

**THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN GRAHAMSTOWN 1830 - 1870: A STUDY OF THE
EXPERIENCE OF THE PARISHIONERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITION**

by

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Thesis Abstract:

A social history of Grahamstown between the years of 1830-1870. Tracing the relationship of the parishioners of the diocese with the "English Church", which developed into a formative part of the world-wide Anglican communion as the Church of the Province of South Africa after 1870.

The study tries to gauge the extent of external influences on the settlers after 1830 both socio-political and ecclesiological and especially with the growth of the influence of the Tractarians after the arrival of Gray as first bishop.

In the light of the later developments when the churches became 'trapped in apartheid', the study attempts to show that this was a time when a degree of independence in church / state relations church was achieved but the division between settler church and mission church became a reality.

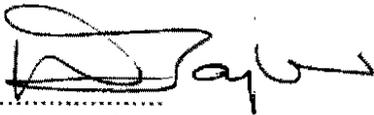
The study also engages in discussion of the relationship between a church and generalist historiography.

Key Words: Nineteenth century, Anglican tradition, South-African mission/settler church, Grahamstown & frontier

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The Anglican Church in Grahamstown 1830-1870.

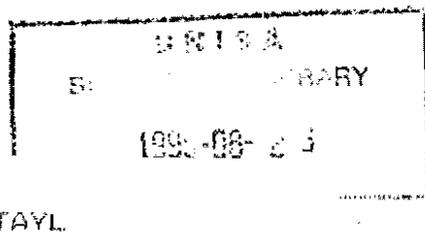
I declare that * *A study of the experience of the British settlers in the development of the Tradition*
is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



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Acknowledgements

This study arose out my own interest in how parishioners experience the church in which they worship.

In the past nine years I have worked as rector in a small parish in what was once suburban Pretoria. The parish is almost surrounded by the University of Pretoria and so has traditionally been responsible for the chaplaincy of the Anglicans amongst the student body. This has become an increasingly important part of the ministry as, firstly an increase in the number of English-speaking white students who did not go to Wits or Cape Town found their way to the church, then too, a number of Afrikaans students have been exploring a different way of doing things by attending the English Church. The demographic changes of the past five years have meant that there is now a larger number of black students in the church than white ones.

Such changes have meant that the leadership of the parish which remained predominantly white has had to tackle the great changes that have taken place in the country head on. Programmes have been developed and black representatives have been drawn in to the leadership and to the clergy. These changes underline, for the older members of the parish, a much more revolutionary change in the social and political life of the parishioners than they ever expected to see in their life-time. One of the discussions which has resulted is whether the parish will remain, in the long run, English speaking at all. The consensus view is that it will. How then will it have to adapt to meet the new situation of being English in Africa?

I became interested in how the differences between the black and white Anglican churches, which had become so entrenched, had first arisen.

Those older members, who make up the largest group in the parish when it is broken down according to age, have also had to experience another change which has been creeping up on them over the past twenty years or so. They represented a minority group in Pretoria in the Apartheid days and were able to pride themselves on their exclusivity. There was even a 'Sons of England' Hall adjacent to the property where the earliest Sunday School classes took place. One parishioner, who has only recently died, remembered coming to the opening of the church in the mid 1920s from her Sunday School class in that hall. She even remembers whose hand she held in the crocodile they formed to walk into the church two by two, and that person was well remembered by a large number of the people who still attend the church. (She was mainly remembered for the size of the hat she always wore to church, which tended to obscure the view of those sitting behind her. She sat in about the third row.) There are others who have been members of the church for over sixty years and about six years ago there was the joint celebration of three fiftieth wedding anniversaries of people who had been married from the church in the same year. The marriages and the friendships had survived.

During the time that the older generation were the prominent members of the parish, Evensong was the major service of every Sunday. Now the evening service is completely informal and is moving in a charismatic direction. How the parishioners react to these changes has been one of the pressing issues of the time that I have been in Pretoria. During this time the music has gone from being led by the organ, to being played by a variety of instruments, backed up by the bass guitar.

Also, during the life-time of many parishioners, there have been other demographic changes. Most members no longer live in the area as they once did. They have moved further east as the city, or at least the business sector, has encroached on the area. This, too, has meant a change in focus for the parish and led to questions for its future direction. There have been many other changes in the parish as well as those which would be expected to occur naturally with the changing of the seasons.

It was my observation of all this that lead me to wonder how other parishioners met with and coped with the rapid changes they might expect to find in the lives they lived in a place which has always been as fluid as South Africa.

So it would be fair to say that St Wilfrid's was the inspiration for the study in the first place. Then too, they made it financially possible for me to undertake it. For this and all the blessing which I have received at their hands I am very grateful, and so I would like to dedicate the study to them.

Others have been involved in this process like the lecturers from UNISA whom I have come across over the years. I would especially like to acknowledge the help and encouragement I have received from Dr Millard. I would like to thank Nikki de Wet who scanned the pictures and also to acknowledge that the pictures came from the *Pictorial History of South Africa*, the *Illustrated History of South Africa* and the *New Illustrated History of South Africa*, the details of which can be found in the bibliography, along with the *Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa* , edited by E. Morse Jones.

Thanks too, to Althea Adey for reading through the manuscript and editing it for me.

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I am particularly grateful that I was able to stay in Timmy and Rob's house in Kenton while in the Eastern Province as that made the studies worth-while and exceedingly pleasant. It meant that I could combine holidays and research and I have found this a very satisfying combination.

NLAT , Pretoria 1998

Abbreviations

AICs	The African Independent Churches
The Colony	The Cape of Good Hope
CMS	Church Missionary Society
COE	Church of England
C P S A	Church of the Province of South Africa Church of the Province of Southern Africa after 1982
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
English Church	Used to refer to the Church of England in the Colony
L M S	London Missionary Society
S P G	Society for the Promotion of the Gospel
S P C K	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
V O C	Dutch East India Company

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Introduction



Bishop Robert Gray

1. What is the Christian Church?

People are not solely religious in their engagement with life but they are certainly unique in their life experience. Many factors of heredity and upbringing make it impossible for a synoptic experience, even for twins, in the most closely knit family.

In the prophetic imagination of Jeremiah (1:4ff) and the poetry of the Psalms (139:13ff), the Bible gives a very clear statement of the unique purposes of God for each life which, having been conceived in spirit before flesh for a determined purpose, was knit together with infinite care and patience. It is the world into which this wonder has been born and which engages it, enrages it and in many (if not most) cases perverts it into a grotesque pastiche of the divine blueprint. The consequences of the human engagement with life-in-time, is what eventually will be written into the history books.

The Pauline insight shows us that the whole creation waits for the glory of the children of God to be revealed, when it, too, will be freed from the shackles of mortality and frustration to which it has been subjected and enter into the glorious liberty of the children of God (Romans 8:18ff) These are issues of predestination and free will and theologians have, from the first, tackled them within the context of their time and experience. Their insights have been varied and subtle but in all cases, Christian theology has at its heart the saving work of Jesus the carpenter from Nazareth, who made it possible for every human, recognising him as the Christ of God, to begin to walk along the difficult road of personal regeneration. For Church Historians, on the other hand, the starting point is slightly different.

In its ecclesiology, the Christian church, as it has developed over the millennia

has had to grapple with the tension between the infinite possibility of divine conception and the sordid realities of political and economic exploitation, cultural and social oppression and ethical and moral ignorance, in an attempt to understand what it is that Emmanuel, God-with-us, is expecting *his* church to do. As *his* vehicle, the Church was at once to show the heavenly kingdom birthed in the world, the secrets of the kingdom which is still to come, the compassion of the saviour for every individual and also to be involved in the complexities of the everyday experience of its members.

In the light of this vast brief, it is no wonder that ecclesiology takes as a starting point the church in history. For the purpose of analysis it has not proved particularly helpful to talk about the 'essential' church *in the abstract celestial spheres of theological theory*, rather it is most helpful to look at the church as a work in progress, something which is developing as an ongoing fact of history in every time period. The New Testament itself represents the church as an established reality in Jerusalem, Asia and Italy with the theology, especially in the Acts, that makes up its pages, being a reflection after the event. (Kung 1968: 5)

Kung pushes the argument that the church is a mystical process in real time even further when he says that its 'essence' and the 'form' cannot be separated and that any attempted distinction between the two ideas has to be conceptual rather than real. There can be no nice theological distinctions about what is changing and what never changes in the church; while there are permanent factors, there are no absolutely irreformable areas of God's church. (Ibid, 5)

Nevertheless, there may be times when the conceptual differences between form and essence prove to be useful to the theorists since the two are not identical and should not be equated. How else would it be possible to decide what is always present in the changing form of the church? How else can we judge *its actual historical form*? How else can we establish standards of performance from which we can evaluate the successes or failure of the church throughout its empirical history with any degree of objectivity? (Ibid, 6)

Kung's succinct formulation enables us to resolve theologically, an issue of the relationship between *theology* and *church history* and *history*, which has increasingly begun to engage the attention of historians in general as well as church historical areas of study in South Africa. In this debate, the proponents of church history claim that it stands at the interface between history and theology and yet retains its integrity as an area of study in its own right. The problem for the Church historian is not whether, or how much, the study of the Church in time and society is a theological discipline or not. It clearly is. The question at issue is to find out how much the church historian's craft is part of the craft of the generalist historian too, and how much it should allow itself to be influenced by the discoveries and techniques, as well as the epistemology, of historiography as a study discipline. Here there needs to be no fight at all.

1.1 Debate in South African Historiography

Francis I of France is reputed by a lecturer at Wits University thirty years ago, to have said during the Hapsburg-Valios conflict of the 16th century, "My brother Charles and I are in complete agreement, we both want Milan". He was speaking of Charles V at a time when they were at war. Whether the quip is true or not, it is a *bon mot* because it means the reverse of what it says. In the church/general history context, everyone really does want the same thing.

Since 1989 the debate has been engaged in by Nicholas Southey, Gerald Pillay and Richard Elphick among others working in the field of South African historiography. The discussion grapples with the form that Church history should take in the future and perhaps its survival as a separate discipline at all. Southey has suggested that though a truism to say so, the history of the church is intimately bound up with the society in which it is grounded. This, he says, is not always evident in the writings of South African Church history, which often give the impression of a detached church operating in an unreal world of 'us' versus 'them' with the emphasis being clearly on the internal affairs of the churches themselves. Because of this, a gulf has opened between the two aspects of historiography with the church historians

seeking to justify their existence increasingly in theological rather than historical terms. (Southey JTSA 68: 5) The consequence has been that church historians have failed to reach a 'wider historical public' and lost the valuable contacts which may have given 'more sophisticated insights to the theologians, their self confessed audience'. (Ibid, 6)

Since, Southey says, the aim is to reinforce the Christian faith in general, his point seems to be that the requirements of theology will predominate over the findings and methods of historical study every time. The discourse of church history has become theological, even in some cases propagandist, rather than historical. If this contention were to be found to be true, such writing cannot be viewed as a 'relevant' history in the South African context, and would not be acceptable as history at all. To be fair to him, Southey then sketches areas in which cross fertilization between the two disciplines occurs and suggests ways in which the religious histories 'from below' may enhance insights into the lives of people and the development of processes in South Africa. He proposes ways in which *religious history* may replace some of the dogmas of the present Church historical disciplines to the mutual benefit of South African historiography. (Ibid, 15)

In the Hebrew-Christian tradition, the emphasis falls not on the rational processes of human reason, but on divine revelation. (Rust 1963: 61) As the church developed and, in the context and language of successive historical eras, updated and re-interpreted its tradition, it never completely lost sight of its roots on the one hand or of the mystical relationship it had with Jesus Christ, on the other. Every Christian historian can hardly avoid having some relationship with this epistemological system whether s/he would incline intellectually to an idealist, naturalist or materialist framework. What is at issue here is not really the world-view at all, but the use which is being made of the system of thought. Southey's problem with church historiography is not its history but its motivation.

According to Pannenburg there has been an 'inflation' of the word *revelation* to the point where it can mean anything or nothing. For some it occurs through manifestation and inspiration, for others it embodies act and word, has to do with

Israel, salvation or simply with Jesus Christ. The influence of Karl Barth has been seminal in all of this, but since his theology has been 'walled off against any mixture of "natural", non theological, and non-Christian knowledge', he has had little interest in entering the kind of discussion which has not got to do with the saving grace of Jesus Christ. (Pannenburg 1979: 1). In other words, there is the theological insight into *reality* and then the rest.

While Barth's way is not the only way, or even the most widely accepted way of doing theology (others have insisted on the points of contact with "natural" humanness), in Protestant circles, most theological insight has as its starting point some form of *revelation*. Although the term has become less and less specific, one aspect of revelation in the Christian context remains - in its essence it is self revelation of God. (Ibid, 2)

As a religious system, Christianity can be nothing if it does not claim to have the answers 'to the meaning of Life, the Universe and Everything'. (Adams 1979: 128) The doctrine of revelation seeks to look into the mind of God and the plan of God for the created order, and with it getting some idea of the divine plan for humanity and by extension for history. Pannenburg, having rejected direct self-revelation of God through his Name, his Word or through the law and gospel, seems to settle for an indirect self-revelation of God as a 'reflex of his activity in history', which he claims corresponds to the Israelite and primitive testimonies of the faith. (Ibid, 14) It is difficult to see how church historians who are also Christians can fail completely to engage at some level with these themes and issues. Such matters can be of interest only to the Church historians themselves. As a generalist historian it is not surprising that Southey feels excluded in this area, he is.

Given all that, it remains possible for Pillay to agree with Southey's primary contention that the study of church themes cannot be separated from other general historical themes and that church themes cannot be the preserve of church historians. Pillay agrees with him that other historians do not have the constraints of dogma which may make church historians less critical in their writing than they might

be. They do have others though these are less often up-front. Pillay points out that the debate is not new. Von Harnack read a paper in 1904 entitled *The relation between ecclesiastical and general history* in which he argued for their interconnectedness. (St Eccl XX: 2 1994: 157-8) In this article Harnack highlights four areas of the Church which can only effectively be understood in terms of universal history and with which Church history should interact:

- *political history, since the church has always shown a tendency to reflect the constituency of the state of which it was part,*
- *the history of religion in general , especially in regard to the Jewish roots of the faith and its engagement with the middle eastern systems which surrounded it at its inception,*
- *the history of philosophy and knowledge as a whole, since there is an affinity in aims between two epistemological systems of mind and spiritual religion,*
- *economic history, since no understanding of the church would be possible without an insight into its engagement with issues of wealth and poverty on the one hand and its own wealth having so vital a role to play in the economic history of its times. (ibid, 158ff)*

As the argument unfolds it becomes clearer that there is a specific task which church historiography has vis-a-vis general historiography which makes it more than a social history of religions on the one hand or historical theology on the other. As Harnack says, there is a special character to the study which has as its core the question "what is the Christian religion?" (Ibid, 163)

If Harnack is right, church history has as its starting point a theological question.

According to Pillay, any attempt to answer the question requires an

assessment of the fundamentals of the faith within the context of a tradition arising out of two thousand years of answers and revisited by every generation. (St Eccl XX: 2 1994: 162 ff) From this perspective, the task of church historians is emphatically not simply one of tracing the history of doctrine. Rather, the unique nature of the church historical task has to be understood in its capacity to interpret what rising generations have given as their answers to Hamack's simple question, 'What is the Christian religion?'

Their answer has then influenced the direction which the church has taken and coloured its relationship with the society in which it finds itself, the ways in which the individual believers have lived their lives, and how the meaning of the gospel would appear to have been adapted or refined over time. (Ibid, 163) Ebling has called this a hermeneutical task and Pelikan says that it is the ongoing search for the living tradition which resides within the history of the interpretation of the church (ibid, 165) and in doing so brings us back to the starting point of this discussion. Kung's point about the church having as its basis a historicity and vitality rather than an abstract relationship between essence and form. (See p3 above)

1.2 Fresh Approaches in Church historiography

A fresh approach to the discussion was introduced by Richard Elphick, writing in *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* in June 1995. In an Article entitled "Writing Religion into History: The Case of South African History" he contends that religion is largely ignored or superficially treated in mainstream in South African writing. He suggests that two criteria need to be satisfied for the study of religion to be brought successfully into the mainstream (Elphick, *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* Vol XXI no1, June 1995, 1ff):

1. The thought and actions of religious people - their doctrines, rituals, spiritual experiences, individual and corporate moralities need to be looked at seriously and studied with empathy. (Ibid 1). The reason for historian's neglect of these areas has probably less to do with a lack of religious commitment

amongst the individual historians in South Africa than a political tradition which has since been amplified by a 'political-economic' emphasis in the mainstream. The present secular emphasis resulted partly from the Marxist hegemony in some universities, and partly because before the political changes of the 1990s the political, economic and social inequalities of Apartheid, made any other preoccupations superfluous. (Ibid, 4)

2. Having understood these religious phenomena, they must be written into the many contexts - political, intellectual, social and economic- which the people of their time, inhabit. Elphick's perspective is humanist - that religious people are not solely religious and that they respond to their context as men or women, adults or children, workers or peasants, liberals or conservatives, whites or blacks. In this way and in their groups or classes they act or are acted upon in ways which are appropriate to their experience or their interests. In their responses to their experiences sufficient attention needs to be paid to their own interpretation of what is happening to them and how their religious sensibilities sometimes reinforce, sometimes undermine and are sometimes irrelevant to their interaction with other groups in society. 'To sketch a blueprint of these complex linkages is to implant the study of religious people into a mainstream historiography'. (Ibid,2) Where institutional histories fail to reflect the overlapping of everyday experience, they have failed to make a full and empathetic reconstruction of the past in a way which fully enters into and respects the individual life experience, this may not be good history, and it is *certainly* not good theology.

It is good and right that in a society in crisis, as South Africa has been for generations, the emphasis in its story should be on the critical. The time has possibly come or is coming when the histories begin to focus on the 'private sphere', where whole subregions of history have been devoted to personal space and intimacy, the body and fashion, food and manners and many other more intimate aspects of life tackled previously by the historical novel, but now given prominence particularly in

France. Here the influence of Foucault's argument that power relationships permeate all aspects of life in an infinitely complex pattern gave an impetus to the study of the inter-penetration of private and public realms of life. An example which Elphick gives of this field of study is the argument put forward by Chartier that the growing private (non-government) sphere of 18th century France nurtured the critical discourse that ate away the foundations of the *ancien regime*. (Ibid,5)

Evidence of the importance of popular faith in personal decisions and actions is slowly beginning to become part of the South African Historiography. 'A major challenge facing historians of South Africa is to affirm that the history of most South African communities is incomplete without religious history'. (Ibid, 13) For example, the significance of his Scottish evangelical theology and social ethic has only recently been brought out in Ross's 1986 biography of John Philip and his role in Khoisan emancipation.(Ibid,6). The faith aspects of the Great Trek and the religious motivation of the origins of Ethiopianism¹, have only been investigated latterly. (Ibid, 7) A change of emphasis in historical research in both church and general histories will redress the stress that has traditionally been placed on the missionary and official church records. In South Africa emphasis will have to be placed on oral traditions for the 'African point of view', while traditional sources like diaries and notebooks may yet emerge to reveal personal lives and faith may be revealed.(ibid,13)

The differences of emphasis between the two branches of historiography will become more obvious as the two begin to converge and then to overlap. A convergence is evident in Keegan's treatment of Methodism as a factor in the lives of settlers in the Eastern Cape in the period after the arrival of the 1820 Settlers, which he deals with because he recognises the importance of religious affiliation in shaping the people's perceptions and identity. (Keegan 1996: 65) He picks up on

¹L.Pato has addressed this matter in the CPSA, assessing the ethos of the Coptic Orthodox Church which separated from Rome in AD 451 at a time of struggle over Christological definitions. The Ethiopian church which owed nothing to the western culture grew out of it. Many AICS have aligned themselves with this movement. The CPSA has a bishop of the Order of Ethiopia. (Suggit & Goedhals eds 1998: 140)

their origins in the lower middle class, artisan and working classes, which is admittedly very significant in the context of a changing social structure and economic system in the Colony. The Methodist experience, too, plays its part in their self awareness and also their political education in England, because, as Keegan points out, its cell-like structures and encouragement of education and self-expression, gave many of them the beginnings of a social independence and also an organisational network which was beyond the reach of the authorities. (Ibid 66) Significantly for this analysis the social and civic leaders who emerged in Grahamstown were mostly Methodists. But this was in a later period when 'the dead hand of middle class control, preaching the virtues of subservience, submission and work discipline' had overwhelmed the fiery hopes of primitive Methodism. (Ibid 66)

South African Church historians, struggling with the challenge to strip away the traditional forms in which the story of the mainline churches has been told, will have to look at those most intimately involved in any given period and ask the question "What is the Christian religion?". Among their tools will be quite a few of the elements of Marxist historiography and a class-based analysis, but the outcome will be subtly different. It would probably place at least as much emphasis on faith and salvation as on cell groups and economics.

Even this small scale faith history is a radical departure for church historiography. To make it more 'historically correct', church historians have deliberately limited its role to exclude any theological categories, even *revelation*, from their epistemology. This has resulted in their telling and re-telling the story of the churches in terms of this pope following that one and fighting with the next king. Elphick's article seems to be giving us a further and liberating possibility. All historians should be freed and encouraged, to acknowledge their belief-system and take it as a starting point for their thinking, thus avoiding the trap of disguising their position in a cloak of objectivity. (Elphick, *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* Vol XXI no1, June 1995, f) As its historians turn increasingly to the people in the church who make up its daily life for the stuff of their discourse, the temptation to put a favourable gloss on the institution will naturally diminish. Another advantage for some of us is

its Biblical sanction. 1 Peter 2:5 says "you also, like living stones, are being built into a spiritual house to be a holy priesthood..." It is an exciting challenge to describe the experiences of a spiritual house in the context of its time and as valid as the description and contextualisation of any other type of construction.

* * *

2. A Social History

The theoretical foundations for this study arose from the debate and engagement between generalist and church historians in South Africa in recent years which focussed the need for and postulated the possibility of a church history which is grounded in a socio-economic context. It arose, secondly, from the notion that church history would benefit from a study which seeks, as unobtrusively as possible, to invade the private world of the Anglican church, in this case in Grahamstown between 1830-1870. The study seeks to find out something of what was going on in their minds and more crucially, for a social history, their hearts.

In order to get a living perspective of the settler church in Grahamstown in the middle years of the nineteenth century, several aspects need to be examined. These will include the people and their life experience as immigrants and their relationship with their place of origin. Attention needs to be given to the way that attitudes changed with the passing of the generations and their new responses to the country and its socio-political situation.

Apart from the secondary sources, which describe a bigger picture in a systematic and orderly way, the period is amply supplied with the reminiscences and thoughts of many such people. Through these, the issues thrown up by the sudden flinging together of so many different groups in such a small space might be clarified and various responses explained without having to be justified. Indeed the Grahamstown people seem to have developed early on, a form of parochialism which transcended the parish boundaries and the religious denominations.

In the modern period in South Africa, as James Cochrane has noted, individual Christians and their churches have been subject to serious stress. (Cochrane 1987:1) He quotes Nosipho Majeke as saying that it was capitalism that shattered tribalism and so destroyed the social relationships that went with it. It also changed the whole social nexus, causing the whole of society to become organised around industry and commerce in a way that sucked in everyone whatever their tribe or race. (Ibid 2) These are the kinds of themes with which historians have attempted to grapple in recent years and since they have had a deep effect on every individual life as well as the institutional life of the country, church historians, too, have had to grapple with them. According to Cochrane (and in contrast to Elphick) they have done so without much depth, being caught up with the 'actions and experiences of clerics, church leaders, and the subordinate groups of particular denominations or missions, taken more or less at face value'. (Ibid 2)

In Cochrane's critique of the church historians he pays particular attention to their study and treatment of mission, highlighting what he sees as the general weakness of the church's political analysis. Cochrane thinks that, even du Piessis who in his study on the missionary enterprise in South Africa makes the attempt to place the churches' missionary endeavour in its political context does so from the liberal position of Theal which takes it for granted that the spread of Christianity was part of the 'civilising mission' of Victorian liberalism. (Ibid 2) Two consequences may arise from this crippling naivete, firstly should the churches be put into the government's pocket, its leadership would not recognise the fact of what had happened to them. Secondly, when the churches finally recognised what had happened to them, the realisation might become obsessive. *Trapped in Apartheid* (Villa-Vincencio 1987) is now well travelled ground and its development and consequences have been what the church and its leaders have been struggling mightily with for many years. This study should make clear that Gray already knew by the 1850s and 1860s that all the benefits of this type of relationship with the state - go to the state. (Hincliff 1966: One sided Reciprocity)

It is the contention of this study, that in Grahamstown during the period

between 1830 and 1860 the church was less dependent or entrapped by the government than at any other time in its history. It was, rather a time when the church became *one denomination, two churches*, (to paraphrase the Chinese 'one country, two systems', a catch-phrase used to describe the situation of the communist and capitalist systems in Hong Kong and Taiwan). As far back as 1964 Neill was drawing attention to the tensions between the missions and the church. (Neill 1964, chapter 13) At the time of great humanitarian influence in the Cape during the 1830s there was a strong settler backlash against them and it has been said that the conflict between the mission church and the settler church became a dominant issue for the church and society during the nineteenth century in the Cape. (De Gruchy 1986) The Anglican church in Grahamstown would certainly seem to bear this out. It is an issue that was submerged during the crisis years but has not gone away. How to make a bridge across from the settler to the missionary church and back again, is an emergent theme in church historiography.

A second aspect for this study will be to touch on the way in which events external to the English church in South Africa which were taking place in the Church of England (COE) were imported into the country and what modification to these ideas and influences took place when they arrived. Since the period included the Oxford Movement, and as some of its most influential adherents, came out to South Africa, some general histories of the movement and its consequences will be used in the study. There are many primary sources which are available from the writings, and the official publications of the actors in the drama are to be found in the Cory Library, Rhodes House in Oxford and to a lesser extent, in this case, in the archives of Wits University and UNISA which will be used to give something of the personal experience and world view and conclusions of those who were making the things happen.

A social history of the Grahamstown Anglican church, as it was changing in the new circumstances of the Cape Colony, and the Anglo-Catholic tradition will need to examine several aspects of the lives and experiences of the parishioners and also touch on some of the longer term socio-political changes and developments which



Old St George's Grahamstown

influenced them in their everyday lives. Above all it will have to deal with the changes in their church lives and the new aspects of doctrine and ecclesiology that they had to cope with as well as the new spirituality that was offered to them.

2.1 The People

People who arrived as settlers in frontier districts brought with them ideas which had been fully formed in the British Isles. These were adapted through their experiences when they got there and initiated South African/English colonial cultural attitudes. These attitudes were passed on to the next generation and to new arrivals. They owed much to the economic laissez-faire liberalism and the progressive language of imperialism growing up around the development of the second British empire, but also resulted from the searing early experiences which they had on their arrival and their contact and sympathy with the Boer inhabitants who had treated them well at the time of their arrival. They came to see their role as part of a Christianising and civilising mission at the Cape, and to regard colonial settlement and expansion as a positive good. Modern historians looking at the consequences

of their actions observe, on the contrary, that men like Godlonton, Chase and Moodie publicised views that were antagonistic to the tentative philanthropic tendencies of the British imperial policy of emancipation of the labouring classes in the colony and its desire to extend legal equality to black people. (Keegan 1996: 5) Church leaders working with them, often lived in a tension, since they supported the philanthropic tendency of successive Imperial Governments but ministered and lived in the settler milieu and so sympathised with them and adopted their aspirations to a greater or lesser extent.

The settlers came to South Africa for their own personal reasons which tended to remain the same, that is, they had to do with personal achievement, health, wealth and the quest for security. However, they also came in response to the needs of the Imperial Government, which changed as the years went by and new Colonial secretaries sent new Governors to implement new policies. When the High Tory Somerset was replaced (in part as a result of settler agitation) by Cole and then the Whigs sent D'Urban as Governor, the appointments reflected the mood of London rather than the interests of the settler. The fact that some maverick governors, notably D'Urban and Harry Smith, absorbed and sympathised with the settler position was exceptional rather than the rule. (ibid,5)

As the settlers flowed into a volatile frontier situation, they were taken completely by surprise and even the land was alien. They found, sometimes to their surprise, that they *had* been equipped by their social, economic and cultural inheritance to make a success of their undertaking. Some, of course, failed while others fell victim to the wilderness, the climate or the conflicts which plagued the area. Looking back from 1844 to 1820, Nathaniel Martin said 'the weather that first April was awful, and again there were the wild animals and wild men. Our dependence was on HIM' (Godlonton 1844: xiv) In 1827 William Fowler wrote to his mother that a twenty-five year old friend had been killed by an elephant, yet in May 1833 he writes with an unconscious selectivity that the colony was quite different from the home country in that 'no-one here is in distress without they have in general brought it on themselves through liquor...' (Letters, 1821-1842) To understand the

nature of their faith and their experience of it, they need to be placed in their setting and some exploration of the forces which operated on them needs to be established. Personal histories help to illustrate something of the political and cultural responses of the community in general and often reveal that people did what they did because of their understanding of 'HIM', and, examination of the individual and community events help to record this.

2.2 Questions of Ecclesiology.

The settlers came into the frontier districts armed with the formal theology preached in their churches and were steeped in the inchoate understanding of the divine, which is common to everyone. The two may overlap but seldom coincide. The churches themselves were not static and they had links with new developments at home which they imported into the colonial churches.

To understand the role of the English church in the lives of its members, the Tractarian experiment needs to be looked at, along with other trends within the nineteenth century Anglican church, in several areas.

2.2.1 Constitutional developments in the Church

One of Gray's gifts was administrative. He brought a systematic and coherent management style, which was new in the Colony. It was based on a vision of what the Church is and what it expected of its adherents which had not before been experienced under the ad hoc development of the parochial system of Colonial Chaplains. In a circular to the clergy in 1851, the bishop made his priorities clear, these were, the division of the diocese of Cape Town, the future maintenance of the clergy, the mission to the heathen, and, the establishment of a college. (Cory Ms 16 759)

The constitutional issues of ecclesiology brought into the church by Gray, Armstrong and their sympathizers had comparatively straightforward consequences

since resistance to them culminated in a series of spectacular court cases which had the effect of clarifying minds quite remarkably and led indirectly to the independent Church of the Province of South Africa in 1870. Even Cotterill, for all his evangelical leanings, came to understand that the colonial church needed to become an independent Province outside the pale of Canterbury so that it could grapple with the realities of the South African situation. Before he left Grahamstown in 1871, to become bishop of Edinburgh, Cotterill had provided some of the momentum needed for the establishment of the new Province through his brilliance in Canon Law, his three Consultations held within the diocese from 1864, and, his work at the Lambeth Conference in 1867. (Cory Ms16 616)

There would seem to be little doubt that the period between 1830-1870 saw a radical change come to the institutional and spiritual life of the English Church in the Cape as it was being transformed (along with many other colonial and former colonial churches) into an autonomous member of the Anglican Communion. In order to get a clear picture of what it was like to be a member of this church it will be necessary to examine the experiences of clergy and members and see how the institutional changes impinged on them and whether they were able to embrace constitutional roots which took white settlers further from their emotional English roots in a country which they often found strange and terrifying.

2.3 Issues of Spirituality

The movement, to become an independent Province of the Anglican Communion, was accompanied by a clear departure from many of the practices which were common in England. A circular letter to all the clergy in 1851 from the Bishop spelt out what Gray meant when he said that the Cape Church was a missionary church. Descended from the the primitive church, in the high church view, all mission starts around the bishop, he gives it its focus, but as Gray made clear, 'it is not in accordance with our Branch of the church, or the Primitive Apostolic Church, that the bishop should, by his sole authority settle all questions that may arise'.(Ms 16 759)

The bishop being there meant that the others were freed to do that for which

they were called. The priests and deacons had special functions and responsibility as did the laity. At the same time as having this mystical quality, there was a very practical quality about these colonial bishops. They knew that a power vacuum provoked a power struggle, so they insisted on an orderly and disciplined use of power in the church. They knew that too much authority was likely to become counter-productive because without consultation people could not grasp what the leadership was going on about. Gray, therefore, wanted a return to synodical government. With the high church party, if they wanted to go forward to meet the needs of the future, they naturally looked back to the tradition, presumably finding, like Ecclesiastes that there is nothing new under the sun. (Eccl 1:9)

There had been provincial synods in the tenth century and perhaps as far back as the seventh. (Hinchliff 1966: 19) There is nothing surprising about the inclusion of the laity either, since synods were always structured round the bishop, so it was really up to him to decide whom he wished to have advise him.(Ibid 20) Then in the eleventh century there was a conscious effort to remove the separate spheres of clerical and lay government from each other's ambit so that Synods or convocations became the province of the church and parliaments were for the laity. (Ibid 20)

Gray had already discussed this matter with Australian, North American and West Indian dioceses who were adopting or had already adopted similar practices (Cory Ms16: 759). There was a problem because, Sumner, the archbishop of Canterbury, had come to different conclusions from the same evidence. With the control of the church by parliament and the appeals on church matters having been handed over to the Privy Council in 1833, he felt that the control of the church was finally in the hands of the laity through their representative institutions. (Hinchliff 1966: 156)

This was not a viewpoint that Gray, Armstrong or even Cotterill, who was a lawyer and a low churchman, could appreciate. They were not the kind of Christians who could comfortably let the judiciary be the final arbiter of their actions, or allow the

representative institutions to have the right to deliberate the formularies and doctrines of a church tradition which was so much older (and wiser) than representative democracy. It was, therefore with some satisfaction that they heard in 1854 that Selwyn of New Zealand had been told that no Act of Parliament rendered the holding of diocesan synods within the limits of colonial See invalid and that Her Majesty's Government was satisfied that no further laws were needed to entitle the clergy and the laity to meet in synods to make rules for church affairs. (Ibid, 183) Now the leadership had an alternative to offer. How would the laity respond? Would they act as a brake or embrace the change?

2.3.1 Restoring ancient practices

Building on the inheritance of the past, the universal catholic past and the English Church with its Prayer book and Thirty-nine articles, the new leadership had a fairly coherent understanding of what they expected from and hoped for the members. Or as the bishops might have put it the rediscovery of the primitive roots of the church. The *Churchman's Almanac 1858* shows that the Lectionary pattern was already there and though it is not immediately apparent how they were chosen, there were readings for morning and evening Prayer which meant that those who attended could have the Scripture as part of their daily experience. (Insert in Cory Diocese of Grahamstown Yearbooks Vol 1: 1850). The practice was not as enthusiastically embraced in England.

Sometimes the reformers enforced Anglican practices in more rigorous ways. Anglican clergy have always been expected to say the office twice daily and this has been systematically done in many places including Grahamstown but there had been criticism of the Chaplains before Gray's arrival and he called the Diocese of Cape Town his 'inheritance of woe'. (Hewitt 1887: 101) Yet, Heavyside's diaries make it clear that in July 1856 the Offices were said daily in the church and Bishop Gray attended, immediately on his arrival for a Visitation during the interregnum between Armstrong and Cotterill. (Ms 16 606,3) Heavyside recorded the attendance figures for the Diocesan survey in February 1857 and says that the numbers attending the

weekly services were 15. (Ibid: 60) The diaries do not make it clear whether this was the weekly total or the average attendance at the services each day but it would seem likely that it was an average since the clergy were expected to attend and there were usually between three and four of them at that period in Grahamstown even before the arrival of the new bishop in May.

The new enthusiasm for the Offices is mocked in 'Dr Thorne' a novel in Anthony Trollope's Barchester series. Trollope had a lively cynicism when it came to human motivation, vanity and folly so he ridicules the Anglo-Catholic tendencies of Mr Oriel, an eligible bachelor and also questions the motivations of his one parishioner in attendance:

And then there was Miss Gushing - a young thing. Miss Gushing had a great advantage over the other competitors for the civilization of Mr Oriel, namely in this - that she was able to attend his morning services. If Mr Oriel was to be reached in any way, it was probable that he might be reached in this way. If anything could civilize him, this would do it. Therefore the young thing through all one long, tedious winter, tore herself from her warm bed, and was seen - no, not seen, but heard - entering Mr Oriel's church at six o'clock. With indefatigable assiduity the responses were made, uttered from under a close bonnet, and out of a dark corner, in an enthusiastically feminine voice, through the whole winter. (Penguin edition 1991: 374)

It cannot be assumed that all the Grahamstown clergy were devoted to the habits and practices expected by their new bishop, and it would certainly not be fair to attribute dubious motives to those in the congregation who were regular in their attendance, in the way that Trollope does of Miss Gushing. Some attempt is needed to disentangle the myths of observers like novelists and social commentators and establish a credible understanding of how much the new mood sweeping the clergy through the Tractarian reforms was approved and practised by the laity.

2.4 The Church and Doctrine

Fourthly there is a need to examine the whole issue of how the people translated their response to the new dynamics of their faith into lifestyle and social action.

One of the first things which Gray did on his arrival at the Cape was to establish an ecclesiastical journal whose aim was to acquaint church leaders and others interested, with the theological and ecclesiological issues of the day. Because there was also a propagandist aspect to this publication it was met, like everything to do with Gray, with some scepticism by those with evangelical views and those who wanted to maintain the link with the Province of Canterbury. The *S.A.Church Magazine and Ecclesiastical Review* give some indication of the conciliatory approach which was taken by the editors to the Protestant party in the diocese, with early articles including a reprint of a series on "The Origins of Papal Superstition" written in 1741 by Conyers Middleton. (*S.A.Church and Ecclesiastical Review* Vol 1&11, 1850,1851) Other issues carried articles dealing with Baptism, the Apostolic Succession, essentials of Christianity and Synodical government in the church. It would seem that from the first, the nature of the issues tackled by this publication gave some idea of the mind of the new leadership, the issues they wanted to be dealt with, in order to make their theology, spirituality and liturgy clearer to a church. Initially the parishioners viewed them with caution and in some cases with a suspicion amounting to hostility.

Hooker established the principles of Anglicanism during the time of Elizabeth I, describing the COE as balanced on the three pillars of the Bible, tradition and reason. The style of the writing in Gray's *Ecclesiastical Reviews*, owes much to the rational aspect of Anglicanism. For example the Matthew 19 passage on the rich man, the camel and the eye of the needle is dealt with by one article with a helpful explanation of the Double gateway which existed in most middle Eastern cities, which contained a smaller and more accessible inner gate known colloquially as the 'eye of the needle' and which was far too narrow for a camel. (*S.A.Church Magazine and*

Ecclesiastical Review Vol 11 1851: 195) The imaginative reconstruction of first century Palestine in this way leaves the believer free to grapple with the faith issues rather than getting tangled up in the Saviour's illustrations. This appeal to the intellect was one of the ways in which Gray and his followers were to attempt to involve the laity and to engage with the people who belonged to the English church from the settler communities.

The excitement of the Oxford movement was pervasive because its effects reached into the farthest and untouched places from the slums of the English inner cities to the bleakest corners of the world's most far flung Empire. Between 1830-1870, while the Anglican communion was being born from the English Church with Tractarians as the mid-wives, there was also a subtle change in political allegiance of the settler colonies who were becoming responsible for their own administration. As English nationalism grew at this time, the British Imperial idea became the big idea of the age. And the settlers became part of it.

Imperialism was the precursor of the 'the global village', a good thing for those who were in it and incomprehensible to those who were not. Since it was accepted uncritically by those who had the power to enforce it and was backed up by superior communications and sophistication, it became all embracing and inevitable. Those European Powers who could manage to, became part of it.

As a political philosophy, it had a popular appeal. It is inevitable that the settlers of towns like Grahamstown caught up in the forces of changes in Imperial policy, matched by changes in the reach and scope of the Anglican Church should, at times, conflate them. The leadership of the church did not deliberately set out to make the Church of the Province of Southern Africa into the British Empire at prayer. However, it became deeply entrenched in the English settler middle class who strongly resented and vociferously opposed the standpoint of those like John Philip who championed the indigenous peoples inside and outside the church. Many clergy were caught up in the Imperial vision and probably supported the settler standpoint. If they did not, they followed where the laity led on this issue.

3. What is the Anglican Church ?

The high church movement which had such a profound effect on the development of the Anglican Tradition in South Africa was in many ways a radical movement, but it was clothed in the language of a return to the primitive church of the Fathers. So that the renewal of the Church of England and the development of a world-wide Anglican Communion was disguised in antiquity but was involved from the start in social action. Arguably, the primitive church was too.

From the start, the leadership was involved with issues of wealth and poverty and the evangelistic nature of the faith. Gray, in 1847, and those who joined him as bishops in the mid 1850s treated the establishment of missions in the frontier regions of what became Grahamstown diocese as a priority. Mission had the support of the clergy of the archdeaconry of Grahamstown in 1850 when they petitioned bishop Gray to take immediate steps to establish a mission in the Eastern Frontier district of the then Kaffraria.(Cory Ms16 775,2) It was not only the clergy who said that they supported the leadership in its desire for work to be done amongst the Xhosa people, an address of 4 June 1857 to the new bishop says amongst other things that the laity

hope for Cotterill's success in Grahamstown and in the benighted regions beyond. In his reply the bishop said that he would be asking for assistance with these areas. Heavyside does not comment on how this request was received.(Cory Ms16 606:92)



Sir George Grey
partner in mission?

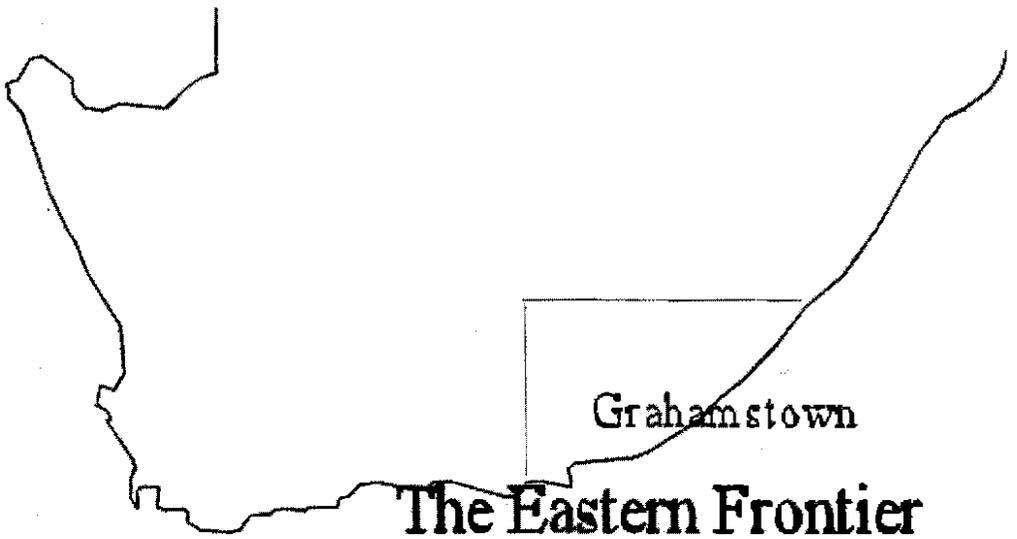
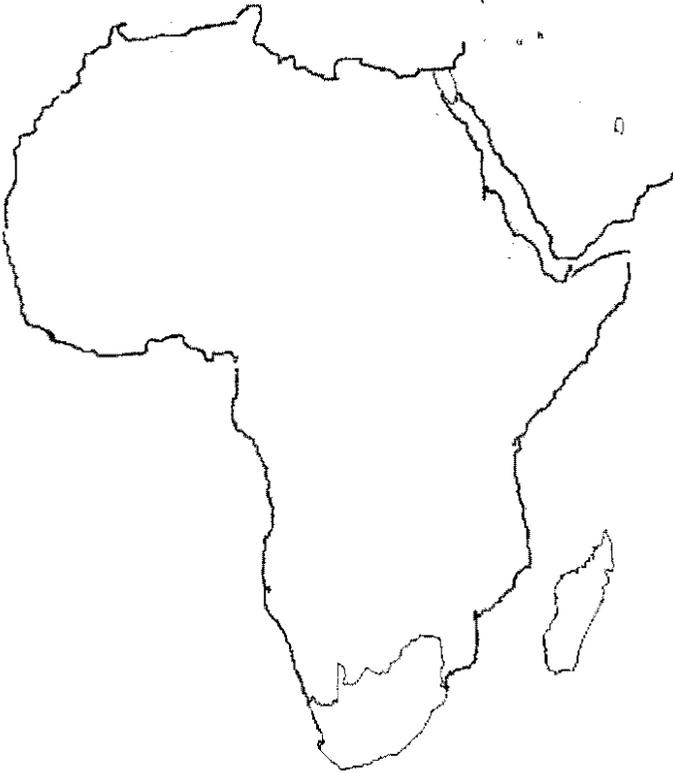
Caught between their desire to be on the warm upland slopes of material success and basking in the comfort of being part of the Imperial in-crowd meant that the Settlers could be happy to benefit 'the heathen' in distant places as long as it did

not impinge on them too closely. Close for the burghers of Kent might have meant one thing. For the burghers of Grahamstown, close meant the other side of a fragile border and at times actual physical danger. Imperialism and Anglicanism demanded one thing from the settlers and the genuine difficulties of their experience sometimes

seemed to call for another. The tension was part of their life and was not one which was easily resolved.



Grahamstown 1830 - 1870



CHAPTER 2



E

nglish in Grahamstown 1820-1850

1. Graham's Town

1.1 The Setting²

On about 4 May 1812 John Graham (1778-1821), Andries Stockenström (1782-1864) and a party of soldiers went to De Rietfontien, the abandoned farm of Lucas Meyer which was situated in a broad valley scooped out between two spurs of the Zuurberg. In the centre of the valley were two streams. Higher in the valley was an elevated tongue of land which would be used for the barracks and which could be dammed to irrigate from sixty to eighty acres of gently sloping grounds on the river banks. High up the hills, the ground rose more than a kilometre from the valley and was considered to be suitable to be ploughed. Higher up the land was not useful for cultivation but could be used for grazing cattle throughout the year and sheep in the summer. There was timber in the vicinity and the area was suitable for the cultivation of fruit trees and vegetables and there was a place which would be good for the building of a water-wheel.

Here the garrison town to become known as Grahamstown was established. The town was designed to be a strategic place on the troubled Eastern Frontier with the Xhosa peoples, known to the settlers and also the officials variously as the Kaffres or the Caffres.³ Graham and his party were struck by the strategic suitability

² From the original proclamation of the township, the town was called Graham's Town and this name was carried into the name of the Newspaper which was published in the town. Gradually over time the name was changed and people began to refer to it as Grahamstown. I will use the latter spelling for coherence.

³ In view of the pejorative nature of the word 'Kaffir' in the subsequent history of S.A. It is jarring when people in the 1850s, like bishop Cotterill, use this to describe the Xhosa nation. It is used in most of the documents (Mathews Vol 2 1957, 163 on the Kafir Institution of 1860, for example) and at times would seem as some of the official class particularly those in British Kaffraria whose views about the development and welfare of the Xhosa peoples were radically different from those of the settlers thought that it was what the Xhosas were actually called. Even the Xhosa are quoted as

of the place when they climbed the south ridge and admired the panorama to the mouth of the Fish river on the coast. Riding on to Rand Kop they enjoyed the view which it gave into Xhosaland including the Keiskamma, the Tynie and the Kat Rivers as well as the 'Amatola mountains blue in the distance'. (Maclennan 1986:132ff)

Grahamstown was designed to be a garrison town which could both police the borders and act as a communications centre between the local settler farmers and metropolitan Cape Town. The very act of its establishment also meant that the Zuurveld, a disputed area between the Bushman's and Fish rivers, had been annexed to the Cape Colony and the border drawn at the Great Fish River. (Cameron ed 1992: 82) The Governor, Sir John Cradock, having recognised that the peace of the Cape colony including the Peninsula depended on the peace of the hinterland had persuaded the British authorities that a permanent military role was essential if the frontier was to be secured. The moment that principle was accepted the balance of power tilted to the settler side and the notion of a closed frontier had finally been established. Cradock's proclamation establishing the town stated that the Governor ' thought it proper to make known, and to direct, that the present headquarters of the Cape Regiment situated in the Zuureveldt... shall in future be called... by the name *Graham's Town*... in respect for the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, through whose spirited exertions the kaffir hordes have been driven from that valuable district'. (Oakley Ed 1994: 103)

1.2 Conflict on the Frontier

Though the establishment of the garrison and the example set by Graham in pacification of the indigenous peoples was through 'a proper degree of terror' (Cradock to Liverpool March 1812). It was meant to finalise the situation in the border region, especially the lower part from the confluence of the Kei and Fish Rivers to the sea which bordered the Zuurveld. Nevertheless, resolution of the border regions and violent conflict between government, settlers and the Xhosa people was not achieved

using the word. In 1842 Sandile described Dugmore as 'a man who came to teach truth to Caffres, but who does not know truth himself' (Pieres, 1981, 128) Where the documents use the word, I have used it with the spelling of the writer.

for several decades when the situation in Southern Africa had already changed so radically that the notion of the Eastern Frontier had ceased to have any geo-political significance.

In 1817, Somerset who had succeeded Cradock as Governor, decided to develop a system of agreements by which the border could be self policed by tribal leaders so he made an agreement with Ngqika, the leading figure in western Xhosaland, who was given trading concessions in return for the prevention of cattle theft. Unfortunately for him, the paramountcy which the government recognised was more apparent than real and there was never a strong central authority with whom the colony could negotiate with any certainty that agreements could be enforced. Trust broke down in stock theft reprisal and acrimony ending in the war of 1819 (during which Grahamstown was attacked by 6000 tribesmen led by the prophet Nxele who had promised his followers to their cost that the British bullets would become as water against them, and who was later imprisoned on Robben Island (Oakes Ed 1994: 105). Habituated to the notion of central government as British officialdom was, negotiators wanted to find a supreme chief with whom they could make a binding settlement. This was not possible since there was not such a paramountcy in the Xhosa system. Ngqika himself acknowledged the seniority of the Gcaleka king, Hintsa, but acted independently of him, even warring with him in 1848 over hunting lands. Chiefs allowed their sons to survive and then to set up independent chiefdoms further to the west which created further pressure on the land. (Wilson et al 1969 Vol I: 250)

J B Peires makes the point that the border issue might have been settled at this period if it had not been for the demand which the Governor made for the rich land between the Fish and the Keiskamma rivers as a price for military intervention by the Imperial Government. He describes the notion that Somerset had intended to create a 'neutral belt' in the open territory between Xhosa and settler as one of the enduring myths of Frontier history. Despatches from the Governor to the Colonial Secretary in which he refers to the land as *ceded* seems to indicate that it had always been designated in Government thinking as land suitable for settlement. (Elphick ed 1989: 483) This had particular significance if, as Peires suggests, the loss of the Zuurveld

caused political rather than economic inconvenience to the Xhosa, whereas the deprivation of territory meant that land shortages became acute when Somerset appropriated the Ceded Territory from Ngqika in 1819. It was this action that was to lead to the long and bitter war with Hintsa in 1834-35 and the War of the Axe in 1846-47. (Peires 1981: 145)

By 1820, the options had become clearer, the situation could be resolved by force, leading to conquest and annexation, or by negotiation and treaty. Both these options were tried at different times as it was obvious that conflict was endemic to the area and although the colonists were powerful enough to win in war, they were not powerful enough to police the peace, nor was the government. (Ibid,484)

1.2.1 Negotiating the Boundaries

The conflict was about the land and who should have it. There were several parties and interest groups involved and attempts at a compromise solution were usually short-term with one or other group having had agreement forced upon them.

How the government should proceed was unclear. Force as a policy, was discouraged by the Colonial Secretaries in London on the ground of expense and because they had a philanthropic concern for the indigenous populations of the empire. So the alternative policy available to the contesting parties was for a negotiated settlement of the region. Compromise was to be tried, through a system of treaties, which were hard to reach and even harder to maintain since there was a conflict of interests between all the major players on the Frontier.

In the first twenty years of British rule there were no natural alliances in the country districts. In the first place, the British authorities and the Boer settlers were at loggerheads and often actually in conflict. In 1815, for example, Ndlambe and Kobe were offered the return of the Zuurveld with all the English cattle, if they came to the aid of the rebelling Boers. (MacLennan 1986: 169). The rebellion failed and so did the

alliance. Despite having driven about 20 000 Xhosa's from their land in the Zuurveld, it was to prove very difficult to find a policy which would be able to maintain the peace. Indeed, by 1820 only 38 of the 145 Zuurveld farms given to white farmers after Graham's Town was founded were still occupied by them.(Elphick ed. 1989: 482).

Force as a solution, had always been favoured by most farmers in the area whose mistrust of the VOC government was to persist and intensify with the British regime which replaced it under the terms of the Vienna settlement in 1815, after the Napoleonic wars in Europe. This mistrust resulted during the second half of the 1830s in the Great Trek of Boer farmers into the interior to find a life independent of the British in the Cape Colony. By rejecting the Colonial Government's perspective on Southern Africa and in by-passing the Frontier, the Boers effectively undermined government policy on the borders of the Cape Colony and the frontier districts, and changed the strategic balance in the sub-continent completely.

The British government based at the Colonial Office in London, was not primarily interested in annexation and would have preferred negotiations with independent Xhosa chiefs behind an agreed border. Their officials on the spot were supposed to carry out this policy but in practice individual Governors seem to have found it difficult to restrain themselves from annexation when they arrived on the frontier, since when they were there, they were more accessible to settler influence and argument. Governors like D'Urban and Smith earned the respect of the settlers and their historians because they accepted the settler view of affairs as articulated by people like Godlonton and Chase. This view has been summarised as characterising the proper role of the imperial power to be extension and entrenchment of settler enterprise, to protect and preserve the social hierarchy and to exercise proper coercive control over indigenous people. (Keegan 1996: 5) Negotiation could never really succeed as a policy for resolution of the Frontier when the settler side, at least, never accepted the constraints of a sealed border in their constant quest for new land, commercial expansion and cheap labour. In 1895 Wirgman articulated some of this in his book which, among other things, showed the tension experienced by a settler Anglican priest and intellectual who saw a different picture from the settlers and

at the same time identified with them. (below:46)

From 1800 there had been a variety of peoples and cultures in the area. It was there that the advance guard of the Xhosa and of the white settlers had long been in contact as had representative groups of Khoi-khoi and San. The competition for land and the market for meat in Cape Town had led to the trading of livestock on all sides. By 1799 the Xhosa were trading as far west as Knysna (Wilson et al Vol I 1969: 237) Meat was traded for commodities like tobacco, brandy, metal, beads, blankets and also for ivory.(Ibid, 238).

Despite the discouragement of the government, which was trying to maintain the separation (a policy which had been unavailing since the arrival of Van Riebeeck in 1652), contact between the different parties on the border continued throughout the period and came to include those who visited on hunting trips or for explorations and after 1800 through the missionary contacts set up by Van der Kemp with the Ngqika's. Landdrost Alberti noted an enthusiasm for business amongst the Xhosa which he attributed to greed and did indeed appear to arise more from an understanding of wealth creation than a simple need for subsistence commodities. The traded commodities, as well as cattle, acted as money substitutes and were exchangeable for services and each other.(Pieres 1981: 95) In an attempt to regulate the contact, a bi-annual fair was established in Grahamstown in 1817 and in 1824 there was a market held three times a week at Fort Willshire near Ngqika's country which led to the steep rise in the price of ivory. At the fair strict rules which were applied included the prohibition of the sale of guns and alcohol. (Ibid, 101) After 1831, the Xhosa were also trading for horses and guns. By 1846, Chief Sandile attended a meeting accompanied by about 3000 men, 'mostly mounted'. (Wilson et al Voll1969: 242).

Apart from the legitimate trade in livestock, there was constant disruption of life in the border regions through theft. Large herds of cattle sheep and horses were involved. These animals were vital not only for the Cape meat market but because milk was vital in the sustenance of families on both sides of the border and loss of meat and milk supplies meant starvation for many families. In 1781 a Boer commando

took cattle totalling 5 500 and claimed to have lost 65 327 horned cattle, 11 000 sheep and 200 horses. In 1818 colonial forces took 23 000 cattle from Ndlambe, in 1835 observers reported that 60,000 had been taken and in 1877 the prize for winning the war was estimated to be not less than 15 000 cattle and 20 000 sheep. (Ibid, 242) It was this aspect of the situation in the border districts which was to be used by the settlers as the pretext for their support of a policy of force and annexation against the Xhosa, who were themselves fighting for their independence against forces which were to prove stronger than they were.

The situation in the borders was not simply a case of the relationships between government, settler and Xhosa, there were also involved those whom Monica Wilson describes as 'Intermediaries'. (Wilson et al Vol 11969: 246ff) These included the San, the Khoi-Khoi who were collectively known as the 'Hottentots' and the Coloureds who were described in the writings of the times as the 'Basters'. One group who arrived in the area in 1824 as a result of disturbances further inland were the Mfengu who sided with the white colonists in the wars of 1846 and 1850. (Ibid 249)

The Khoi-Khoi acted as translators between Xhosa and Boer from the time of their earliest contacts. They went on all the hunting and trading expeditions of the colonists acting with the Coloured members as servants. Khoi-Khoi and Coloured servants acted as cooks, herders and labourers as well as waggon drivers and interpreters. Added to that they were often fine shots and horsemen and hunted for food. After 1808 they were recruited into the Cape Regiment and they sometimes outnumbered white commandoes. In 1818 a party of Coloured hunters from Theopolis were on hand to tip the balance in the battle of Grahamstown in the colonists favour. (Ibid, 247)'. The Intermediaries had descended from the unions of white colonists and slave or Khoi-Khoi; of slave and Hottentot intermarriage; and the unions of San captives and slaves. By the early Nineteenth century they were speaking Xhosa and Afrikaans. In 1820 Pringle says that the Dutch language was universally spoken by the colonial Hottentots. (Ibid, 248).

Contact, it seems, was inevitable and so the government had in times without

war, to find ways of regulating the peace. Apart from a treaty system, there was available to policy makers one other option for the resolution of the frontier - *the close settlement of the border*. This was a policy adopted by the British government in the period after 1815 for reason of its own and endorsed by Governor Somerset for different reasons. In 1829 a further social experiment through the close colonisation of the border regions was tried in the valley of the Kat River from which Nggika's son Maqoma had been evicted.

The area was well watered and was strategic to the defence of the frontier. Stockenström decided to settle Khoi-khoi and freed slaves, already known as the 'Coloured' people, there both to give them a home and so that they could be 'a breastwork against an exasperated, powerful enemy in the most vulnerable and dangerous part of our frontier'. The settlers came from the remainder of the Gonqua Khoi-Khoi under Andries Botha and Basters whose leader was Christiaan Groepe. (Oakes ed 1994: 134).

Of the 250 Khoi-khoi and Coloured families who were given land, those with property were given preference as were those who had served in the Cape Corps of the army. They received four to five acre allotments and the right to common pasturage, two ministers lived among them and schools were established. (Oxford 1969: 248) Stockenström believed that the only solution to the Frontier in the long-term was the strict separation of the Colony and Xhosaland, but he also had it in mind to 'collect the remnants of the Hottentot race, to save them from extirpation and to Christianise them' (Elphick ed 1989: 484) The experiment was economically and socially successful, with the settlement reaching a total of 4000 people owning 700 muskets. (Wilson et al Voll1969: 248) But as a policy for the settlement of the conflict on the Frontier, it was a failure since the resentment of Maqoma at his expulsion was a contributory factor to the 1835 war in which men of the Kat River Settlement joined the Frontier levies. They did so again in the 1846 war. By 1850, though, they had begun to wonder if they were indeed benefiting from their allegiance to the Cape and some sided with the Xhosa in the 1850 war. It became obvious that their primary role in government thinking had been as a buffer when the Kat River settlement went into

decline after the war. (Oakes Ed 1994: 135) The need for the intermediary between black and white had declined by the 1850s. Direct contact had long since been established and many whites had learned to speak Xhosa. The Mfengu had also displaced the Coloureds as auxiliaries. (Wilson et al Vo I 1969: 249) By 1835 they numbered 17 000. (Ibid,274)

In 1836-9 a treaty system replaced the policy of D'Urban whose annexation of the lands between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, to be known as 'Queen Adelaide Province', was repudiated by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg. He appointed Andries Stockenström as Lieutenant Governor with the brief to try new ways of policing the frontier. But this, too, was a policy which foundered in the face of concerted opposition by settlers and the machinations of the Governor. Grahamstown supported D'Urban's annexation. Godlonton led the attack on the treaty system in the pages of *The Graham's Town Journal*. The message was simple, it said to Settlers and their friends at home in England (who were able to influence public opinion rather than make policy), that the Xhosa were thieves and the colonists were nowise to blame for war or unrest on the frontier. (Pieres 198: 124) When Napier arrived to take over as Governor at the Cape, he found the settler opinion being made perfectly clear through public meetings, through petitions and remonstrances and through their connections in Britain.

Sir George decided that, though favouring the treaty system himself, there was no way that it could be implemented without the support of the settlers and he amended it in 1840 so that Tyhali was moved to say, there are many Englishmen who 'kiss the book, and then speak what is not the truth' ; Maqoma said that his people 'steal oxen and cows but the government steals with the pen'. (Ibid,127) Between 1836 and 1844 there was an uneasy truce with Napier claiming that no shot had been fired during his term of office. More than one was to be fired during the term of his successor. The Xhosa mistrusted the Colonial government to the extent that they thought that the dispatch of troops to fight in Natal in 1842 was an outflanking movement which presaged an attack on them from the rear. (Ibid, 127) Maitland replaced Napier in 1844 and tore up the treaties, replacing them with one of his own.

(Ibid, 128) While troops were operating in the ceded territory in reprisal for the killing of a farmer, the Xhosa were convinced of the truth of what drunken soldiers were joking about, when they claimed that their occupation was permanent, so that as the tensions mounted the chiefs began to stock up on blankets, bridles, flints and knives. Traders' goods were seized and some traders killed, leading to the collapse of the treaty system and the renewal of war.(Ibid, 134)

1.2.2 Fighting for the Land

Until 1812, the Xhosa had been a nation expanding westwards. After 1819, they were on the defensive and trying to maintain their position on the Fish River. Whereas they had formerly resisted suggestion that they stay on one side of an agreed border they began to see that a firmly sealed border was the only hope that they would have of retaining their independence as a People.(Elphick ed,1989: 481)

Resistance became increasingly stubborn and the conflict increasingly violent until the war of 1851-53. There were wars in 1835,1846-8, 1851-3 and each time the independence of Xhosaland was further compromised through annexation. These wars followed some of the traditional patterns of Xhosa warfare, which was limited and certain conventions were observed by both sides. Xhosa fighters did not fight women and children, who were not intentionally killed and unarmed people were not killed. The war was with soldiers and all men so the missionaries were not part of any armistice.(Wilson et al Voll 1969: 252) In 1834-5 the lone pacifist in Salem was not killed. (Ibid, 243) Wars often began in mid-summer which was the traditional time for raids against the neighbour in the Nguni tradition but the frontier wars differed from the raids described in the oral tradition, or early records, because they lasted longer and were increasingly devastating since the Xhosa were not fighting primarily for plunder but for survival.

During the nineteenth century the border of the colony continued its migration eastwards into the heart of Xhosaland and a connection was sometimes made between the settler hunger for land, especially in drought years, and the fomentation

of wars. During the 1834-5 war, Thomas Stubbs said that 'the people on this frontier liked a Caffer War better than peace... I could enumerate a great many who owe their present positions (to) the Caffer Wars'. (Peires 1981: 125) The border moved to the Fish in 1811 when Ndlambe and 20 000 of his followers were pushed across it. In 1819 the country between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers was declared 'neutral' but was partly occupied by whites by 1824. Then in 1847 the boundary became the Kei, in 1858 the Mbashe and in 1878 the Mththa. (Wilson et al Voll 1969: 252) After the cattle killing in 1856-7, which was in part a resistance movement in which people participated in the hope of getting rid of the whites and of regaining their land and part millennial 'revivalist' movement, the capacity to resist incorporation into the settler socio-economic and labour system was finally broken. (Ibid, 260)

1.3 Settling the Frontier

The model for the Kat River Settlement of 1829 and the introduction of German Settlers in the newly annexed lands of British Kaffraria west of the Kei River in 1856, was the settlement of the Albany district between the Bushman and Fish Rivers which had been known as the Zuurveld. The plan involved sending 4000 people from Britain to the border region of the newly acquired Cape Colony, which was an area 600 miles from the only metropolitan centre in Cape Town.

In line with Malthusian ideas of overpopulation which were accepted in Britain at the time as the root cause of poverty and unemployment, on one hand, and the Liverpool Administration's obsession with unrest at home, on the other, the British Colonial Secretary proposed in 1817 that settlers be sent to South Africa. (Keegan 1996: 46) To this end £50 000 was set aside by the Chancellor to assist those who applied to go to the Cape. There were 80 000 applicants for 4 000 places so the government had some latitude to choose to send out only those whom it wished. Those favoured were small capitalist farmers at the heads of parties of indentured labourers. The heads of parties put down £10 per adult male and received in return a land allocation based on 100 acres per man. There were twelve of these parties but the rest were made up of groups who had come to South Africa and a new life. Each

party was encouraged to take a pastor with them for the spiritual needs of its members. (Elphick ed. 1989: 474)

The settlers represented a fair proportion of the society which they left, that is poorer labourers and landowners, traders and capitalists. Irish Catholics were deliberately excluded. (Butler 1974: 66) There had been some opposition to the scheme in Britain. Griffin cited problems such as the lack of markets and educational facilities in the country. Added to that there was question of what to do about those who defected from Albany or the relief of those who might become destitute and how the whole could be defended. Robertson questioned the suitability of the terrain and the availability of water (ibid,71) Things were quite as bad as might have been expected when the settlers actually arrived at Algoa Bay and were transported to the Albany district centred at Bathurst on the Cowie River. It took John Ayliff 165 days to get to the place allotted to 'Harry Hastings'. Furthermore, he was told that while Bathurst Town was only eight miles away, the largest town in the area Grahamstown, was over twenty miles away (Hewson and vd Riet ed 1963: 59). He is scathing about Bathurst saying that it could hardly be called a town, not having a single house! (Ibid,62) On his first visit to Grahamstown he found that most trade was through barter and that there was no bakery in the town. A German family baked the bread but since the oven was being repaired there was none to be had for two days. They eventually found refuge in the barracks. (Ibid, 64) Being unused to the conditions and not equipped as farmers those who could, left the area and only about a third remained on the land, many with vastly increased holdings. By 1823 the whole settlement was in ruins and as a scheme for settling the frontier it never had a chance to succeed. (Butler 1974: 145)

Of 1 004 male grantees only 438 remained on the land and most had moved to the towns, particularly Grahamstown, but with Cradock and Colesburg (est 1830) as secondary bases. Once there they flourished as traders and began to use their talents and experience to reshape the society they found themselves in. William Fowler wrote to his mother in December 1821 that bricklayers could earn R\$100 per month while half-day labourers earned R\$1. He spent the first five years as a

bricklayer. (Letters: 1821-1842) Next he set himself up as an English 'smouse' using what money he had to buy iron and cloth and began to sell hides and ivory. In 1827 Fowler writes home to say that he has become a trader, selling goods including beads and buttons to the Caffers, 'a fine race of people' He spent the next seven years as a trader (ibid,1833) It was not only on the border that trade flourished in these years. Graaf-Reinet became an entrépot town for this new trade in consumer comestibles and the Boer settlers began to become consumers. (Wilson et al Vol I 1969 : 476)

With the transformation of their lives came also a transformation of their attitudes. They took their place in the complex multi-racial colonial set up as part of the privileged white elite (ibid,176) and quickly identified with the Boer settlers in their constant quest for labour and criticism of Khoisan vagrancy. They supported the introduction of Ordinance 49 of 1828 by which workers from outside the Colony could be employed if they carried a pass. (Ibid, 186)

2. Empire

The arrival of the 4 000 British settlers like William Fowler and later on his brother Mark Hopkins, who joined him in 1833, meant that there were people in the colony with a quite different world-view from that of the Boer settlers or the Xhosa. There was clearly an 'English' perspective on things even though the settlers did not share class or regional uniformity. Fowler was a Baptist from London and of the lower middle class. In this he would have had more sympathy with the Boers in religion than with the more Arminian aspects of Methodism or the staid formalities of Anglicanism which he barely regarded as Christian. He writes of his delight when a sister joins a 'Christian church' and it is clear that the meaning of Christian for him is Reformed. He puts the increase in the membership of the Methodist denomination in Grahamstown to their having a number of ministers while attributing the decline attending the pretty little chappel (sic) to the fact of there being no-one qualified to lead the meetings there.(Letters,1829-1842)

The arrival of the settlers, rather than deliberate government policy, proved to

be an assault on the structures of the old Dutch colony which hastened the inevitable changes that were occurring throughout the Empire and the world economy. (Elphick ed 1989: 474)

Nevertheless it was not, in the main, a conscious and coherent assault. Those involved in the struggle for press freedom, for example, or Bishop Burnett's disputes with the old judicial practices in the Colony (Ibid, 496) came out of views simply and often arrogantly held, that the ways which they had brought with them from England were right. Accompanying the victors they had no need to assimilate as some groups, the Huguenots for example, had and others were later to do. (Wilson at al Voll 1969: 274) An example of the way this moral superiority translated into practice came with landholding, something with which all the groups on the frontier were vitally concerned. English settlers viewed the acquisition of land differently from the Xhosa and the Afrikaners and in his letters, Fowler takes it for granted that the land he has acquired, is a form of capital, a taxable, marketable commodity, whereas, the others saw it as the bountiful gift of nature in a place where there was so much of it. (Elphick ed 1989: 502) To see it as capital was a new view for the locals, influenced as it was by the very restrictive nature of the land situation in England.

It was not only in land tenure that the arrival of the British Imperial system at the Cape meant that the mercantilist world-view of the V.O.C. had changed.(The Batavian interlude in 1803 had shown that the old structures of office; fees and patronage had ended for good). British notions of government, society and the economy differed markedly from the old system and in the fifty years following the annexation, government, based on interest and slave labour, was to give way to a system based on free trade and the exploitation of free labour. The new regime was to take a softly-softly approach to the white colonists but nevertheless its arrival meant that there was a change in attitude towards the judicial process, the administration of the civil service as well as the economy and also a change in the way they were run. (Ibid, 490 ff)

In the economic sphere the new economic freedoms and improved

communications, like the roads over Sir Lowries Pass and other mountain barriers, meant that the mid 1830s brought new forms of productive activity as well as bringing the furthest parts of the Colony into the range of the Cape economic system. This in its turn created new wealth and increased settlement. (Wilson et al Vol I 1969: 272) The number of white settlers increased from 42 000 in 1819 to 111 000 in 1855. (Ibid, 274)

When the settlers first arrived and established themselves in the Eastern Province, the balance in the English Church was tilted from Cape Town towards that part of the colony. The parish at Bathurst was established in 1820 and Clanwilliam the next year. In Grahamstown the parish was founded in 1823 and by 1829 the church had been completed with the Rev'd W. Carlisle taking up residence as Chaplain. (Hewitt 1887: 57) The money for the Church had originally been earmarked for Cape Town but was diverted to Grahamstown as a priority. (Lewis 1934:14) Port Elizabeth began to collect subscriptions for the building in 1824 which was to start in 1825, but by 1829 it was still half-completed. The first Chaplain there was F. McClelland who had come out with one of the parties in 1820 and after a period at Clanwilliam was to remain in Port Elizabeth long enough to become the first Rector of St Mary's retiring only in 1853 (Hewitt 1887: 43).

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S P G) had become active in the frontier districts, particularly in the setting up of parishes for the colonists and to ensure that there would be sufficient churches, schools and qualified ministers. (Ibid,13) Evangelicals were represented in the area by Wright, who was the chaplain at Bathurst for a time in 1828 and became heavily involved in the slavery issue writing a book 'On Slavery in the Cape Colony' in 1831. He spent much of his time with the outposts of the Cape Regiment thus earning the opprobrium of his parishioners. One of the two major social evangelical achievements of Wilberforce and the members of the 'Clapham sect' or Saints, was the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833 which had immediate and far reaching results on the whole of Southern Africa. (Ibid, 57) In 1844, when Maitland became governor, he actually had the settlement of the church and the establishment of its mission as one of the goals

of his governorship. (Lewis 1934: 27)

3. Grahamstown 1830 -1850

The reforming British governments of the 1830s found the colonies less a source of relief for the excess population of the metropolitan country than a constant drain on the exchequer. Wars and garrisons are expensive. Since the government attitudes were reformist, reasons were found why there should be reform in even so immature a colony as in these years the Cape with its scattered population and unhappy border regions. The reforming impetus resulted in the emancipation of slaves in the colony, the Legislative Council in 1834 which contained for the first time colonist nominees, and the Local Government Ordinance in 1836.

A movement for Representative Government which stimulated a desire in the Eastern Province for separation from the Cape Colony, something which was to remain 'in the air for the whole of the decade' was rejected in 1841. (Cameron ed 1992: 91) The idea was not new, the chaos of the first seasons in the Albany settlement had led to a protest petition in 1823 from the settlers which was looked back on with pride by later protagonists as the beginning of the agitation for eastern separatism. (le Cordeur 1981:2) The first official suggestion that the Colony be divided came from the Commissioners of Enquiry in 1826 who recommended this so that there could be one chief magistrate, 'uniting in his own hands the civil and military authority'. It had become necessary for this because of the increase in official and administrative business necessitated by the increased number of English emigrants. More important, from the perspective of the Commissioners, was the need to maintain and establish 'some uniform and consistent principles to the intercourse of the colonists and the Caffres and other tribes'. (Ibid, 23) The appointment of Stockenström to the area as commissioner general in 1828-1833, and, when that failed, the introduction of the Lieutenant-Governorship was all that came of the suggestion but it did not solve the problem which it was supposed to address.

Clearly the growing settler viewpoint, enunciated and sometimes expropriated

by the settler gentry, was beginning to be felt in the region. (Ibid, 30) In the future, when there were problems in the major areas of English settlement through economic hardship, political unrest or war the separatist cry was raised. As the decades went by, the society of those districts grew and ramified, so each time the variety of interests and pressures at work, were increased. (Ibid,31)

In the 1840s, there was a far more optimistic attitude than there had been after the war in 1836. Especially when the war of 1846, fought at a far safer distance from Grahamstown, had concluded favourably from the colonist's viewpoint. (Walker 1964, 235) Furthermore, the improving fiscal situation at the Cape encouraged the government to consider a fairly quick introduction of Representative institutions. (ibid, 236) When the decision was being made for the establishment of the first diocese in the Colony, the proposal that it be founded in Grahamstown was seriously considered.

3.1 The Setting

William Fowler wrote from Salem on December 31, 1821, that Grahamstown was a very pretty place in a valley surrounded by hills a mile and a half away. The town had water running through the middle of it and about a hundred houses each with 1-2 acres of ground. He writes of the Governor coming to divide 7 acres amongst 30 people and of himself getting between nine hundred and a thousand square yards. This was in addition to his other property. He reckoned the ground to be worth R\$ 500-2000 where the R\$ 10 was worth £1. By 1828, Henry Somerset wrote that there were 400 houses in Grahamstown, while there had only been ten, reserved for the use of the military during the whole period between 1812-1820. (Le Cordeur 1981: 38) Though military men and government officials accounted for a high proportion of its population, it was to Grahamstown that most of the tradesmen, skilled craftsmen and settlers had migrated. Once there, they laid the foundations of the service industries to the neighbouring farming communities, like waggon-making which provided a major contribution to its growth. (Ibid,39)

Of the Albany district and the frontier areas, Fowler wrote in 1830, 'we have as much ground here (such as it is) as you have in England and Scotland'. (Letters, 1821-42) Having worked for five years as a bricklayer and then seven as a trader, Fowler returned to the land 1833, this time running sheep on three thousand acres, as he felt that the other trades had attracted too many people to make them lucrative. (Ibid, May 1833). True to form, Fowler had already spotted the latest growth trend in the commodity market of the frontier since the trade in wool worth £ 16 000 in 1835 was to rise to £ 3 250 000 by 1865. (Wilson et al Vol I 1969: 290) Farming was becoming big business.

The British in the Eastern Province evinced all the characteristics of their urban origins with their retail shops, newspapers, debating societies, horse-racing and cricket matches. Even though many were of comparatively humble origins, they were an articulate community interested in the development of schools and libraries. The architecture of their houses and public buildings owed much to the English midland and northern towns many of them had come from.(Ibid 1969: 280ff).

Some like Fowler, having lost much in the 1835 war, left Grahamstown for Cape Town and possibly for England, others, like the Bowkers and Pringles stayed and having adapted to the climate and the harsh conditions made their homes in the Eastern Province (Ibid,281).

With the Philippses, the Pigots and the Campbells of Thorn Park, they made up the 'Albany gentry', (Le Cordeur 1981: 5) By the 1830s their pre-eminence was being supplanted by the 'Grahamstown gentry' made up of officials and traders like the Seymours and Woods. (ibid, 41) Among the prominent merchants of the town were the brothers Maynard who were to become involved in the controversy with the Chaplain of St George's Church in 1845. (54, below) The successful ones were also socially mobile after the manner of their class in Britain, in 1832 James Collett sold his stores in Grahamstown and the Kat River and turned to sheep farming. Others retained their businesses but acquired large land-holdings. There was no uniformity of settler viewpoint, but the successful commercial and landed class had its own

mouth piece after 1831 when the *Graham's Town Journal* began to 'give voice to their preoccupations' each week. (Ibid,43)

3.2 Growth



Sir Benjamin D'Urban
Colonists friend

One of their number, A.T. Wirgman, for many years the rector of St Mary's Anglican Church, and Archdeacon in Port Elizabeth, wrote in 1895 praising these people whom he regarded as emissaries of a superior civilization. He claims that the urban English became frontiersmen who were prepared to cling to the goods which were theirs, cling to the civilization they came from and bring to their neighbours the Christian values which they had been brought up to believe. But there was a flaw in Eden....

Writing at the end of the century, with the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer war looming inevitably ahead, Wirgman was interested in showing the seeds of the divisions between the white players of the great South African game. Yet a century later, it is far more interesting to see the English settler point of view spelt out by one of the settlers' spiritual leaders who was prepared to take a high view of both his religious calling and that of the English settlers and speak, often dramatically, in favour of the settler mission.

Before the war of 1835, he describes the Eastern Province as dotted with the farms and hamlets of 'industrious emigrants' and also the dawn of commercial life in Port Elizabeth. (Wirgman 1895:81) The war left 456 houses burnt out and thousands of head of cattle, horses and sheep driven off. He describes the Albany district in 1835 as deserted with the surviving inhabitants having gone to Grahamstown. (Ibid, 82) He approved of the annexation of the Queen Adelaide Province calling D'Urban one of the few Englishman who understood South Africa. (Ibid, 81) He believed the official version of Hintsas' death and felt that certain foolish and ill-informed people had tried to make capital out of his death. (Ibid,86) He delivered a tirade against the Glenelg

system of 1836, to which he attributed the departure of the 6 000 Boer settlers into the interior. He wrote that Glenelg was prejudiced in his renunciation of the annexation since he accepted the settler view that the Colonial Secretary inclined to the philanthropic position that the 'Kafir was a black man and therefore in the right'. This attitude clearly reflects the feeling of the colonist-priest for the missionary but also the fact that standing so close to the events Wirgman expressed sympathy for the people amongst whom he ministered.(ibid, 86)

The views of philanthropists at this time are also revealing. Fairburn published the *Commercial Advertiser* which espoused the philanthropist cause and tended to have a more sympathetic perception of the Xhosa position. He was sharply critical of the language used by the Governor, when D'Urban claimed to desire the annexation of Queen Adelaide Province because the Rarabes who lived there were, 'irreclaimable savages'. Yet even Fairburn was not against the annexation. His position was close to that Wirgman was later to take up. The motive for the annexation was good, if it was philanthropic. Since, for him, 'Extirpation, or seizure of the lands, cattle, or persons of the people, Christian Politics no longer allow. Where we conquer, we must preserve. Where we govern, Justice must preside. 'He went on to argue that if £5 000 had been spent every year among the tribes teaching irrigation, masonry, and on education the peace would have been long established'. (Potgieter 1970:105)

What Wirgman saw was that there had been a rupture, which became permanent between the hopes of the officials for stability, the philanthropists who wanted peace and plenty for the indigenous peoples and the settlers who felt that they had been the chief sufferers in the war. A sentiment which was borne out by correspondence at the time. In a letter of April 1836, Fowler having said that he and his brother had got over the worst, indeed he says in an aside that Mark had been too sick to leave Grahamstown throughout and had therefore been quite safe! But he questioned the use of having property in the area. He goes on to blame the missionary, John Philip, for the whole *débaîcle*.(Letters:1821-42)

Although Wirgman understood that the Glenelg system caused severe strain

on the loyalty of the settlers, he hoped that it did not cause them to forget their duty as Englishmen (Wirgman 1895: 90) But, he seemed to think that the Glenelg system caused the English settlers in the Eastern Province to lose their grasp 'of the grand vision of British rule. They did not realise that as English citizens it was theirs to spread Christianity and the civilization of the Mother country wherever the flag waved'. (Ibid, 90ff) If there ever had been such a mission in the hearts of the English-speaking settlers, some of whom came from Scotland and Wales, it would seem that the ties to the Mother Country which did indeed remain strong, were not those of a shared vision and a mission to the indigenous peoples, rather they were ties of affection and commerce and also the ties of the weak to the security of the strong.

The fact of the matter is that there was not much co-incidence of view in any of the groups on the frontier. In land tenure the ownership of farms was foreign to the Xhosa chieftains whose rights saw the occupation of the land in a very different light; there were also conflicting attitudes to social relationships and in marriage practices, the notions of polygamy and monogamy were in conflict in a way that most affected the relations between missionary and African. Divergent views were also apparent in the medical and scientific spheres and in many ways the attitudes to health and spiritual life differed widely and emphasised the great differences in world-view between Europe and Africa. (Wilson et al Vol I 1969: 268) Without sympathy on such cultural and spiritual issues, the conflict over land was exacerbated and a 'them' versus 'us' attitude fostered and propagated which the correspondence of Fowler and the writings of Wirgman has indicated.

It would be an over simplification, though, to think that the popular attitudes of one side to the other indicated a simple cleavage between black and white, though this remained fundamental. Cleavages existed within all the groups. Among the whites there were divisions between English and Afrikaans, between colonist and administrator; settler and missionary; and between most farmers and the missionary/administrator axis. The white group was deeply divided as on issues of representative government and the notion of equality before the law. The black group was not monolithic either. There were cleavages between the 'school' and 'red' Xhosa

and also between the Mfengu and the Xhosa in frontier areas.(ibid, 270-271)

Given such a complexity of relationships it becomes increasingly difficult to subscribe to the Wirgman notion of a civilizing and Christianizing mission having been entertained by the majority of English settlers, at any stage, in a manner which transcended the vague formula that, the British, the British, the British are best....

3.3 Settlers become Citizens

By 1842 Grahamstown had become a town of 5 000 inhabitants (of whom most were English according to the novelist Trollope in 1877). They were living in 700 houses with large gardens in which grew peaches, pears, quinces and pomegranates as well as almond and walnut trees. (Maclennan 1986: 231) The 1836 Municipal Ordinance meant that civic responsibility was most visibly conducted by members of the Town Council meeting for the first time in August 1836 in the Commercial Hall. The first members were W P Thompson, C Jarvis, P W Lucas, W Shepherd, G Gilbert, T Hewson and J D Norden. At the first meeting the provision of water was discussed and it was decided to appoint Joseph Latham as the first Town Clerk appointed at an annual salary of £80.(Rivett-Carnac 1961: 110)

Citizens could gather local and international information and news from two weekly Newspapers which they could read in one of the three taverns of which the town could boast. If they preferred, they could call in at the temperance society to campaign against the 3 taverns! There had been a Wesleyan Church there since 1821 and the Anglicans had built St George's in the Gothic style more recently.

The town was the emporium of the frontier and settlers could keep the money they made from their commercial activities in the local Savings Bank. Much of the commercial activity of the town took place in the streets of the town, since there were cattle fairs and stalls in the marketplace as well as more conventional stores. (Maclennan 1986: 231) Settlers knew that their prosperity depended, to a large extent on the 'kaffir' trade which took place in the market every day except Sunday where the

trade varied from 'elephants teeth', even, it is alleged, to an illegal traffic in slaves. Since labour was in short supply, it has been suggested that young people from across the border were bought as apprentices to work in the colonial labour market.(Rivett-Carnac 1961: 111-112)

Apart from its commercial significance, the town was the seat of government for the Eastern Province and the Albany district after Somerset transferred the capital there from Bathurst in 1821. To run this administration, the Civil Commissioner lived in the town as did the Resident Magistrate. Quarterly Sessions of the Puisne Justices from Cape Town were also held there. It was also the Headquarters of the Cape Regiment.(Maclennan 1986: 231)

By the mid 1840s, the young people who had arrived in the Albany district in 1820 had become mature citizens, and although it was felt that growing older had made some of them excessively anxious about the danger of invasion by the Xhosa (the so-called "frontier mentality"), the majority of them considered themselves an essentially settled population and they embraced their civic responsibilities enthusiastically.(Rivett-Carnac, 1961: 110) It was also a time for looking back. At dinner in 1840 to commemorate the first landing party, J. C. Chase made a speech advocating 'with unflinching firmness', everything required to maintain and grow the settlement and to develop its "great and varied" resources. (Godlonton 1844: xv) Then, in 1843, a correspondent in the press noted that the fathers of English settlement were beginning to die off. The observation was seized on by Chase early the following year and throughout March there was further correspondence about the need for some sort of memorial to remember them. In the end it was decided to have a public holiday on 10 April 1844 which was the tenth anniversary of the start of the Frontier war when the whole area had been devastated (ibid, xvii)

When the day came, businesses were closed and everyone went to 'Oatlands' the home of Colonel Somerset (son of the former Governor) who was both the head of the garrison and also one of the pillars of the Anglican establishment in the town.(Ibid,1) The grounds were laid out with tents, marquees and wagons for the

amusement of the crowds and so that they could enjoy their picnics in this 'Arcadian setting'. (Ibid,36) It was estimated that five hundred children were involved. Their banners declared their loyalty to the queen and undying loyalty to the land of their forefathers. They were being brought up imbued with British feelings and fidelity to the throne and the empire.(Ibid, 34) There were eventually to be three thousand at 'Oatlands' singing the national anthem. (Ibid,36)

The day began with a service of thanksgiving at St. George's Church using a reading from Deuteronomy and the prayers and thanksgivings of the established church.(Ibid ,2) The choir sang the anthems:

*'To bless thy chosen race,
In mercy LORD incline...'*

And also

'Distant lands need thy salvation...'

thus setting the tone of the whole day. (Ibid,3)

The Anglicans were prominent in leadership that day, the service was held at St George's, the party took place in Colonel Somerset's grounds and the chairman at the dinner was a prominent Anglican. He was the magistrate, Thomas Philipps, a friend of Somerset's from the 1820s.

On the day which had been set aside for this wide display of settler harmony it is revealing to hear Pringle's assessment of the honourable magistrate. Pringle says that he was one of the 'most agreeable little men in the world - but somewhat vain, fickle and jealous, and fond of popularity with the great'. His association with Godlonton and with the cause of eastern separatism went back to the early days of the settlement. With Pigot he had been appointed a special Heemraad and carefully cultivated his own interests with those of the settlers. He became involved in schemes for the development of navigation along the Kowie River and had long concluded that his inability to develop his estates to their fullest capacity was due to the neglect of the Albany people by the far-off Cape Government. (le Cordeur 1981: 5)

The co-operation between the denominations was very evident since Godlonton the Methodist had driven the process and Shaw, the leading Methodist minister, defined the moment and summed up the period from 1820 to the present in his sermon. The co-operation was not new, Anglicans had first met in Shaw's "Yellow Chapel" before their own building had been completed. Shaw had come to the Colony in 1820 at the age of 22 and his Methodist fervour had inspired others like Dugmore, Ayliff and Shepstone to missionary endeavours through the whole region and even up into Natal. It was through their efforts that the Bible had been translated into Xhosa by 1840. (Cameron ed. 1992: 99)

The Methodist minister delivered the sermon using the reading 1 Samuel 12:24, 'fear the Lord with all your heart and consider the great things he has done for you'. He was well qualified to express the vision having come out with the 1820 Settlers and having built a network of chapels through the frontier districts.

The theme of Shaw's discourse was that 'wattle and daub has become brick', and that Providence had taken down the former in order to build up a trading people expanding through the Eastern Province. To this end God has given firstly, temporal blessings and secondly, grace and religion. (Godlonton 1844: 4) Since he was certainly referring to the settlers and meant that they had started small and been blessed, both Shaw and his audience would have missed the irony of his theme.

Shaw discussed the early settlers, their character and rectitude, making the point that they had not started out as criminals as had the settlers in Australia. They were poor but honest and though many had been limited in education, they were both shrewd and enterprising. He spoke of the early difficulties and crop failures making the point that it was these failures which had made the Albany into a commercial settlement. He then developed the theme of expansion showing how the population had increased through the health of the climate and the development of property and trade. He ended this section of his preaching with the observation that since the settlers had spilled out over

the whole district from Port Elizabeth to Somerset and Cradock that they should not be called the Albany Settlers, but rather the British Settlers of the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope. (Ibid,17)

The second part of the sermon started with the Government's recognition of the need for the Church in the new settlement and Shaw described the growth of the various denominations in the area. In the twenty-five years of the Settlement, twenty-nine substantial places of worship had been built among them four independent, one Baptist and one Roman Catholic church. There were eighteen Methodist Chapels and five established churches. All of these were made up of English congregations except for three or four which had been built originally by settlers but were now used by Native congregations. (Ibid, 21) Shaw went on to say that there were 2 500 children attending Sunday School every Sunday. (Ibid, 22) and he talked too about the growing number of missionary societies in the area. (Ibid,23)

Shaw certainly drew conclusions from the existence of this religious climate in the country. He said that the settlers had 'reason to rejoice that a highly religious feeling - a great love for sacred institutions - has hitherto maintained among us'. As a result of which, the Settlement benefited in many ways. (Ibid, 25) Firstly there was a proper Sunday observance of the Sabbath, the Sunday Schools were of great benefit to the youth and there was a paucity of crime in the area. He said that there were 50% less in the Assize lists in Grahamstown than in those in England. He suggested that those on the list tended to be Natives who were not Christians. (Ibid,25)

He seems to have felt that the moral state of the Settlement was rather good, but not to have made a distinction between the material plenty of white and black in this equation. In fact he said that the Settlers were good neighbours who had abolished slavery and who remained good to those who provoked war. In fact, Shaw claimed that there were Kafirs who had told him that they had started the war. (Ibid, 27ff) Further Shaw affirms ' in the fear of God, and

from this Holy place...’ that this has always been the state of relations with their neighbours. The settlers only wanted the Kafir tribes to embrace Christianity and become civilized people and to be left to enjoy their own property unmolested. “This is our Millennium.” (Ibid,28) Shaw said these things because he was local and felt that he had the right to put the local point of view and he knew that his statements would be controversial and may well get him into trouble with those who disagreed with this view point. (Most of his hearers in St. George’s must have agreed with his reading of the situation). According to Shaw, they were a community who supported Missionary Societies, prayed constantly for the conversion and salvation of the heathen and so on, yet they were once more on the brink of a Frontier war, though this time they were not themselves in the immediate firing-line. In these circumstances, it had become a problem for them to love their enemies and to pray for those who spitefully used them. Nevertheless, Shaw seems to be asking them to do just that. He was definitely asking them to consider what the Lord had done for them and be grateful.(ibid, 29)

The whole day continued to follow a similar pattern. When the 250 special guests arrived for the dinner that evening, they found that there were those who had attended without tickets as people had been fighting to get a place. Despite this crush, Thomas Philipps, as the oldest magistrate present, led the proceedings with aplomb. Among others, the Anglican clergy was represented by the Colonial Chaplain of Grahamstown, Heavyside. Colonel Somerset gave the address on progress, recovery after attack and prosperity after dinner. (Ibid, 39)

Not all the visitors to Oatlands that April were enthusiastic. Thomas Stubbs was quite caustic in a memoir written in the 1870s looking back on the day. He said that some of those who led the affair had come out to the Cape with scanty means but somehow managed to fill their coffers. It was they, who took it into their heads to have a ‘rejoicing’. He had felt that there was not much point in forking out £1 for a celebration when a family like his, who had been quite comfortable in England, had their father murdered, their whole family ‘robbed by the Caffers and the government’

and been thrown out into the world to sink or swim the best way they could. (Maxwell & McGeogh eds 1978, 137)

Stubbs challenged claims made by Somerset in his speech, calling out in the middle of it and saying that the government had never really been the Settler's friend. He claimed that only about a third of the people present were Settlers anyway. In the memoire, he writes that he was supported in his assertions by the Hon. George Wood and that after the 'chairman and that lot' had left, those remaining (including Somerset) had a convivial evening. (Ibid,138) In his acerbic way, Stubbs was trying to rectify a false picture of the settlement in Albany which he felt was being fostered by propagandists of the Albany from 1844 onwards. He seems to have felt that the history of the eastern Province was being written by those whom it had treated well.(Ibid, 139)

Godlonton, Chase and Philipps became propagandists for the Settler cause and until 1870 they espoused it through the politics of separatism. They had a world-view which held confidently and clearly to the view that the British civilization was better than the rest and was needed on the Cape Frontier. Since this way of understanding things had been tempered by their experience of war and famine as well as the vicissitudes of government and the criticisms of the philanthropists both at home and abroad, it also rendered them incapable of seeing a different point of view from their own, not the official view, certainly not the missionary view and especially not that of the Xhosa.

The whole purpose of the day of Thanksgiving in April 1844 had been to declare the settlers's faith in God and their gratitude to Him for what they said He had given them. But more than a celebration for what they had received, they were celebrating what they had achieved. So the day also served to foster their traditions, which they reinforced through their memorials and pamphlets. In the unselfconscious way they went about their lives they kept themselves separate from the soul-searching of the evangelicals and the missionaries. While paying lip-service to the spread of Christianity they kept the Faith at home.

Using 1844 as a retrospective, Godlonton describes his feelings on being left near Bathurst, hundreds of miles away from Algoa Bay where he had first landed. He hints at the desolation which he felt when the Boer cart left him and his family with their goods strewn all over the grass, slowly realising that they were now dependent on their own exertions. Twenty-five years later he says that their reliance had been on HIM, who had led them from their native land, who had preserved them in perils by sea and land, who had supplied their necessary wants, and who had brought them in peace and safety to their destined home. Others like Nathaniel Morton express similar thoughts. (Godlonton 1844: xiiff) Their faith gave them the support they needed to survive the weather, the wilderness and the uncertainty and then it made them sure they had been destined for this place and that they had something genuine and necessary to offer the land.

While these were doubtless his truest feelings and all the members of all the parties in the official, settlers and Boer camps would have stared in amazement to have had their faith questioned, one of the questions that has to be carried into church historiography remains, 'what is the nature of Christian belief?' In the circumstances of the Cape Eastern Frontier before 1850 it needs to be seen whether the faith which the settlers professed and which undoubtedly influenced their leaders and the practice of their religion, was at all divorced from their culture and experience. Their God was a great comfort to His people, they even had a desire to share the gospel with the indigenous people but their ethics may sometime have been tarnished by their experience.

An example of this was to be found in 1847 when the reckoning for the war had to be made. Sir Henry Pottinger reported that the militias which had sprung up for the defence of the colony had little military purpose but great cost. C.H. Maynard from a prominent church family in Grahamstown, had drawn pay for himself and a 'levy' comprising his coloured farm-hands who continued to work on his farm. The monthly military outlay on volunteers in Grahamstown itself, was estimated at £3 000, though numbers of the volunteers claiming payment followed their usual avocations. One of those involved in the business was Colonel Somerset who had formerly been military

commander of the Frontier. (Keegan 1996, 218)

These practices, which were a commonplace in the area, were not questioned or thought irregular except by the government, and meant that Grahamstown and its leaders developed a poor reputation amongst government officials and the Cape upper class. They accepted the tenets of the faith but tried to do the impossible and bend God to their own purposes (Job 40: 1 & 5). At times of crisis, a confusion seems to have arisen between the immediate factors of their lives, their acquisitive culture, their attendance at their churches and the ethic by which their religion expected them to live.

CHAPTER 3



'Ordinary' Somerset

E

stablishment & Tradition

1. The Church of England 1830-1847⁴

1.1 Church and State

The English Church owed nothing to indigenous conditions in Africa, its first ministry was to British government officials and to the garrison. The colony had been acquired in the first place to strike at the Dutch empire and help maintain British naval supremacy throughout the world. After 1815 strategic dependencies were retained at Seychelles, Mauritius and Maldives as well as the Cape. The Cape was meant as a way-station, there was nothing in the hinterland that was of interest to new rulers. (Keegan 1996: 42)

In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the constitutional position of the Church of England in the Cape (or 'English Church' as it was known) was very vague. Some contemporaries felt that it was underpinned by an Order-in-Council of Charles I in the seventeenth century, though this Order appears to have applied to legal business only. Spiritual affairs in the colonies were exercised though the Diocese of London from 1726. Hewitt writing in 1887, insists that none of this applied to the Cape anyway, but only to the *Old Plantations*. He says, 'the Chaplains were unlicensed and free of any control but that of the Governor', something which offended the strongly

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The Church of England is the name given to 'English Church by law established' and is also known as the established Church. It is convenient to distinguish from the equivalent institution in South Africa calling it the COE. The South African version was known as the 'English Church' and will continue to be called that. At times, Anglican will be used though that is the blanket term coming into vogue at this time to describe the world-wide church which was arising out of the change circumstances of the COE.

anti-Erastian⁵ feeling of the Anglican clergy of the later years of the century. (Hewitt 1887: 2)

For over half a century, the Chaplains remained as civil servants who were appointed to provide for the colonial officials or the military and as their numbers increased for the settlers. They were professionals paid by the state, the Colonial Chaplain, who was based in Cape Town, received £700 p.a. (Though this was reduced by the D'Urban reforms of 1836). Others received half or less than half of that plus their surplice fees, which were the charges for marriages, baptisms, burials the banns and the marriage certificate. (Ibid 38). By 1848 the twelve Chaplains cost the government nearly three thousand pounds p.a. One of the inducements to remain in the colony may have been that in many cases their stipends were larger than the average living in England. (Hinchliff History: 8) Chaplains were appointed by the Colonial Office and were under the control of the Governor but held their licenses from the Bishop of London. In the early colonial period, they were to have no churches, buildings or parishes. (Ibid, 5) When the buildings began to be erected, it was done through a system of government licences. The Ordinance for the erecting of an 'English Church at Cape Town', (no. 4, Oct 1829) consisted mainly of its articles pertaining to the shareholders and to the renting of pews. The rest has to do with the nature of the Trust under which the parish was to operate. (Hewitt 1887: Appendix C) Between 1829 and 1846 nine such Ordinance Churches were to be built following this pattern. (Lewis 1934: 21)

In the Eastern Province, a parish was established at Bathurst in 1820 and another at Clanwilliam the following year. In Grahamstown the parish was founded in 1823 and by 1829 the church had been completed with the Rev'd W Cartishe taking up residence as Chaplain. (Hewitt 1887: 57) The money for the Church had originally been earmarked for Cape Town but was diverted to Grahamstown as a priority. (Lewis 1934:14) As the English Church followed the settler population, its nature changed, no longer a church for the government officials and the army, its needs changed and so did the requirements it had of its leadership, and its own sense of identity.

⁵The doctrine propounded by Erastus in 16th century Germany that in the relationship between the ecclesiastic and secular the former should predominate OED

Control of the English church by the Governor was part of his appointment and although Hinchliff claims that the first two governors were styled *Ordinary*, in point of fact, the earliest chaplains were military officials and according to Hewitt, it was only with the arrival of the Earl of Caledon, the first civilian Governor, that he became the '*the Ordinary*'. (Hewitt 1887:12) Somerset's *Letters Patent* actually specified that he had "the power of collating benefices, granting licenses for marriage and probate for wills, commonly called 'Ordinary'" It was a power that fell short of the coercive power of an English bishop at the time, because it did not include theology or spirituality. (Hinchliff History: 3)

These powers in the Church were granted to all Governors until the appointment of Sir George Grey in 1854. Before Cole's time it was specified that this function should not be deputed to anyone else in the administration. (Hewitt 1887:12) Difficulties arose almost immediately between the Governor and the chaplains over baptisms and marriages which bears witness to the confusion between the spiritual and the legal rights which was to colour the development of the Anglican church until after the formation of the Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA) in 1870. (Lewis 1934: 5)

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century (which had so radically changed the situation in the Cape), merely delayed the response of the old order in Church and State to a major demographic and industrial change in British Society. British Governments in the 1820s had a far greater awareness of the new social forces which had resulted from them. And they could see that old notions of establishment in the Church as much as the state had to be completely readapted to meet the requirements of the modern age. First the urban middle classes and later the labouring poor needed something new from their churches which they could coalesce around. These groups included Roman Catholics who had their base in Ireland and were not part of the establishment, they became part of the opposition, forming political alliances on the mainland. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 foreshadowed reform in church and state. (Sachs 1993:34)

Translated into the Cape system the confusion was compounded by the unclear role of Colonial chaplains, who were both state functionaries and spiritual leaders in the English church, which resulted in an increasingly independent line being taken on the leadership of the church in the Colony by many settlers and clergy. The pressure for reform was common to many colonies in the British Empire. Even when it had resulted in the appointment of bishops at the Cape, Wirgman railed against the manner of their appointment, saying, that Colonial Bishops relied on the "feeble arm of flesh provided by 'Royal Letters Patent' instead of inherent spiritual powers as lawful heritors of Apostolic Thrones". (Wirgman 1895: Introduction)

The confusion originated in England where the powers of the Church Courts were transferred to the state in 1833 and supreme jurisdiction given to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In a test case in 1850, *Gorham v the Bishop of Exeter*, the intricacies of the relations between law and doctrine in England became apparent. Gorham denied unconditional regeneration in baptism⁶. The bishop would not ordain him because this was a matter on which he and other Tractarians felt they could not compromise. There was regeneration or there was not. The court saw things differently and found for the evangelical Gorham. Manning and other leaders of the Tractarians left for Rome since they felt they could not give the right to decide a matter of doctrine to the judges, when they felt it must stay with the priests. (Varley ed 1956: 124 footnote)

The view expressed by Burke in 1792, 'in a Christian Commonwealth the church and the state are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole' had shattered under the new economic and social forces which Burke had been trying to control and the Ancien regime had been burnt to the ground in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. (Sachs 1993: 33) What had been an 'aristocratic semi-confessional state' became a 'semi-democratic liberal state' and the connection with the state meant that the church could become embroiled in the cut and thrust of

⁶ For the high church party the sacraments were quite literally the outward and visible signs of an inward reality. How then could the sacrament which was baptism not have the ontological regeneration which the outward sign proclaimed?

parliamentary politics and that aspects of its future could be in the hands of politicians who, from this time forward need 'not even have the formal, courtesy connection with the establishment provided by an occasional conformity'. (Hinchliff 1968: 155) This created a new twist to Harnack's question "what is the Christian Religion?" when it was applied to the Church of England of the post-Napoleonic era, especially with its new Imperial commitments. If the COE could no longer claim to be the expression of the spirituality of the English-speaking Commonwealth, then what was it? How could the established Church change to meet the challenge? (Sachs 1993: 34)

* * *

The need for some kind of action had long been evident in the COE itself. It is interesting that the relationship between church and state and its consequences had been criticised in England at least since 1776 when Adam Smith sourly remarked that under the system of the Church the clergy, 'naturally commend themselves to the sovereign, to the court, to the nobility and gentry of the country, by whose influence they chiefly expect to gain preferment'. (Carpenter 1933: 20) In 1815 the church was in a far from healthy state though its revenues were large and it had the income from centuries of endowments. This, unfortunately had made the leadership very cautious since they were reluctant to jeopardise their position by taking a prophetic stand on public affairs. There were abuses of pluralism, non residence and carelessness and according to an 1831 statistic, fewer than half the clergy lived in their benefices. (Latourette 1975: 1164) Two major developments arose in response to meet the challenge of reform. They came from the traditionally complementary poles of the Anglican tradition, 'evangelical' and 'high church'. (de Mendieta 1971: 28)

The first attempt to redefine the mission of the English church came from the evangelicals representing the 'puritan strand' of Anglicanism. (Ibid, 28) Preceding the Oxford Movement by nearly half a century, the evangelicals sought to deal with some of the intellectual challenges of the *Aufklärung* and the fervour of the American and French Revolutions which had found their expression in Paine's *Age of Reason*

published in 1795.

In England the evangelicals were responding to their despair at the state of the COE. Methodism itself, so significant at the Cape, began as a reforming impulse in the COE, and eventually broke away to form a new and dynamic denomination. Yet, not all of the Anglican evangelicals found themselves in sympathy with Methodism and for reasons which were emotional as well as theological they remained loyal to the Church of England. These evangelicals were opposed to the more Arminian aspects of the Methodist vision and remained Calvinists in the Established Church. Looking to support their position in a close reading of the *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*, the foundational tenets of Anglicanism, their roots were in the Protestantism of the Church of Henry VIII and Edward VI. They did not share the view of themselves as part of the heritage of early Catholicism in the way that the neo-Laudians of the Tractarian movement were to do. (Paul 1973: 54)

What the evangelical Anglicans brought to the English Church was a missionary impulse which had been lacking for the previous 100 years. (Walsh 1993:14) This commitment was to remain at the forefront of the episcopal agenda in Cape Town and in Grahamstown throughout the period. Both Armstrong and Cotterill were committed to mission and as they came from the evangelical and high wings of the church they provide evidence that there were significant areas where the theological positions of the two trends were shared.

Gray found on arrival in the Cape that there were no Anglican mission stations in the Colony and began to work to change the situation at once (Cory Ms 16 775/1,1) His high church leanings meant that he had a bias to the poor as they all had and so to have 600 000 people in the neighbouring lands was a reproach to the church. (Ms 16 759) In 1850 the archdeaconry clergy agreed to support the bishop in his endeavours in this regard (Cory Ms 16 775/1,2) and in October 1854 the mission was established at St Luke's.(Ibid,4) The work was continued by Armstrong, assisted by the Governor, Grey who was described by the Metropolitan as the initiator of a noble Christian policy which the bishops were keen to extend. (Cory Ms 16 775/1, 5) The settlers were not opposed to these efforts by their bishops and even basked in their

reflected glory. In theory the settlers were also happy to associate themselves with these endeavours. In the address to Armstrong on his arrival in Port Elizabeth, the churchwardens of St Mary's said that they thought that, amongst other things, the arrival of the bishop would be good for the heathen which they acknowledged had not been something which had previously received much attention. (Ibid, 42) Cotterill's reply to the address of welcome on his arrival in Grahamstown was equally enthusiastically in favour of the missionary endeavours of the English church (Ms 16 606 96)

On this and in other aspects of the life of the church which they had been called on to lead the high and low parties were in strong agreement. It was their practice, churchmanship and liturgy which was so very different.

The Tractarian⁷ movement came a half a century after the evangelical revival and so had also to respond to the new circumstances of the nineteenth century which included the growth of middle class ideas, a more coherent labour movement and a burgeoning multi-cultural Empire. (Sachs 1993: 33). When Gray arrived as bishop, he came at a time when the Oxford Movement was at its height, and he was influenced by it. Tractarian views of the church were well suited to the particular needs of colonial churches and so it followed that it was the Anglo-Catholic wing which was to predominate in the CPISA.

Wirgman's position is clear. He was a strong supporter of the reforms introduced into the Church after 1848 by Robert Gray who owed much to the Oxford Movement (1833-1841). As a partisan, Wirgman has tended to exaggerate some of the problems which Gray found in South Africa, or at any rate, to blame the Chaplains for what was a far more general malaise in the English Church. (Ibid, Introduction)

⁷The first name for the group who took part in the movement for the reform of the national church in 1834 was the Tractite, they were called this by their opponents and called themselves the Apostolicals. In 1836 they were called the Malignants by Arnold of Rugby and by 1838 they were Puseyites. In 1839 they had become the Tractarians which was the name that they were called until the end of the 1870s. The name "Oxford Movement" to describe the whole phenomenon was already coming into use in 1841. (Holloway ed 1984: 85ff) In this study the use of Tractarian, Puseyite and Tractarian has been used inter-changeably according to nuance but the preferred appellation is 'high church party/group in the Colony'

1.2 Expansion: from Governor to Bishop

Despite the complications of distance and a small population, the English Church continued to expand in the Eastern Province and by 1848, parishes had been established in Sudbury (1842), George (1845), Graaff-Reinet (1845) and Uitenhage(1847) (Hewitt 1887: 95) With growth came an increasing concern about the quality of the personnel and the nature of their ministry. Parishioners were becoming increasingly vociferous as well as clearer about what they wanted. They wanted a Bishop, and throughout the 1840s the demand intensified. Voices were increasingly being raised about the need for change in the way the church was being run at the Cape. The Colonial Church Society reported that it was unable to respond adequately to the demand for ministers, churches and schools. Therefore members were being neglected and when they did experience anything of a deep sense of religion they would be drawn away to other denominations where things were different. The Society for the Propagation of the Churches Knowledge (SPCK) district committee of Cape Town reported in 1839-40 that 2-3000 nominal members were living in a degraded and demoralised condition. (Hewitt 1887: 85)

A 'memorial' from the 'clergy and laymen of the united Church of England and Ireland, resident in the Eastern province of the Cape of Good Hope, to the Committee of the Colonial Bishop's Fund' called for the creation of a Diocese. They said that from a population of 160 000 in an area of 100 000 square miles, there were 10 000 souls belonging to the English Church. Of these there were approximately 6 600 in the western areas and 3 400 in the Eastern Districts and they needed more churches and clergy. Other denominations already had their structures, Synods, Vicars Apostolic or Missionary Superintendents, but 'the Church of England is still without the means of carrying out her own rules and discipline, or any bond of union to connect and combine her efforts; without any spiritual authority to which her ministers or members may refer in cases of difficulty or irregularity....' (Hewitt: Appendix D)

Minutes of the vestry meetings⁸ at Grahamstown begin in 1828 and for the first years they consist mainly of discussions about pew rents and letters to the Government about the regulation of the church. In March 1830 the Colonial Secretary sent a letter, on behalf of the governor, appointing Messrs Stone and Maynard as members of the vestry committee. The church proved expensive to maintain so the government Ordinance of 1839 gave it to the vestry committee and two churchwardens to run according to COE usage.

The decision caused controversy and confusion since it conferred voting rights for the churchwardens and vestry on male inhabitants of the town, 'being members of the Church of England and Ireland'. The Colonial Chaplain, John Heavyside interpreted this to mean communicants who were active in the church, the parish said, 'No!'. The government agreed with them and decreed that membership belonged to those who professed it. Not even the churchwardens had to be communicants. (Matthews 1961, 13)

The confusion was compounded as the minutes of the vestry meeting at Grahamstown in April 1845 show. Not content with his success in the issue of voting rights, Maynard claimed the right to chair the meetings as part of the duties of the churchwarden. At the time this claim seemed to be fraught with significance as it was part of the historical legacy in the minds of English settlers who could remember the all encompassing nature of the parish in the Church of England. Messrs Stone and Maynard seem to have been arrogating similar status for themselves. In this instance, Heavyside was able to show that there was an agreed memorial from the Governor-in-Council which stated that he should chair the Vestry, Maynard resigned. (Cory MS 16 604:1)

A committee was appointed to enquire into 'the degraded position of the Church of England'. And the indifference to the interests of its members in Grahamstown. In November the vestry called a congregational meeting, after the

⁸ At present the Vestry is a meeting of the whole parish membership, making policy decisions which have a binding authority on the whole parish. In England and in the Cape in the nineteenth century, the Vestry meeting referred to a monthly meeting in the church Vestry by members of the Church Council

meeting had been postponed once because of the weather, the following was resolved:

- that being cordially attached to the Church of England, not merely as the Church of England and the Church of our forefathers, but because we consider her doctrines and formulations to be in strict accordance with the written Word of God and her Constitution formed after the perfect model of the Primitive Church. This meeting acknowledges it as a sacred duty to promote the efficiency of the Church in this town and district.
- In pursuit of this high and sacred duty it was decided to 'effect repairs' to the building.

It was therefore proposed to open a subscription to do this. A target of £500 was set and £270 were collected. (Cory MS 16 604:1)

It is interesting that the only solution which they could find in their predicament in Grahamstown was to smarten up the church and the churchyard. Yet such visible signs do sometime show an inner conviction that things were not as bad as they seemed and to indicate their determination to take some control of their own destiny. The Grahamstown saga seems to have been over internal power relationships, and the conflicting roles of the clergy and laity. But it also pointed to need in an Episcopal communion, for the proper functioning of the Episcopacy by the appointment of a bishop who could regulate these relationships between the parishes and within them.

The whole issue would have had far less significance if it had simply been a clash between the churchwarden and the minister in a parish. As it was it was complicated by the intervention which the Governor's secretary thought that *His Excellency* had to make in the church of which he was in charge. The question 'who is the boss?' in Grahamstown arose at a time when the church, clerical and lay, had become demoralised. It seems reasonable to assume that the laity were stepping into what had traditionally been a clerical preserve because of dissatisfaction with the

current performance of the leadership. The clergy, it would appear, were discouraged because they, too, felt the lack of a discerning leadership which the Government could not provide. In a pamphlet in 1823, the clergy were described as men of learning and piety and not without zeal; 'but none of them has preached conviction to the minds of their congregations.' (Hewitt 1887:37)

Quite soon after the arrival of the settlers in 1820, the establishment of a diocese had been suggested, but the movement for the appointment of a bishop really began in England in 1839, when the SPCK petitioned the House of Commons for the government to 'take some attention' to the state of the Church of England abroad. In April 1840, Bishop Blomfield of London wrote of the need for 'Apostolic Government' and the discipline and doctrines and Ordinances of the Church to be brought to the distant parts of the Empire. He proposed the setting up of an Endowment Fund for Colonial Bishops. Later known as the Colonial Bishops Fund, it started in 1841 with endowments of £20 000 (Hewitt 1887: 80) to the S.P.G. and the SPCK became involved in the establishment of the fund which was to be known as Colonial Bishop's Fund. By 1843 the Cape had been put onto a priority list for those colonies needing a bishop and it was agreed that the £35 000 which had been donated by Miss Burdet-Coutts would be split to endow Cape Town and another colonial diocese. Lewis and Edwards say that what was needed for the Church was the combined talents of an Athanasius, an Aquinas and a Francis if the new bishop was to sort out the problems in the English Church. It got Gray, who, they seem to imply met the challenge. (Lewis 1934: 27) It had taken seven years for the process to be completed and for Gray 'the founder of the English Church in South Africa' to be consecrated and then it took another for him to arrive in Cape Town in February 1848 to assume his duties. (Ibid,31)

The language evoking the memory of the Church Fathers is a little exaggerated but it describes what Gray's contemporaries felt about him. It is nonetheless also wrong. Gray was not a saint, nor was he the founder of the English Church in South Africa, that was already established when he arrived. What Gray helped to create was the Church of the Province of South Africa in 1870.

2. Quest for Mission

It had been left to the old style 'High' church to pioneer and establish the English Church at the Cape. Which it did with some effectiveness for almost fifty years, but because of the fervour of the times what might have been acceptable progress in a different age, say the Augustan age of the eighteenth century, appeared during the Age of Revolutions to be hopeless incompetence.

2.1 The Oxford Movement and the growth of Anglo-Catholicism

The first Bishop of Cape Town was consecrated, with three other Colonial Bishops, on St Peter's Day in Westminster Abbey in 1847. (Brooke 1947: 15). By then, the nature of the High Church party in the English Church had altered beyond all recognition from the Tory view propounded by Burke.

The old High Church Tories were people of quite a different kidney from their Tractarian successors. Unlike Gray, they were keen to maintain the traditional relationship between the church and state, and quite prepared to use the law to see that their rights and traditions were not infringed in any way. They put forward the proposition that the members of the Church should see the king as a 'nursing father' to the church. (CPSA Pamphlet Vol 13, [Blackford 1883: 10]) When Somerset appointed Geary to be the military and colonial chaplain at Grahamstown, he thoughtfully provided him with a list of those members of the parish whom he regarded as subversive. (Lewis 1934: 16) The clergy, too, were conscious of their dignity and their duty and so accepted the relationship, while expecting their parishioners to do the same. These expectations, as we have seen in Grahamstown, were not always fulfilled.

It was fairly difficult for change to be effective in the Church of England. Though individual evangelicals like Wilberforce had great influence, they were never accepted into the church-establishment and Bishop Ryder who was appointed to Gloucester in 1815 was resented because he was an evangelical. There were people who went so far as to describe him as 'a religious bishop'. (Carpenter 1933: 49)

The Tory squires and their relations among the clergy were strongly opposed to reform, political or ecclesiastical. The abuses were clear to everyone. The church was 'honeycombed' with nepotism, sinecures, pluralities and non-residence (Ibid, 54) In the first flush of reformist zeal after the Whigs took power in the early 1830s Lord Grey, the prime minister, told the bishops in the House of Lords to 'set their house in order'. (Ibid,57) Robert Gray, whose father, the bishop of Bristol had his palace burnt down during Reform riots, wrote in alarm from Geneva in November of 1831 that he could not understand why the bishops should be under such attack by the public press, he saw in them the guarantor of freedom. (Ibid, 59)

The changes to the theories and practices of the Church of England brought about by the increased influence of Anglo-Catholicism after 1833 were profound and often subtle, and stressed the historical continuity of the 'reformed' Church of England with a catholic Christianity⁹. It also upheld the catholic concept of the authority of the Church, the claims of the episcopate, and the nature of the sacraments. This had always been the High Church position but Keble changed the emphasis. He stressed the fact that the national church was a part or 'branch' of the divinely instituted Catholic Church, which constitutes the body of Christ. Here the stress was laid on the Apostolic Succession and the Book of Common Prayer not on their Englishness. (De Mendieta 1971: 28)

The changes in the old 'High' church world-view were formalised and given cogency in the 1830s, when Keble preached the Assize Sermon in July 1833. He entitled it 'National Apostasy' and it was the spark needed to set the COE alight. It was the beginning of the Oxford Movement, which was given form by the publication of a series of brilliant 'Tracts for our Times', in the period up to 1841. (Paul 1973: 65). (footnote 7)

In the South African case, resulting presumably from their intimate experience

⁹ The reference here is to the notion of a holy catholic and apostolic church repeated each week in the Nicene creed. It had nothing to do with the Roman church which the Tractarians did not regard proprietary right to term 'catholic'. Hence their use of the term 'Roman' church and 'Romish' practices.

of the COE in the 1820s and early 1830s, Gray and other leaders had become open questions about the traditional notions of the National church, as it had evolved in England. His experiences in the law-courts of South Africa and London in the 1860s confirmed in him the opinion, that when the church was a state church, the state always benefited and never the church. (Hinchliff 1966, 9) Although the anti-Erastian tradition had an honourable history in the COE, it was suspect for many settlers who wanted the strongest possible ties with the mother-country and would support any measures which would make that happen.

The Tracts, as they came out through the 1830s and early 1840s, were aimed at as wide an audience as possible and meant to draw church people, clerical and lay into a fuller understanding of the nature of the church as 'Body of Christ'. (De Mendieta 1971, 29) Always responsive to political and social forces in England these churchmen wanted to maintain the traditions of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* within the framework of the Catholic Faith and in keeping with Biblical teaching. (Ibid, 17) The Oxford Movement, took the form that it did because of the impetus of ecclesiastical and secular English politics, but it drew on the deeper intellectual well-springs of the romantic revival, which in the literature, art and music of the early nineteenth century, was in revolt against the Age of Reason. It was essentially a movement of the heart and not the head and stressed the 'law of prayer' as against the 'law of belief'. (Chadwick 1960: 11ff)

Although there were theologians amongst them, the initiators of the Oxford Movement and its most notable early leaders, Keble, Newman and Pusey were interested not so much in a theology than their desire to revitalise long held concepts brought into Anglicanism by the insights of the Caroline divines of the seventeenth century and from the creeds and the faith of the Early Fathers. (De Mendieta 1971: 18) As the keepers of the flame, they focussed on the Apostolic Succession, the continuity of the line of the bishops from Peter, the Rock upon which Christ had built his church (Matthew 16:18), by the episcopal laying on of hands from generation to generation. This conferred legitimacy to the church itself and had other consequences because they believed that through the bishops came the 'maintenance of the belief in the vision of the church as the accredited guardian and administrators of the

sacraments and other appointed means of divine grace'. (ibid, 19)

Ironically it was possible for the romantic and backward looking membership of the Oxford Movement to make quite radical reforms possible in the tired old Church of England, because they appealed to an even older order. In the 1830s the Whig government of Lord Grey determined to change the nature of the franchise in Britain even if this necessitated the King's creation of enough Peers to pass the Reform Bill if it stalled in the House of Lords. Tractarians knew that the Church of England was vulnerable to criticism as its leaders, particularly those of the High Church Tory establishment, were very much under fire at the time. It had become politically necessary 'that the Church of England clergy should look to leaders who would declare that the authority of the Church does not rest on the authority of the state'. (Chadwick 1960: 13)

The leadership of the movement were ready to embrace the task. Keble was a parish priest but had also been professor of Poetry. Though a Tory in politics he knew that he could not simply apply his faith by observing rigid, careful and precise rules of behaviour in worship. (Ibid, 14) He wanted to keep the deposit of faith, remain true to scripture and to the Church of England, yet looking back to antiquity, he found the present wanting and said so. (ibid, 39) Nevertheless it was Newman who gave the movement its heart. By far the most outstanding leader amongst them, he also nearly destroyed the movement when he converted to Rome in 1845. His emphasis was always on faith, the faith of the church, which was neither credulous nor blind. Newman saw very clearly that reason could not be the safeguard of faith, that safeguard was a right state of heart brought about by the individual conscience. (ibid, 44ff)

All this was systematised by Pusey, and the movement came to be known as Puseyism by its detractors, through increased use of the language of mysticism. He was not necessarily an original thinker but he was a scholar who was able to bring the excitement and inchoate thoughts of the period into something more systematic. (Ibid, 46) By 1840 it had become clearer what the propagandists of the new movement had in mind:

- 1) High thoughts of the Two sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist.
- 2) A high estimate of the Episcopacy as God's ordination.
- 3) A high view of the Church as the body wherein people can be members of Christ.
- 4) Regard for ordinances, as directing Christian devotions - daily prayers, fasts, feasts and so on.
- 5) Reverence for the visible aspects of devotion such as decoration of the House of God.
- 6) Reverence for and deference to the ancient Church, of which the Anglican communion was seen as part. The part which represented the ancient church to its members. (ibid,51)

Much of this became fairly commonplace in South Africa and in 1948 the then Archbishop of Cape Town, J R Darbyshire claimed vis-a-vis the settler element in the church that the 'idea that advanced ceremonial is forced on unwilling Europeans is just not true.' (Wand 1948, 98)

Be that as it may, the 'advanced' ceremonial caused much consternation wherever it was introduced, especially in England where it caused great agitation and at least once, an unseemly fracas. In South Africa it caused an alarming tendency to litigation. What was simply the passing on of the baton within the English tradition from the Erastianism of a defined relationship between the state and the national church to a new Apostolic paradigm with new priorities and changed relationship, became, for many of the laity and some clergy, something very threatening indeed. (Suggitt & Goedhals eds 1998: 36) Contrary to the actual belief of the new men, they were said to be engaged in the restoration of the church of Roman Catholic practice. To people who were already very sensitive to the issue because of the repeal of the Test acts in 1828 (which had made reception of Holy Communion in a parish church

a condition for holding any kind of office), followed in 1829 by the Emancipation of Roman Catholics which allowed them to take their place, officially, in the political structures of the country, Tractarianism was both a heresy and the thin end of the wedge. (Carpenter 1933: 51) The 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and the hegemony of Church and gentry which it had introduced had long passed, yet the clearing away of what was left of its legacy was causing some heart-ache and anxiety. For this reason any movement which seemed to lead the Church of England back to the Roman fold was viewed with suspicion. Suspicions seemed to be confirmed when one of its most popular and effective leaders, Newman, converted to Roman Catholicism ; eventually to become a cardinal. (Chadwick 1961: 44)

There was a different form of opposition among the evangelicals. (ibid, 25), who were not easily persuaded by the arguments of the Puseyites. As loyal members of their Church, 'their hostility to the high church party was even greater than their hostility to Rome...'. Throughout the nineteenth century they attacked the growth of Anglo-Catholicism in a way which has been described as a persecution. (Paul 1973: 56) In England they affiliated to the Evangelical Alliance when it was formed in the early years of the 1840s. Its aim was 'to associate and concentrate the strength of an enlightened Protestantism against the encroachments of Popery and Puseyism, and to promote the interests of a scriptural Christianity'. (Ibid, 58)

3. Change at the Cape

In the event, Gray did not bring controversy with him, he stepped into it. In 1840 there was an outcry over the Lent course on Fasting which was led by the Chaplain. In the Cape, 'the tone of Churchmanship generally being what is known as old-fashioned high Church'. At around that time Hough and his assistant were at loggerheads over the issue of baptismal regeneration which was the battleground between the old high church group and the evangelicals. (Hewitt 1887: 81)

3.1 Evangelicals and Puseyites

It was reported that a group of Anglo-Indians who claimed to be Churchmen

'held views differing little, if any, from the rankest Plymouth Bretherenism,¹⁰ offering to teach in church schools yet refusing to teach the catechism' These people were critical of Hough as having High and Sacerdotal views. The high churchmen countered by describing them as having, 'long purses and pious purposes, the pest of the place'. The two clergy of Cape Town itself lived in Green Point which was three miles from their Churches. They were both low-church evangelicals and members of a little 'so-called' evangelical alliance. (Ibid: 81)

The evangelicals formed themselves into a 'Religious Society' and founded an episcopalian Chapel in Long Street.(Hinchliff History,12) Although they attended morning service and communicated at the Church, they regarded such rituals as the 'Offertory' during which the bread and the wine were brought up in procession for the Communion, preaching in a surplice and chanting as something dogmatically incorrect. (Lewis 1934: 25)

Lucy Gray travelled with her mother and brother to South Africa in 1849. Her brother, Samuel, although no relation, had been recruited by the first bishop to his small band of clergy in the Cape. The family were evangelicals whose father had been a friend of Charles Simeon.(Hattersley 1950: 5)¹¹ Her grandfather had belonged to the 'Clapham Sect' which had gathered around William Wilberforce. (Ibid, 7) Although evangelical, Samuel was a suitable recruit for the Colonial ministry being over six-foot, a sportsman and physically fearless. He was licensed to the parish of Cradock and paid £100 p.a. by the Governor.(Ibid, 9) This was a time of some distress in England and many people were leaving its shores. Political unrest was prevalent at a time when Chartism was at its height in England and there was revolution throughout most of Europe. Many were seeking greener pastures like California, where the gold rush had begun in 1845. Natal was also a favoured destination at the time.(Ibid, 11)

¹⁰ A breakaway group (seen by some as a sect) from the Anglican Church in about 1830 which had done away with formal creeds, ministers and an official order of service.

¹¹ Simeon had been a leading member of the evangelical clergy based in Cambridge during the early years of the century and had set up a fund for the endowment of parishes which would make possible the recruitment of evangelical clergy to the ministry of the Church of England.

On their arrival at Grahamstown they went to stay with the Archdeacon's family. The Merrimans were described as eating plain food, wearing plain clothes because they lacked the money to support a more lavish style of life. The archdeacon made his own shoes, though that might have been because he walked hundreds of miles throughout his archdeaconry and so used much shoe-leather. (Ibid, 40)

Lucy did not much like Heavyside, whom she found uninteresting and weak. She was even more critical of his wife who was described as vulgar, with unrefined children.(Ibid, 40) She says that Heavyside had shown Tractarian tendencies from 1843 when he first began to wear a white surplice in which to preach. (Ibid, 41) This was part of a move on his part from 'low' to 'high' church. His daughter followed Newman's example and became a Catholic.(Ibid 63) At the time of her arrival in Grahamstown, Lucy described the Sunday services as evangelical with musical accompaniment on the oboe, flute and bassoon.(Ibid, 62) This was a tradition which was to survive the changes brought about by Gray the bishop. The evangelical way was continued in the chapel at St Andrew's under Cotterill and later in Christ Church which was endowed as an evangelical parish by Rosa Wright.



Greathead, Rosa
Wright's Son-in-law

Nevertheless, the trend was discernable to Lucy Gray. She says that clergymen were arriving in both colonies, 'brimful of Puseyism' and that the colonial press was crowded with correspondence from indignant parishioners unused to ornamental vestments and opposed to ceremonies that appeared to be anti-Protestant.(Ibid, 63)

The depth of the controversies of the time was touched on in the Merriman diaries of October 1849 which describe the discouragement he had experienced in the far flung areas of his archdeaconry. He found that suspicion, alarm and fear of Anglican Puseyism had taken a hold of people's minds. The Archdeacon patiently reassured a parishioner in New Smithfield and persuaded him to trust him and the Church and subsequently to attend the Eucharist.(Cory MS16/608/4, 107)

3.2 The Anglican Parish in the Tradition

As the conflict over the vestry issue in Grahamstown had shown, there was dissension in the Eastern Province over another issue. What was to be the nature of the *parish* in the colony? One of the greatest strengths of the COE has always been that it was parochial. As part of the official structures of English local government, the entire country was divided into parishes with everyone living in the parish of whatever denomination belonging to it. The congregation was a different thing. Within the parish the clergy had certain rights (such as tithes) and in return carried out official duties, they were marriage officers and responsible for the administration of the welfare provisions for the poor such as there were. Consequently, the Rector focussed on the parish and became bound up with its affairs, to the exclusion of wider diocesan or Provincial affairs.

When the parochial system was exported to a large and inaccessible country like the Cape its weaknesses were exposed. The parishes were often too large and widespread to allow the chaplain to reach all the people in his geographical location, the DRC had in any event occupied the place which had been the right of the English clergy at home and other denominations like the Methodists had been able to establish themselves in a dynamic way of which the English Church could only dream. Bathurst in the 1820s was a parochial district containing 1 240 souls but during the interregnum between 1825 and 1828 the resident magistrate wrote to the church authorities, 'leave us all a little longer and we will be Methodists or we will be *nothing*'. Wright wrote of the decline of Methodism in the Bathurst area while he was ministering in 1828 there but he was fooling himself. (Lewis 1934,19)

Before setting out for the Eastern Province, Samuel Gray and his family had been well received at Bishopscourt¹². Spending time there, Samuel was introduced to some of the problems of a ministry in the colonies. Since there was no church rate, the Chaplain subsisted on the grants from the Government and the building was

¹² Gray's House which he and Sophy, his wife had bought on their arrival in the country and has since been the residence of the Archbishop of Cape Town

maintained by pew-rents, something unknown in England and unwelcome to evangelicals. The Grays were shocked by the poverty of colonial congregations. (Hattersley 1950: 30) When the practice of a money collection during the service was later introduced into the churches, there was much popular resistance to the idea. From the perspective of an English cleric, further problems were to be found in the way the vestries were working. (Ibid, 30)

The earliest interpretation of the Grahamstown Ordinance of 1841 was that communicant members alone should be given the right to elect Churchwardens and Vestry members. Such a policy implied that the parish was a voluntary organisation whose affairs were the business of its members. When non-communicants disputed this ruling, the Governor and the Attorney-General found for them. In other words, the official policy was still to support the traditional English view of the parish as being made up of everyone living within its boundaries. (Lewis 1934: 25)

Leaving aside the fact that the ruling was from the Government and not the parishioners, it also meant that the traditional, largely English, view of the parish had been placed deeply into the thinking and practice South African Anglicanism, well before the establishment of the CPSA. With it came a tendency to introspection which is implied in what is now meant by the word 'parochial'. It also tended to result in the close involvement of the clergy with the parochial interests of the people which they served and required clergy to align with settler interests as the latter perceived them. These tendencies remained embedded in the tradition even after the changes brought about by Gray and his supporters had changed many of the practices and perceptions of the English Church in the Cape.

Grahamstown: Settlers and Anglicans 1847-1860

1. A Bishop for the Eastern Province

The exciting new diocese of Cape Town in which Robert Gray arrived during 1848 encompassed a very large and disparate territory, one of its most populous parts being the Eastern Province with its leading parish in Grahamstown.

In 1908, Hewitt estimated in his history that the diocese included the whole Cape Colony and a sea coast of 1200 miles. Its 250 000 square miles included Natal and St Helena as well as the newly acquired territories of Sir Harry Smith in British Kaffraria and the Orange River Sovereignty. (Matthews 1961: 18) In the east of the colony there were seven priests supported by the government as chaplains or by the S.P.G. or the Colonial Church Society. The four churches which were to be found in Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Sidbury had been designed by military engineers in the Georgian style. Hewitt suggests that the spiritual state of the church was, if respectable, cold and lifeless. There was no church mission in the colony. (Ibid, 19)

It was quite different for the Methodists in the Eastern Province. By the 1790s in England, Methodism had been purged of its 'primitive' elements and had become a stabilizing factor in an evolving industrial society. An evangelical movement with a strong appeal to the aspirant classes of society, the movement helped to channel psychic tumult and insecurity into the 'quest for personal salvation'. It also laid stress on the benefits of hard work. (Keegan 1996: 66) The ethic of individual redemption, discipline, self-improvement, austerity and frugality was combined with diligence, hard work and self-sacrifice which early Methodism constructed also appealed to those, like the 1820 settlers, who had the strength of character to leave the mother country and set out into the unknown, where their capacity for self-improvement would be

exercised to the fullest. With the arrival of Sephton's party, the focal point of this endeavour became Salem to the south of Grahamstown. Pringle describes the Methodists as having associated themselves (in the pattern of early American colonists) on the principles of a religious as well as civil community. Such was its influence and that of Shaw, its minister, that by the 1830s Grahamstown itself had become a largely Methodist town.(Ibid, 67) The growth of civic responsibility and municipal developments did not change the Wesleyan predominance in local politics under the triumvirate of Wood, Cawood and Godlonton who did not retire from politics and prominence until 1878 at a time when the Legislative Council elections were first held under the regulations of the Seven Circles Act which had limited Grahamstown's influence to the Eastern Districts.(Gibbens 1982: 353) The Graham's Town Journal wrote in 1882 wrote of them:

The local devotion of Grahamstown men is at once unique and admirable. No other city, town or village in the Colony is so deeply rooted in the affections of its inhabitants, or stirs in them so superb a pride. It is not only the social, intellectual, ecclesiastical and judicial centre of the eastern districts of the Colony, in the opinion of all its children, but, to all South Africa, the source of political, commercial, agricultural and educational energy and the rallying point of true patriotism. (Ibid, 353)

Whatever the truth or otherwise of the contention, there was developed in Grahamstown a sense of uniqueness over these years which gave the settlers a glass through which to look at their lives and evaluate them. It gave them an identity and a confidence through which they were able to make sense of their experience, tolerate their insecurities and colour their faith. A Quaker observer said of them, Anglican as well as Wesleyan:

The Grahamstown people are a queer set in religious as in some other matters. They gave up celebrating Christs (sic) resurrection for the sake of celebrating the landing of those Settlers in 1820 and they gave up even that celebration to hear a travelling lecturer.(ibid, 351)

1.1 The Archdeaconry of Grahamstown

It was not surprising that one of the first things Gray did after settling his family at Protea, renamed Bishopscourt, was to head off to the eastern districts of the colony. He was to visit again in 1850. He was a remarkable, determined and scrupulous bishop with a passion for his vision and his church. He wanted to make contact with the people of his denomination, whom he regarded, with some partisanship and more exaggeration as having remained faithful in the face of fearful neglect. (Matthew 1961: 19)

When he first set out on his journeying, he was in a quite foreign environment where the kind of communication of road and, latterly, rail transport, which he had been able to take for granted in Britain were completely lacking. The climate, the fauna and the flora were all quite different as were the prevailing suppositions of the people. The visit lasted four months and took him over 4 000 miles (ibid,20)

For all the differences he experienced in a new country, when he got to Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown he found people with similar values and aspirations to those he had met within his parishes in County Durham and Stockton in the north of England. This would help to explain the tone of the journals which he kept during his travels and which were published in 1849 and 1851. They deal with the kinds of issues which would have applied equally for any bishop of the high-church party throughout the Anglican Communion. While remarking on the vastness of the country and the huge distances and his cart, his mind remained fixed on the issues of the Church which were occupying him. These were the synods of clergy which he intended to hold in the Eastern Province and his desire to get their help in the formation of a Church Society. (Gray 1851: 48)

The first synod of 12 October 1948, was attended by the chaplains, Heavyside from Grahamstown, McClelland from Port Elizabeth and Barrow from Bathurst. A

footnote in the Merriman diaries says that Barrow was Colonial chaplain at Bathurst from 1833-1874 and Merriman refers to him as the oldest and most respected clergyman in the district. (Varley ed 1957: 35) Hewitt confirms this in his history but a manuscript in the Cory Library seems to indicate that he was licensed to Bathurst by Gray on 13 October 1848 (Ms 16 653). So there is some confusion as to his status, the Colonial chaplains were employed by the governor, and were responsible to him. What would seem to be happening here is that Gray was starting to issue his own licences, which would be consistent with his view of his prerogative within the church. A similar thing happened in 1861 when Mee was appointed to be Colonial chaplain by the government and Cotterill made him Dean of the cathedral and appointed a Chapter without the usual legal formalities. (Matthew 1961:46)

Others in attendance at the synod were Green and Beaver from the military and two lay members of the church, Messrs Steabler and Wheeler. Steabler was later to be ordained as a priest and eventually married Miss Heavyside. Discussion centred on Church Ordinances, Marriage Law and the education question, the latter being one of the bishop's passions and priorities. (Ibid,49)

The Sunday after the synod, one of the catechists who had come out with the bishop was ordained in the Cathedral. This was the first ordination to take place in Grahamstown, so St George's was packed with parishioners and visitors who had come to support the proceedings. There were so many, that people were sitting in the aisles. After the ordination, 150 people from the congregation took communion. Gray wrote, ' the service has, I hope, been useful, both in reminding us, who are God's ministers, of our solemn responsibilities; and the Laity, of the nature and dignity of our office, and their relative obligations towards us.' (Gray 1851: 50) This statement gives some insight into the high view of the ordained clergy which he held. His view of his own role was further evidenced in the fact that he was not prepared to consecrate the church building, partly because it was not being properly maintained and because the churchyard was in such a bad state, despite the efforts to resolve the problems of the

previous decade. (Ibid, 51)

The bishop's arrival meant that things began to happen. On Monday October 16 he agreed to fund a school and to find the money for another curate. He also heard complaints from the Vestry because the clergy had stopped reading the psalms from the Prayer Book and had replaced them with a compilation of hymns and psalms. (Ibid, 51) Since he was not cautious when it came to the exercise of his office, Gray certainly got things moving very rapidly in the church of which he was now head and whatever his reservations about a close relationship between church and state, he was able to use his links with the authorities for the expansion of the English Church.

The Church received grants of £400 p.a. for an archdeacon, £600 for the bishop's travel allowance and £900 for further clergy. This was to be supplemented by £1 000 from the S P G each year. (Matthews 1961:23) In a circular letter of 1850, he was to observe that there were more members in the Anglican communion than he expected but they were scattered all through the countryside and not simply in towns and villages. For this reason he planned to spend £21 000 to fund twenty-one churches, twenty-six clergy and six catechists, thus providing for the needs of the English in the Colony.

Also in that circular, the bishop preached self-sufficiency for the first time and called for special collections to be held in the churches for the maintenance of the clergy, the buildings for missions and for the ministry to the poor. (Cory MS 16 759) In the original Ordinance for the erecting of an 'English Church at Cape Town', (no. 4, Oct 1829) the vast majority of the articles deal with the shareholders and to the renting of pews. The rest has to do with the nature of the Trust under which it was to operate. (Hewitt, Appendix C) All the nine churches built between 1829 and 1846 followed the same pattern and were funded in this way. (Lewis 1934: 21) Some of the opposition to what Merriman was trying to do in Port Elizabeth, arose from this new notion of 'Offerories' and self-sufficiency which came between the established

shareholding and property rights in the financing of the churches. The Offertory had the further disadvantage for the sceptics, of including the procession of the bread and wine - the gifts - at the same time as the money.

In January 1849, Heavyside instituted Merriman as the archdeacon of the Eastern Province. Merriman had arrived in Cape Town in November 1848 and found that the bishop was visiting the area for which he was to have oversight. He had been asked to join the team by Gray before the latter left for the Cape and had decided to leave the parish of Street, where he had been a popular incumbent, to follow his desire to go to the mission field. The area for which he had responsibility included Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, Bathurst, Fort Beaufort, Sidbury, Uitenhage, Graaf-Reinet, Cradock, Somerset East, Victoria (Alice and Peddie) as well as British Kaffraria and the Orange River Sovereignty this gave a wide field for the would be missionary to exercise his talents. (Matthews 1961: 23) The area covered 89 464 square miles which contained 270 000 people, few of whom were Anglicans. His arrival gave a sense of order and purpose to church life in the town. He walked the whole archdeaconry and succeeded in making himself accepted in most of the places he went visited in the long run.

When he arrived in Port Elizabeth his reputation had gone before him, and he was unpopular. While there he found that there were practices at St Mary's which he felt breached the rubrics of the Prayer Book in a way that he found intolerable. This led, amongst other things to recriminations and resulted in sixty members of the parish going out on their own. (Goedhals 1982: 60) The accusations levelled at him were that he preached in his surplice, that he used of the Church



Merriman

militant prayer and that he instituted weekly collections in the church. (Ibid, 24) He emphatically denied the charges levelled at him. (Ibid 61) It was to rumour that Merriman seems to have attributed the greatest fear of Puseyism. In his diaries he

refers to the people of Graaff-Reinet as being terrified of the 'bugbear' of Puseyism and blamed the 'father of lies' for the exaggerated stories of his doings in Grahamstown (Varley ed 1956, 68) These were not issues of 'essentials' of the faith so much as externals in the church. He found that his recommendation of kneeling in Uitenhage was regarded as Puseyitical, (Ibid, 29)(footnote 7)

The contentious issue in Grahamstown was his wearing a surplice in which to preach. Criticism of this practice was levelled at him by the churchwarden and became quite heated largely because they did not want Heavyside to adopt the practice. The conversation then broadened into a criticism of the Colonial chaplain and all his works. (Ibid,26) The archdeacon dealt with the matter by abstaining from preaching when there was to be communion. In April 1849 he received a letter in which the vestry indicated that they did not want to dictate to him in such matters and that they would be content as long as he carried out the rules and usages of the Church of England.(Ibid,47)

Having been brought in by Gray and being of the high church party, Merriman found that there was widespread anxiety about the direction which the church was taking among its members. The Archdeacon patiently explained his theology of the sacraments to an elderly man in New Smithfield and persuaded him to trust him and the Church and subsequently to attend the Eucharist.(Cory MS16/608/4: 107) Much of the subsequent support of Puseyism in the CPSA can be attributed to the care and hard work of the newly arrived clergy.

Gray returned to Grahamstown in August 1850. Having been through Natal and Kaffraria, he was beginning to feel some strain. He was encouraged by the annexation of Kaffraria and wanted MacKinnon, who was in charge of the military administration in the area, to be firm but kind, so that there need not be further collisions. Gray naturally and unselfconsciously assumed the paternalist liberal orthodoxy of the time. On the one hand he expressed his pleasure at seeing a farm

'with wagon, oxen on land which belonged to a Kafir', on the other he expresses the view that the present generation of African men 'are educated in stealing and are thieves by profession'. He bemoaned what he viewed as the slow progress of civilization. (Gray 1851: 118)

Grahamstown was encouraging for the bishop. He found an increased number of communicants since the arrival of the archdeacon. The increase may be attributable as much to the change in style and emphasis of the leadership, as to the arrival of new members in the church. Until this time the emphasis of the church had not been particularly sacramental, and definitely not to the extent it had now become. (ibid, 121) Gray was quite excited by the fact that he could discern a growing devotion among the people as 'a large proportion of the congregation now kneels' (ibid,122) His journal makes plain his high church leanings but also his suspicions of Rome. And he expressed his concern that, though the grammar school has been established, the appointed master had not yet arrived and therefore the children were attending the 'Romish priests and nuns'. (ibid, 122) All in all, there was some cause for satisfaction in Grahamstown.

So much so that it had become apparent that there was a need for the subdivision of the diocese of Cape Town and the formation of a new one in Grahamstown.

The Crown agreed in 1850. In 1852 Gray visited England to raise the money for it. He succeeded in getting £5 000 from the S P G, £2 000 from the S P C K and through private subscriptions and the Colonial Bishop's Fund he was able to raise the total to £10 000 (Mathews 1961,27) In 1853 Armstrong was approached to be the first bishop and rose meekly to the challenge. In November Gray resigned his Letters Patent, fresh Letters were issued for two dioceses and Gray became the bishop of Cape Town and the Metropolitan of South Africa. (Ibid,28)

Accusations of his authoritarian ambitions were to follow Gray for the rest of his career and his letters and the emphasis which he placed on the dignity of the ordained ministry (as opposed to the clerical profession) seems to indicate social conservatism. Yet, what he was bringing to the church dressed in the trappings of the early fathers included a willingness to consult the clergy and the laity in synodical government which was unprecedented in the Anglican church. In this he was perhaps an Englishman of his times, who, like Gladstone or Disraeli, were able to manage the 'difficult process of a controlled broadening of an upper-class system of rule'. Like them, Gray was able to turn both old and new forces to his advantage. (Hobsbaum 1975: 72)

2. Establishment religion or Anglican Church

Apart from diocesan matters, Gray's role as a bishop of the Church of England carried with it far wider duties and larger recognition than might have been expected of the presiding minister of one of the denominations in the Colony, and that one of the smallest. In England the Archbishop of Canterbury had precedence second only to the Queen on formal occasions. Sir Harry Smith recognised this. During his visit to Kaffraria in 1848 when he introduced the primate to thirty Xhosa chiefs, whom he had gathered together for one of his bizarre acts of showmanship, as 'Great Chief and Father of the Christians' who wanted to minister to them and bring them education. (Ibid, 21) Umhalla was mildly interested in the episcopal intentions but Krelli, the paramount chief was not, which probably reflected the fact that Umhalla's land was a lot closer to the border than Krelli's.

2.1 The 'conservative' and 'popular' Parties

During the 1820s the settlers and the humanitarians had been united in their opposition to the status quo and the authoritarian power of the governor, especially of Somerset who reflected the political ideas of the early Napoleonic period in

England, rather than the bustling new ideas of the reformers or the evangelicals. The most articulate group during the 1830s had been the humanitarians who had lobbied London on behalf of the indigenous peoples in the colony. Their interests and those of the colonists had divided after the Frontier war of 1836 when Lord Glenelg had repudiated D'Urban's annexation of the Queen Adelaide province. Glenelg was linked to the evangelical movement by sympathy and inheritance, his father having been one of the founder members of the C M S in 1799. He had been under the influence of James Steven, the Permanent Secretary at the Colonial Office, who was himself a member of the Clapham Sect. (Keegan 1996: 82)

The settler lobby had become stronger and unfairly blamed missionaries and the L M S for the humanitarian influences of the time. As humanitarian influence waned in the years which followed, settler opinion was to become stronger and more articulate. By the time of the Godlonton/Chase jamboree in 1844 which took place at Oatlands as a form of celebration for the settler achievement, some of the mythology of the 1820 Settlers which has become standard in the folk history of South Africa was beginning to be made.

Thomas Philipps the magistrate who chaired the 1844 celebrations and who was one of the most respected Anglicans in Grahamstown, and several other prominent business people, had been trying to develop the viability of the Kowie River for navigation with Port Frances (later Port Alfred) as its port since the mid 1820s (Ibid, 5) His interest in the matters resulted in his chairing the Grahamstown, Bathurst and Kowie Shipping Company in 1843. (Morse Jones 1969: 149)

The Lower Albany Chronicle is peppered throughout the period with references to the development of the area. In May 1841 the 'Africaine' landed passengers there and Thomas Stubbs' 'Red Rover' service carried passengers to and from Grahamstown for the fee of 10/6 for a single journey. (Morse-Jones 1966: 4) By August the pier had been advanced by 150 feet (ibid,5) In June 1845 a fishery was

established by Messrs Armstrong and Cockroft, fishing on the banks outside the surf and providing Grahamstown with fish once per week at a flat rate of fourpence per pound. (Ibid, 33) [One of the Armstrongs was married to Mary Gunn in the Grahamstown Church by Heavyside in October. (Ibid, 35)] In July 1846 amidst the descriptions of the progress of the war, the Chronicle reported the grain cargo out of 'Albatross' and the cargoes of 'Sophia', and 'Chanticleer' and 'British Settler' were successfully brought in from their anchorage by a new surf-boat which was being tested there. (Ibid, 57) The link was vital to the long term trading hegemony of Grahamstown but was never practical without massive financial support, if then. By 1849 there were high hopes that Smith would support the Kowie scheme and provide a lifeline for the traders and merchants of Grahamstown. (Le Cordeur 1981: 218)

In 1847, Eastern Province separatism was at its zenith with the arrival of Young as Lieutenant-Governor to work for the cause, but even while it appeared to be achieving its most sparkling successes, the Governor in Cape Town, Sir Henry Pottinger, was declaring it a dead letter (Le Cordeur 1981: 177) It had become apparent by 1848 that the whole programme was being supported mainly by those of the Grahamstown gentry who were being forced to face up to their vulnerability to new economic forces, and increasing economic isolation. Eastern Cape separatism was seldom supported by a majority in the east, since the Afrikaners of the interior were not interested in it. It was not passionately separatist, being more a movement by those who feared instability on the frontier and wanted to continue to exploit the land there. (Ibid, 281) Settlers could still remember times when war had been devastating to them but had brought its own rewards.

The Maynards, a family of traders who had interests throughout the country and had even been as far abroad as Delagoa Bay were amongst the many who had applied for land in the Queen Adelaide province in the mid 1830s and had missed out through Glenelg's policy. (Keegan 1996: 144) They had strong local roots and Henry was in partnership with Henry Nourse and James became the Member of the

Assembly for the Cape division in 1854. It was a Maynard who was one of the churchwardens in the 1830s who was in dispute with the Chaplain, resigning in 1845. What the separatists really wanted, was a strong local government in the eastern province which would be an engine of patronage on their behalf and what they did not want was a system of Representative government which could mean domination by the Boers and by the good citizens of Cape Town. (Ibid,154)

By the 1850s details of the political situation and the fashionable issues of the moment were to change but the fundamentals were not. Grahamstown was facing growing isolation and inevitable change of role and significance. Developments in the Cape economy and then gold and diamonds in the rest of the sub-continent made this more rather than less likely. Even though Montagu, as Colonial Secretary, had so favoured the Grahamstown leadership during the 1840s, it was his work in building the infrastructure, improving harbour facilities and the postal services and especially the roads into the interior which meant that economic primacy would gradually pass from Grahamstown to Port Elizabeth after 1848. (ibid, 230)

Their cause was not popular. In 1853 the governor Sir George Cathcart, yet another soldier-governor, was to write of the Grahamstown separatists all of who seemed to him to be opposing Representative government as a 'set of covetous, profligate, unscrupulous, land jobbers of colonists (who) expected that I was to use the Queen's troops, not in support of justice, but to aid and abet, and support them in injustice and rapacity, at the expense of commencing another war'. He was attempting to sort out the consequences of the war and the establishment of a Crown Colony in Kaffraria and so he was exasperated by demands from them and from evidence that there were those who profited from the wars and misused the military ordinance into saying, 'the kaffir is much the finer race of the two'. (ibid 242ff)



Sir Harry Smith
Colonist's other friend

2.2 The Church in Politics

2.2.1 Gray and Smith

Gray arrived in the colony during the governorship of Sir Harry Smith. He and his wife, Sophy, made warm friendships with Sir Harry and his vivacious wife Juana, whom he had met and married during the Peninsula war against Napoleon. The episcopal couple fitted easily into the upper echelons of Cape Society. (Brooke1947: 38) As Colonel Smith, Sir Harry had worked with D'Urban after the wars in 1835 to resolve the Frontier and believed fervently that direct rule was the only way to do so, he therefore annexed huge amounts of territory to the crown as part of the settlement of 1846. The annexation of the Victoria East and Albert districts had brought large swathes of land under sheep cultivation. Leading members of the Grahamstown elite, Nourse, Blaine and Woodhouse acquired land by public auction.(Keegan 1996: 221)

But many Boers, led by Stockenström opposed the policy, since they were not drawn by tradition or interest to taking part in an aggressive imperialism. Nor were the colonists interested in taking over the military responsibilities consequent on the annexations. Between them and the Cape commercial classes, was the making of a 'popular' party in opposition to the Governor. (Ibid,222) Soon after the bishop's arrival the Colony was convulsed by the Anti-Convict agitation when the arrival of a ship carrying British convicts bound for South Africa focussed discontent within the colony

A 'conservative' grouping developed around Godlonton, Chase, Southey and Cock in Grahamstown and Montagu, the Colonial Secretary, in Cape Town. The Legislative Council which had been established by D'Urban in 1836 collapsed when the colonist representatives withdrew their support and only the 'conservative' representation from Grahamstown remained wedded to Sir Harry Smith and the imperial government supporting any government policy in their desire for things to

remain the same at home. (Ibid,231)

From the dispassionate perspective of Marxist historiography, Gray represented an Anglican church shorn of its evangelical schismatics, and still a bulwark of *ancien regime* Toryism, which was profoundly suspicious of missionaries and humanitarians. Gray formed a close alliance with Montagu to the benefit of the church which he represented and which gained grants of land in Caledon, George and Port Elizabeth as a consequence. One of the consequences of his 'insidious and intruding Puseyism' was that the church assumed establishment status and hierarchical form. (Ibid, 224-5)

Notwithstanding this powerful presence in the government establishment, the colonists won the day and the convicts went to Tasmania.

The 'conservatives' other cause, opposition to Representative government, was also lost in the face of the Colonial Reform Programme of E G Wakefield in the Colonial Office who repealed the last of the Navigation Acts in 1849. In line with the Durham report on Canada of 1839, he thought that the best way forward for the British empire in the mid-nineteenth century was through 'free settler communities, pursuing mutual advantage with the mother country, free of constraint or regulation...' (Ibid, 209) In 1852 Smith was recalled. Representative institutions for the Cape were agreed in Britain during 1853 and introduced a year later.

Grahamstown itself was not destined to maintain its position as second city of the Colony. In the new dynamics created in the economy by the discovery and exploitation of the country's vast mineral resources, it was inevitable that Grahamstown lost ground and the city eventually ceased to have much geo-political relevance at all. Even the border, which it had originally been established to defend having folded its tents and moved off.

2.2.2 Armstrong, the first bishop of Grahamstown 1853-1856

Armstrong was consecrated in 1853, though the Armstrongs only arrived in Grahamstown during October 1854 to take charge of a diocese which included the Eastern Province, British Kaffraria, and Kaffraria up to Umtata. An area of 90 000 square miles with a population of 270 000 people including, on his arrival, but one mission station in King William's Town which had been initiated and established though the energy of Gray. Armstrong made it his business to increase their number and was remarkably successful during the short time he was bishop.

Armstrong's diocese had sixteen clergy and six churches. The Orange River Sovereignty had been disbanded but the episcopal oversight of Grahamstown remained. The bishop brought with him a staff of missionaries. (Matthews 1961: 30) He found some dissatisfaction with the church in Port Elizabeth, which had come to a head in 1853, partly as opposition to the ecclesiastical reforms of Merriman grew in St Mary's. They made 'vague charges of unsound and Romanizing doctrines', which according to Hewitt were not sustained upon the bishop's enquiry. (Ibid, 30)

In a circular issued in 1851 Gray had identified those areas of church life which he felt had been neglected or to have assumed a critical importance. The four categories gave some idea of Gray's mission statement to his charge:

- *division of the diocese*, for Gray it was the bishop around whom the church grew. Where there was a new bishop there would be further expansion.
- *The future maintenance of the clergy*, staffing needs would have to be met by the dioceses themselves through offerings and subscriptions as there would be no new government grants, because the church could expect less money from the home country in the future.

- *Establishment of missions to the heathen*, which was not an option as far as Gray was concerned with 600 000 neighbours unreached by the gospel, to do nothing was a sin.
- *The foundation of a college*. Nothing was possible in all other spheres without the development of educational resources.

Gray understood the Anglican church at the Cape to be a missionary church and re-defined the classic view of the Anglican mission as follows *'it is not in accordance with our Branch of the Church, or the Primitive Apostolic Church, that the bishop should, by his sole authority settle all questions that may arise. The Presbyters, Deacons and Laity of the Church have each their separate functions, responsibilities and privileges which are in danger of being overlooked. (Cory Ms 16 759)*. In the stage of the growth and development which the Anglican church had reached under Gray's leadership, the over-riding work was never seen as involving all the baptised in ministries to grow the church. This model of the church and its evangelistic task has become known as the baptismal model. Gray inclined to the 'apostolic paradigm', where the church has been freed from the Erastian past, but remains thoroughly clericalised and hierarchical. (Suggitt and Goedhals eds 1998: 37) Although he was no church democrat, Gray had a very clear picture for the involvement and the ministry of the laity, which he spent a lot of energy putting into effect. His concept of the mission and membership of the Anglican church was racially inclusive and he worked to ensure that it did not remain the private property of the white colonists. (Ibid 37)

Gray developed the theme of synodical government because he saw this as the best way of achieving his mission. He wanted to include the laity from the start but was not sure of the legality of such a step. He had discussed this issue with other bishops especially in Australia, North America and the West Indies and decided to go ahead with the introduction of synodical government to the Anglican Church in South

Africa. (Cory Ms 16 759) From the internal logic of the Anglican Churches, Gray, who was viewed by outsiders as the symbol of the lingering *ancien regime* in South Africa, was actually rather progressive and to some of its members he seemed to be quite a dangerous radical.

Armstrong, on the other hand, seems to have been universally well regarded during the few years he was bishop. This may have been because he had a milder temperament than the metropolitan and the archdeacon and looked good in contrast to them. It cannot be because of his ecclesiology, because there does not appear to have been a great deal between them all with regard to their high church affiliations and their support of Gray's vision for the church.

From the time of his arrival, Merriman had become a controversial figure and he became the focus for discontent within the church. This remained true even after he had become bishop in the 1870s. Opposition took a variety of forms from the traditional form of the faithful, grumbling in the desert (Exodus 15:24, 16:2, 17:3; Numbers 14:2 etc) to litigation, which was a new and highly favoured form for the expression of discontent. In neither case did the problem actually drive the faithful to their knees. One such dispute, in 1852, fatally injured his chances of becoming the first bishop of Grahamstown as Gray had hoped he might.

Gray had issued a circular in 1850 defining the role of parishioners and churchwardens, (Cory Ms16 816-819) There were immediate consequences for Grahamstown since Booth, who was the churchwarden refused to sign the declaration when asked. Booth was a young man of twenty-eight at the time. As the son of the Colonial Chaplain at Fort Beaufort he probably had been party to the factions and disputes within the church for a long time. He does not seem to have been doctrinal in any way, it was more that he was asserting himself against an unpopular figure. (Goedhals 1982: 56) Merriman was reconciling on this occasion allowing Booth to continue in the position but not making it official, but when the same problem arose

two years later in 1852, Merriman would not budge on the issue and Booth resigned.

When Merriman got to Graaf-Rienet in 1849 for the visit which has already been described and where the archdeacon felt that the 'bug-bear' of Puseyism had been exaggerated out of all proportion, he found that the Colonial Chaplain, W Long would do nothing that smacked of 'popery'. For this reason, he did not use vessels or robes or rituals for the communion service that he felt might compromise this position. (Whibley 1982: 46) In 1852 the archdeacon again visited St James, Graaf-Reinet and this time sensed real hostility to him in the place. He was concerned about a £500 debt which had not been paid off although Gray had allowed the collection of pew rents to continue for two years to raise the revenue. For the bishop this was a major concession since he was so strongly against the principle of the 'gentry' being able to reserve their seats in the church in this way. Merriman, in line with his instructions from the diocesan, brought a declaration for the churchwardens to sign at the vestry which stated their intention to undertake their office faithfully, in accordance with the practice of the Church. (Ibid 47) This the churchwardens, refused to do as they had a particularist view of parochial rights and disputed Merriman's jurisdiction saying they could not accept that the powers of the bishop had been delegated to him. (Cory Ms 16 825(i) Merriman was conciliatory (ibid June 10) but later withdrew the churches' jurisdiction from them. (Ibid, June 19)

The Churchwardens wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury for clarification on the matter. In his first letter the Archbishop appeared to side with them, when he opined that the Canons under which the archdeacon was operating were not binding outside England, further, that the authority of the bishop and the dean in the colonial church was limited to the clergy (Ibid, August 26) By December, the archbishop was backing off, as he realised the implications of allowing his office to become the court of appeal for colonial grievances. Merriman rebuked the churchwardens for suppressing a second letter from the archbishop, and allowing the confusion which resulted to enable the first epistle to be used in other parishes of the region as a

precedent. (Ibid, April 1853) It was clear by then that the issue which needed to be resolved was that of the nature of the Letters Patent which had been issued to the bishop.

In May, Merriman wrote in a letter 'our main desire in advocating the passing of the 'Colonial Church Bill' has been that we might (Laity as well as clergy) be enabled to meet and determine for ourselves what relaxation or alteration in these canons would so adapt them to our circumstances....' and achieve a church government which would be most appropriate to the welfare of the church. (Ibid May 9, 1853)

By then the whole issue had been leaked to the *Graham's Town Journal* which seems rather to have enjoyed the archdiaconal discomfiture and the apparent support of no less a personage than the archbishop for the laity against the meddling priests of the high church party. Furthermore, a public meeting had been called on the issue in Port Elizabeth and rumours were flying about in a delicious fashion. One such rumour, claimed that the Rev'd Long had been sent to get the signatures from the churchwardens and had been called upon to enquire into the lives of members of the congregation and to report on them. It was claimed that an indignant and virtuous Long had written to the archbishop on the matter. (Ibid, Badnall May 20, 1853) Badnall was Secretary to the *Council of General Affairs of the Diocese* and wrote from Bishops Court to say what needed to be done to put the matter right.

Firstly that the Archbishop of Canterbury disclaimed all jurisdiction and right of interference in the Diocese of Cape Town, except in the case of a formal appeal from a judicial sentence. Further, that His Grace had expressed his desire that 'to such cases any future communications should be confined' and further that churchwardens were to sign the usual declarations after being chosen by whatever method. (Ibid May 1853)

Having brought the Archbishop of Canterbury on side it became necessary to point out to the churchwardens at Graaf-Reinet that they had publically aggrieved the archdeacon and the bishop. The churchwardens resigned (Cory Ms 16 825 /ii)

Gray had written Sumner, the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1852 to recommend Merriman as the first bishop of Grahamstown. In his letter of refusal, Sumner wrote, 'his views of church discipline appear to me so unsuited to the present state of the church anywhere, and more especially in a colony, and above all such a colony as the Cape, that I think it would be dangerous to arm him with authority, and place him in a situation where he would be tempted to act on principles not shared, not even understood, by the population of the country'. Sumner then referred Gray to the original correspondence with Graaf-Reinet while accepting Gray's testimonials to the excellence of the archdeacon's character. (Ms 16 689 d)

What was actually at issue in this meleé is not entirely clear. In the first place there is the confusion between Canterbury and Cape Town about the implications of delegating the control of the colonial church to the peripheries and how much power the Province of Canterbury was to retain. As time went on it became increasingly clear to the far-flung bishops that they needed to grow their own Provinces independently of the metropolitan and the established Church of England.

Further it had become apparent that there was no unanimity in the perception of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the high-church party in Cape Town as to the nature of the mission and the hierarchy of the church in the colonies. In the Cape some Anglicans, clerical and lay, wanted the looser arrangement to which they had been accustomed to be maintained. Many genuinely feared the high church party and felt that the best way to keep things as they wished to maintain them, was to preserve their link to the church in the 'mother' country. In the event Long was eventually to take the diocese to law to clarify the issue of the rights of the bishop to call synods and to make decisions binding on the parishes. What was clearly seen by Sumner in

1852 was that Merriman (and by inference, had he but known it, Gray and the future leadership of the Province of Southern Africa) stood for a greater centralisation and conformity in practice and doctrine which was to be regulated by the use of broadly representative synods.

Thirdly there was the die-hard resistance from Long who would not accept the idea of synodical government in the church and was strongly low church in his ecclesiology. He was eventually to issue a decisive challenge to the bishops when he took them to court in 1863. Because he won in court, other methods had to be found to resolve the problem in the English Church at the Cape.

Gray had been genuinely appalled (and probably exaggeratedly appalled) by what he found on his arrival in South Africa and in trying to impose his views he was, at least in part, trying to prevent such a state of affairs happening again. This he did with all the passion of a controlling disposition. There has been speculation in the past few decades, that people's spirituality has some parallel with their personality. The contemplative having a different psychological make up from the charismatic and so on. There may have been similarities of disposition among the Tractarians who came out to South Africa which led to their being so firmly of one mind as to the future direction that was needed in the South African Church. Yet Cotterill came from a different branch of the Anglican church and introduced several lasting evangelical aspects in the Grahamstown diocese. He too came to agree with Gray on the need for a separation from the Church of England, before he returned to Britain as bishop of Edinburgh.

All the protagonists at Graaf-Reinet knew that the issue was about church government and control. If, later, some came to see this as part of the evangelical/high church row, they were stretching the definition to suit their ends. It was but one of a series of disputes and discussions taking place in the press at both ends of the colony. And it led to a call of the high-church group for discussion and debate. They

did so on the grounds that it is the duty of Christian teachers to deal primarily with the Truth and only secondary for them to combat error. (S.A. Church Magazine and Ecclesiastical Review Aug 1854: 187)

One correspondent excitedly claimed in *the Mercury* that the Tractarians were trying to get rid of the evangelicals. He wrote that if the colonial laity were to agree with the clergy, the latter would set up a domination of all other denominations and this would result in a relapse into the darkness of the middle ages. (Ibid 229) The S A Church Magazine set out to reply to this allegation by showing that the high church position on issues of Baptismal Regeneration and Apostolic Succession were part of the traditional practice of the Church of England and *in accordance with the scriptures*. (Ibid 230) So too with what had been known as the cure of souls, 'the whole of the facts recorded in the New Testament concerning ordination, teach that it is proper and orderly, (if not necessary) that new pastors be inducted into office by those who sustain it'. (Ibid 236)

Armstrong walked into the dispute at Port Elizabeth where part of the congregation had removed themselves from the parish of St Mary's. He received the loyal addresses of St Mary's and St Paul Congregations and according to his wife's diaries of the 21 October 1854, he held a confirmation at St Paul's (a more low church) where there was some beautiful singing. (Matthews 1957: 47) The bishop invited the dissident members of St Mary's to a special service where he preached, 'We are members of one another....'(Ibid, 48)

3. Individuals and their church

Ben Sirach says in Ecclesiasticus 10:8 that sovereignty ('empire' in some versions) passes from nation to nation on account of injustice and insolence and wealth. To keep up with the movement of power, historiographers have to be trendy, following the dynamic of events and going to the places where the action is. This

tendency can sometimes distort the picture, giving to history a fluency and grandeur, even a comprehensiveness which disguises the long littleness of everyday life. People in Grahamstown did not know that their town was destined for a role in the educational and cultural life of their country's future but would have no share in its sky-scrapers. In the meantime life went on.

In her diary Mrs Armstrong described the trip from Port Elizabeth as it was in the mid-1850s. On the first day they outspanned once and later stayed at Jack Hains', where Mrs Hains looked after them. On the second day they arrived early at Sidbury and then went to Massy's which was 12 miles from Grahamstown. There they found the house so disagreeable that they decided to continue on into town.

The next day they called at the Heavyside's and were called upon, in their turn, by the archdeacon. On Friday 27 October, they met with the clergy. (Ibid, 50) Mrs Armstrong was pleased with the town where she found the High Street wide and clean. The houses were irregularly built with their gardens inevitably having orange and lemon trees in them. She liked the trees in front of the houses and found the church in an excellent spot on the main axis of the town opposite the Drosdy and barracks. In this Grahamstown followed the pattern of Graaf-Reinet. The church building she thought frightful, though noting that it was large enough to accommodate the garrison with seating made up of low pews on three sides of the body and gallery. (Ibid, 51) On the first Sunday the church was full since there were strangers and dissenters there to see the new bishop who preached from Galatians 1:2 'Grace and Peace to you from our Lord Jesus Christ who gave himself for you.' Miss Heavyside played the harmonium and the canticles were chanted. (Ibid 52)

The diary contains other details of small and local interest, the bishop bought a horse for £12 (Ibid, 54) and they hired a Bechuana servant to work for them at 30s per month. Members of the parish are mentioned who included the Misses Shaw and Impey, Mrs Sutton and Miss Carlyle and the Blackers. (Ibid,55) they also met the

military wives and received seventeen callers on one day (Ibid,56) She continued to describe the social life of Grahamstown in her diaries, with its teas and dinners and also her anguish at the death of her baby.(Ibid 60)

3.1 Structuring the parishes

By the time Armstrong took control of his diocese, Gray had implemented many of the changes in the running of the church that had been deemed necessary in 1848. From one of the earliest synods at which only the clergy were present, injunctions regarding various issues were fixed upon:

- Marriages had to take place between 8 a m and noon. They had to be between two people not within the prohibited degrees of relationship and one of whom was a member of the parish. Marriages had to take place in the church or a licensed building and there were occasions when a special licence could be obtained in which case the banns were not read. In a circular letter dated 1848, Gray also insisted that full services were held without alteration and that they could be performed only between Christians who had not been divorced.
- Baptism was to take place within the general service of worship in the church and should not take place privately. The rubrics of the Prayer Book were to be conformed to. The priest involved, needed to have spoken previously to the sponsors to ensure that they understood their responsibilities in the making of Christian disciples and that this was not merely part of a social ritual. To emphasise this there would be no fees charged. (Ibid ,Gray 1848) This decision signified a change of practice, since one of the traditional ways in which the clergy had supplemented their incomes had been through surplice fees, which were the charges for marriages, baptisms, burials, the banns and the marriage certificate. The cost of this decision to the clergy was considerable, in 1823, the fee for a marriage (not on a Sunday) was 15s to him

and 3s to his clerk. The going rate for a baptism was also 15s, while a burial cost 7/6d. (Hewitt 1887: 38)

- Other aspects of the regulation of church life, included the conducting of funerals, Churching of mothers after child-birth and special high days and holidays. (Cory Ms 16 816 -818)

In 1850 another set of regulations was dispatched from the bishop in Cape Town. This time it had to do with the work of the Churchwardens and the Vestry as well as defining membership of the church. (Dio A 1620,(1850) 1)

- A parishioner was described as every male member of the Church being of full age and a communicant. This was modified to suit the local circumstances, where some of the details were unclear, to the person concerned to subscribe to a declaration that he was a member and would conform with the doctrine and discipline of the Church. (Ibid,3) This was the kind of thing which members of the parishes objected to since it held them to a kind of church discipleship which they resented. It was also contrary to the practise of the COE where membership of a parish was automatic with residence and the Parish council was also the most accessible form of local government. This ground had been gone over in Grahamstown in the 1830s and had also resulted in the resignation of Maynard as churchwarden.
- The Churchwardens and sidesmen were to be chosen at a vestry meeting during the first week after Easter by the joint consent of the minister and the communicating members of the parish. The bishop was to be informed of the election and at the next visitation *they would subscribe to the declaration of Office* (ibid, 4) If Merriman had been the bishop's vicar in the archdeaconry during the debacle of 1852-3 he was well within his rights to ask for the declaration he wanted from Graaf-Reinet.

- The Churchwardens were held to be responsible for the Church and grounds and contents. They were to see that there was a large Authorized, also known as King James, Version of the Bible, a Book of Common Prayer and the book of Homilies (authorized by the authorities). They were to provide a baptismal font, a Communion table with coverings of silk or other decent stuff. There was to be fine linen for the Lord's Supper. As well as this, they were to display the Ten commandments prominently in the Church and provide a reading desk and pulpit for the ministers and also surplice in which they were to preach. (Ibid, 5) (The question of surplices was another sticking point of those who were suspicious of the high church tendencies of the new regime.)
- All the books and registers were to be kept by them and so too were the accounts, Churchwardens were to see that there was a basin for the collection of Alms and a chest in which to keep the money. (Ibid, 5) Apart from their responsibility for the churchyard, (Ibid, 6) they were to be responsible for the proper conduct of Divine Service and all other rules and ceremonies, there were to be no loiterers or comings and goings during the service. It was they who had to ensure that there was white bread and wholesome wine at the Eucharist. (Ibid, 7)
- They were expected to ensure that the minister committed no irregularities according to Canons 109-120. They would have to report to the bishop if a minister did not conduct himself decently and morally or did anything against the accepted traditions of the church. They had to ensure that the minister was duly licensed and that there were no strangers preaching unless they were duly qualified. They had to provide a book to register the preachers. (Ibid, 9)
- There were also prescribed duties for the Sidesmen in their capacity as assistants to the Churchwardens. (Ibid, 11) And for the proper constitution of the Vestry meeting which had become the assembly of all qualified

parishioners under the chairmanship of the minister.(Ibid,13)

The work of the 1848 Synod and clergy assembly as amended in the meeting held in the Eastern Province that year, set the pattern for the governance of the Anglican church in the diocese for the next century. They had made some fairly fundamental changes in the role of the church in the Colony which differences in lifestyle had made necessary. Whatever the social status of its leading members, this church did not really resemble the COE. Much of the opposition to Gray which was to arise in the next two decades, in the press and political arena and more significantly in the courts, arose out of these decisions. The opposition seldom related directly to issues of evangelicalism, since the evangelicals were always in a minority in the English Church and often a despised one. Nor did it come from an opposition to the missionary strategy of the new bishop. It was a settler issue because the settlers needed to make up their minds where their loyalty lay, was it with the church at 'home' or with the leadership in South Africa.

Doctrinally, Gray and his supporters made the choice difficult. They anticipated Frank Weston, who wrote in 1916, 'the real truth about the church is that she is the human race as God meant it to be'. (Sachs 1993:1) They seemed on occasions to imply that they fitted this bill. What was so irksome to many people was their apparent arrogance. This was exacerbated by the inflated notion of the clerical calling which was being developed in the province. What people generally often failed to notice because it was not as obvious, was that the high church view of the calling to the ordained ministry was often accompanied by a genuine humbleness. It also included a very clear picture of the office of the laity in the church and their ministry.

More than anything else Gray's first years as bishop ushered in the policy changes of an able administrator rather than the impositions of religious bigotry. It was quite often the efficiency of the high church party rather than its ecclesiology which grated on people who had been able to get away with practices in the old regime that

would not have been permitted by any English bishop. Gray seems to have brought method, an orderly mind and the need to keep control of a vast sprawling and undefined church, into the colonial situation which few seriously objected to and most came eventually to accept.

The doctrinal and ritualist issues that were to be most contentious had actually begun to be introduced in the time of Hough and Heavyside a decade before the arrival of the Grays. They were issues general to the nineteenth century Anglican Church and, if the American historian Sachs is to be believed, the high church party (by design or accident) was able to provide an answer to the question of how the national church could adapt to the experience of Empire and become a world communion. For them the outward symbolism of the sacraments and liturgy, the 'indelible marks' could be the rallying point of every tribe and tongue and nation. To be effective the Church would have to defend its order and its hierarchy and especially its bishops. Though this strategy was in stark contrast to that of the evangelicals, 'in the expansion of the episcopate and in the adaptation of Anglicanism to its new context, a missionary strategy emerged'. (Ibid, 60)

3.2 Residents and members

3.2.1 *The Military*

In a garrison town it follows that many of those attending St George's were from the army and some of the officers became leading members of the church. There were different sorts of commission, those of the regulars could be expected to spend some time in the country and then move on. Regular officers had an imperial viewpoint and a wider perspective which did not preclude a commitment to the country they were serving in. The volunteers, though, might be expected to have more of a stake in the long-term future of the country. The first such officer was, naturally, Colonel John Graham after whom the town was named but he did not live long enough

to make an impact on its development or its spiritual life. As the colonel of the Cape Regiment he had encouraged the spread of Christianity and before 1812, it was already the practice in the Cape Regiment to encourage black soldiers to be baptised. (Maclennan 1986:33)

Primary among the military proconsuls was Captain Henry Somerset who fought at Waterloo and then became A D C to his father, General Lord Charles Somerset, who was an aristocrat and member of the Beaufort family before he became the British Governor at the Cape who left a most indelible mark on settler mythology. Young Henry had married Frances Heathcote in 1818 when he was 22 and she much younger and they landed in Algoa Bay in 1819 where he took a place in the Cape Cavalry with Colonel Wiltshire and Major Fraser. By 1823 he was Frontier Commandant. (Toposcope Vol 11 1971: 38)

In 1820 he benefited from a scheme where officers were awarded land in Grahamstown. He got 296 morgen to the North East of the town and this property became the Oatlands estate, called after one of the family properties in England. After 1823 he began to build Oatlands Park, a two-storied house of 18 rooms with three interlinking reception rooms on the ground floor. There were separate quarters for servants and soldiers and a place for Xhosa chiefs to stay. The Somersets stayed at Oatlands until 1853 when Sir Henry and his family moved to India. (Ibid, 39)



Sir Henry Somerset
friends in high places

Somerset was active in the affairs of Grahamstown even when he had ceased to be Commandant of the Frontier. He was cited fairly often in the vestry minutes during the 1830s and 1840s and would appear to have been someone on whom Heavyside felt he could rely for support. (Cory MS 16 60411) The chaplain's diaries show that he was still in correspondence with Sir Henry in the 1850s. (Cory MS 16 606, 29 July 1856) The widespread impression that the English

Church at the Cape was the established church, was understandable because it was the church attended and supported by the British establishment.

The impression was not particularly accurate, however, as from 1795 onwards the Church had never been a vital part of the imperial baggage. When Baird's forces re-occupied the Cape in 1806, there was no Chaplain at all in a force of 6 000 people, on board a fleet of seventy vessels. (Hewitt 1887: 7) In 1806, the future of the English Colony was not at all clear so no attempt was made to change the balance between the D R C and the Lutherans which already existed and the English Church whose clergy came mainly as chaplains to the garrison and to the Governor and his staff. Article 8 of the Capitulation provided for the D R C to remain the established church. (ibid,6)

Grahamstown normally had its military chaplains and there were no separate establishments for the military and civilian populations. The church was built by the military so that it would be big enough to house everyone. The officer class at least enjoyed the social amenities of Grahamstown and some were very popular amongst the townsfolk. Major Charles Selwyn was a military man who was an active member of the Anglican Community. He had entered the Royal Engineers in 1811 and was appointed as Commanding Engineer in the Eastern Province in 1834. He was the Town Commandant of Grahamstown in 1835. His action in the war of that year led him to build a series of defensive forts, designing Fort Hare and Post Relief. He was also a road builder in the Province. He was partly responsible for the new road linking Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth in 1838. (Rendell 1977: 17)

He built Selwyn Castle but sold that to Stockenström in 1836. In 1841 he and his wife Sarah, a Canadian, came to live in 1 New Street in the town which he had bought from Charles Webster for £550. The latter added a big room which became known as the 'Music room'. (Ibid: 17) While living in Grahamstown, Selwyn served on the vestry of St George's Church. He and his wife were very popular with the local

townspeople. When he left South Africa, he went to Canada where he died. (Ibid,20)

3.2.2 Volunteers and Settlers

A different sort of military connection with the Anglican church came through people like Lieutenant T C White (later a Major in the volunteers) who began his career in the 25th Foot. He was the son of a British officer who had been born in Gibraltar, he came out to the Cape under the settler scheme. (Toposcope Vol 4 1973: 42) . Because of his connections, he was chosen to go to England in 1823 to bring the settler grievances to the attention of the British Government. (Ibid 40) White was both mathematical and scientific by inclination and while abroad he travelled Europe to get botanical specimens which might thrive at the Cape. He introduced a species of wheat known as White's wheat to the Colony. He married, in 1826, Ann Damant who had come to South Africa with her uncle at the age of thirteen. The marriage took place in St Pancras in London and her father bought them 'Nouto' from widow Nel which they renamed Table Hill Farm. She was selling the place because its proximity to Grahamstown meant that many visitors outspanned there on their way to town from further afield.(Ibid, 41) Descriptions of the farm in the 1830s tell of an oasis of calm in dull country with a comfortable house and much cultivation by the banks of a stream dammed in three places. Successful irrigation schemes had meant that there was a lot of produce especially vines of muscadel, hanneport and constantia grapes as well as peach and pear trees (Ibid 42)

During the 1835-6 war White became a Major in the volunteers and Deputy Quartermaster-General of the burgher forces. While making a topographical survey he was killed near the Bashee river. His unfortunate wife heard of the event while standing outside Grocotte and Sherry's in Grahamstown where she had been shopping. A tablet was erected to his memory in the Cathedral. (Ibid, 42) There is no clear mention in the family history of how the faith of the family affected its everyday life maybe it was simply something that was taken for granted. White had switched

from the army to become a gentleman farmer and founded a dynasty which remained on the land for nearly a century and a half. His future had clearly become linked to that of the Cape and the Albany and he died defending what he and his like were creating.

There were many reasons why people would leave England to become settlers. (Eliza) Sophia Pigot was an English gentlewoman, who came to South Africa with her father Major George Pigot at the age of 15. In 1824 she married Donald Moodie one of the three brothers who came to the Cape from Orkney. He became a Lieutenant in the volunteers and spent part of his early married life taking observations of the tidal movements on the Kowie river. He became the first magistrate at Port Frances - later Port Alfred (Toposcope vol 4 1973: 20) Donald was appointed guardian of slaves in 1832, served as a major of volunteers during the war in 1835 and became the magistrate at George in 1842. He and his family ended up in Natal where he was elected Speaker of the first Legislative Council of Natal in 1857. (Morse Jones 1969: 143)

Sophia was granddaughter to Lord George Pigot, at one point the Governor of Madras. Her father was one of the 'unconventional' children of the said aristocrat inheriting some of his fortune but none of his titles. The major had not been baptised into the Anglican church to which the family belonged by inheritance, because his mother was a Catholic who avoided at least that fate for her illegitimate children. (Toposcope vol 4 1973:22) Sophia had fourteen children, and in the course of her life, she lived at Port St Frances, Grahamstown, Graaf-Reinet, Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg. The family never had much money and she travelled great distances by ox-waggon and on horseback. Her diaries give glimpses of her early life and the energy and interest she took in things around her and her involvement in farming, building and entertaining. (Ibid, 22)

Not all the members of the English Church came from the upper classes by any

means and the experiences of many of them when they arrived at the Cape were pretty disastrous. At the age of twenty-five, Maria Harden and her husband came to the country in Baillie's party. They had two children at the time. They stayed on their original allotment at Cuylerville during the crisis of 1823. Her husband went to look for work as a joiner but they had to remain where they were because there was none to be had. At this point her husband became incapacitated for some reason and one of her children died, possibly from malnutrition. (Toposcope vol 4 1973: 4ff) The family were given some support by the magistrate at Grahamstown, ½ lb tea, 2lbs sugar, 1lb oatmeal, 1lb sago. A subscription opened for them by Godlonton raised £11.15.0. Later Captain Clarke who was in command at Kaffir's drift supported them. When her husband died, she was left in sole support of four children. (Ibid, 5) She tried to get help in Grahamstown with small success only to learn that her house and crops had been washed away in the floods of 1823. She stayed on her farm and as others left the area she was granted extra land and established herself on two hundred and eight morgen.

In 1824 she married a soldier in the 24th Regt called Fletcher and by 1830 she had three more babies. In 1831, Fletcher was accused of some misdemeanour by a woman in Bathurst. During the subsequent investigation he was killed by the investigating officer at Maria's farm. Four years later came the war. A hundred and twenty cattle on the farm were taken from her and the house was burnt. Maria fled to Grahamstown and there met and married George Upton. They returned to Cuylerville to begin again. During the nine years before Upton died, two more children were born, her grown son by her first husband was murdered on the way to visit his fiance. Another war in 1846 meant that again her cattle were taken and again her house burnt. After the war, she began, once more, to rebuild her herds, house and crops. She lived to 63 and died in 1857. She was buried at Cuylerville by Revd. James Barrow.

Maria Harden's story became part of the building blocks of settler experience

in the Eastern Province and at times reads like a Victorian melodrama, with the heroine rising magnificently to meet the trials which beset her. Her story is indeed heroic and needs to be placed beside the accusations of venality and greed which are often attributed to the settlers of the area. Experiences like these were not uncommon in the frontier districts and they helped to form settler attitudes and sharpen their world-view. Their world included their church and they expected that the church would bring consolation and comfort and not challenge their notions of themselves. The high church aspects of the Anglican church did not destroy the consolation of the faith, in many ways the ritualistic aspects of it made it more comforting and so they were gradually accepted.

As time passed, Grahamstown began to take on a more settled look. In 1845 an advertisement appeared in the *Graham's Town Journal* saying that Mrs Eedes was moving from Port Elizabeth for the purpose of opening a Boarding school for young ladies in the town. Her husband had been 'something in the City' and was ruined in one of London's periodic crises. For this reason they emigrated to Algoa Bay, ran a school there and then transferred to Grahamstown. The school in New Street was known as the 'the Retreat' and seems to have worked well and to have provided an income for a family with five children in 1848. (Rendell 1977: 25) The following year, the property was bought in trust from Matthew Shaw's insolvent estate by the Eastern Province Trust Co. Chairing the trust was Henry Blaine one of the town's leading Anglicans whose son became Chancellor of the Diocese. (Ibid,25 footnote)

Mrs Eedes advertised that the school wished to 'provide solid instruction as well as ornamental accomplishments'. She modelled her school on finishing schools in London and Paris. (Ibid 27) Her Young Ladies were to be taught etching, flower arranging, and landscape drawing and music had a prominent place in the curriculum, Juvenile Concerts being held in the Music Room of the house from 1850.(ibid 28) The very existence of a school of this sort, would be an indication of the rising prosperity of the city of Grahamstown. There were now girls in the area who were being given

refinements to which their parents may not have aspired, and whose future was deemed sufficiently secure that they could be taught by an aristocratic woman, those accomplishments normally reserved for the leisured classes of society. The school had greater pretensions than this. They even advertised the study of astronomy as part of the curriculum in the following terms:

As regards that sublime science, the harmony that prevails in the Starry firmament and the laws which it governed, are circumstances which cannot fail to elevate the mind as it becomes more familiar with the Grandeur and Glory of the Universe. (Ibid, 29)

At Mrs Eedes' such a sentiment arose out of the type of scriptures which claim that the heavens declare the glory of the Lord, rather than the more modern theories of Darwin, whose theories were beginning to enter into the public consciousness at the time with the publication of 'The Origins of Species'. It seemed to suggest to the amazed mid-Victorians that their relationship with the apes did not bear looking into, and for people who covered the piano legs with frilly leggings, this was a bit off. If that were not enough, they were further scandalised by the offer of seemingly irrefutable evidence of the descent of man provided by the discovery of Neanderthal man in 1856, (Hobsbaum 1975, 260) Such things had not yet, greatly disturbed the placid tempo of life in Grahamstown, or radicalised its intellectual life, God was still securely in His heaven.

Mrs Eedes was a devoted Anglican whom her son (himself to become an Anglican clergyman) refers to as his 'very saintly mother'. The school ran for some time but seems to have been given up on the grounds of ill health. Mrs Eedes died in 1866. Her husband who had worked as librarian in Grahamstown until 1863 died a year after his wife aged 66. (Randal, 34) Their son, John Eedes, known in Anglican circles as 'little Eedes' was the first pupil of 'Bishops' in Cape Town to be ordained. He was first a deacon then the rector of Christ Church, Beaufort West and before becoming rector of St George's and Holy Trinity near Knysna from 1861-1875, where

he gathered the contents of a repertoire of stories about the rugged grandeur of the forests. After ten years at Caledon, he went to Simonstown. He is reputed to have had seventeen children. (Ibid, 35)



3.3 Anglicans in the Community

In her diary Mrs Armstrong describes the kind of life that the bishop led before his death in May 1856. Much of his time was spent travelling through rough country with the aim of getting to know his diocese and bring the episcopal oversight to his people which he felt they needed very much. One of his primary tasks was to set up missions in Kaffraria. The journey on which his wife accompanied him, describes Fort Hare, (Matthews, 1957, 67ff) the growth and development of King William's Town and the parish there, (Ibid, 77) and later on a meeting with Umhalla and his wives. (Ibid 79)

On their return from their travels, things returned to normal and Mrs Armstrong describes her response to calls by the governor, Sir George Grey and his wife. Lady Grey stayed in Grahamstown while her husband was off to wilder parts. She came and went in a constant round of teas and dinners. Mrs Armstrong also writes of preparations for a synod of clergy on 31 Jan 1855. At this meeting, which was attended by the Rev'd Bankes, the new headmaster of St Andrew's school, it was decided to extend education by means of deacon schoolmasters and set up lay services for farmers without clergy (Ibid,88) The fact that he worked so hard and never spared himself meant that the bishop was not strong enough to resist infection and a

cold contracted in April resulted in his death the following month. (Ibid,102)

The Anglican community was devastated by the bishop's death since he was genuinely loved and respected. A decision was taken to raise a memorial to the bishop and the list of subscribers shows that there was affection for him across denominational lines. Apart from the Anglicans in the town, both Godlonton and Cock contributed as did J E and G Wood and from Graaf-Reinet Andrew Murray contributed £1. (Cory Ms 16 816-819) One of the Anglicans on the list was J G Franklin who became one of those rarities in the Wesleyans political world, an Anglican representative to the House of Assembly for the Albany district in 1854. (Gibbens 1982, 301)

Gray arrived in 1856 on a visit of condolence to the area. Even this event was reported in an article by him to the *Natal Journal* January-April 1857 since it was the church and its mission which were always paramount in the Metropolitan's mind and his heart, and he was an inexhaustible publicist for his cause. He found a great expansion taking place in Port Elizabeth, with a new parish having been founded where a building that could hold 400 had been built. (Matthews 1957, 113) He travelled the 90 miles to Grahamstown and noticed that the country was less populated than before. This change he attributed to the war, recently past. Once he arrived in Grahamstown he found that the work of the church was thriving and prospering. He was encouraged to find that there was no part of South Africa where 'there is so large a congregation or a church so crowded, as the cathedral in Grahamstown'. (ibid,114)

He reported on the exterior improvements of the church itself, the church was eventually to be redesigned from the old Neo-Georgian style to the Victorian Gothic style which, it was thought, a proper church should look like. Part of the external progress included the St Andrew's Collegiate institution and its chapel which when opened, had enough seating for a fair sized congregation. He supported Merriman's

efforts for the completion of Bartholomew's at that time as he thought that it too would be filled. He also proposed a chapel as a memorial to Armstrong which was to be built for £700 and would be used to serve the 'Fingo' population of Grahamstown. This was the beginning of St Philip's which became one of the favoured projects of Cotterill who succeeded Armstrong. From being a single parish, the Anglican Church was beginning to expand within the city and beyond it. Gray also remarked on the spiritual progress that had been made in the six years that he had been away and commented on the warmth with which the bishop had been regarded. (Ibid 115ff)

One of the factors in the success of any parish is the quality of the relationship between the clergy and the parishioners. When relationships break down, then all the energy that is needed for the development of the spiritual life and expansion of the church gets used on the quarrels and partisan entanglements of the protagonists. Gray spent part of his time in the Port Elizabeth area trying to resolve a problem that had developed between the parishioners of Uitenhage and Copeman without notable success. As with so much of the conflict in the first decade of episcopacy in South Africa, the dispute spilled over into the press. Copeman was given notice to leave on grounds of his disobedience to the properly constituted authorities and in April 1856 was the subject of a long debate in the Cape Legislative Assembly. (Varney ed. 1956, 29 footnote 1) One of the problems was that Copeman was not suited to the job, he had little sympathy for the parishioners and became easily irritated. He became increasingly eccentric and when transferred to Alexandria he bought a farm, Whitney, in the district. There he could be seen driving his ox-waggon in obvious enjoyment of the farming life. (Cory CPSA Pamphlets Vol 15: 9)

In October 1856 Copeman replied to episcopal pressure for him to leave Uitenhage, by publishing a letter in the press appealing over the head of the church authorities, to the public for support. Copeman's case rested on the fact that he was the lawful minister appointed by the imperial authority and that the interference of the bishop, other clergy or even his own parishioners was coming between him and his

lawful duty. He felt that Gray was exceeding his authority in trying to secure his removal and recommended that the laity should 'watch and pray' for their souls sake, as the unity of the church had been broken by members of the clergy. (Cory Ms 16 606, Nov 1856)

Copeman also addressed himself to the clergy saying, 'Order and discipline among the clergy cannot fail to result if we cultivate faith, a good conscience, charity; otherwise nothing in the shape of mere conformity will be of any avail' He felt that people had been put up to their criticism of him and that no bishop (colonial) who thought a minister unfaithful (to himself or what?), had the right to withdraw his license. He further suggested that Gray was an autocrat and he said that the cry within the church had become, 'Hear your Metropolitan and tremble'.

Copeman used a threefold attack on Gray which became fairly standard procedure. Firstly, he appealed to public opinion, which was always evocative of a widespread response and while having no long-term effect on the way the church developed, was wounding, and gave Gray a reputation which he may not have deserved. It also implied that any of the clergy who did not agree with the plaintiff was in mindless conformity. The second tactic was to send for the lawyers, imputing that colonial bishops had far less authority in their dioceses than the British courts. In the end this made the independence of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa both inevitable and essential.

The third tactic was to use a form of piety hinting at evangelicalism, to divide the clergy and draw in those members of the laity who were doubtful of the motives of the high church party. This was undoubtedly the most effective of all the methods of criticism of the new movement sweeping the Anglican church. There were many people who sincerely felt that the changes being brought about were not of God. In England there were riots in some places where the parishes resisted the introduction of high church practices. In Uitenhage this ploy was unsuccessful since over twenty

clergy in the region from as far afield as Bloemfontein and Kaffraria, amongst them, Heavyside of Grahamstown signed and published a remonstrance supporting Gray, a display of unity which was rare if not unprecedented.(Ibid, 17ff)

The things which make the headlines do not always give the best understanding of relationships within the parochial community. An important part of the work of the rector, or chaplain, in a parish is just being part of the worshipping community. Heavyside arrived in Grahamstown in 1833 and remained there thirty years until his death in 1861. (Ibid, 49) Much of his time was taken up with the everyday business of his parishioners. In January of 1857 he talks about some old plank he bought from Mr Pote and his payment of a debt to him on a bill drawn in March.(Ibid,48) The diary mentions funerals, marriages, baptisms and other aspects of parish life that require the rector's attention. On 9 May 1857 he wrote to Mrs Owen about a note she had sent to Cotterill, the new bishop, lamenting the fact that the Colony had been overrun by Tractarianism. (Ibid, 90) It is to be assumed that the bishop had handed the offending note to Heavyside for him to deal with, which was the right thing to do since it was part of Heavyside's jurisdiction. For the bishop to have answered it himself would have undermined his Colonial chaplain but it was nevertheless good of him, since he was himself an evangelical. In this type of incident the development of right relationship between bishop and clergy and also between clergy and laity begins to become evident. As opposed to the public ructions of the kind experienced with Copeman, these small interchanges began to build the diocese on stronger foundations.

The clergy and lay members of the Anglican church were also involved with their civic responsibilities. On June 8 Heavyside attended a meeting of the hospital committee. (Ibid,48) The initiative for this hospital had come from Merriman and in 1855 a site was found for it on land on Settlers Hill donated by the Governor, Sir George Grey. The foundation stone was layed in May by the Lieutenant Governor James Jackson. Things only speeded up in 1857 when the chair was taken over by

Frederick Carlisle. He had been the first person in South Africa to undergo an amputation under anaesthetic. (Turpin 1962, centre page) Heavyside says on 13 January 1857 that tenders were asked for, (Cory MS 16 606, 50) but the Albany Hospital, a twelve bed institution costing about £3 500, was only finally opened in September 1858. (Turpin 1962, centre page)

In a small community like Grahamstown, where everyone knew everyone else's business, it is unsurprising that controversies, even in so small a denomination as the Anglican Church, could be followed with such interest by the population at large. There are several reasons why this might be so. The first is that this was a time when issues of church and faith were in the public domain and therefore the arrival of a bishop would be of interest to more than his own flock. What he had to say in, for example, his confirmation address would naturally have been of interest to those literate classes for whom issues of faith were of part of the general discourse and might be expected to be reported in some detail in the local press.

It was also true that Gray was seen to be controversial and what he was doing had a bearing on the whole polity of the Colony. The legal issues were bound up with the status of the colonial church and touched on the relationship between Britain and those settlers who had left, but wanted to maintain close ties with the metropolitan country. For somewhere that was as far from the centre of things as Grahamstown, there was the added excitement of having dealings with weighty matters and important figures like the Archbishop of Canterbury.

CHAPTER 5

Development of the CPSA - 1870

1. Bishop Cotterill 1856-1871

1.1 Following Armstrong

Cotterill's appointment as the second bishop of Grahamstown to replace Armstrong when he died in 1856, meant that once again Merriman was overlooked. Those who were responsible for the appointment were influenced by Shaftesbury, who was keen that the evangelical voice should be heard in the diocese and that some balance should be struck in the Colony. Gray took the appointment as a snub since he wanted Merriman to get the job. He was in sympathy with Gray and would continue in the direction which he had taken. Gray wrote to the archbishop, Sumner, to protest the appointment. (Matthews 1961, 39)

There was a certain logic in the appointment since Cotterill was low church COE, so it made sense to introduce an evangelical to an area which traditionally had strongly evangelical leanings. Hewitt says that from the first the Methodists had the kind of leadership which had a great impact on ordinary people's lives and that Shaw, travelling and ministering among them, was able to attach those who had any care for religion at all. This meant that for many years in the most English part of the Colony, the English Church was weakest and most feebly represented. (Ibid, 4) It also meant that there was a marked difference in the religious sentiment of the Eastern and Western Provinces which became the dioceses of Grahamstown and Cape Town respectively. In the west, 'dissent was comparatively weak and except in the neighbourhood of Cape Town almost unknown'. But in the eastern districts, Wesleyism and the non-conformist spirit prevailed and influenced religious and political thought even when it was not openly hostile to the English Church. (Ibid,5) It was because of its non-conformity and not the number of its church spires that Grahamstown was sarcastically called the 'City of the Saints' (Ibid,6)

A second reason to hope that the appointment of Cotterill might prove to be a good one was, that he was an expert in the Canon Law. He was a Cambridge don who had become Senior Wrangler and later principal of Brighton College. (Ibid, 39) Since he was appointed to the Cape at a time when several major lawsuits were helping to define the colonial church legally and constitutionally, it was to everyone's advantage to have a resident expert. When he decided that what was needed was an independent Province for South Africa, it was his expertise which Gray drew on to set it up properly. Cotterill was consecrated on 23 November 1856 and set off for South Africa bringing with two clergymen and eight schoolmasters, including a scripture reader and some candidates for Orders. (Ibid, 39)

His arrival was not entirely fortuitous. In Port Elizabeth, on the advice of his chaplain Robinson, whom he had sent ahead of him, he tried to resolve the unhappiness at St Mary's by suggesting that the dissenters go to St Paul's which he felt would be more to their ecclesiastical taste (Cory MS 16 606,164). They refused and continued to remain as dissenters within the church - but not of it. The bishop's actions were viewed with suspicion by clergy in other parts of the diocese. (Matthews 1961, 40) Heavyside was apprehensive and as far as he was concerned, the new bishop had quite a way to go before he would be reconciled to the appointment. He described the bishop's first sermon as 'rather long and in the end too doctrinal'. (Cory MS 16 606,91)

More than anything else Gray's first years as bishop ushered in the policy changes of an able administrator rather than the impositions of a religious bigot. It was quite often the efficiency of the high church party rather than their ecclesiology which irritated people, many of whom had been able to get away with particularist differences in practice in the old regime which would not have been permitted by any English bishop. When he first arrived, Cotterill was trying too hard to stamp his authority on the diocese, knowing as he did, that his appointment had not been the popular choice. He made people feel that he was always trying to put them right. Heavyside, noted in his diary that in his first sermon he did not preach the gospel so much as tell his hearers how it should be preached. Heavyside was biased but he

thought that the bishop dealt with some things too much in negatives - as if knocking down some imaginary errors. He talked of 'not narrowing the church but making it more comprehensive' as if somebody had tried to contract it. Heavyside said that this sermon was *not like the first bishop* who had not talked of party but of his desire to devote himself to his work. (Cory Ms 16 606,91) Poor Cotterill , succeeding someone who had the quality of mercy and the strength of conviction.

In the days which followed, the new bishop received an address from the laity who expressed the hope that he would have long life health and happiness in Grahamstown. His reply echoed their sentiment but included a declaration of the gospel as the basis for ministry, and an assertion that the Spirit alone would give success to what he was trying to achieve. The bishop said that he would only find true power in his practical fellowship with the people of Christ committed to his charge. He also invited his hearers to join him in the spread of missionary endeavours. He said in conclusion, 'we must learn to rely more and more under God on our own self-denying exertions and use the aid supplied to us from other sources chiefly as a stimulus to our own energies'. (Ibid 96)

Having started badly with the dissidents, he then preached to a suspicious clergy about the nature of the gospel and finished off his first few days in the diocese by asking for money from the laity! But because he was not afraid to confront the issues before him, in the long run his ministry was a success. On the fundamentals there was a large similarity of view amongst them all. In the meantime there were personalities and people.

Cotterill concluded his reply to the loyal address with the proposal of a three-point plan which would not have sounded surprising if it had come from Gray.

1- the support and extension of mission

11- Developing internal resources of the church to become self-sufficient

111- Extension of education and its adaption to the needs of colonial life. (Ibid

96)

1.2 Changes in Direction

Cotterill began his episcopacy on a fact finding mission going round the diocese to discover for himself what he thought was needed for its better management. He sent out circulars for organising the mission stations, for the arrangement of services and for the personal guidance of missionaries. (Matthew 1861, 41) 'Having thus within two months of his arrival personally visited the missions and grasped...the general principles required for the vigorous carrying out of the work, the Bishop turned his attention to other details of Diocesan duties' (Ibid, 41)

Back home he set about opening schools for English children, publishing a Church Magazine and sent out a pastoral letter expressing his views on synodical government, in which he made it clear that he saw it as the essential way forward for the organisation and management of the Anglican church in the colonies. (Ibid,42) This was clearly the major issue which needed to be resolved during the decade of his episcopacy and he was well equipped for the task. Having been trained by Gray and his supporters for the past ten years there was, by this time, a fair understanding by all concerned of what was involved. As the call for a degree of independence from the Church of England became clearer, there was a degree of unanimity amongst both the clergy and the laity.

Not everyone was happy with the turn of events in the diocese. Heavyside kept a press cutting in his diary (in between comments on planting 5 rows of melons in his garden) which contained reports of a petition to the Queen by J Barry and others, asking that the decisions of any synod 'be not sanctioned by the government'. The report stated that Labouchere, the British Colonial Secretary of the day, had commented on the petition, saying that Her Majesty's government did not feel that this was a matter for the Queen's Prerogative. (Cory Ms 16 606,122)

On 29 September 1857, Heavyside mentions in his diary, that he was in correspondence on the subject of the Grahamstown Church Ordinance. He favoured its repeal because, he said, it would restore the laity to its rightful place in the church.

His main objection to the Ordinance was that it created an oligarchy in the church which pushed the voice of the laity aside rather than encouraging participation as the English parochial system was intended to do. (Ibid, 125) The Ordinance system meant that the clergy and the people were actually cut out of the decision making loop. A Canon of 1603 made the parochial minister guardian and lay minister of the whole parish, which made the current practise in the church both wrong and unlawful. The repeal of the Ordinance was needed to restore the right order of things, (Ibid, 125) and it was not to occur until 1891.(Varley ed 1956, 16 footnote)

Bearing in mind his experiences with the churchwardens at St George's in Grahamstown during the early years of the 1840s, it is interesting to see that Heavyside raised, as a second reason for the abolition of the Ordinance that it confused the nature and duties of the churchwardens. From whom, he asks, do they derive their authority? The parochial minister? The people? Or the bishop? For Heavyside the answer was clear, they should be chosen by the minister and the people and then their choice should be ratified by the bishop.

It is not clear from his diaries exactly how the Chaplain's mind was working on the question of authority in the parish. Gray's elevated view of the clerical role had been widely disseminated by this time and it was not obvious, in this period, how far the insistence on the laity taking their rightful place was meant to go. Clearly it was not to be a licence to do theology, although the proliferation of church magazines was a good indication that the bishops at least, considered an educated laity to be essential for the successful development of the church.

Lay participation would not seem to have involved the modern concept of 'every member ministry' since Heavyside makes it clear that the minister was guardian and lay minister of the church. The vision that the high church party during these years was probably not democratic, although the parishes had a fairly wide male membership all of whom had the franchise. Diaries and resolutions do not show who was kept out by the subtle social pressures which operate in every community. Whatever Heavyside actually meant, one thing is clear, it bore no practical

resemblance whatever to the intentions of the Elizabethans who framed the Canon of 1603.

Before long simmering discontent with the new bishop became open warfare, this time over the issues involved in the observance of 'Holy Days' in the Church. Bankes, the principal of St Andrew's College made several observations in a St Luke's day sermon on 3 December 1857, reports of which infuriated Cotterill .

The *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* wrote that Bankes had called Armstrong the model of a good Anglican bishop, who had maintained an even handed balance between high and low parties in the church. He felt that in replacing him with someone who did not insist on the daily offices and refused to use whole lists of lessons, Collects, Epistles and Gospels for Holy Days, the archbishop of Canterbury had not been consulting the peace of the church. The principal went on that 'as regards the mass of the people (the bishop's) exposition of important doctrines was pouring new wines into old bottles. (Cory MS 16 606, 142-3)

The bishop wrote a stinging reply to Bankes, who thought it unmerited since the bishop had not then read the sermon. Cotterill was not the only one to react to the report. In a letter signed 'a *Churchman*' the writer made the point that the one thing, above all things, that the laity did not like, was disunity in the church. And 'a *Layman*' wrote to the press asking from where the notion of the 'body of the Laity' sprang. S/he made the point that the laity did not seek the changes which the clergy sought to give and had no desire to fight about them. (Cory MS 16 606,145)

In a serious series of three reviews on the issue in the *Frontier Times*, Franklin set out a very clear challenge to the clergy. Starting out by saying that the press was not qualified to meddle in the issue, he set out a clear sighted and dense series of observations on what he understood the matter to involve. Among other things he wanted to know how far teaching of all ministers had to be in line with the views of the bishop? What right did the bishop or any other member of the clergy have to change the rubrics or 'run-a-muck' with rituals of the church which he thought needed

changing? Could the bishop simply set things aside if he wanted to? If so he might well decide to set aside the Prayer Book. (Ibid 148ff)

Franklin felt that the bishop had over-reacted to the sermon and instead of hearing it for what it was, a warning over views that the bishop was known to hold, he was using it as a pretext to pick a quarrel with one of his clergy. He was said to have called the sermon a damnable heresy; a corruption of the truth; displaying Judaizing tendencies and containing anti-Christian error. Bankes was reported to be 'a little hurt' by the bishop's attacks on him saying that he had not been correctly quoted in early reports. (He printed the sermon.)

The matter of the sermon was immediately obfuscated because Bankes did not stick to the point. He now accused the bishop of tyranny, but also of reneging on a promise made by Armstrong that the principal had the right to appoint the vice principal. The bishop made use of the opportunity to write to Bankes, telling him that St Andrew's would not continue as a theological college at all if he did not change his attitude and made it plain that he would be choosing someone congenial to him as the vice principal. (Cory Ms 676)

By now, newspaper reports had been saying that Bankes had declared the bishop to be as tyrannical as the pope, which was rather ironical in a situation where Cotterill stood for the low church party in the church. In a third and final review, Franklin got to the root of the problem, when a low church bishop has fallen amongst high church clergy someone is bound to get injured. In fact, he said, it was the church which got hurt and that this pleased its enemies and hurt those who had its interests most at heart.

The reviews were deeply felt and provided a timely reminder from the laity to the clergy who had completely lost sight of their hope to become in the church ' the human race as God meant it to be'. (Sachs 1993, 1)

Heavyside reported, with relief on 23 December that the dispute seemed to

have been closed. (Cory MS 16 606, 150) Although its aftershocks were to linger. The bishop consulted with the archdeacon who expressed some sympathy for his position. He felt that the bishop had mistakenly imagined that those who did not repudiate Bankes were repudiating him. The archdeacon made it plain, however, that he did not agree with the bishop's decisions on the dissidents in Port Elizabeth or with the actions taken on Copeman, whom he had promoted not sacked as the high church group had wanted. The archdeacon seemed to infer that the decisions would have been different had the bishop not sent Robinson ahead of him to take decisions on these matters before he had arrived in the country to make the decisions himself. (Ibid, 164)

Although the immediate problem was resolved, the wounds appear to have gone deep. In correspondence with the bishop in 1859, Bankes asked for leave to go to England even though there was as yet no one who could take his place. (Cory Ms 16 676, A134) In April he wrote suggesting that St Andrew's and the Cathedral School should amalgamate. (Ibid, A144) Having arrived in England to look for an endowment for the college he complained of the way St Leger was handling things in his absence and hinted at his resignation. This seems to have evoked little response from Cotterill because in February 1860 he wrote to say that he had accepted a curacy in Hampshire. (Ibid A137) Though there is no evidence in the correspondence of the bishop's feelings on the matter, he seems to have made little attempt to keep Bankes in Grahamstown and the headmaster had gradually been frozen out.

An interesting footnote was provided for the St Andrew's saga by Rosa Wright. She had been born in Northern Ireland and married William Wright before coming out to Albany with him in 1820, where they had six children. They flourished in the country of their adoption, William becoming the member of Assembly for Cradock in 1855. (Matthews 1961, 145) Her daughters married prominent men in the town becoming Mrs J H Greathead, Mrs John Wood and Mrs F C Bote respectively (Ibid, 147). Wright died in 1857 and his widow returned for a time to Britain and when she returned, she decided that she wanted to do something as a thank-offering for their lives in South Africa.

She decided to build a church and left £6 000 in her will for the purpose. She was very anti-ritualist and wanted the church she endowed to follow the simple form that she enjoyed in St Andrew's Chapel in the days of the Cotterill's. When she died in 1867, Christ Church was modelled on the chapel and the five trustees saw to it that her special instructions were carried out. These included its having no main aisle for processions and allowing no candles on the altar. (Ibid,148) Cotterill intended it for the Cathedral but this was opposed by the dean who declared that such a move would deprave the Prayer Book doctrine as held by high churchmen. He said that it was a bribe and would not attend the laying of the foundation stone by the bishop in 1870. (Ibid 152)

1.3 *'Plus ça change...'*

The intricacy of the legal problems for the Anglicans became evident in the Gorham case of 1850. The justices of the Court of Appeal may have been well within their legal rights to decide the matter, but they had strayed into an area upon which theologians, and probably more significantly, ordinary parishioners felt very strongly. (Varley ed 1956, 124) Inevitably in these cases, the emotions of the believers become engaged, after which the legal rights and wrongs cease to matter much. The cases



Christ's Church, Rosa Wright's endowment

before the courts in 1863, 1865 and 1867 were especially painful in South Africa where the leaders of the high church party were having some success in influencing the hearts and minds of the people. (Ibid, 124) They became convinced that the only way forward was to change the ecclesiastical constitution.

In April 1858, Bishop Cotterill called a meeting attended by twenty-two out of the thirty-four diocesan clergy and also by twenty-two lay members. The conference agreed to form a committee to assist him in his efforts to establish synodical government in the church and to convene the first synod of the Grahamstown diocese for 1860. During the six days of deliberations it was agreed that synodical action was not the province of the Legislature in any way. It was also agreed that lay representation in diocesan decision-making by some means of representation at synod was desirable and necessary. (Ibid, 42) Slowly the arguments of people like Barry were being eroded within the church as the consensus was being built between the leading lay members of the diocese and the clergy. They were in agreement that the parochial system worked best under episcopal oversight and was in no way the business of the government.

Heavyside might like to appeal to the Canon of 1603 to vindicate this new direction in church affairs, but it remained true that a form of disestablishment was gradually taking shape. As such, it was a radical departure from the system in England. When the argument had run its course in the years to 1867, it was discovered that the colonial church had in fact become independent both of the COE and of the Colonial government. It is not clear how soon the bishops had realised that this break from the mother church was inevitable and logical, but every new court case and blasphemy trial pushed them further along the path. They must have had some inkling fairly early in the 1850s when they first seemed to be preparing the people for some of its consequences.

One of these consequences was cutting of government funding. The leadership were well aware that this was likely to happen and so they started, at the earliest possible moment, to appeal for financial independence in the Colonial church. The

government could not favour a few denominations forever, and, anyway much of the leadership of the church hoped that the church could become independent.

Relations between church and state which caused so much anguish and so many hours of the lawyers time were not ultimately to be one of the fault lines in the church which was being formed during this period. The high church *versus* low church issue was a far more long-term matter and one which did not go away so easily, particularly as it mirrored the divisions in the COE itself. Many of the ideas which were adopted in the colonies had their origins in Britain, which is not surprising as the brightest amongst the colonists were being sent there to complete their studies. And all theological training happened there.

The clergy meeting of 1858 showed that while there was much to agree on, some problems remained to aggravate relations in the diocese. They were not new, in the church they never are. There was the issue of pew-rents, gowns for preaching, the weekly offertory and the church Militant Prayer and on this occasion, with the re-introduction of a complaint about the use of the hymnal.

In the case of the first three contentious matters, thirteen senior clergymen objected to what they felt was the tendency under Cotterill's leadership for the diocese to be back-sliding into a proprietary system which they had come to believe was at variance with the Spirit of the Church and had been abandoned by his predecessors, money is at least the root of most argument. They knew that his views were not in harmony with Gray and this did not help matters. (Matthews 1961, 43) The temptation to play the end off against the middle was proving irresistible.

Cotterill upset Robert Gray on several counts during the latter part of the 1850s. Firstly he was in communication with Colenso, thinking that he needed to hear for himself what that bishop had to say. Secondly he would not hear of Gray's claim to have the power, as Metropolitan, to visit Grahamstown as a suffragan diocese, or his claim to be the bishop of bishops. In refuting this inflated claim which had no precedence in the Anglican church he was successful in maintaining his diocesan

independence. (Ibid,43)

In his reply to the clergy grievances at their first formal meeting, the bishop was not prepared to compromise much, expressing sympathy with the low church party, in particular with those in Port Elizabeth. This precipitated Fowler's resignation. There may have been other factors to account for the mistrust of the new bishop since the clergy were also complaining that he thought he could move the licensed clergy wherever he wished to, which he did. (Ibid,43) In the episcopal system which was so urgently desired in the years of the 1830s, some of the complaints exposed gaps in the ecclesiology of the high church party. They claimed to think very highly of episcopal rights and privileges when the bishop was their man, but less, would seem, when he was not. Of course, it was possible that grievances which had not been aired during the time of a popular bishop were surfacing when the bishop was new, not popular and also of a different party.

2. Permanent settlement

The Rev'd M Norton, who as an evangelical churchman and was to become the rector of Christ Church in Grahamstown and to remain there for thirty years, read widely throughout his life. In March 1864 he read a book about colonials and their ambivalence about belonging in the colonial society and the nostalgia which they often had for 'home'. Norton then asked himself, 'yet why should I long after England? What did it ever do for me?' He wrote that as the son of a farmer's labourer he was removed from the village at the age of eight or nine years scarcely able to write and without being able even to do long division. He then spent ten or eleven years working in a factory. Having come to South Africa, he became a priest of the English Church, incumbent of a parish and teacher of the children of the well-to-do. (Matthews 1961, 11)

Norton carefully wrote down the books he was reading, cataloguing his efforts at self-improvement and the self doubt that come with it throughout the diary which he kept to influence his son. (Ibid 1) He revealed the fact that he was self taught and that

this bothered him, what bothered him even more was that he only earned £200 p.a. and he felt poor.(Ibid 3) His honest struggles with his feelings reveal something of the dilemma of being a colonist. Having left the home country to gain financially, it did not really resolve the feelings of inferiority that was the mark of a class-based society like England. The extra money was not always enough. That this kind of feeling was quite a common one for the citizens of Grahamstown in the early days can be deduced from the revulsion that colonists felt during the Anti-Convict agitation in 1849. The second and particularly those of the third generation, who were beginning to grow up in the 1850s had less reason to have such doubts about their own worth.

In any case some of those who had come out as settlers in 1820 had sprung from the higher orders and their children had less to feel inferior about. Charles Pote, was the grandson of the governor of Patna in India, his father Robert had been educated at Eton and had emigrated from Edinburgh and had conducted a school in Grahamstown. Charles had become involved with the chimera of a port at St Frances. He became a Member of the House of Assembly for Grahamstown in 1854. (Morse Jones 1969: 150)

It seems, at times, as if it was one of the qualifications for membership of the Anglican church that a person be involved in the Grahamstown shipping business. Thomas Nelson, for example was a director of the Albany Steam Navigation Company and in 1843 was put on the committee of the Grahamstown, Bathurst and Kowie shipping Company. Particularly the older generation seemed to have an obsession with the idea of having a port in the middle of the mountains. Maybe it was because they had come from countries, England and Scotland, where the major ports were inland. More likely, they wanted to preserve the centrality of Grahamstown in the economic life of the country.(Ibid 144) Later generations could abandon that dream. Nelson's son, John, was educated at Grahamstown and at Bathurst School, and he served in the Volunteers in the wars of 1835 and 1850-1853. He was a shareholder in the Grahamstown Public Library. (Ibid 144) Generations change and with them their values, but there was an uneasiness in the settler self-identity and their relationship with Britain that was to linger for many generations. It was expressed by Frank Orpen

during the meeting held in 1867 to discuss the future direction of the church. He was definitely touching a cord when he said that the laity was determined to maintain the integrity of the South African Church with their ancestral church. For the likes of Orpen, the separation could not be contemplated since it might also imply a loss of the link with the Queen, whom they regarded in an almost mystical way. (Ms 16 616: 5 col3)

2.1 Settled ways

The town itself was beginning to take on the shape which it was to keep, a small important market town in a rather out of the way part of the country. The troops were removed temporarily in 1862 and it became clear how dependent business was on a major institution like the army for its prosperity. They returned in 1864 and provided some relief in the depressed economic times of the 1860s. The garrison finally left in 1870. The symbiotic relationship which the town had always had with government, particularly the imperial government was well understood in the town and explains why the separatists had tried so hard to keep things as they always had been. In the early part of the decade the problems were disguised and when Grahamstown played host to Parliament in 1864 it did so as the second city of the Colony. It was the discovery of diamonds, the identification of the first of these having taken place in 1867 in Grahamstown itself, which signalled the diamond rush of 1870-1871 and the removal of the commercial and industrial focus of the Colony northwards. When the railways came to be built, the line went north from the ports of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown was cut out of the mainstream. (Gibbens 1982, 330)

In 1862 there still seemed to be a great deal of promise for the city of Grahamstown, it was incorporated as a borough which gave the City Council wider powers. It was able to raise money to support municipal projects and George Wood jnr, as mayor approached the task with confidence which only began to be eroded when it began to become apparent that Port Elizabeth was becoming the second city in its stead and in this period overtook Grahamstown in size and commercial

importance. Grahamstown had nothing to replace the garrison (until the University was established in 1904) or natural resources to compete with its new rivals, yet its civic leaders remained confident in its future. (Ibid 331)

The Grahamstown community remained fairly cohesive during the period and the social division which existed did not appear to matter quite as much as those in Britain. They did not have anything like the significance of racial distinctions.

The most influential members of the society were the wealthy merchant families. Next in the pecking order came the professional and the smaller business people and the shopkeepers. There was a large pool of 'working class men' which was made up of the artisan class and mechanics of modest but secure incomes and then the itinerant groups. Casual labourers belonged mainly to the Mfengu or 'Coloured' communities living in the locations. The lack of industrialisation meant that the class antagonisms were not as sharp or as marked as other places. (Ibid, 338ff)

There were factors of wealth, status and religious affiliation which played a part in the groups which formed the City Council. In 1862, a conflict developed between John Edwin Wood and William Webb which seems to have been underpinned by the social class divisions of those who lived on West Hill and those who represented the older areas of the town, the 'Market Square councillors'. (Ibid 342) Webb stood for Ward 8 which was the area south of the market and included parts of the 'location'. He represented himself as the 'working man's champion'. (Ibid 343) Interestingly, the patriarch George Wood remained in Beaufort Street, despite urging from his son for him to move higher up the hill (Turpin 1962)

During the 1860s the emphasis changed and the alliances were based on more personal issues or religious ones rather than social class factors. The Webbs represented the Methodist faction in the Council, while Councillors Nelson and James Wood, Irish by birth, were Anglicans. They led the opposition and also supported Dean Williams over the matter of the building of the Cathedral Tower and installation of the city clock. These rivals managed to retain friendships despite their differences

over parish pump politics. (Gibbens 1982 Ibid, 345)

The history of Grahamstown and the settlers for whom it was the focus is filled with stories of those who fell on hard times or those who became destitute because of natural disaster, war or misfortune in their business ventures. Early on in settler history, relief efforts were sporadic and uncoordinated and there were times when people like Maria Harden nearly starved because of it. Efforts became more organised and by 1860 '*the Albany Relief Benefit Society*' had membership of almost two hundred. Numbers had dropped in 1866 to a hundred and five, with the fall in membership reflecting problems everyone was experiencing during years of depression and the major dilemma of charities dealing with poor relief. Numbers belonging to the society increased in the 1870s and so did the number of charities operating. Honorary members of the society included leading figures in the town both Methodist and Anglican, like the Hon Samuel Cawood, J E Wood, Dean Williams and the archdeacon. (Ibid 340)

Although overshadowed by the preponderance of Methodists, the Anglicans played a significant role in relief organisations, especially during the depressed years. The work of the clergy was supported by the efforts of leading Anglicans like R W Nelson and James Wood. Mrs Merriman organised the '*Ladies Benevolent Society*' which tried to bring relief to those who were worst affected by economic decline. Anglicanism had taken hold in the town and figures in 1875 census suggest that there were 1663 Episcopalians in the town as opposed to 1109 Methodists. (Ibid 341)

2.2 New Wineskins

If a stone drops on an ant-hill, the ants scurry about for a while and then return to the even pattern of their lives with long lines of foraging workers moving over or around the obstruction. It appears to have been the same with Grahamstown Anglican church. By 1862 Cotterill was well established as bishop. Some parishioners were happy others not, but the life of the diocese began to settle into predictable patterns and the institution became more set in its ways. Synods were held regularly, the

Chapter was established as the chief advisory body to the clergy, a dean was appointed to be in charge of it and the panoply of the English church was erected round the neo-Gothic splendours of St George's. All signs of the past were gradually removed and even the windows of the building were no longer required to be six feet from the ground so that the church could be a place of refuge during war. (Varley 1956, 46 footnote)

2.2.1 Synods and Chapter Meetings

The state of the church was beginning to stabilise in the whole country. By 1860, the basis for the organisation of South Africa as an ecclesiastical Province was being laid. In December that year the bishops met in conference to discuss progress. They agreed to the consecration of MacKenzie as a missionary bishop north of the Limpopo River and owing canonical obedience to the Metropolitan. They agreed to the appointment of a bishop to the Orange Free State and mandated Gray to float the idea of a Provincial Synod with the Secretary of state for the Colonies and to find out whether a licence would be required from the Crown. (Matthews 1961,45)

In 1861 the death of Heavyside, the Colonial Chaplain for Grahamstown called for a re-think of the way in which the whole of the diocese was being administered. Mee was appointed Colonial chaplain by the Crown. Cotterill made him dean, but without any legal formalities. A dean meant a Chapter, meeting occasionally under the bishop's presidency, but there were no formal letters of appointment and Chapter only met seven times in the 16 years to 1878. (Ibid, 46)

The minutes of the Chapter meeting in 1863 show that, amongst other things they called a synod for June. They then had to decide exactly how the lay representatives needed to be summoned in terms of the guidelines reached at the first Synod of 1860. The agenda of the Synod was also discussed.(Cory Ms 16 624 Vol1, 5)

Another matter raised at Chapter, was the Colenso affair which was then at its

height. They heard from the Metropolitan on the matter (Ibid 6) The bishop reported on a letter from Gray giving his version of events and the terms of a resolution in Cape Town which had decided to pursue Colenso for heresy. (Cory Ms 12 705) Colenso was accused in Cape Town by Douglas, in Grahamstown by Merriman and in George by Badnall. When the trial eventually took place, the bishops of Grahamstown and the Orange Free State took part. Cotterill decided against Colenso on the grounds that his views were Nestorian¹³, his emphasis on the humanity of Christ outweighing his emphasis on His divinity. (Matthews 1961, 51) Cotterill acted throughout as the Metropolitan's Counsel. (Ibid, 52)

Chapter also discussed the nature of the Metropolitan's jurisdiction in the dioceses of the Province. Gray and Cotterill differed in their interpretation and in this it was Cotterill's that was to prevail. The two bishops had by this time become reconciled to each other and indeed to respect each other. Cotterill's legal training and the clarity of his thinking, is also evident in the Chapter's discussions on the application of English Ecclesiastical law to Colonial circumstances. (Cory Ms 16 624 Vol1,6)

Also discussed by the Chapter, were the principles to be acted on for the future division of parishes. (Ibid 8) This became an issue when it had been suggested that St Bartholomew's become a parish with the archdeacon as rector. He first had the idea for the parish in 1849, when it had been suggested to him by Rev'd H White who was holidaying in Grahamstown. White and Merriman had wide-ranging discussions about the future progress and welfare of the church in South Africa. The archdeacon had hoped that if the church was built, White would come to run it. It was not built until 1859. The archdeacon had spent the £2 228 which had been given to him when he left his parish of Street in England on the project. (Varley ed 1956, 59) Since 1857 Merriman had raised £4 000 in order to develop it into a parish. (Matthews 1961, 47)

¹³Those who, following the teaching of Nestorius (bishop of Constantinople 428 A.D) insisted on a clear distinction between the divine and human nature in Christ and questioned some aspects of the orthodox position agreed at Chalcedon in 451 A.D. The churches following this Christology from below were mainly in Syria and Persia and centered on Antioch. (Gonzalez 1984: 257) The controversy at that time was over the word *Θεοτοκος* 'Godbearing' which was applied to the Virgin Mary in Alexandria. (Latourette 1975: 166ff)

Dean Mee was objecting to the proliferation of parishes within the city itself on principle. He felt that St Bartholomew's should be a chapelry of St George's which should continue to comprise the whole city and as its rector, he opposed the subdivision. The only time that the dean attended the 1863 synod was to make this point. (Matthews 1961, 47) When he was opposed by the synod, Mee left for England. Unfortunately this precipitous departure solved one problem and laid the ground for the next quarrel after a series of wrangles, Williams became dean in what proved to be a disastrous appointment. The meeting of the Chapter in 1867 was held to discuss the statutes for the Cathedral Chapter but nothing was resolved. (Cory Ms 16 624 Vol1,9)

3. The independent Province of South Africa

Cotterill came to see that there were several overriding issues which had to be faced in consequence of the verdict on the Long case and the appeal of Colenso to the Privy Council. The Long case had shown him that the church needed to be reorganised on a voluntary basis. (Matthews 1961, 50) The Colenso case showed him that the church of the Province of South Africa should not be bound by interpretations of the Ecclesiastical or other Courts in England. (Ibid, 51) On his advice, Gray sent to Tait, the archbishop of Canterbury, saying that it was proving impossible to import English Ecclesiastical law into the colonies and putting the case of the colonial church for self-government in accordance with the principles and usage of the 'primitive' church. (Ibid, 52)

Like other bishops in the province, Cotterill consulted widely with the members of the Grahamstown parishes. Firstly to explain the position as he saw it and then to get their support for what he was trying to achieve.

He held three meetings in the diocese and a committee was set up under Col Gawler which put the arguments as clearly as it could. The committee then published them, in November 1866, as an 'Appeal to all the Laity of the English Church in Grahamstown'. In the preface to 'The Appeal', there was a summary of the story so

far. At the earlier meetings there had been speeches and remarks from the bishop and the archdeacon as well as several of the clergy and laity present, when four resolutions had been carried:



- The first, proposed by the dean noted *that the bishop felt that recent judgements in Britain had imperilled the relationship with the mother church and declared that the meeting felt it essential to do everything possible to maintain it.*
- The second called for *a congress from all the dioceses to discuss the issue.*
- The third asked *that lay members be represented at the congress*
- and the fourth appointed *a standing committee was established which included Messrs Blaine, Huntley, Campbell, Holland, Lucas, Kingsmill, Mundy, Anderson, Jackson, Blewitt, Nelson and Colonel Gawler.*

The committee read a pastoral letter from the bishop, a paper from the archdeacon on the present state of the church in the country and the reply of the committee of laymen to the bishop. They felt that certain measures needed to be taken for the reorganisation of the church in the light of the difficulties and dangers facing it. Their recommendations were as follows:

- 1 Formally and by our own consent to unite ourselves with the established church of England from which we have been cut adrift; Her Majesty's Privy Council having decided, that, in matters spiritual, she stands in no legal relation to and has no legal functions to exercise in reference to us.
- 2 To provide for Councils-Provincial and Diocesan-for local self government, and ultimately to provide for taking part in any National synod that may be convened.
- 3 As a preliminary step towards effecting the two first, a Congress of the clergy and the Laity of the Ecclesiastical Province (Ibid, 1)

3.1 Consultations for Lambeth

Having issued the Appeal with its recommendations, a series of follow-up meetings was held. At these meeting members, by now thoroughly alarmed, anxious or excited according to their temperaments, were able to express their feelings and make their views known. This would enable the representatives who would be going to a Synod to know something of the mind of the parishioners when they arrived there. Synod was being asked to vote on the draft of a Provincial Consultation to be taken to the first Lambeth Consultation later in 1867. (Matthew 1961, 52)

The press were in attendance and reported the proceedings at all the meetings fully, and the following extracts from *The Graham's Town Journal* indicate the meticulousness of some of its reporting and the familiarity which reporters and the educated laity had with religious concepts and controversies which would have little interest outside a specialist audience in twentieth century South Africa.

3.1.1 *The issues defined*

Gawler presented the Appeal, which approached the Colenso controversy head-on, declaring that the purity of the church had been assailed from within by teachers of a vain doctrine and that the power to control or eject such had failed when it had been most needed. (Appeal, v)

He then asked the bishop, 'What is the Church of England?' He asked it because of the confusion which reigned among the laity when they heard that Colenso had been excommunicated by church leaders but this was not valid in state law, that the S P G. recognised it but not the state and that the Archbishop of York and fourteen bishops were saying that Colenso should be allowed to stay on in Natal to avoid a scandal. (Ms16 616,2)

He also asked, 'What is the Church of England?', because it had become unclear whether the self-governing colonial church was legal. If the synods were

analogous to the Assembly in the Church of England, then the ones in the colonies were prohibited because they included the laity which was not allowed in England despite its obvious advantages. Having asked a few other questions in a similar vein, Gawler got to the main issue. 'The abstract point at issue, therefore, under the two definitions of the Church of England is, what constitutes the final Court of Appeal in matters of doctrine.' (Ibid 2) Gawler proceeded to deliver the address to the bishop which took an hour and a half to read. He made it this comprehensive so that the laity would not go around signing petitions on rumour and hearsay which would end up with the truth becoming a victim. (Ibid,3)

The major point of the address was that Christians could lay aside their differences (presumably their party affiliations, whether high or low church) in order to get to the fundamentals of the faith. Then the 'truth as it is in Jesus', can become the one great bond of union. (Ibid,2)

To this end the Colonel spent some time dealing with issues of doctrine which had been challenged by the Colenso affair, and he gave the orthodox reply. He spoke of the realities of Death, Eternity and Judgement and questions of the miraculous. The greatest miracles, Gawler said, were the death and resurrection of Jesus, but he included as well smaller and more personal ones. He mentioned, too, the matter of the inseparability of the Old and New testaments. The Old Testament was not simply the theologised history of a tribal people in the Middle East a few thousand years ago, it had an immense significance to Christians as the roots of their faith.

The address continued by engaging the views of Colenso in words which indicate in its writers a high degree of Christological sophistication. Its authors had some consultation with Cotterill who regarded the former bishop of Natal as a Nestorian, (Matthew 1961, 51) so Gawler took a strictly Trinitarian position when he insisted that it was not possible to deny the Lordship of Jesus in any way that would detach His Divinity and Co-equality with the Father. He said that Jesus accepted and claimed worship in the gospel accounts, 'even as it is due to the Father', and that the 'adoration of him that sitteth on the throne and to the lamb' would complete the

blessedness of heaven. Any interpretation of the bible which denied Christ's divinity would mean that his death was an act of obedience but not of Sacrifice, rendering void the Atonement (Ms16 616,2)

The second aspect which the address dealt with was the Royal Supremacy. Gawler felt that the colonists were quite happy with it, except that in England the church had made unacceptable changes when it allowed the interference of the Privy Council. Since the repeal of the Test acts, this committee was no longer made up only of Anglicans but consisted of 'mixed creeds' in matters of doctrine. The Anglican church could not allow its affairs to be decided on by people who were lawyers and not necessarily Anglicans. Logically, the pope could indirectly have a say in Protestant doctrines through Catholics sitting on the Privy Council! (Ibid,2) Such a thing happened to no other denomination in the Colony and should not be allowed to happen to the English Church either. (Ibid,3)

The Bishop replied to the address by the Laity's representatives. He said that he viewed this as important an issue as any they had faced since the Reformation. The bishops of the Colony had met in 1863 and agreed with Gawler's committee, that Civil Courts in England had no jurisdiction in matters of the interpretations of doctrine and principles in the Anglican Communion. He asked that the address be published and hoped that the rest of the Province had laity as intelligent as Grahamstown and would be able to understand and accept their findings. (Ibid, 3)

In the ensuing debate Advocate Bell said that the committee had done well on their behalf and that they all better support the church in, 'a long pull, a strong pull and a pull together. The Hon. Charles Pote said that such weighty matters required a resolution to come from the meeting. The bishop just happened to have one with him, so Pote changed tack and asked what and asked what the people in England were doing? Apparently 2 000 of them had met with fourteen bishops and the two primates and passed a similarly strong resolution. The resolution was carried.

Once again Pote stood, this time to advise caution and delay especially on a

matter of the Royal Supremacy. Such matter should not be decided in heat, he said and some of the members present needed time to consider because they had been presented with an analysis of the Christian faith, which was not the kind of address to the bishop which they had been expecting. It was an appeal to the Christian world and it required a wider circulation or what they had resolved would cause division within the church.(Ibid,3)

The bishop and Gawler had obviously wrong-footed Pote and Franklin both of whom had been members of the Assembly and so were well able to hold their own in the cut and thrust of public debate. Since Gawler had taken so long to deliver his address, there was not time for the meeting to give due consideration to the paper which Pote had brought with him. Nothing daunted, he ploughed on. Rightly, he said that the Colonial church, if formed at all, would have to be founded on public opinion. (Ibid,4)

His argument was helpful from the point of view of a legislator and layman but contained nothing on the Trinity. In some ways Pote's paper was an advance on the position of the committee. In place of all that theology, it assumed that the argument was sound and set out to map the process that would be involved in the setting up of the new Church. Pote wanted, as a first step towards a *Colonial Episcopal Church*, that the several matters having relation to and forming the constituent parts of the colonial church organisation to be submitted to the Ecclesiastical Province of South Africa for consideration. He wanted a committee of the senior clergy to report back on the following subjects:

- The institution of a Colonial Episcopal Church and its constitution and powers unconnected with the National Church.
- What shall be the franchise or qualification of the laity to take part in church proceedings?
- What shall be the scheme of church discipline?

- How are the ecclesiastical courts to be constituted and what will be the appellate division?
- How is the court of final appeal to be constituted?
- How is the succession of the episcopacy to be secured to the Colony?
- What of the expediency of providing a Colonial Church Sustentation Fund?
- Other subjects not included in the above.

The way his paper was phrased it would seem that there had been some debate on the issue in official circles and the government. Pote suggested that the consultation on his proposals should be taken to similar committees in Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Maritzburg and St Helena. (Ibid 3) He then suggested that mechanism for disseminating discussion and educating the members should be to forward proposals to the parishes to be dealt with at vestry meetings. Once they had been debated in vestry, they should be laid before meetings of the whole congregations.

3.1.2 The bishops and the law

By 24 January, when there was a meeting of about a hundred ladies and gentlemen in the school room of the Cathedral, several anxieties began to emerge. As people began think things through, they began to fear that they would lose something which was precious to them, their tie to the British Crown and through that their link to the whole of the British social and cultural system. The sub-text of the debate was that they were being forced to ask, be it ever so unclearly, the question Norton had asked of his diary in March 1864, 'Yet why should I long after England? What did it ever do for me?' (above:131)

The bishop summarised the position in Grahamstown and the country saying

that a Provincial synod was becoming necessary. He told the meeting that Port Elizabeth asked for a Diocesan Synod before that. He summarised the situation in the whole of the empire showing how things had been developing in, among other places, Canada. He pointed out that in 1857 Lord Campbell sitting on the King's Bench had said that Colonial bishops had nothing in common with English and Irish bishops expect that they were bishops, canonically consecrated and holding faith in the Anglican Church. He felt that such a bishop had no jurisdiction except over those who would voluntarily submit to him. Such a person was only nominally a bishop.

The Long case in 1863 confirmed this view. The judges found that while the bishop of Cape Town had no right of jurisdiction in law, nevertheless the English church in the colonies was in the same situation as any other religious body. Its members could adopt rules and enforce discipline with their decisions being arbitrated in civil courts. In 1865 a judicial committee agreed with the 1863 judgement and found that it was not in the Prerogative power of the Crown to establish bishoprics and assign dioceses. This being so, Cotterill said, in the eyes of the law there were no dioceses in the Colony.

The Master of the Rolls had refined the position in 1866-67, by saying that deacons and priests in the Church of England submitted themselves to the control of the bishop in all matters ecclesiastical, only, so long as that authority was exercised within the scope of the authority within the principles of the COE. Whereas a voluntary association might adopt all the form of the Church without being a branch of the said church. (Ibid 5,col1) This, said Cotterill, was precisely wrong. All that they wanted for the Anglican Church in South Africa was that, 'remaining members (of the Church of England) we may enjoy, as other do, religious liberty in managing our own affairs'. (Ibid 5,col 2) With that principle established the Anglican Church in South Africa would choose to go the synodical route for the management of its affairs, so that the laity might have a part in it.

Gawler then read a petition for the members of the English Church in

Grahamstown wherein 'it humbly showeth':

- that uncertainty exists as to the true relation with the Church of England
- that the clergy and bishops are only in a voluntary association
- that English ecclesiastical laws (with other laws of England) have no force in the Colony
- that it is just that members of the Church of England should have the same rights to regulate themselves as any other religious body
- that the church should have the right to appoint its own tribunals
- The Appeal court is not suited to be the final court for church matters in the Colony
- It is no longer that appropriate there should be an appeal court in these matters anyway
- the Canada Act of 1856 says all that they wanted to say.

They therefore petitioned that the Royal Prerogative be changed on the model of Canada and the Church be allowed to adopt laws to suit itself. Disputes should no longer have to be sent to the Court of Appeal in England, and all changes to the law should be put through the Imperial parliament to make it binding throughout the empire. (ibid 5, col 3)

Now, new doubts began to emerge about what all this would do to the relationship between Britain and the colonies. F H S. Orpen made several points in this regard. He said that the laity was determined to maintain the integrity of the South African Church with 'the Church of our Fathers', believing as he did that despite the

law, this identity truly existed. Separation would be a calamity which they would not allow to happen. The laity was satisfied with the protest as long as it was done with 'due respect towards our sovereign'. (Ibid 5 col3) She, Orpen thought, was the sole representative of the laity in the government of the church, as Defender of the Faith which was a title not usurped or assumed. Pote hopped up once more asking for more time to consider the whole question. The meeting was once more adjourned.

3.1.2 Royal Supremacy in the Church

When the opposition had got itself sorted out for the follow-up meeting on 26 January 1867, it was the issue of the Royal Supremacy which had become the final sticking point. They found that they were reluctant to do anything which might get them cut off from Britain.

To avoid confusion, the bishop set the report in *the Journal* straight about his views on the Royal Supremacy, and the dean assured the 200 people present that the clergy were the upholders of the Royal supremacy. Where they understood Supremacy to mean the presidency of the Sovereign over the whole state and its interests. In this definition the state, they included its spirituality and its temporality. What the clergy would not agree to was to allow the Sovereign to make or modify the faith. The Sovereign had to ensure that the spirituality, that is the bishops and the clergy, whose job it was to interpret the faith, did so properly. The court had no right to rule on doctrine. (Ibid 7 Col1)

Merriman spoke at length saying that the purpose of the Statute of Appeals, the legal harbinger of the Reformation, was here being violated. In 1833 when appeals on ecclesiastical cases had been given to the Court of Appeal, and they had decided on *Graham v the Bishop of Exeter*, the state had effectively gagged the Convocation. (Ibid, 7col 1)

Not one to pull his punches, the archdeacon declared that opposition to what was going on in the Anglican church in South Africa came from several causes:

1. Some wanted to keep a heretic within the church. While forcing the church as a whole, but particularly the clergy, to acknowledge his views, something that the clergy could not do and retain their integrity.
2. Some hoped to resist the high church party - (he could sympathise with such people, but he felt it right to warn them that the same courts who allowed Colenso could allow the ritualists if they liked).
3. Some simply opposed Gray whom they felt wanted to be pope in South Africa. Such people would prefer the dangers of Colenso-ism to the dangers of Gray. But Gray had said that he did not want to separate from the Church of England. If that is what he said, believe him! (Ibid, 7 Col 2)

Pote replied to all this saying that the issue really was the Royal Supremacy but that the problem was not whether it was acceptable or not, rather how to apply it. The Queen should be viewed as supreme governor in all cases Roman Catholic or Dissenter included. James Wood added his mite. He said that had heard all the fine arguments and overheard a discussion of the issue which had been boiled down to 'do we go - or not?'. What people needed, according to Wood, was reassurance that Gray was not about to become pope nor the bishop of Grahamstown his cardinal. It was up to the bishop to reassure them. (Ibid 7, col 2)

This, the bishop was able to do, carrying the matter at a diocesan Synod in 1867 before travelling to the first Lambeth conference of Anglican bishops. The process had been exhaustive and the members of the church could feel that they had been guided and consulted every step of the way. This kind of consultative process, which had been happening over smaller issues for years gave to the lay members confidence in the leaders and was the reason that parishioners felt able to trust them with the much bigger issue of the constitutional future of the church of 1870.

There had been an interesting co-incidence in the way the colonial churches had been developing during this period in most colonies, so the timing was good for

the South African bishops, yet the initiative had not been theirs. It was at a synod in 1865 that the provincial synod of the church of Canada had first called for a council of the bishops who were in communion with Canterbury. (Mowbray 1957, 58)

One of the issues which provoked discussion throughout the Anglican world was naturally the Colenso affair, both in its legal and its ecclesiological ramifications. None could really afford to stand aside and watch a bishop on trial for heresy and hear him being found guilty, removed from his See by the Metropolitan in 1863 and then find that the courts could and did reverse the decision in 1865 (Neill 1977, 303) In 1863 forty-one bishops wrote to Colenso and said that his work on the Pentateuch was not in line with the Prayer Book, nor was his understanding of Justification and Atonement, and they begged him to step back on the confrontation in which he now found himself. This Colenso was not able to do, citing many scholars who supported him. Confrontation became inevitable and once that had happened the bishops had to do something about it. (Mowbray 1957, 54)

The idea of a conference was not well received in England but Longley, the archbishop of Canterbury, carried it in Convocation and sent out 144 invitations to a 'brotherly' consultation. (Ibid, 59) Slightly more than half those invited decided to attend the consultation. Of these there was only one representative from the church in India since it did not please the government to grant leave to too many bishops at the same time! The archbishop of York did not attend. In the end there were to be representatives from America, Canada, Africa, India, Australia and New Zealand. (Ibid 60)

It has been said that to talk of the structure of Anglicanism is a contradiction in terms. Gray was all for structure, and was firmly put in his place by the conference. The conference knew what it did not want. It also happened in the absence of a large and significant minority of the people concerned. The British contingent at Lambeth, especially those from the North and from Wales, were very reluctant to acknowledge the force of what had happened there.

Sir John Seeley who became professor of Modern history at Cambridge at about this time and whose *Ecce Homo* in 1866 showed some support for Colenso's 'enthusiasm for humanity' (Latourette 1976, 1176) said of the British empire, "we seem....to have conquered and peopled half of the world in a fit of absence of mind. While we were doing it... we did not allow it to affect our imaginations or in any way change our way of thinking". So too the English church changed into the Anglican Communion without it affecting the imaginations of the majority of its leaders or followers and without allowing it to change their way of thinking for generations.(Wilkinson ed 1964, 11)

C onclusion

1. Making the Anglican Communion

1.1 The Nature of the Church

When they got to Lambeth in 1867, the forty-four bishops who had accepted the archbishop of Canterbury's invitation 'to consult' were aware that they were part of something new in the Church of England. (Mowbray 1957: 59) What was at issue was so clear, in Anglican terms, that half of the bishops in Britain and the colonies would not even come. A new compromise on the relationship between the Church of England and the rest of the Communion was needed in a denomination which had long been renown for compromise in its fundamentals.

The Anglicans were known for clinging to the principle of mediation in the regions of doctrine and discipline, indeed as Lancelot Andrewes had wittily said of seventeenth century Anglicanism:

One canon... two Testaments, three creeds, four general councils, five centuries, and the series of Fathers in that period... determine the boundary of our faith. (England ed 1989:15)

The wit was in the fact that all the mainstream denominations have these same ingredients in their doctrines, dogmas and disciplines. So the Anglican genius for compromise was learned in a good school. It is 'the dialectical nature of theology' itself which is reflected in the Anglican position. Indeed, Michael Ramsey, a former archbishop of Canterbury, has declared that its incompleteness and the tension and the travail in its soul are Anglicanism's main credentials. (Ibid, 16) From this vantage point, the maligned 'via media' ceases to be a frantic running to and fro between contending extremes of theology, rather it becomes the 'bridge across' from one position to the another, trying in the process to be inclusive rather than exclusive in

its theology and its doctrine.

During the nineteenth century, a distinction was made between non-negotiable 'essentials' in religion and 'non-essential' matters where tolerance was possible. In a discussion on them in 1848, Mills the regius professor at Cambridge discussed the the ritualist challenge to the church, saying that while it might be obvious to everyone, that this or that rite need not be deemed essential by this or that church; 'it is essential to the existence of every branch of the church, and therefore to Christianity, and therefore to salvation of souls, that every church should have at least some rites'. (S.A.Church and Ecclesiastical Review {July 1851}, 195) There were many more significant issues in the debate on 'essentials' than liturgical changes in the worship. For instance the role of Scripture and the centrality of the cross. Miles said that in these matters it was not possible to accept wide tolerance of Wilberforce, bishop of Oxford, whose dictum was that sincerity is 'all in all', (Ibid 196) Thus circumscribed, the bishops were able to find a place for the ritualists at Lambeth.

After a hundred years, the bishops at Lambeth in 1968 validated this way of doing theology, declaring that it should not be seen as lax or uncommitted, rather as 'comprehensive'. It is a comprehensiveness learned from the controversies of Anglican history, which demands agreement on the fundamentals while tolerating disagreement on matters in which Christians may disagree without breaking communion. (England ed 1989,16)

1.2 South African bishops at Lambeth

When they got to Lambeth in 1867, the South African bishops had fully prepared their agenda. The colonial situation had changed. If Grahamstown was in any way typical, the prelates had been given the brief to maintain the historical link with Britain while negotiating independence of action for the CPSA. Gray had, naturally, his own line and he pursued it vigorously and in a way that made him more

enemies than friends among the other bishops. On the second day of the conference, when the matter of the colonial bishoprics was discussed, Gray nearly split the meeting by insisting that the Colenso controversy be raised. He asked the bishops to validate his decision. Lambeth decided that it, 'was not competent to condemn Colenso or to sit in judgement on Gray'. (Mowbray 1957: 64) A compromise was therefore reached which helped the bishops across one of the chasms which had loomed large in the church in the ten years before 1967. In this matter compromise solutions had not proved particularly difficult and the unity was maintained.

Another matter taken that day was one over which Cotterill and Gray had long disagreed. Gray proposed a system of graduated synods. In this way he would be able to include in his ordered hierarchy, a system of reference for synod decisions. The diocesan synod would refer important matters to the Province and then fundamental issues could be taken to Lambeth, where the conference could become the 'Patriarchal' synod with binding powers over the churches. (Ibid, 64) It was for this very reason that the archbishop of York and the leading members of his convocation had not attended the conference. They did not accept the primacy of Canterbury and did not want to be a part of something that might suggest that there was a hierarchical order of dioceses. (Neill 1977: 355)

What Gray proposed showed more about the way his mind worked than his understanding of this aspect of the Anglican tradition. He was a conservative radical for whom everything needed to be tidied and arranged, and it also showed why he was so often accused of wanting to be pope in South Africa. In this particular debate, as in the whole conference, Cotterill was one of the leading and most influential bishops. (Matthews 1961: 53) His view was in accord with the majority and they agreed that any future conferences would continue in the spirit in which Longley had called the first one. It was to be a place where the prelates could meet to share their experiences and where some of the differences could be reconciled. Its decisions were not to be binding but would have moral weight (Mowbray 1957: 58)

The first steps to a new kind of Anglicanism were taken at Lambeth in 1867. They grappled successfully with the legal and constitutional issues arising from the peculiar consequences of their relationship with the COE, with its anachronistic links with the judicial and legislative branches of the English establishment. They managed to find a formula which also resolved the emotional consequences arising out of the desire of the colonial churches to continue in unity and communion with the Church of England.

1.3 Making the CPSA

In a Provincial synod in 1870, the Articles of the Constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa were adopted. (In 1982 it was extended to include Southern Africa) The CPSA became a voluntary association of those who subscribe to the faith and practices which it exists to uphold and propagate. The Third proviso of Article I gave to the Ecclesiastical Tribunals the right to interpret the 'Standard and Formularies' of the church 'in questions of Faith and Doctrine or in discipline relating to them. This gave the South African church a real independence of action. (England ed 1989:81)

The Provincial synod in 1870 was meant to demonstrate the comprehensive nature of the new Anglicanism in action, but what was resolved came with the usual price. In the triumph of the high church party there remained unresolved tensions between high and low, rich and poor in the English church which were carried forward into the new dispensation. The South African church had also developed its own variation on a theme of rich and poor, the one between the settler and the mission churches.

In a discussion on the fundamentals of a movement, it eventually becomes necessary to look for the heart. After 1848 the primary concern of critics of Gray and the high church leadership had been that the heart was not always visible. Everyone

could see that the bishop liked people to take communion and that the clergy were expected to read the offices daily. The clergy in Grahamstown had criticised Cotterill because he was not concerned with the correct form of the collects, epistles and gospels for the high days and holy days. (above :128) Throughout the period, the issue of the preaching in surplices and similar ritualist issues had been vigorously and sometimes acrimoniously debated. But these were the externals of the Oxford Movement.

The Oxford movement was an intellectual affair and yet its influence was pervasive because it reached into the very souls of its adherents. To use words of faith to describe it, it was a movement inspired by the Holy Spirit. There was no party and no membership fee but it contributed very largely to the striking awakening and transformation of the Church of England in the nineteenth century (Latourette 1975, 1165) Its influence was gradual and the controversies which it brought in its wake did not stop the vigorousness of the church's growth. As the century advanced, the English church grew in vitality and left behind the enervated Erastian centuries. (Ibid, 1177) It was to take a hundred years before the last bastion, Canterbury Cathedral was to see the full splendour of the Anglo-Catholic vestments, when Cosmo Lang became archbishop. He decided not to wear the cope and mitre to his consecration since he was keen not to seem to be departing from the practices of his predecessors too swiftly. Soon, and 'without advertisement', he did so, saying that there had been no previous archbishop thus attired since the reformation. He also wrote that he thought it a shame that other Anglo-Catholics had not been as patient as he in the past since that would have resulted in a similar success with less controversy. (Lockhart 1949: 315) The wisdom of hindsight enabled Lang to put his finger on one of the flaws of the movement.

In his reminiscence on the church at Peddie, John Bartholomew recalled the building being put up in 1835 by the military engineers and called St Simon and St Jude. Then when the garrison left in 1862 the parishioners moved into temporary

accommodation. He recalls that the church was 'nicely filled up' and the services were of the Church of England type to which they were all accustomed. 'No high church or ritualist services then existed-but the plain, which some may be kind enough to call low church services.' (Ms 16 802-805) A few of the high church things came along gradually and when Stubbs moved on to Newlands to be replaced by Ellingham, it was the thin end of the wedge. Bartholomew was being asked for his thoughts in the 1880s, after the new church had been built. By then everything had become very high church, and the practice remained very unacceptable to the older members of the congregation, who did not care for the ceremonies and would have preferred 'the old plain style of worship of the so-called low Church of England'. (Ms 16 802-805) What was unacceptable to one generation was not to another and the church is grounded on such gentle grumbling. This is generational, natural and acceptable, what is damaging, however, is controversy in the church.

In South Africa the greatest of the controversialists was soon to become the Archbishop of Cape Town. All of the confusion as to the motives of the high church divines had not been resolved by 1870 but at least the leadership was more trusted. Was the ritual the basis of the whole controversial ministry of a Gray or a Merriman? Did they want to be the pope and his cardinal? Clearly not, for at the heart of the new Anglicanism which was emerging from the ideas of the Tractarians were two things, the church and Jesus' heart for the poor. (England 1989: 19) For the high churchmen, the primary sacrament was the church, itself in mystical union with Christ. Behind the concreteness of its walls and the richness of its ceremonial, were the God-man and the doctrine of his incarnation. Newman said that they were confident in what they were doing, for they were upholding the primitive Christianity which had been the tradition of the church throughout the ages. They thought that this tradition had been 'Registered and attested' in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines of the seventeenth century. (Ibid,19)

Such a love for the church helps to explain their passion for order and

insistence on the right way of doing things in their worship. It also helps to explain their need to go into the world bringing the healing message of the gospel. The Christ who came, was also the Jesus with a heart for the poor which meant that the church, every member, was to be Christ to a broken and needy world.

The first part of their insight was attractive. The beauty of holiness, was visual, almost sensual, and it was comparatively easy for the leadership to carry their followers with them in the reform of worship. They were growing to like the ritual and the panoply slowly introduced over the years, they enjoyed being the church of the Governor and the Queen. It was the second part, the church whose mission was to the poor where Gray and his successors never really managed to bring unity. The settlers resisted becoming part of the Anglican church of Africa.

2. Church and Society

It is heartening that some general histories have begun to pay attention to the role of the church and the Christians in South Africa.

The scholar who understands history in terms of revelation, with the 'Christ event' as central to it must, always, be tempted to try to understand the events of the times in terms of the ultimate revelation and the end times which are part of it. (Rust 1963, 61) Coming from a different perspective the generalist can pick up things which would not be obvious to anyone standing too close, so their perceptions could well be truer for that. The rationalist viewpoint is not confined to an idealist epistemology, (though some are caught up in ideology) and can therefore take the story in from the perspectives of humanism, materialism, positivism or even naturalism, thus enriching our understanding of the church in history. (Ibid, 54) At a time of dialogue between two branches of historiography, it might help for church historians to become the servant, not the critic, by taking one or two of the general perceptions about, say, the Anglican church which are being carried into the mainstream of South African writing and

testing them by applying specialist knowledge and sympathy to the bald sweep of historical theory.

Keegan lucidly makes the following points about the Anglican church which Gray represented:

- 1) it was shorn of its evangelical schismatics,
- 2) and remained a bulwark of *ancien regime* Toryism,
- 3) which was profoundly suspicious of missionaries and humanitarians.

This church as viewed from the outside or by other denominations in the Colony displayed an 'insidious and intruding Puseyism' which resulted in its assuming establishment status and hierarchical form. (Keegan 1996, 224-5)

The whole of Keegan's book reads well as he touches perceptively on the salient points at issue, but, in this case, it would not be fair to Gray to leave it there. As an historical sentiment, there is not much wrong with what Keegan is trying to put across. No writer touching on the power relationships in South Africa, even the post-apartheid South Africa, can fail to look for the beginnings of entrapment to its will of the mainstream churches by the government. The problem is in the details.

In the first place, a lot more members of the English Church accepted what Gray and his contemporaries were trying to do in the church, than opposed him. His supporters were often the more scrupulous than his detractors. Also, for every Wirgman, a historian with a cause who was writing more of a hagiography than a history, there was also a Hewitt who was fair and even probing in his analysis and never laudatory and was certainly not theology dressed up as history. (See Matthews 1961: 1ff)

Gray's approach to the evangelical party which he found in Cape Town was definitely partisan. He stigmatised them as little better than the Plymouth Brethren, an exclusive and fundamentalist group viewed by the majority of the church as a sect. He criticised them for using their wealth and influence saying they had 'long purses and pious purposes, the pest of the place'. (Hewitt 1887: 81) Yet, in two of the cases examined in this thesis, the issue was not evangelicalism, but incompetence or power which was at issue and the doctrinal issue was being used to mask the facts. The tension between high and low in the church remained usefully in the background if all other forms of argument failed.

The conflict between Bankes and Cotterill in December 1857 was all about the ritualist position in Grahamstown but it was Bankes who was ousted not the evangelical bishop. The Chapel at St Andrew's became the bishop's own favoured spiritual refuge and this in turn became the model for an evangelical Anglican foundation and parish which survives today. Cotterill experienced the rejection of his clergy on this issue. Yet, it appears that this was partly a problem of his own making. He came into Grahamstown determined to ride out the criticism which he expected to find there. Merriman's tried to be even handed as he showed in the memo quoted in the Heavyside diaries. He felt that the bishop had mistakenly imagined that those who did not repudiate Bankes and his stand for the Holy days were repudiating him. (Cory Ms 16 606, 164) In saying so he appears to be condoning, in part, the bishop's response to the intemperate way in which he was treated by a subordinate. The archdeacon made it plain, however, that he did not agree with the bishop's decisions on the dissidents in Port Elizabeth or with the actions taken on Copeman. On the facts, it would seem that Copeman had beaten the evangelical drum to disguise the failure of his relationship with the parish in Uitenhage. He was able to use the arrival of Cotterill to get a stay of execution and was transferred to Alexandria in 1858 where he remained until 1889. (Varley ed 1956,29) Eventually the two sides grew reconciled, built on each other's strengths and made a lasting impression on each other.

In a third case, the contention between archdeacon and the churchwardens of Graaf-Reinet, was over church order and discipline, not evangelicalism in the Colony. At least on the one side, no attempt was made to have Long conform to the ritualist ways. The hostility to the high church party in the diocese, became very evident at this time because the motives of the bishop and the archdeacon were not understood, nor had they won the people's trust. For this Gray's personality and his controlling nature were much to blame. But because the bishop's personality problems riled people, including the bishops at Lambeth, it would not be right to conclude that the issues he was dealing with were not justified.

At its core, the legal confusion surrounding the status of the Colonial episcopacy was the problem. That was particularly confusing when coupled with the re-ordering and re-organisation of the church, which was itself explained in terms of theological discourse (jargon to the irreverent). By 1867 the matter had, at last, been disentangled from the personalities and the factions. Evidence of this reconciliation being the co-operation of Cotterill and Gray. It was one of the issues actually resolved at the Lambeth Conference of 1867.

The most contentious doctrinal and ritualist issues in the period up to 1870 had actually been brought into the church before the arrival of Gray. They were matters which had to be dealt with because they gave the dynamic to the nineteenth century Anglican Church. The areas of contention included liberal scholarship upon which high and low in the church were agreed, they hated it. When the English Church in South Africa was shorn of the bishop of Natal, there was no whiff of high and low church partisanship at all. The evangelical bishop of Grahamstown on his own independent assessment viewed Colenso as a Nestorian and took part of the trail for heresy. In the Colenso case, the issue was not between high and low church, but between the traditionalist and modernist wings of the nineteenth century church.

There is not much evidence that in the church there was a deliberate policy to

get rid of evangelicals in Gray's Anglican Church. There were just not all that many of them and they did not make as much of an impact. The minority who there were, like Norton for thirty years at Christ Church, seem to have been able to continue their ministry without hindrance and maintain the evangelical flame flickering within the CPISA.

2. 1 The Tenor of the Times

Keegan says that the British responded to the intellectual and industrial upheavals of the 18th Century with the discovery of patriotism and the cult of commerce. (Keegan 1996, 39) He points out that because of a certain flexibility within the ruling classes, they were able to reinvent themselves in alliance with the emergent commercial classes of the period. The example of William Pitt the younger gave the scions of the aristocracy a place in the running of the nation which they did 'with a dedication to service and impeccable personal morality in government'. (Ibid 39)

Evidence from Gray's letters confirms Keegan's assertion that he was a political conservative and he was drawn by his relationship with Montagu and successive governors into the political issues of his time. (Carpenter 1933,59) It would have been hard for him to have stayed out of them. He was the first of the bishops who were called into service by the British government to do the work previously done by the governor in the management of the English church. He was also a member of the same social class in a class-based society and heartily ascribed to their ethos of dedication and hard work. He moved into the British establishment at the Cape because he was one of them.

Davenport writes that the authorities in nineteenth century South Africa saw the colonial churches as a subordinate but important element in colonization. (Elphick ed 1997,51) While this view is consonant with those of Keegan, and viewed, as it were, through the wrong end of a telescope, the South African experience shows the

consequences of the relationship. It is by no means sure that this was the policy of the government at all before 1870 or that the leaders of the church were not conscious of this tendency and resistant to it. After all, it was Gray who commented on the relationship between church and state in England that, the reciprocity was all on one side'. (Hinchliff 1966: 9). Nevertheless, the view of Keegan and Davenport is endorsed by bishop Peter Lee in his article in the book commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Gray's arrival in South Africa, where he says that the chief challenge of the church in the twentieth century has been changing from a prisoner of the colonial and imperial power to becoming an authentic prophetic body detached from and able to critique the structures of political power. (Suggit & Goedhals eds. 1998, 130)

Governments will use anything that comes to hand to serve their purposes. In the Cape, at times, this would have included the churches, even for so simple a thing as places of safety in times of war on the frontier. Naturally the churches were not averse to using their influence to try and change or direct the course of government policy, either. John Philip and the 1830s humanists turned this manipulation of politics into a fine art, when men like Glenelg and Steven were running the Colonial Office.

The reason that the laity of the English church at the Cape had petitioned for a bishop in the 1840s was because they wanted someone who could take the spiritual arm of the English establishment out of the hands of the governor. Because as the clergy and laity of the period pointed out, being run as a branch of the government meant that the English Church was at a disadvantage that no other denomination had. They could not carry out their own rules, had no bond at the centre of their life and no spiritual authority which was able to take to task those who erred. (Hewitt: Appendix D) The new bishops were drafted into the Colonial system by the government in response to the obvious need that the parishioners had for a more efficient and focussed leadership than the governor, usually a soldier, could give them. Change provides its own dynamic and the bishops brought with them their own agendas which

were not always in line with those of the government, nor, quite often, of their own flock.

In the 1850s there was a genuine co-incidence of view in the issue of mission and the improvement of people's lives in Kaffraria between the bishop and the governor, Sir George Grey. It would seem that their families were friends. That such a co-operative spirit was not to survive and was to become enmity and domination could not have been foreseen in the middle years of the nineteenth century when the customary alliance of the British upper class in church and state was able to carry on in the Cape Colony, with changes of mood and emphasis, well into the 1870s.

2.2 The Mission of the Church in Africa

Gray who had been scandalised on his arrival in the Cape to find that there were no Anglican mission stations in or adjacent to the Colony had set about starting one. At the end of the war of the Axe, he called for a day of thanksgiving and asked for a special collection for a mission fund. (Cory Ms 16 775/1,1) He said that in the neighbouring areas to the Colony there were over half a million souls who had not heard the gospel and for the church to do nothing about it, was a sin. The first responsibility for the work belonged to the bishop but all needed to play their part. (Ms 16 759) In 1850 the archdeaconry clergy petitioned the bishop to take immediate steps to establish a mission and the Governor invited the bishop to establish a mission in Umhalla's territory, in 1853 Gray went to England to raise the money for the mission. (Cory Ms 16 775/1,2) In October 1854 the mission was established at St Luke's. (Ibid,4)

The work was continued by Armstrong. He declared on 10 February 1855, 'I have pledged the church to undertake this present year', to Umhalla, the first chief a mission with school. To Kreli and Sandile across the Kei he promised missions. He



also promised to send missionaries to Keiskamma Hoek. The Bishop also wanted to set up a school at St Philip in the location at Grahamstown (Cory Ms 16 696). Assisted by Governor Grey, who was described by the Metropolitan as the initiator of a noble Christian policy the bishops, were keen to extend their missionary endeavours. (Cory Ms 16 775/1, 5)

Sandili
Grey's friend

In 1855 St Matthew's was established at Keiskamma Hoek, St John's was founded later that year in Kabousie . By 1859 there were eight stations and by 1868 there were twelve. At St Luke's there were a hundred and eleven baptisms during the first two years, these increased to two hundred and thirty three in 1860 and one thousand three hundred in 1865.(Ibid 14) Waters' correspondence tells of the efforts to make St Mark's (at Kreli's) self sufficient between 1858-1863. He talks of employing German emigrants as the skilled labour who would train the local people for £1 per month and of his engagement of a tailor, shoemaker and a carpenter. They were employed to teach part time and were free to carry out their trade the rest of the time. (Matthew 1957:175). The policy of civilising through education was one which was sponsored by the governors and particularly Grey. But it was enthusiastically endorsed by the bishops of Grahamstown.

In theory the settlers were also happy to associate themselves with these endeavours. In the address to Armstrong on his arrival in Port Elizabeth, the churchwardens of St Mary's said that they thought that, amongst other things, the arrival of the bishop would be good for the heathen which they acknowledged had not been something which had previously received much attention.(Ibid,42)

When Cotterill arrived in Grahamstown he, too, brought with him a heart for mission in the neighbouring territories. In his reply to the address of welcome he excitedly invited the settlers to join with him in the missionary enterprise. '...and you will no doubt avail yourselves of the opportunity of co-operating more extensively,

which as experience abundantly proves is a blessing to the Christian church itself, no less than to the heathen world'. Only in this manner could, the church become involved in the Kingdom of God. The bishop called the church in the diocese to unity in its mission and asked them to become involved more systematically and generally (Ms 16 606 96)

In 1860 Cotterill proposed 'a Kafir Institution where native teachers, catechists and clergymen could be educated' . (Cory Ms 16 696,266) The first principal was to be Woodroffe who had arrived in 1857 as a catechist. He it was who translated the Prayer Book into isiXhosa. He was succeeded by Mullins.(Cory Ms 16 696,266) This enterprise was not one which had any bearing on the high and low parties in the church, and since Colenso was probably the most sympathetic Anglican missionary in Africa during this time, it was not something which was particularly affected by theological differences. It had the support of the government, but the sympathies of the settlers were not engaged by the leadership. At the synod of 1860, Cotterill could not get agreement to set up a board of mission in the diocese, but held a missionary conference in February 1861. (Matthew 1857: 164)

3.The Grahamstown experience

Davenport thinks that the settlers relied on the churches to provide reassuring cultural props in an unfamiliar environment. (Ibid 51) If true, their motivation for supporting them was quite different from that of the government. It was their experience as emigrants, in a foreign and alien land and of their struggle to survive and replicate the land they had left within their new circumstances that they brought with them to church every week. The government was happy to co-operate with the missionary endeavour of the church as it provided the skills necessary for successful pacification and technological development. But the settlers' experience was different. They were ready to declare in however many loyal addresses required declaring that they approved of the civilising Christian mission of the church (and very likely they

did) but they did not see that this had any direct bearing on their lives. This attitude was to produce one of fault lines in the CPSEA as it was established in 1870. One part the church it created was settler and establishment and the other part Ethiopian and eventually African. It was, one denomination, sharing one communion but it was not, then or later, united.

3.1 A settler identity

The 1820 migration was to help to set in motion new social forces which played a significant part in the shaping of 19th century South Africa, for the migrants carried with them an ideology conducive to the development of productive capitalism (Keegan 1996: 62) They included just those kinds of people, ranging from landowners to poor labourers and from capitalists to small traders who had the will to make private enterprise work. (Butler 1974: 66) Benjamin Moodie had independently tried to fill the skills gap at the Cape through a private scheme even before the government scheme had taken off, because he knew that mechanics and artisans were in great demand in the new colony which had a small population and few skilled workers (Hockly 1957: 33)

As people in the forefront of the dynamics of an empire it is not very surprising that they should be assertive and in some cases combative. They were able to fashion for themselves an ideology and in doing so, their faith, and particularly Methodism played an important role. Their churches were the places where they first learned to organise themselves and proved to be the training grounds for their public self expression.(Keegan 1996: 66) The Anglicans among them were responsive to the leadership of their new hierarchy in many aspects of ritual and doctrine but there were areas of their experience, shared with their contemporaries in other denominations, which made them deaf to the desires of their leadership to change them.

Grahamstown was the cauldron for the ideas which helped to define settler

experience on the Cape Frontier. It was there that the first generation battled to survive, and the second survived to chronicle the struggle. The third generation left the early experiences behind them. Their commercial and agricultural successes gave them the money to enjoy the resources available through education and indulge the refinements of their age. The emphasis they came to place on the migrations of 1820, was their attempt to define and identify themselves in a harsh physical and emotional climate. It was to have lasting consequences in what they expected from their church and how they approached their God.

3.2 A settler church

All the evidence in Grahamstown seems to point to the fact that they never considered operating outside of their own cultural paradigm in church matters or anything else. They were comfortable with the likes of Porter who came to Bathurst for a while as a replacement for Wright and while he was there managed to start a Book club, a Sunday School and a chapelry at Cuylerville. He planned and laid foundations for the church building and by 1833 had even succeeded in getting an evening service going. This was the kind of church they wanted and the kind of parish priest.

The contrast between Porter and his predecessor, Wright, was particularly stark. So they were very aware of it. For them, Wright had been an unfortunate experience. He arrived in Bathurst in 1829 and, according to them, did not show any great interest in the parishioners who were pleased with themselves for beginning to build the church. (Hewitt 1887, 52). He was only to celebrate communion in the area once and spent most of his time at the military outposts on the frontier. He returned to England in 1830 and did not remain in the Colonial service, writing a book on slavery in the Cape of Good Hope in 1831. There were claims that he was improvident and had left the Colony in debt. Pringle, however says that all these rumours were a result of his favouring the coloured races. He did not fall he had been pushed. (Ibid, 57) It

was true that there were others like canon George Thompson whose enthusiasm led them to think that they should be serving their God in remote parts and who chose to live in a shack but he was considered to be eccentric. (Matthews 1957: 103) This appellation implies a particular form of English madness which is harmless and might, even, one day, prove to have been right.

Having once made up their minds on anything, the thing which people hate most is to be asked to change their ideas. Gray and the like-minded people he brought with him in the early 1850s, came across very clearly to the people in Grahamstown as being very certain of themselves. This, parishioners know from instinct and experience, meant that they were going to be asked to accept new ideas which would probably prove to be contentious. For most people, contentious is unpleasant.

In character, Gray stormed ahead and the people in the pews began to fear that there was something wrong with what the bishop was doing. Whenever he paused for breath or went to England, it gave them time to catch up and assimilate. The arrival of Armstrong proved to be a blessing because his style was eirenic and meant that the parishioners experienced the high church ways, in ways which they could accept and understand. In fact they resented the low church bishop who came to replace him.

Once they trusted the leadership they would go along with things which they did not necessarily like all that much, because they understood that things had changed and they had to go along with it. John Bartholomew remained in the church as a loyal parishioner for fifty years, for the last twenty-five of them, things were not as he would have chosen them to be. Yet he stayed, only making use of his opportunity as an old man to give his opinion and state his case.

3.2.1 *Growing up, growing old*

Reminiscing in April 1870, Henry Dugmore managed to keep his audiences attention for four hours. (Christison 1990 ed) He was speaking about the audience themselves, so the marathon was less amazing than if he had been speaking about Quarks and Quasars, but it was still no mean feat. One of the matters he broached was that of the increase in the Albany, in towns and villages but also in the numbers of its British inhabitants. One way had been through immigration, but Grahamstown was itself to feel the fickleness of the flexible job market with the opening of the diamond fields in Kimberley very shortly after Dugmore ¹⁴had been speaking.

What he was really talking about was the natural increase of people who were born in the area and knew it from the inside as home. In all the life stories which are recorded, there are so many children. Some of them dying of malnutrition and one being murdered in his prime, but most surviving. Dugmore told of old Joseph Trollip who had recently died and left two hundred and seventy lineal descendents living among them. The Cawoods came as a family of nine and by 1870 numbered three hundred and fifty six. (Christison ed 1990, 47) Coming from a successful background some of those must have made good in the Colony, but it is inevitable that some did not. One of the Wood boys went spectacularly bankrupt after having been mayor of Grahamstown, thus having a promising political career destroyed. These people and their experiences were becoming integrated into the land and their wishes were expressed understood and acted upon, even in an increasing degree, in their churches.

One of the fascinating things about Grahamstown is that it played a significant role in the nineteenth century Cape Colony and became wealthy enough for its infrastructure to develop beyond the critical mass necessary to ensure its survival.

¹⁴Dugmore was ordained in the Methodist church in 1839 and spent his life in fruitful ministry in the region (Morse Jones 1969: 110)

After that it marked time becoming a University town and complementing its other educational facilities, but it did not get torn down and rebuilt every two decades and therefore has become a place where it is possible for the historian to get something of the feel of the nineteenth century.

As the people of the town changed and became more settled, prosperous and sophisticated the church episcopal pattern appealed to more of those of the settlers who had been developing a new middle class consciousness, who experienced the stigma of being 'colonial' and who were worried about their status (Keegan, 230) One of the things that Keegan got right in his analysis of Gray's church, is that it was hierarchical. It also had a very definite and ordered way of doing things which came to offer the kind of security and regularity which the many of the burghers of Grahamstown liked. In 1875 census figures showed that the numbers of Episcopalians had increased fairly rapidly and they had overtaken the Methodists in the town.(Gibbens 1982:34)

Gray also gave the clergy a high profile role in their parishes but this was compensated for by the accepted representation of the laity in all forms of synodical government. (Gray 1851, 50) By the mid 1860s this view had been widely disseminated and equally widely accepted. Gray's hierarchy barred the laity from preaching, and teaching in the pulpit, but many catechists were appointed, especially in the black church, who assumed responsibility for much of the initiation and the training of converts to the Anglican church.

The level of debate in the lead up to the Lambeth conference in 1867, and the sophistication of the theological input by Gawler, seems to show that this emphasis on lay involvement was not meant to be a cover up for Cotterill and the clergy to get their own way. They usually did, but in this instance it was only after a genuine consultation and a serious effort on the part of the bishop's to persuade by the clarity and strength of his arguments.

3.2.2 *What did they really believe*

When the experience of life meets with the experience of the faith (in the church), there is often a tension. There was never any doubt in the Anglo-Catholic revival, that its ritualist aspects were not its only thrust, or indeed, its major thrust. The gospel of Incarnation proclaims that parishioners must go out into a needy world to bring Christ and to spread the good news of salvation through love-in-action. This part of the message preached by the high church group in the Border districts of the Cape Colony between 1848-1870, was not very loudly heard. For the settlers at who it was primarily addressed, there was a fortunate distraction available. The ritualist changes provoke outrage in the first instance. When that proved unavailing, there was always the drama of the constitutional and legal for the colonists and the churchmen to get their teeth into. But the mission across the border remained there.

The aspects of parishioner experience which have been touched on in this thesis have inevitably been tied up with the externals. Firstly, there is the life experience of colonials in a foreign land which has become home for the children and grandchildren and where the teeming herds of elephants have become a memory. In the 1820s people accidentally got killed by them, in the 1870s people would have to be a long way from home to find one which would trample on them. This experience and the wars, fears and famines affected their interaction with the church and made them into the sort of people they were and meant that they did have the tendency observed by Davenport, to look for the church to be a cultural expression.

A second experience for the settlers of the English church was their part in its growth and development. It was not simply a passive prop for their lives and they certainly had a lot to say about their church and what they wanted and expected from it. In some aspects of its development they were very influential, and in some they allowed themselves to be convinced of the best way forward by a strong and thoughtful leadership. In some cases they had simply to resign themselves to the

inevitability of changes that they did not much like but could not prevent. Whatever their experiences, the church which was being established, was very much tailored to meet their needs. The tension was that the church itself brought with it certain constraints of traditions and history.

The third experience which the settlers had was a far more elusive thing. It was the experience of personal faith. There is evidence to show that the language of faith was part of their everyday speech, they were interested in the magazines and sermons which were being brought to them through the church. Other evidence shows some of them, whose families regarded them as rather saintly people. There was also the public face of private belief. It might be unfair to the peoples' voices, like Godlonton and Chase to doubt their sincerity when they write of their dependence on 'HIM'. Their works were meant to persuade, and their readers would have expected such language and they themselves may well have meant it. At the time there was no other frame of reference available to them, since their world-view was pre-Darwinian.

Yet what the settlers did in their secret lives is not readily available for historians to reveal. The letters, diaries and reminiscences point to an engagement with their religion but few of them could be regarded as spiritual diaries. Only Norton, himself a clergyman, stops decrying the bishop and all his works, briefly, at one point to cry out to his God. None of this is proof that the Anglicans, or, indeed most settlers, did not have some sort of firm religious conviction. In a letter in about 1843, J C Molteno, later to be Prime Minister of the Cape Colony when the system of Responsible Government was finally introduced, wrote to his mother after eleven years at the Cape:

Although I have not succeeded in pecuniary matters, I have gained what is of infinitely more value - sound views on religion and a firm conviction of the vain and transitory nature of the things of this life.... You need, my dear mother, be under no apprehension as to my religious views, although it is true I do not often write much on the subject; but you must not therefore come to the conclusion that I think little on it; quite the contrary. I hope and trust that no act or deed of mine is uninfluenced by religion. (Molteno Vol 1 1900: 13-14)

What has not become clear, because it is never quite certain, is what exactly they meant when they said these things or how they met with and moved with their God, every day, every day, every day.

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