

## CHAPTER 15

# Bloemfontein : Up-hill to the end

*“ ‘Does the road wind up-hill all the way?’  
‘Yes, to the very end.’ ”*

C. Rossetti

Mr. and Mrs. Cross left Durban on April the 2nd on the evening train to Pretoria.<sup>1</sup> They had no immediate plans except to visit their sons and grandchildren, and to take up the threads of old friendships. Neither was in good health, and they needed rest and relaxation.<sup>2</sup> Not since their holiday in England and Ireland twenty years before had they been so free of responsibility, and they were looking forward to a period of quiet domestic happiness, free from the incessant demands made on them by the nature of Mr. Cross's work.

Pretoria is at its best in April. Mild, golden days succeed each other in a sequence of perfection that seems timeless and endless. The heat and storms of summer are past; the frost and biting winds of winter in the unimagined future. They stayed with Arnold and Violet, and renewed their acquaintance with the two children, Louis and Margaret. They visited Nurden and May in Brooklyn, where they met their newest grandchild, Mary Nurden, for the first time. They saw many old friends, sharing past joys and present sorrows, for the war news was very bad and few families had not suffered the loss of close relatives and friends.

While they were in Pretoria Cross received a request to go to Bloemfontein to serve the Baptist Church there for a short period until a permanent pastor could

could be found.<sup>3</sup> The previous minister, the Rev. F. Harris, had joined the army as a chaplain in 1916 and served with the South African forces in East Africa. He was now back in South Africa, but had accepted a call to the Bulwer Road Church in Durban.<sup>4</sup> For two years the church in Bloemfontein had been served by various temporary pastors; Harris's resignation meant that the church could now look around for a new minister. Meanwhile it would be a help if Cross would be willing to "supply" for a month or two.

Cross, who was feeling more relaxed after his holiday in Pretoria, agreed to go for the months of May and June. Characteristically, he threw himself as wholeheartedly into the work as if he intended to stay indefinitely. He did not regard it as a mere matter of preaching twice on Sunday and doing nothing else. He was as conscientious about pastoral visiting as he had ever been. A letter written by Mrs. Cross to May on June the 9th gives a glimpse of their life in Bloemfontein: "Since June came in the weather here has not been so bad, but when a South and South East wind blows, I can tell you we know all about it. One afternoon a few weeks ago, when we were out visiting, I really thought I should have to cave in & go back to the house; but I kept on and was none the worse in the end; but I have never faced such a cold wind and we had more than half an hour's walk right against this wind."

On June the 21st Cross received an official letter from the Secretary of the church, Mr. W.H. Greenwood, who, on behalf of the church wrote: "At the Church business meeting last night, which was very well attended, the members very heartily and unanimously resolved to ask you to accept the office of the Pastor of the Church here ..."<sup>5</sup>

Cross was not prepared to make a quick decision about this, in spite of the church's understandable desire for a definite settlement as soon as possible. "Secretarial Notes" in the *South African Baptist* of July the 7th mentioned that "The Rev. G.W. Cross has not yet decided on the call he has received from Bloemfontein. What he has decided to do is to take his holiday. This he sorely needs, and Mrs. Cross too. After the holiday – well, we shall hear later on."<sup>6</sup>

Mr. and Mrs. Cross returned to Pretoria from Bloemfontein at the beginning of July. Carson was married to Phyllis Spencer on July the 3rd, his father officiating.<sup>7</sup> Another joyful occasion in which Cross participated was the opening of the new Baptist Church hall in South Street, Hatfield.<sup>8</sup> This work, which he started soon after his arrival in Pretoria in 1903, now had a flourishing Sunday School and regular Sunday services. Until July 1917 the congregation had held their services in the Rissik Hall, a local community hall; but the destruction by fire of this building on the 24th July 1917 had forced the congregation to take the initiative and acquire their own property.<sup>9</sup> It was fitting that Cross should preach the first sermon in the new hall on July the 21st 1918.<sup>8</sup>

Shortly afterwards Mr. and Mrs. Cross left Pretoria for Humansdorp to stay with Graham and Hilda and their family, and then to go on to Grahamstown and Bowden for a leisurely holiday. The "Secretarial Notes" in the *South*

*African Baptist* of August 1918 informed readers that Cross had “decided not to accept the call to the Bloemfontein Church.”<sup>10</sup>

The Crosses spent a month at the Residency in Humansdorp,<sup>11</sup> absorbed into the life of the family. Hilda was glad to have them, for Graham was often away for days at a time, travelling around his large magisterial district. There were expeditions to the seaside at Jeffreys Bay with the four children, and days spent fishing on the Kromme River. Hilda was a good housekeeper, with loyal and efficient servants, which meant that Mrs. Cross could relax in complete freedom from all domestic chores.

On September the 6th they left Humansdorp for Port Elizabeth, en route for Grahamstown.<sup>11</sup> There they stayed for two or three weeks with the Misses Grocott at their lovely home, Caxton House, in Lawrence Street, where the garden was a delight. They were given a loving welcome in Grahamstown, not only from the Grocotts but from many other old friends. Mrs. Cross enjoyed writing to May and Nurden (who shared her interest in the people and events in Grahamstown) to bring them up to date with the family news of old friends.<sup>12</sup>

However, the peace of their holiday was not undisturbed. The Bloemfontein church would not take no for an answer, and persisted in asking Mr. Cross to accept the call to the church. Some time in September he agreed to go to Bloemfontein, but not until the beginning of December. He and his wife wished to spend at least a month at Bowden, and then return to Durban to sell their house and make arrangements about their furniture.

While they were in Grahamstown there was a spell of misty rain. Mrs. Cross wrote to May that “This damp weather has renewed Father’s cough a bit.”<sup>12</sup> Bowden, fortunately, was very dry; and this, together with the clean, fresh air of the uplands and the loving, restful atmosphere of the home restored Mr. Cross to a state of well-being he had not known for a long time. He wrote to Nurden:<sup>13</sup> “There are abundant signs of spring. Birds are quite intimate & fearless about the house; there are no children and no cat, & tho’ a dog is often about I think he is too lazy to look at birds – so the birds go about their business with the unconcern of the humans ... There is an old tinker here & I am bossing him up and finding lots of jobs about the homestead. For the first time for months I have a desire to get out of bed in the mornings – This morning was out at the tinker’s about 6:30. Mother is very well. We have not weighed her yet since she came here. It must be done tomorrow. We shall probably be here about a month & Aunties [the Dugmore sisters] are determined we shall carry away more than we brought.”

Part of this same letter concerns the business of selling the house in Durban and buying another in Bloemfontein. Because of the remoteness of Bowden and the slowness of the postal services Cross asked Nurden to handle both these matters for him. “I have asked a couple of people in Bloemfontein to look out for a house for us and if there is urgency in the offer to apply to you. It must be

situated in a good neighbourhood – must have not less than four large rooms, good kitchen pantry & bathroom. 5 rooms would do, but a well situated house with four would suffice.”

At the beginning of November the Crosses returned to Pretoria, and were probably there when the war ended on November the 11th. Shortly afterwards they went to Durban to settle their affairs there. By the end of November they were in Bloemfontein again to begin the new ministry. The author of the “Secretarial Notes” in the *South African Baptist* for December wrote of Cross: “The whole brotherhood join in wishing him much blessing on his work. He is the only man in our ministry who has held a pastorate in all the four Provinces of the Union.”<sup>14</sup>

Cross was inducted in the Bloemfontein Church on December the 8th by the Rev. J.E. Ennals,<sup>15</sup> who journeyed from Johannesburg for the occasion. He was not only a personal friend but himself a former pastor of the Bloemfontein Church, and Vice-President of the Baptist Union. A report in the January 1919 number of the *South African Baptist* gives details of the service, as well as the Welcome Social, and concludes: “We believe that our Pastor, and his wife, have a great work to do in our midst, but, naturally, after the church has been for so long without a permanent pastor, much spade work will be necessary; and since their arrival they have had very hot and trying weather to contend with.”

It was not only the weather that was trying. The problem of accommodation was not easily solved, and so far the search for a house had been unsuccessful. For the present the Crosses were occupying the Greenwoods’ home, 6 Glen Road,<sup>16</sup> as they were to be away until the end of February. The post-war scarcity of houses pushed up the prices, and by February Cross was writing to Nurden:<sup>17</sup> “I am thinking after careful consultation and after talking things over with Mother that it will be unwise for us to purchase property here for two or three years to come, if ever ... To buy or build now will be equal probably to throwing away our savings in our old age.”

The house in Durban had been sold, and Cross offered to lend this money at a low rate of interest to Nurden and Carson to help them to pay off their own houses. “We have not included Arnold”, he wrote, “because his house is practically free but please talk the matter over with him. If he too should have use for any of the money you might arrange some way by which all could get a little benefit.”<sup>18</sup> Nurden and Carson accepted the offer, but thought they should pay a higher rate of interest. Cross wrote back: “We do not want you to take this money if it will cost you more than you are paying now & should be pleased that you got it for a little less.”<sup>19</sup> He mentions in the same letter that the house to which they will shortly be moving will cost “£9 - 10 per mensem, plus light and water. It is thought to be cheap but it will make a woeful hole in £300 [per annum]. Mother is working much too hard. I shall not try to do here without drawing my pension.”

On March the 1st they moved to 38 Kellner Street, a large, furnished house which they shared with a Mr. and Mrs. Sewell. They were glad to be in their own home again, in spite of its drawbacks. It was a chilly house, since the main rooms faced south, and the only north-facing windows were in the kitchen and bathroom. Nor was the house in good condition. In a letter to May dated April the 6th Mrs. Cross wrote:<sup>20</sup> "Father's cough seems much better, but he is feeling very tired. I am so glad we are in a house, where he can do & have what food he likes: & he has lots to occupy him & take his mind off study & church work; there have been so many things in the house that wanted mending & seeing to: broken chairs, tables, etc. etc. & locks that would not work ... It is much nicer now we have the books open, there was not a book to be seen in the house when we came here."

The Crosses had not been two months in the house when the owner decided to sell it; but first it had to be renovated. The tenants suffered all the inconvenience of workmen about the house without hope of gaining any benefit from the operations.<sup>21</sup> They themselves could not afford to buy it, but it was some consolation that the owner was asking a high price for it, which meant that it would probably not be sold immediately. Nevertheless it was not pleasant to live from month to month in the expectation that they might at any time be given notice to quit.

Cross's health was again giving cause for concern. On April the 27th Mrs. Cross wrote: "Father had a nasty attack of colic & diarrhoea yesterday; I was just thinking he was getting over it for he did not have an attack since we came here to Kellner Street; his cough is still very troublesome."<sup>21</sup>

As usual Cross did not spare himself in his work. The church building was badly in need of repair and renovation, and it was necessary to raise money for this purpose. Members of the congregation were not well off, and times were hard after the war, with rising prices. Members could not be expected to give large sums of money to the church, but they were encouraged to make money in many ways. Mrs. Cross's letters are full of little details of rummage sales, bring-and-buy teas and the like. May and Nurden sent dried lavender from their garden in Brooklyn, which Mrs. Cross used to fill a dozen bags "for the 'At Home' & little sale at Mrs. Banks next Wednesday afternoon ... our ladies association has promised to give seventy five pounds towards the church repairs; so we are trying different ways of getting in the money. Then the choir are doing their part; they had a concert on Wednesday evening ... for which the entrance fee was sixpence; that went off very well too & there was a good attendance. The members of the choir – as many as can – are having 'musical evenings' at their homes: these are by special invitation & each guest contributes sixpence, – or more if they wish. Most of the guests, too, help on the programme during the evening; father's 'Brother Rabbit tales' are very popular."<sup>22</sup>

In June 1919 May gave birth to her second child, a boy named John Batteson after her father, but known as Jack from babyhood. Nurden decided to buy a

motor cycle and sidecar to transport his growing family. When Cross heard of it he wrote to Nurden:<sup>23</sup> "I hear you have set up a motor cycle and sidecar. We are both very glad of that. The 4 or 5 miles out to Brooklyn must have been very exhausting – I know the journey well, it is a stiff pull up hill for 4 miles out of 5 and with the rough roads it was too much. Now if you are inclined to sell your old push bike I shall be glad to buy. The roads are level here. They are asphalted for about 14 or 15 miles so that cycling will be quite easy. I have parishioners about 7 miles out to the east & 7 miles out to the west & these I am not able to visit without a bike."

This same letter mentions the "real cold weather" in Bloemfontein. "We do without a fire for they induce colds but I do not attempt morning study. I take a spell at gardening and the clay I dig is the stiffest I have ever encountered, or I take an hour or so at carpentering and make my visits to the sick in the morning. The weather seems telling on the congregation a little. Beside all this there is a mortal scare lest the Spanish 'flu should return."

Nurden was dilatory about sending the bicycle to Bloemfontein, and his father wrote again in September to remind him of it.<sup>24</sup> "I have not tried to get one locally especially since I heard from Arnold you were sending it ... I wish I had one for it would be a great saver of time and strength tho' I should not be able to use it much in the height of summer."

The hard work, the strain and the discomfort of life in Bloemfontein affected Mrs. Cross's health. In December she took to her bed with what she described in a letter written to May on December the 19th as "a touch of 'flu."<sup>25</sup> On the back of the letter there is a note from Mr. Cross: "I scolded the mother well for writing this letter for she is a very sick woman. She has been three days in bed and ought to have been 5 or 6 days and when I say she makes no attempt or even talk of getting up you may understand how the case is."

A few days later Cross wrote again<sup>26</sup> to send Christmas greetings and money for gifts for the little family in Brooklyn, as "the little mother is sick and not able to choose presents for you all ... I have got a doctor for Mother. He is treating her case as a bad run down and hopes for a rapid improvement. I have doots." And, in the same letter he reminds Nurden reproachfully: "You never answered me about that bike ..."

Eventually in January 1920 Nurden railed off the bicycle to his father as a birthday present (Cross turned 69 on January the 1st). In his letter of thanks to Nurden Cross wrote:<sup>27</sup> "Tram fares have been put up here 50% and so it is not only a saver of time but a considerable saver of money. I have done about 60 miles on it and done nothing but run in and out of town or about the parish on pastoral calls ... It runs very sweetly and as far as riding and control are concerned it is as though I had never left off the habit of pedalling. Many thanks. It is a splendid birthday present."

Mrs. Cross recovered slowly from her illness. The heat and dust of a Bloemfontein summer did not help matters. Nor did the fact that once again they would have to find other accommodation. On January the 21st Cross wrote:<sup>28</sup> "We have no house yet & no prospect of one, however only 10 days remain in which they can give us notice to clear out by the end of February. If the notice does come our holiday must be postponed till March. If it does not then we shall get away just as soon as we can next month. We are both looking forward to the holiday especially to seeing the new grandson."

But the notice to vacate the house by the end of February did come, and some kind of arrangement about future accommodation had to be made before they could take their holiday. On February the 5th Mrs. Cross wrote to May to say that they had secured a room with Miss Herbst, a neighbour at 34 Kellner Street. They had hoped that Miss Herbst could let them have two rooms, but this was not found possible. Mrs. Sewell offered to store their trunks in her out-house for a while, until their return from their holiday in Pretoria.

After the tiring work of packing up their goods they were glad to get away to Pretoria at the beginning of March. They had spent 15 months in Bloemfontein without a break. Cross had not even attended the annual Baptist Assembly held in Cape Town in April 1919. It was the first one he had missed since 1882.

They returned to Bloemfontein and their new lodgings on April the 3rd. Next day Mrs. Cross wrote to May:<sup>29</sup> "We arrived here alright yesterday morning & just a little late; we were up here just before ten & had some breakfast & then began unpacking and trying to make our one room show look a bit homely; my heart was stone heavy & I found a good day of hard work was the only thing to keep me from making a fool of myself; by four o'clock we had about finished & our two cases of books in & now we are fairly comfortable. We have a nice room & a very good suite of furniture ... We have a small table and a chair & then our two book cases & two boxes so we are about full up; but I must try & squeeze another box in somehow or other for it is in an outside room."

Referring to their holiday in Pretoria she wrote: "I wish father had benefited from our holiday as I have done, but still I think the rest & change must have helped him; he thinks the medicine Dr. Troup gave him is doing him good." By this time Cross was suffering from a chronic cough which was aggravated by the extremes of the Bloemfontein climate. Their south-facing room, which was pleasant in April, was very cold by May. The thought of enduring another Bloemfontein winter in these conditions was daunting to both of them.

It may have been his health which prevented his going to Grahamstown in April to attend the 40th Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union. This was a pity, since Grahamstown was celebrating the centenary of the arrival of the 1820 Settlers, and the Union the centenary of Baptist work in South Africa. Furthermore, at

this Assembly, by a standing vote Cross was elected an Honorary Life President of the Union.<sup>30</sup> This was the highest honour the Union could bestow, and only two other men had been so honoured: the Rev. R.H. Brotherton and the Rev. H. Gutsche.

Life was not easy for either Mr. or Mrs. Cross, but there was a happy little interlude on May the 19th, when they went down to the railway station in the evening to see Hilda and her children, who were passing through on their way to Johannesburg.<sup>31</sup> It gave them the chance to meet their newest grandchild, Havelock, born in March. The family party was joined by another passenger on the train, the Rev. E.G. Evans. He wrote about it some months later in an article on Cross in the *South African Baptist*: "His buoyancy of spirit survived the physical changes that aged his appearance. This struck me when I met him for the last time in May of this year at the Bloemfontein station. He and Mrs. Cross were there to see Mrs. Graham Cross and her children on their way to a new home. He bubbled over with fun, and the fun culminated in his lifting Mrs. Cross up for the last farewell as the train was about to move ..."

Cross's gaiety was no pretence. Yet he was finding his work hard and difficult – perhaps only his wife knew how hard. Even the church (and churches are not always appreciative of the amount of work undertaken by their pastors) – even the church acknowledged at the conclusion of Cross's first year in Bloemfontein that it had been "a very strenuous year of service."<sup>32</sup> He did not spare himself in pastoral visiting, in encouraging fund raising for the renovation of the church building, and even in taking a hand himself in the necessary labour. The church reported in the June number of the *South African Baptist* that "the renovations and repairs to the church building have now been completed. Our pastor has worked exceedingly hard; indeed we do not know what we should have done without him in connection with the repairs."<sup>33</sup>

As in all his previous pastorates he did not confine his energies to his own church but made a contribution to the life of the city. He was involved in the local charity organisation; and when in December 1919 both the Secretary and Chairman of the Society were away on holiday he was the chief executive officer of the organisation for two weeks, spending every morning at the office.<sup>34</sup> "It keeps me very busy", he wrote to May, "but it is blessed work especially as a generous public are enabling us to give a real bounty to each of our poor clients."

At the end of May 1920 a series of special meetings was held at the church for two weeks. Mrs. Cross sent a programme to May with the comment:<sup>35</sup> "We are in now for two weeks special meetings ... I enclose a list of meetings, you will see how good we are going to be. I must own that I like an evening at home – one room – with a jacket on & my feet rolled up in a rug: we have struck a very cold room." Ten days later she writes:<sup>36</sup> "What very cold weather we are

having: I seem to feel it more than last winter ... We are very full up with the meetings this week – afternoon and evening – I have just come in from the evening meeting but father is not home yet; his cough is very troublesome since this cold spell; perhaps when the church is finished & these meetings are over he will rest a bit.”

In July Cross heard that his old friend and colleague, the Rev. H.J. Batts, was shortly going to England for a holiday to recover his health after a breakdown. Cross was never a good private correspondent (perhaps because his work had always involved a deal of official letter writing), but on July the 20th he took the trouble to write to his old friend.<sup>37</sup> Referring to his work in Bloemfontein he said: “This is the hardest row I have had to hoe. Well, I didn’t choose it, and maybe I have come to old age for just such a work, only one fears that all the consciousness of power – whatever power one has had, to God be all the glory – the power may have really departed. If so, may I never stay anywhere merely as an occupier – never hinder where one is powerless to help, never cumber the ground. As one gets older there is a great longing for holiness – without which no man can see the Lord. (I could write this to no one thus but you.) It is borne in upon me lately that only by breaking the vessel can the nard flow, but it is hard, hard to say. Then be it so. Let Him break. Remember me, old man.”

Batts quoted from this letter after Cross’s death in his *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, and added this comment: “Within three months he was ‘where beyond these voices there is peace.’ How near he was then to triumph none imagined. He was a man so capable of enjoyment. What joy must be his now. Remember him! Could I forget? He who had been so much to me; much more than he knew. Not only comrade, fellow traveller, fellow pioneer, but teacher and inspirer through many years; could I forget? ... I think ‘we loved with a love that was more than love,’ he and I, and he is gone. His letter quoted above I have carried about with me ever since I received it – long before I knew he was dead. I shall always carry it.”

By August Cross’s health was giving his wife cause for serious concern. He preached his last sermon on August the 15th, and his subject was about two ideals: that of the man in the street, ‘To make a living’, and that of Christ, ‘To give a life.’<sup>38</sup> Three days later Mrs. Cross wrote to May: “I am sorry to say that father is in bed; he has been feeling very unwell for a few weeks, & got through his work last Sunday with great difficulty, & has been in bed since; but I am much more hopeful about him now that he is in bed; for he is resting & I am sure his cough is better for being inside out of the wind & dust.”<sup>39</sup>

Mrs. Cross called a doctor, who insisted that the patient stay in bed and cancel all his engagements. “The Doctor did not say what was the matter,” wrote Mrs. Cross, “but that when he felt able he wants him down at his consulting room as he wants to test his blood; he was surprised to hear his age; he thought him

about fifty seven, & when he heard that father would be seventy at New Year he could not believe it. I told him he did not keep his youthful look from having lived an idle life: he was a good advertisement for hard work."<sup>40</sup>

Yet in spite of the rest and keeping to his bed Cross did not improve as quickly as his wife hoped. "Church Notes" in the *Friend* of August the 21st report "Our Pastor has been seriously indisposed during the week and will not be able to conduct services tomorrow (Sunday)."

On Tuesday August the 24th Mrs. Campbell, the wife of one of the deacons of the church, died after a long illness. The funeral was held two days later at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and Mr. Cross insisted on getting up out of his bed to conduct the graveside service.<sup>41</sup> It was a chilly afternoon, with a drizzling rain, and his weak body was totally unfit for the strain he placed upon it. He returned home to bed, and not surprisingly pneumonia developed. He sank into a coma, and on September the 1st he was admitted to the National Hospital. Two days later he died there, on the evening of September the 3rd, in the presence of his wife.<sup>42</sup> He had fought a good fight, he had finished his course, he had kept the faith.

He was buried on Sunday the 5th. The service in the Baptist Church was conducted jointly by his friend, the Rev. J.E. Ennals of Johannesburg, and the local Methodist minister, the Rev. F.P. Roth.<sup>43</sup> His body was borne to the railway station by the deacons of the church and conveyed by train to the cemetery. The earth was still raw on the grave of the last burial to be held there: the one he himself had conducted.

## CHAPTER 16

# Task accomplished

“... *your joy no man taketh from you.*”

John 16:22.

The Bloemfontein *Friend* of Monday September the 6th carried a detailed report of the funeral services on the previous day. Short tributes from the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Churches were also published in that paper. A more intimate “Appreciation”, signed W.S.J., appeared on September the 10th. The author was Professor W.S. Johnson of the University College of the Orange Free State. It is clear that Professor Johnson wrote the “Appreciation” because he felt that Cross’s life and death merited something more than the *Friend* had given. Johnson had seen Cross shortly before his death and leaves us an unforgettable picture of him. “When last I saw him,” he wrote, “he was in bed, reading alternately from two books, the Greek Testament and William Morris’s ‘Earthly Paradise’ – symbolical, I could not help thinking, of the happiest hours of a happy life.”

The number and quality of the obituary notices which appeared in denominational publications and daily newspapers after Cross’s death are an indication of the high esteem in which he was held throughout South Africa. The October, November, and December numbers of the *South African Baptist* included tributes from the the Rev. J.E. Ennals, Rev. E. Baker, Rev. E.G. Evans and an anonymous writer (possibly the Rev. W.H. Kinsey). The latter and Evans

wrote with a moving simplicity and a living love that utterly excluded the trite and formal language commonly used on such occasions. Ernest Baker contributed a "Biographical Sketch" which gave intimate details that he could only have obtained from Mrs. Cross. The value of all these contributions is that they were written by men who knew Cross intimately, loved him deeply, and who could write with a sensitive command of English. The same may be said of an anonymous article which appeared in the *Pretoria News* on September the 9th. It seems to have been written by someone outside of the Baptist Church who knew him well through his literary and social interests – perhaps Professor J. Purves. In their different ways all these writers give us a picture of a happy and fulfilled man, a person who, in the jargon of our day, would be described as "well-integrated."

Cross had enormous vitality, and whatever he did, important or trivial, in work or in play, was done with zest. The *Pretoria News* writer said: "When last seen in Pretoria only a few months back he seemed possessed of all his old vitality and intellectual keenness ... with the result that the intimation of his death came as a great surprise." Professor Johnson wrote: "Mr. Cross was one of the happiest men I ever met." Batts described him as "a man so capable of enjoyment." Evans remembered his "joyous smile ... it was a characteristic part of the charm of a magnetic personality." Ennals referred to "the richness of his nature, his enthusiasm and wholeheartedness."

His happiness was not the superficial sort induced by good health, an untroubled life, no problems and a thick skin. He suffered as only the sensitive can suffer, but that very suffering made him a better pastor. The *Pretoria News* writer recalled that in his younger days Cross had faced intellectual problems and doubt "to such an extent that for a while he was out of the Christian ministry because he could not bring himself to utter what he did not surely believe, and what had not been verified in his own life. He bore branded in his mind ever afterwards the marks of this early struggle. Only a deep thinker who had cultivated the habit of pursuing his own thoughts to their farthest limits could be possessed of his delicate sympathy with all phases of the intellectual life: his sensitiveness to the varied manifestations of the human spirit: his entire lack of dogmatism when facing ultimate themes; but withal his sure and calm certainty of the truth of what had been hard-earned in the faith of the universal church."

To say that his Christian faith gave meaning to his life falls short of the truth. Rather, his faith *was* his life. To quote Professor Johnson: "His spiritual insight was quite extraordinary. The Other World, of which some of us have occasional glimpses, was for him continually the supreme reality, in which he was at home ... He spoke not as a reed shaken by the wind, as a doubter struggling after faith, but as one calmly secure in the possession of absolute knowledge of all points that really matter ... He was so rooted and grounded in the love of Christ that countless changes of opinion in outer details of religion scarcely worried him in the least."

The happiness of his family life, as he himself never tired of acknowledging, was due to his wife. As a father he could be remote, and sometimes a stern disciplinarian, after the fashion of his time. His sons loved and respected him, but to them he was always "Father", never "Dad" or "Papa." He was proud of all his sons and their achievements, but rarely allowed them to know it. It was their mother who provided the warmth of affection, the fun and the laughter in the home. It was because of her that the brothers were bound to one another with strong bonds of loyalty and affection all their lives. She was a good mother; but she was a wife first. Her husband never ceased to marvel at his good fortune in finding such an one: loyal, selfless, understanding, hospitable – a friend and comrade for forty three years.

He was happy in his vocation, in spite of its frustrations and disappointments. At his welcome social in Pretoria in 1903 he spoke of his call to the ministry, and of his ideal of being a good preacher. For one who had "sat under" that Prince of Preachers, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, and who had heard some of the finest preachers of Victorian England, that was no mean ambition. Yet he was never satisfied that he had attained his ideal, although always resolute "to preach the Gospel of Christ."

His style of preaching was his own. He did not make the mistake of trying to copy others or of following popular fashions in preaching. Unfortunately, few of his sermons have survived. A handful were published from time to time in the *South African Baptist*, some were reported almost verbatim in newspapers, but only one manuscript sermon has survived: the Union Sermon preached at King Williams Town in 1879. These, together with his published Presidential Addresses, show the wide range of his reading and the enormous influence that poetry had on his thinking and expression. The *Pretoria News* writer noted that "he always preached as a man whose entire soul was steeped in the spirit of poetry, and he made his appeal not by the methods of argument and syllogism, but by the surer and more universal method of seeking to awaken the religious instincts and impulses."

It is not primarily as a preacher that Cross is remembered, but as a person. At his funeral service Ennals said of him: "Greater than any of his sermons was himself, the finest sermon he could utter, giving pith and power to all the rest. The essential quality of his life was not cleverness but character."

He took his pastoral duties very seriously, being constant and faithful in visiting his flock. Of this aspect of a minister's work he himself wrote: "There is no duty a minister has to discharge, more difficult than this. It is work that is never done. But it makes large demands on the mind and emotions, as well as on the time and strength."<sup>1</sup> He made it his business to know personally every member of his congregation, young or old, and the circumstances of their lives. Consequently, when anybody was in trouble of any sort they knew they could go to him as a friend, for advice, or help, or encouragement, or comfort.

Historically, the most important aspect of his work as a minister was his contribution to the development of the Baptist Union. When the Union was founded in 1877 there were only five Baptist churches in South Africa, with a membership of a few hundred. When he died there were 37 churches for Whites, with 47 ministers, 9 churches for Coloured people, 1 for Indians and 22 for Blacks, with a total membership of just under 10 000.<sup>2</sup> This growth was not achieved without overcoming troubles and difficulties of many kinds. There were financial, theological and personality problems. In addition, the social circumstances of South Africa, with its sparse yet multifarious and shifting population, made the planting of new churches difficult. It was because of men of the quality of Batts, Cross and Gutsche that in spite of all adversities the young Baptist Union survived and grew. These three men stand out above all their contemporaries chiefly for their faith, their vision, their abilities and their steadfastness. They had faith in God and in their cause; they had intellectual and administrative gifts which would have brought them honour and worldly success if they had followed other callings; and they had a steadfastness which refused to give up and return to Europe whatever the difficulties and discouragements.

In the first twenty years of the Union's existence there was a continual coming and going of ministers. In all, 66 names of "Ministers in connection with the Baptist Union of South Africa" are listed in the Baptist Handbooks of those years. In that same period 6 ministers died, 14 returned to Great Britain or the United States, 7 resigned from the ministry and 1 seceded to the Congregational Church. Of the 66 only 41 had any kind of college training, and only 4 ministers (all German) had a university education. In these circumstances it was not easy to build up a permanent organisation, or to maintain and improve standards. It made great demands on the faithful few who year after year carried on the work, devoting much time and attention to the sometimes irritating details and humdrum routine work of administration. The tasks of keeping minutes and financial records and writing letters are as important to the success of any organisation as its more public and interesting enterprises. The church owes much to those who are willing to perform these often unappreciated functions. Of such, outstandingly, was Cross. Happiness, for him, was synonymous with service.

He was happy in his friendships. He was not a hearty extrovert, a life-and-soul-of-the-party kind of man. The *Pretoria News* writer mentions his "reserved and unobtrusive temperament," but adds that "his unique gifts and refined and sympathetic nature brought him hosts of friends."

The range of his friendships was wide. In Grahamstown one remembers old Mrs. Schreiner, living in the Convent, the Grocott family, the Rev. John Chalmers, and the Dugmores of Bowden. There were those who were associated with him in the work of the Public School: Templeton and Grant,

Judge Smith and J.E. Wood. There were friends who shared his literary interests: people who came from all walks of life, of different faiths or none. Strong denominational barriers between him and the Anglican clergy and Roman Catholic priests of Grahamstown did not prevent their finding common ground in the English poets.

Among his ministerial colleagues his greatest friend was H.J. Batts. It was a friendship built on shared experiences and shared troubles rather than on a similarity of tastes or temperament, but it was strong enough to survive acute differences of opinion during the Anglo-Boer War period. That says much for the tolerance of both men, and is an indication of the real love and respect each had for the other.

Nevertheless, of all Cross's colleagues in the Baptist ministry it was probably the Rev. E.G. Evans, himself of a sensitive and poetic nature, who was most in sympathy with him. Poetry was to Cross the most satisfying expression of the meaning and mystery of life. It was not only that he had a great love of English poetry and knew it well in all its richness and range; his attitude to life was the attitude of a poet. To him all things and all experience were metaphors, manifestations of the Creator or mute intimations of ultimate truth. In this he resembled his Lord, whose parables are simply extended metaphors.

Cross's poetic way of looking at life was quite incomprehensible to many of his colleagues, and therefore sometimes offensive. He offended them not only by finding God outside of the Bible, but also by interpreting the Bible with poetic insight. Evans described him as a "poet-preacher of the type of Robertson, of Irvine, and perhaps George Macdonald. He saw sermons in the changeful clouds, the steadfast hills, the majestic over-arching South African sky, this land of far distances, sheep browsing under the eye of a shepherd, the rocks that imperilled ships steered ignorantly or carelessly. His poetic temperament influenced his discussion of doctrine, as when he argued with me that 'He was made sin for us' meant 'He was made human.'" His knowledge of English Literature, especially poetry, and his experience as a literary critic, made it impossible for him to put a literal interpretation on every verse of Scripture. Hence he found himself increasingly at odds with fundamentalists and literalists. Cross was always one of those for whom "the meanest flower that blows can give / Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

Yet he was no absent-minded visionary, so absorbed in dreams that the problems of everyday living passed him by. He was intensely practical. He was a born secretary: the man who does all the real work of a Committee while the Chairman gets the public acclaim and the committee members flatter themselves that they are doing something useful by attending a meeting now and then. He also loved working with his hands: mending and fixing things about the house, making furniture, gardening, building. During his brief period in

Bloemfontein he obtained a quantity of old ammunition boxes from the military authorities for three shillings, took them to pieces (carefully saving the brass screws which alone were worth more than he had paid for the boxes) and made stools or chairs from the wood – good teak or mahogany – to give to his daughters-in-law.

He had a good brain and was by nature a scholar. In a lecture on “The Bible and some modern criticism” given in Durban to a joint meeting of the Anglican Clerical Society and the Durban Christian Ministers Association<sup>3</sup> he acknowledged that he had not “the authority either of general learning or special knowledge.” and continued somewhat wistfully, “Few men in a pastorate can acquire such authority; although in quiet long settled pastorates in Scotland, in quiet vicarages in England, in cathedral closes, and such places, a goodly number of men in the active ministry of the Word have attained to such authority. But our struggling, small Colonial pastorates in an environment wholly secular do not afford such opportunities, and cannot for a long time to come. This is a new country largely occupied with its material developments.”

Cross started life with the social disadvantage of being born the son of a Dissenter. If he had come of a more privileged class in England he would undoubtedly have done well at one of the universities, but in his time and class a university education was out of the question. So that, Spurgeon’s College apart, he was largely self-educated. Throughout his life he read widely and voraciously. This enabled him to hold his own with men of high academic attainments, as in the Eastern Province Literary Association and the educational circles of Grahamstown. The professors of English and Philosophy at the University Colleges of Pretoria and Bloemfontein were his intimate friends.

Theologically Cross was a thorough-going Baptist. He was proud of Baptist history and traditions, and he had a clear understanding of the roots of Baptist theology, which gave consistency and conviction to his Baptist allegiance. His Presidential addresses, particularly those of 1880 and 1898, are clear and comprehensive statements of basic Baptist principles, as valid today as when they were written.

It was because he was so well-grounded and so secure in his faith that he could be tolerant of people with other faiths or none. Though the word *ecumenical* had not been coined in his day he certainly approved of an increasing co-operation between denominations, but not at the price of watering down or compromising principles. He concluded his 1898 Presidential address with these words: “If in a final word we assert our distinctive principle, if we remember that we are a Baptist Union, it is not that we would widen the difference between ourselves and others, – Christians whose goodwill we covet, whose good work we ungrudgingly praise, whose consciences we reverence and whose fellowship we welcome and we seek; no: it is that we would test our work

by our ideal ... For not by compromise will the Great Federation, that all true men desire, be effected – not by compromise, for it generates no zeal, no reverence, no love – but by fidelity. When love of truth separates hands it the more firmly unites souls.”<sup>4</sup>

He warns his Baptist colleagues against abandoning their Baptist principle: “Brethren, has our work been true to our ideal? The Baptist principle involves more than a rite, it is much more than a quantity whether of years or of water. Our principle asserts the spirituality of all true religion, and the worthlessness of all forms that are not expressive of a spiritual condition. No form of sound words, no organisation of churches, no form of church ordinance that is a mere form, avails except for condemnation. A church that did not grow out of the Spirit of Christ as a flower grows out of its own vital germ, that does not continually embody that Spirit as a flower embodies the thought of God, that Church by its very existence condemns itself. At the Lord’s Table he who eats and drinks is condemned by *the very act*, if he discern not the body. At the Baptistry he who is baptized is condemned by *the very act*, if he be not born again ... let us follow our light and reflect it till all men see, and worship ‘God who is a Spirit in spirit and in truth.’ ” In his 1889 Presidential address we find the same insistence that the sacraments are meaningless without the conscious involvement and personal faith of the recipient. “We protest that no virtue inheres in baptism and the Lord’s Supper by themselves; they minister grace when they are intelligently received.”<sup>5</sup>

Cross, however, had sufficient humility and charity to maintain his Baptist convictions without thinking that Baptists had all the answers. He knew that truth is too big to be comprehended by one system, one theology, one denomination. He also knew by experience the practical difficulties inherent in the Baptist concept of the church.

The congregational form of church organisation and polity, which gives so much authority to the local congregation, is dependent to a great extent on the maturity and responsibility of church members and the quality of the ministry if it is to function successfully. The Baptist Union (it does not call itself a Church) is a voluntary association of autonomous churches, each of which has full authority to call any man to be its minister, whether he has suitable qualifications or not. In practice it has been found desirable for the Baptist Union to keep a register of trained and accredited ministers, but it is not an absolute requirement of member churches of the Union that they should call only men whose names appear on the accredited lists of this or any other Baptist Union or Convention. As a result it sometimes happens that unsuitable and unscrupulous men enter the Baptist ministry by the back door and cause much harm. In his 1898 Presidential address Cross said: “South Africa has been, for years past, the hunting ground for adventurers of all kinds, and the ‘reverend’ species has been fairly represented ... moral confusion has marked their wake.”<sup>6</sup>

The diamond and gold discoveries brought many fortune hunters to South Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century. The country ceased to be a quiet agricultural and pastoral community; great cities sprang up, and old ways, old values and old traditions were overwhelmed. The new values were all materialistic. The farmer who watches the slow growth of his crops from seed-time to harvest, through all the hazards of drought or flood or hail, pests and diseases, will appreciate the spiritual principle of growing in grace and in knowledge. Fortune hunters, intent on quick riches, will expect quick and spectacular results in all aspects of life, including the religious experience. Popular evangelists thrive in such a climate, where success is measured by the largeness of the crowds, the popularity of the music, and the emotional temperature of the meetings.

Cross could not and would not compete with these clerical super-salesmen. In his first speech to his Pretoria congregation he said that "he knew he had his distinctive method of preaching the Gospel, and hoped they would bear with him if his presentation of the truth appeared different from what they had previously been accustomed."<sup>7</sup>

As the population and the economic power in South Africa began to shift to the north, the Baptists of Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, East London and King Williams Town (the area which was the cradle of the Baptist church in this country) began to lose their influence in the Baptist movement as a whole. The tradition which they represented – that of the English, Welsh and German Baptists – would eventually be all but submerged by new influences from the United States of America, that most materialistic country in the history of the world. Old stalwarts and pioneers, laymen like King and Grocott as well as ministers like Cross and Gutsche, were regarded as slow and old-fashioned by the aggressive new ministers who were coming in to the church.

Would Cross have been happier, more influential, perhaps more appreciated in some other denomination? The very smallness of the Baptist community in South Africa was sometimes cramping to a man of wide vision. In a larger denomination he might have found more scope for his gifts, more time to write and to think. Of necessity much of his time was devoted to routine administrative work, which could have been done just as well by a man of lesser gifts.

Yet in spite of frustrations he remained true to his own convictions. He understood clearly that in the final analysis the fundamental difference between Baptists and other denominations lies not in differing theologies of the sacraments, or different forms of worship, or the quality of congregational life, but in a different ecclesiology. He expressed this simply and clearly in his 1880 Presidential address: "We declare that the members are not made for the church but the church for the members ... We admit or minister no rite but for the individual and at his own request. We are held together from within, not bound from with-

out. Our churches are men and women and children drawn together for mutual edification and Divine Service through service each of the other. Our Union is the drawing together of these churches for the same ends, that dealing truthfully in love we may grow up in all things into Him who is the Head, Christ.”<sup>8</sup>

Holding such views of the church Cross could not honestly be anything but a Baptist.

Politically speaking, Cross was the child of his time and his background. He was an English Liberal of the Gladstone school, and his political views were rooted in his Christian principles of justice, honesty and fair play: hence his attitude to the Anglo-Boer war. But he lacked political acumen, and he showed no real understanding of the political forces at work in South Africa. He did not see what Anthony Trollope, in his travels in South Africa in 1877, saw quite clearly, namely, that “South Africa is a black country and not a white one; – that the important person in South Africa is the Kafir and the Zulu, the Bechuana and the Hottentot; not the Dutchman or the Englishman.”<sup>9</sup> Trollope also realised that what he called “the great question of coloured races” was “the question which must dominate all other questions in South Africa.”

What were Cross’s views on the social, political, economic and religious problems inherent in a multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-racial community? In all personal relationships he acted with the courtesy and consideration which were the natural expression of his Christianity. We have his own words for it that he was pained by the way in which some of the Albany men spoke of and to wounded Fingo soldiers in the 1877 war – men who were fighting with them. Wrote Cross: “I hear them called ‘devils’ and spoken of in terms and tones of utter contempt. Surely pain might assert their brotherhood with us loudly enough.”<sup>10</sup> What might be called the South African frontier mentality was always distasteful to him.

There is evidence, however, that he could not see beyond the personal, immediate situation to causes and effects. He was a close friend of several great missionaries, the Rev. John Chalmers, the Rev. James Stewart of Lovedale, and the Rev. James Moffat, yet he seems never to have given serious consideration to the social and other problems involved in Christianizing people of a very different culture.

In judging him in this, however, we should in all fairness remember that conditions in South Africa a hundred years ago were very different from what they are now. All races have been affected by the industrialization and urbanization of the twentieth century. The break-up of tribal life would have come about in any case, through economic forces if not through missions and education.

Cross’s Presidential address of 1889, which he entitled *The Good Fight: a reconnoitre and a review*,<sup>11</sup> contains his views on what he called “Heathenism.”

He rejects the romantic view of the heathen as “the happy child of nature.” He also rejects the view taken by what he calls a “Rash Philanthropy”, which presents the heathen as an unsophisticated child of nature, everywhere outwitted and oppressed by the white man. “This view is taken by many good, well-meaning people, but it is absurdly wrong at almost every point. The heathen as we know him is not unsophisticated; he is anything but a dumb sufferer.” And contrasting their lot with the very poor of the vast cities of England Cross continues: “When we hear these things from home it is no wonder that we resent the interference from England of many so-called philanthropists with the indignant rejoinder ‘Cease to oppress the poor at your own gates.’”

Cross also cites a third view of the heathen, taken by some in South Africa, that more than justifies the concern of men from any part of the world who seek to be true and righteous. “The spirit that enslaved the black man is not wholly dead among us. Robert Moffat, the elder, was once conducting family worship in the house of a rich Colonial farmer. Looking round at the assembled family he asked ‘Where are the servants?’ His host replied – ‘Oh! if that’s what you want I’ll whistle in the dogs and go to the krantz and get the baboons.’”

Cross concludes: “Neither an Arcadian nor an ape; not a fleeced lamb nor a dog, is the Native. He is a man and a brother.” Nevertheless he cannot like heathenism as he sees it in the tribes around him. “There is not a spark of chivalry in its treatment or estimate of woman. She is sold by her parents and bought by her husband. If she rebels she is beaten into submission. She is made the drudge of the kraal . . . Watch a party of Kafirs on the trek; the men, unburdened, stride in front driving the cattle; then come the women and children, the women carrying their mats and utensils, then last of all and most heavily laden, an old, old woman; she can hardly go beneath her burden, her face betokens misery and wretchedness in the extreme. Dark and unlovely is the old age of a heathen mother.”

To a Christian it is obviously a duty to change such conditions through missionary work or by supporting missions. Yet many Christians find it difficult to foresee and to accept the inevitable results of the Christianization of people of a very different culture. An article by Cross in the *South African Baptist* of October 1904 on the subject of “Ethiopianism” shows him to have been as undiscerning as most of us are in this respect. “Ethiopianism” was the name given to the Black separatist church movement at the beginning of this century, a movement that developed out of the unhappy circumstance that most missionaries were reluctant to allow Black converts to assume positions of authority and responsibility in the church. Cross seems to have been unable to appreciate the natural desire among Black people to run their own church in their own way. He writes: “I boldly say at the outset that this movement is not primarily religious but political, that it is an attempt on the part of clever natives with a little education to rouse his fellows against the white man’s rule and

throw it off. This begins in some of the Churches and Missions and is initiated by a few sharp men who have been lifted above their fellows by the Missionary's labours ... It is a sorry use to make of the benefits which have been conferred on them to try and set their fellows against the hands that have lifted them. The attempt to throw off the guidance of the white man in their 'churches' today means a resolve to throw off his Government altogether tomorrow."

Cross was as much the child of his time and circumstances as we are, with blind spots and failings like all men.

Has this man, born in the golden age of Victorian security and optimism, anything to say to our generation, living as we do in social turmoil and the shadow of the great destruction?

I think he has. His life is a reminder that we are immortal beings, that our lives need not be bound by circumstances, and that beyond the ebb and flow of things temporal stand the eternal realities. His faith was not contingent on outward circumstance, nor worldly success, nor seeing the fruits of his labours. He stands on a little eminence of time and cries to us in the words of the Prophet Habakkuk:

*For though the fig tree shall not blossom,  
Neither shall fruit be in the vines;  
The labour of the olive shall fail,  
And the fields shall yield no meat;  
The flock shall be cut off from the fold,  
And there shall be no herd in the stalls:*

*YET I will rejoice in the Lord,  
I will joy in the God of my salvation.*<sup>12</sup>

# Notes

## Abbreviations used:

- G. Jnl. *Grahamstown Journal*  
Gr. Mail *Grocott's Mail*  
S.A. Baptist *The South African Baptist*  
Handbook *The South African Baptist Handbook*  
E.P. Mag. *E.P. Magazine*  
D.N.B. *Dictionary of National Biography* (British)  
C.T. Daily News *Cape Town Daily News*  
Tvl. Advert. *Transvaal Advertiser*  
Pta. News *Pretoria News*  
E.P. Herald *Eastern Province Herald*

Details of books cited in these notes will be found in the Bibliography.

## CHAPTER 1

1. Cannon: *Oxfordshire*, p. 173-5.
2. Marriage and death certificates of George Cross and Mary Ann Nurden. Birth certificate of George William Cross. Other records in the General Registry Office, London.
3. Potts: *History of Banbury & Brinkworth: Old Banbury*.
4. Boss: *Reminiscences of old Banbury*.
5. Sutterby: *Saints below*, Chap. 3.
6. Weylland: *These 50 years*.
7. *ibid.* Shaftesbury's Introduction.
8. Records in Headquarters of London City Mission.

9. Information about the work of the L.C.M. in Twickenham from the *London City Mission Magazine*, Feb. 1859, and L.C.M. Annual Reports.
10. Biographical sketch of G.W.C. in *Natal Mercury* 4.4.13.
11. Transvaal. Religious Instruction in Schools Commission. Report, p. 224.
12. Biographical sketch of G.W.C. in *S.A. Baptist*, Nov. 1920. Author's copy annotated by G.N.C.
13. Twining: *The House of Twining*. Also articles about the Twining family in D.N.B.
14. Regents Park Chapel Yearbook for 1870-71 includes a list of names and addresses of members.
15. Landels: *William Landels, D.D.*
16. See report of Cross's speech at his Welcome Social in Pretoria, *S.A. Baptist*, August 1903. The speech includes details of personal history.
17. *Sword and Trowel*, Aug. 1874, p. 390.
18. Annual Papers of the Pastor's College. 1872-73 Report.
19. *ibid.* 1873-74 Report.
20. *ibid.* 1871 Report.
21. For a clear account of the Down-grade controversy see Payne: *The Baptist Union*, Chapter 7.
22. Letter and form in G.W.C.'s personal scrapbook (in the author's possession).
23. Information from Spurgeon's College, London.
24. Antrim Road Baptist Church, Belfast. A brief history.

## CHAPTER 2

The Irish history which forms the background of this chapter has been drawn chiefly from the following books:

Collins: *Ireland 1800-1970*  
 Falls: *The birth of Ulster*  
 King: *On Ireland*  
 Wallace: *A short history of Ireland*

1. *Pictorial and descriptive guide to Belfast and Northern Ireland*. 1937 ed., p. 41-42.
2. Kingdon: *Baptist evangelism in 19th century Ireland*, p. 18-19.
3. Biographical details about Carson from the D.N.B. and Vedder: *A short history of the Baptists*, p. 275-6.
4. Preface to Carson: *Baptism in its mode and subjects*, 1844 ed.
5. Carson: *op. cit.* Quotation from the *Scotsman* in "Critical notices" of the 1st ed.
6. Tobermore Church Annual Book.
7. *Baptist Handbook* (Great Britain) 1877
8. Antrim Road Baptist Church, Belfast: *A brief history*, p. 3.

9. *Baptist Handbook* (Great Britain) 1876.
10. Family tree of the Grahams.
11. Letter from Miss Susie Graham, Hove, Sussex, to Nancy Cross, 18th January 1939.
12. *S.A. Baptist*, Jan. 1906, p. 310. In Memoriam Maria Graham, by G.W.C.
13. G.W.C.'s copy of Carson's book, in the author's possession.
14. *S.A. Baptist*, Nov. 1920, p. 5-6.
15. Obituary of Mrs. G.W. Cross in *S.A. Baptist*, July 1938.
16. Diary of Mrs. Nurden Cross, 9th July 1938 (in the author's possession).
17. Date from family Bible belonging to L.B. Cross.
18. Sermon published in *S.A. Baptist* Sept. 1894.
19. Information about the "Bulgarian atrocities" from Shannon: *Gladstone and the Bulgarian agitation*.
20. Preface to Cross: *Bulgaria's woes: a ballad*.
21. Correspondence in the *Evening Telegraph*, Belfast, Oct. 1876.
22. This copy in the author's possession.
23. *Irish Baptist Magazine*, vol. I, 1877.
24. *ibid.*
25. Letter from James Hay to Dr. Landels in the author's possession.
26. Cross's letter is lost, but Dr. Landels' reply to it is in the author's possession.
27. *Irish Baptist Magazine*, vol. I, 1877.
28. Marriage certificate of G.W.C. and M.L.C.G.

### CHAPTER 3

For early Baptist history in this chapter I have used:

Batts: *The history of the Baptist Church in South Africa*  
 Hudson-Reed: *Baptist beginnings in South Africa 1820-1877*  
 Hudson-Reed: *By water and fire 1820-1877*  
 Hudson-Reed: *Together for a century*

1. Hudson-Reed: *By water and fire*, p. 9.
2. Passenger list and description of the voyage of the *Courland* in *C.T. Daily News* 30.6.77. See also *E.P. Herald* for 27.6.77, 29.6.77 and 5.7.77.
3. *C.T. Daily News* 30.6.77.
4. *ibid.* 2.7.77.
5. *E.P. Herald* 6.7.77.
6. Batts: *The history of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, p. 31.
7. Reported in *C.T. Daily News* 13.7.77.
8. For a description of this journey see Trollope: *South Africa*, vol. I, p. 166-7.
9. Told to the author by Mrs. Whitnell, née Dicks, of Grahamstown.
10. Batts: *op. cit.*, p. 28-29.
11. Cross: *The Baptist Union of South Africa*, p. 5.

12. Minute Book, Baptist Union Archives, Johannesburg.
13. Cross: *op. cit.*, p. 5-6.
14. Notices and reports of special services and meetings in *Gr. Mail*, 10.7.77, 13.7.77 and 20.7.77.
15. Cross recalled this in another sermon preached on the same text in 1894, which was published in the *S.A. Baptist*, Sept. 1984. "I wanted to begin my ministry by speaking of the love of God," he said.
16. *Gr. Mail* 17.7.77.
17. *ibid.* 20.7.77 and also *The Freeman*, 24.8.77.
18. Cross: *op. cit.*, p. 6 and Cross: "The Baptist Union: a historical review", in the *Johannesburg Star*, 16.10.1912.
19. Minute Book, *op. cit.*
20. For descriptions of Grahamstown at this period see Trollope: *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 167-9; Sheffield: *The story of the settlement*; and an article in *Gr. Mail* 14.9.77 "The City of the Settlers, by a Freestater" (reprinted from the *Bloemfontein Friend*).

#### CHAPTER 4

Information about the Frontier War of 1877 has been drawn chiefly from the following books:

Bell: *Bygone days*, Chapter IX.

Parr: *A sketch of the Kafir and Zulu wars*.

Smithers: *The Kaffir wars 1779-1877*.

Theal: *History of South Africa from 1873-1884*.

1. Reports of events in *Gr. Mail* August 24th, 28th and 31st 1877.
2. For events leading up to the war see Theal: *op. cit.*, p. 53-61.
3. *Gr. Mail* 2.10.77.
4. Batts: *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, p. 27.
5. *Gr. Mail* 3.10.77.
6. Cross's own version of this incident may be found in a speech reported in *G. Jnl.* 21.1.86. It is also described in Wiles: *Graeme College*, p. 62 and in Batts: *op. cit.*, p. 27-8. Cross's lack of horsemanship is also mentioned by Evans in his *Reminiscences of Cross* in the *S.A. Baptist*, Dec. 1920.
7. *G. Jnl.* 5.10.77 and *Gr. Mail* 5.10.77.
8. See Reports by Our Special Correspondent in *Gr. Mail* 19.10.77 and 2.11.77.
9. *Gr. Mail* 19.10.77.
10. Cross described Bruce and their friendship in a lecture he gave on South African poets and poetry in Pretoria in May 1910. (Manuscript in the author's possession).
11. *Gr. Mail* 19.10.77.
12. *ibid.*

13. *ibid.*
14. Theal: *op. cit.*, p. 64.
15. *Gr. Mail* 19.10.77.
16. *ibid.*
17. *ibid.*
18. *ibid.* 2.11.77.
19. *Gr. Mail* 5.10.77 mentions that Cross joined the volunteers "for the purpose of attending the sick and wounded." A letter from Captain Minto dated Butterworth 17th October 1877 and published in the *G. Jnl.* of 24.10.77 mentions Cross as helping the doctor to attend to a wounded man. *The Freeman*, an English Baptist magazine, reported in their issue of 30.11.77 that "the Baptist minister of Grahamstown, Mr Cross, has gone to the seat of war to succour and give spiritual advice to the wounded."
20. *G. Jnl.* 26.10.77.
21. *Gr. Mail* 2.11.77.
22. Theal: *A History of South Africa from 1873 to 1884*, vol. 1, p. 69.
23. *Gr. Mail* 2.11.77.
24. *ibid.*
25. *ibid.* 27.11.77.
26. *ibid.* 2.11.77.
27. *ibid.*
28. Letter from an officer published in *G. Jnl.* 12.11.77.
29. Cross's lecture on South African poets, *op. cit.*
30. *G. Jnl.* 12.11.77.
31. *Gr. Mail* 27.11.77.
32. Theal *op. cit.*
33. *G. Jnl.* 26.11.77.
34. *ibid.* 30.11.77.
35. *ibid.*

## CHAPTER 5

1. A report in the *G. Jnl.* 24.10.77 mentions receiving a letter from Lt. Gau in which he "speaks very highly of the services of the Rev. G.W. Cross as chaplain."
2. Photographs in the author's possession shows Cross as beardless just before he left Belfast, but bearded when he returned to Grahamstown from the war.
3. Report: "Return of the Volunteers" in *G. Jnl.* 30.11.77.
4. Quoted from the *C.T. Daily News* in *G. Jnl.* 16.10.77.
5. Evans, in his *Reminiscences of Cross* in the *S.A. Baptist*, Dec. 1920 writes that he first heard of Cross through a mention in a report on the war in the *London Echo* in 1877.

6. *G. Jnl.* 7.12.77.
7. Minutes, 10th Dec. 1877.
8. *Gr. Mail* 30.7.78.
9. Batts: *The history of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, p. 30.
10. Minutes of Deacons Meetings, 24.9.77 and 2.2.78.
11. *Gr. Mail* 15.2.78.
12. *ibid.* 28.6.78.
13. *E.P. Herald* 23.7.78 and 26.7.78 (gives passenger list).
14. *ibid.* 30.7.78.
15. Murray: *Union-Castle chronicle*, p. 267.
16. *Gr. Mail* 2.8.78.
17. Obituary of Grainger by G.W.C. in *S.A. Baptist* April 1903.
18. *Gr. Mail* 11.3.79.
19. *ibid.* 14.3.79.
20. *ibid.* 7.2.79.
21. *ibid.* 20.8.80.
22. Wiles: *Graeme College*, p. 64.
23. *Gr. Mail* 22.10.78.
24. *ibid.* 5.9.79.
25. *ibid.* 14.11.79.
26. Much has been written about this affair, and all the Grahamstown papers were full of it. There is a useful summary of the controversy in Bell: *Bygone days*, Chap. XI.
27. *Gr. Mail* 9.9.80
28. In author's possession.
29. Register of Births kept by the Grahamstown Baptist Church.
30. Manuscript in author's possession.
31. *Handbook* 1881, p. 8-9.
32. The Yearbook seems to have been issued only once, towards the end of 1878. It is mentioned in the Minutes of Deacons Meetings 10.7.78 and 4.12.78. In addition to the Minister's letter it included reports from the Church Secretary and Treasurer and the Sunday School Superintendent, and a list of members.
33. See Rowell: *Hell and the Victorians*; Symondson: *The Victorian crisis of faith*; and Elliott-Binns: *English thought, 1860-1900: the theological aspect*.
34. Rowell: *op. cit.*, p. 140.
35. In Cross's own Scrapbook there is a cutting from *The Nonconformist* (England) August 14th 1878 entitled "The Wesleyan Conference and General Superintendent Impey." Impey was 60 years old when he was, in the words of this article, "compelled by his conscience to retire."
36. Rowell: *op. cit.*, p. 132-3.
37. Evans: *op. cit.* *S.A. Baptist* December 1920, p. 4.
38. Minutes of Deacons Meeting 24.3.80.
39. *ibid.* 3.4.80.

40. Letter in Church Minute Book.
41. Minutes of Church Meeting 14.4.80.
42. Minutes of Special Meeting of Church and Congregation 19.4.80.
43. Minutes of Special Church Meeting 26.5.80.
44. Letter dated June 11th/80 in Church Minute Book.
45. *Gr. mail* 16.4.80.
46. *ibid.* 9.7.80.
47. *ibid.* 27.8.80.
48. *ibid.* 10.9.80
49. *Handbook* 1881-82, p. 11.
50. Evans: "George William Cross", in *S.A. Baptist* Feb. 1929, p. 21.
51. *Handbook* 1881, p. 19-20.
52. *ibid.*, p. 4-14.
53. *ibid.*, p. 5, 6 and 7.
54. *ibid.* p. 8.
55. *ibid.*, p. 10.
56. *ibid.*, p. 13-14.
57. *Gr. Mail* 22.10.80. This report was reprinted in the *Cape Baptist*, Dec. 1880.
58. *Gr. Mail* 2.11.80 and *G. Jnl.* 1.11.80.
59. *Gr. Mail* 12.11.80.

## CHAPTER 6

1. Information about Bowden given by Harold Dugmore, from family records.
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.*
4. *Gr. Mail* 22.10.78.
5. *ibid.* 30.5.79.
6. *ibid.* 30.7.80.
7. Batts: *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, p. 62.
8. In his own words, he "went into the wilderness." See Evans: "Reminiscences of G.W. Cross" in *S.A. Baptist* Dec. 1920, p. 4.
9. *Gr. Mail* 22.10.80.
10. Details of life at Bowden in this and the following paragraphs come from "A short account of life of Rev. G.W. Cross while he was at Bowden" written in 1950 by Miss Jessie Dugmore, youngest daughter of John Dugmore. Miss Jessie died in 1953 at the age of 85. She was therefore about 11 or 12 years old when the Crosses went to Bowden. She wrote the account for me at my request.
11. Register of Births, Grahamstown Baptist Church.
12. Family reminiscences of Mrs. G.W. Cross and M.A. Cross. The story is also told in Wiles *Graeme College*, p. 64.

13. Miss J. Dugmore, *op. cit.*
14. Leader in *G. Jnl.* 2.1.83 on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Association.
15. *G. Jnl.* 22.2.82.
16. *ibid.* 24.2.82.
17. *ibid.* 24.10.82. Full report of Cross's paper and the discussion in *G. Jnl.* 30.10.82 and 31.10.82.
18. See Chapter 10.
19. *G. Jnl.* 29.10.83.
20. *G. Jnl.* 26.11.83 reports the meeting in detail, and the leader in the same issue deals with Cross's speech.
21. *ibid.*
22. Miss J. Dugmore, *op. cit.*
23. Report in the *Cape Baptist* Jan. 1882.
24. Full report of ceremony in *G. Jnl.* 1.3.82.
25. *G. Jnl.* 20.7.83.
26. Smit: *One and a half centuries of Grahamstown Baptist witness*, p. [12-13].
27. *Handbook* 1882-83, p. 19.
28. *ibid.* 1881-82, p. 5.
29. *ibid.* 1883-84, p. 22 and p. 23.
30. *ibid.* 1884-85, p. 12.
31. *G. Jnl.* 27.3.85.
32. *ibid.* 1.5.85.
33. Batts: *op. cit.* p. 68-9.
34. *G. Jnl.* 5.6.85.
35. *ibid.* 4.7.85.
36. Church Minute Book 6.7.85.
37. Letter in Minute Book.
38. Report of Assembly in *Telegraph*, reprinted in *G. Jnl.* 16.7.85.
39. *ibid.* See also *Handbook* 1885-86, p. 37.

## CHAPTER 7

1. *G. Jnl.* 19.8.85.
2. Church notices in *G. Jnl.* of this period.
3. Description of the house in an advertisement in *G. Jnl.* 19.7.92, when the Cross family left it.
4. Wiles: *Graeme College*, p. 36-7 and *G. Jnl.* 20.1.86.
5. Full report of Public Soiree in *G. Jnl.* 21.1.86.
6. *ibid.*
7. *Gr. Mail* 8.2.86.
8. *ibid.* 24.3.86.
9. *G. Jnl.* 16.12.85.

10. "Grahamstown is suffering materially in its educational establishments and other respects from the existence of the atmosphere of filth and scandal that has hung over it." Quoted from the *Cape Argus* in *G. Jnl.* 4.2.84.
11. *Handbook* 1885-86, p. 27.
12. Figures from *Handbook*.
13. *Handbook* 1886-87, p. 22. Report of the Executive, signed by G.W.C. Secretary.
14. *G. Jnl.* 7.4.88.
15. Report of United Children's Service in *G. Jnl.* 14.6.98.
16. *G. Jnl.* 2.2.86.
17. In a speech at a civic farewell function in Grahamstown, reported in *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1903, p. 89.
18. *G. Jnl.* 20.2.86.
19. Wiles: *op. cit.*, p. 64.
20. Annual Report of W.G.H.S. in *Gr. Mail* 16.6.86.
21. *Handbook* 1886-87, p. 22.
22. *ibid.*, p. 5.
23. *Gr. Mail* 10.12.86.
24. Family tradition. George Nurden Cross named his own first child Mary Nurden.
25. Register of births, Grahamstown Baptist Church.
26. *Gr. Mail* 7.1.87.
27. *ibid.* 20.6.87.
28. *ibid.* 2.9.87 gives full Prospectus of the Exhibition.
29. *ibid.* 16.2.87.
30. *ibid.* 14.12.87 and 16.12.87.
31. *G. Jnl.* 14.1.88.
32. *Gr. Mail* 28.10.87 and 2.11.87.
33. *G. Jnl.* 22.8.91.
34. *ibid.* 16.2.95 and 19.2.95. Also 16.5.95.
35. *ibid.* 13.9.90.
36. *ibid.* 23.9.90.
37. *ibid.* 8.8.91.
38. Letters from Moffat and Stewart to G.W.C. in the author's possession.
39. *G. Jnl.* 27.3.88.
40. *Gr. Mail* 16.3.88.
41. Reports in *Gr. Mail* under the heading "Jottings from Natal", 16.3.88, 19.3.88, 26.3.88, 29.3.88 and 4.4.88.
42. *Gr. Mail* 19.3.88.
43. *ibid.* 29.3.88.
44. *ibid.* 4.4.88.
45. *G. Jnl.* 27.3.88.
46. *Gr. Mail* 13.4.88.
47. *ibid.* 20.4.88.
48. *Handbook* 1888-89, p. 14.

49. *G. Jnl.* 9.6.88. Notice of time and place for the Matriculation Examination names Cross as Commissioner.
50. Report of Chalmers's death in *G. Jnl.* 2.6.88, and report of the funeral in *G. Jnl.* 5.6.88.
51. See the Bibliography for full details of Chalmers's book.
52. Obituary in *G. Jnl.* 22.11.88.
53. Full report of funeral in *G. Jnl.* 24.11.88.
54. Church Minute Book 3.10.88.
55. *ibid.* 30.1.89.
56. *Gr. Mail* 24.4.89 – "Notes of travel" by "Viator."
57. Murray: *Union-Castle chronicle*, p. 104-108.
58. *Gr. Mail* 24.4.89.
59. *ibid.*
60. *ibid.* 3.5.89.
61. *ibid.*
62. Programme in Cross's Scrapbook.
63. Report of lecture in *G. Jnl.* 14.5.89.
64. *Handbook* 1889-90, p. 34.
65. *ibid.*, p. 8-21.
66. e.g. the *Cradock Register* 13.9.89 carried a long article about the Address.
67. *Handbook* 1889-90, p. 32.
68. Batts: *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, p. 99-102 gives a detailed account of the Kimberley venture. There is another version (with some slight variation in detail) in Batts's unpublished *Autobiography*, p. 122 *et seq.* The manuscript is in the Library of the University of Cape Town.
69. Batts: *op. cit.*, p. 102.
70. *Handbook* 1893-94, p. 14.
71. Batts: *op. cit.*, p. 106-8 for the story of Baptist beginnings in Bloemfontein.
72. *Handbook* 1890-91, p. 5-7 for a description of this Assembly.
73. Register of births, Grahamstown Baptist Church.
74. *G. Jnl.* 30.5.90.
75. *ibid.* 3.6.90 gives a report of the lecture.
76. *ibid.* 7.6.90.
77. *ibid.* 19.6.90 gives a report of Prize Day at W.G.H.S.
78. *S.A. Baptist* Oct. 1920, p. 5.
79. *ibid.* Feb. 1929, p. 20.
80. *ibid.*, p. 20.
81. *G. Jnl.* 15.6.89.
82. Evans in *S.A. Baptist* Feb. 1929, p. 20.
83. Wiles: *op. cit.*, p. 62-3.
84. Church Minute Book 26.9.89.
85. *ibid.* 16.10.89.
86. Letter in author's possession.

29. *ibid.* Chap. XXI gives the whole story. See also. *G. Jnl.* 22.5.97.
30. Wiles: *op. cit.*, p. 73.
31. *ibid.* Chap. XXII.
32. *G. Jnl.* 18.5.97.
33. *ibid.* 3.6.97.
34. *ibid.* 9.9.97.
35. *ibid.* 20.9.98.
36. *ibid.* 18.9.98.
37. *Handbook* 1897-98, p. 26.
38. *ibid.*, p. 25.
39. *Gr. Mail* 16.7.97 carries a full report of the farewell function in the Baptist Lecture Hall.
40. Antrim Road Baptist Church: *A brief history*, p. 8-9.
41. Report from the *Belfast Newsletter* of 25.10.97 reprinted in *S.A. Baptist* Dec. 1897, p. 8.
42. Cross's own words from his Presidential Address in 1898. *Handbook* 1898-99, p. 28.
43. Mentioned by Cross at the farewell function before leaving Grahamstown. *Gr. Mail* 16.7.97.
44. Item from the *Baptist* reprinted in the *S.A. Baptist* Feb. 1898, p. 9.
45. *S.A. Baptist* Jan. 1898.
46. *Handbook* 1898-99, p. 17.
47. *ibid.*, p. 16.
48. Article "Belfast and Mr. Cross" by H.H. Graham (Mrs. Cross's brother) published in *S.A. Baptist* March 1898, p. 7-8.
49. *Cape Times* 10.2.98.
50. Speech at Welcome Social in Pretoria reported in *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1903, p. 89.
51. *G. Jnl.* 10.2.98.
52. Full report in *G. Jnl.* reprinted in *S.A. Baptist* March 1898, p. 8-9.
53. *Handbook* 1898-99, p. 7.
54. The Address was also published in the *Handbook*, 1898-99, p. 19-32.
55. *G. Jnl.* 30.6.98.
56. *ibid.*
57. Full report in *G. Jnl.* 20.9.98.
58. Supplement to *G. Jnl.* 15.12.98.
59. *G. Jnl.* 15.12.98.
60. *ibid.* 22.11.98 and 1.12.98.
61. *ibid.* 15.12.98.
62. Butler: *Autobiography*, p. 397-8.
63. Advert. in *G. Jnl.* during the period of the Exhibition.
64. *G. Jnl.* 21.1.99 and 23.1.99.
65. *ibid.* 23.1.99.
66. *Handbook* 1898-99, p. 53.
67. *ibid.* 1899-1900, in Notes of the Session, p. 13. The Notes are unsigned,

but Batts, who quotes from them in his *History of the Baptist Church*, p. 196, attributes them to Cross.

68. Batts: *op. cit.*, p. 193.
69. *Handbook* 1899-1900, p. 10, and *S.A. Baptist* May 1899.
70. *ibid.* p. 11.
71. Kipling's "Recessional" was first published in *The Times* on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.
72. Batts: *op. cit.*, p. 196-7 and *Handbook* 1899-1900, p. 13.
73. *Handbook* 1899-1900, p. 12.

## CHAPTER 9

1. Report of debate in House of Commons reported in *G. Jnl.* 22.4.99.
2. *ibid.* 25.4.99.
3. *ibid.* 1.5.99, 21.6.99, 23.8.99 and 25.8.99.
4. *ibid.* 8.9.99.
5. *ibid.* 11.9.99.
6. Chamberlain's speech reported in *G. Jnl.* 11.8.99.
7. *G. Jnl.* leader 11.8.99.
8. Reported in *G. Jnl.* 17.8.99.
9. Butler: *Autobiography*, p. 447.
10. *ibid.*, p. 449.
11. Reitz: *Commando*, p. 15.
12. Full report of the meeting in *G. Jnl.* 13.10.99.
13. Evans, in *S.A. Baptist* Feb. 1929, p. 21. See also *G. Jnl.* 30.10.99.
14. *G. Jnl.* 8.11.99.
15. Pohl: *Adventures of a Boer family*, p. 59 and 65.
16. *G. Jnl.* 10.6.99.
17. *ibid.* 12.8.99.
18. *ibid.* 18.11.99, 25.11.99, 2.12.99, 9.12.99.
19. *ibid.* 19.3.1900.
20. This lecture was reported in full in both *Gr. Mail* and the *G. Jnl.* of 24.3.1900.
21. *G. Jnl.* 27.3.1900.
22. *ibid.* 7.4.00, 30.4.00, 7.5.00, 11.6.00 and 5.7.00.
23. Letter from Heard to *S.A. Baptist* Jan. 1900, p. 92.
24. *S.A. Baptist* Nov. 1899, p. 60.
25. *ibid.* p. 60.
26. *ibid.* p. 60.
27. *ibid.* Jan. 1900, p. 92.
28. *ibid.* July 1900, p. 106.
29. *ibid.* Sept. 1900, p. 125-6.
30. *ibid.* Nov. 1900, p. 149.
31. *Handbook* 1900-1903, p. 30 and p. 60.

32. *ibid.*, p. 30.
33. *ibid.*, p. 60.
34. *S.A. Baptist* Dec. 1901, p. 139, and *Handbook*, 1900-03, p. 114-20.
35. *Handbook* 1897-98, p. 20.
36. See Baptist Union Notes, signed by G.W. Cross, Hon. Sec., in *S.A. Baptist* Dec. 1900, p. 172-3.
37. *G. Jnl.* 4.4.00 and *Gr. Mail* 4.4.00.
38. *G. Jnl.* 9.6.00.
39. *ibid.* 6.6.00.
40. Letter from G.W.C. in *G. Jnl.* 5.7.00.
41. *G. Jnl.* 26.3.01.
42. *Handbook* 1900-03, p. 12-14.
43. *G. Jnl.* 16.5.01. See also *Chronicles of the 23rd Annual Assembly in S.A. Baptist*, June 1901, p. 61-69.
44. *G. Jnl.* 3.1.01.
45. *ibid.* 24.1.01 and 5.2.01.
46. *ibid.* 30.3.01.
47. *ibid.* 16.3.01.
48. *ibid.* 18.4.01, 19.4.01, 23.4.01 and 27.4.01.
49. *ibid.* 30.7.01.
50. *ibid.* 12.11.01.
51. *ibid.* 19.12.01.
52. *ibid.* 20.12.00.
53. *ibid.* 24.12.01.
54. Reitz: *op. cit.*, p. 319.
55. *ibid.* p. 322.
56. *Gr. Mail* 2.6.02.
57. *ibid.* 4.6.02.

## CHAPTER 10

1. Letter from Slater to G.W.C. 14.8.17 (in the possession of the author).
2. Undated letter from Vine Hall to G.W.C. (in the possession of the author).
3. Remark made by Cross in a speech of thanks at a function in Grahamstown on the occasion of his leaving the city, and reported in the *S.A. Baptist* August 1903.
4. Mentioned in his lecture on South African poets and poetry in Pretoria in May 1910 (manuscript in the possession of the author).
5. *Gr. Mail* 4.10.86.
6. *G. Jnl.* 4.6.87.
7. Letter of thanks from school pupils to G.W.C. November 29th 1887 (in the possession of the author).
8. Manuscripts in the possession of the author.

9. *E.P. Magazine*, Oct. 1893, p.20.
10. Carrington, C: *Rudyard Kipling: his life and work*. Macmillan, 1955; Pelican Books, 1970, p. 319.
11. Manuscript in the possession of the author.
12. *G. Jnl.* 14.5.92.
13. *ibid.* 9.6.92.
14. *ibid.* 28.6.92.
15. *ibid.* 26.7.92.
16. *ibid.* 25.2.93.
17. *ibid.* 6.4.93.
18. *ibid.* 13.5.93.
19. *ibid.* 26.8.93.
20. *ibid.* 11.11.93.
21. *ibid.* 14.6.94.
22. *ibid.* 12.8.93.
23. Article by G.W.C. on Olive Schreiner in *S.A. Bookman*, Jan. 1911, p. 67-8.
24. Book in author's possession.
25. *S.A. Bookman*, Jan. 1911, p. 70.
26. *G. Jnl.* 18.8.91.
27. 14 letters in all. They are now in the Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
28. O.S. to G.W.C. Fe 20/95.
29. O.S. to G.W.C. Undated letter from Kimberley. Internal evidence places it in the latter half of 1895.
30. S.C. Cronwright Schreiner to G.W.C. 10.9.95. (in the possession of the author).
31. S.C.C.S. to G.W.C. 13.10.95. (in the possession of the author).
32. Cronwright: *Life of Olive Schreiner*, p. 277-8.
33. O.S. to G.W.C. Undated. Internal evidence places it early in 1896.
34. O.S. to G.W.C. Undated. Letter endorsed in Cross's handwriting: "Written May 2nd 1896".
35. O.S. to G.W.C. Undated, but obviously written from Port Alfred in August 1896.
36. O.S. to G.W.C. Aug. 5th 1896.
37. O.S. to G.W.C. Undated. Endorsed in Cross's handwriting? "14/viii/96."
38. *ibid.*
39. Cronwright: *Life of Olive Schreiner*, p. 286.
40. O.S. to G.W.C. Undated postcard, postmark "Port Alfred AU 20 96."
41. O.S. to G.W.C. Undated, but internal evidence dates it from Port Alfred, August 1896.
42. Same as 33.
43. O.S. to G.W.C. Undated, but obviously written after leaving Grahamstown in August 1896.
44. *Gr. Mail* 18.2.98. Reprinted in *S.A. Baptist* March 1898, p. 8-9.

45. Cronwright: *op. cit.*, p. 297-300.
46. Note on J.T. Lloyd in *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, Sept. 1975, p. 7.
47. Report of lecture in *G. Jnl.* 28.11.89.
48. *Presbyterian Blue Book* 1904, p. 31-2.
49. *Tvl. Advert.* 23.4.04.
50. *S.A. Baptist* Feb. 1929, p. 20. Reference occurs in an article on Cross by Evans.
51. The following South African sources have been consulted for reviews of *Trooper Peter Halkett*:
  - Cape Illus. Mag.* April 1897
  - The Bookman* March 1897
  - E.P. Magazine* June 1897
  - G. Jnl.* 18.3.97
  - Gr. Mail* 12.3.97
  - Cape Times* 8.3.97 & 15.3.97
  - Cape Times Weekly* 7.4.97
  - Cape Argus* 10.3.97 & 15.3.97
  - Johannesburg Star*
  - Transvaal Critic*
  - Johannesburg Times*
52. The following South African sources have been searched:
  - African Monthly* 1906-1910
  - Cape Illus. Mag.* 1894-1898
  - The Owl* (C.T.) 1902
  - S.A. Magazine* 1906-1907
  - S.A. Review* (C.T.) July - Dec. 1902
  - The State* 1909-1912
  - The Bulletin: Q. Jnl. of S.A. Home Reading Union*, April 1909-April 1910. Thereafter title changed to *S.A. Bookman*, August 1910-1915
  - The Veldt*, 1900-1905
  - Grahamstown Journal*
  - Grocott's Mail*
  - Cape Times*
  - Cape Argus*
53. Meintjies: *Olive Schreiner*, p. 133.
54. Cronwright: *op. cit.*, p. 239.

## CHAPTER II

1. *Handbook* 1900-03, p. 38. Report on Grahamstown Church.
2. *ibid.*
3. Report of the celebrations in *S.A. Baptist* July 1902, p. 77-79.
4. *Gr. Mail* 25.6.02.

5. *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1902, p. 92.
6. *Handbook* 1900-03, p. 108-9.
7. Notes on the 24th Assembly by E. Baker in *Handbook* 1900-03, p. 91-2.
8. *ibid.*, p. 93-4.
9. *ibid.*, p. 150.
10. *S.A. Baptist* Nov. 1903, p. 123.
11. *ibid.* Feb. 1929, p. 21.
12. *ibid.* Nov. 1920, p. 6-7.
13. *Gr. Mail* 19.6.03, *G. Jnl.* 23.6.03 and *S.A. Baptist* Jan. 1903, p. 12.
14. Report of unveiling ceremony in *Gr. Mail* 9.3.06.
15. Description of the memorial in *Gr. Mail* 9.3.06.
16. *Gr. Mail* 9.3.06 and *S.A. Baptist* April 1906, p. 351.
17. Cross's medal now in possession of the author.
18. *South African Who's Who*, 1908.
19. *ibid.* 1911.
20. Cross's farewell speech to the Grahamstown Church reported in *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1903, p. 88.
21. *S.A. Baptist* Dec. 1920, p. 5.
22. Letter from G.W.C. to Miss Albina Webber 15.9.08 in the author's possession.
23. *Gr. Mail* 29.6.03.
24. *S.A. Baptist* June 1903, p. 72. Regrettably the manuscript of this lecture is lost.
25. *Gr. Mail* 17.6.03.
26. *G. Jnl.* 27.6.03.
27. *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1903, p. 88.
28. *ibid.*
29. *ibid.* p. 89.
30. *ibid.* p. 88-9.
31. *Gr. Mail* 12.6.03 and *G. Jnl.* 9.6.03.
32. List of matriculants in *Gr. Mail* 28.1.03.
33. *Gr. Mail* 3.7.03.

## CHAPTER 12

1. *S.A. Baptist* Aug 1903, p. 94.
2. *Handbook* 1891-2, p. 45.
3. *ibid.*, p. 35. Date on the foundation stone.
4. *ibid.* 1893-94, p. 14.
5. *Gr. Mail* 20.2.93.
6. *Handbook* 1893-94, p. 22.
7. *ibid.* 1894-95, p. 25-6.
8. *Batts: History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, p. 190.
9. *Handbook* 1894-95, p. 44.

10. Batts: *op. cit.*, p. 191.
11. *ibid.*
12. *ibid.*, p. 191-2.
13. *ibid.*, p. 192.
14. *ibid.*
15. Secretary's Report to a Thanksgiving Day Social in Pretoria Church, in *S.A. Baptist* Sept. 1904, p. 107.
16. *ibid.*
17. *ibid.*
18. *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1903, p. 93.
19. *ibid.*
20. *ibid.*, p. 94.
21. Macmillan: *The city of Pretoria*, p. 19.
22. Minutes of Deacons' Meetings, 3.4.06.
23. Membership figures from *Handbooks*.
24. *S.A. Baptist* Sept. 1904, p. 107.
25. Minutes of Deacons' Meetings 21.3.06.
26. *ibid.* 20.3.07 and 1.5.07.
27. Minutes of Committee of Management 27.10.03.
28. Sermon reported almost verbatim in *Tvl. Advert.* 18.4.04.
29. *Tvl. Advert.* 10.5.04.
30. Transvaal. Religious Instruction in Schools Commission. *Report*. Cross's evidence, p. 222-6. Cross's Statement, p. 226-7.
31. See the *Transvaal Advertiser*, *Transvaal Leader* and *Pretoria News*, June and July 1905.
32. Transvaal. Religious Instruction Commission: *Op. cit.*, p. 224.
33. Minutes of Deacons' Meetings 14.12.11.
34. *ibid.* 22.6.09.
35. Nurden Cross's reminiscences of his father.
36. *Bulletin*: The Quarterly Journal of the South African Home Reading Union, 1st series, no. 2, July 1907.

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1. *Handbook* 1892-93, p. 45.
2. *ibid.* 1895-96, p. 28, and Batts: *History of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, p. 185.
3. *Handbook* 1903-06, p. 66.
4. Minutes of Deacons' Meetings 30.1.06.
5. Batts: *op. cit.*, p. 187.
6. Minute Book 26.11.07.
7. Batts: *op. cit.*, p. 185.
8. *Handbook* 1909-10, p. 25.
9. *ibid.*

10. *ibid.* 1910-11, p. 25.
11. *ibid.*
12. *S.A. Baptist* Nov. 1910, p. 1163.
13. *Handbook* 1896-97, p. 9-10.
14. *ibid.* p. 8.
15. *ibid.* 1898-99, p. 25.
16. *ibid.* 1908-09, p. 9.
17. *ibid.*, p. 22-3.
18. *ibid.* 1909-10, p. 25-6.
19. *ibid.* 1910-11, p. 22.
20. *S.A. Baptist* Oct. 1908, p. 798-800.
21. *Handbook* 1910-11, p. 22.
22. *S.A. Baptist* Nov. 1910, p. 1164.
23. *Pta. News* 8.6.04.
24. G.W.C. to Miss Albina Webber 15.9.08.
25. *S.A. Baptist* July 1938. Editorial.
26. Minute Book 31.1.11.
27. *Handbook* 1911-12, p. 8.
28. Minute Book 31.1.11.
29. *ibid.* 14.7.10.
30. *ibid.* 3.10.10.
31. *Handbook* 1898-99, p. 31.
32. Minute Book 29.8.07.
33. *ibid.* 13.4.09.
34. *ibid.* 22.4.09.
35. *ibid.* 12.5.09.
36. *ibid.* 15.11.10.
37. *ibid.* 14.12.11.
38. Obituaries of King and Grocott in *Handbook*, 1912-13, p. 10-13.
39. Minute Book 21.11.11.
40. *ibid.* 23.1.12.
41. *ibid.* 22.8.12.
42. *ibid.* 4.11.12.
43. *ibid.* 26.11.12.
44. *ibid.* 29.11.12.
45. *ibid.* 3.12.12.
46. *ibid.* 13.12.12.
47. *S.A. Baptist* Jan. 1913, p. 6.
48. Full report of this function in *S.A. Baptist*, May 1913, p. 51-3.

## CHAPTER 14

In this and the following chapter extensive use has been made of letters written by the Rev. G.W. Cross and his wife to their son and daughter-in-law,

Mr. and Mrs. G.N. Cross. The following abbreviations have been used to designate these four:

G.W.C. George William Cross  
M.L.C.C. Mrs. G.W. Cross  
G.N.C. George Nurden Cross  
E.M.B. (before her marriage) or E.M.C. Mrs. G.N. Cross

1. Figures from *Durban Municipal Yearbook*, 1914.
2. *Handbook* 1903-06, p. 30, 31 and 37. Also the Lambert Road Baptist Church 75th Anniversary Programme, which contains excerpts from the first minute book about the beginnings of the church.
3. *Handbook* 1903-06, p. 59.
4. *ibid.* 1906-07, p. 13 and 16.
5. *ibid.* 1908-09, p. 6.
6. *ibid.* 1909-10, p. 9-10.
7. *ibid.* 1910-11, p. 6-7.
8. *ibid.* 1911-12, p. 6.
9. *ibid.* 1912-13, p. 7.
10. Church Minute Book. Special Church meetings 7.11.12 and 12.11.12.
11. Annual Thanks-offering Day letter to members of the church Aug. 1916 states: "Two years ago our debt stood at about £830."
12. Full reports of services and welcome social in *S.A. Baptist* May 1913, p. 53-4. Also a report of social in *Natal Mercury* 12.4.13.
13. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 15.ix.14.
14. *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1913, p. 98.
15. *ibid.*
16. *Handbook* 1913-14, p. 6.
17. Minute Book 28.1.14.
18. *ibid.*
19. *Natal Mercury*, Dec. 1913.
20. Mentioned at Cross's farewell social in March 1918 by a representative of the Durban Church Council. Report in *S.A. Baptist* April 1918, p. 12.
21. *Durban Presbyterian Magazine*, March 1915, p. 31-4.
22. *S.A. Baptist* March 1915, p. 5, in Church News.
23. *Handbook*, 1913-14, 1914-15, 1915-16: List of officers and committees.
24. G.W.C. to E.M.B. Jan. 20th, 1914.
25. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 29.1.14.
26. Deacons' Meeting Minutes 23.2.14.
27. *S.A. Baptist*, May 1914. "Pretoria Church News."
28. *ibid.*, p. 74.
29. *Natal Mercury* 27.4.14.
30. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 27.vi.14.
31. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 15.ix.14.
32. Text of cablegrams from H.M. Government to Botha published in *Natal Mercury* 7.8.14 and 9.8.14.

33. Published in *Mercury* 16.3.15.
34. Reported in *Mercury* 12.9.14.
35. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 15.ix.14.
36. Goldblatt: *History of South West Africa from the beginning of the 19th century*.
37. For a detailed history of the campaign see: *The Union of South Africa and the Great War 1914-1918*.
38. Letter from Havelock to E.M.B. 10 June 1915.
39. *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1915, p. 3; and Minutes of Deacons' Meetings 2.6.15.
40. Havelock's letter to his mother is lost, but his mother mentions it in a letter to E.M.C. Oct. 15th 1915.
41. Obituary in the Johannesburg *Star* 24.11.16.
42. *South African Who's Who* 1908.
43. For a detailed account of the East African campaign see Miller: *Battle for the Bundu*.
44. Deacons' Meeting Minutes 4.11.15.
45. *Handbook* 1915-16, p. 21.
46. Card in author's possession.
47. Letter from H.H. Graham in Belfast to G.N.C. 2nd January 1917: "Havelock's death was a heavy blow to all of us here – we had got to look upon him as one of ourselves, & he fully returned our feelings. He was the life and soul of all our family gatherings and endeared himself to every one."
48. *Star* 24.11.16.
49. Evident from M.L.C.C.'s letters to E.M.C.
50. *S.A. Baptist* April 1916, p. 9-10.
51. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. Oct. 18th 1916.
52. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. Feb. 13th 1916.
53. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. and G.N.C. November 5th 1916.
54. *ibid*.
55. In author's possession.
56. *Natal Mercury* 7.10.16.
57. *Handbook* 1915-16, p. 9.
58. *ibid*.
59. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. Oct. 18th 1916.
60. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 25.xi.1916.
61. M.L.C.C. to G.N.C. and E.M.C. November 25th 1916.
62. *S.A. Baptist* Feb. 1917, p. 10 and *Pretoria News* 25.11.16.
63. *Star* 24.11.16.
64. J.E. Ennals to G.N.C. 27.xi.16.
65. M.L.C.C. to G.N.C. December 10th 1916.
66. Evident in a letter from M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. Jan. 18th 1917.
67. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 26.1.1917.
68. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. Jan. 18th 1917.
69. S.A.L. Thornton, Senior Roman Catholic Chaplain, who buried

- Havelock at Knightsbridge. Letter dated Nov. 30th 1916.
70. W.M. Caldwell to G.W.C. 17.11.16.
  71. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. March 11th 1917.
  72. *S.A. Baptist* May 1917, p. 11.
  73. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. May 20th 1917.
  74. *ibid.*
  75. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. April 29th 1917.
  76. M.L.C.C. to G.N.C. May 9th 1917.
  77. M.L.C.C. to G.N.C. June 10th 1917.
  78. *ibid.*
  79. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. August 12th 1917.
  80. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. December 16th 1917.
  81. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. and G.N.C. December 30th 1917.
  82. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. and G.N.C. January 13th 1918.
  83. G.W.C. to E.M.C. 21st ii 1918.
  84. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. March 3rd 1918.
  85. *S.A. Baptist*, April 1918, p. 12.
  86. *ibid.*, p. 11.
  87. *ibid.*, p. 11.
  88. *ibid.*, p. 4.
  89. Reprinted from the *Mercury* in *S.A. Baptist* April 1918, p. 4.

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1. *S.A. Baptist* April 1918, p. 11.
2. Secretarial Notes by Batts in *S.A. Baptist* March 1918, p. 3.
3. *ibid.* May 1918, p. 4.
4. *Handbook* 1917-19, p. 4.
5. Letter in author's possession.
6. Secretarial Notes by Batts in *S.A. Baptist* July 1918, p. 4.
7. *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1918. "News of the Churches – Pretoria."
8. *ibid.*
9. *ibid.* Aug. 1917.
10. *ibid.* Aug. 1918, p. 4.
11. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. Humansdorp August 28th 1918.
12. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. Grahamstown Sept. 21st 1918.
13. G.W.C. to G.N.C. Bowden 27.ix.18.
14. Secretarial Notes by Batts in *S.A. Baptist* December 1918, p. 5.
15. *S.A. Baptist* Jan. 1919, p. 11-12.
16. Letters from G.W.C. to G.N.C. dated from this address.
17. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 11.ii.19.
18. *ibid.*
19. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 17.ii.19.
20. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. April 6th 1919.

21. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. April 27th 1919.
22. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. June 17th 1919.
23. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 24th vi 1919.
24. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 25th ix 1919.
25. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. December 19th 1919.
26. Letter of G.W.C. to G.N.C. undated, but obviously just before Christmas 1919.
27. G.W.C. to G.N.C. 21.i.20.
28. *ibid.*
29. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. April 4th 1920.
30. *Handbook* 1919-20, p. 30.
31. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. May 23rd 1920 and Evans: "Reminiscences of Rev. G.W. Cross" in *S.A. Baptist* Dec. 1920, p. 5.
32. *S.A. Baptist* Feb. 1920, p. 12: Church News – Bloemfontein.
33. *ibid.* June 1920, p. 12.
34. G.W.C. to E.M.C. December 19th 1919 and M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. December 19th 1919.
35. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. May 23rd 1920.
36. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. June 2nd 1920.
37. Batts: *The history of the Baptist Church in South Africa*, p. 113-14.
38. Church Notes in *The Friend* 14.8.20.
39. M.L.C.C. to E.M.C. August 18th 1920.
40. *ibid.*
41. Church Notes in the *The Friend* 28.8.20, and *S.A. Baptist* Oct. 1920, p. 6.
42. *S.A. Baptist* Oct. 1920, p. 6.
43. *ibid.* Death and funeral of the Rev. G.W. Cross, by J.E. Ennals, p. 3-5.

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3. *Durban Presbyterian Magazine*, March 1915, p. 31.
4. Cross: *The Baptist Union of South Africa: a history and some reflections*, p. 15.
5. *Handbook* 1889-90, p. 17.
6. Cross: *op. cit.*, p. 9.
7. *S.A. Baptist* Aug. 1903, p. 94.
8. *Handbook*, 1881, p. 6-7.
9. Trollope: *South Africa*, vol. II p. 345.
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7. *E.P. Magazine*: a publication of the Eastern Province Literary and Scientific Society 1892-1898.
8. *The Freeman* (England) 1877. 1897-98.
9. *General Baptist Magazine* (England) 1870-90.
10. *Illustrated London News* September – December 1877. (Reports of the frontier war).
11. *Irish Baptist Magazine* 1877. 1897-98.
12. London City Mission. Annual Reports, 1855-81.
13. *London City Mission Magazine* 1859-1880.
14. *South African Baptist* 1894-1920. February 1929.
15. *South African Baptist Handbook*; published under the direction of the Baptist Union of South Africa. 1881-1922.  
Published annually. Includes Minutes of the Assembly, Ministerial lists,

Officers and Committees of the Baptist Union, directory of churches, etc.

16. *The South African Bookman* and quarterly journal of the South African Home Reading Union. August 1910-1915.  
Formerly: *The Bulletin*, q.v.
19. *South African Magazine* May- October 1906.
20. *South African Who's Who* 1907-58. Annual.
21. *The State* (South Africa) 1909-12.
22. *Sword and Trowel* (England) 1879-1896.
23. *The Veldt* 1901-05.

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### IV. Newspapers

1. *Cape Argus* (Cape Town)
2. *Cape Times* (Cape Town)
3. *Cape Town Daily News*
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