief for site for his central station, for he wrote in his Diary:

I was afterwards informed that Umkqikela was very much pleased that I had not gone prepared to ask for any particular place. He regarded it as a mark of proper deference to himself as the chief of the country (1875a:174).

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<sup>25</sup> Callaway had been shown "George Knight's Place" by Mr. Strachan, the magistrate, whilst on a trip to the area during December 1874. Strachan recommended it as a suitable place for a central mission. (Callaway. The Mission Field. 1875:171)

In January, Callaway, accompanied by Miss Callaway (his adopted daughter) and a group of servants set out to examine "George Knight's Place". After examining several places, each of which proved to be inadequate for one reason or another, Callaway thought he had found the ideal spot. He described it in his diary how they found

a high flat ridge which runs between the river and a small stream, and is inclosed by them on three sides. It is just the place for building; it is high, dry and yet close to the stream (Callaway. 1875b:258).

Callaway applied to Umkqikela for permission to establish a mission on that spot, but after deliberating for a few days the chief denied him the right to build there. Instead the chief offered another spot,

not far distant, which though perhaps not quite sufficiently supplied with water, seemed suitable, and was accepted; if not suited for a central Missionary establishment, it may subside into an ordinary Mission station (Callaway. 1875b:258).

However, this initial site proved both inadequate and inconvenient and Callaway continued his search. In this process he worked closely with the colonial authorities. In March 1876 he co-operated with the government agents by viewing a site they had chosen on the Inqwala River in Tambookieland. He was offered "any place I liked as the site of the central station" (Callaway. 1877a:45). He noted in his diary shortly after this offer was made that "we went to the Inqwala, but on examining the place in detail it did not appear suitable for a township (Callaway. 1877a:46).

The prolonged search for a suitable episcopal seat coincided with the government's need for a capital in the newly annexed Transkei. The close relationship between church and state was illustrated by the continued co-operation between Callaway and the government in search of a mutually suitable site. This led to the founding of the town of Umtata. In June 1876 Callaway wrote to the SPG that

I am now at once about to enter on work at the Umtata [River] to which place I purpose to go on Saturday to act as one of a commission appointed

by the Cape Government to select a site for the township on or near the Umtata which will probably be the future capital of Kaffraria, and having selected the site to proceed at once to give direction to beginning what I trust will be a strong centre which for many generations the savage men of Kaffraria shall have occasion to bless God (Callaway. 1876. CLR 123:47).

The site, chosen by both Callaway and the authorities (Callaway. 1878:170), proved to be ideal for both church and governmental uses. Centrally located it was readily accessible from all over the diocese.

Archaeological evidence suggests that people had lived in that area for at least a thousand years (Redding. 1987:33). Environmentally it offered a combination of coastal forest and grassland, making it possible for the future town of Umtata to support a mixed economy of pastoral and arable agriculture (Redding. 1987:32).

The suitability of the area was further illustrated by the presence of white settlers who had also seen the potential (Redding. 1987:33). Thus Callaway notes of the area:

There are numerous homesteads of settlers scattered here and there all around, perhaps as many as fifty or more, and all were very anxious to have the Church come amongst them with its service (Callaway. 1878:170).

The white settlers had moved into the area on land grants given to them by the chiefs Ngangelizwe and Nquiliso (Redding. 1987:70). Together with the indigenous blacks, these people formed the core of the town of Umtata.

As a seat of both episcopal and civil government, the town grew rapidly and was initially prosperous (Redding. 1987:44). Callaway built his Pro-Cathedral and established his schools there. Similarly the government established its presence in Umtata. By 1889 the town had grown to thirty thousand people, and by 1899 to forty four thousand. Theal writes that

in 1885 Umtata contained a hundred and fifty buildings, among them were the court house and public buildings, an English cathedral, another

English church, a Roman Catholic mission church, a Wesleyan church, a high school, a theatre, and several large stores. It was the residence of the chief magistrate of Thembuland, and was the most important military station east of the Kei. Exclusive of colonial military forces, it has a European population of five hundred souls (Theal 1908:180).

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF UMTATA

Once he had secured the site on the Umtata River, Callaway set to work to establish his central mission. One of the key buildings he erected was the Pro-Cathedral, described by H.T. Waters:

This iron erection is not displeasing to the eye outwardly, as many such buildings are, and inside the proportions are so good that it is decidedly pleasing. The dimensions are seventy-six by thirty-four feet, the walls and roof lined with wood, a good wooden floor, and well designed seats. The altar is much too low, but beautifully furnished; the cloth is an offering from ladies in England, valued at 50 pounds. The pulpit of carved oak is a splendid offering. It is the gift of several ladies in Edinburgh... the Cathedral bell (the Bishop longs for a full peal) is the largest in Kaffirland, and will be heard for many miles around" (The Mission Field. 1878:13)

The erection of this Pro-Cathedral was an important step in the development of the diocese because it was a visible symbol, and could become a centre for the Church (The Mission Field. 1878:14). The average Sunday attendance in 1880 was between seventy and eighty at the "white" service, about a hundred at the morning "black" service, while an evening service for blacks usually filled the cathedral, making a congregation of somewhere between five and seven hundred people (Callaway. 1881:97).

The Pro-Cathedral, however, was never envisaged as being anything other than temporary, and by 1880 Callaway began to think in terms of erecting a stone church to better serve the community (Callaway. 1881:98). Callaway proposed to allow the Pro-Cathedral to be reserved as a centre for the black worshippers of

Umtata, becoming "associated with the native school and college here, and so will become a native edifice" (The Mission Field. 1882:251).

In 1882, the Rev. A.G.S. Gibson arrived from England and was appointed priest-in-charge of the Pro-Cathedral. The task of building a replacement cathedral fell to him:

in Umtata itself, steps have been taken to build a separate church for Europeans, which will benefit not only them but the natives, by enabling their services to be held at more suitable hours. The foundations have already been laid, and the building will, it is hoped be finished by the end of January (The Mission Field. 1882:377).

On April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1883, Henry Callaway consecrated the church of St. James as the replacement for the old iron Pro-Cathedral in the presence of sixteen of his twenty clergy. In the activities surrounding the erection of this building, one sees the gradual fulfilment of Callaway's plans for the development of the Diocese. The first decade of his tenure had, by necessity, entailed putting up temporary structures to enable the work to proceed. These temporary things, both physical and organisational, were then suited and adapted to the developing needs of the diocese, and as this happened, so the diocese became a more solid entity, in slow transition from a missionary, frontier existence, to the settled normalcy of an Anglican diocese.

Thus in describing St. James' Church, the Rev. A.G.S. Gibson highlights the passage of the changes:

the church is an oblong building, with one main aisle, the choir raised one step above the level of the nave, three steps within the rails; on either side of the sanctuary is a vestry, accommodation for about 350 people, i.e. 100 more than the Pro-Cathedral can at present hold. The east window is of stained glass, representing the Crucifixion, with the legend, "It is finished". The walls of the church have been nicely decorated, at their own expense and with their own hands, by members of the congregation. St. James' is a mile distant from the Mission, being about half way between that and the camp, the two mile area being almost entirely

covered with huts or houses, though more sparsely on the camp side (The Mission Field. 1883:327).

The result of separating black and white worship in Umtata had a superficially good effect: more whites regularly attended church, and the offertory increased. Black worship at the old Pro-Cathedral could be changed to times more suitable to the black population (The Mission Field. 1883:327). These benefits, however, were really only superficial, as they served to drive more deeply the forces of division between black and white, which would come to plague race relations in this country in years to come.

In addition to the Pro-Cathedral, Callaway also began schools at Umtata, even though the facilities were not yet fully developed. By the end of 1877 he had between thirty and forty students, of whom three young men and one girl were boarders. The student body was made up of blacks, whites and "half-castes" (Callaway. 1878:17).

### *The Development of the Diocese*

**I**n spite of its early problems, most notably the lack of finances and the lack of an episcopal centre, the Diocese of St. John's developed rapidly and well. Added to these issues, Callaway also felt a sense of hopelessness at the vastness of the work which was at times overwhelming. Nevertheless there were reasons for hope. As the country unfolded, new areas began to develop, and while these put added stresses on the financial situation, they were, in their own right exciting developments.

During 1875 Callaway visited every place in the Diocese where there was any church work, except for a few outstations connected with St. Mark's Mission. From this early visitation he became intimately aware of the needs of the diocese. These could be broken down into various categories.

Callaway found the four major mission stations flourishing:

## CLYDESDALE

Clydesdale had grown to the point where the work load was too much for one minister. A school for boys, white and Griqua, had been opened with an enrolment of twenty five. This was done in addition to the regular services and outreach to the Amabakca tribes. Callaway notes that

it is quite impossible for Mr. Button to attend alone to the school and to his pastoral and missionary's duties; and it is highly important that he should have at least a schoolmaster to help him as soon as possible (Callaway. 1874:5).

Clydesdale flourished under Button's capable leadership. School attendance increased during 1874, in spite of shortages of the most basic teaching tools. Also during that year he established an industrial school with the help of Adam Kok<sup>26</sup>, whose government undertook to supply the mission with tools to begin training school graduates in wagon-making and blacksmithing (Button. 1875:15). His motivation in working towards is this clearly expressed in a letter to the SPG in 1876:

Our people must be taught to work. I cannot bear to think that the children we are teaching will, with perhaps few exceptions, sink into merely existing members of society. I should like to see them ambitious, but rightly so; that they should wish to better themselves, and also learn that the only way to do this is to depend to a great extent upon their own exertions (Button. 1876:249).

Perhaps because it was the only mission station he had personally founded, Callaway lavished attention on Clydesdale. Mr. Tonkin, who accompanied Callaway from England, was sent to Clydesdale to assist Thurston Button, as was Mr. Windvogel, a Griqua school teacher (The Mission Field. 1878:169). With evident pride, Callaway writes:

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<sup>26</sup> In reporting Adam Kok's death in the Mission Field, Thurston Button describes him as "a true and good friend" (Button. The Mission Field. 1876:247).

I shall not be wrong in saying that Clydesdale, although not more than six years old, has attained to a position which Springvale did not reach during the eighteen years I was working there, and that it now stands second only to St. Mark's in the diocese (The Mission Field. 1878: 170).

## ST. MARKS

St. Marks, under the leadership of Rev. H.T. Waters was the oldest station in Kaffraria, begun in 1856, a year before Springvale. By 1874 it served forty six thousand natives, of whom 485 were communicants, and 1500 were members of the Church. It maintained its outreach through twenty eight outstations under native schoolmasters, and three native deacons (Callaway. 1874:5).

Over the years Waters had built up an admirable mission station, with

its well ordered Native Boys' Boarding School and Industrial Training Institution, its regular daily and Sunday services for whites and natives, and a large native girls' school, under the charge of a native woman teacher of considerable ability (Callaway. 1881:98).

In anticipation of Callaway's dedication to establishing a black clergy, H.T. Waters regularly examined the teachers of his school who desired to join the clergy (Callaway. 1881:98).

## ALL SAINTS' AND ST. AUGUSTINE'S

St. Marks acted as the catalyst for other mission stations developed during the 1860's. These were St. Albans with 40 communicants, All Saints and St. Augustine's with about 15 communicants each (Callaway. 1874:5). In 1875, both the latter missions were under the control of Rev. John Gordon.

The station at St. Albans, originally begun under the leadership of Mr. Dodd in 1868, became an offset station from St. Mark's and was under the leadership of H.T. Waters' son, Rev. Henry Waters after it had been without a missionary for four years. During that time a black catechist had kept up the Sunday services, and the school. The younger Waters reported that upon his arrival in 1877 St. Alban's had a "very flourishing school there well taken care of by the native school-master, Moses Naku. It has a regular attendance of seventy boys and girls" (Gordon. 1875:276).

At All Saints there was a large stone church, a school room and house for a black teacher, and one for the white minister. Unfortunately the buildings on this station were decaying, and needed to be upgraded (Callaway. 1881:100).

St. Augustine's lay to the Northwest of Umtata and was begun by Mr. Dodd and Mr. Key on land under the general chieftainship of Umditshwa - which put it at great risk during the uprising of 1880. The church, while very aesthetic, had been built early in the development of the station, and was too small for the number of people it served.

St. Augustine's maintained a small school under the leadership of a black teacher, and several outstations, including one in the area controlled by the chief Umhlonhlo (Callaway. 1881:100).

This activity, modest as it was, represented the skeleton upon which the new diocese would be built, and from which development would take place. The distances between these stations was great, and the numbers of converts few,

so that, although in one sense a great work has been done by the Church in Independent Kaffraria, it is very small relative to the area and the population; and is in reality but a mere beginning, which, to become effectual for the evangelization of the country, must be much extended, and will require large funds, and many holy, self-denying, devoted and able labourers (Callaway. 1874:6).

Secondly was the need for new centres. For example, Kokstad had about sixty members, and wished to have a church set up among them. The local Griqua government gave the church a grant of land, but, as Callaway noted: "I have not

a man at present, nor the means of supporting him to place there" (Callaway. 1875. CLR 123:28). Another new centre which needed development was among the Fynns, where there were several families with children and about two hundred blacks, who wanted a mission established among them (Callaway 1876. CLR 123:53). By 1878 Callaway was able to send W. Stewart, a candidate for orders, to minister to them (The Mission Field. 1878: 170).

A third area of need was manpower. During 1875 and 1876 the activity of the diocese increased tremendously, but the clergy were stretched thinly to cover the increase. Callaway listed the manpower needs of the Diocese in a letter to Thurston Button in 1876:

St. Albans is without a pastor.

1. Kokstad is without a catechist.
2. Harding is being served by Mr. Button<sup>27</sup>.

The needs of the Fynns<sup>28</sup>.

3. Umtata. (Callaway. 1876. CLR 123:53)

The fourth area of need was structural. Early in his episcopacy, Callaway had appointed Rev. H.T. Waters of St. Marks archdeacon, which greatly reduced his personal responsibility over the southern region of the Diocese. However, as the north began to develop, especially with Kokstad and Harding adding to the work being done at Clydesdale, it became necessary to establish a second archdeaconry in the North. Initially Callaway tried to recruit a suitable person in England, but, when that failed he looked closer to home, and "concluded to confer the appointment on Rev. T. Button, to whose energy and perseverance the great work going on in Griqualand is due." (Callaway. 1879. CLR 123:115).

Callaway's frustration at the lack of manpower and finance grew during the time of his episcopacy. The work pressed on, however, in the face of the difficulties,

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<sup>27</sup> Harding was the seat of a magistrate, and required a resident clergyman. "It has a small but increasing white population, and for miles around there are numerous white settlers who are dependant for religious instruction on the casual visits of passing missionaries" (The Mission Field 1874:4).

<sup>28</sup> Fynn was a "half-caste" who asked "frequently and earnestly to have a Mission established there. He is the head of a small number of natives, and several white men with native wives, and half-castes, are settled around him. Had it been possible to grant his request there would have been a school of 150 children" (Callaway. The Mission Field. 1874:4).

and in his report to the SPG after the second Synod, Callaway was able to report that

in the faith that I shall receive support from home, I have undertaken additional work at Clydesdale, Ensikeni, Kokstad, and St. Andrew's around each of which sub-stations under Native teachers are rapidly forming. Alfred County, of which I was requested to take charge by the Synod of Bishops, is, I hope, soon to be supplied with a missionary to reside at Fynn's on the Umzimkuwana, and to hold services at Harding (The Mission Field. 1878:16)<sup>29</sup>.

During 1878, after the dust had settled from the War of Ngcayecibi and the Griqua insurrection, work began to press northwards.

By 1879 he felt that more could have been done if these two needs were met as

the work throughout the Diocese is really growing and matters are becoming more complete and organised. The work might, however, without difficulty be trebled with the requisite workers and funds, indeed church work to which we have been invited in various parts of the Diocese is either left undone, or is being taken up by other bodies, because of our inability to undertake it (Callaway. 1879. CLR 123:126).

One way of extending work was through the use of outstations staffed by black catechists. These were, however, not always strong, but Callaway felt they were a beginning, not only of extending the work of the church, but also of leading towards a properly trained and recognised black priesthood (Callaway. 1879. CLR 123:126).

Over time the work of developing the diocese did progress. New outstations and new mission stations were founded. One of these, St. Andrew's is of special interest, for it was on the site that Callaway originally identified to develop as the central mission for the diocese. During his brief stay there, Callaway had erected a large roomy house of wattle and daub for a boys' school, and several

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<sup>29</sup> Alfred County, although not a part of Natal, had become a part of the Diocese of Natal. As it lay geographically in Kaffraria, Callaway was asked at the Synod of Bishops in Cape Town, 1876, to take formal charge of the area (Callaway. The Mission Field. 1878:313).

huts. William Ngcwensa, from Springvale, had been established there as a teacher. However, in 1876, when it became apparent that this site would not serve as an administrative centre for the diocese, Callaway placed the Rev. John Oxland there as a resident missionary. During the War of Ngcayecibi the area came under attack. The Zulu's fled across the border, and with them gone the mission collapsed (Callaway. 1881:103).

Other, more fortunate churches began to develop, first as off-shoots of existing mission stations, and then as fully fledged churches in their own rights. Among these were Ensikeni and Umngano, off-shoots of Clydesdale. In 1874 Callaway appointed a Mr. Dixon as a lay worker at Kokstad, and Paul Bonsa, one of Callaway's early theological students was sent there to work amongst the blacks. By 1880 these early seeds had germinated, and things began to look hopeful as the local

school was brought into good order, and is appreciated by the inhabitants. Mr. Dixon has recently been ordained deacon, and the Rev. Humphrey Davis, priest, has been placed there. Mr. Davis has pastoral charge of the district. There is now a Griqua school of about forty and a Kaffir night school, which varies from twenty to thirty (Callaway. 1881:104).

Further north of Kokstad is Matatiela, which by 1880 was under the control of Rev. C.D. Tonkin, who left Clydesdale to serve there (Callaway. 1881:104).

Thus the diocese, from being only four widely spaced mission stations, developed in spite of the lack of manpower and money. As each new outstation was established, so the effect of the Church spread more and more deeply into the communities previously untouched. As each new station developed, so it in turn worked on developing outstations. Within the ten years of Callaway's tenure, the Diocese of St. John's was already beginning to make the transition from "missionary diocese" to "established diocese".

### *The Need to Establish Schools*

When outlining his plans for developing the diocese, Callaway included the idea of an "Institution for Training Natives and Young Colonists for the ministry". However, he realised that the possibility of achieving this end lay in a general education aimed at preparing those suitable for the ministry. In conjunction to this, Callaway also saw the need for schools to teach the indigenous population the basics of western culture and industry.

African education was a popular cause in nineteenth century missionary circles, and Callaway, who was responsible for education at Springvale, Highflats and Clydesdale before the inception of the diocese, was no exception. The goal of general education "for boys was to produce leaders. The girls were supposed to learn how to provide suitable homes for such leaders" (Labode. 1993:131).

Missionary education in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century was a rather basic exercise. Labode points out that "very few of the pupils ever attained functional literacy" (Labode. 1993:30). Those who did were generally boys, as "few girls received advanced education" (Labode. 1993:130). However this did not deter thousands of blacks from applying for admission to the schools across Anglican South Africa. As H.T. Waters writes in 1874:

The wonderful results of Sir George Grey's scheme of forming native boarding-schools strikes one with astonishment. Some hundreds of native teachers and preachers are now in full work, and there is an increasing demand for more. Every year sees an increased number of natives seeking a higher education than is offered in the ordinary Mission schools, while a still increasing number are taking to artisan work (Waters. 1874a:15).

It is misleading to criticise the missionary effort, however. In England vast sections of the general population was illiterate, and it was only well into the twentieth century that higher education became of much importance beyond the academics. Missionary efforts, however, lay much of the vital foundation upon which South African education rests, and went a long way towards creating at least basic literacy amongst rural Africans. It also allowed for the development

of an African leadership which would make itself felt in the politics of the early twentieth century.

In 1874 the four mission stations already established had schools:

Clydesdale: had a school for white and Griqua boys, with an enrolment of twenty-five students. In 1874, in collaboration with Adam Kok, Thurston Button founded an industrial school teaching wagon making and blacksmithing. The staff consisted of Button, Tonkin and Windvogel.

At St. Marks under H.T. Waters, there were twenty eight outstations under native school masters. In 1874 Waters describes the state of these schools in a report about the quarterly teachers' meetings which

have tended greatly to uniformity and zeal in carrying on the work of the Society. Questions of every kind are discussed - school management - funds - discipline - successes and failures, all are openly discussed... The subject of compulsory education is one which all native teachers are anxious to see carried out, and I certainly feel more inclined to their view than I formerly did (Waters. 1874b:234).

In 1881 St. Mark's Mission published a list of forty five outstations, listing seventy seven school masters and mistresses (The Mission Field. 1882:86). By 1883, the year in which he died, H.T. Waters counted one thousand nine hundred and sixty seven children in schools across his Archdeaconry (The Mission Field. 1884:84).

St. Albans also had a school led by a black school teacher with an enrolment of seventy boys and girls. By 1877, this school was part of a group of day schools which included one at All Saints, and three at the outstations of Kualaba, Nmyolo and Qutubeni. In commenting on these, Rev. John Gordon writes: "I am now making the attempt, which I hope will be successful, to get the parents of the pupils to pay a small monthly sum to the teachers" (The Mission Field. 1877:442).

The development of schools was faced by various challenges. Primary of these was finances, although Callaway was optimistic that the Cape Government

would continue its support for the schools and training institutions (Callaway. 1875. CLR 123:34). The difficulty he faced in the midst of this liberality, however, was that the church first had to establish the schools before the government would fund them (Callaway. 1875. CLR 123:34).

This meant that the missionaries had to draw on their own meagre resources in establishing the schools - issues like teachers' salaries and books had to be faced before the promised aid materialised. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) sent books from England, and at St. Mark's Mission, the teachers donated the core of the school library:

A valuable selection of books from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge reached St. Marks today. They are for the deacons and catechists who can read English. Several of our teachers have a decent collection of books on their shelves, and are getting together little libraries (Waters. 1874b:233).

The concept of educating children was seen by the missionaries as part of the general "civilising" of the black people. Thus H.T. Waters writes in 1874:

there must be a definite policy to lead on to a higher civilisation; the present onward movement of the native mind, not only as to the education of children, but to more definite forms of government (Waters. 1874b:230-238.)

### *The Establishment of Schools at Umtata*

**A**s the diocese began to develop, it became increasingly necessary for Callaway to work towards establishing central schools which would cater not only for the black students but for whites as well. He was moved on a trip soon after his consecration through the diocese to see, in a mission station school

a little white girl, the daughter of one of the missionaries, among (and by no means at the head of) a class of native children being instructed by a native teacher. It occurred to him that the want of a proper means of education for their children must form a serious bar in the way of men who would be willing to sacrifice other advantages to give themselves up to mission (Benham. 1896:286).<sup>30</sup>

If the diocese was to attract able men and women from England, it was necessary to provide their children with an “efficient education without the anxiety and expense of sending them to England” (Benham. 1896:286). The case of Rev. Gordon leaving the mission field expressly because of the need to educate his children, was a spur to work towards the establishment of schools at Umtata. In 1877, when the location of the central mission had been decided on, Callaway wrote:

Our whole future as a vigorous spiritual power in Kaffraria depends on the rapidity with which we can begin these institutions, and efficiency with which they are conducted (Benham. 1896:303).

The clergy of the diocese were fully in support of the plan to establish central schools, and, at the 1877 Synod at Umtata, urged him to proceed (Benham. 1896:305). Plans laid at this Synod, however, took time to materialise. Yet in 1879, Callaway laid the foundation stone of the future St. John’s College, which was originally planned as a theological training college (The Mission Field. 1879:527)<sup>31</sup>.

As a feeder to this college, Callaway proposed to open a high school for boys, who will be drawn from various parts of the diocese. To cater for those who lived at a distance from Umtata, the boys’ school would have boarding facilities, although day scholars would be admitted (The Mission Field. 1879:527).

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<sup>30</sup> The author’s grandmother, who grew up on Clydesdale, was educated in her primary years in just such a school. She went on to higher diocesan schools, and eventually became a well respected Durban school teacher.

<sup>31</sup> At the laying of this foundation stone, in a show of support, Chief Gangalizwe rode up with his cavalry and presented ten pounds. Other chiefs followed his example, and gave cattle and sheep. (The Mission Field. 1879:530).

By 1882, Callaway noted that while much of the proposed College had been erected, he was still planning the erection of an elementary school "for the children of natives living at Umtata and the neighbourhood" (The Mission Field. 1882:252).

The initial College at Umtata catered for both black and white students, boasting forty white and sixty black students (Callaway. 1881:97). The intention was to gain students both from the local area, and to draw off the more advanced students from the various mission stations (The Mission Field. 1879:394). By 1880, about one fifth of the planned buildings were completed and occupied. One of these was the college, which Callaway described as

a good substantial building of stone... about 180 feet long and 20 feet broad, and is divided into schoolroom, sleeping, eating and cooking rooms. This portion of the college is called the "Workshops" - that is, it is to form the part allotted to the Industrial Department; but it is for the present used as a native boarding school (Callaway. 1881:97).

The staff of the school in 1880 consisted of both English and black teachers: the Rev. W.M. Cameron was senior master, assisted by Mr. Tyler and "a native pupil teacher" (Callaway. 1881:98).

As in every other aspect of the diocese, finances played a dampening role in the development of the school. The Cape Government contributed generously, and officially each student was charged five pounds a year admission. However, because of the poverty of the black population, the school was "often obliged to receive pupils gratuitously" (Callaway. 1881:98).

### *The Hospital*

**T**he establishment of Callaway's hospital, the last item on his list of things to do, should not be overlooked. It was impossible to begin building the hospital until the site of the central mission, at Umtata, had been decided on. Thus nothing happened for several years - although of course,

Callaway continued to practice as a doctor wherever he travelled across the Diocese.

By 1879, a dispensary was operating at Umtata, and plans to establish a hospital were well underway (*The Mission Field*. 1879:527). The medical ministry was placed under the care of Dr. Craister, who would also teach medicine as part of the college curriculum (*The Mission Field*. 1879:527).

When Dr. Craister arrived at Umtata in 1880, he found that Callaway had been carrying the medical work alone in addition to his episcopal duties. Craister took over all the medical work. The medical staff was swelled by a fully qualified, trained nurse, who supervised a "cottage hospital".

The first hospital building was really a "lean-to" attached to Craister's house, but it provided a dispensary, a ward for men and one for women (*Craister*. 1880:174).

## *FULFILLMENT*

**T**he early years of Callaway's episcopacy, therefore, achieved many of the things he listed in Norwich in 1873, prior to his consecration. The Boys and Girls schools were well underway, a Pro-Cathedral served worship needs in Umtata until it was replaced with a stone church. The Bishop's own library formed the core of a central diocesan library, and a hospital was functioning with a resident staff.

Each of these achievements was attained at great cost. Callaway grappled with the problems of staff and finances, he encountered fractious and warlike chiefs. Yet as he watched the diocese grow, as the initial four mission stations were supplemented by increasing numbers of out-stations and new stations were started, so his vision of carrying Christianity into the villages and minds of the people of St. John's began to find realisation.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### *The Response of the People of St. John's*

**E**stablishing and organising the Diocese could not happen in a vacuum. Callaway's abilities as a missionary and administrator were matched by his sensitivity to the needs of the indigenous people of Kaffraria. His many years in Natal had heightened his awareness of the pressure colonialism brought to a region, and he did not wish to compound the problems of an area adjusting to both a new rule and a new religion by being heavy handed. However, he had a missionary diocese to run, and could not do so without the active co-operation of the people he had come to help.

In general Callaway found the ordinary people of the area both friendly and receptive to the church. As early as February 1875, he wrote to the SPG describing the "great work for the Church to do here. The welcome we have received from chiefs and people and from the white men is remarkable" (Callaway. 1875b. CLR 123:18).

Initial contact showed great promise. The people gathered around the bishop's residence, bringing "maize, pumpkins, and gooseberries for sale" (Benham 1896:284), and contributed materials for buildings (Benham 1896:284). The idea of establishing churches was met with great enthusiasm by the local people, who were ready to erect buildings themselves if teachers could be provided.

On many occasions Callaway was specifically asked by the chiefs to establish missions among their people - and these requests continued in spite of the wars of 1877 and 1880. In several instances the request was not simply for a

missionary, but for a white missionary. Thus Callaway describes in 1882, as the dust from the rebellion of 1880 settled:

One of the places [where progress is being made] is at Chief Jojo's. It is now fully six years ago I visited him, and he asked me to give him a Missionary. He wanted a white man, and no doubt his wishes had their origin as much in political and social questions, as in a sense of spiritual necessities (The Mission Field. 1882:250).

Lack of man-power and finances, however, led to much of Jojo's enthusiasm being re-directed at "dissenters" who were better able to meet the needs of the people (Benham 1896: 284).

However, not all contact was quite so friendly. Once it became clear that the little gathering of church people was there to stay, some of the local people reacted negatively. Rumours began to circulate about the Bishop's intentions, as he indicates in his diary in April 1877, as he was preparing to leave the area given to him by Umkqikela and move to Umtata:

It is said, and the Chief is told, that I am come for the purpose of introducing soldiers to take away their country from them! - that I am sent here by the Government for that purpose &c.! [sic]. That the house we have built, which is certainly a very long one, but quite insufficient for our accommodation, is intended for barracks! And at the same time [they are saying] that I am going away to the Umtata [River], and this the Chief does not like. That the people who are gathered around me are Otshaka, or as we should say, Tshakas, that is, Zulus, and that they are in Isizwe or nation, and they will help to get rid of the Pondos (Callaway. 1877b:436).

Callaway's response was to laugh at these reports, to label them as "silly" and tell the chief about them (Callaway. 1877b:437). However, these kinds of

rumours highlighted the insecurities on both sides of the colour bar. The missionaries experienced anxiety because of them (Benham 1896:290). On the other hand the substance of the rumours highlighted deeply felt fears on the part of the blacks that they would be dispossessed of their land and livelihood, and that the missionaries were actively introducing traditional enemies into their midst. Such fears were by no means baseless - many people had crossed the borders of Kaffraria, both into Natal and the Eastern Cape, and seen the effects of massive white immigration on tribal land, and some of the people who had crossed from Springvale with Callaway were indeed Zulus. The events of the wars in the late 1840's and 1850's, as well as the Cattle Killing of 1857 must still have been alive in people's minds, and although the last ended in disaster, the mistrust of the colonist and perhaps even the desire to cast him into the sea, had not faded.

Not everyone, therefore, was open and willing to receive the Christian faith and be baptised. The chiefs led the way in this resistance, for they stood to lose the most. Already their power was being eroded by the government representatives in the persons of the magistrates, whose power superseded the traditional. As the guardians of their people, the chiefs were put into a difficult position: on the one hand they needed to protect their tribal culture, and on the other, survival meant co-operating with the new powers. It has been observed that

there is no doubt that conversion to Christianity had very serious ramifications for the Africans and it would be fair to say that this new religion made demands which were so imperative that sometimes they found it difficult to be sincere Christians and genuine Africans at the same time (Ngewu 1992:38).

Ngangelizwe, chief of the Tembus tried to bridge the gap by encouraging his people to participate in the beneficial aspects offered by missionaries, but he

could not personally cross the barrier and become a Christian. Archdeacon Coakes writes about him that he

does not feel himself at liberty 'to believe', he has no objection to his people becoming Christian, and he is extremely anxious that his children should be educated. He speaks of this every time I see him and promises that there shall be plenty of scholars if the Bishop will only send a teacher (Coakes. 1879. CLR 123:130).

This attitude, by no means the exception, was a compromise whereby the chief could encourage his people to draw off the benefits of Christianity and co-operation with the colonial powers, but still retain some of the mystique of the traditional chieftainship. It allowed him to continue to maintain contact with the "amatonga", or ancestors of the people, who were the focus of the old religion. This was certainly true of the chiefs in the Tambookie area, who were all "heathen, but have a knowledge of the amenities of civilisation" (Waters. 1877b:438).

One theme running through the subject of the reluctance by chiefs to convert to Christianity was the number of various types of Christians, each approaching them for permission to establish mission stations in their areas. H.T. Waters describes a discussion with Chief Gcecelo on the subject:

we found the chief in native costume; he was very kind, and wished to help us, but said he was too stupid to understand why Christians could not agree - why should certain professing Christian Missionaries come to him to ask leave to set up a chapel against the Church of England? (Waters. 1877b:439).

This conversation closely echoes one between Callaway and Umkqikela (Callaway. 1875a:173). The frequency with which this theme emerged in discussions with the chiefs seems to indicate that they perceived the

Christian church as divided, and although as chiefs they had no difficulty with the concepts of their people becoming Christians, they themselves remained aloof.

Positions such as those taken by Ngangelizwe also highlighted another problem faced by the church and tribal society, the status of converts. Those who embraced Christianity were, as is so often the case when the church is established in new areas, the poor and weak, those most at risk in their own society. With these people the bonds holding them to the traditional society were weak, and Christianity offered them new structures into which they were welcome (Ngewu 1992:37). Thus

converts were often dropouts - people who in one way or another no longer belonged to a society, either because that society was actually disintegrating or because it had driven them out or wished to kill them and they had fled. Such drop outs were by no means, of course, all women, but quite a number were. They might escape cruel husbands, a marriage they did not want, confinement to a chiefly harem, punishment for some offence, being sacrificed at the death of a king, or whatever (Hastings 1993:112).

As time went on, however, and the church became more closely identified with the governmental authorities, this category of convert gradually broadened to include those who embraced the church for more prosaic reasons - they embraced both the old customs and the new. These people, when the missionary was around, were "good" Christians, who acted as they were supposed to. In his absence, however, they continued with their old tribal practices, thus they were

people who even though they appeared to disdain polygamy, had no qualms about having a bevy of mistresses. These seem to have wanted

the best of the two possible world and as such they could be referred to as schizophrenic Christians (Ngewu 1992:38).

In addition to these two kinds of converts the missionaries encountered a third, who were those who picked and chose what they would accept from the Church and disregarded the rest (Ngewu 1992:38).

The missionaries were well aware of these different types of people, as we see from a description by Archdeacon Waters of a service of worship among unconverted people:

The utmost decorum was observed by all, and I was listened to attentively, though I must confess to feeling that I was speaking to people dead in trespass and sin, and with no purpose of amendment. I am no stranger to such congregations, and I know that some of the most hopeless-looking men have often been those most impressed by what was said (Waters. 1866:250).

The conversion of these people, who may well have formed the bulk of the diocese, was to be a long and arduous task. It takes time to break down the millennia of tradition, which in the absence of Christianity did not seem wrong or evil. To convince people to give up polygamy, or veneration of ancestors, was to ask them to give up their culture and self-identification.

As the missionaries grappled with this entire issue it also became clear how difficult it was for them to interpret the responses of the people to whom they preached. Waters felt the people were "dead in trespass and sin" (Waters. 1866:250). He also mentioned that "numbers of Kaffirs are cold and dull to things spiritual" (Waters. 1866:248). Neither of these observations were sufficient to stop him from preaching, and preaching with the hope and expectation that something would penetrate.

Callaway suffered similar problems. While still at Springvale he had noted that

the native character is untrustworthy; one does not know how much is sincere and how much hypocritical in his professions; and I do not know that, when the life does not come moulded in accordance with our idea of a Christian, we ought at once to conclude that all the profession or a considerable portion of it is hypocrisy. It is a very difficult task, that of bringing the people to God (Benham 1896:148).

The difficulty is made up of cultural barriers between missionary and convert, and compounded by the fact that it is never possible to judge anyone's faith or acceptance of God. The missionaries realised that in many ways their preaching was simply scratching at the surface of tribal life, and it would take a long time before the majority of people would accept the church in its entirety.

A diocese, therefore, is more than the bricks and mortar of individual churches, more than finances and missionary endeavours. It is those who preach, and those who receive. The difficulty in St. John's in those early days was the vast discrepancy between Christian, white, western culture and non-Christian, black, African culture. The imposition of one culture onto another, as happened throughout South Africa, and in which the Church was a major participant, took on unique qualities in St. John's. Here there was no large scale white immigration which introduced the tribal people to western ways in the role of servants and workers, as happened in much of the rest of the country. Here there were no major towns where races and cultures could mix, even uncomfortably. Somehow in St. John's it was necessary to cross the divide through direct contact of church and people, and recognise that "it is a very difficult task, that of bringing the people to God" (Benham 1896:148).

*The War of Ngcayecibi*

A major test of race relations in the diocese came in 1877, when war broke out in the southern end of St. John's. The War of Ngcayecibi came at a time when Callaway was struggling to establish the diocese in the face of a severe shortage of funds and man-power. In spite of this the diocese was growing, and the work ahead looked more promising than before.

Yet the co-existence between black and white across the Eastern Cape frontier region, and into Kaffraria, was under strain. The added British military and governmental presence in the area increased the tension. In order to keep peace on the Eastern Frontier, the British expelled Chief Sarilli, chief of the Gcalekas, from their traditional lands between the Kei and Umtata Rivers, and repopulated the area with British friendly Fingo and Tembu tribes. The relationship between the Fingoes and the AmaXhosa, always tense, deteriorated as a result (Meintjes 1971: 285-286).

The tension made an impact on the southern end of the Diocese. In 1876, Archdeacon Waters of St. Mark's Mission reported that despite rumours of

a native rising, the year has closed in peace. The losses and inconveniences arising from the war rumours have been many and serious, and will no doubt arise again unless the Colonial Government maintains the present means of defence. The cry of danger, whether true or false, will always cause alarm (Waters. 1877a:282).

War broke out in 1877 after what in retrospect seemed a trivial fight at a Fingo beer drinking party, at which two Gcalekas were beaten up (The Mission Field. 1878a:21; cf. Meintjes. 1971:287). It was to be the last war between the AmaXhosa and the British, and effectively broke the power of

the Xhosa people in the nineteenth century (Meintjes 1971:284). Before it was over, however, it affected the entire Diocese of St. John. The rebellions of the Xhosa ignited the dissatisfaction of other tribes, resulting in widespread revolt:

Perhaps the stubborn resistance of the AmaXhosa in the recent conflict again aroused the war spirit in races which were still barbarous. The Amampondomise, in the districts of Tsolo and Qumbu; the Basuto, in the districts of Mt. Fletcher and Matatiela, the Tembus in the district of St. Marks, Xalanga, and Engcobo, rose against the Government. The Griquas, at Kokstad, rebelled (Meintjes 1971:292).

In October 1877, just as the war was breaking out, Callaway wrote a long and revealing letter to the SPG highlighting the impact of the war on the newly developed settlement at Umtata:

Yes, we have a little war here, which may become a very serious and extensive one. But I trust not, and am even inclined to hope that it has already passed away, i.e. as to its real danger (Callaway. 1878:20).

He lays the blame for the war squarely on Usahhili (Kreli), whom he labels as being "a troublesome man to the Government" (Callaway. 1878:20). In Callaway's opinion, the Government had been more than generous, especially after the Great Cattle Killing, in which the intention of the disaster was to drive the whites into the sea. The tragic result of this was the scattering of the people - which left their traditional lands empty, and thus open for repopulating by friendly Fingoes. In addition to this, Callaway notes that there was a deep-seated jealousy of the Fingoes by the Gcalekas, who had originally used the Fingoes as slaves (Callaway. 1878:21).

In his mind the origin of the war had deeper, more spiritual connotations than simply inter-tribal tensions, as is evident from the terms he chooses to describe it: "it arises from the antagonism between light and darkness, - Christianity and heathenism, - between man as a spiritual, and man as an animal being" (Callaway. 1878:23).

The only way, therefore, once the fighting itself had been quelled was for the "Christian" British to take charge of the people, and lead them with kindness and justice, as well as with the firmness of the law, to civilisation (Callaway. 1878:23).

As the war caught and spread, the church became intimately involved. At Umtata it became necessary to fortify the Pro-Cathedral as a place of safety for the local residents, and as a refuge if outlying fortifications fell (Callaway. 1878:22). Callaway describes the fortifications in his letter:

I believe the Cathedral is capable of defence against any number of Kaffirs, if we have sufficient armed men inside. It is surrounded six feet from the wall with a wall composed of stakes or timber fixed in the ground in two rows a foot apart, to which are nailed planks, and the space between is filled up with earth from a ditch dug on the outside. The wall is about six feet high, and is loop-holed at regular distances. They are adding to our defensive capabilities by surrounding the cathedral and other buildings with what may be called rifle pits; or rather a ditch and bank... ninety yards from the buildings (Callaway. 1878: 22).

Life in the Pro-Cathedral precinct carried on as normally as possible under the circumstances. The daily services were held for the three hundred people who sought refuge there, as well as a school for their children (Callaway. 1878:24). On reflection Callaway came to believe that those at Umtata had

not "been in any *real* danger"<sup>32</sup> (Callaway, 1878:309). The closest the war came was twenty five or thirty miles, and certainly as the fugitives drifted past Umtata the people "had all the panic of the near presence of war" (Callaway, 1878:309).

However, the war affected the entire diocese, setting back the work by about three months (Callaway, 1878:24). The situation in Umtata and the north was relatively peaceful<sup>33</sup>. In early 1878 Callaway made an extended visit to the missions north of Umtata, and was pleased with the growth and development of the work in that area, where there "was scarcely a sign or symptom of war" (Callaway, 1878:309).

The major impact lay in the southern area, from which Callaway heard "great alarms... sometimes true, sometimes false" (Callaway, 1878:168). He mentions that the war had a demoralising effect for the "conquering and conquered alike" (The Mission Field, 1878:169).

H.T. Waters, of St. Mark's Mission reported that while the war interrupted their school attendance, services of worship continued in places where there was no fighting. In this time of conflict the Christians in the mission pulled together to withstand the demoralising effects of the war:

The Christian at St. Mark's are of mixed races - Kxosa [sic], Tembu, Fingo, Basuto, Hottentot, and European; but all work in harmony, and not one Christian family has moved on account of the war. The uncertainty as to what other tribes may join is a source of continual excitement and leads most of us to closer prayer to Him who is the author of peace (The Mission Field, 1878:172).

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<sup>32</sup> Italics are Callaway's.

<sup>33</sup> Thurston Button writes from Clydesdale: We can hardly be said to feel the effects of the war now going on about 200 miles from us; but still it has a certain unsettling effect upon the native mind, and we shall be glad indeed when peace is restored, and we sincerely hope that we should not be troubled by any outbreaks nearer than Gcalekaland. (Button, The Mission Field, 1878:174).

It is interesting to note from Waters' list of the "mixed races" at St. Mark's, that the warlike tribes, the Gcalekas and Gcaikas are not present. This is partly because of the resistance of the chief Kreli to missionaries, leading Waters to speculate that with Kreli's defeat in the war, the spread of Christianity in the area would be greatly facilitated (Waters. 1878b:172).

In spite of the war, work in the Diocese continued, and Callaway felt confident that there was an overall progression (The Mission Field. 1878:169).

The War of Ngcayecibi, as noted above, spread throughout the diocese. As Callaway thought things were settling down, in 1878, the Griquas, "anxious to throw off their allegiance to the Crown" rebelled (The Mission Field. 1878:561), throwing the formerly peaceful north into turmoil. Callaway writes:

At Kokstad there was indeed a small cloud, which we thought would soon pass away. But ... the telegraph sent us a message that 600 Griquas, assisted by Sutos [sic] Enhlangwini tribe, and Pondos, were in insurrection, and the people of Kokstad were in Laager (Callaway. 1878: 310).

At Clydesdale the people gathered in the school chapel for several nights in case of attack, but, as Thurston Button wrote: "happily we had no occasion to use the guns which we carried to protect, if necessary, our wives, children and friends" (The Mission Field. 1878:561).

This insurrection was very short lived, but it served to highlight the insecurities felt by the missionaries during the war years of 1877 and 1878, as well as the tensions within the local populations themselves.

By the middle of 1878 the war was over. The British Government had succeeded in breaking the power of the people of Kaffraria. For the missionaries who had laboured in the area for many years, the reason for the war remained a mystery. Perhaps Thurston Button summed it up best in a letter to the SPG about how difficult it was

to understand why most of the natives have taken up arms against the Government - I suppose the rising generation of young men not having had any trouble are anxious to try their courage and skill against those who have given them peace and security in place of anarchy and continual fighting, and living without security to life and property. I can vouch to the truth that the Cape Government is anxious to advance the people - the number of schools amongst them, supported to a large extent, by government aid show this (The Mission Field, 1878:562).

Goedhals uses the issues of this war to highlight Callaway's identification with the Colonial Government and his alienation from the blacks. She quotes his letter to the SPG as saying:

I believe it is absolutely necessary to subdue these savages to order and obedience to law by physical force. They understand and submit to nothing else<sup>34</sup>. They are in rebellion against a gentle, righteous and paternal Government and for no reason but that the presence of a higher population and better law is reproof to their laziness and indifference (Goedhals 1989:20).

Certainly Callaway did believe that the Colonial Government had been more than generous to the blacks, especially in the wake of the Cattle Killing and in the years that followed. However, his call for force to subdue these "savages" came as a last response to "an open armed attack on British

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<sup>34</sup> This letter is quoted to this point in the Mission Field 1878:309.

subjects in British territory" (Callaway. *The Mission Field*. 1878:309). He supported the initial attempts to quell the war by means of arbitration (*ibid.*).

Such an uncharacteristic statement by Callaway therefore, must have deeper causes, which possibly lie in the continued resistance by the Gcalekas to Christianity, whereas the Fingoes, the other protagonists in the battle, were very open to Christianity. Thus Callaway's response was not necessarily simply a call to arms against blacks, but a call for protection of black Christians from those he considered to still be in the grip of heathenism.

Button's innocence and Callaway's bombast gives a good indication of the mindset of these missionaries. Their minds, as is the case with each generation, was moulded by the philosophy of the day. They believed in a Christianity co-terminus with British civilisation, and were so convinced of its benefits that the idea of rejecting them was beyond their comprehension.

In light of this, the missionary establishment failed to grasp the underlying causes of the war, and at the Synod of 1879, Callaway gives an analysis of the war, asserting that they "did not arise out of any widespread maltreatment of the natives by colonists, for there is no such thing" (*The Mission Field*. 1879:526). Rather than look for mutual responsibility, Callaway laid the blame at the feet of the those who do "not want to advance [but] is content with the ways of his fathers" (*The Mission Field*. 1879:526).

In Callaway's mind the blacks were in an invidious position. Not only were they gradually dispossessed of their land, their culture, and their power, but they were still unable to see the benefits of Christianity and British colonial civilisation. His words express a great sadness of the failure of the missionaries to communicate the goodness of Christianity to the blacks who did

not recognise the benefit of the change; he does not love it; he does not wish it to become greater; he hates and resists it; and has determined to crush out the new spirit. There lies the secret of the present widespread disaffection, more or less consciously felt and acted upon by the native races (The Mission Field. 1879:526).

The responsibility for the War of Ngcayecibi did not lie solely with Kreli and the Pandomise, but equally with the missionaries who had not fulfilled their duties. His words to the gathered clergy at the Synod, therefore, carry an urgent message to take responsibility for the civil disturbances around them and

to understand the meaning of this fact. It means that during the whole time we have lived in the presence of the natives of South Africa, we have not impressed them with a love of our social habits, of our mode of government, or of our religion. In all these respects we have been on our trial before them, and have not recommended ourselves, or our institutions to them as a people (The Mission Field 1879:526).

In the aftermath of the war, the Government imposed severe preventative measures, including martial law, to curb further outbreaks (The Mission Field 1878:559). The War of Ngcayecibi broke the back of nineteenth century Xhosa resistance to British rule.

In the new climate prevailing after the war, work began with renewed vigour in many parts of the diocese. Henry Waters, of St. Alban's noted how he had been unable to begin any outstations during 1878, but by 1879 was able to begin enlarging his church. The peace following allowed him to begin two new outstations connected with St. Alban's (Waters. 1881:300).

*The War of 1880*

**J**ust as the Diocese recovered from the War of Ngcayecibi, it was plunged into another crisis as a new devastating uprising swept across the Eastern Cape in 1880. The war came at a time when Callaway was in England, trying to recover his declining health which had broken down as a result of overwork (*The Mission Field*. 1880:169). It began on a small scale, but in the tinder-box of African/English relations spread rapidly.

The roots of this war again lay in the steady encroachment of English law to the detriment of tribal customary law. Bransby Key notes a great deal of dissatisfaction with English law, which was perceived as harsh. In an insightful letter to the SPG, he apportions much of the blame on ways of the colonial authorities. He asserts that

there was no doubt a good deal of dissatisfaction at the government - it was severe, they did not like the flogging too, but I think it was the government was too meddlesome, too many orders came one after another; no sooner had the taxes began to be collected than disarmament was threatened (Key. 1881. CLR 123:160).

Key notes that when the area was taken over by the British in 1872, three conditions were laid down:

1. They would have to pay a hut tax.
2. They would not be allowed to kill people for witchcraft.
3. An appeal could be made to the magistrate for a decision of the chief (Key. 1881. CLR 123:160).

These conditions were accepted somewhat reluctantly by the chiefs, but had been “interpreted or had grown into a complete subversion of their old constitutional government” (Key. 1881. CLR 123:160). Thus the break down of tribal law and customs, becoming so prevalent in the second half of the nineteenth century, found a focus in the activities of the government in the Diocese of St. John’s. As the magistrates exercised increasing power, so the chieftains’ power declined in proportion - the people began taking their cases directly to the magistrate, rather than first to the chiefs (Key. 1881. CLR 123:160).

The political breakdown in the tribal system reflected also in the changing social mores. The homogeneity of the old was giving way to pressures from missionaries, education, British government and settlers, and as the anger of the people welled up against this, so it the chiefs struck out at all their perceived enemies. Callaway, confirming much of Bransby Key’s interpretation of the causes of the war, wrote that

the hostility of the heathen has been shown not only towards all white men, but also to those natives who are Christians, or who have manifested a disposition to adopt the new culture. The chief enmity, however, appears to have been manifested towards the magistrates, some of whom were shut up in their residences and besieged there, and the houses of several destroyed (Callaway. 1881:95).

During this brief but nasty incident in the history of the diocese, Chiefs who had been carefully cultivated by the missionaries for spiritual and religious purposes, turned against those same missionaries because they perceived them as being agents of the government.

The frustration of the Chiefs reached boiling point in 1880, when Umhlonhlo, chief of the Pondomise, was asked by the magistrate of the area, Mr. Hope, to assist in subduing the Basuto. In 1869, eleven years before this incident,

H.T. Waters gave a view of what Umhlonhlo was like before his powers were eroded - Waters describes meeting a group of men belonging to Umhlonhlo who were

armed, carrying assegais, shields, and a number of old guns. Their dress was well adapted for skirmishing; and consisted of a loose skin hanging over the shoulder only; in some cases an old European jacket; and many of them wore no dress at all. The blanket is never carried into a fight. Some of their head-dresses were terrific, from the nodding plumes made up of the feathers of large birds, grouped in towering confusion upon the head; others had the growth of many years hair neatly arranged in a helmet form, with a hollow place on top, which is used as a pocket for a snuff box and flints etc. (Waters. 1869a:68).

Umhlonhlo's actions are reminiscent of those of Dingaan, king of the Zulu fifty years before. Initially appearing to agree to help fight the Basuto (Stewart. 1881:107), he invited Mr. Hope and two associates, Messrs. Henman and Warren, to witness a war-dance at his kraal. During the dance he gave the order for the three white men to be killed, and then

took his army throughout the land, killing and burning white men's houses, and plundering their property. They appeared within sight of Umtata: the people were taken by surprise and wholly unprepared (Callaway. 1880. CLR 123:152).

Many of the chiefs of the area, however, were so intensely dissatisfied with Colonial rule, that once the conflagration began it soon spread beyond the borders of the Pondomise territory<sup>35</sup>. Spreading south the Tembu chief, Izali

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<sup>35</sup> It is interesting to note that Umhlonhlo's dissatisfaction with the new order of things did not prevent him from applying to Callaway to "inquire whether his son and nine of his chief men's sons could be admitted [to the College at Umtata] and at what cost" (Callaway. *The Mission Field*. 1881:97). In fact his son, Umtshazi was sent to Ncolosi to be educated (*The Mission Field*. 1885:365).

attached Herschel, and the area to the north of the Pondomise was also seriously affected (Coakes. 1880. CLR 123:148).

The people of Umtata found themselves in a state of siege. Three houses and a stone school house were barricaded, and the whites formed a laager for protection. As Umhlonhlo's army advanced on the town, all the houses within ten miles of Umtata were sacked. The shops on the Pondo side of the river were looted.

The attacks on whites and the plunder of their goods was widespread across the Diocese. At St. Augustine's the whites barricaded themselves in the local store, while their homes were pillaged.

The plundering of the houses occupied a considerable time, and was most wanton, articles which they could not use being broken up completely, feather beds and pillows ripped open, and their contents strewed on the grass, together with flour, lime, and almost everything imaginable (Stewart. 1881:109).

In the St. Augustine's area the whites took refuge in the Tsolo Gaol which had been barricaded for their protection. It is interesting to note the mistrust existing between the blacks and whites at this time. As a small group of whites barricaded themselves in the prison, the local chief, Umditshwa, invited them to his kraal. The whites refused, because they feared the same fate would befall them as had magistrate Hope and his two companions. Whether this is really what the chief had in mind will remain forever a mystery, although the evidence of the missionaries is that Umditshwa indeed had plans to murder them, as they claimed

some women came from our Mission station, St. Augustine's, and brought word that we were to be attacked and killed; and said, in the expressive wording of the Kaffir language that we were "all dead men"

- meaning thereby, that our fate had been decided, and that it had been resolved by the chief in council that we should all die (Stewart. 1881:111).

Whites, however, were not the only objects of attack. Several outstations of St. Augustine's were burned down, and the catechists and teachers killed (Stewart. 1881:116).

Not all the Africans sided with the Amapondomise. Ungangeliswe, who had granted the land upon which Umtata was built, professed his loyalty, and Unqiliso asserted friendship (cf. Coakes. 1880. CLR 123:148). Unqiliso put his warriors at the disposal of the chief magistrate to help quell the uprising (Stewart. 1881:117). At Tsolo Gaol, blacks loyal to the missionaries carried water and helped barricade the doors, and carried messages across the diocese (Stewart. 1881:111). Pundos, acting in concert with whites rescued the Tsolo Gaol group (Stewart. 1881:115).

During the uprising Callaway was somewhat suspicious, however, of the professed friendliness of certain chiefs. He claimed that while they were not openly hostile, they

declared their inability to restrain their people; whether this was for the purpose of concealing their own participation in the crimes of murder and plunder, or whether it was really true that the people were themselves hostile to the white man, that they were clearly under no effectual control (Callaway. 1881:95).

## THE EFFECTS OF THE UPRISING

The impact of this uprising on the diocese, so soon after the War of Ngcayecibi was devastating. The entire work of the church was disrupted as

war spread across the diocese. The missionaries had to be evacuated from their stations and the white women and children from St. Mark's and All Saint's missions had to be sent to King Williamstown for safety. In the northern part of the diocese, the Tonkin family from Matatiela had to be sent to Kokstad (Callaway. 1880. CLR 123:153). St. Paul's Mission at Umgano was lost, and Ensikeni had to be evacuated (Coakes. 1880. CLR 123:157). The people of the mission at St. Augustine's sought refuge at Umtata (Callaway. 1881:95).

Each mission station had its own tale of death and destruction. Callaway's description of the devastation, as described in the Mission Field, shows the extent to which Diocesan work was affected:

The catalogue of disaster is an appalling one: Matatiela, a Mission to the Sutos [sic], "was utterly destroyed"; St. Andrew's, in Pondoland East, had at one time the prospect of a bright future, "which has been greatly dimmed, if it has not disappeared, through the spirit of antagonism to the white man"; Kokstad, perhaps the most important place in the diocese, "had undergone heavy trials"; All Saints' "was altogether ruined - church, schoolroom, and dwelling house destroyed"; St. Augustine's "was sadly wrecked," the Missionary<sup>36</sup> there "lost more heavily in many ways than any other man" (The Mission Field. 1882:250).

At St. Augustine's seven men were shot "who were teachers, catechists, or schoolmasters" (Callaway. 1881:95). This was a terrible blow to Bransby Key, who lost much of his staff in the uprising. In reflection over this Key writes:

The place is entirely burned down with the exception of the church: the house and school are merely bare brick walls - not a thing has

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<sup>36</sup> Bransby Key.

escaped. I have been told by some of our people who escaped after Mr. Walsh and Mr. Stewart left ... [place not identified] that they had moved some eighty volumes from the house and placed them in one of their huts on book shelves, and these I had hoped to have saved. On going to the hut I found that these also had been scattered outside and spoilt by rain. I picked up some four or five as mementoes (Key. 1880. CLR 123:158).

In describing the destruction of St. Augustine's, Key decided not to rebuild on that site. Initially he thought of developing an off-shoot at St. Paul's, but that was thwarted by governmental plans to turn the place into a township. As second choice he decided on a place called Ncolosi.

In spite of the intensity of the uprising, and the consequent disruption of activity, the damage was far more psychological than physical. Callaway pointed out that life returned to normal relatively quickly. In Umtata the Boys and Girls Schools were opened, and Cathedral services continued normally. St. Mark's and Clydesdale were essentially untouched (Callaway. 1881:96).

Thus the first year of the new decade was marked with the sadness, mistrust and dissatisfaction which afflicts so much South African history. By hounding the missionaries the tribal chiefs showed clearly how much they regarded the church as an agent of state. While the church was to some degree guilty of this charge, it was also a player in the inexorable movement of time, and the cutting point between two very different cultures. Every war is sad in the death and destruction it leaves in its wake, but the war of 1880 has a deeper sadness to it, for the greatest death it caused was the very tribal life it sought to protect. Reflecting on the consequences of this uprising, Bransby Key muses that

things are in every way more favourable to Mission work now than they were; the old tribal ties have been broken, their chief, Umditshwa, is a prisoner, their pride is broken, their cattle gone, and they might now be moulded into almost anything, according to the way in which they are handled during the next few years. A firm and kind government may now soon make them dutiful subjects of the Queen, and useful members of society; and by pressing on more strongly than ever in Missionary effort, many, I trust, may become Christians at the same time (Key. 1882:326).

The experiences in this war of 1880, as futile as it was, however, did not diminish in Callaway's mind the importance of developing the Diocese in such a way that it could meet and bridge the gaps between the two cultures. In his mind the most efficient and effective bridge would be a clergy of Africans, who on the one hand understood the challenges of the Gospel, and on the other the nature and culture of their own people. Thus he focused much of his flagging energy on the creation and development of a black clergy.

## CHAPTER SIX

### *TRAINING A BLACK PRIESTHOOD*

**T**he roots of Bishop Callaway's urgent desire to establish a black clergy lay in his own experience. In his Quaker days, Callaway became increasingly convinced of the need to become a clergyman himself. The inability of Quakerism to fulfil his need caused much of the deep-seated frustration culminating in his resignation from the Society of Friends and joining the Church of England. Thus the role of the priesthood occupied a special place in Callaway's heart, which over time became a consuming passion.

Callaway was aware, right at the very beginning of his experience in South Africa, of the deficiencies of priests from England. He contended that many of them struggled successfully to serve the black population. As early as 1855, just one year after arriving in Natal, he wrote to England:

We are sadly wanting in good men, men whose whole heart is in the work, some of those who came out with the Bishop [Colenso] have disappointed us, they have wanted more than they could reasonably expect to find. (Benham. 1896:54).

His comments in his diary should not be construed as unfounded criticism as Callaway's own heart was deeply committed to "the work", as his own life so clearly demonstrated. Yet many priests from England found challenges far greater than they had expected, for example, coming to

grips with the complexities of the Zulu language was a burden many, otherwise good men, found impossible to bear. In addition to this most obvious difference between black and white, there were also the added disparities of culture. Those who expected to find a parish in South Africa similar to one in England were sorely disappointed.

Callaway's view of the general unfitness of white English priests to serve black African congregants never diminished. In his mind many of the priests of the Diocese of Natal simply did not have what it took to successfully serve in a mission. In his mind, as indeed in his very way of life, Callaway believed that missionary work required the full effort of soul, mind and body in order to properly minister to the people of South Africa. He described his conviction in a letter that

no half-hearted men will be of any use in native work. A half-hearted man may be forced to work among white people; public opinion forces him, and in actual work his half-heartedness may pass away. But the influences among natives are all dragging down. And if a man is not really earnest he will sink down into apathy, and into unbelief in the reality of his work and that of others. The higher the training of a man, if earnest, the better. The natives appreciate a gentleman, but they appreciate too reality of character in those who are working among them (Benham. 1896:195).

There were, of course, men who laboured in the Mission Field who did meet the criteria Callaway set for himself and others. Men like H.T. Waters or Bransby Key, for example, gave the entirety of their beings to the mission work. However, in the grand scheme of things, men of this calibre were few and far between, and Callaway, mindful of the needs for skilled missionary labour, came to the conclusion that the most effective missionaries would be native born South Africans, both black and white.

*THE SPRINGVALE EXPERIENCE*

**A**s with so many other aspects of establishing his Diocese, Callaway looked back to his experiences at Springvale and Highflats for inspiration. In the early days of his episcopacy he planned to simply extrapolate the needs of Springvale to meet the needs of the entire Diocese of St. John's. Because of this it is important to explore his experiences in Natal before examining the fruits in St. John's.

Right from the beginning of Springvale, Callaway thought seriously about establishing a black clergy. The early days of the mission in the late 1850's and 1860's were spent primarily in establishing the mission, founding its institutions, and converting the local populace to Christianity. This groundwork prevented him from carrying his idea into operation. In his mind the disparity between black culture and education and the needs of Christianity were too vast to bridge in the immediate future. In 1860 the prospect of a black priesthood was still a distant hope in the future.

However, Callaway worked towards the realisation of that hope. He planned to raise young children in a Christian environment, "giving them a thorough training, removing them as far as possible from the evil influences of their heathen neighbours" (Benham. 1896:103). In this way he would create a group of young men sufficiently versed in western culture, who would be ready to receive rigorous theological training.

Callaway recognised talent when he saw it and was willing to use it. Thus while working towards creating a body of youngsters able to be prepared for clerical training, he also saw ability in two mature men who had travelled with him to Springvale and established themselves there. These

two men, William Ngcwensa and Umpengula Mbanda became the immediate focus of his plans for a black clergy.

As Springvale developed, Callaway came to rely increasingly on these two men as catechists (Benham. 1896:184). He confirmed by watching them that they in fact did have many advantages over white men in reaching the blacks. They shared the local language, culture and history of those to whom they preached, making it possible for them to cross barriers insurmountable to English missionaries. Thus as the 1860's wore on, Callaway's aim for a black priesthood matured and developed.

#### *THE SYNOD OF PIETERMARITZBURG 1871*

Callaway's first opportunity to properly train a black clergy officially came during the Synod of 1871. Chaired by Bishop Macrorie, the Synod spent some considerable time exploring the possibilities of creating an ordained black priesthood. Macrorie

wished to be advised by the clergy as to the standard attainments to be reached by natives who should apply for ordination. The Bishop called upon Dr. Callaway to give his experience on this point. (The Mission Field. 1871:301).

Callaway's response listed five basic principles which would greatly influence the preparation of the clergy in both the Diocese of Natal and later St. John's. The thoughtfulness and wisdom of his answers is an indication of how much he had concentrated on the subject in the past.

He began by pointing out that it was impossible to recruit sufficient white men as missionaries to reach a tenth of the blacks in the Colony. Thus it

would be necessary, he asserted, to use blacks, who, although they did not have the same standard of education as whites, were still efficient as teachers.

In his mind the concept of the black clergy should be as inclusive as possible. In other words, it would be a mistake to set the educational standards so high that blacks would be excluded from the ministry. By setting the standards too high, not only would one exclude men, but would also confuse the very simple message of Christianity itself. Thus he said:

the church has been engaged on Missionary work here for about fifteen years, and the idea has been, that she must wait till those who have been under her teaching as boys grow up, or else ordain adults as they are. My own feeling is that Christianity is such a simple thing, which simple men can understand and teach, and that ministers sometimes entomb rather than enshrine Christian truth in their discourses (The Mission Field. 1871:302)

It was impossible, then, for the Church of the Province of South Africa to use the same basic type of training used in England. This relied heavily not only on Theology, but also on mathematics and literature as secondary subjects. In South Africa the church would do better to rely on a much plainer ministry with the students becoming well versed in the Gospel. With these thoughts, Callaway pointed out that other religious bodies were appointing blacks to their ministries. However, he was adamant that in the Church of the Province, this appointment should be the result of carefully screened and educated applicants and appoint

the best men we can get. It is not probable that many would offer themselves for holy orders. We must expect disappointment in preparing natives ministers, and heresies peculiar to South Africa may spring up, but this should not hinder us. The Apostles would

have ordained such men without requiring literary qualifications, as faithful men who believe in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and who thoroughly understand it (The Mission Field. 1871:302).

Having given general principles of why blacks should be trained for the priesthood, Callaway spoke at length about his two catechists, William Ngcwensa and Umpengula Mbanda, stating:

I consider William, a native on my own station, a most efficient teacher, though not sufficiently energetic to make a good preacher. Umpengula, another native on my station, is a remarkably eloquent man, and preaches well. These men have now done many of the duties of deacons, and have held services in the neighbourhood of Springvale (The Mission Field. 1871:302).

As a result of his assessment of the possibility of training a black clergy, and with two reasonably well prepared candidates in hand, the Synod gave Callaway permission to begin training the men for holy orders, a task Callaway took up with great zeal.

#### WILLIAM NGCWENSA AND UMPENGULA MBANDA

What kind of men did Callaway pick for his first experiment in training a black clergy? William Ngcwensa and Umpengula Mbanda were two very different personalities joined by a mutual passion for teaching the tenets of Christianity. By 1871 Callaway knew and trusted both men, and was sure of their effectiveness in the field.

William Ngcwensa

Callaway first met Ngcwensa in 1854, when the latter, as a young boy, had been thrown into Pietermaritzburg gaol for smoking hemp, and under the influence committing acts of violence (Callaway. 1873:99). On his release, Ngcwensa encountered the church, was baptised and became a regular attendee at the time when Callaway was responsible for the black church in the city.

About a year after their first encounter, Callaway personally took charge of Ngcwensa, who became his household servant. During this time Callaway ensured that the young man attended school where he showed ability above the other boys (Callaway. 1872:99). When Callaway moved to Springvale, Ngcwensa went too as a household servant, thus remaining under Callaway's eye.

In time the young man matured, and noting his abilities, Callaway began to use him first as a school master, and later as a catechist. His progress from school master to catechist, and his scholastic accomplishments are described thus:

After about a year he took a class in the Sunday School and here again showed great ability. His class is well up in the Church Catechism. He reads Zulu fluently, he also reads English fairly; and talks it a little, but is too shy to speak much; readily translates an easy English book into Zulu; he knows the four rules of arithmetic ... with a little bit of fractions. He writes fairly, and has, with comparatively little help learned to play on the harmonium well enough to undertake it in church if Miss Button happens to be absent. He has also composed several hymns (Callaway. 1872:99).

This glowing resume of William Ngcwensa's abilities and accomplishments paint a picture of a fairly ideal candidate for holy orders. Callaway's only reservation was that Ngcwensa seemed to lack the energy to make a good preacher. In spite of this, the man greatly impressed both Callaway and Bishop Macrorie, and he was selected as a candidate for the experimental training.

### Umpengula Mbanda

The other primary candidate was Umpengula Mbanda, who by 1871 had so changed Callaway's perception of him that he was touted as being the ideal candidate for the priesthood. When Callaway first met Mbanda in 1856, "nothing seemed to distinguish him from the other Christian natives of the village" (Callaway. 1872:102).

The two men first came into contact when Mbanda was a wagon driver (The Mission Field 1874:8). Not particularly impressed at first, Callaway paid little attention to Mbanda until one day he needed some help with translation work, and Mbanda was "discovered". It did not take Callaway long to realise that the man he had thought so ordinary, possessed a "very superior mind, fully acquainted with the language" (Callaway. 1874:8).

In many ways Callaway and Mbanda were soul-mates, sharing deep and similar interests in the flora and fauna about them. As a doctor, Callaway was fascinated by Mbanda's knowledge of Zulu concepts of disease, its treatment and remedies (The Mission Field. 1874:196). Having discovered this great source of commonality, Callaway came to rely more and more on Mbanda in his translations of the Bible and in compiling the accounts of Zulu religious systems. In time Mbanda took on work as an assistant to Callaway. He led

a Sunday School class, prepared people for baptism, holding services on Sundays and weekends in [Callaway's] absence, and taking his turn every month at Highflats (The Mission Field. 1874:196).

In Callaway's mind, Mbanda was the stronger candidate for ordination as he was a far "more eloquent and ready preacher than William [Ngcwensa]" (The Mission Field. 1874:196)

### THE TRAINING

Both candidates greatly impressed Bishop Macrorie. As a result of the Synod of 1871, he authorised Callaway to begin training them for orders. In many ways, following his concept that Christianity was simple, and could be expressed in simple ways, Callaway began with the basics necessary to be effective. He chose to teach them in Zulu, partly because there were only a few books in that language, and partly by teaching them in their own language, he could teach them Christian concepts without the distraction of translating into another language.

His programme was essentially simple, devoid of the "literary attainments" required in England.

1. He began with a general sketch of the Old and New Testaments.
2. He taught them the three creeds, their history, differences and importance.
3. He covered the church catechism, with special detail on the Sacraments.
4. He focused on the biblical basis of the most important truths in Christianity.

5. He translated into Zulu and taught them the office of ordination for Deacons.
6. He translated and studied with them the Thirty-nine Articles (The Mission Field 1874:196).

In addition to this systematic study, Callaway also required each candidate to study and write a paper on John 6:51 (The Mission Field. 1974:196), as well as prepare written sermons for him. Callaway found that, as might have been expected, the written work was far inferior to their spoken teaching (Benham. 1896:186). His style of teaching was adapted to their lack of earlier, formalised teaching, and he "taught them as he would teach children... questioning them daily in the lesson of the preceding day" (Benham. 1896:186).

The two men were ordained as deacons by Bishop Macrorie at St. Saviour's Church, Pietermaritzburg, and at the time Callaway wrote:

They are the first natives that have been ordained in this colony, and I believe only one native has ever before been ordained in South Africa, in the diocese of Grahamstown by the late Bishop. (Callaway. 1872:98).

## THE RESULTS OF THIS EXPERIMENT

**T**he experience of training and ordaining Ngcwensa and Mbanda heightened Callaway's commitment to the need of a black clergy. In a letter written at that time and published in *The Mission Field* Callaway expresses his conviction that the church in South Africa would only develop when and if it was placed under the care of well-trained black clergy:

would that we had dozens of such men [as Ngcwensa and Mbanda] to send throughout the country, and to locate at stations among the heathen all around our central stations, at distances of ten or twelve miles. Until we do this, we cannot expect an extensive evangelization of the natives (Callaway. 1873:98).

At the ordination service in St. Saviour's Church, Callaway expressed his philosophy on the need for a black clergy, saying:

I believe that not to attempt to raise a ministry for the natives among the natives themselves would be a proof of our great weakness, and of want of faith in the power of that Gospel in which we profess to believe... The white man, if he be a man of any power and capacity, is looked up to as a superior being, and the natives will servilely assent in his presence to what he says... But they must begin to think in another way when they hear one who a few years ago was living in the same savagedom, in the same ignorance and want of culture as themselves, speaking to them of the high and holy things of God (Callaway in Benham. 1896:187).

The challenge the church thus faced was to break the mould of white elitism, and embrace the black as full brethren in the church. In his mind the breach of white control was really the beginning of outreach to the blacks, and thus a fulfilment of the command to spread the Gospel. His belief that the blacks themselves would respond positively to black deacons was shown to be true

when the people first saw William come out of church after the first celebration in which he had administered the Cup, the people gathered around him with much warmth of affection and shaking of

hands, and some of the old women kissed his hand - a mark of respect (Callaway. 1873:97).

This experience was to have an enormous effect on Callaway's episcopacy in St. John's. In it his personal convictions, and possibly his own desire for the priesthood found expression. His Quaker background would have allowed him to share the frustrations of men who, feeling called to the ministry, were denied. His experience had its roots in Quaker religious dogma, while the blacks black experience lay in the reluctance to extend ordination to blacks people. However, in breaking ground in this area, Callaway satisfied his own inner zeal, and removed the obstacles facing blacks. It was shown in the Diocese of Natal, and would become policy in St. John's, that eligible and willing black candidates be sought out and prepared for the ministry.

#### *THEOLOGICAL TRAINING IN THE DIOCESE OF ST. JOHN'S*

Callaway's plans to raise up a black clergy in St. John's, however, was compelled to take a back seat between 1874 and 1877. During this time the Bishop was busy establishing the most external elements of the diocese, from agreeing on a name to settling on a site for his episcopal seat. The idea was never far from the centre of his mind, and in 1874, in creating a list of things needed to establish the diocese, the need for a theological school was third on the list, following only the establishment of preparatory schools for boys and girls. The Boy's School would in time serve as a conduit for the ministry, helping candidates cross the boundary from their home environment to the challenging workplace of the priesthood. It would provide them not only with the essential tools of reading and writing, but also immerse them in

the life of the church, thus into the culture of the church, from which they would be able to reach back to their own people.

As Callaway became increasingly familiar with the Diocese of St. John's, he also became aware of the many potential candidates for orders who were already working as deacons without formalisation of ordination. This knowledge strengthened his commitment to standardised training providing a uniformity of quality across the Diocese. These men, he wrote,

should not be left for instruction to the almost casual opportunities which individual Missionaries may be able to snatch from their pressing duties, but should be gathered into a Central Institution, where, under competent teachers [they receive] education which at ordinary Mission Stations is an impossibility (Callaway 1874:8).

Once the basics of the diocese had been established, Callaway foresaw the primary use of the Bishop as overseeing the training of candidates (Callaway. 1874:9).

By 1876 Callaway was impatient to begin working on formalised training. Pressures from every aspect of his work, however, seemed to prevent him from getting to it. We can sense his urgency as he states his aims yet again in a letter to London:

the other one object I should at present fix my attention on is the Training College for natives wishing to take Holy Orders. The number of those who are waiting is very great, and unless we can soon accommodate them, they will go elsewhere (Callaway. 1874. CLR 123:4).

## PETER MASIZA

In spite of not having facilities to train men himself, Callaway was happy to use his episcopal powers to raise existing deacons to the office of the priesthood. While his training programme was still in extreme infancy, Callaway met Peter Masiza. Masiza appears in Anglican church records from 1858, when he was running a school at an outstation of St. Matthew's Mission, Keiskamma Hoek. He had been educated at Genadendal and Zonneblom in Cape Town (Goedhals. 1989:17-20). During the 1860's he transferred to St. Mark's Mission and served at an outstation (Goedhals. 1989:17).

What set Masiza apart from other aspirants for ordination was that he had already been ordained a Deacon by Bishop Merriman in 1873 (Callaway. 1877. CLR 123:71). This qualified him for further inauguration into the ordained priesthood, a step Callaway took in recognition of the work he was doing at St. Mark's Mission.

To radical historians who judge the church by political and economic standards, Masiza is a problematic figure. Deeply involved in Christianity, and thoroughly imbued with white views and values, he has been labelled in recent times as being alienated from his own culture (Goedhals. 1989:22). However, Callaway did not see him from this point of view. The Bishop saw a man devoted to Christianity, the extension of Christianity, and thus a great asset to the Diocese (Callaway. 1877. CLR 123:71). Peter Masiza was ordained with no reservations in 1877, about which Callaway writes:

at the morning service I ordained a native, Masiza, the first native raised to the priesthood in South Africa; he spoke to me of his sense

of weakness and unworthiness for such an office, and answered the questions with a trembling voice... It seemed a noble testimony to the unity of the Church, and to Christ the one Redeemer of total humanity, to ordain white and black together and to have coloured men ministering to a white congregation (Callaway in Benham. 1896:304).

After ordination Masiza was assigned to an outstation of St. Marks, where Callaway states he "will be a great help to the Archdeacon" (Callaway. 1877. CLR 123:71), and his report in the pages of *The Mission Field* clearly demonstrate his unswerving commitment to Christianity - uncoloured by any other motivation other than to bring his parishioners to the Church (Masiza. *The Mission Field*. 1887:264ff). In time he came to be a priest as "valued and sought for by the English as well as the natives of the district" (*The Mission Field*. 1887:32).

By ordaining Peter Masiza, Callaway indicated his willingness to put his commitment to a black clergy into practice. By ordaining the first black priest in South Africa, the Bishop sent a message to all other aspirants for Holy Orders, that there would be no bar, no hindrance, to their achieving the priesthood if they felt so called.

#### DESIRE FULFILLED

The ordination of Masiza is important in the development of Callaway's plan, but it was more a symbolic action than a genuine fulfilment of his vision. Masiza had come to his attention already trained. There were countless other men, who untrained, yearned for ordination. These were the men who formed the challenge.

1877 in many ways was the watershed for Callaway's dream. By this time Umtata has been selected, the Pro-Cathedral built, but the various school buildings had not yet began construction. Struggling with inadequate finances, the Bishop looked resolutely forwards into the future of the Diocese. Nevertheless it was a year of war and trouble.

His first real opportunity to train a black priest from scratch came in 1877. His excitement at this shows in a letter to Scotland:

I have now with me a Natal native, Paul Bonsa, a man of remarkable character and history. He wishes to be a missionary. I teach him, and get any corrections I can for a new edition of the Prayer Book. You would be delighted to see the entire-heartedness which he throws into the work, and how perceptibly delighted he is with the more exact and definite teaching of the church than that to which he has been accustomed. I believe I could soon have a great many such gather around me if I could have the training college (Benham. 1896:299-300).

Also in 1877 Callaway received his first white colonial aspirant to the priesthood, this time a white youth, George Stoffels, "born in Pondoland of European parents". This young man, at only fifteen years old, was too young to be considered for holy orders, but he provided the hope that the Diocese of St. John's would draw its clergy from its own people, black and white (Callaway. 1877b:436).

These early students, however, found very little at Umtata by way of an organised school. The actual Theological College was a long way off. Students were taught in the Bishop's own home (Benham. 1896:306). The number of students grew, and by October 1878 it had risen "to fourteen, beside this there were two adult native students, two young Englishmen, and a native, who with his wife, was appointed to look after the boys"

(Benham, 1896:318). Callaway housed all these people in his own home, and dedicated a great deal of his time to educating them.

This small beginning, however, encouraged Callaway that even though the Diocese had a great deal of progress to make, he had indeed started:

as to our centre, I feel more and more that the healthy future, and eventually the very existence of the Church as a vigorous, life-giving, and expending force, depends on the efficiency we shall be able to give to the central work of educational training for school masters and clergy (Callaway in Benham, 1896:308).

However, the pressures of housing all those students himself and taking the full responsibility for their training was proving too much for the Bishop's health. In 1879 he finally took the step towards building a permanent home for the School. After a great fund-raising effort in England, sufficient money was collected to begin work, and, on 25<sup>th</sup> June, 1879, Callaway laid the foundation stone of what was to become St. John's Theological College (Benham, 1896:321).

St. John's College got off the ground slowly. By 1882, Callaway could write to the SPG that "a considerable part of the proposed College is put up" (Callaway, 1882, CLR 123:173). During 1882, the college really began to take form. By April of that year Callaway wrote that the College now had a theological tutor in the form of the Rev. W.M. Cameron MA Oxon. (Callaway, 1882, CLR 123:184).

Unfortunately during the late 1870's and early 1880's Bishop Callaway's health went into progressive decline. During 1880 he was compelled to return to England for an extended rest. On his return to St. John's he found himself increasingly unable to carry on the work of training future clergy. In 1883, Bransby Key was elected Coadjutor Bishop, and took

control of much of the development of the African students. Thus a great deal of Callaway's vision for a Theological Seminary, producing black deacons and priests to serve St. John's, came to fruition during the second half of his tenure as bishop, but under the hand of his Coadjutor.

Bransby Key, like Callaway, was an old Africa hand. He had served in missions in the Diocese for most of his adult life. Like Callaway he was fervent in his belief in the need for a black clergy, which he best summed up in 1886:

the growing importance of this work, which is being carried on by the Rev. W.M. Cameron, of Umtata, in St. John's College, cannot be too strongly dwelt on. The future of our work depends on our native ministry; and the training of our native clergy, moral, intellectual and spiritual, can only be carried on under the eye of an experienced priest in a college. At Umtata we have five or six actually in training for orders, and as many more in school who look forward to becoming theological students (Key. 1886. CLR 123:219).

As the College developed and the training become increasingly institutionalised and formal, it became necessary to set the highest possible standards. Callaway, at the Synod of Pietermaritzburg in 1871 laid the ground-work for this basic standard of education, when he said that although the church must not set its standards too high, it nevertheless must maintain the highest standards possible. Students at the College, therefore, were coaxed along in their work, but if they did not meet the standards set, they were held back until they did, in fact, reach the grade (Key. 1886. CLR 123:220).

During the 1880's the number of students studying for orders increased. In 1886, Key mentions five or six students. By the end of that year, three of those men were able to present themselves for ordination into the

diaconate (Key. 1886. CLR 123:230). During the course of the next three years, more men were ordained as deacons, and by continuing their studies, were able to look forward to the priesthood itself (Key. 1889. CLR 123:246).

These men were drawn from various parts of the diocese and were frequently already in the work of catechists or acting as deacons without the formal training. This made training them difficult, for it created the dilemma of how to continue their regular work at their home station, and yet be in Umtata for training. Thus Key writes:

it is not an easy matter to give them the requisite training, for they are doing useful Church work in their respective sphere, and whether they removed to Umtata for a year or two years their places would be hard to fill up, still we shall by degrees draft them into our little college and so make them qualify. (Key. 1890. CLR 123:251).

During most of the 1880's however, the Theological Training College was a part of St. John's College. It was never the intention, however, that this should remain so. After Callaway's death in 1890, the Theological College began to develop a life of its own apart from St. John's College. At first this independence was gradual, but finally took concrete form in 1892. Key outlines the need for the building programme undertaken to make St. John's College more efficient. He writes that

under the Rev. W.A. Goodwin<sup>37</sup>, the college is throwing out a new wing. The original building was put up in 1878 by Bishop Callaway. It is used for a school and college, but was designed for workshops for industrial training, and has always given inadequate accommodation for the school of fifty boarders and an average of

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<sup>37</sup> Successor to Rev. Cameron.

four or five theological students. The new building will give a dining hall, class rooms, oratory, and a dormitory, besides staterooms (Key. 1892. CLR 123:262 )

This addition greatly helped to develop the Theological School as a distinct entity from St. John's College, and in the course of the 1890's this distinction was to continue. Under the watchful eye of Bishop Key, continued development led to the formal opening of St. Bede's College, Umtata, as a completely distinct educational facility. Its express purpose was the fulfilment of the dream, began and fostered by Bishop Callaway, of an African priesthood to lead the people of Africa to Christianity.

No more fitting memorial could have been chosen than the building which bears his name, an addition to St. John's Theological College at Umtata. The actual labour of erecting and organising that college had indeed passed out of his hands of late years, and fallen to the share of younger men unencumbered with endless cares and responsibilities. But it was Dr. Callaway who had recognised, even in the early days of his mission, the existence in the Kaffir race of a capacity for good amidst so much that was disheartening and unpromising (Benham. 1896:358)

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *THE TOLL*

**H**enry Callaway's service as founding Bishop of the Diocese of St. John's was marred by continued ill-health. Years of unstinting work and the result of the nervous energy brought him again and again to the point of collapse. The history of his illnesses predates his arrival in South Africa. As a doctor in London he gave to his work the intensity characterising his whole life. In London in 1851 he was diagnosed with phthisis and his doctors ordered him to rest (Benham. 1896:16). Less than a year later, in 1852, his doctors ordered him to leave England for the winter, and raised the question "whether or not he should ever settle again permanently in London, his work as a general practitioner was pronounced too great a strain" (Benham. 1896:21).

In 1853, he did in fact return to England, but qualified as a physician with considerable less onerous duties than those of a general practitioner. His health, however, remained precarious. During these two years of continued ill health, Callaway underwent immense mental and spiritual strain in addition to physical. He confronted his reservations about the Quaker church, explored Anglicanism in far greater depth and found an increasing pull towards the ministry. His doctors advised him to give up any ideas about taking Holy Orders, and continue practising medicine (Benham. 1896:37).

Being the kind of man he was, Callaway ignored his doctor's advice. In 1854 he came to Natal with Bishop Colenso, thus beginning a long and gruelling life as a missionary in what was then the wilds of Africa. Physical illness continued to plague him during his years at Springvale,

and even as he was preparing to leave to take over the episcopacy he noted "being unwell [which] has kept me from so vigorous prosecution of my work as I could wish. I am now, however, getting better" (Callaway, 1873:98).

Thus Callaway entered into the work of Bishop with already precarious health. The work of establishing a diocese from scratch, however, proved to be a far greater strain than he had originally anticipated. Not only were there the problems related to finances, staffing the diocese and finding a central seat a burden to him, but also impatience at having to delay some of his long cherished goals, such as establishing his hospital and theological training college.

The country-side of the Diocese also added greatly to the break-down of his health. While Natal was far from developed at that point in its history, it at least had some development. Much of Kaffraria was completely wild, with few roads and fewer bridges. This made travel difficult and arduous enough to tax the strength of a strong and healthy man. Yet the Bishop carried on regardless.

The toll the terrain took is all too clearly recorded in his diary, when, in 1875 as he travelled from Pondoland to Cape Town for a Provincial Synod he was overcome with heat and exertion. He relates how

at the river I spent the day under a castor-oil plant in the boiling sun, and felt exhausted and too ill to have evening prayer with the people. William Sikakana conducted the service with a sweet solemn voice (Callaway, 1877a:35).

The early troubles in the Diocese continued to tax him. The war in 1877, for example, caused him great concern over the welfare of the priests and their missions under his care. However, he continued his work unabated -

taking on the burden not only of training men for the ministry, but housing them in his own home.

As the 1870's wore to their close, the Bishop's health declined accordingly. In 1880 he suffered a stroke leaving him temporarily blind. Benham indicates that this was "the result of a long strain of overwork and anxiety; and the doctors ordered a complete rest as the only likely means of restoration" (Benham. 1896:334).

As a result he travelled to England to recover his health. A long rest was vitally necessary. Even in England, though, he continued his work, preaching and speaking in public on behalf of the Diocese (Benham. 1896:336). Additional cares, exacerbated by absence were caused by the War of 1880, when much of the Diocese went up in flames. Sitting impotent in England hardly helped him enjoy the rest he sought, and, when he wished to return immediately to his See, he was restrained by his doctors (Benham. 1896:340).

By 1881, however, Callaway was back in Umtata, somewhat recovered by his sojourn in England, but still with very depleted reserves of energy. His condition became an increasing source and concern amongst his clergy (Coakes. 1881. CLR 123:164). It was becoming very obvious that his health could not take the strain of overseeing the Diocese.

In August 1881, Callaway made a tour of the northern part of St. John's. Snow made it a particularly bad trip, and even though he rested at Clydesdale and Kokstad for breaks, the effect on his health was negative. By October his condition had deteriorated to much the same point as it had been before his trip to England, with "excessive heart weakness, accompanied by threatening of paralysis and often by partial blindness" (Benham. 1896:356).

In one way, this was a hard time for Callaway to start letting go of his duties in his work. It was just beginning to come to some state of fruition, with the buildings of the colleges at Umtata, the new stone church to replace the Pro-Cathedral, and a steady number of theological students. Just as concrete results of his labour came into sight, it became nearly impossible for him to continue.

As the pressures of the work came to bear, Callaway began to think more and more either of retiring or electing a Coadjutor Bishop. By 1882 he became convinced of the necessity of this step, writing to the SPG in London that:

I am far from well and am constantly reminded that I must, if I wish to do any work at all for the Diocese, save myself from all worrying occupations. I see no escaping these unless either I retire at once or obtain a Coadjutor: the difficulty would be to obtain the right man who must have the right of succession. It would be just as easy to appoint a Bishop as a Coadjutor, and would be more simple (Callaway. 1882. CLR 123:168).

The idea of his resigning, however, was unthinkable. Pressure from England and Scotland convinced him that a Coadjutor would be the better choice of action (Callaway. 1882. CLR 123:175).

### *THE COADJUTOR*

**C**allaway set the motion towards the election of a Coadjutor Bishop into motion in July 1882 when he formally presented the idea to his clergy in Synod. They agreed, and "the question was referred

to the Provincial Synod which was to meet at Cape Town in the following January" (Benham. 1896:351).

The Provincial Synod agreed to the idea of an assistant. The man called to that office was Bransby Key, and Callaway's reaction can be gauged from his letter of announcement to the SPG:

I presume that Archdeacon Waters, whose duty it was, informed you that Rev. B. Key, of St. Augustine's has been duly elected to be my Coadjutor, and his election has been confirmed by the Bishops of the Province. The consecration is to take place at Umtata next month. I am quite satisfied with the result of the election. I believe he will be a real sympathetic fellow worker (Callaway. 1883.CLR 123:187).

Bransby Key was consecrated by the Metropolitan and the Bishops of Maritzburg, St. John's and Zululand in the Church of St. James in Umtata (Gibson. 1883. CLR 123:189). As soon as he was consecrated, Key began to assume much of the workload to relieve the increasingly ailing Callaway. He began by visiting almost every station in the Diocese in order to learn first hand the conditions of the Diocese (Key. 1883. CLR 123:196).

Satisfied that his work would be continued, Callaway bought a piece of ground near Clydesdale,

where I intend to build myself a house, a snugger for my last days, where I hope in quiet to study and spend my time in arranging my large mass of material collected during my thirty years' mission life (Benham. 1896:354).

His health continued to fail. His public appearances became fewer and further between, and it sometimes took him between four or five weeks to recover from preaching a sermon (Benham. 1896:355). The opening of the fifth Synod in June 1885 was one of his last public acts, and thereafter he seldom appeared in public.

1886 was a very difficult year during which Archdeacon Button, almost a son to Callaway, was killed after being thrown from a horse. This tragedy broke the Bishop's last emotional bond with St. John's, and in June that year he tendered his resignation to the Metropolitan (Benham. 1896:357). It was accepted with great sadness, and Bransby Key assumed full control of the Diocese. Key wrote to the SPG:

Our dear Bishop, too, has resigned this year, and his resignation has been accepted by the Bishops of the Province. The Diocese has, therefore, lost now all the leading clergy who, during the last twelve years, have administered her, through good fortune and bad. This is no slight trouble; the names have been filled on paper, but the voice and presence of Bishop Callaway and Archdeacons Waters and Button will be no more amongst us, and this at a time of unusual difficulty and depression, and one at which the character of the greater part of the Diocese is undergoing a change (Key. 1886. CLR 123:230).

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel responded with both gratitude and sadness. Their brief account in the pages of *The Mission Field* reflects their great esteem of the man:

the retirement of Bishop Callaway from the See of St. John's, Kaffraria, severs a connection with has existed between him and the Society's Missions in South Africa for upwards of

thirty years. In the Mission of Springvale, as Missionary Priest, and since 1873 as Bishop, he has been closely identified with the literature and education and the spiritual and temporal charge of the part of South Africa which he has made his home, and to which he devoted a considerable portion of his private means. After long and laborious years of work as Priest and Bishop, combining also the duties of physician, farmer, schoolmaster, and printer, the infirmities of advancing years have now at last compelled him finally to retire. The Standing Committee [of the SPG] desire to place on record the Society's high appreciation of his life long work, and heartily pray that he may long enjoy the repose he has so nobly won (The Mission Field 1887:93).

Old and broken by years of ill health exacerbated by hard work in a harsh environment, Callaway left South Africa and returned to England. In 1888 he and Mrs. Callaway took a house in Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, where for more than a year he lived in "quiet contentment, enjoying the peace of country life after so many years of toil" (Benham. 1896:357).

He did not suffer but grew gradually weaker, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> of March, 1890, the end came. On the 31<sup>st</sup>, Monday in the Holy Week, his body was laid to rest in Ottery churchyard. Three of his own South African clergy were among the many friends who followed him to the grave (Benham. 1896:358).

## Chapter Eight

### *IN FINAL ANALYSIS*

**T**he image of missionaries has undergone a great change in the century and a half since Dr. Henry Callaway landed in Durban to begin his life's work of furthering Christianity on this continent. The change of view is the result of new and different ways of looking at history. There is a great temptation either to gloss over the sins of the past, or to resort to an over-simplification of interpretation. How then does one evaluate the life and work of a man who gave his very being to a cause he loved more than life itself? It is possible to measure the impact of someone like Henry Callaway, but surely the greater measure would be in what would have happened if he had not been there. To even try to measure this would result in being caught up in a bog of supposition.

In the beginning of this dissertation different approaches to the writing of history were outlined: the liberal, the radical, and the anthropological. Finally turning to an article by Nico Botha, Klippiess Kritzinger and Tinyiko Maluleke one finds a definition of church missions which must influence not only the way one views the activity of the church in the climate of modern life, by extrapolate that back into history itself.

How then does one "interpret" the life of Henry Callaway and the imprint he left on the emergent Diocese of St. John's? Before opening up the various points of view, and schools of thought, it may be worthwhile noting that Callaway was a product of his own life and times, and thus the imprint he stamped on St. John's was necessarily a reflection of that time.

It would be as anachronistic to expect him to have thought and behaved like a twentieth century bishop as it would to imagine him an eighteenth century man. He lived and died in the nineteenth century, thought nineteenth century thoughts and suffered a nineteenth century angst.

What is left to us is to determine what those nineteenth century accidents mean in the very late twentieth century. Would it, for example be fair to apply the modern, derogatory concepts of colonialism to one who unabashedly saw British imperial culture as synonymous with Christianity - and who willingly dedicated the bulk of his life to the extension of that religion and culture? That would be as fair as those of the late twenty-first century criticising us in a hundred years time for having attitudes entirely appropriate to our own times.

It is true, however, that each school of historical criticism brings certain strengths and weaknesses to the table of discussion. Liberals, radicals and anthropologists each have a series of filters enabling them to see certain aspects, or facets, of the subject clearly. Yet these same filters exclude other vitally important aspects which would completely change the picture if they were allowed to make an impact.

Henry Callaway was a man who lived in a certain milieu. His chosen profession opened him to a series of circumstances culminating in his appointment as Bishop of St. John's. In this position he drew on his own experiences to create an ecclesiastical structure reflecting his ideas, values and ambitions. This much can be easily agreed upon. The effects of this life's work, however, is open to great discussion, and it is useful to view it in the light of as many models of historiography as possible.

*A LIBERAL APPROACH TO HENRY CALLAWAY*

**L**iberal historians saw the missionaries as coming to bring black people into the Christian fold, and so into the orbit of white culture. In their minds civilisation and Christianity made one. From this perspective the replacement of indigenous culture with western/Christian culture, marked an advance on the evolutionary scale.

To a large degree the life of Henry Callaway and the founding of the Diocese of St. John's fits these criteria. Callaway's stated objective in coming to Africa was to be a missionary with all that that implies. He came to bring Christ to "the heathen", to change their culture by leading them into what he thought was a higher culture. Throughout his time he fought against issues of polygamy, witchcraft and other customs he thought barbarous. He worked diligently to introduce the plough, thus contributing to the breakdown of tribal culture. He gave asylum to runaway wives and children, adding to the forces undermining the family systems of the people. In the wars of 1877 and 1880 he sided with the British governmental authorities, thus helping destroy the traditional power of the chieftains.

In his mind he was doing the right thing, the Christian thing, and under his care Christianity flourished. Schools were established across the diocese bringing reading and writing to thousands of children. Marriages became monogamous, sealed in the sight of God, and sacred in the eyes of the church. Men answered the church's call, coming to Umtata to learn theology for themselves, that they might go back to their outstations and kraals, and lead more and more people to the church. To Callaway these developments were the fulfilment of his life's dreams and hopes.

In the process of doing this, Callaway gave his all, including his health. He came to South Africa a sickly man and never really enjoyed good

health. Yet he persevered onwards. Springvale, then Highflats and Clydesdale took his best years - yet he gave unstintingly of himself and his possessions. Even in the depths of despair in the early days of establishing the Diocese he never contemplated giving up.

There is a temptation to leave the story at this point - it paints such a positive picture of the man and his work. Yet by itself it is not a true reflection of the entirety of Callaway's life. To present someone uncritically is to do them an injustice. Callaway was a man who acted as he believed was good and right, but he was also a man with his own idiosyncratic ways, his strong points and his weaknesses. These showed up in many areas of his life, taking the form of certain attitudes. For example, he believed blacks were lazy and irresponsible, an attitude which he expresses in his writing, and which no doubt helped shape the ideas of those in England who read his articles in the Church magazine. During the establishment of colonial hegemony he co-operated with the British government in several areas, including taking their side in the wars of 1877 and 1880, in supporting magistrates and the rule of British law as opposed to tribal law.

#### *A RADICAL ANALYSIS OF HENRY CALLAWAY*

**T**he flaws in the founder of the Diocese of St. John's begin to emerge as one changes the filters of the mind to view him in a different light. The radical approach to missionaries came as a result of an increasing awareness of the perspective of those to whom Callaway came to serve. This is the perspective of a people whose culture was under attack from a stronger and better armed colonial people. In their own eyes, the blacks of the Diocese saw themselves in the process of steady dispossession as their lands were circumscribed, the family

customs and political institutions undermined by a new approach. In many cases they were prevented from exacting penalties from those who deserved them by the active intervention of the missionaries themselves.

Seen from this perspective Callaway's life and work takes on a different complexion from that offered by Liberal historians. It could be argued, that Callaway did the things he did and in the way he did them in order to reduce the people of St. John's to subjection, not only to himself as bishop, but also to the central British authorities, whose presence was becoming increasingly felt. Callaway willingly received money from the colonial government to fund his schools, and co-operated with them in many matters, from the founding of Umtata to the defence of the town in 1877 when the Cathedral was fortified. Surely these things vindicate the argument of historians such as Cochrane and Majeke that missionaries were *de facto* agents of the state, concerned only with the extension of worldly power coupled with exploitation and dispossession?

Yet how accurate is this picture if these kinds of issues raised by Radical historians are the only ones treated of? At the centre of radical historiography is the concept that people internalise their cultures, which blinds them to the cultures of other people. Thus it could be argued that Callaway, in setting up the Diocese, was so imbued with English colonial culture with its perception of the needs of a missionary diocese, that he simply went ahead and imposed his ideas, his dreams, on an unwilling general public.

Culture is a very powerful influence on human lives and one could pose a counter question as to whether anyone can actually divest themselves of the culture of their upbringing? Nineteenth century imperial culture was particularly vibrant, a fact born out by the residual influences still present in our culture a hundred years later. The ideas raised by men such as Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Winchester, fuelled the jingoistic fires

burning across England. Each Christian in England, he taught, has a duty to bring civilisation and Christianity to the new people of the Empire. Few people could resist this challenge, most rose to meet it, some by becoming missionaries themselves, others by contributing the funds to support missions, and still others by urging the British Government to cooperate in every way with the spread of Christianity.

Not many people managed to remain isolated from this cultural pressure. Thus comes the radical charge that the missionaries had internalised their culture, and were incapable of seeing beyond their own frames of reference. No truer statement could be made. At the height of their imperial power, the undisputed masters of power, military and commercial, imbued with concepts of their racial and technological superiority, the Victorians saw little in tribal African culture to recommend itself. They judged the world by their own standards, and were unforgiving of those who failed to match up.

The issues they brought to the colonisation and Christianisation of South Africa were peculiarly their own, although echoes continue to haunt us a hundred years later. The issues of racial supremacy played a great part in the way this country developed. Similarly, the issues of class and money equally helped muddy the waters. The Victorians believed themselves superior to everyone, and in their own culture they maintained a strict class structure which made it as difficult for a person of the working classes to cross the line into the aristocracy, as for a black to meet on equal terms with a white. As they colonised South Africa, these racial and class prejudices became entrenched and intertwined, leading to many of the problems we experience today.

This was the culture Callaway and his fellow missionaries is accused of internalising and bringing to South Africa. Yet was this his attitude in developing the Diocese of St. John's? To some degree the answer is yes,

but in another, equally powerful degree, Callaway did not reflect all the attitudes of his time.

### EQUATION

**H**ow then do we equate Henry Callaway with the different schools of history? Clearly he can be interpreted from both a liberal and radical point of view, and because of this he fits into neither comfortably. Callaway does not fit the mould. The only two other ways of viewing his life and work are those presented by Dr. Monica Wilson<sup>38</sup>, who attempts to bridge the gap between the extremities of historiographical interpretation, and those of Botha, Kritzinger and Maluleke<sup>39</sup> who offer another definition of the meaning of mission.

These two latter approaches offer a clearer solution to the riddle of Henry Callaway, as they allow him the recognition offered by the liberals and the criticism of the radicals, but more effectively offering a deeper recognition of the influences of Victorian society and the deep yearnings of a man who was willing to commit his life to God.

The anthropological approach allows for both praise and criticism, and Henry Callaway deserves both. His life reflected a dedication to the ministry and Africa which is most praise-worthy. The institutions he founded in the Diocese of St. John's still function today, proving that his far-sightedness is recognised and appreciated. Yet there are criticisms to be offered, certainly he did much to undermine traditional tribal culture, and the effects of that are also felt today.

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. Goedhals 1989:17-18 as discussed in Chapter One.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Botha et al. 1994. As discussed in Chapter One.

Analysing Callaway in this way, however, is dissatisfying. Mostly Callaway doesn't fit the mould because as an individual he was willing to break away from the accepted status quo. He showed this independence very early in his work with Bishop Colenso, disagreeing in principle and then in practice with Colenso's premises and *modus operandi*. In doing this, he set himself apart from the Bishop, and thus even further from the run of the mill missionary in South Africa.

Much of Callaway's preparation for episcopacy was spent in breaking the norms of western society. When everyone else saw little of value in black culture, Callaway grew absorbed in the study of their religion, their medicine, their family and political structures. The published insights helped to give the western reader valuable information about a culture which was otherwise closed to them. When he studied the Zulu language, he was not content with mere mastery of the words, he wanted to understand the very etymology of the words and the nuances this gives. The more he studied the more he came to admire certain aspects of Zulu life, in sharp contrast with his contemporaries whose attitudes towards racial differences were hardening into the form later given expression in Apartheid.

In taking this approach, Callaway did not conform to the stereotypical image of the missionary either as a misguided zealot or as an agent of state. Essentially a man of peace he learned as much as he taught, and as he learned, his respect grew. It was Callaway, who in Natal, pushed for the training of a black clergy, and he undertook that training. In St. John's training a black priesthood became a passion. In doing so he recognised that whites could not reach across the great divide separating black and white. Yet he could only come to that conclusion from a deep respect for the black people under his care, and a deep desire to lead them into Christianity.

So strong was this feeling that he believed it preferable to teach in Zulu, thus helping his trainees to think Christian thoughts in Zulu, and later in Xhosa. To have translated would have diminished the Christian message, putting the black missionaries at a greater disadvantage than they were already at. This is not the work of an agent of the state, it is the work of one who is willing to step out of the cultural norm. While others endeavoured to clothe the black man in a white skin, Callaway respected the blackness and sought to perfect it through Christianity.

Callaway celebrated much of African life in other ways too. Like Colenso before him, and as a direct influence of F.D. Maurice, he looked for the good in African culture and worked hard to improve it through a steady Christianisation. He had no desire to create a "hot-house" Christianity centred on mission stations, but rather a broader Christianity in which his converts lived amongst their unconverted fellows and led by example.

Thus Callaway did not have as a primary goal the replacement of African culture by western culture, but the distilling of what was best in their customs by means of Christianity. He sought to strengthen, for example, the family structure by removing polygamy which he saw as the source of great pain and suffering. His goal was not arbitrary, but intended for the betterment and upliftment of black society. Similarly, he had no wish or desire to see the chieftainship disappear, but he led to a more just expression of justice.

In fact, Callaway believed the western impact on blacks to be negative rather than positive. That was one of his reasons for establishing Springvale. Later, in establishing the diocese, he continued to guard black innocence against western infringement. A black clergy, who understood not only the language but also the history of the black, was to be a primary tool in this battle.

Cynics wonder why a man, so steeped in his own times, would give his life to a work such as this? Liberal historians accept his bona fides, radical historians reject them. Anthropologists could point out how far Callaway removed himself from the average missionary of his time. Yet the question remains: why did Callaway give himself so completely to this task?

Perhaps the best answer lies in the approach of Botha, Kritzinger and Maluleke whose article deals primarily with modern mission, but whose definition of the missionary is appropriate is a

wide and inclusive complex of activities aimed at the realisation of the reign of God in history. It includes evangelism but is at the same time much wider than that. Perhaps one could say that mission is the "cutting edge" of the Christian movement - that activist streak in the church's life that refuses to accept the world as it is and keeps on trying to change it, prodding it onwards towards God's final reign of justice and peace (Botha et al. 1994:21).

Could it be that the reason Callaway gave his life for the establishment of the church in South Africa, and ultimately the Diocese of St. John's, was no different from the reasons people these days go out as missionaries? Did he go from the conviction that his work, for all its blemishes and imperfections, is the work of God. Callaway had no doubt in his mind that the work he did helped to bring the Gospel to those who needed it most. His primary concern was not the physical or political state of the people, except where it conflicted with his ability to reach them with the Gospel.

Certainly Callaway's establishment of St. John's fits many of the criteria laid down by Botha, Kritzinger and Maluleke. His prime goal was the establishment of the church amongst those who previously were ignorant

of Christianity. Yet he was occupied in other activities which served this end. At the cutting edge of missionary work as few other South African bishops of his time were, he founded and erected his institutions with a constant sensitivity to African culture.

It can be argued then that the urge to go out as a missionary is an age old calling, felt by the men and women of the church from the time of the Apostles until the present day. The intellectual climate of Victorian Britain fed that sense of mission, providing both the empire with its ready made potential converts, plus the finances to go out and convert the masses. Ultimately, however, the call came from within, a personal response to a call from God.

Historiography may label trends, it may measure the impact of one's work either graciously or critically, but it cannot determine the commitment of a person to that inner call. Callaway exhibited all the signs of feeling that call. It came to him as a Quaker and was the major reason for him leaving that church. It prompted him to join Colenso, to establish Springvale. Finally it led him to accept the offer of the Transkeian bishopric. Each and everything he did was done in answer to that inner call.

The life and work of Henry Callaway came to an end in 1890. He died burned out from his work in South Africa, and from the strain of his years as Bishop of the Diocese of St. John's. The institutions he founded continue to this day: St. Bede's Theological School<sup>40</sup>, training people to serve in their own languages, cultures and communities the teachings for which Callaway gave his life. The colleges in Umtata, the various mission stations and outstations, continue to work amongst the people of the Eastern Cape as the Bishop planned they would.

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<sup>40</sup> St. Bede's has now been amalgamated with St. Paul's, Grahamstown, to form the College of the Transfiguration. Thus black and white Anglican clergy are now trained together by the same black and white clerical teachers in further fulfilment of Callaway's ideal.

No matter how one views the missionaries of the past, surely the greatest measure of their presence is the longevity of their accomplishments and the alternative situation had they not been there. Callaway's contribution to the people of the Diocese of St. John's was considerable, and laid some of the foundation upon which black South Africans could build a twentieth century culture vibrant enough to throw off the yoke of white dominion. Thus the seeds of an African culture, leavened with Christianity, has been achieved in the modern era.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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The primary sources come from two origins:

1. most of the letters referred to in this dissertation can be found in the archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Rhodes House Library, Oxford. Letters pertaining to the history of the Diocese of St. John's are bound in *Copy of Letters Received* (CLR) volume 123. Pages numbers refer to this volume.
2. letters and magazine articles, either signed or unsigned from the *Mission Field* are listed separately from letters. The *Mission Field* was the official organ of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home and Abroad. Volumes consulted cover the period 1860 to 1890. The *Mission Field* was published by the SPG in London by Bell and Daldy. Copy may be obtained at the CPSA archives at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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